

**The London School of Economics and Political
Science**

*Childbearing intentions of Polish nationals in
Poland and in the UK: Progression to the
second child*

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the London School of Economics for the degree of Doctor
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Declaration

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Abstract

This study explores and compares the rationales behind, and justifications for, intentions about whether or not to have a second child among Polish fathers and mothers living in the UK and Poland. Drawing on semi-structured interviews (n=42) contextualised by media and statistical analyses, the thesis interrogates the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) and explores the extent to which aspects related to the theory (i.e. attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control) permeate informants' narratives.

This thesis emphasises that researching fertility intentions requires more complex and context-specific operationalisations of theoretical constructs as drawing on standardised definitions and concepts across different populations could impact data validity and reliability, and I suggest ways in which survey questions could be modified. The findings demonstrate the importance of transnational groups of reference for Polish individuals' understanding of resources deemed as adequate to have a second child, suggesting that the notion of economic wellbeing is more variable and complex than current evidence suggests. The study also illustrates that kin assistance in Poland is relevant for reproductive decisions since it relates to economic constraints to childbearing and to perceived requirements to provide children with kin support and inheritance. Moreover, individuals in both settings communicate beliefs related to childbearing intentions discursively, fine-tuning ambivalent and inconsistent cognitions while constructing a coherent narrative. The findings question the TPB assumption that people reach decisions primarily as a result of causal, regular and law-governed forces acting on theoretical constructs independent of individuals' agency, and I point to possibilities to expand and refine theories used in demographic research. Although my empirical findings focus on Polish nationals, I argue that this research has broader implications for theorising, researching and interpreting findings on childbearing intentions.

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1 Introduction

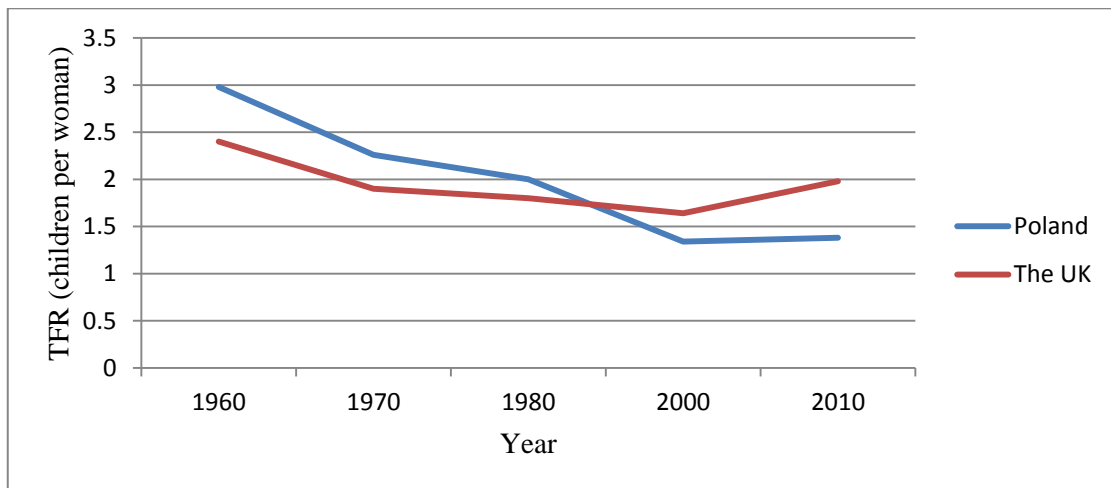
This chapter gives an overview of the underlying motivations to conduct this study which informed my research objectives. I briefly describe recent demographic developments in Europe and Poland and I pay particular attention to the importance of progression to the second parity and fertility intentions. Next, I explain reasons for comparing Polish nationals residing in Poland and the UK and I introduce the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB). Finally, I provide a short outline of the forthcoming chapters.

1.1 Background and impetus for the study

Fertility has decreased in almost all developed countries in recent decades to below replacement levels. Researchers are faced with a plethora of possible explanations for current fertility trends in industrialised nations and generally economic, institutional, ideational and social aspects are taken into account in explanations of reproductive behaviours (see, for example, McDonald, 2000a; Philipov, 2003; Sobotka, 2008; Speder, 2004; van de Kaa, 2001). How these factors interact in different settings to produce particular outcomes and variations in fertility across Europe is not certain and needs careful examination (De Bruijn, 1999; Sobotka, 2004). My study contributes to these debates by providing an in-depth analysis of fertility intentions in two contemporary European contexts.

Declining and low fertility in Europe is by no means a new phenomenon. Following the 'baby boom' after the Second World War, fertility started to decline in many European countries at unprecedented rates and by the early 1970s most of Western Europe was experiencing below replacement fertility. In Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) fertility levels fluctuated at around replacement level until the early 1990s, when, following the breakdown of the socialist regime, fertility across the region fell sharply in a very short period of time (Frejka et al., 2001). In Poland the total fertility rate (TFR) declined from 2.0 in 1990 to 1.38 in 2010 (Central Statistical Office, 2009) (see also Figure 1).

Figure 1 Trends in Total Fertility Rate in Poland and the UK, 1960-2010.



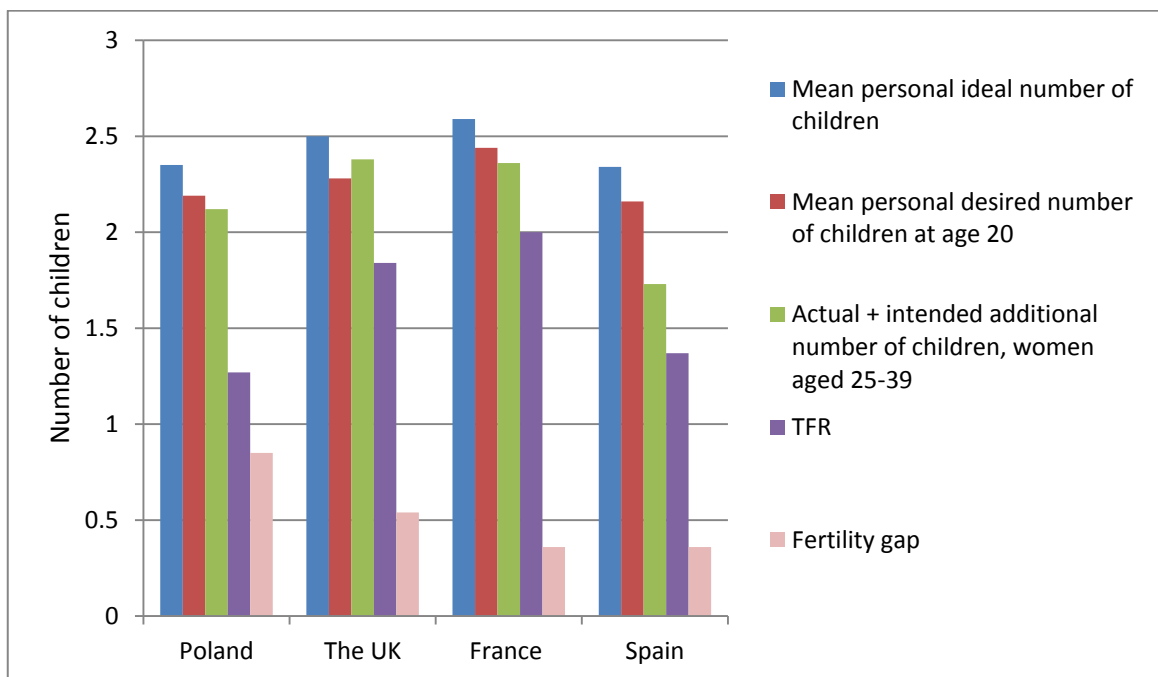
Sources: Council of Europe (2005), Eurostat (2012-2014).

Low fertility is associated with population aging in many European nations which has implications for many aspects of social reality, including health care systems, pensions and the size of the labour force in particular (Cordon, 2006; Hoorens et al., 2011; Lutz et al., 2006). Consequently, low fertility and the changing age structure of European populations are believed to pose a serious challenge to the economic development of Europe (Philipov et al., 2009). The European Union (EU) recognised the challenge of population ageing in several documents, for example, in ‘The demographic future of Europe – from challenge to opportunity’ the European Commission presented five major policy directions to address the threat: demographic renewal, higher employment rates and longer working lives, higher productivity, receiving and integrating immigrants, and increasing the sustainability of public finance (European Commission, 2006a). Although in the last decade all European countries have recorded below replacement fertility, the TFR remains close to replacement in many Western and Northern European nations while they reached particularly low levels in CEE and Southern Europe (Eurostat, 2012-2014). The consequences of population aging are going to be most prominent in nations with very low fertility, such as Poland, since these countries are expected to undergo the most profound change in their age structure (Kohler et al., 2006; Matysiak, 2011).

1.2 Why research fertility intentions of Polish nationals?

The main idea behind demographic renewal proposed by the European Commission stems from the fact that despite particularly low levels of fertility, especially in the Southern and CEE countries, demographic surveys consistently reveal that intended, desired and ideal family size is around two children in most European nations (Goldstein et al., 2003; Testa, 2006; van Peer et al., 2008). Current cross-country variations in TFRs cannot therefore be explained by corresponding differences in the number of children individuals intend or desire to have¹ (Bongaarts, 2001; Morgan et al., 2010). Although the divergence between stated intended family size and actual fertility rates, the so-called fertility gap (Chesnais, 2000), exists in most developed countries, the gap is wider in Poland than in many other European nations (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 Ideal, desired, actual plus intended additional children for men and women combined and TFRs in selected European countries in 2006.



Source: Testa (2006), TFR based on Eurostat (2012-2014).

There are several explanations as to why stated fertility intentions remain consistently underachieved at the macro level (Philipov et al., 2009). Firstly, the difference is often

¹ Austria and Germany are exceptions here as sub-replacement ideal, desired and intended family size emerged in these countries in the early 20th century (Sobotka, 2009). Austria has one of the lowest ideal, desired and intended fertility intentions in Europe at around 1.5 for men and women (Testa, 2006).

explained by the fact that ‘some structures facilitate meeting intentions and expectations, while others impede their realization’ (Morgan et al., 2010, p. 93) and by the existence of ‘latent demand for family policies’ since the ‘unmet need’ for children calls for intervention through family policies (Chesnais, 1998; 2000, p. 133). The assumption that a fertility gap is related to economic and institutional contexts is reflected in a series of EU documents. For instance in the European Parliament’s resolution of 21 February 2008 on the demographic future of Europe it was suggested that:

...the average birth rate in the European Union, which at 1.5 is abnormally low, is not a reflection of women’s choice or of European citizens’ actual aspirations for creating a family and may therefore also be linked to the difficulty of reconciling work with family life (lack of child-care infrastructures, social and economic support for families, and jobs for women), the anxiety-inducing social environment (unstable work situation, expensive housing) and a fear of the future (late access to employment for young people and job insecurity)... it is possible to influence birth rate curves favourably through coordinated public policies, by creating a family and child-friendly material and emotional environment. (European Parliament, 2008)

Similar views are expressed by Polish scholars, for example, analysing determinants of fertility choices in Poland, Baranowska (2007a, p. 424) reasoned that ‘if certain groups of women have fewer children than they prefer, it can be assumed that properly selected social policy solutions can encourage them to decide to have a child’.

Secondly, the fertility gap could be an artefact of survey data collection. Reproductive intentions and decisions are highly complex and may involve multifaceted attitudes and beliefs (Bernardi et al., 2010a). Studies exploring fertility plans (e.g.: the Employment, Education and Family (AZER), Eurobarometer, Fertility and Family Survey (FFS)) tend to use multiple choice or numerical questions. Such surveys have closed response categories, restricting and potentially influencing people’s answers; they impose certain rationales for fertility plans on respondents, limit the opportunity to explore fertility plans in depth and to express reasons for fertility choices not included in the research instrument. Simultaneously, literature on the psychology of survey responses suggests that when people do not have a straightforward opinion on a subject and are under time pressure in a survey environment they are likely to give an answer based on social

norms rather than their own ideas (Tourangeau et al., 2000). Demographers have noted that social norms in many industrialised societies support two-child families (Basten et al., 2011), which could explain why fertility intentions, desires or ideals reported in surveys remain close to two children although actual fertility is lower. Furthermore, surveys often use different wording; some measure fertility ideals (e.g. the Eurobarometer), others fertility desires (e.g. FFS), some ask about childbearing intentions and plans (e.g. AZER). It is known that even a slight change in question wording as well as question order in a survey can change the outcome (Rimal et al., 2005; Schwarz et al., 1991; Tourangeau et al., 2000), for instance, prior questions can impact the retrieval of specific information influencing the answer to a subsequent question (Mathews et al., 2012).

Thirdly, scholars point out that fertility intentions and desires can change during the life course in response to a broad range of life circumstances such as adjusting to the intentions of a partner, re-partnering, lack of a partner, biological clock, and learning about the advantages and disadvantages of parenthood. Individuals thus adjust their intentions both downward and upward and they fail to realise their initially stated intentions not only due to constraints faced, but ‘many people simply change their minds’ regarding their reproductive intentions (Iacovou et al., 2010, p. 46; see also Quesnel-Vallee et al., 2003).

I concentrate on fertility intentions in my research rather than preferences, desires or ideals for three reasons. Firstly, it is not obvious what ideal or desired fertility means and what life conditions one would need to meet to consider oneself as being in a position to fulfil one’s fertility ideals or desires e.g. better childcare facilities, unattainable income or other potentially unrealistic life circumstances (Demeny, 2007; Philipov et al., 2009). Secondly, scholars have argued that answers to questions about ideal fertility are more likely to reflect social norms rather than personal childbearing goals (Goldstein et al., 2003; Livi Bacci, 2001). Thirdly, the psychological literature suggests that reported intentions encompass commitment to perform the action which would lead to the outcome (Malle et al., 2001). Childbearing intentions should therefore reflect (more) realistic expectations about children and an intention to perform a particular behaviour includes some evaluation of the consequences of the behaviour and a confrontation of desires with reality (Miller et al., 1994; Philipov et al., 2009).

Fertility intentions are often studied to predict future fertility and to improve the accuracy of population projections (van Peer et al., 2008) and even demographers who claim that intentions are not reliable predictors of fertility behaviour agree that studying intentions provides invaluable insights into the obstacles to meet them (Morgan et al., 2010). Others argue that fertility intentions are ‘strongly and consistently related to future fertility behavior’ (Schoen et al., 1999 p.798) and intentions better forecast childbearing behaviour than other characteristics such as parity, employment status, education, religion and their combination (Hermalin et al., 1979; Westoff et al., 1977). A better understanding of the rationale behind childbearing intentions is a precondition to a better understanding of their predictive powers and their measurements (Philipov, 2009; Philipov et al., 2009).

1.3 Progression to the second parity

This study focuses on progression to the second parity for two major reasons. Firstly, the levels of childlessness remain relatively low in most low fertility nations in Europe and similar to levels observed in nations with close to replacement childbearing (Kohler et al., 2002, 2006; Sobotka, 2008). Simultaneously, low levels of TFRs in many European nations correspond with low second and higher order births (van Bavel et al., 2009). Several scholars consequently noted that differences in Europe between nations with close to replacement fertility and these with very low fertility are often linked to differences in the progression to the second and higher parities rather than in the first births, or the levels of childlessness² (Kohler et al., 2002; van Bavel et al., 2009). Having children can be considered as, at least partly, guided by biological and genetic factors such as hormones or neurological structure (Becker et al., 1992; Kohler et al., 1999; Morgan et al., 2001; Rotkirch, 2008; Udry, 1996). Even in very low fertility contexts most women and men have a universal and intrinsic instinct for reproduction and there are sufficient incentives for most individuals to have at least one child (Basten, 2009; Foster, 2000). Researchers highlight that by having one child an individual becomes a parent and fulfils an inner biological instinct for parenting (Presser, 1986). For these reasons the intention to become a parent is generally perceived by scholars as a different process to that of intentions beyond the first birth (Barber, 2001; Hobcraft et al., 1995; Philipov et al., 2009).

² Germany and Austria where high levels of childlessness are believed to be main reasons for low TFR are an exception here.

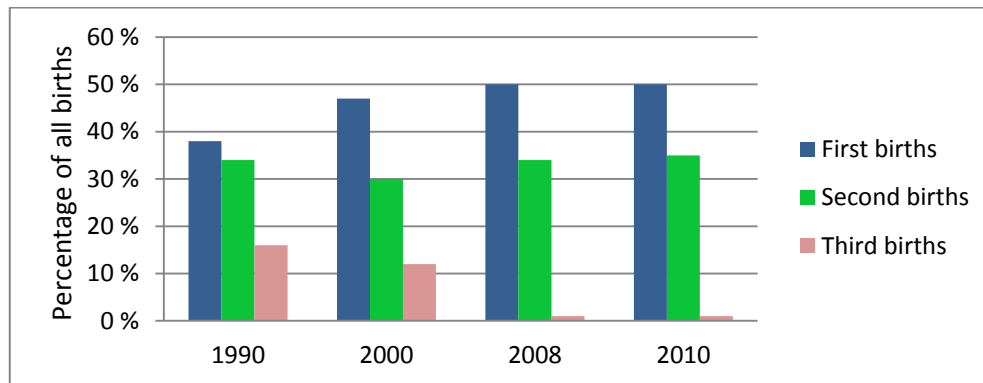
Secondly, higher parity intentions are influenced by previous childbearing experiences and can be revised both upwards and downwards as some parents find looking after their first child a more positive experience than they anticipated while for others the opposite is true (Iacovou et al., 2010; McMahon, 1995). Parents may be more aware of the opportunities of, and constraints posed by, childrearing relative to childless people so their intention to have or not a second child is likely to be more realistic and informed by their own experiences of parenthood (see also Dommermuth et al., 2011).

1.3.1 *Second and higher order births in Poland*

The fertility decline observed in Poland has not been accompanied by particularly high levels of childlessness. Childlessness in Poland increased gradually after the Second World War and while 6.9% of women born in 1938 remained childless, 15% of those born in 1966 were without children at the end of their reproductive life (Kotowska et al., 2008a). This places Poland in a middle-ranking group in Europe regarding the levels of definite childlessness for the cohort born in 1965, the highest levels were recorded in England and Wales, Austria and Italy at over 20% and lowest, below 10%, in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Portugal and Slovenia (OECD, 2011). Qualitative data reveal that childlessness is met with social disapproval in Polish society, particularly voluntarily childless people are labelled with negative stereotypes, for example, they are perceived as abnormal, selfish or distorted (Mynarska, 2009a).

The decline in TFR in Poland was accompanied by falling rates of second and higher order births, while the rates of first births were stable and even went up slightly at the beginning of the 20th century (Buhler et al., 2007). In absolute numbers first births declined by 2.4%, second births declined by 19%, while third order births by 45% between 1990 and 2008 (Central Statistical Office, 2009). Second and higher order births thus were reported by demographers as imperative for raising the TFR in Poland whereas ‘even a significant increase in the first-birth rates might not compensate the decline in fertility’ (Tymicki, 2009, p. 61).

Figure 3 First, second and third births in Poland as a percentage of all live births, 1990-2010.



Source: Author's calculations based on Central Statistical Office data (2009, 2011b).

Considering strong normative pressures for parenthood on the one hand, and decline in higher order births on the other, researchers have pointed out that one child families are on the rise in Poland (Kotowska et al., 2008a; Pascall et al., 2005). Progression to a second and higher parities has become a particularly important stage in the family building process, and one that is poorly understood since most research exploring fertility trends in Poland focuses on the transition to parenthood or the overall decline in fertility (see, for example, Kotowska et al., 2008a; Mishtal, 2009; Pascall et al., 2005).

1.4 A note on fertility research and gender

My thesis compares accounts of fertility intentions between men and women since variables considered in fertility research often relate to issues of gender. For example, the decline in fertility in industrial countries over the last few decades has been attributed to raising female labour force participation (Matysiak, 2011). Although the association between female paid employment and low fertility weakened in recent years, or even reversed in countries such as France or Sweden (Engelhardt et al., 2004; Prskawetz et al., 2006), factors important for childbearing decisions are often linked to work-family reconciliation, and topics such as female employment, availability of childcare and maternity leave, are frequently discussed and researched in relation to fertility levels (European Commission, 2006a; Matysiak, 2011). Childbearing and childrearing are believed to impact directly women more than men. For instance, there is evidence that parenthood restrains women's employment opportunities more than men's (Kalmijn et al., 2008), and that having children increases strains more for

women than for men (Nomaguchi et al., 2003; Ross et al., 1996). There is a nexus between childbearing decisions, socioeconomic contexts and gender (Kreyenfeld et al., 2012) as childbearing and childrearing can have different consequences for women and men in relation to their employment, career prospects or housework and childcare responsibilities, and these consequences can further vary depending on the socioeconomic context in which mothers and fathers live. Therefore, this thesis explores whether childbearing rationales and factors perceived as important for childbearing intentions differ between Polish women and men living in two different contexts. Moreover, many scholars who consider gender as an explanatory variable in fertility research employ quantitative data (see, for example, Fiori, 2009; Matysiak, 2009a; Olah, 2003; Torr et al., 2004), thus they are unable to uncover mothers' and fathers' thought processes underlying any correlations between gender and fertility and this thesis provides some insight into the topic.

1.5 Polish migrants in the UK

The UK has been the main destination country for Polish migrants since 2006 until the most recent available data in 2011. The numbers of Polish migrants living in the UK increased substantially since 2004 when the British government abolished visa requirements for Polish nationals to work³ (Table 1).

³ Following Polish accession to the EU in 2004, the old EU15 Member States were allowed to limit the right of nationals from Poland to work in another Member State for up to 7 years. Only Great Britain, Ireland and Sweden opened their labour markets for Polish nationals on the 1st of May 2004. Polish workers were gradually given free access to the labour markets in the remaining Member States between 2006 and 2011 (in 2006- Greece, Spain, Portugal, Finland, Italy opened their labour markets; in 2007-Netherlands, Luxembourg; in 2008-France; in 2009-Belgium and Denmark; in 2011-Germany and Austria). Based on www.europa.eu, accessed on 03/01/2013.

Table 1 Emigration from Poland between 2004 and 2011 to selected European countries (stock migration at the end of the year).

Country of destination	Number of Polish emigrants in thousands							
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
The UK	150	340	580	690	650	595	580	625
Ireland	15	76	120	200	180	140	133	120
Germany	385	430	450	490	490	465	440	470
France	30	44	49	55	56	60	60	62

Data for 2004-2006 and 2007-2011 refers to persons staying abroad longer than 2 and 3 months respectively.

Source: Central Statistical Office (2012).

Migration from Poland to the UK represents one of the most intense and most quickly established migratory flows in modern Europe (Fihel et al., 2009b). Although the recent data suggests a lack of increase in migration, the stock of Polish migrants in the UK remains relatively stable rather than decreasing (Central Statistical Office, 2012). Moreover, the data reveal an increase in permanent⁴ settlement of Polish migrants in the UK, especially after 2007 (Kaczmarczyk, 2012). It has to be however noted that numerical estimates of (return) migrants based on both British and Polish data are consistently reported to be inaccurate (Fihel et al., 2007; Green et al., 2008; Pollard et al., 2008) and the data regarding return migration are contradictory. While some sources reported that following the economic crisis in the UK, A8⁵ migrants were leaving (see, for example, Campos et al., 2010; ONS, 2009d), others have claimed that there is no evidence to support return migration (Iglicka, 2010), even though the crisis might have slowed down new waves of immigrants (Grabowska-Lusińska et al., 2009).

In 2008 Poles were the largest group of non-British nationality and they ranked second only to India as the largest group of non-UK born residents (ONS, 2009d). Although childless people have been the biggest group of Polish migrants to the UK, parents have assumed a more prominent place within the Polish community since 2004 as some parents have migrated with children to the UK in recent years (White, 2010), while

⁴ Permanent migrants are those residing abroad for more than 12 months.

⁵ A8 migrants refers to migrants from the 8 countries that joined the EU in 2004, namely the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

others have had children in the UK. Births to Polish-born women in the UK have been steadily increasing; in 2010 they constituted 2.7% of all births up from 0.5% in 2005 (based on www.ons.gov.uk, accessed on 14/10/2011). The TFR in Britain increased to 1.91 births per woman in 2007 from 1.78 in 2004. Although births to foreign-born women did not drive the increase in TFR, 75% of the increase in total births in these years can be attributed to women born outside UK, mainly due to an increase of foreign-born women of reproductive ages among the female population with a simultaneous decrease of the UK born women of reproductive age (Tromans et al., 2009). Simultaneously, Polish immigrants were perceived by the media and general public to have contributed to the increase in fertility in Britain. For instance, NewsScotsman proclaimed ‘Polish immigrants swell Scotland’s new baby boom’ (Hardie, 2007), while The Daily Mail published a number of articles about the increasing numbers of Polish children born in the UK (Doyle, 2011; Hartley-Parkinson, 2011; Slack, 2007). Similar articles were published across the British media and general public debates regarding the issue could be seen online⁶. The large numbers of Polish migrants in the UK as well as rising numbers of their offspring has also been a topic of interest to local authorities as migrants’ childbearing may impact maternity, pre-school and school services (Green et al., 2008; Sales et al., 2008). Consequently, a better understanding of childbearing intentions of Polish migrants residing in the UK is not only of academic importance but has wider social policy implications.

1.5.1 *A note on low fertility in Poland and emigration*

Low fertility and emigration have been identified as major demographic challenges Poland has to face in the future (Central Statistical Office, 2009a). The population of Poland is projected to decrease by about 3 million by 2035 and by 6 million by 2050 (United Nations, 2010) and projections also suggest that the old age dependency ratio will increase by 30% by 2035 (Central Statistical Office, 2009a). It has been estimated that between May 2004 and January 2007 the total net loss due to emigration was 2.8% of the total Polish population (Mioduszezwska, 2008). Although these figures suggest that migration should not have a considerable impact on the total population in Poland,

⁶ Comments regarding childbearing of Polish migrants in the UK were visible underneath online articles, see, for example, www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2038948/50-babies-day-born-Polish-mothers-UK.html, or <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1366063/Polish-population-growing-faster-UK-Poland.html>, accessed on 19/04/ 2011.

the estimates suggest that the outflow was greatest amongst the 25-29 and 20-24 age groups (9.3% and 8.8%, respectively) (Kaczmarczyk, 2012). It is not possible to assess how migration has affected Poland's TFR, as it is calculated based on age specific fertility rates and accurate data are not available on the age distribution of emigrant women (Hoorens et al., 2011). Nonetheless, emigration is particularly high among younger age groups, and has the potential to significantly contribute to population decline and population aging in two ways: firstly, it directly influences the population size and age structure due to outflows of young people; secondly, emigration contributes to the decrease in the absolute numbers of children born in Poland, since Polish migrants, who tend to be young, might have their children abroad (see also Kaczmarczyk, 2012).

The long term consequences of emigration on the demographic structure of Poland will depend on whether Polish migrants and their children return to Poland in the future or whether they settle permanently in the destination country. However, there is a lack of precise data on migration flows and uncertainty of future trends regarding temporary, permanent and re-migration patterns (Fihel et al., 2009b; Hoorens et al., 2011). Other aspects of migration which can impact on childbearing in Poland also remain under-researched. For instance, it is not known how many couples have been separated by the migration of one person although this can have various implications for their childbearing decisions. Such couples may face problems with union stability, or with household responsibilities when one partner is living away which, in turn, may lead to postponement of having a/nother child. On the other hand, working abroad by one partner may improve families' financial resources making it easier to have children (see also Mynarska 2009).

1.6 Comparing Polish nationals residing in Poland and in the UK

My research focuses on the rationales and justifications for intentions about whether or not to have a second child among Polish men and women living in Poland and the UK. I have chosen to research and compare intentions of Polish nationals living in these two settings for three reasons. Firstly, since the early 1990s childbearing in Poland has come to the fore of public and academic attention due to a sharp decline in fertility. Secondly, the EU enlargement in 2004 stimulated the biggest wave of emigration in the contemporary history of Poland (Fihel et al., 2009b). And while Polish nationals are

considered by researchers, the media and politicians not to have enough children in Poland (Kotowska et al., 2008a; Przybylski, 2010; Wirtualna Polska, 2008) concurrently they are perceived by British media and public opinion to have a lot of offspring in the UK (Hardie, 2007; Jarek, 2011; Lewis, 2006).

Thirdly, these two settings provide an exceptional opportunity to investigate fertility intentions of persons who share similar culture, upbringing, tradition and religion and who live in different socioeconomic environments. The comparative aspect of this project allows me to explore whether and how diverse institutional settings, different employment, economic and welfare conditions as well as cultural and social environments relate to variations in rationales and justifications for intentions from 1st to 2nd births among Polish nationals.

1.7 The Theory of Planned Behaviour

The design of this study at the outset was informed by the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) (see Chapter 2 for a detailed theoretical discussion), a socio- psychological theory where Attitudes, Subjective Norms (SN) and Perceived Behavioural Control (PBC) are conceptualised as precursors of intentions (Ajzen, 1991). The TPB assumes that the intention to perform a specific behaviour is an antecedent of the behaviour itself; thus the intention to have a second child is seen as a precursor of having the child and the latter is conceptualised as the act of the behaviour (Buber et al., 2011). The TPB was developed to predict and explain human behaviour in specific contexts, it has been applied in various disciplines over the years to study a wide range of behaviours (Ajzen, 1991) and it has been widely used in recent years in researching fertility intentions and decisions (see, for example, Billari et al., 2009; Dommermuth et al., 2011).

1.8 Research Questions

This study represents the first comparative research of fertility intentions among Polish men and women living in Poland and the UK. The overall aim of this project is to further the understanding of factors involved in fertility intentions rationalisations towards having a second child or not.

1.8.1 *Main research question*

Central to this thesis is the following question: what are the rationales behind and justifications for intentions whether or not to have a second child among Polish men and women in Poland and the UK?

1.8.2 *Research objectives*

To answer the research question this research has the following objectives:

- To interrogate the TPB in empirical research and to explore the role of, and the extent to which, aspects related to the theory i.e. Attitudes, SN and PBC permeate informants' narratives in their rationalisations of childbearing intentions.
- To identify similarities and differences in rationalisations of fertility intentions between men and women living in Poland and in the UK.

While this research does not claim to reveal the reasons behind the fertility gap and its variations in different European contexts, it does contribute to the academic debate on the subject. Although the topics discussed by my informants cannot be identical to those encountered by other populations, the findings based on my research can shed light on fertility intentions research in other contexts by investigating theoretical and methodological issues that underlie demographic research.

1.9 Thesis Structure

The structure of the thesis is as follows. In Chapter 2 I outline the key theoretical approaches which guide research on fertility trends and I describe their major limitations. To find a framework that would incorporate the multifaceted factors vital in childbearing intentions' rationale I turn to models of individual choice and explain the reasons behind my selection of TPB to guide the design, data collection and analysis in this project. Since TPB has been widely used in demographic research in recent years, I explain my motivation to interrogate the theory by exploring how people rationalise their fertility intentions and choices.

In Chapter 3 I review the available empirical data that lie behind the idea of investigating childbearing intentions for the second birth among Polish nationals in

Poland and the UK and the chapter also draws attention to the contribution this study makes to existing research. I draw a detailed picture of research and findings regarding determinants of low fertility in Poland and I also explore Polish media debates around the issues of reproduction since the subject of low birth rates in Poland has been vehemently debated in public domains. I also discuss the existing literature on Polish nationals in the UK, in particular research on socioeconomic characteristics of migrants, their transnational practices and family life.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed description of the methods used to answer my research questions and the rationale behind their employment. I describe quantitative and qualitative methods and I explain in detail procedures used in data collection and analysis.

Chapters 5 to 8 present my research findings. In Chapter 5 I investigate the main variables and structural conditions identified in literature and TPB as related to fertility intentions and which were at the forefront of my respondents' narratives of their childbearing intentions and I thus set background to findings presented in later chapters. I inspect secondary data related to economic and institutional settings in Poland and in the UK and I explore the socioeconomic characteristics of Polish men and women living in Poland and the UK by parity.

Alongside macro environments, individual preferences and views play a major role in constructing fertility intentions, consequently in Chapter 6 my attention moves to exploring intentions based on qualitative data. The overall aim of this chapter is to understand how the notion of economic wellbeing and of resources necessary for childbearing are understood and rationalised by informants and I explore beliefs that underlie respondents' accounts. The chapter illustrates that economic rationale and transnational groups of reference are omnipresent in narratives of childbearing intentions. I argue that in the milieu of European integration many individuals have developed transnational identities either because of their own behaviour or because of the networks in which they are embedded which, in turn, fuel individuals' perceptions of adequate resources for childbearing and an assessment of what consequences a second child should be allowed to have on individuals' economic wellbeing. Through the discussion of accounts of transnational groups of reference the chapter highlights that social comparisons underlie beliefs related to Attitudes and PBC among Polish nationals in both settings, although these are absent in demographic research, and TPB

is a flexible framework which can be used to further identify essential beliefs related to childbearing intentions among specific populations.

Chapter 7 addresses how respondents in Krakow and London attained or envisioned attaining the resources they saw as necessary for childbearing, and the underlying motivations and consequences of their strategies for childbearing intentions. Investigating these issues emphasises the discrepancy between the wide range of aspects related to childbearing intentions, the complex meanings attached to these by my respondents and the much more limited ways these factors, related to Attitudes and PBC, are conceptualised and measured in surveys.

Chapter 8 develops a more complete picture of childbearing rationalisations and I further examine TPB. I present three case studies with an aim to provide a more detailed portrait of the ways individuals construct childbearing intentions rationales and I also discuss the implications of insights from these accounts for theorising and researching fertility intentions. The key argument of the chapter is that, contrary to the theoretical assumptions and mainstream demographic research, childbearing intentions rationalisations are not always a result of straightforward and clear deliberations. Childbearing rationale often involves cognitive processes in which individuals resolve ambivalence and inconsistency and respondents often communicate beliefs discursively while constructing a coherent narrative. I also demonstrate that contextual factors may distinctively relate to mechanisms of rationalising intentions as reported beliefs may be reconfigured in ways specific to the context.

The discussion in Chapter 9 contains some concluding remarks bringing these issues together in the light of my research objectives and I discuss the theoretical and methodological implications of this research. The chapter advances the overall argument that researching fertility intentions requires more complex and context-specific operationalisations of theoretical constructs. I propose examining the underlying beliefs related to Attitudes, SN and PBC for different contexts and re-thinking assumptions regarding the law-governed, causal relationships between TPB constructs as I advocate for more cautious interpretations of currently available data and carefully drawn policy recommendations. I also reflect on the differences and similarities in childbearing rationales between male and female respondents in the two countries. Finally, I consider some of the policy implications, the limitations of this project and possible directions of future research.

While it would have been possible to structure this thesis in a number of different ways, I decided that the clearest and most effective method of presenting the evidence was to introduce both locations and genders concurrently in every chapter, rather than treating them separately. This structure underlines the comparative design of this research, and highlights the differences and similarities between the two settings and genders.

2 Theoretical Approaches to Fertility Choices

2.1 Introduction

Explaining and theorising reproductive behaviour is by no means a new challenge for scholars and there are several theories that have been employed to research childbearing trends and intentions. This chapter aims at delineating theories that address the issue of decline in fertility as well as motivations for childbearing, their strengths and limitations and I outline a set of propositions that guided the design of this study, provided the basis for empirical investigations and discussions in this thesis.

2.2 The Second Demographic Transition Theory

The term ‘demographic transition’ is widely used in population studies and the theory claims that the transition (destabilisation) occurs between pre-modern societies, where equilibrium is maintained by high fertility and mortality rates, and post-modern societies with demographic stability characterised by low levels of fertility and mortality (Chesnais, 1992). Two demographic transitions are known; the First Demographic Transition (FDT) describes the decline in fertility and mortality rates in Europe from the late 18th century. As a result of modernisation, improved standard of living and a better medical care, the mortality rates declined, increasing the supply of children and consequently the population grew rapidly. On the other hand, the new lifestyle associated with industrialisation meant that people became more socially mobile and having more children stood in the way of achieving their goals. Furthermore, as food was dearer in cities and children were contributing less in economic terms than in agricultural settings, therefore, the decline in birth rates was an adjustment process whereas the European societies were aiming to regain the demographic equilibrium and it was believed that other regions in the world would follow the same pattern (Chesnais, 1992; van de Kaa, 2002). Although it was assumed that the demographic transition would result in a balance in the population growth, in the second part of the 20th century the levels of fertility in industrialised nations began to fall to below replacement levels; which resulted in a new imbalance, while a rapid aging of the population has become a new threat to developed nations (Demeny, 1997). This new phenomenon was labelled the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) by Lesthaeghe et al. (1986, cited in van de Kaa, 2001) and it referred to populations with

high levels of socioeconomic growth where widely available contraception and abortion gave couples more control over their reproductive and sexual behaviour.

The SDT highlights that the ideational change is the main reason behind declining fertility in modern societies (van de Kaa, 2001). Lesthaeghe et al. (1986, cited in van de Kaa, 2001) drew on the theory of postmaterialism developed by Inglehart (1997) who claimed that rising prosperity in Western societies meant that Western citizens had their basic physical, economic and material needs secured and thus were shifting from basic acquisitive needs to 'higher order needs' and post-materialist values with emphasis on self-expression, freedom, independence and autonomy (see also Maslow, 1970). Van de Kaa (1996, p. 425) claimed that SDT has become '[a] quintessential narrative of ideational and cultural change' and its main distinction from FDT is the:

...overwhelming preoccupation with self-fulfilment, personal freedom of choice, personal development and lifestyle, and emancipation, as reflected in family formation, attitudes towards fertility regulation and the motivation for parenthood.

According to SDT changes in family structure, declining marriage rates and a raise in divorces, increasing personal autonomy, consumption, as well as increased expectations and needs regarding standard of living are the main factors behind demographic decision making (Sobotka et al., 2003). The concept of SDT has been expanded upon in several publications, it has cautiously included mortality and migration and it was broadly linked to such structural changes as the growth of the service economy and the welfare state, modernisation, the development of higher education, secularisation, the expansion of new information technologies and the advances in assisted reproduction (Lesthaeghe, 1995; van de Kaa, 2001, 2002).

The SDT model has been criticised since the current fertility rates in European societies question some of the assumed links between low fertility, marriage, extramarital childbearing, and women's participation in paid work, which appear to have reversed (Billari et al., 2004). For instance, fertility is often higher in more liberal countries with higher levels of individualism, higher rates of cohabitation, extramarital births and divorce (e.g. the UK or Scandinavian nations). Fertility, in contrast, reached much lower levels in Catholic and family oriented nations (e.g. Poland or Southern Europe) even though their citizens highly value the institution of family and have more traditional attitudes towards children and motherhood (Prskawetz et al., 2006; Sobotka et al.,

2008). According to Inglehart (1997) there is a time lag in the shift from materialistic to post-materialistic values i.e. the hierarchy of fundamental values of an individual is a reflection of the conditions in which the individual grew up before reaching maturity. Polish nationals who experienced economic scarcity during communist era were reported by Polish sociologists to place a high importance in meeting their economic needs, which relates to the prominence of material comforts in the values they cherish (Szlendak et al., 2007). According to Ziółkowski (2006) Polish society is distinctly materialistic compared to Western nationals who have experienced sustained material affluence in the last few decades although materialism in Poland is mixed with a strong family orientation. However, there is already some change in the attitudes towards marriage and children in Poland (see Chapter 3) thus ideational factors may have some relevance to the demographic behaviour among Polish nationals (see also Sobotka, 2008).

2.3 Gender Equity Theory

McDonald (2000a) and Chesnais (1996) have suggested a series of propositions to explain the role of gender equity in theories of fertility decline. The authors observed that the change from high birth rates to fertility at replacement levels is a result of increased gender equity⁷ in the institution of family. As Chesnais (1996, p. 738) noted: ‘in the world at large, where women’s status is low, fertility is high... in societies where fertility is below replacement, this generalization no longer holds’.

The authors claimed that when the institutions which deal with people as members of a family e.g. the family, welfare state, terms and conditions in the employment market, have not granted the same levels of gender equity as institutions which deal with people as individuals i.e. education system and employment market, fertility rates can reach very low levels. As McDonald (2000b p.1) argued:

...if women are provided with opportunities nearly equivalent to those of men in education and market employment, but these opportunities are severely curtailed by having children, then, on average, women will restrict the number of children that they have...

⁷ McDonald (2000b p.4) distinguishes between exact gender equality and gender equity, where gender equity model in institutions is based on ‘equality of resources and capabilities, parity of participation in socially valued activities, and an end to male-centered measures of social value’.

This theory has been applied so far to explain the difference in fertility rates between Southern Europe and Nordic nations. Although Mediterranean countries place high importance in the institution of family and they are quite conservative in their attitudes towards gender roles and marriage, contrary to SDT assumptions, Italy and Spain have lowest-low fertility rates. The opposite is true for Nordic nations with liberal attitudes towards family and children, higher divorce rates, widely accepted cohabitation and, surprisingly, high levels of birth rates. Chesnais (1996) and McDonald (2000b) claimed that in Southern Europe the institutions that deal with women as mothers and wives have not implemented the gender equity model to such a degree as Nordic nations. Chesnais (1996, p. 731) claimed that Italian women are often better educated than men and want 'a just return from the years of schooling' therefore, they want to escape from traditional gender roles, while childbearing increases the risk of being confined to home and children. In contrast Nordic nations have institutional arrangements that help women to reconcile their roles of workers and mothers which makes it easier to have more children. The Gender Equity Theory does not reflect on the differences in gender relations between nations with very low as well as these with higher fertility, for instance, The UK and Sweden have very different gender relations though high fertility. Likewise, Germany and Italy, although with similarly low fertility levels, could be said to have different gender regimes. Moreover, McDonald (2000b) and Chesnais (1996) focused their attention on the role of welfare support to assist mothers in combining childrearing with paid work, while the authors paid little attention to the role of men in childcare and household work in reducing inconsistencies in gender inequity. Folbre (1997, p. 651) observed this gap in addressing the role of men in theories and research on fertility decline in her comment that 'reproductive 'problem' is not low fertility, but inadequate levels of paternal and social commitment to the next generation.'

Notwithstanding its drawbacks, the Gender Equity is a framework worthwhile considering in the Polish context since, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, the state's support for working mothers is limited although women participate on (nearly equal) level with men in education and the labour market while the division of household responsibilities is rather traditional among Poles. It thus appears that Poland fits well with the description of countries with inconsistencies in gender equity in different institutions. In this study I aim to explore whether the perception of gendered division of work and the theme of gender equity is related to childbearing intentions' rationale among Polish

mothers and fathers. Still, the theory considers a relatively narrow set of variables in its attempt to explain very complex phenomena such as fertility trends in modern societies; therefore, I draw on the theory only as a supplementary framework to assist in the research design and analysis of the data.

2.4 Microeconomic Approaches and the Rational Choice Theory

The microeconomic approach to reproductive decision making processes has significantly influenced population studies (Crosbie, 1984). Furthermore, the macroeconomic conceptualisation of reproductive behaviour has been present, even if implicitly, in Demographic Transition and Gender Equity theories described above.

The notion of rationality was developed by microeconomists and it is often referred to as the Rational Choice Theory, where rational behaviour optimally achieves specified goals (e.g. having children) within given conditions and constraints. The main feature of the economic approach is that it ‘assumes maximizing behaviour more explicitly and extensively than any other approaches do’ (Becker, 1986, p. 110). The utility maximising behaviour in population studies rests on the assumption that parents assign their resources optimally between consumer goods and investment in children and they expect returns from that investment when children grow up and support their parents. The concept of economic rationality has been taken the furthest in neo-classical economic theory; however it has been implemented in other social sciences, in particular rational choice sociology, political science, anthropology and psychology (Elster, 1990; Esser, 1993).

The economic concept of rationality drove theory development in demography mostly through the New Home Economics model of the Chicago School (Becker, 1981; Becker, 1986). Becker (1981) noticed that the decline in fertility in the early 20th century was caused by the decrease in children’s economic utility and the growing costs of children due to the process of modernisation (Bulatao, 1981; Zelizer, 1985). New Home Economics explicitly addressed not only such variables as income and prices (e.g., prices of children’s clothes, food, education) but it emphasised that children differ from other consumer goods in that they require intensive time investment and therefore opportunity costs of childbearing (wages forgone due to employment breaks necessitated by childbearing) increase with raising income for parents. The more time-intensive children are, and when the value of individuals’ time increases, the price of

children will also raise which, in turn, can lower fertility rates (Becker, 1986). The opportunity costs seem to be vital at the present time when women increasingly invest in human capital, enter the labour market and have attractive employment prospects, consequently devoting time to childbearing instead of investing it in career development has become more costly. Furthermore, higher returns to education in the modern era increase aspirations to provide children with (costly) education to bring up 'quality children'. Consequently, the notion of child quality became a key explanatory aspect for Becker (1981) in accounting for the inverse link between affluence and the number of children in modern societies.

The theory assumes that individuals choose specific actions in response to external incentives, they devise plans and strategies to achieve their goals as they analyse, interpret, evaluate, reason, acquire new information and they foresee and assess consequences of behaviours, while they also recognise and manage risk and uncertainty (De Bruijn, 1999). Even though Becker (1981) included the concept of 'love' in the theory, analyses based on Rational Choice Theory tend to focus on materialistic considerations and offspring are considered as any other consumption durables so the decision to have a child is a result of a conscious rational cost and benefit analysis (Etzioni, 1992; Sheff, 1992).

Despite some advantages the Rational Choice Theory overlooks the fact that rationality is bounded; people may not have perfect knowledge about factors related to their decision or about viable alternative choices and their outcomes. Individuals may exclude from conscious consideration certain facts, options or interpretations which allows for inconsistencies in thinking, perception and behaviour (De Bruijn, 1999). According to Esser (1993, p. 22) for behaviour to be rational it has to be 'conscious, deliberate action or reflection' while most actions fail to meet these requirements. Another important argument against the application of the theory in demographic research is that there is an essential difference between a choice of consumer goods and such vital life decisions as having children since the latter involves emotions, morality, social norms, psychological and biological considerations (Blake, 1968; Miller et al., 1967). Rational Choice Theory views childbearing choices as exercised by individuals in isolation from the social structure and cultural systems and little consideration is given to the content and decision making process (North, 1994). It is problematic to include any ideational or normative explanations of fertility choices into the economic

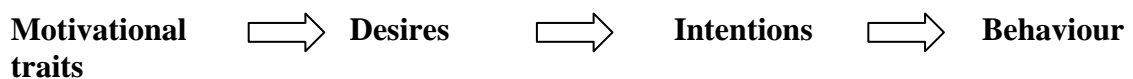
model. This is a vital drawback especially since many scholars claim that the role of norms, attitudes and cultural factors in determining current fertility trends is crucial. Consequently it has been argued that researching demographic behaviour should be based on broader frameworks which include a wider range of variables (Elster, 1990; Miller et al., 1967).

2.5 The Traits-Desires-Intentions-Behaviour Theory

Each of the three theoretical models presented above illuminates some essential factors and mechanisms related to fertility and each can be relevant, at least to some degree, to the fertility decline in the Polish context. Nonetheless, none on its own seems to be comprehensive enough to take into account all the factors relevant to examine the complexity of demographic behaviour and they may be seen as complementary rather than competing (Mynarska, 2009b). These theories are relatively narrow in the range of explanatory variables they include, and they implicitly or explicitly embrace a simple cost-benefit approach to demographic decision making while psychological models of behaviour are more comprehensive since they take into consideration multifaceted factors (e.g. ideational and economic) and thus are better suited to analyse such complex phenomena as individual childbearing decisions.

The Traits-Desires-Intentions-Behaviour (TDIB) theory has been developed to study exclusively fertility intentions and it includes a number of motivational aspects of the decision making process. According to TDIB childbearing behaviour is preceded by four stages, i.e.: ‘the formation of traits, the activation of traits to form desires, the translation of desires into intentions, and the implementation of intentions in the form of behaviour’ (Miller, 1994 p.228).

Figure 4 The Traits-Desires-Intentions-Behaviour model

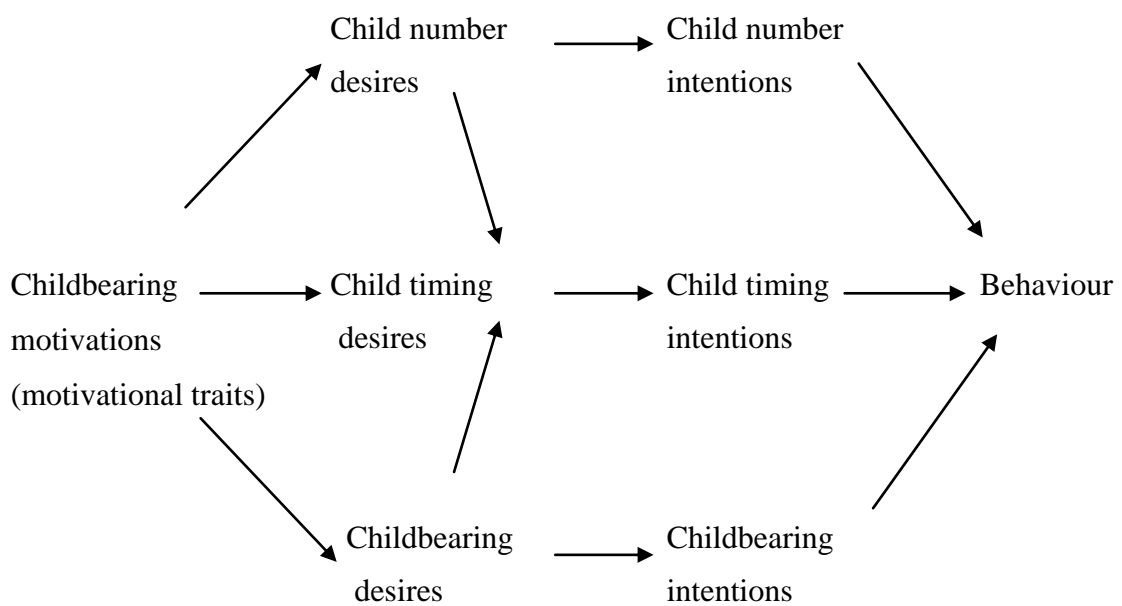


Source: Miller et al. (1993).

Motivations to have children ‘are psychological traits or dispositions that are derived from the genetic makeup and/or experience of individuals and that endure in them over time...’, they are however latent and it is not only until ‘certain conditions’ arise when

they may be activated (Miller, 1992, p. 266). When such conditions occur specific traits are transformed into three types of desires: to have a child, to have a specific number of children and when to have them. Desires are not yet tangible and they are similar to wishes. Only upon confrontation with constraints of reality (i.e. assessment of available resources, opportunities and constraints, wishes of other people, etc.), do they convert into three types of intentions, which in turn, are translated into behaviour (see Figure 5).

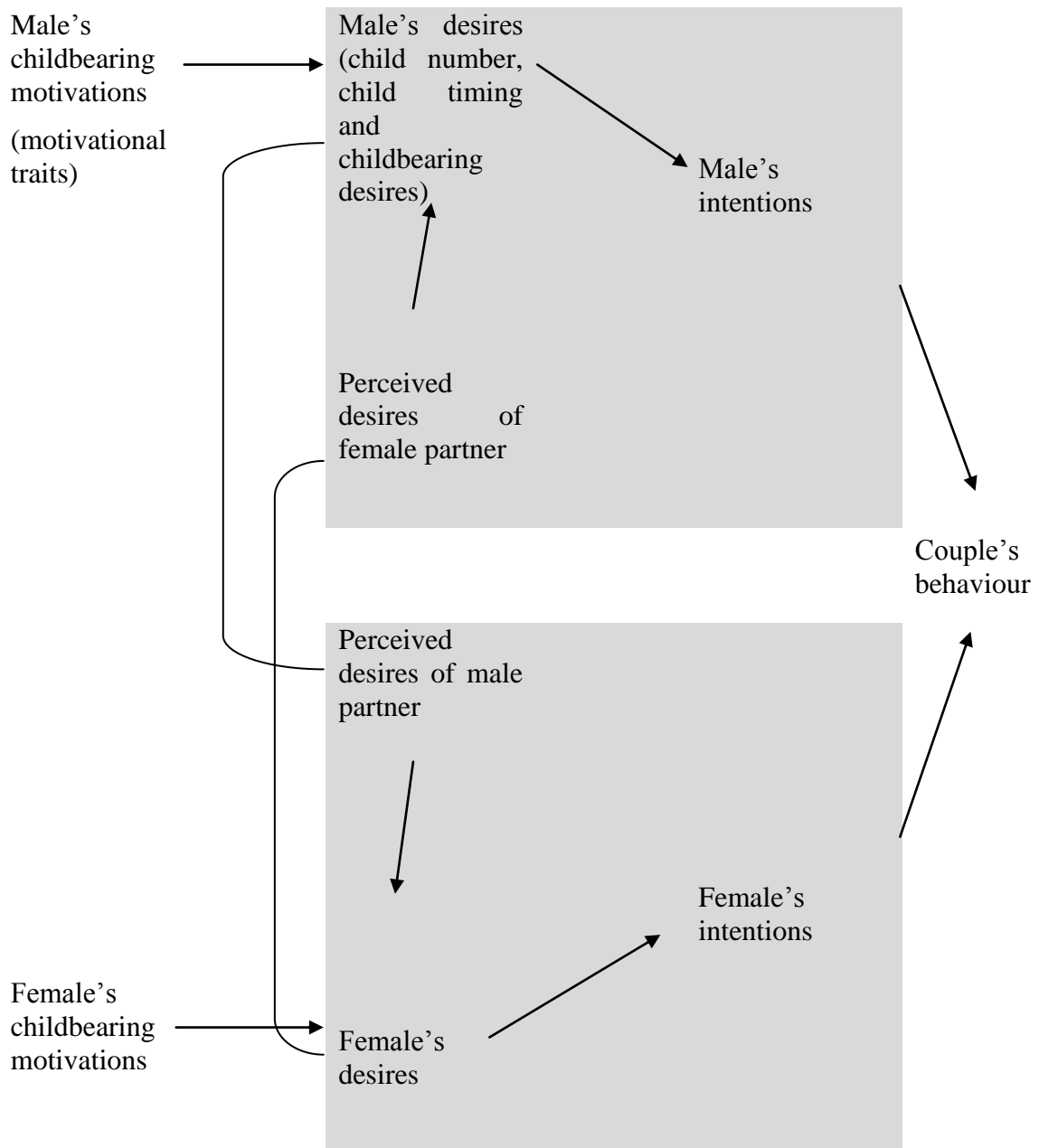
Figure 5 TDIB: Pathways between childbearing motivations and reproductive behaviour



Source: Miller et al. (1993).

The model was expanded to account for the decision making process of a couple and it incorporates perceived desires of one's partner into one's own desire before forming an intention and intentions of both partners translate into couples' fertility behaviour (see Figure 6). However, the final behaviour is not an outcome of a straightforward sum of partners' intentions as a range of influences between partners are taken into consideration, which is of particular importance when partners have conflicting intentions (Miller et al., 2004).

Figure 6 The TDIB sequence in couple's behaviour



Source: Miller et al. (1993).

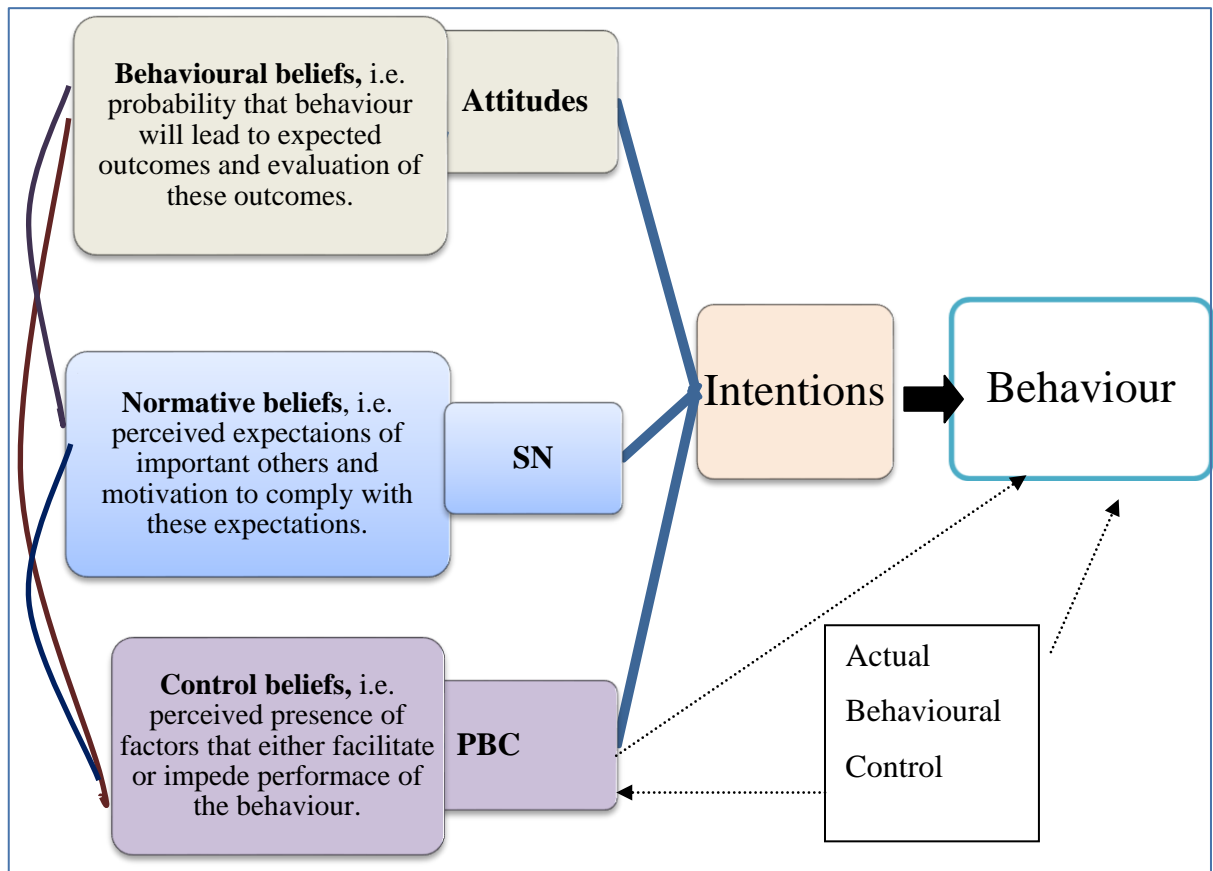
The TDIB is a complex theory that conceptualises multifaceted intentions and its goal is to understand the various elements of the theoretical sequence, the sources, formations and content of traits, desires and intentions and also the pathways between these constructs. Consequently, the theoretical model is wide-ranging and keeps expanding to incorporate more variables, for instance, childbearing desires stem not only from motivational traits but also, according to the authors, are products of various non-motivational factors such as family background, cultural factors, life-cycle and

situational variables (Miller et al., 1993). The complexity of the theory makes it hard to organise the variables systematically, moreover, the theory has not been successful in researching childbearing intentions and although it was formulated specifically to study childbearing decision making process, it is not very popular in population studies (Philipov et al., 2009).

2.6 The Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB)

The TPB is another socio-psychological model which takes into account Attitudes, Subjective Norms (SN) as well as Perceived Behavioural Control (PBC) to explain the process of intention formation and to predict behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). The TPB originates in the Theory of Reasoned Action developed by Ajzen et al. (1980; 1975) which Ajzen (2002b) later extended by adding PBC to the model to account for the fact that individuals may have limited volitional control over their intended behaviour (see Figure 7).

Figure 7 Theory of Planned Behaviour.



Source: Ajzen (1991).

Attitudes describe whether performance of behaviour is valued positively or negatively and they are determined by behavioural beliefs. Beliefs link behaviour to the likely outcomes or other attributes, to the evaluation of these outcomes and a probability that the behaviour will generate a particular outcome. If perceived advantages outweigh disadvantages the individual is more likely to perform the behaviour and vice versa (Ajzen, 1985). The estimate of Attitude is calculated by multiplying belief strength and outcome estimation and adding the results (Ajzen et al., 2005).

The second predictor of intention is SN which denotes individually perceived societal pressure to perform (or not) the behaviour and is determined by a set of normative beliefs. The latter refer to perceived expectations of important others such as family members, friends, colleagues etc., whether one should perform or not the behaviour (e.g. have a/nother child or not). Beliefs that each referent person thinks that the individual should perform the behaviour, together with the individual's motivation to comply, form SN (Ajzen, 1985).

The third component of an intention is PBC which originates from the concept of self-efficacy developed by Bandura (1982, 1997) referring to the perceived ease or difficulty to perform the behaviour (Ajzen, 2002b). PBC refers generally to people's expectations about their capability to perform a given behaviour, and is determined by beliefs about the presence of factors (both internal and external) that can facilitate or hinder the performance of the behaviour, beliefs about individual's ability to overcome whatever barriers they may encounter, and it reflects both past experiences and anticipated difficulties. Inhibiting or facilitating circumstances may be related to individuals' time, economic resources, skills or support of others, but from a subjective point of view since, all other things being equal, people who believe they have better resources to achieve a behaviour are more likely to accomplish their goal (Ajzen, 1991). Some researchers have argued that PBC encompasses two different constructs which should be measured separately, i.e. self-efficacy (ease or difficulty) and perceived control (items concerned with controllability) (Armitage et al., 2001; Trafimow et al., 2002). Ajzen (2002b) acknowledged that PBC includes these two aspects, however he rejected that they are conceptually distinct and independent variables. The incorporation of PBC provides an opportunity to capture most restrictions and opportunities that people encounter when constructing their intentions, however, perceived and actual control are not necessarily equal as individuals may not have adequate information about

constraints and opportunities in which case their reports may not be realistic (De Bruijn, 1999). Actual behavioural control which covers the actual resources, skills and all necessary conditions to engage in behaviour impacts both the PBC and the behaviour itself.

The predictor variables in surveys based on TPB can be measured directly and/or indirectly. The first measures take a broad form that is applicable to various behaviours. For instance, PBC can be measured directly by asking questions about respondents' ability to perform behaviour, with an aim to capture the perceived facilitating and inhibiting effects of all factors. Indirect measures elicit underlying beliefs and, unlike direct measures, they do not assume that individuals can give a summary estimate of their overall Attitude, SN or PBC. The questionnaire items using indirect measures should cover all major beliefs which correlate well with the global Attitude, SN and PBC. To obtain 'reliable, internally consistent measures, it is necessary to select appropriate items in the formative stages of the investigation. Different items may have to be used for different behaviors and for different research populations' (Ajzen, 2002a p.4). For instance, indirect measures of PBC include eliciting beliefs about factors which would make it easier or more difficult to perform the behaviour and respondents' ability to cope with specific factors.

Although Ajzen (1991) acknowledges that the main components are interrelated (see Figure 7) the scholar does not elaborate on this subject any further and overall the joint relationships between Attitudes, SN and PBC are not given considerable attention in the theory. Moreover, while a lot of attention has been devoted to gain a valid and reliable measurement of Attitudes, SN and PBC, the significance of these for diverse behaviours or in different contexts is not well examined. For example, some studies point that Attitudes are more important for intentions than SN (Notani, 1998). Nevertheless, other scholars argue that the role of SN might be considerably underestimated because of methodological problems of measuring this construct (Trafimow et al., 1994). Consequently, my research interrogates the TPB in the context of childbearing intentions decision making processes and I examine the theoretical premises and explore methodological challenges posed by employing the theory in empirical research.

According to TPB beliefs are the core determinants of individuals' intentions and behaviour. Although individuals may hold many beliefs related to a particular behaviour

they can access only a relatively small number at any time, and these salient beliefs ‘that are readily *accessible* in memory’ (Ajzen, 2002a p.8, emphasis in original) provide the cognitive and affective foundations for the main constructs in TPB. Due to the supposition that beliefs are precursors and determinants of the main theoretical items, it is assumed that by exploring beliefs we can examine why people hold certain Attitudes, SN and PBC. The connections between the main theoretical constructs and underlying beliefs are rather poorly theorised (Ajzen, 1991) and by interrogating the theory by means of qualitative research I explore the assertion of causal connections between theoretical constructs.

The TPB, unlike TDIB, does not explicitly incorporate couples’ intentions. The impact of differences between partners in opinions regarding fertility on childbearing outcomes is a complex issue which is beyond the scope of this thesis. The main aim of this study is to explore factors relevant for intentions of individual men and women and the way men and women exercise their agency while communicating and rationalising childbearing intentions, rather than couples’ joint intentions, thus TPB is more suitable to guide my research than TDIB. The TPB depicts only purposeful actions while some births are unplanned (Berrington, 2004; Lifflander et al., 2007) and by examining intentions I, first and foremost, explore planned fertility. However, in-depth interviews, which I employed for data collection, provide an opportunity to interrogate the theory and explore whether childbearing intentions’ rationales are in line with the TPB logic of clear and purposeful planning and intentionality. Moreover, the theory does not directly account for competing alternatives and their impact on a particular intention although Barber (2001) noted that competing goals may influence the process of childbearing intention formation, however competing alternatives can be explored through the concept of Attitudes.

Despite the limitations TPB model has been popular in various academic disciplines, it has been widely applied in health-related fields (Armitage et al., 2001; Godin et al., 1996), sociology (Kim et al., 2010) or information systems (Venkatesh et al., 2003) and in recent years the model has been widely used to study childbearing intentions. Some authors argue that it could be problematic to see having a child as an act of behaviour (Bernardi et al., 2010b; Billari et al., 2009), however, following Miller et al. (1995) demographers use the concept of proceptive behaviour i.e. non-use of contraceptives with an aim to attain pregnancy and birth. The TPB informed the design of the

questionnaire in the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) (Vikat et al., 2007) and it also guided research in the Reproductive Decision-Making in a Macro-Micro Perspective (REPRO) project (Philipov et al., 2009). The GGS was carried out in 19, mostly European, countries⁸ and was intended to improve understanding of demographic and social phenomena, the factors which impact them and to develop the knowledge base for policymaking (Vikat et al., 2007). In wave 1, the survey asked three indirect questions to measure facets of fertility intentions related to Attitudes, SN and PBC (see Appendix 1 for details on questions and response categories on childbearing intentions asked in GGS). So far results regarding fertility intentions based on the GGS have been analysed for several countries (see, for example, Balbo et al., 2011 for France, Germany and Bulgaria; Buber et al., 2011 for Austria; Dommermuth et al., 2011 for Norway), the data for Poland, though collected, have not been yet released. Other national surveys employed questions and response categories similar to those in GGS to explore fertility intentions based on TPB model (Billari et al., 2009). REPRO aimed at generating policy oriented knowledge about determinants of birth rates in Europe and adopted the TPB as a unifying framework. It used both quantitative and qualitative methodology and many of the statistical analyses were based on GGS (see, for example, Dommermuth et al., 2011; Philipov et al., 2009; Spéder, 2011). Due to the popularity of TPB, particularly in demographic research, one of the main goals of this research is to interrogate the framework.

Furthermore, I identified the TPB as the most promising theory to guide the design and analysis of my research because of the diversity of factors it takes into account in its explanation of the processes of intention-formation at the individual level. The TPB provides the framework for analysing human behaviour which is much richer than the Rational Choice, SDT or Gender Equity models as it considers more variables than these three approaches do on their own. The TPB treats rationality more broadly than the microeconomic model as according to TPB rational choice leads to the behaviour which fulfils individuals' aspirations rather than simple 'utility maximisation'. The incorporation of Attitudes and SN in TPB allow for the inclusion of the ideational factors from the SDT model, while by examining SN, Attitudes and PBC separately for men and women I can still explore whether aspects described in the Gender Equity

⁸ Participant countries include: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Estonia, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Romania, Russian Federation, Poland, Czech Republic, Sweden, Australia and Japan.

model are relevant for my informants intentions' rationale. The TDIB categorises well the three types of childbearing intention (i.e. whether to have a child, when to have it and how many children to have), it nonetheless is less efficient at organising different processes and aspects behind intention formation (i.e. normative, ideational, institutional\economic). Although TDIB includes origins and formation as well as different elements of motivational traits, desires, and intentions, a lack of systematisation of these factors becomes overwhelming (see also Mynarska, 2009a). The TPB, on the other hand, not only allows for exploring more factors than was the case in Rational Choice Theory and SDT, but it allows for a systematic organisation of Attitudes, SN and PBC related to fertility intentions.

The main goals of this study are to understand what processes and factors are link to individuals' reproductive intentions, to explore how childbearing decision making is experienced and justified by Polish mothers and fathers in Poland and in the UK. Material from in-depth interviews constitutes the main part in this thesis and is used to explore respondents' narratives of their intentions and the thought processes underlying their rationalisations, particularly aspects related to intentions as specified in TPB:

- Attitudes towards having a second child.
 - Perceived consequences of having a second child on various aspects of individuals' lives.
- Subjective Norms.
 - Perceived expectations of important others regarding individuals' decision to have a second child.
 - The relative importance of complying with these expectations.
- Perceived Behavioural Control.
 - Presence of factors believed as facilitating or impeding having a second child.
 - Perceived ability to overcome specific inhibiting factors.

Finally, the aim of the study is to investigate what answers to all of the above reveal about TPB and its use in current demographic research on fertility intentions.

2.7 Conclusions

The main purpose of this study is to explore childbearing intentions' rationale of Polish mothers and fathers living in Poland and in the UK. Fertility decline in modern societies and the subject of childbearing decision making is not a new phenomenon and it has been widely theorised. Consequently, in this chapter I have outlined the major theories related to fertility decline in the modern societies such as the SDT and Rational Choice Theory. I also outlined the theory of Gender Equity, its premises in explaining low fertility rates in modern nations and I explained why it may have some relevance in the Polish case. Moreover, since the subject of this thesis is individuals' childbearing intentions rationales this chapter also reviewed two theories which account for the processes behind individual decision making, namely TDIB and TPB. Finally, I explained justifications for choosing the TPB to guide the design, methodology and discussions in this thesis. In the following Chapter I outline previous empirical research pertinent for this study and which informed the development of my research questions.

3 Previous Empirical Research and Media Accounts

3.1 Introduction

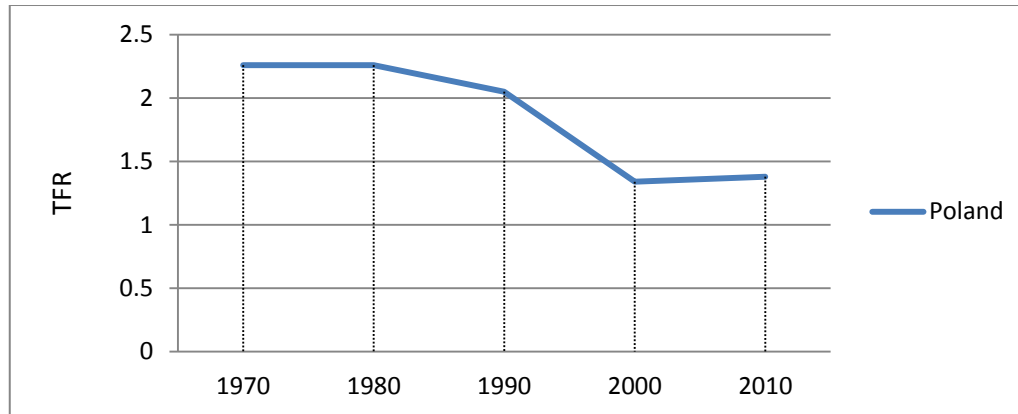
This chapter offers a critical overview of literature on fertility trends in Poland and Polish nationals in the UK. I start by outlining research on low fertility in Poland. The structural changes that accompanied the transformation from a planned to a market economy have been regarded as key determinants of low fertility in Poland since demographers observed a correlation between declining total fertility rate (TFR) and changes in the labour market and welfare state post-1989 (see, for example, Kotowska et al., 2008a; Matysiak, 2009a). Notwithstanding the demographic literature, economists and welfare state scholars assert that the economic and welfare situation in Poland has substantially improved in the last two decades. Moreover, there is a widespread popular concern in Poland over the issue of low birth rates and topics related to childbearing and childrearing often appear in press coverage. In this section I also examine Polish media's representations of issues related to childbearing decision making processes because media is one of the social spheres constructing the meanings of issues relating to reproduction. The subsequent section elaborates on research examining progression to the second child. Most researchers focus on explaining reasons behind overall low fertility or study entry into parenthood (see, for example, Baranowska, 2007a; Kotowska et al., 2008a), while research on second order births is still limited. The final section of this chapter briefly reviews literature on Polish nationals in the UK. Although research exploring various aspects of Polish migration has grown considerably post-2004 when increasing numbers of Poles moved to Britain; however, their childbearing behaviour and intentions remain an unexplored arena.

3.2 Structural determinants of low TFR in Poland

The literature on reproductive behaviour in Poland makes a clear division between the period prior to and after 1989. The distinction is important as firstly, in 1989 Poland shifted from being a socialist country with a centrally planned economy to a free market democracy. Secondly, general demographic trends, and fertility rates in particular, were substantially different in these two periods of time (Matysiak, 2011; Mishtal, 2009). Although fertility rates fluctuated before 1990 the TFR remained above replacement level, and was relatively stable from the 1970s throughout to the early 1990s (Council

of Europe, 2004), while after the fall of socialism in 1989 fertility rates declined rapidly in a short period of time and have remained low ever since (see also Figure 8).

Figure 8 Trends in TFR in Poland, 1970-2011.



Source: Council of Europe (2004), Eurostat (2012-2014).

Although some scholars noted that the impact of ideational processes in Poland, such as secularisation and individualisation, can be expected to gradually gain importance for future reproductive behaviour, such ideational transformation is reported to be slow, therefore, less important for current demographic trends (Kotowska et al., 2008a; Matysiak, 2009b). Despite upward trends in marriage dissolution, out of wedlock births or acceptance of cohabitation, these are still low compared to Western Europe, and Polish residents remain very traditional regarding family values (Frątczak, 2004). Surveys illustrate that Poles place high value on children and the institution of family (Frątczak et al., 2003; Giza-Poleszczuk et al., 2004; Holzer et al., 1997; Mariański, 2007) and Poland, with other Central and Eastern European nations, is more child-oriented than the rest of Europe (Giza-Poleszczuk et al., 2004). In an opinion poll in 2010 the most important things that people in Poland valued were as follows: family happiness (84%), good health (74%), professional career (18%), honest life (23%) and religious beliefs (17%) (CBOS, 2010). Private life was reported to be the main source of satisfaction: 92% of respondents in 2010 were satisfied with their children and 83% with their marriage, while only 26% with their income and financial situation (CBOS, 2011a).

Moreover, religious values are very important for individuals in Poland, Catholic Church has a significant position in Polish society and, post-1989, also a strong influence on Polish politics (Mariański, 2007; Siemieńska, 2004). Since the Church

promotes marriage, childbearing and family while disapproving of behaviours such as the use of modern contraceptives or abortion, the significance of Catholic values in Poland should, according to demographers, encourage childbearing and high fertility (Mynarska, 2009a). Since Catholic and family values are significant for Polish individuals, the rapid decline and persistence of low fertility in Poland was assumed by demographers to result from financial and institutional obstacles people face in coping with their family responsibilities during the transition years, rather than from ideational changes. For instance, Kotowska et al. (2008a, p. 841) attributed low TFR in Poland to the 'state's withdrawal from family support and the difficulties experienced in the labour market...the lack of resources available to individuals and families [which] increasingly restricts their capabilities to cope with family responsibilities'.

Exploring media accounts related to reproduction sheds light on the social context in which people construct their narratives and allows for a broader investigation of reproductive rationales and reporting and media also emerged in my informants' personal accounts of childbearing. Media do not necessarily reflect individuals' perceptions of reality, as they generalise information and tend to form sensational arguments in order to attract an audience. Individuals are not passive recipients of media messages either as they are critical of what they read or hear, however media are an important institution in creating and distributing knowledge (Lynn et al., 2003). Mass media can inform individuals about issues directly related to childbearing intentions by, for example, distributing knowledge about proper family size and ideas of responsible parenthood (Barber et al., 2004). Media can also contribute to the more implicit reproductive culture by spreading information about more tangential issues related to childbearing and childrearing such as reports about costs of living and raising children, unemployment/ economic conditions or welfare context related to families (Georgiadis, 2006). Throughout my fieldwork in Krakow media reports often blamed low childbearing on economic and institutional inadequacies (see Appendix 2 for details on selecting and analysing media debates). In particular subjects such as the high costs of raising children, low wages, high housing costs, lack of affordable childcare and insufficient social support for parents were discussed in relation to childbearing and childrearing in Poland in such articles as 'Why Polish women do not bear children' (Ksieniewicz, 2011) or 'Not enough children are born in Poland' (Marczuk, 2010). Articles with similar headlines could be found frequently on different online portals. For

instance, in ‘Why Polish people do not want to have children’ Janusz Czapinski, Professor of Social Psychology and a regular commentator about Polish social issues across a range of media, explained that ‘Polish people are aware that children are expensive and demand constant investment. They approach the issue *responsibly* thus they make the decision about having a child *considering economic aspects*’ (Klinger, 2010 emphasis added). This logic consequently demands that any rational person in a contemporary Polish society be aware of the financial costs posed by childbearing and that responsible people take these into account and do not have (more) children.

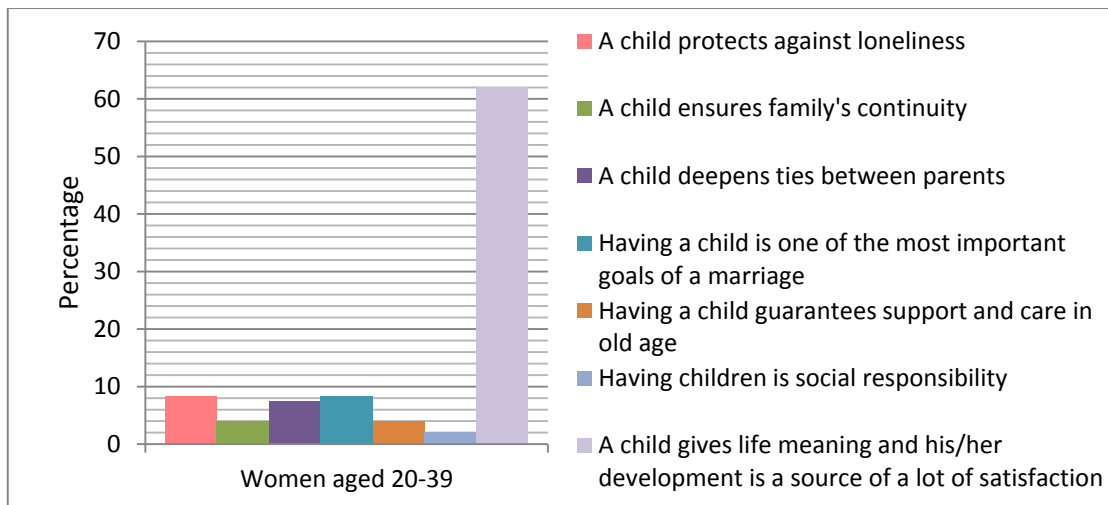
3.2.1 *Economic situation and fertility behaviour*

Difficulties in attaining sufficient financial resources to support a family in the context of rising unemployment, particularly among female workers, and low wages have been linked to low levels of fertility in Poland (Kocot-Górecka, 2004; Kotowska et al., 2008a; Kotowska et al., 2007; Matysiak, 2011). For instance, Mishtal (2009 p.612) noted that ‘income was the most often cited barrier to childbearing’ among women (at various parities) in Poland. Conversely, although respondents in Mynarska’s (2009a) qualitative research reported that finances were important for childbearing, not having enough money was reported as an insufficient reason to forgo parenthood although decisions regarding higher parities were more frequently reported to be largely dependent on the material situation. Most of Mynarska’s (2009a, p. 138) respondents were childless and the author remarked that having a second child was ‘quite a distant option’ for them therefore there is a need for further investigation of the meaning of financial factors in rationalising progression to higher order births.

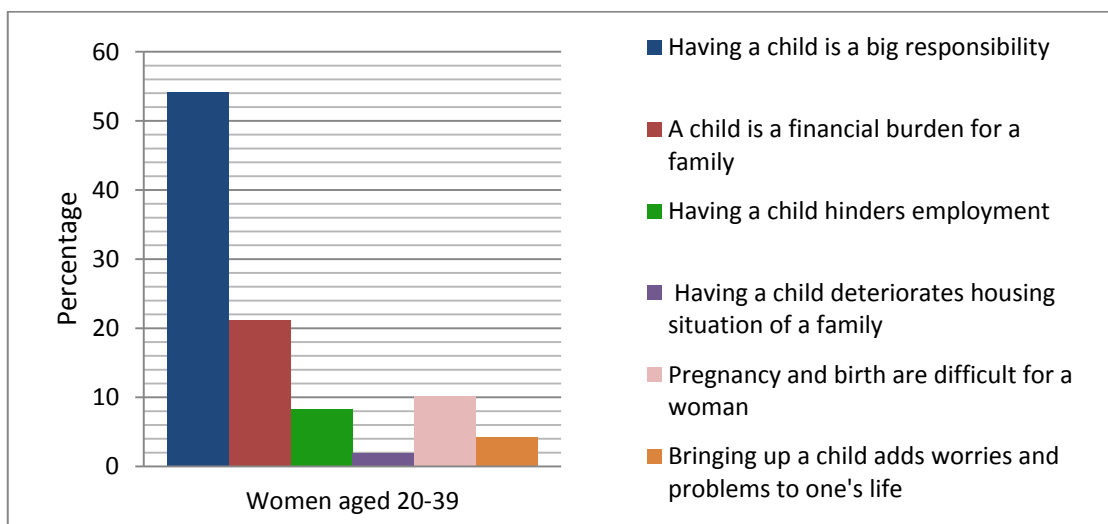
The most recent survey which investigated the reasons behind fertility choices in Poland was Employment, Education and Family (AZER) carried out in 2005 on the Labour Force Survey subsample. It incorporated two questions related to determinants of fertility choices among Polish women, one question asked about aspects in favour of, and another question about factors against, having children. Figure 9 below illustrates response categories to both questions.

Figure 9 Determinants of fertility choices in Poland, women aged 20-39 in 2005-cohorts 1966-1985 (as a percentage of the most important factor)

a) Factors in favour of having another child



b) Factors against having children



Source: Baranowska (2007a) based on AZER.

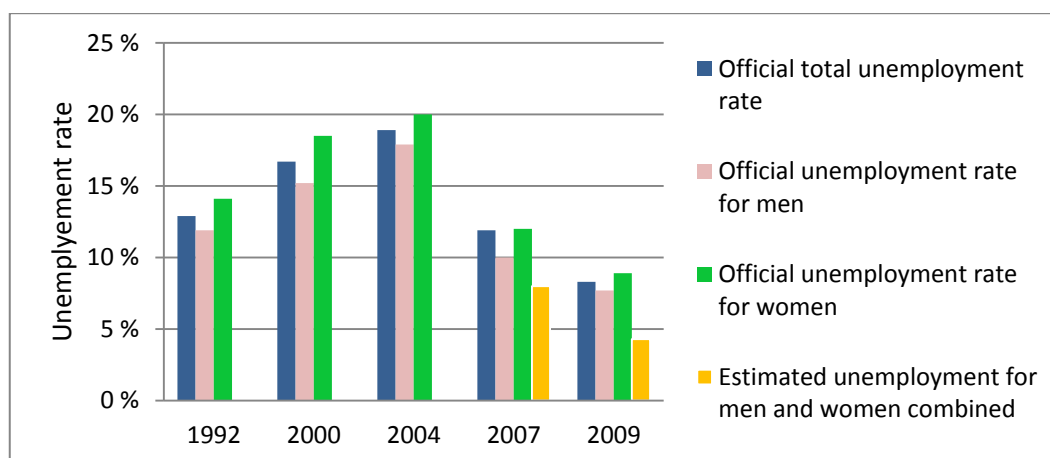
It can be argued that the most popular response to the question regarding factors against having a child, which refers to the responsibilities of parenthood, is very broad and difficult to interpret, it might also be more socially acceptable than other possible answers. The second most common answer related to finances is also broad and can be understood in various ways depending on the meanings and importance attached to finances and childbearing.

3.2.2 Unemployment rates and fertility in Poland

The argument that inadequate financial resources are one of the major determinants of low TFR in Poland is closely related to the subject of unemployment during the transition period. Socialist economies were characterised by full employment for both men and women with virtually no unemployment and women's participation in the labour market in Central and Eastern Europe was the highest compared to other developed economies (Metcalf et al., 2005; UNICEF, 1999). When the capitalist system was introduced, employment was no longer guaranteed by the state thus a new phenomenon, unemployment, emerged (Centrum Praw Kobiet, 2000; World Bank, 2004). Unemployment levels in Poland increased among both genders, although the rate is higher among women than among men (Figure 10), and researchers emphasise that unemployment leads to financial insecurity of Polish households which influences people's childbearing behaviour (Kotowska et al., 2008a; Mishtal, 2009).

On the other hand, researchers who examined the socialist system accentuated that the existence of unemployment and poverty was merely hidden from official records prior to 1989 and that the change in political system was beneficial for jobless individuals since unemployment programmes and antipoverty measures, absent in socialist years, were introduced in the early 1990s (Kochanowicz, 1997). Moreover, survey data indicate that the unemployment rate in Poland is about half the official figures as many unemployed people work unregistered (Figure 10).

Figure 10 Unemployment rates in Poland by gender, 1992-2009.



Source: Central Statistical Office (2009b) based on Labour Force Survey. Estimated real unemployment rate: Czapinski et al. (2009).

3.2.3 *Reduction of fertility as female strategy to retain employment*

For many families in Poland dual-earner status is imperative to make a living (Matysiak, 2011; Muszyńska, 2003; Pascall et al., 2005). Survey data reveal that the dual-earner model is most common in Poland, followed by a male breadwinner model (Baranowska, 2007b; Matysiak, 2009a). Simultaneously, a high percentage of individuals in Poland favour a dual-earner model (78% and 65% of male and female respondents respectively) while the male breadwinner/ female carer model was favoured by 62% of men and 54% of women (Baranowska, 2007b). Consequently, a considerable percentage of respondents (36%) favoured more than one model and scholars explained that social support for both, seemingly contradictory models, is most likely triggered by the fact that Polish men do not earn enough to support families so women are expected to contribute to the budget without resigning from their primary caring responsibilities (Baranowska, 2007b; Muszyńska, 2003). Low wages were also cited as the main reason for not wanting to work part-time in Poland by 91% of male and 83% of female respondents in AZER (Baranowska, 2007b). Thus, it was assumed that many families in fact prefer the male breadwinner model and that a dual-earner/female-carer model where women participate in the labour market whilst simultaneously retaining the majority of housework and caring responsibilities, is a variation of the previous one adapted to the Polish context of low incomes.

Matysiak (2009a, pp. 258, 266) concluded that women's employment is a precondition, rather than a barrier, to childbearing in contemporary Poland, although the presence of children has a negative impact on mothers' employment (Kocot-Górecka, 2004; Kotowska et al., 2008b; Pascall et al., 2005). Studies reported that mothers as well as prospective mothers (i.e. young childless women), experience discrimination in the labour market since they are expected to take employment breaks due to childbearing and childrearing and thus they are perceived to be more costly to employ than men (Centrum Praw Kobiet, 2000; Fuszara, 2007; Kolaczek, 2009; Mishtal, 2009; Pascall et al., 2005). Interviews with women in Poland revealed that females chose to postpone having children in order to work, or they were reluctant to take career breaks for childbearing for fear of not being able to resume employment or get another job (Mishtal, 2009; Pascall et al., 2005). These findings led Kotowska et al. (2008a, p. 826) to formulate a hypothesis that the reduction in fertility in Poland could be seen as an

adjustment strategy used by women to retain jobs and that the employment rates would have been even lower for women ‘if women had not reduced their fertility’.

3.2.4 Economic adversities, economic literature and media accounts

Researchers studying fertility patterns in Poland often design survey questions, response categories and interpret data with an underlying assumption that low fertility is primarily an outcome of financial adversities faced by families after 1989. This explanation becomes, however, somewhat puzzling when one considers the economic literature. Economists point out that, firstly, the socialist years were already characterised by economic hardship and crisis. During socialism Poland experienced very low Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth compared to the average level in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, significant foreign debt (Berend, 2000), huge budget deficit, high inflation at between 20-30% a month and low wages (Krajewska, 1996). Shortages of basic products and consumer commodities led to the rationing of goods to those who, according to the government, required them (Kochanowicz, 1997). Secondly, the economic transformations that accompanied change of the system were reported to be successful in Poland (Balcerowicz, 2000; Sztompka, 2000). The turmoil after 1989 brought lower GDP in the initial years and had serious consequences for the country, however, researchers acknowledge that by the mid-1990s Poland already recovered from the economic shock which was visible in individuals’ economic behaviour as the levels of investment and consumption increased (Szafraniec, 2002; Sztompka, 2000). Poland experienced the fastest GDP growth in Central Europe between 1995 and 1999 (Balcerowicz, 2000) and overall between 1989 and 2008 Polish GDP increased eight-fold (Wojciechowski, 2009). Wages in Poland increased substantially during the transition years, in 1989 the average monthly salary was 20 US dollars and it increased five-fold by 1999, while in 2009 the average monthly wage was over 1000 US dollars (Wojciechowski, 2009). While demographers point to rising income inequalities in Poland and link them to low fertility (see, for example, Kotowska et al., 2008a) other scholars explain these by growing prosperity during transition years, not increasing impoverishment (Czapinski et al., 2009; Rutkowski, 1998). A panel survey on subjective and objective quality of life in Poland also showed that between 2003 and 2009 the standard of living improved and private consumption expenditure increased

(Czapinski et al., 2009). Polls and surveys in Poland illustrated that the levels of satisfaction with financial and income situation increased after the mid-1990s (CBOS, 2007, 2011a).

Moreover, Polish media often compare the economic and social welfare situation in Poland to other European countries, rather than to socialist past and media often convey opinions that the economic situation of nationals living in Poland is difficult relative to other European nations. According to media Poles face economic hardship and spend increasingly more money on living because the living costs are not only higher than in many other European countries but also accelerating. For instance, an article using Eurostat data entitled 'An average Polish family spends 20% of their income on housing, the second largest in Europe' asserted that 'only a German family devotes a higher share of their income than the Poles on housing'. Moreover, 'the worrying thing is that an average Pole saves on food' (Onet.pl, 2011b). In a similar manner another article declared that food is more expensive in Poland than in Germany although the average wage in the latter country is three times higher than in Poland (Kowalski et al., 2011). Likewise in 'Polish TK Maxx is more expensive than in London' it was recommended that when bigger shopping is concerned it is cheaper to buy a flight ticket to London than to purchase goods in Poland (Kurowski, 2010).

Although demographers persistently highlight that low fertility rate in Poland is linked to economic hardship which accompanied the post-1989 economic and political transformations, the economic literature suggests that Poland has experienced considerable economic improvements in recent decades, whereas the media frequently compare conditions in Poland with wealthier Western European nations, rather than with its socialist past. This would indicate that the reasons underlying fertility trends in Poland are more complex than the mainstream demographic explanations suggest. My research contributes to these discussions about motivations underlying childbearing decisions by exploring in depth the meanings and importance of factors that mothers and fathers consider in rationalising their reproductive intentions.

3.2.5 *Absent welfare state*

Socialist Poland was characterized by universal access to education, healthcare, family benefits and indirect subsidies for families with children (Kochanowicz, 1997; Pascall et al., 2005). During the transition years the Polish state reduced the provision of

services and financial transfers to families. Family allowances were often cut, and some indirect benefits such as low interest loans, subsidies for children's goods, housing and holiday subsidies for families with children were totally withdrawn (UNICEF, 1999). The universal system of family benefits was changed to means-tested and more restrictive eligibility criteria were implemented. Attempts to reduce social expenditure led to the 'freezing' of payments thus the real value of family benefits went down (Balcerzak-Paradowska, 2003; Stropnik, 2003) (see Chapter 5 section 5.5 for more details on family related allowances in Poland).

Demographers therefore frequently assume that the new requirement that families rely on their own resources to support themselves without recourse to state benefits, combined with no longer guaranteed employment and low wages, is a significant impediment to childbearing (see, for example, Kocot-Górecka, 2004; Kotowska et al., 2008a; Mishtal, 2009). In particular, the state's withdrawal of childcare facilities drew considerable attention in relation to low fertility as it generates obstacles for women's work reducing financial resources available to families to raise (additional) children (Lange et al., 2009; Matysiak, 2009a; Matysiak, 2011; Mishtal, 2009). It has been estimated that in the 1990s there was a 25% reduction in the number of kindergartens, the number of nurseries⁹ decreased by 75% while between 30-40% of the costs of public childcare facilities were transferred to families. Although the reduction in supply coexist with declining demand due to lower birth rates, still childcare availability is low in Poland compared to other European countries (see Chapter 5 , section 5.4.1).

Moreover, many additional activities e.g. sport activities, music lesson etc., which used to be paid for or were partly subsidized by the government, now have to be financed by parents (European Commission, 2006b; Kotowska et al., 2008a). Additionally childcare opening hours which are not adjusted to the employment hours and the level of fees charged for private services, were perceived as factors hindering the accessibility and affordability of institutional childcare in Poland (Lange et al., 2009; Pascall et al., 2005). Consequently, drawing on the socialist past when public childcare provisions and mother-friendly employment conditions were believed to facilitate higher fertility levels scholars suggested that social policies which facilitate work family reconciliation are a

⁹ Nurseries in Poland provide childcare for children between 20th week and 3 years old, while kindergartens for those aged 3-6, although they may accept 2,5 year olds under certain conditions (based on www.men.gov.pl and www.zlobki.mpips.gov.pl, accessed on 19/04/2013).

key measure to raise fertility in Poland (Kotowska et al., 2008a; Matysiak, 2009a). It was however noted that the policy effects on fertility may be mitigated by the presence of social networks including relatives and friends (Buhler et al., 2007; Bühler et al., 2004).

Conversely, academics examining welfare states in the socialist bloc asserted that social provisions for families prior to 1989 were inadequate while childcare facilities were insufficient and overcrowded (Heitlinger, 1993; Tóth, 1993). Social services provided in Poland during the socialist years were reported to be of poor quality, waiting lists and bribes were common, and the system was perceived as ‘unfair, inadequate, ineffective, and inefficient’ which ‘discredited the communist welfare state well before the regime finally collapsed’ (Kochanowicz, 1997, p. 1450). Moreover, it was noted that social benefits in socialist countries prior to 1989 were distributed against a background of very low wages for the whole population (Heitlinger, 1993; Tóth, 1993) and as a consequence expectations regarding welfare state provisions may have been lower during socialism than currently when wages and standards of living are higher.

Furthermore, media often draw comparisons between the benefits currently offered by the Polish government and those of other European countries. For instance, a series of articles published on Polish portals in Poland and in the UK argued that Polish women in the UK give birth to more children than British women and much more than their counterparts in the country of origin. The extensive welfare support parents could count on in the UK was reported to make it easier for Poles to have children abroad (Pszczółkowska, 2011a, 2011b). According to the article ‘Polish women massively bear children abroad’ and it was asserted that apart from receiving the Birth Grant parents in Poland are left on their own to cover financial costs of raising children while the British welfare benefits are much more attractive. Although the lack of grandparents is the biggest disadvantage of having children abroad, the heading announced that ‘instead of [receiving help from] grandmother and grandfather - [Polish parents in the UK receive] benefits’ (Jarek, 2011). Another article pointed out that child allowances are received by few people in Poland, due to austere income eligibility criteria and the level of child benefit is low, unlike in other EU nations, where child benefit is not only universal but much higher, for instance ‘in Germany they exceed 180 Euros. It is similar in Great Britain or Ireland’ (Marczuk, 2010). Similar articles appeared in a range of national newspapers and online portals.

3.3 Progression to a second child and higher parities in Poland

Although the subject of low fertility in Poland has attracted a significant amount of academic attention, there are noticeably areas in need of more research. Despite the importance of second order births for fertility rates in European and Polish contexts, research that examines progression to a second child in Poland is not only rare but has used only quantitative analysis and this research addresses this gap by providing a qualitative investigation into the subject.

Galazewska's (2009) Master's thesis based on the Employment, Family and Education Survey from 2006 illustrated that the risk of progression to a second child in Poland decreases significantly with increasing educational level of women, but the education of their partners does not have any impact. The author explained this correlation by the lack of childcare facilities and part-time employment options that would help mothers to reduce the opportunity costs of having a second child. Similarly, van Bavel et al. (2009) using the European Social Survey pointed out that the impact of education on second births varies across Europe. In countries such as France, Sweden or Norway highly educated women have a higher probability to progress to a second child than their counterparts with lower education, while in other nations, including Poland, the opposite is true. They concluded that in nations where enrolment rates in childcare are high the propensity to progress to a second child among better educated women is higher. Buhler et al. (2007) examined the importance of social networks i.e. family members, colleagues, friends, for fertility intentions to the first, second and the third birth in Poland using data from Polish Retrospective Survey conducted in 2001. They found that respondents were more likely to intend to have a second child the more support (monetary and non-monetary) they received from social networks, with parents and in-laws representing the largest group in the exchange networks. However, the available data covered resources acquired only in one year preceding the survey and the authors did not disentangle the types of monetary and non-monetary support received.

3.4 Gender and fertility research

The inclusion of men in research on second births in Poland has been limited to Buhler et al.'s (2007) study where no gender specific differences in fertility intentions were found. Overall, scholars researching fertility trends in Poland often focus on either

parents' or women's experiences and childbearing choices and there is a scope particularly for addressing men's experiences in reproductive decision making processes. This research contributes to the existing literature by exploring factors that relate not only to women's but also to men's intentions to progress to a second child and by examining whether there are gendered differences in the way men and women exercise their individual agency while rationalizing childbearing intentions.

Gender Equity Theory assumes that extremely low fertility rates can be observed as a result of inconsistencies in gender equity between different social institutions. The propositions in Gender Equity Theory are also similar to the concept of role incompatibility between parenting and labour force participation. Rindfuss et al. (1996, p. 478) noted that 'the stronger the role incompatibility between female labor force participation and childrearing, the lower the expected level of fertility. Anything that reduces this role incompatibility, or the perception of incompatibility, may raise levels of fertility.' The literature mainly emphasises the role of welfare state arrangements in supporting parents, mainly mothers, to care and to work to reduce the incompatibility between parenthood and employment,: for example, through provision of childcare facilities, government subsidies or flexible working schedules etc. (Morgan, 2003; Rindfuss et al., 1996).

Poland is a country with inconsistent gender equality. On the one hand, women and men are equal at the institutional level and women can participate in education and the employment market on an equal level with men (at least until they have children). On the other hand, welfare state arrangements to support work-family reconciliation are poor in Poland, moreover women have been reported to be primarily responsible for domestic matters and childrearing (World Bank, 2004) and Polish women perform more housework and childcare than men regardless of their employment status (Matysiak, 2005; Muszyńska, 2003). Unequal share of housework and childcare can result in a double burden for women in Poland who have to combine paid, and often full-time, employment with unpaid work which may discourage them from having more children, particularly in the context of limited welfare support for working parents (see also Chapter 5, section 5.2 for more details on employment patterns in Poland).

Studies in a range of countries revealed that women respond to being overburdened with domestic duties by having fewer children than they want (see, for example, Matthews, 1997; Presser, 2001) while paternal involvement in childcare and housework was

reported to increase the odds of second births (Cooke, 2003; Olah, 2003; Torr et al., 2004), although help from other family members was also shown to affect childbearing intentions (Fiori, 2009). For instance, Torr et al. (2004) illustrated that in the USA the level of men's involvement in childcare and housework can influence propensity to progress to a second child. Olah (2003) noted that in Sweden and Hungary couples with more equal division of labour have a higher propensity of progressing to a second birth. Cooke (2003) demonstrated the same correlation for Italy, but not for Spain, claiming that Spain is a more traditional nation where male breadwinner families are more likely to have another child. Although these studies considered gender as an explanatory variable in fertility research they employed statistical analyses, and the possibility to detect whether there are any variations in the way men and women exercise their individual agency in communicating and justifying their childbearing choices is limited in such research, thus my qualitative study aims to address this gap.

So far, the link between the gendered division of domestic duties and childbearing in Poland has been given little research attention. To the best of my knowledge only Mynarska's (2009a) qualitative research considered the subject, however the author concluded that the theme of gender equity, or its absence, in the household is not relevant to childbearing choices in Poland. However, Mynarska's respondents were mostly childless couples and one can assume that demands of domestic work are higher for individuals who have children. Since women generally assume most childrearing and domestic responsibilities in Poland, after the birth of their first child they can become aware of the day to day demands of childcare and an increase in housework; such awareness was reported in other countries to 'encourage[s] many women to postpone, forever, second births' (Presser, 2001, p. 180). Therefore, this research seeks to explore whether and how decision making processes of intentions for a second child among Polish mothers and fathers are related to perceptions of gender equity and household division of labour. Although perceptions about gender inequality and their relationship to childbearing intentions may not be conscious and/or articulated explicitly by respondents, qualitative in-depth interviews employed in this project, provide a better opportunity to explore the theme than, for example, surveys. Because I am not interviewing couples, I am not able to examine in detail the relations of power between genders, nonetheless in-depth examinations of individuals' accounts provide an

opportunity to explore how men and women exercise their agency and whether these are linked to accounts of power relations in couples.

3.5 Research on Polish migrants in the UK

Most of the research on migrants' fertility focuses on individuals migrating from high to low fertility regions (see, for example, Coleman et al., 2010; Dubuc, 2012) while the research on migrants from low to higher fertility nations is still limited¹⁰. Polish migration to the UK presents thus an interesting case because fertility at origin is lower than in the destination country. Moreover, the studies on Polish post-accession migrants often highlight that their migration is predominantly motivated by economic reasons (Cook et al., 2011; Drinkwater et al., 2009; Grabowska-Lusińska et al., 2008; Osipovic, 2010; Trevena, 2009a), which contrasts with migrants from countries such as Pakistan, India and Bangladesh to the UK as their migration is often associated with family formation (Ballard, 2008; Robinson et al., 2007b). Thus, this thesis contributes to existing literature by examining migrant childbearing intentions among individuals for whom migration is believed to be economically driven and who originate from low-fertility society.

There are several hypotheses concerned with the effects of migration on fertility preferences and behaviour (Kulu, 2005). The adaptation hypothesis assumes that the fertility behaviour of migrants adapts to the fertility of people in the country of destination. The socialisation hypothesis, in contrast, highlights that migrants follow fertility preferences found in their childhood surroundings (Abbasi-Shavazi et al., 2002). The selection hypothesis emphasises the fact that migrants are a specific group of persons whose personal characteristics and childbearing preferences are more similar to people in the country of destination than in the country of origin (Kulu, 2005). The disruption hypothesis implies that directly after migration people exhibit lower fertility due to insecurity, separation of partners or breaks in economic activity and other disruptive factors associated with migration (Abbasi-Shavazi et al., 2002; Kulu, 2005; Lindstrom et al., 2007). Although it is worth remembering these paradigms when looking at fertility intentions of Polish migrants; however I will not test these hypotheses for the following reasons. Firstly, I am not looking at fertility intentions of

¹⁰ Exceptions include: Nahmias (2004) who illustrated an increase in fertility among immigrants from the former Soviet Union to Israel, and Hwang et al. (1997) who pointed to the increase in fertility among Chinese immigrants in the USA.

natives in the country of destination, which is needed to study both selection and adaptation hypotheses. Secondly, I will not examine childhood circumstances of Polish parents, which would be necessary to examine the socialisation hypothesis. Finally, the disruption hypothesis looks at short term disruptions in fertility behaviour and I want to avoid capturing such temporary disruptions by interviewing Polish nationals who resided in the UK for at least 2 years (see Chapter 4, section 4.4 for details on sample selection).

Migration from one society to another and the associated changes in individual status and contextual country differences are of interest not only to those studying fertility dynamics. The unprecedented wave of migration from Poland to the UK after 2004 considerably increased academic interest in Polish migrants. Academic research and governmental reports produced in Poland and the UK mostly concentrate on migrants' socioeconomic characteristics and their experiences in the British labour market, examining issues such as migrants' occupations, earnings, working conditions, employment experiences, and motivations to migrate. The picture arising from these studies is that Polish post-accession migrants are young, their migration is economically driven and they are mostly employed in manual jobs for which they are often overqualified and receive low pay (Cook et al., 2011; Drinkwater et al., 2009; Grabowska-Lusińska et al., 2008; Osipovic, 2010; Trevena, 2009a). Scholars who explore migrants' socioeconomic status often treat them as a homogenous group, although occasionally gender is taken into account as a variable, there is no statistical data on whether migrants' characteristics differ by parity, a gap addressed by this research in Chapter 5.

More recently, researchers have begun to study migrants' social and family life and gender relations. For instance, Burrell (2009) edited the first book related to migration from Poland to the UK after 2004 in which scholars from both the sending and destination countries explored the Polish and British aspects of recent migration trends, using both quantitative and qualitative analyses. Apart from the subject of migrants' impact on the labour markets, chapters covered various topics exploring migrants' social life and gender relations. For instance, Rabikowska et al. (2009) examined how Polish nationals reconstruct aspects of home living abroad, by buying Polish products, cooking Polish food and visiting Polish public places, while White (2009) depicted migration as a livelihood strategy for families from small Polish towns.

White's (2010) book on family migration from Poland to the UK was based on qualitative research and 115 in-depth interviews, mainly with working class Polish mothers living in the UK or still living in Poland but who had plans to migrate. White (2010) illustrated that parents in Poland who wanted to move to the UK often saw migration as a gateway to a better life for themselves and for their offspring. Furthermore, some women interviewed in Poland wanted to have another child but thought that their economic situation was not adequate and they believed that migration could improve their financial status and they could have more children abroad.

A series of projects conducted by Louise Ryan and her research team at Middlesex University highlighted that wider family ties were important in migration plans, and overall migrants' decision making were linked to various family considerations (Ryan et al., 2009b). These studies also brought to light that children's schooling was important in parents' migration decisions (D'Angelo et al., 2011). Polish mothers' strategies with regards to achieving desired well-being and their children's educational opportunities in the UK were a topic of Lopez Rodriguez's (2010) qualitative study. The author interviewed mothers who reported that they were searching for social advancement through exploiting possibilities for their children's social mobility and education, which would not be possible in the homeland, while they perceived UK as offering their children opportunities based on meritocratic values. Qualitative research with Polish migrants living in rural and urban locations in England and Scotland examined how migration impacts family and household formation, and how family-related issues impact international mobility. One of the aims of the project was to investigate respondents' future intentions including, among other things, childbearing plans (Trevena, 2009a). The latter issue however was not the main goal of the research and publications so far from this study focus on migrants' family life and their transnational practices (Heath et al., 2011; McGhee et al., 2012).

This literature overview is far from exhaustive; nevertheless, it has demonstrated some of the key topics in research related to recent Polish migration. And while many aspects of Polish migrants' lives have been explored, noticeably there are areas which require more investigation. Although scholars increasingly recognise the importance of family life and family migration, no study so far has explored in depth Polish migrants' childbearing intentions or behaviour in the UK. Moreover, there is no research that compares the intentions of Polish nationals living in Poland and in the UK, although

such comparisons provide an invaluable opportunity to explore meanings attached to specific factors in childbearing intention rationalisations in two different settings.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter sets the context for this study. Demographers focus on structural constraints to childbearing in their search for explanations and possible determinants of fertility behaviour in Poland. Researchers commonly agree that the main and most important factors explaining childbearing trends in Poland post -1989 are related to the negative consequences of the labour market and welfare state restructuring during transformation from socialism to a market democracy. Primarily, inadequate financial resources for families to cope with family responsibilities are believed to determine current childbearing choices. Organisation of the labour market, unemployment levels, low wages and social welfare provisions are reported to impede work-family reconciliation for parents, particularly women, and overall to discourage rather than encourage childbearing in Poland (Hoorens, et al., 2011). Conversely, the welfare state and economy are depicted by economists and welfare state scholars as performing much better during the transition years than prior to 1989, while media accounts often compare economic and institutional situation in Poland to conditions in other European nations. These accounts make demographers' explanations of current low levels of fertility in Poland somewhat puzzling.

Studies exploring progression to the second parity are limited even though progression beyond the first birth is particularly important for understanding childbearing trends in a very low fertility context. Moreover, demographers often investigate issues related to women's or parents' experiences while the inclusion of men as a separate group in demographic research is infrequent. This study contributes to a better overall understanding of factors related to childbearing trends in a low fertility context. I do so by exploring intentions to progress to a second offspring and analysing both men's and women's accounts thus bringing a much needed focus beyond the first birth and explorations of men's and women's childbearing rationale. Moreover, rather than designing research based on assumptions that structural changes underpin parents' childbearing choices, the focus of this thesis lies in what issues are vital for respondents themselves in their accounts of childbearing intentions and their explanations for these accounts. This study discusses a variety of aspects related to individuals' intentions and

throughout the thesis it will be argued that factors related to intentions whether or not to have a second child are much more complex than the mainstream demographic literature suggests while a failure to account for the identified complexity has consequences for our understanding of demographic decision making processes.

The second part of the chapter reviewed academic research in the area of Polish migration to the UK. Scholars from different disciplines have explored various themes related to migrants' lives such as their labour market participation, migration motivations and strategies, transnational practices or their family lives. Although this is a dynamic and growing field of enquiry, the subject of childbearing trends among Polish nationals in the UK is still an unexplored area that promises a potential for future research and my study partly addresses this gap in knowledge by exploring Polish parents' intentions for a second child. Additionally, researching Polish nationals residing in Poland and in the UK opens a so far uncharted terrain for exploring factors related to childbearing choices in a comparative context. Having outlined the main academic debates related to this thesis in the next chapter I describe the research methodology applied in this study to answer my research questions.

4 Methodology of the Research

4.1 Introduction

The methodology of a study is determined by its research questions. A comparative project exploring rationales behind childbearing intentions among Polish men and women living in two different settings leads to a distinct set of methodological challenges. This chapter discusses the issues encountered during the study design, data collection, analysis and interpretation. Since research questions and the design of this project were motivated by the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB), in this chapter I discuss in detail this theoretical framework as well as quantitative and qualitative research methods in a comparative research design.

First, I discuss the comparative design of this research, the opportunities and challenges posed by such an investigation. The following section describes my motivation for using quantitative secondary data and it gives a brief overview of the statistical data used. Since the main goal of this study is to explore the meanings of factors related to fertility intentions of Polish people and my investigation focuses primarily on individuals' subjective perceptions of reality therefore the main research question is asked in an open way. Explorative and open questions are best suited to establishing a more profound understanding of the processes of forming intentions and to identify underlying factors and circumstances that shape these intentions (Bernard, 2001; Buber et al., 2011; Georgiadis, 2007). Questions of this type are best approached by means of qualitative methods. Consequently, the last section provides a detailed account of qualitative methodology. Sample selection and characteristics are discussed and particulars of analysis of qualitative data are given. I also consider challenges related to translation and reflexivity as well as the ethical issues raised by the study.

4.2 Comparative investigation

Polish nationals residing in Poland and the UK represent an opportunity for comparison that has, as yet, not been explored¹¹. Comparative methods are popular research tools

¹¹ I have searched for such research in books, journal articles, conference papers, PhD theses and other publications. I used: LSE cross searcher, Web of Knowledge, IBSS, EthOS, Index to Thesis, ZETOC, Google Scholar, MetaCrawler, Max Plank Institute for Demographic Research (hand search), ESDS qualidata, EU database, Demographic Committee of Polish Academy of Sciences, Polish National Library, Centre of Migration Research at Warsaw University and

applied to determine peculiarities and similarities both between and within populations used by academics in various fields including population studies (e.g. Bernardi et al., 2010a; Georgiadis, 2006, 2011; Mills et al., 2008; Olah, 2003). Since informants' views are not statistically representative, researchers might question what lessons these individual cases can teach us concerning the differences and/or similarities in fertility intentions between Polish men and women living in Poland and the UK. The qualitative component, however, is not aimed at being representative; I do not intend to measure the occurrence of specific views or experiences where an inference could be drawn to a larger population. My main goal is to explore a range of views, justifications, values and beliefs for fertility intentions through depicting underlying processes, factors and circumstances that shape these intentions within the researched populations (Gaskell, 2000). This enquiry aims to use a combination of themes to explore how particular groups of people, brought up in the same national socioeconomic conditions, but of different gender and living in two diverse settings think about and approach whether or not to have a second child. The comparative approach provides an opportunity to explore whether and how childbearing intentions' rationales for the second child differ between Polish men and women living in Poland and in the UK.

4.3 Quantitative analysis

In this research quantitative data are used to place the research within a broader perspective and to provide contextual information for the qualitative part of the theses. Factors related to institutional settings, including employment patterns, wages and welfare provisions are frequently linked to fertility choices and trends, particularly in the Polish context and were repeatedly mentioned by my respondents in Krakow and London. Consequently, quantitative analysis will provide an overview of the structural conditions in Poland and the UK and explore the link between these aspects and parity and gender. By doing so I will shed light on structural conditions in which Polish men and women residing in the two countries negotiate their fertility intentions, the analysis will serve as a context to the topics featured in my informants' accounts and allow a better understanding of themes discussed by my respondents. The following sections

other Polish websites. I did not limit my search to any particular dates and I also used hand searching from the bibliographies of documents I have read.

briefly describe the quantitative data sources, the rationale behind their selection and methods of analysis.

4.3.1 *The UK Labour Force Survey*

Obtaining reliable statistics about migration is challenging. To begin with, there is no agreement on the definition of a migrant, though usually individuals with citizenship or those who were born in another country are considered migrants (Carletto et al., 2010). However, people born in another country may acquire the nationality of the destination country which may result in different statistics depending on how a migrant is defined (Dumont et al., 2005). For instance, between 2004 and 2008 2,746 Polish nationals received British citizenship¹². While most administrative data define Polish migrant as a person with Polish citizenship (e.g. Workers Registration Scheme (WRS), National Insurance Numbers, International Passengers Survey (IPS)); Census and the UK Labour Force Survey (LFS) include variables on country of birth and on nationality. Moreover, while in the Polish LFS only a person who stayed abroad for longer than a 3 month period is defined as a migrant (Grabowska-Lusińska et al., 2008), in the UK LFS any person with foreign nationality or foreign country of birth is defined as a migrant regardless of the period of residency in the UK.

The LFS is the largest representative household survey in the UK which aims to obtain data on the employment market and related issues. It has been used for researching labour market and welfare benefit outcomes of Polish migrants (see, for example, Drinkwater et al., 2009; Osipovic, 2010). Two main criteria guide the choice of the LFS for this study. Firstly, it contains a much larger and wider migrant population for analyses than many other sources such as WRS or National Insurance Numbers data which have information on the working population only. Secondly, it has a wider range of variables than other data sources such as: the Census¹³, birth registry data, WRS or General Household Survey (GHS). The LFS contains such variables as: nationality, age, the number and ages of children, employment status, occupation, wages, the uptake of social benefits and housing tenure which are vital for describing some of the

¹² To naturalise as a British citizen, and thus to gain a British passport one needs to reside in the UK for a minimum period of 5 years (based on www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk, accessed on 8/01/2013).

¹³ The Census data available for this study was from 2001, i.e. prior to large waves of Polish migrants arriving in the UK following 2004, thus it was not practical to use it in this project.

characteristics of Polish parents living in the UK which have been linked to childbearing choices by demographers (see Appendix 3 for variables details). Notwithstanding its advantages, LFS has its limitations. People living in shared households as well as recent migrants (i.e. people who came to the UK less than 6 months prior to the survey), are less likely to be included in the LFS relative to long-term migrants or natives (Gilpin et al., 2006). Non-response may also differ based on individuals' characteristics, although response rates are not reported separately for Polish migrants and the Office for National Statistics provides limited information about non-response (Drinkwater et al., 2009; ONS, 2009b). Response rates are highest at around 70% in the first wave, which is the wave I used (ONS, 2009b).

Since the statistical robustness depends on whether the LFS includes enough Polish immigrants with children, I have combined samples from two years to obtain sufficient observations; the dataset covers years 2008 and 2009. In the LFS, each respondent is interviewed in five successive quarters, which means that respondents observed in waves two, three and four in each quarter were also interviewed in the previous quarter so there is 80% overlap in the samples of successive quarters (Table 2). In order to obtain a sample of single observations, the first waves, which are new in each quarter, were combined in one year. Two successive years were merged and a dataset with years 2008-2009 was created.

Table 2 The LFS survey design: waves and quarters.

	Spring 2008	Summer 2008	Autumn 2008	Winter 2008	Spring 2009	Summer 2009	Autumn 2009	Winter 2009
Wave 1 (new wave)								
Wave 2								
Wave 3								
Wave 4								
Wave 5								

Source: ONS (2009b).

1.1.1 *Community Statistics on Income and Living Conditions*

The Community Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU–SILC) data from 2008 are used for analysis of characteristics of people in Poland¹⁴. The EU-SILC has all the information that is vital for my project and variables I analysed in both the UK LFS and EU-SILC are generally comparable (see Appendix 3 for more details on data comparability between the two data sources). The EU-SILC was launched in 2003 as a source of comparative statistics on social exclusion and income distribution at the European level. Initially implemented in 6 countries¹⁵, from 2005 it covered all EU25 Member States and it has now become the reference source for statistics on income and living conditions. The data are based on a nationally representative probability sample; the reference population in the survey is all private households and their current members residing in the household within the country, irrespective of language, nationality or legal residence status. The cross sectional sample in Poland comprises 6,000 households with 15,000 individuals aged 16 and over.

Both data sources allowed me to perform a number of descriptive statistical analyses regarding employment patterns, occupation, wages, and welfare benefits uptake etc. among Polish nationals living in Poland and in the UK and by parity and gender, which are presented in detail in Chapter 4. All calculations were executed using quantitative analysis software SPSS 17 (SPSS Inc., 2008).

Neither the UK LFS nor EU-SILC has information on fertility intentions. Fertility intentions of people in Poland have been examined by a number of quantitative studies (see Chapter 1, section 1.2). With regards to fertility intentions of Polish nationals in the UK, surveys which pose questions with regards to childbearing plans or ideals such as Eurobarometer, British Household Panel Survey (BHPS), GHS or the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKLHS) either did not distinguish between Polish migrants and other nationalities or had fewer than 20 Polish immigrants in the datasets, which was

¹⁴ As the UK LFS is used to analyse Polish migrants' characteristics, using Polish LFS data to obtain analysis of residents in Poland would be ideal to achieve cross-group comparability since the LFS covers standard questions in all EU nations in accordance with Eurostat recommendations. Regrettably, obtaining data from Polish LFS turned out not to be feasible. I asked the Polish Statistical Office for access to the data, the cost for acquiring the dataset at 4 000 Polish zlotys (£850) exceeded my means.

¹⁵ The initial 6 Member States were: Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, and Austria.

not sufficient to analyse their fertility intentions. In any case, none of these surveys explored in detail justifications for fertility intentions, thus, the rationale behind intentions will be investigated using qualitative methods, described below.

4.4 Qualitative data

Surveys which measure intentions explore neither justifications for them nor the way these intentions are formed as, although they differ in wording, surveys such as GHS, UKLHS, or Eurobarometer pose a few broad questions regarding fertility desires, intentions or ideals¹⁶. Over the last few decades there has been a growing interest in qualitative approaches to improve the understanding of demographic trends (Bernardi et al., 2007; Coast et al., 2007; Greenhalgh, 1995) and they have been applied in studies on fertility and reproductive health (e.g. Bernardi et al., 2010a; Coast, 2006; Georgiadis, 2007; Hampshire, 2001; Hampshire et al., 2012), migration studies (e.g. Datta, 2009; Gill, 2010; White, 2010) as well as on aging and mortality (Bledsoe et al., 2002; Keith et al., 1994). Fertility intentions and decisions are multifaceted phenomena and it has been argued that qualitative data can help to better understand childbearing intentions since it provides rich data to disentangle the rationales behind the complexities of reproductive decision making (Bernardi et al., 2012; Buber et al., 2011).

I study intentions for a second offspring within the multifaceted, rapidly changing milieu when birth rates among Polish people fell to extremely low levels over a very short period of time and in the context of unprecedented emigration of people from Poland to other European countries, especially the UK. The goal of my research is to improve the understanding of the mechanism of fertility intention rationalisations against this information rich background while qualitative methods are predominantly useful in analysing such complex trends, in exploring the meanings of various factors that shape these trends and in investigating their interrelations (Ritchie et al., 2003). Given the choice of a range of qualitative methods, I selected in-depth, face-to-face

¹⁶ For example in GHS the question asked was ‘Do you think you will have any (more) children (after the one you are expecting)?’ and ‘How many children do you think you will have born to you in all (including those you already have/and the one you are expecting)?’ while in Eurobarometer there were questions on desired, intended and ideal number of children, for example: ‘and for you personally, what would be the ideal number of children you would like to have or would have liked to have had?’ where respondents were expected to give a numerical answer.

semi-structured interviews, as the method most suitable for gathering rich data on personal and intimate topics. In 2010 and 2011, I conducted 44 interviews with Polish mothers and fathers in London and Krakow. The sample characteristics, the detailed description of the interview content, as well as the data collection procedure and analysis are presented in the following sections.

4.4.1 *Sample selection and characteristics*

Data collection in qualitative investigations is characterised by gathering rich information about a limited number of cases. A researcher has to select cases carefully, which means that qualitative samples are chosen purposively rather than randomly (Miles et al., 1994). Bearing in mind the comparative design of this study I focused on comparing four subgroups i.e. men and women living in Poland and in the UK, it was important to ensure the maximum heterogeneity within each of the subsamples. I chose heterogeneous sampling which is a strategy to include cases that vary in characteristics in order to identify and explore key themes that emerge in all subsamples as well as themes that are unique for a particular group (Patton, 2002). Polish parents with one child are differentiated, amongst many things, by the age of the 1st child, social status or education levels. Since the literature suggests that educational level and employment status are important variables in fertility decisions, in order to capture as many attitudes as possible and to safeguard against homogenising conclusions, I sampled individuals with different educational status and in different employment situations. Scholars have also noted that the highest probability of progressing to a second birth occurs within 5 years after the birth of the first child (van Bavel et al., 2009), therefore I included parents with 1st child at different ages and I recruited people whose child was of pre-school age or younger, and also these with older children and already at school¹⁷. Thus the sample is constructed in order to capture different factors that can underpin intentions to have a second child. Although I aimed at heterogeneous subsamples, my subsamples were similar in characteristics to each other and I ensured that I had similar number of individuals with certain characteristics (e.g. similar educational status) in each sub-group.

¹⁷ Reception schooling in Poland starts when children are 5 years old while in the UK when they are 4 years old.

My sample consists of people who already have one child and for whom there is a possibility of having another, thus initially I started recruiting parents between 20-40 years old. Early in the interviewing process I realised that age-related biological constraints differ for men and women and I extended the age variation for men to 20-50 years old. My final sample includes women aged 23-38 and men aged 22-48, and children were biological offspring of both members of the current couple with one exception. I interviewed people who were in relationships at the time of the interview, both married and cohabiting couples, and I excluded single parents. Being a single parent can have a distinctive impact on fertility intentions and it was beyond the scope of this research to investigate it. There were slightly more cohabiting couples in London than in Krakow (7 in London as opposed to 1 in Krakow), however, in Poland cohabitation is considered as a temporary, pre-marital and pre-childbearing stage in a relationship (Mynarska et al., 2007). Out of wedlock births at 18.5% in Poland in 2005 are linked to single parenthood (Kotowska et al., 2008a) and are considered as problematic and atypical in Polish society while cohabitation is not regarded as an appropriate environment for raising children (Matysiak, 2009b; Mynarska et al., 2007). The fact that there were more cohabiting parents in London could indicate that Polish nationals assimilate to the UK patterns where childbearing occurs more often outside of marriage (43% in 2004 of all UK births) both within cohabitation and among single mothers (Sigle-Rushton, 2008).

The inclusion of men in fertility research is limited; therefore, I included both men and women to examine whether there are similarities or differences in the rationale for childbearing intentions between the sexes and my sample includes similar numbers of men and women in each country. Before commencing fieldwork I had to weigh up the pros and cons of interviewing couples versus individual fathers and mothers, and I decided to interview individuals. Although not without its advantages, interviewing couples separately could introduce an atmosphere of anxiety among respondents who would be asked the same questions individually and might feel that their relationship is being tested (Morris, 2001; Valentine, 1999). If interviewed together their behaviour and responses could be influenced by the partner's presence (Chandler 1990 cited in Hammersley et al., 2007 p. 111). It might have also been difficult to arrange a time when both partners could participate in the interview, especially since they have children (Valentine, 1999). At the same time the aim of the research is investigating

comparing factors important for fertility intentions for men and women rather than investigating in detail gender power relations and how differences between partners impact fertility behaviour, consequently I decided that it would be more beneficial to focus on individual mothers and fathers.

I conducted interviews in Krakow in Poland and London in the UK. Although Polish nationals have settled in different parts of the UK, London has attracted more immigrants than any other UK region (Grabowska-Lusińska et al., 2008; Pollard et al., 2008). In the LFS in 2008/2009 dataset the London area was the most popular among Poles with 21.7% of Polish nationals residing there, followed by the rest of South East i.e. excluding the London area, (15.5%) and East Midlands (8.3%). London thus was the most appropriate place to capture the widest variety of respondents with different backgrounds. Poles migrate to the UK from across Poland but the southern and eastern areas are the biggest sending regions of people to the UK (Fihel et al., 2009a). Krakow is located in the south of Poland, it is a popular destination for internal migrants from rural and urban areas and is one of few cities in Poland with a positive net internal migration rather than having a uniform city-born population (Central Statistical Office, 2011c). Krakow is also attractive for economic migrants as it has many employment opportunities and a low unemployment rate which was 5% in 2010 compared to 12% nationally (Grodzki Urząd Pracy w Krakowie, 2011). Nine of my interviewees in Krakow were internal migrants, some came from rural areas, others from smaller towns and all of them had lived in the city for more than 5 years while some internal migrants had partners born in Krakow. In London I interviewed people coming from both urban and rural regions of Poland, however only 3 respondents grew up in rural areas and 2 of these lived in cities in Poland before migrating to the UK. Krakow and London, therefore, allowed me to have a meaningful comparison between Polish people in the UK and Poland who grew up in various places in Poland.

Insecurity caused by factors such as temporary breaks in economic activity or accommodation instability following migration was reported by scholars to lower fertility of migrants shortly after migration (Abbasi-Shavazi et al., 2002; Kulu, 2005; Lindstrom et al., 2007; Toulemon, 2006). Since I wanted to limit temporary fluctuations in respondents' perspectives resulting from possible uncertainties shortly after relocation and/or lack of tangible information and experiences about life in the destination country, I decided to interview Polish parents who had lived in the UK for at

least two years prior to the interview, while many parents I interviewed had lived in London for a much longer period of time (see Appendix 4). This strategy allowed me to interview people who were relatively established in terms of accommodation and employment in the UK. Moreover, individuals who have lived longer in the UK are more likely to have familiarised themselves with cultural, social and economic environment and they are likely to be more realistic in their perceptions regarding their situation, the opportunities and constraints of living in the UK relative to more recently arrived migrants.

In London I included parents whose first child was born in Poland (9 respondents) or in the UK (13 respondents). Although the experience of having the first offspring born in Poland is different from the experience of having the birth in the UK, individuals' fertility plans are likely to be shaped by the socioeconomic environment of the country where they bring up their first child and, more importantly, where future children might be brought up. All informants in Krakow had their first child born in Poland.

Within every subsample I interviewed people in various educational groups. Education has proved to be an important variable in explaining progression to the second parity among women in Poland as well as in other nations (Galezewska, 2009; van Bavel et al., 2009) although it is not known whether there is any correlation between educational status and fertility among Polish nationals in the UK. I decided to include people with two different educational levels:

- Low: secondary education or less (primary, vocational).
- High: completed tertiary education (Bachelor's, Master's degree or PhD).

None of my respondents was enrolled in tertiary education at the time of the interview, which was not a deliberate strategy, and most of my respondents had finished their intended education; only one person in London was considering starting university education in the future.

Participants were recruited during 2010 and 2011 and I employed similar strategies in both Poland and the UK to contact respondents. In both countries I advertised in local newspapers¹⁸. I also contacted people through the Internet; both the numbers and diversity of internet users are growing (CBOS et al., 2009; Hewson, 2003) and there

¹⁸ In London advertisements were placed in: Polish Express, Panorama and Goniec Polski while in Krakow in Echo Miasta Krakowa and Gazeta Wyborcza.

are also a variety of websites for Polish nationals residing in the UK (Siara, 2009). I posted information on Forums¹⁹ about my research asking people whether they would like to participate. Additionally, during the course of my fieldwork in London I distributed leaflets in Polish shops, Polish churches and parks as I decided that these were useful ways of looking for possible interviewees (see Appendix 5 for examples of advertisements). I also used snowball sampling, a strategy where interviewees identify other information-rich cases, however, the drawback of this method is that respondents may nominate others who share similar characteristics which can introduce a sample bias (Punch, 2006). Consequently, this was only a supplementary sampling method and 3 of my respondents in London and 2 in Krakow were recruited in this way. In Krakow respondents were also recruited through leaflets placed in cafes that catered specifically for parents. The biggest challenge I experienced in both Krakow and London was with recruiting men, so additional leaflets and advertisements were distributed to contact fathers. Mothers who were recruited initially but not interviewed due to saturation of women with certain characteristics (mostly tertiary educated women and those with children below the age of 5) were also asked to help me to recruit their partners. In Krakow I also had problems with recruiting informants with school aged children, additional leaflets, therefore, were distributed in a secondary school and an advertisement was placed in a local newspaper to target this group. As a result of these multiple strategies I was able to supplement my sample in Krakow with another 2 women and 1 man with children 8 to 12 years old. By using a wider variety of recruitment strategies I can be reassured that people were recruited from various backgrounds and with different characteristics.

I continued to collect data until I reached a point of saturation, i.e. when I no longer heard new information (Kvale, 1996; 2008). I interviewed 22 parents (13 mothers and 9 fathers) in London and 22 in Krakow (11 men and 11 women). Since ‘there are a limited number of interpretations or versions of reality’ (Gaskell, 2000 p.43) this number of respondents allowed me to capture a range of views, opinions and beliefs underpinning fertility intentions. The detailed characteristics of respondents are presented in Appendix 4.

¹⁹ In London: Mojawyspa.co.uk; Londynek.net and in Poland: Gazeta.pl; Onet.pl/dziecko.

Interviewees were given a £10 Boots voucher in London and 40 Polish zlotys (about £9) Empik²⁰ voucher in Krakow. This was a way of appreciating their effort and a compensation for their time. Other surveys have used vouchers to compensate people for their time, e.g. respondents in UKHLS were given a gift voucher; while Polish handymen in London in a study about fatherhood received £20 in cash (Kilkey et al., 2010).

4.4.2 *Researching the familiar*

Being Polish and an insider within the Polish community was not unproblematic as shared ethnicity ironically ‘increases awareness amongst both researcher and participant of the social divisions that structure the interaction between them’ (Ganga et al., 2006 p.1, 8). There were educational, gender and socioeconomic differences between me and many of those I engaged with in the course of this research.

Although the focus of my study was one nationality I decided to interview different social groups. Interviewing both similar and different groups has its pros and cons. When talking to different social groups interviewees and respondents are more likely to be detailed in their questions and answers, rather than assuming that certain experiences are obvious, being different may also encourage confidence (Ritchie et al., 2003). Whereas when interviewing people similar to oneself, researchers can find it difficult to distance themselves from respondents and they can take issues for granted rather than exploring them (Georgiadis, 2006). My status as a PhD student could have made some participants, particularly those with lower educational qualifications, more reserved. I nonetheless believe that people with various socioeconomic statuses should be given a voice in the research which would not be possible if one undertook to research only across their own social class. Interviewees and informants have numerous identities and backgrounds, such as gender, education, religion and class; they are similar and different at the same time (Narayan, 1993). Consequently, my relationship with informants can be best expressed as a negotiation of ‘insider/outsider status’ where I endeavoured to build on similarities at the same time being open about the differences (Ganga et al., 2006 p.24, 36).

I was born and raised in Poland and the age of twenty two I came to live in the UK, I shared a lot of experiences with my informants both in Krakow and London; however,

²⁰ Empik is a popular bookstore/stationary in Poland with several branches in Krakow.

being childless distinguished me from them. Conducting research in familiar environments involves certain advantages; however it also demands overcoming certain obstacles. The most convenient fact was that I speak Polish, more or less, fluently, which helped me to make contacts in both London and Krakow quickly. I emigrated from Poland in 2001 and living and studying abroad impacted not only my Polish language, my vocabulary and grammatical structures which sounded at times ‘foreign’ but also my mannerisms were revealing foreign influences. My problems with imperfect Polish were often shared by respondents in London who reported having similar issues themselves while I often felt that my Polish was visibly worse than that of my informants in Krakow. This was more so frustrating since I was acutely conscious that despite being ‘supposedly’ a well educated person, my level of Polish was definitely not at a PhD level. Speaking both Polish and English was, nevertheless, vital to understanding and translating local terms, and I was cautious to the language nuances in the course of translation (see section 4.6 for more information on translation processes).

I felt equally at home in both Krakow and London. As a migrant in the UK I not only knew Polish realities but I also had, what I consider, a rich migration experience and I could relate to my respondents’ accounts of their dilemmas, difficulties and joys of migration. Like many of my London-based interviewees I too often felt ‘torn apart’ between living in the UK and Poland. Similarly to my well-educated interviewees I did not want to waste my Polish education when I arrived in Britain, and I had vivid memories of how difficult it can be to move beyond unskilled jobs as a migrant. I felt at home in Krakow too, I lived in Poland for many years, my family and a number of close friends still lived there, even while residing abroad I visited them frequently and the experience and facts of everyday life in Poland were inescapable in my memories.

While the familiarity with both research sites was advantageous in several ways it also created worries. For example, it was not easy at times to distance myself from my respondents when they expressed concerns about the standard of living in Poland or talked about their reasons for migrating to the UK, after all, I frequently thought about these issues myself. Recurrently I was also anxious that I was querying issues where answers were obvious to both me and my informants. At times I would feel my respondents’ surprise at the ‘naivety’ of my asking questions the answers to which were common knowledge. As my early experience of conducting interviews showed, when the research sites are familiar to the researcher, there is a danger that informants’

answers are under interpreted on occasions (Georgiadis, 2006). For instance, I initially took for granted and underestimated the value of cross-national groups of reference in my respondents' accounts, after all I frequently engaged in such comparisons myself without giving it much thought. It was only my supervisors who brought my attention to the fact that such comparisons are meaningful and have significance for my findings.

There were also moments when I felt different from my informants. Unlike them I was childless, the joys and distresses of parenthood were unknown to me and I could not hide that I was unrestricted by family obligations in neither work nor private arrangements. I sometimes used terms 'nurseries' and 'kindergartens' interchangeably which quickly revealed my childlessness and my outsider status. Being a PhD student made me also distinct from many whom I interviewed, not only from informants who had lower educational status, but most importantly from many of those I spoke to in London who were as well educated as myself, however, unlike myself at the time of conducting interviews, often worked in unskilled jobs. Simultaneously, I did not feel any closer to tertiary educated people in Poland either, as my work and life experiences were shaped by living for many years abroad and were very much different from theirs. I had not lived in Poland for almost 10 years prior to my fieldwork in Krakow; I was not quite up to date with recent developments in various areas such as popular culture and my ignorance was sometimes revealed in the interviews when, for example, my respondents mentioned 'popular' Polish singers or movies I had never heard about before. Since I was only a visitor in Krakow I also knew that, unlike my interviewees, I did not have to deal with the same realities of everyday life in Poland. I have tried to analyse the relationship between my positioning and the findings presented in this thesis concurrently being aware of my limitations to achieve full reflexivity (see section 4.6 on reflexivity).

4.4.3 *Fieldwork*

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were employed as the core data collection method in the project as they are most suitable to collect rich data on personal and often intimate issues such as childbearing intentions. Interviews allowed me to be open to respondents' perspectives and still ask broad questions related to my research objectives. In addition, they offered a possibility to clarify answers, they allowed intimacy to obtain fuller and deeper understanding of the meaning of intentions and to

explore what underpins answers: feelings, beliefs and opinions since initial response may be at a 'surface level' (Ritchie et al., 2003 p.141).

The question guide covered topics related to my research objectives, and about which informants might not have talked otherwise (see Appendix 6). I avoided asking leading or closed questions so the content of the interviews was directed by informants. The question guide that had been determined in advance inescapably consists of different prejudgements since interviewers anticipate certain results after conducting the literature review and developing a degree of familiarity with the research topic may bias the interview (Kvale, 1996; Seidman, 2006; Szustrowa, 2001). The advantage of the semi-structured interview, however, is that it allows the researcher to probe and to introduce follow-up questions to make sure that respondents cover the topic completely in cases where they did not reveal information spontaneously.

Prior to conducting interviews I participated in Advanced Qualitative Research Workshops organised by the Methodology Institute at the London School of Economics and Political Science, which included two sessions of two hours on qualitative interviewing skills. I also participated in a day course in qualitative interviewing which provided an overview on the theory and practice of qualitative interviewing at Surrey University. To gain more practice in interviewing skills I carried out 5 mock interviews with Polish students in London before commencing my fieldwork. A draft version of the interview guide was tested in a pilot study in London when I interviewed four respondents, each matching the general characteristics of my target sample (two mothers and two fathers). The aim of the pilot was to help me identify any questions that respondents found difficult or confusing and to consider any subjects that were not included in the draft guide and pilot interviews were not included in the final analyses. The pilot allowed me to further develop familiarity with the scope of the interview and to practise it, as skills of the researcher are of vital significance in interviewing (Babbie, 2005). The question guide was revised, several questions which were not related directly to my research goals were excluded (e.g. some questions regarding the decision to have the first child), other questions were refined (e.g. these related to aspects of TPB). A final guide was developed with main topics related to the research questions followed by a set of issues I wanted to cover under each topic. The pilot and the final interview guidelines can be found in Appendix 6.

Detailed questions were treated as probes and were used to ensure that I did not miss any significant aspects as anticipated by previous literature and theory but they were used in a flexible manner based on the respondent's narrative. The follow-up questions were based on informants' accounts, topics that informants found relevant were followed in depth whether they were in the guide or not. Respondents were also asked at the end of each interview if they wanted to add any information to make sure that there were no issues left uncovered that my interviewees felt were important. Additionally, I took notes after interviews to document my observations of the respondents and the interview process in general. I conducted all interviews personally which enabled me to avoid inconsistencies between interviews that might have been caused by distinctive interviewing styles or personal characteristics of different interviewers. In all apart from one case first names during the interviews²¹ were used, this informality facilitated open and honest communication. All interviews were conducted in Polish.

Interviews were conducted in coffee shops, restaurants, libraries, parks, places of residence and work. In London all interviews with men were conducted in public places, while with women in both public places and in their homes. While for reasons of quietness and confidentiality informants' homes seemed to be the best choice as an interview site, it was decided that interviews with men would take place in public areas which would guarantee a safer environment for the interviewer. At the same time interviewing women at the respondents' home was not always possible, convenient or welcomed. In the end, 8 out of 22 interviews in London and 5 out of 22 in Krakow were home-based. Two men in Krakow agreed to meet me in their homes as this was more convenient for them and I decided to adjust to their requests as I did not want to lose them altogether. Where it was not possible to conduct an interview in a respondent's house, public places with sufficient privacy were found beforehand. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed by me into Polish verbatim.

Asking questions regarding fertility intentions is challenging since family formation issues are considered private and often intimate. Consequently, I commenced interviews with more general questions about respondents' families and places of origin, housing and employment backgrounds which enabled me to gather brief biographical

²¹ In Polish, unlike in English, there is a strong distinction between official (Pan/Pani) and unofficial (Ty) forms of you.

information and to establish basic facts about their lives. For example, with regards to employment I had an opportunity to learn not only about the type of work my interviewees performed, but also about the pros and cons associated with the job and how important work was for them. The first set of questions also served as a ‘warm-up’ before moving on to more personal and detailed questions regarding reproduction. I was introducing themes for discussion, probed respondents and asked follow up questions; however, respondents provided the content for the interviews, determined the interviews’ pace and direction and suggested alternative topics.

Prior to the interviews all respondents were told that the topic of the conversation would be family life and plans for the future. The exact topic of my interest i.e. intentions for a second child among Polish men and women in Poland and in the UK, was explained after the interview. I introduced myself as a PhD student and I explained that I was studying in London following the interview. I did not want to elicit cross country comparisons in narratives which could be triggered if my informants knew before the interview about the comparative nature of my project and that I studied in London. Since my email address was UK-based some respondents were aware prior to interviews about my place of education. The fact that I was a Polish national living in the UK might have triggered certain responses and rationales among respondents in both cities. However, other researchers could have impacted responses in a different way. Data cannot be ‘treated as ‘transparent’ representations of ‘reality’’ and the types of questions asked, the researcher’s presence, his or her manners and appearance is all part of the investigation process and by shaping relationships with informants it impacts what they are willing to disclose’ (Hammersley et al., 2007 p.130). My personal characteristics could have impacted responses in many ways. I was once asked if I was an only child (I am not) before an informant expressed his beliefs about only children. Due to my age and childlessness (although most of my respondents did not know exactly how old I was and that I was childless, they could have made certain assumptions) I also felt on occasions that my interviewees were ‘careful’ not to offend me when expressing views about age and childbearing. For example, a female respondent who expressed certain age thresholds to childbearing rushed to explain that some people may prefer to have children later in life and invest in their careers first and that she does not have any right to judge that. Narratives of my respondents might have been influenced by my characteristics in many, more or less visible, ways and a

different interviewer might have elicited slightly different responses. Solicited accounts gathered during interviews, therefore, are not expected to provide unbiased data as all accounts are social phenomena ‘occurring in, and shaped by, particular contexts’ and it is essential to learn about this context of the interview to examine how the accounts could have been influenced by the interaction with the researcher (Hammersley et al., 2007 p.120). In-depth interviews were the most effective way of learning about informants’ childbearing intentions and they compose a core data source for this thesis.

4.5 Qualitative data analysis

The process of analysis began at an early stage of project development as the literature and theory review related to my research topic preceded the data collection. When beginning fieldwork one already has specific pre-conceived information and expectations and during the data collection and transcription the researcher begins to notice certain patterns of meaning in the material (Braun et al., 2006). After the collection and transcription process, material was entered in qualitative data management software: NVivo 8 (QSR International Pty Ltd., 2008) which was chosen because it can accommodate Polish transcripts. NVivo allows indexing parts of the text into themes, facilitates retrieving codes in an efficient way and allows to link research remarks to coding. The software is, nevertheless, only a tool to organise gathered qualitative material and it is not an interpretive research device in itself (Kelle, 2000).

In analysing the content of the interviews and articles, I employed thematic analysis which is a useful method for examination of a variety of qualitative texts. Thematic analysis serves to organise data by focusing on identification and reporting of patterns and themes to interpret the material. Encoding data comprises of organisation of information to develop themes, while a theme is a pattern which is identified in the data and which describes, organises and interprets aspects of the phenomenon (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun et al., 2006). Coding and themes are initially recognised in the explicit meanings of the raw material, the analytic process progresses from description to interpretation with an attempt to place the patterns within theoretical context and interpret their meanings and implications (Patton, 1990).

Generating initial codes

The first step in analysis involved generating initial codes: breaking the material down into smaller components, coding them in a systematic manner across the whole dataset

and collating passages relevant to each code (Braun et al., 2006). Each passage is a coherent, meaningful and most basic segment of text, which refers to the topic (Boyatzis, 1998), and each passage was given a label or code that described the topic. For example, the following passage was given the code ‘primary duty to earn money’:

‘I think that I have the biggest duty, to go to work and to bring money.’ (Marek²², 25, child 2 years old, London)

I coded the entire transcripts as at that stage I was not sure what would become interesting at later stages of the research. However, passages which were more relevant to the research questions tended to be coded in more detail than those which were not. Each new component was compared to the research questions to check its relevance to the topic of study. Where the passage was relevant for my research topic I tried to create a label that was very close to the original text and very detailed. At that stage one passage was coded at multiple codes if necessary and later codes were assigned to different themes. I also tried to keep some surrounding data in my codes in order not to lose the context. Let me consider an example of the following interview:

- JM: So having an only child is not an option for you?
- Kasia: No, I, as I said, there has to be some time in between, that this child [the first one] needs to be two, three years old at minimum, and then I can think about another one, you know, not just right now. I have not paid enough attention to this child, you know, I have not learned to look after him so well and then already another one, you know. And also work, it is different if you have certain things assured, if you do not have to worry about work, about where we will live, about this or that, then you think differently, but if these things are not certain than what? I will have another child, but I will have so many worries that I will jump out of a bridge, because there will be a lot of pressure, you know, there is too much uncertainty, there has to be some sort of stabilisation to plan things ahead, and if you do not have this stabilisation then it is hard, then it [having a second child] is a big risk. (Kasia, 29, child 1 year old, Krakow)

That extract is very information rich from the perspective of my research questions, so I broke it down into passages and coded it as follows (Table 3):

²² Marek is a pseudonym; I have changed informants’ names to prevent their identification.

Table 3 Sample coded interview.

Text	Code
<p>JM: So having an only child is not an option for you?</p> <p>Kasia: No, I, as I said, there has to be some time in between, that this child [the first one] needs to be two, three years old at minimum, and then I can think about another one, you know, not just right now. I have not paid enough attention to this child, you know, I have not learned to look after her so well and then already another one, you know.</p>	<p>Age gap – minimum 2, 3 years</p> <p>2nd child-first has to pay attention to the 1st child</p>
<p>And also work, it is different if you have certain things assured, if you do not have to worry about a job, about where we will live, about this or that, then you think differently, but if these things are not certain than what?</p>	<p>Job-necessary before 2nd child</p> <p>Housing-and 2nd child</p>
<p>I will have another child, but I will have so many worries that I will jump out of a bridge, because there will be a lot of pressure, you know, there is too much uncertainty, there has to be some sort of stabilisation to plan things ahead, and if you do not have this stabilisation then it is hard, then it is [having a second child] a big risk.</p>	<p>2nd child can create worries if lack of stabilisation</p> <p>Stabilisation –needed before 2nd child</p>

Therefore, in the above example a passage of 188 words was summarised using 7 codes. When the passage was less relevant it was still coded, but the labels were not as detailed. For example when another female respondent described how she came to the UK and missed Poland, found her first job, started learning English in a college and found friends, the whole component (in total: 172 words) was labelled ‘first steps in the UK work and others’. This step in coding was facilitated by the free nodes feature in NVivo 8.

Identifying preliminary themes

The second phase of analysis began when all data were initially coded. I had a long list of different codes that I had identified and I started to sort codes into potential themes gathering all relevant coded data passages within those identified themes. Codes that did not fit under any specific theme were collated under a theme called ‘miscellaneous’ and they were revised again later.

The TPB was used as a framework to guide my analyses at the stage of creating and refining themes. With regards to TPB I did not make any assumptions about particular elements that relate to Attitudes, SN and PBC; this was a content free model and allowed me to capture elements unexpected by the theory and which were visible in narratives. For example the codes created in the above example were (initially) grouped as follows (Table 4):

Table 4 An example of codes and preliminary themes.

Code/Label	Preliminary Theme	Theoretical aspect
Job-necessary before 2 nd child	Economic preconditions to have a 2 nd child (housing, jobs, other)	PBC
Housing-and 2 nd child		
Stabilisation- needed before 2 nd child		
Age gap – minimum 2, 3 years	Requisite spacing between children	
2 nd child- needs to pay attention to the 1 st child first	1 st child most important Competing goals	Attitudes
2 nd child can create worries if lack of stabilisation	2 nd child related to worries/problems	

This was a point where more analytical processes began and the relationships between codes/themes-subthemes were starting to emerge (Braun et al., 2006). This phase

eventually ended with a number of themes and sub-themes. This process was facilitated by the tree nodes feature in NVivo 8.

Review and refinement of codes and preliminary themes

The next step involved reviewing preliminary themes which meant going back to the data at the coded level and revising each coded passage under themes to double check whether the passages gathered under a theme formed a coherent pattern. If certain passages under a theme did not fit, they were revised and either assigned to sub-themes, to new themes, or split into different codes. The initial codes at this stage were also rearranged and adjusted; they were, if necessary, broken down into smaller codes. For example, in the first process of coding I created a code 'economic preconditions for 2nd child'; this contained all passages of text where respondents referred to any aspects related to economic situation they saw as necessary before having a second child. This category is, however, very broad and after initial coding I realised that it is a bigger theme that can be divided into several sub-themes. Consequently, I created sub-themes for 'housing-precondition', 'jobs-precondition', and 'money-precondition', etc. Each theme was also revised to see whether it was valid, if there were enough data to support it.

Final review of themes and comparison between groups

Once I had a revised list of themes I further analysed the data within them to determine what aspects of the data the themes captured. To do so it was necessary to go back to the data extracts under each theme to arrange them into a coherent description. Additional sub-themes within each theme were identified to structure any complex themes.

At this stage I compared and contrasted all themes within my 4 subsamples: men and women living in Poland and in the UK. This was facilitated by NVivo 8 as I could retrieve information on the basis of demographic data, to check which themes and codes were prevalent for which group/groups of analysis. Although the comparisons have been carried out throughout data collection and analysis as similarities and differences between groups were noticed and recorded at much earlier stages of the project.

Contradictions in narratives and case studies

The analysis was a continuous and iterative process, rather than linear (Ritchie et al., 2003) and it moved backwards and forwards from the data, emergent themes to

theoretical concepts, producing and refining these concepts to reflect on any new patterns or contradictions observed in the data and to obtain the essence of the social processes analysed. Qualitative and explorative interviews often produced many ambiguous statements and demonstrated the complex nature of childbearing intentions' rationales. Reading and analysing the interviews brought to light that parents' childbearing intentions involve sophisticated contradictions, diverse negative and positive beliefs, visible also in the way various ambiguities were presented and/or organised in any single account. To illustrate the analytical and methodological significance of such inconsistencies in individuals' narratives I selected three case studies for an in-depth analysis of each person. The findings from case studies elaborate on and explore in detail the contradictions in accounts, they are used to develop theories and discuss methodological challenges involved in examining childbearing intentions.

4.6 Translation and confines of reflexivity

Certain concepts, words and phrases can be lost in translation since they are specific to a given language and all data were analysed in Polish. Translation, used to extract quotes that illustrate the findings, was only conducted in the final stage of writing up to minimise any distortions in analysis related to the loss of concepts and meanings in translation (Stern-Perez et al., 2009). As a native Polish speaker I was able to translate material without the assistance of third parties, translation is, nonetheless, a complex process as it involves meaning transfers and issues about representation (Temple, 2006; Temple et al., 2004). As a researcher/translator I was aware of the problems of meaning equivalence in different languages which was both challenging and constructive in the process of producing respondents' accounts, as 'translators/researchers produce accounts of people's lives rather than just describe them within their translations' (Temple et al., 2009 p.1). According to Simon (1996) language is linked to social realities and translators have to decide about the cultural meanings attached to phrases in a given language, and since 'there is no total equivalence between cultural systems, the alignment between source and target text is necessarily skewed' (Simon, 1996 p.13). While presenting quotations in the thesis I thus include Polish words and phrases where a direct translation from Polish to English language was not possible. Cross-language research often necessitates a laborious process of translation, but as Temple et al. (2004 p.172) argue 'no one researcher has been responsible for being the repository of

meaning for all English speakers in quite the same way as individual non-English translators and interpreters have been assumed to be' and cross-language research is in many respects similar to analysis in one language where meanings can be just as obscure.

The researcher's position within the social world influences the process of translation and if one acknowledges that there is no 'one objective knowledge' one needs to consider the translator as a 'part of the process of knowledge production' (Temple et al., 2004 p.164). If there is no neutral analysis and social reality is not fully accessible to our understanding we do not present the results of our research from an impartial standpoint (Rose, 1997). Although I have attempted to examine my own position as a researcher/translator, the researched and the research context and how this affected the knowledge produced in this thesis, academics increasingly acknowledge that achieving comprehensive reflexivity may be unattainable (Ganga et al., 2006; Rose, 1997). As Rose (1997) argues, full reflexivity is an illusion, as questions that need to be answered to achieve such reflexivity about oneself and those interviewed are beyond the ability of the researcher who is not 'an all-seeing analyst' (Rose, 1997 p.316). Being a childless Polish female migrant in my 30s as well as other characteristics that I may not be aware of impacted my relationship with each informant in a complex way and in unique circumstances of each interview. Adequate representation of my informants and their accounts is a goal I strived to achieve during the process of the data collection, analysis, translation and writing being all the time aware of the limits to my own transparent understandings of the self and the context that impacted the findings of this study. Throughout writing my thesis I also drew quotations from a wide range of interviews to avoid overemphasis on a few selected participants.

4.7 Ethical issues

Research into childbearing intentions can be considered a sensitive topic as it touches upon the private sphere of reproduction as well as often difficult personal circumstances of individuals. Such a topic invites self-examination of respondents' behaviour, aspirations and examines often emotional subjects, which might cause some psychological discomfort. Therefore, before commencing fieldwork I became familiar with the LSE research ethics policy and I completed Research Ethics Review Checklist and Ethics Review Questionnaire for Researchers in accordance with The Research

Ethics Committee's requirements. I also received a verbal confirmation on the 12th of April 2010 from the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education that I did not need additional ethical clearance from the Polish authorities to conduct interviews in Krakow.

This research followed a procedure of obtaining a signed consent before each interview to make sure that respondents were aware of the nature of the interview and their rights (see Appendix 7). Moreover, effort was made before interviews to inform respondents verbally and in writing about their rights (entirely voluntary participation, right to withdraw from participation at any stage and to refuse answers) and about the obligations of the researcher (guaranteeing confidentiality and anonymity of the data) as well as about the subject of the research (life of families with children and plans for future) and its purpose (doctoral project). Obtaining informed consent occurred in several stages, it began with information about the research provided in leaflets and advertisements, and answering any questions about the research both face to face, via telephone and emails while arranging interviews. Informants who agreed to take part were also reminded about their rights, the researcher's obligations and had the opportunity to ask questions before each interview. I also explained that their names and all identifiable details would be removed and that I would use pseudonyms when quoting them. All participants were asked for permission to record interviews and all agreed.

After the interviews all participants were asked if they could be re-contacted if the researcher had additional questions or needed any clarifications. All informants agreed, in several cases email and telephone second contacts were preferred. In five cases follow-up contacts turned out not to be possible, two informants' telephone numbers were inactive by the time of making follow-up arrangements and I did not have their email addresses, while three respondents did reply to either emails or telephone contacts. Four informants were re-contacted face to face in London and one in Krakow, several participants answered my additional questions via telephone or emails.

4.8 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to present the methods which were used to answer the research questions. This research is primarily qualitative, contextualised by quantitative analysis of the UK LFS and EU-SILC; I thus outlined reasons for selecting particular

statistical and qualitative data, the process of data analysis and writing up. I addressed my own role as a researcher, the way that my characteristics could have impacted research findings and the negotiations between my position as the insider and outsider in both research fields. I also discussed thematic analysis which was used to analyse the qualitative data and ethical issues related to my project. Now this thesis turns to the empirical findings and the next chapter maps the institutional landscapes and presents the characteristics of the population of Polish nationals in the UK and in Poland in order to contextualise the qualitative data presented later in the thesis.

5 The Economic and Institutional Settings in Poland and the UK

5.1 Introduction

Individual actors construct their childbearing intentions and subsequent decisions at the micro level, however, these are negotiated in specific settings characterised by diverse economic and social institutions. The current structural conditions differ between Poland and the UK. Each setting provides a different set of opportunities and constraints for people to negotiate as they construct their childbearing intentions, family life and work-family reconciliation. Different contexts relate to variations in my respondents' narratives of aspects link to Attitudes and Perceived Behavioural Control (PBC) in Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB). Country specific contexts interact with such characteristics as gender and parity, in this chapter I compare the socioeconomic characteristics of Poles in the UK and Poland by these two variables to better comprehend differences in qualitative accounts between men and women living in Poland and in the UK.

Furthermore, Polish migrants in the UK are often treated as a homogeneous group by scholars and a comparative analysis of socio-economic characteristics of Poles in the sending and the destination country by parity and gender is missing in current research, a gap which this chapter addresses. I draw primarily on the UK Labour Force Survey (LFS) and Community Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) with occasional reference to other international and national statistical data. The analysis presented here refers to childless respondents, people with one and with two children to explore whether there are any differences in socioeconomic characteristics associated with parity progression. In particular I examine whether and how mothers and fathers with one child differ from childless people or those who have two children to shed light on my respondents' narratives of parity progression in the following chapters.

This chapter starts with a brief description of the economic settings in the two countries and I analyse the employment status, education, occupation and wages of Polish men and women living in Poland and the UK. The role of the welfare state and its policies in shaping demographic behaviour has been repeatedly debated by demographers and by my interviewees; subsequently I review welfare state provisions. I discuss the availability of formal childcare in each country and I examine childcare uptake by Polish parents. I also describe various social benefits that parents can draw on in each setting and eligibility criteria, and describe benefit uptake by Polish nationals in the UK

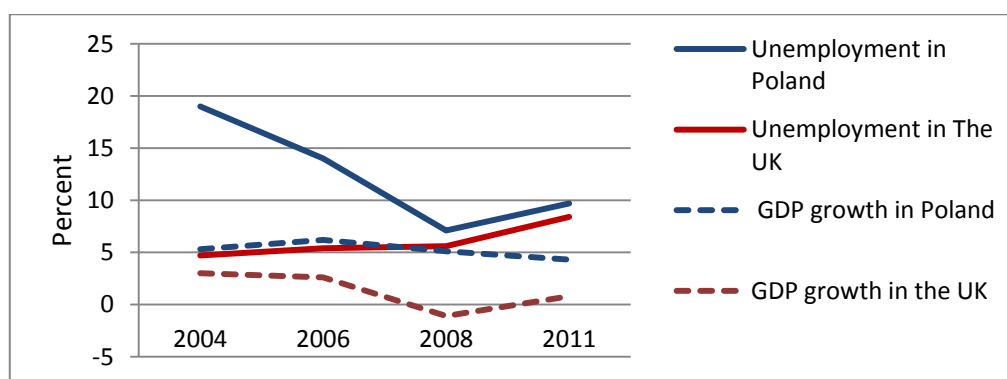
and Poland. In the final part of this section I discuss housing conditions based on available data.

5.2 Economic conditions and employment patterns of Polish nationals in Poland and the UK

Many respondents in this study discussed in depth the issues of economic conditions and employment in relation to their childbearing intentions. In the following section I give a macro overview of these topics to contextualise my informants' narratives in the chapters that follow.

The shift from a socialist to a free market economy in Poland was accompanied by relatively high unemployment rates and in 2004, when the UK opened its labour market for migrants from Eastern Europe, the unemployment rate in Poland had reached 19%. By contrast, Poland has been relatively unscathed by the recent economic crisis and remained the only nation in the EU with a positive Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth between 2008 and 2011. In Poland the labour market situation has been improving since 2004 and unemployment decreased to below 10% in 2008, whereas in the UK the labour market has deteriorated during the recession and unemployment figures in the two nations have been converging (Figure 11).

Figure 11 Unemployment rate and real GDP growth rate in Poland and the UK, 2004- 2011.



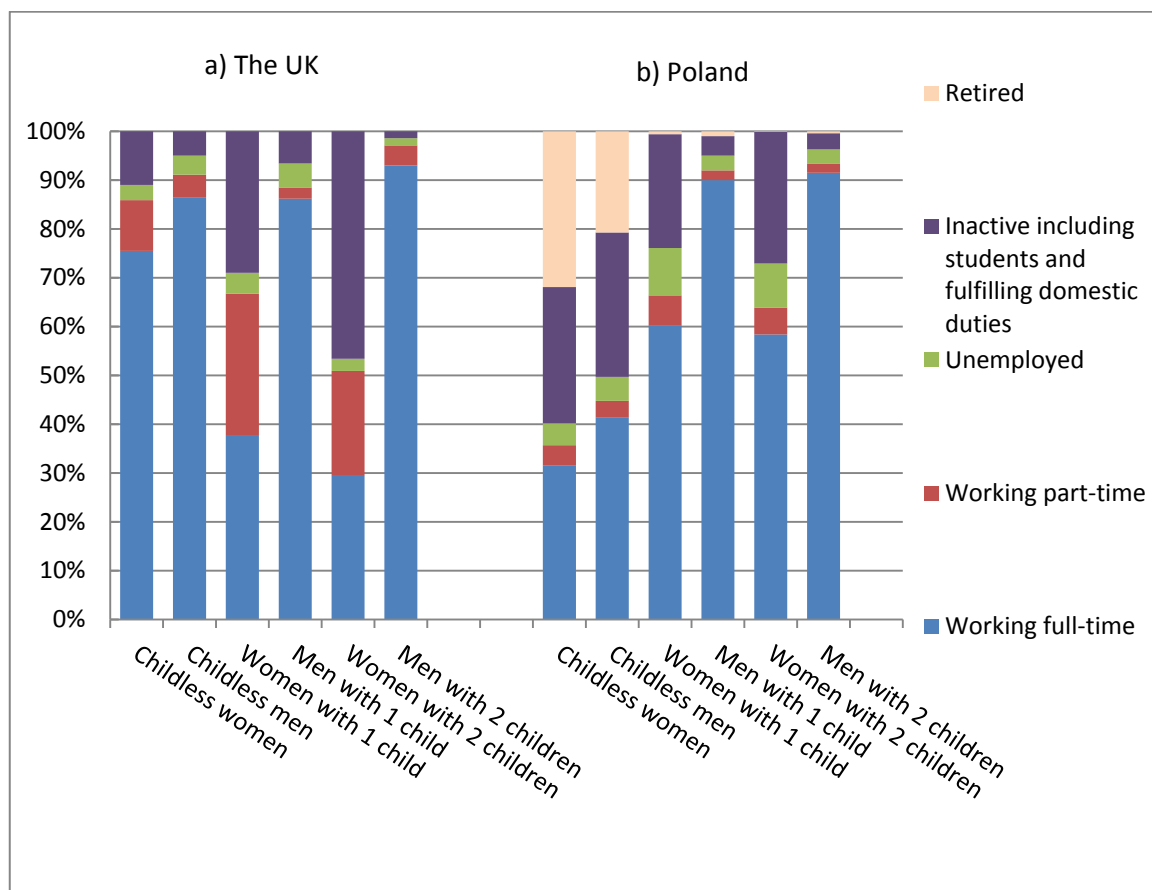
Source: Eurostat (2012-2014). Unemployment based on LFS annual averages.

The LFS and EU-SILC data illustrate strong gender differences in employment participation among Polish nationals in Poland and in the UK. Around 90% of Polish fathers with one child and 66% of Polish mothers were employed in both countries, and full-time work was common among men regardless of the number of dependent

children and residency status. Women tend to work full-time in Poland regardless of the presence of children, unlike in the UK where there are important distinctions in part- and full-time working patterns between childless women and mothers. While 60% of Polish mothers with one child were employed full-time in Poland the figure is only 37.6% for their counterparts in the UK (Figure 12). In fact, the importance of dual earner status was frequently mentioned by respondents in Krakow, while one or one and a half wage was often perceived as sufficient to support a family in London.

The unemployment rate among mothers residing in Poland, at over 9%, is not only twice as high as among their migrant counterparts, it is also high relative to fathers and to women with no dependent children in Poland (Figure 12).

Figure 12 Polish residents in the UK and Poland: Economic activity, sex and number of dependent children, 2008-2009.



All household members aged 16 and over (EU-SILC) and pooled total of persons aged 16 and over (LFS), weighted.

Source: Author's calculations based on EU-SILC 2008 and UK LFS 2008/09.

Unemployed persons in Poland receive benefits for a period of 6 or 12 months²³ depending on the region of residence and all registered unemployed persons receive health insurance coverage. Economically inactive persons (e.g. students or non-working parents) who have a partner in employment can also get health insurance under their working partners' coverage without any additional costs (based on www.e-inspektorat.zus.pl, accessed on 19/10/2012). Consequently, it might appear that the biggest incentive to retain unemployment registration beyond the period when one receives payment is the access to employment offers and professional training and that mothers face structural constraints on their opportunities to work. Nonetheless, my qualitative data suggest that some unemployed women retain registration solely for health insurance purposes, they are not actively searching for paid work as they want to be primary and full time carers for their children.

Female employment rates in Poland do not vary considerably between mothers with one or two children; however among migrant women with two children the rate was lower by 16% in 2008/2009 relative to migrant mothers with one child. This could imply that women with two children in Poland are a special group. Dual earner status has been recognised by many informants in Krakow as a precondition to childbearing (see also Matysiak, 2009a; Mishtal, 2009) and female (and men) employment participation is related to positive PBC in Poland. Conversely mothers in Krakow, particularly with younger children were occasionally reported to be discriminated against in the job market (see also Kotowska et al., 2008b; Matysiak et al., 2010) which can be related to negative Attitudes towards having another child and qualitative data indicate that women with secure return to employment following childbirth may be more willing to have a second child in Poland.

Employment participation and patterns may have varied impact on Attitudes and PBC and childbearing intentions depending on country- and population-specific characteristics. Although there is no statistical research on the association between employment and childbearing for the migrant population, economic inactivity and part-

²³ The unemployment benefit in Poland is for the first 6 months of the unemployment period in areas where the unemployment rate does not exceed 150% of the national average e.g. in Krakow. Where the unemployment rate is above 150% of the national average, or the unemployed person has a child under the age of 15 and their partner is also unemployed without a right to the benefit, unemployment benefit is received for up to 12 months (based on www.eures.praca.gov.pl, accessed on 19/12/2012).

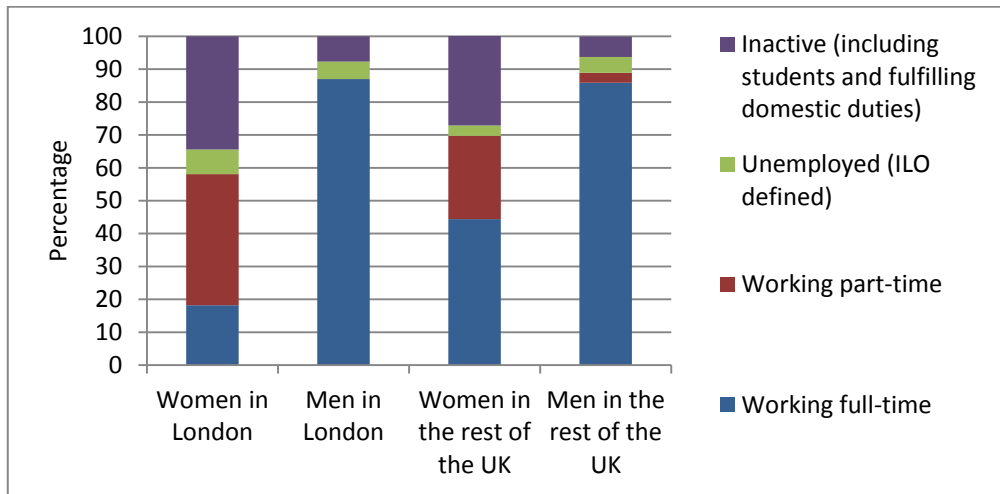
time work among women are believed to reduce the opportunity costs of having children in the UK, particularly among females with less skill investment in the labour market (Brewer et al., 2011; Schmitt, 2012). Polish migrants in the UK tend to perform low-skilled jobs (see section 5.2.3) and qualitative data suggest that their employment position is related to the perception of low opportunity costs of having children.

5.2.1 *Employment of Polish nationals in London and the rest of the UK*

There are differences in employment patterns of migrant mothers between London and the rest of the UK. While most men were in full-time employment regardless of their region of residence, London-based Polish mothers with one child not only worked less often than mothers in the rest of the country but when they had a job it was more than twice as often on a part-time basis compared to elsewhere (Figure 13). This is important for this project as, for the qualitative part of this research I sampled informants from the capital and the vast majority of the women I interviewed were either inactive or working part-time (see Appendix 4), which corresponds to the statistical data. London has the highest childcare costs by about 20% compared to other regions, which might be one of the possible explanations of the regional differences (Daycare Trust, 2010). According to LFS data the wages of Polish mothers in London are only slightly higher than the wages of Polish mothers in the rest of the UK²⁴ and many respondents in London mentioned that work is not a viable option for them since they have to pay, what they considered high childcare costs relative to their wages.

²⁴ Based on UK LFS data in 2008/09 Polish mothers with one child in London earned on average £117 a month more than their counterparts in the rest of the UK.

Figure 13 Employment patterns of Polish parents with one child in London and the rest of the UK, by sex.



Pooled total of survey persons aged 16 and over, weighted.

London includes Inner and Outer London.

The rest of the UK: England, Scotland and Wales excluding Inner and Outer London.

Source: Author's calculations based on UK LFS 2008/09.

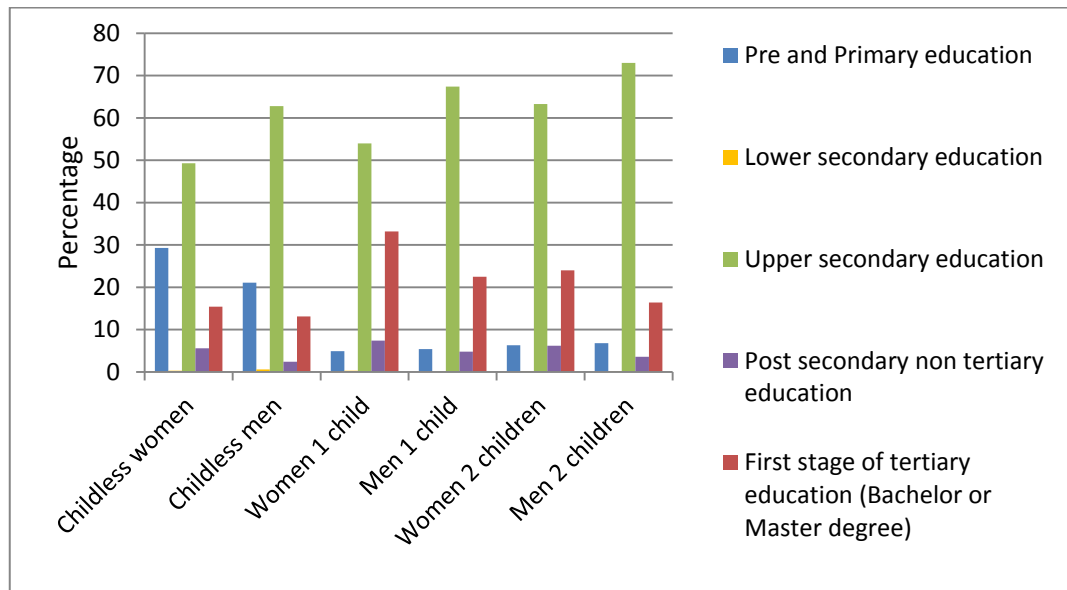
5.2.2 Education

There is a link between educational attainment and progression to a second child, although the direction of that link varies by country (van Bavel et al., 2009). In Poland tertiary educated women have a lower propensity to progress to a second parity relative to their counterparts with less education (see Chapter 3, section 3.3). Consequently, in this section I attempt²⁵ to give an overview of the educational attainment of Polish people in the UK and Poland to examine whether there are any macro differences between educational attainments of these groups and to examine whether my respondents' educational backgrounds correspond to the statistical data.

The majority of residents in Poland have completed upper-secondary education, while degree level education is the second most common for parents. Women more often have university degrees than men regardless of the presence of dependent children (Figure 14).

²⁵ Analysing educational level of Polish migrants in the UK based on LFS turned out not to be possible, therefore I analysed the age at which full-time education was completed. See Appendix 3 for more explanation and details of analysed variables and data comparability between LFS and EU-SILC.

Figure 14 Poland: Percentage distribution of highest educational level attained and number of dependent children, by sex.



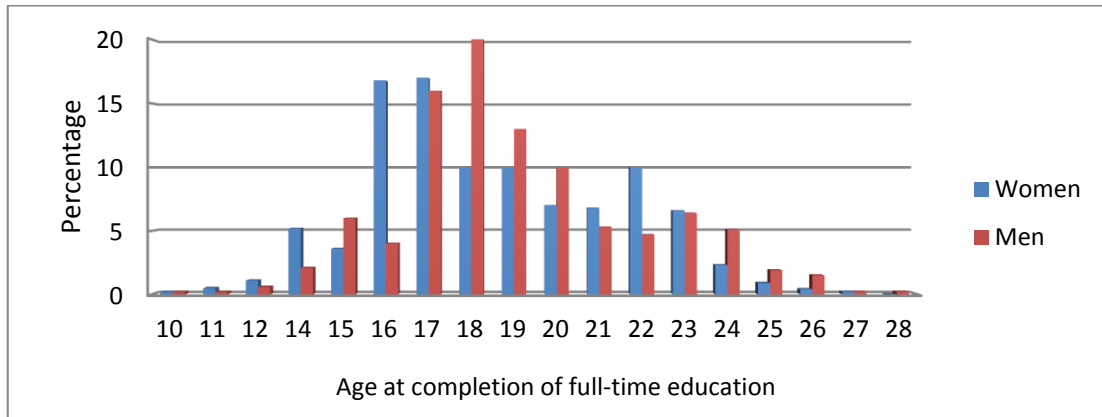
All current household members aged 16 and over; weighted.

Source: Author's calculations based on EU-SILC 2008.

Based on available data, in 2006/07 and 2008/09 the average age among Polish migrants at completion of full-time schooling was just over 20 and alike for all migrants regardless of sex and number of dependent children. Before 2010 children entered reception at the age of 6 in Poland therefore, Polish nationals in the UK have, on average, 13 years of full-time schooling, which corresponds with other findings (Drinkwater et al., 2009). Thirteen years in school corresponds with completed upper secondary education²⁶ (Figure 15).

²⁶ There were several changes in the educational system in Poland that began in 1999/2000, with most recent in 2004/2005. Eight-year primary schools were replaced by 6 years of primary school followed by 3 years of lower-secondary one. Subsequently, students can now enter one of the upper-secondary schools which take 2, 3 or 4 years to complete and which took 3, 4 or 5 years to complete in the old system. However these changes would affect only the youngest respondents in the survey. Moreover, despite the difference in the system the age at which one completes the *matura* exam (A Level equivalent), enters and completes tertiary education remained unchanged.

Figure 15 Percentage distribution of age when completed full-time education, Polish migrants in the UK, by gender.



Pooled total of surveyed persons aged 16 and over, weighted.

Source: Author's calculations based on LFS 2008/09.

The educational attainment of migrants appears to be similar to residents in Poland with upper secondary education most common. It is not the level of education per se, however, that has an impact on childbearing but the fact that better educated people tend to have professional jobs with higher wages and better prospects at establishing careers over time. Thus the direct and indirect costs of childbearing are more severe for people (usually mothers who take time off due to childbearing) with more schooling i.e. in professional careers and/or with higher income relative to others, since the time off work to look after a baby can be translated not only into lost immediate wages, but also into lost career prospects and promotion opportunities. Nonetheless, there are significant differences in the types of jobs that Polish nationals living in Poland and the UK perform, which sheds light on the differences between Krakow- and London-based respondents' perceptions of opportunity costs related to childbearing.

5.2.3 Occupation

To see how Polish nationals have fared in terms of their occupation

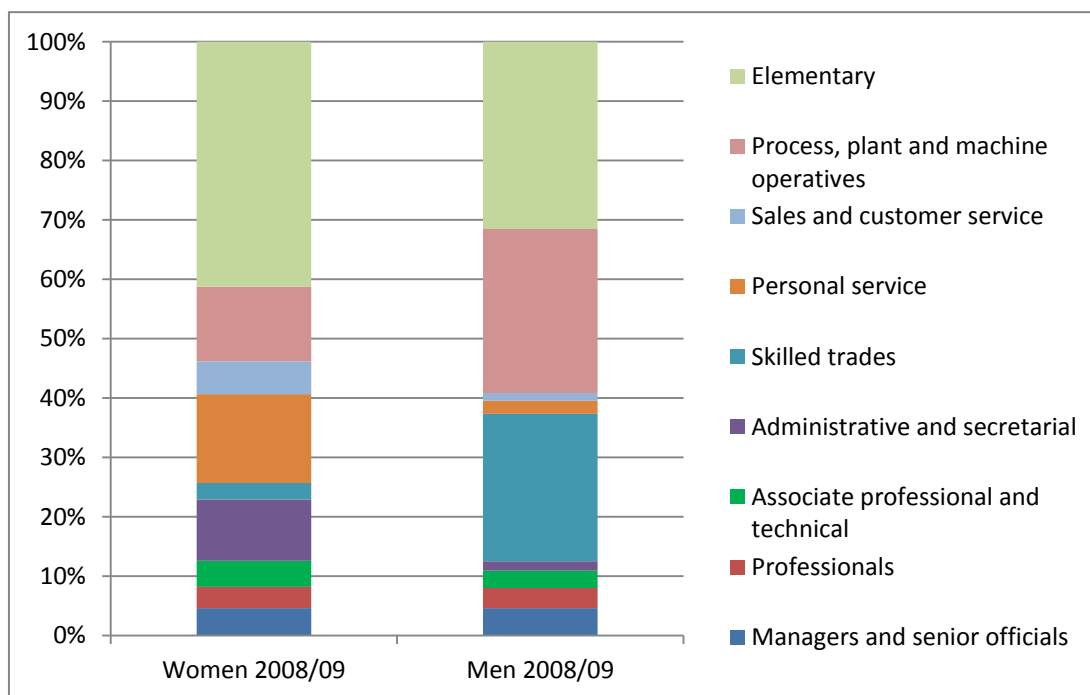
Figure 16 and Figure 17 report percentage of Polish nationals in the UK and in Poland in different occupational groups²⁷. The vast majority of Polish migrants occupied low

²⁷ Although it would make a cross-country comparison easier if the data were in one graph, the occupational categories in the two datasets are different, thus I present the analysis from Poland and the UK in two graphs.

skilled jobs and were found mainly in elementary occupations²⁸ while the percentage in managerial or professional occupations was small. Other researchers also noted that about 70% of Polish migrants in the UK were employed in low skilled jobs and that the returns to human capital are lowest amongst Poles compared to other groups of migrants (Drinkwater et al., 2009). Unsurprisingly, a higher percentage of residents in Poland are found in skilled and professional occupations.

Based on the analyses of UK LFS and EU-SILC there are gender differences in occupational groups in Poland and the UK; however, there are no significant differences in occupational groups related to the presence of dependent children in either country. Since more education is not necessarily accompanied by professional occupations for Polish nationals in the UK, the costs of childbearing related to forgone career prospects, which are linked to Attitudes, for better educated respondents in London are different compared to their counterparts in Krakow (see Chapter 7).

Figure 16 Percentage distribution of occupation groups of Polish migrants in the UK, by sex, 2008/09.

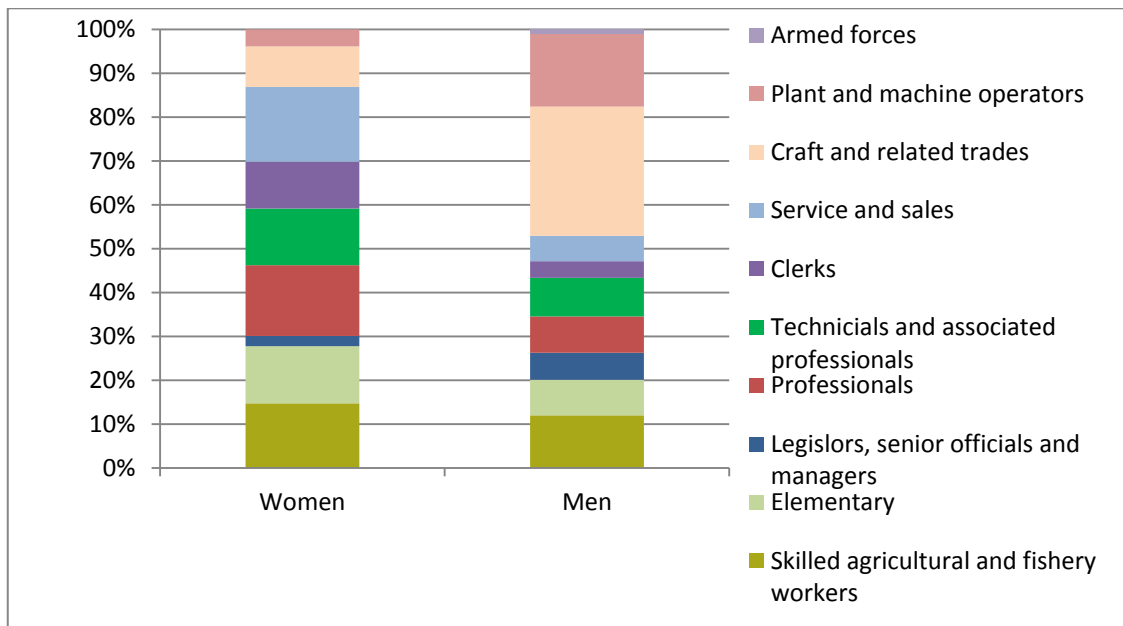


Pooled total of survey persons aged 16 and over, weighted. Occupational groups as in LFS.

Source: Author's own calculations based on LFS 2008/09

²⁸ Elementary occupations consist of simple and routine tasks and include, among others, various catering personnel (e.g. waiters, bar staff, kitchen assistants), cleaning workers, labourers, mail sorters, security guards etc. (ONS, 2009d).

Figure 17 Percentage distribution of occupation groups in Poland by sex, 2008.



All current household members aged 16 and over, weighted. Occupational groups as in EU-SILC classification.

Source: Author's own calculations based on EU-SILC 2008

Although residents in Poland are more likely to occupy skilled and professional jobs relative to Polish nationals in the UK, the links between occupations and earnings in a cross-country comparison is not as clear-cut as in a national setting, which is a subject of the next section.

5.3 Wages

Many respondents in London and Krakow discussed financial conditions in their accounts of childbearing intentions and income is often measured as an indicator of individuals' financial situation related to Attitudes and PBC in surveys based on TPB. Consequently this section gives an overview of the macro picture of the income situations of Polish men and women in Poland and in the UK to position my respondents' accounts within a wider context.

In 2009 the average gross hourly pay in the UK was £15.8 for men and £12.6²⁹ for women (ONS, 2009a) compared to £8 for Polish men and £6.8 for Polish women in the 2008/2009 dataset. The low earnings of migrants compared to the UK averages could be

²⁹ Per hour earnings vary between full- and part-time employees and part-time employed men received £4 less than their full-time counterparts, for women the difference was £3.

assumed to have a negative impact on their behavioural control towards having children; nonetheless respondents in London often compared wages in the UK to Poland and, despite the fact that they were often employed in low income occupations, they often positively evaluated their earnings in the destination country. The Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) conversion rate gives an indication of what levels of income in different countries are needed to purchase the same volume of goods and services. Based on EU-SILC the average gross monthly salary in Poland, although there are variations in income depending on sex and number of children, at the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) implied PPP conversion rate from 2008 is equal to £773. Based on PPP the average gross monthly salary of Polish migrants in the UK is, consequently, worth more in purchasing power than the average income of residents in Poland (see also Table 5).

Table 5 Average gross monthly pay in main job in Poland (in Euros) and in the UK (in Pound Sterling), by sex and number of dependent children.

Average monthly amount	Men			Women		
	Childless	1 child	2 children	Childless	1 child	2 children
Migrants (Pounds Sterling)	1382	1534	1616	1109	966	862
Poland (Euros)	609	705	726	544	571	528

All household members aged 16 and over (EU-SILC) and pooled total of surveyed persons aged 16 and over (LFS); weighted.

Source: Author's calculations based on LFS 2008/09 and EU-SILC 2008.

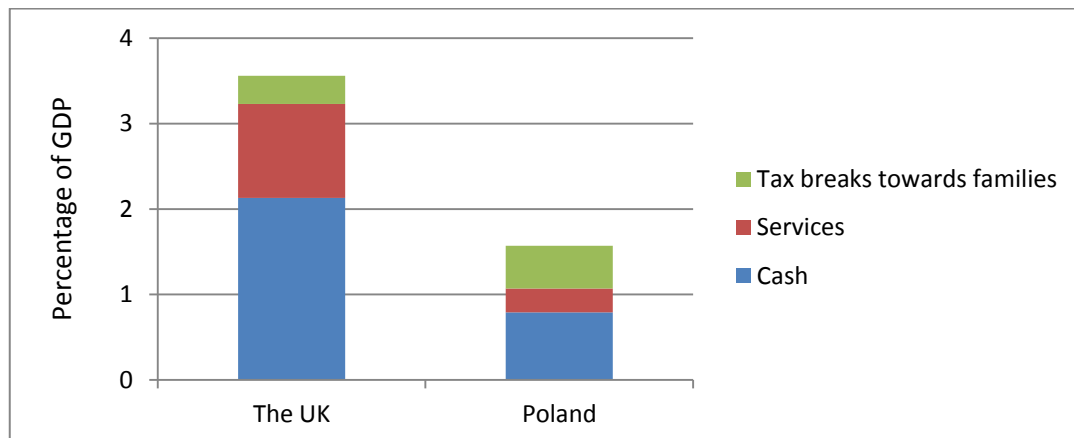
Unsurprisingly there is a gender pay gap in both Poland and the UK with women earning less than men (Table 5). Fathers tend to earn more than men with no dependent children regardless of the country of residence and wages among female workers in Poland are relatively equal regardless of the presence of children. Apart from income from employment, welfare allowances can also influence individuals' financial situation and substitute some of the wages forgone due to childbearing.

5.4 Welfare State in Poland and in the UK

A major theme in relation to childbearing and childrearing raised by my informants in London and Krakow revolved around the issue of welfare state and social welfare provisions for families with children. The particularities of institutional settings relate to respondents' PBC and their perceptions about factors which can facilitate or impede having a/nother child; welfare state provisions also impact the direct and indirect costs of childrearing and relate to Attitudes. Consequently, the following sections portray the welfare state conditions in which Polish parents in the UK and Poland organise and negotiate their family lives and childbearing to contextualise qualitative narratives described in subsequent chapters in this thesis.

The UK welfare state is often reported by scholars to provide limited and modest social support for the poorest families only (see, for example, Fleckenstein et al., 2012; Sigle-Rushton, 2009). However, expenditure on family benefits in Poland was reduced from 2.7% to 0.6% of GDP between 1991 and 1999 (UNICEF, 2001) and although it has risen to 1.58% in 2007 this is still low compared to other European countries, including the UK (Figure 18).

Figure 18 Public spending on family benefits in cash, services and tax measures, in the UK and Poland (percentage of GDP), 2007.



Source: OECD (2011)

Polish and British welfare states differ not only in terms of levels of expenditure on family benefits but also in the distribution of the spending and the UK invests considerably more in services such as childcare relative to Poland.

5.4.1 *Childcare*

Childcare availability and costs were often discussed by my informants, particularly respondents in Krakow often talked about childcare in relation to their ability to achieve dual earner status. Childcare availability decreases the role incompatibility between parenthood and employment, it reduces the indirect costs of childbearing due to forgone career potentials and wages, particularly for women, and it also creates an environment which is conducive to dual earner couples, thus supplying more money for families to ensure overall adequate standard of living and to finance childbearing, if and when individuals decide to have offspring (Rovny, 2011). Role incompatibility is also impacted by social norms and attitudes towards mothers' employment which was visible in Krakow based respondents' narratives (see Chapter 7) but researchers reported that these can alter over time depending on national context, including social policies' ideological frameworks (Knudsen et al., 2001). Consequently, access to and costs of formal childcare can relate to PBC by impeding or facilitating family-employment reconciliation.

Children aged 3 and 4 in the UK were entitled to 12.5 hours a week of free early years education, which rose to 15 hours in 2010 for 38 weeks in a year, until they reach compulsory school age (the term following their fifth birthday). The government also introduced 15 hours of free childcare for disadvantaged 2 year olds in 2010. Otherwise, parents in the UK tend to rely on the market for the provision of formal childcare (Ben-Galim, 2011). Parents in Poland have the right to free education only when children enter reception, which from 2010/2011 is compulsory from the age of 5³⁰. The first 5 hours per day in public kindergartens in Poland for children aged 3 to 5 are free of charge (based on www.przedzkola.edu.pl, accessed on 20/02/2012) which appears to be generous, however, considering the low supply of these facilities only a limited number of parents can benefit from these provisions (see Figure 19).

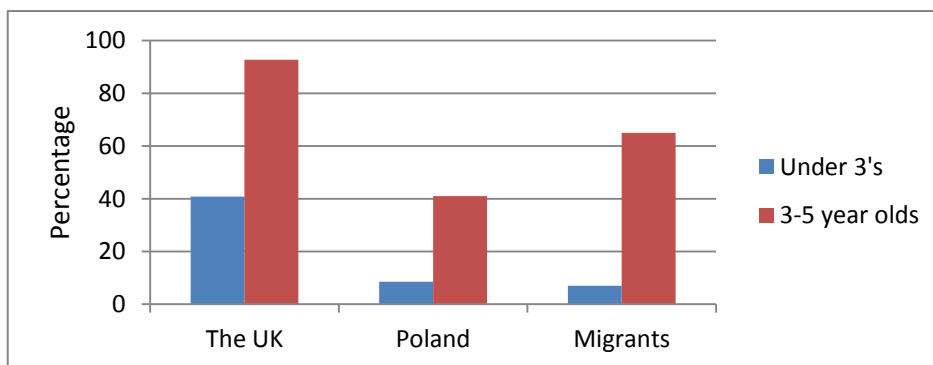
The EU-SILC data on childcare in Poland correspond to other data sources (see, for example, Eurostat, 2012-2014; OECD, 2011) where in 2008 3.9% of children aged 0-3 were in day-care centres while 4.6% were looked after by childminders/nannies, spending on average 27 hours a week in formal care. Thirty six percent of children over 3 years old were in pre-schools or equivalent, for 34 hours a week, while childminders,

³⁰ Before the 2010/2011 the reception was compulsory for children at the age of 6.

before and after school care and day care centres were rarely used (less than 3% of children in each category).

Around 7% of migrants' children under the age of 3 used nursery schools and 65% of 3 to 5 year olds participated in any formal childcare in 2008/09.³¹ No respondents reported using either nannies or childminders. Although there are no data on the hours spent in childcare in the LFS, overall in the UK children tend to spend short, part-time hours in formal childcare, with an average of 16 hours for those under the age of 3 and less than 29 hours for the 3 to 5 age group (Eurostat, 2012-2014; OECD, 2011). Although for the 3 to 5 year olds the enrolment rates are higher than in Poland, they still lag behind the UK average (Figure 19). The universal provision of 15 hours of free pre-school lies behind high enrolment rates in the UK for 3 to 5 year olds; although these hours are insufficient to enable mothers' employment (Ben-Galim, 2011). Interviews with Polish parents in London indicate that the low formal childcare attendance of migrants' children, especially under the age of 3 is partly due to high costs of private childcare in the UK relative to migrants' wages while some migrants are not aware that they are entitled to free pre-schools in the UK.

Figure 19 Use of formal childcare³² services in the UK and Poland in 2008, and for Polish migrants 2008/2009, by child's age.



Sources: Data for migrants and Poland: author's calculations based on EU-SILC and LFS. Data for the UK: OECD (2011) based on EU-SILC.

³¹ LFS collects data on childcare only in one quarter in every second year and there were 39 migrants who answered childcare questions in 2008/09, therefore, the results need to be interpreted with caution.

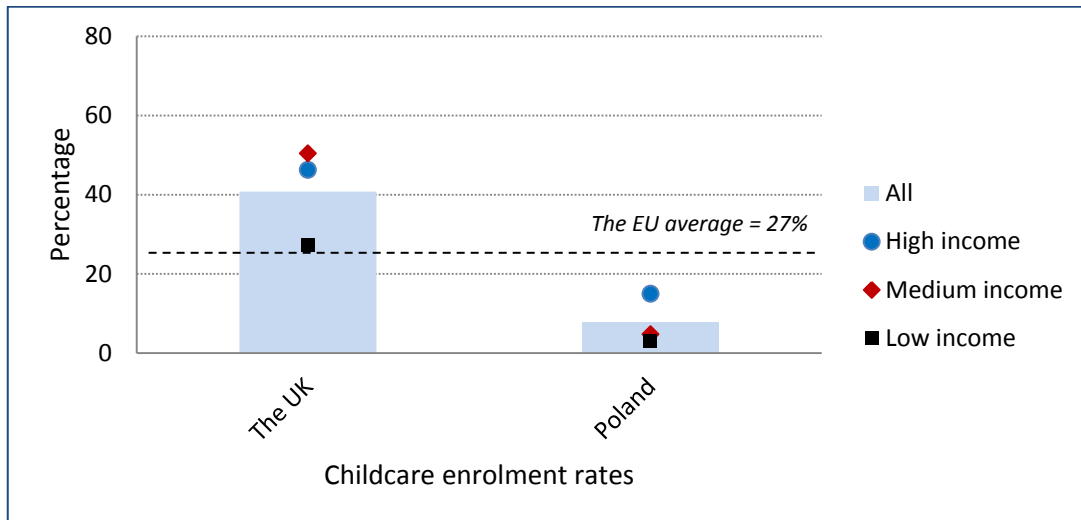
³² Formal childcare refers to services provided on a formally organised basis such as nurseries, kindergartens, childminders, pre-schools, childcare centres etc.

Insufficient provision of formal facilities was reported to be compensated by informal arrangements in Poland (Kotowska et al., 2008a) and in EU-SILC data informal childcare (which includes grandparents, other relatives, friends and neighbours) was used by 30% of children both below 3 and in the 3-5 year old group. Overall, informal childcare was used by 25% of all children under the age of 12 in Poland. Unsurprisingly, the prevalence of informal care among Polish migrants was low compared to Poland, 10% of parents with children under 14 relied on grandparents, 2.4% on other relatives³³, and 4.9% on neighbours and friends in 2008/09. The availability of informal childcare, particularly in Poland, could mitigate some of the shortages in formal provisions, due to data limitations I cannot analyse how many hours children spend in informal childcare, while qualitative data indicate that informal care is often provided for limited periods of time during evenings, weekends and/or in emergencies and is not a viable substitute for formal facilities.

Furthermore, the access to formal childcare arrangements depends on the costs of childcare relative to parents' earnings. In 2008 in Poland a dual earner family with each partner earning an average wage spent 5% of their family income on childcare compared to 27% in the UK (OECD, 2011). The data are calculated on both parents earning 100% of the average income in the national economy, while Polish migrants earn about a half, which sheds light on the fact that my respondents in London often considered that childcare was unaffordable.

³³ In EU-SILC data refers to childcare in a usual week. In LFS data refers to childcare in a reference week, which, particularly regarding informal care may not reflect a typical arrangement, as e.g. my respondents in London reported that family members from Poland visited them and provided childcare for a short period of time only.

Figure 20 Percentage distribution of childcare enrolment rates for children under 3 years old by household income in the UK and Poland, 2008.



Source: OECD (2011), the EU average based on Eurostat (2012-2014).

Apart from childcare, many parents I talked to highlighted that the availability of benefits in cash and tax breaks towards families can make it easier to raise children by alleviating some of the financial costs relating to childbearing.

5.5 Family allowances

Many respondents in this study talked about various children-related benefits in their narratives about childbearing intentions, especially the availability of maternity and parental leave, child benefit allowances or Birth Grants were mentioned. Both the UK and Poland offer leave for parents of new born children, and a number of allowances to cover the costs of childrearing, however, the eligibility criteria, leave durations and amounts of payment differ in each country. In both countries mothers can use maternity and parental leave entitlements which are offered to all working mothers, but in Poland such leave is more generous than in the UK in terms of the combined leave duration, and in terms of replacement pay for maternity leave (Table 6).

Table 6 Family allowances in Poland and the UK: Maternity, paternity and parental leaves, birth grants and child benefits, 2010³⁴.

Type of leave/benefit	Poland	The UK
Maternity leave	<p>Before 2010: 18 weeks at first birth and 20 weeks for each subsequent one.</p> <p>From 2010: 20 weeks after the first birth, an additional 2 weeks for every consecutive child up to a maximum of 37 weeks.</p> <p>Paid at 100% wage based on average annual income for the whole period.</p>	<p>Fifty two weeks.</p> <p>The first 6 weeks are paid at 90% average weekly income, after that either at £128.73 a week, or 90% of average weekly income (whichever is lower) for a further 33 weeks.</p> <p>Some companies have their own maternity leave schemes, which can be more generous than the statutory rights.</p>
Paternity leave	<p>One week paid at 100% wage replacement, introduced in 2010.</p>	<p>Up to 2 weeks paid at £128.73 or 90% of average weekly income if this is less.</p> <p>Additional leave available for a maximum of 26 weeks if their partner has returned to work (with the same pay as the ordinary paternity leave).</p>
Parental leave	<p>Up to 36 months until the child is 4 years old.</p> <p>Means-tested and paid at a flat</p>	<p>Each parent can take up to 13 weeks until the child is 5 years old.</p>

³⁴ This corresponds to my fieldwork which began in 2010 and continued into mid-2011.

	statutory monthly pay of 400 zlotys (£85 ³⁵) for 24 months, which in 2010 equalled to 32% of the minimum gross monthly wage ³⁶ .	Leave is unpaid but some employers have parental leave schemes.
Birth/maternity grant	Universal one-off payment of 1000 zlotys (£213). Low income families can qualify for a double amount.	Families in receipt of other means-tested benefits can receive £500 for the first child only.
Child benefit	Means-tested at 68 zlotys a month until the child is 5 years old, 91 zlotys for children aged 5-18 and 98 zlotys for those aged over 18 up to 24 if they fulfil certain conditions (£15; £19 and £21 a month accordingly).	Universal at £20 per week for the first child and £13 for other children.

Sources: Data for Poland based on www.mpips.gov.pl³⁷, data for the UK based on www.gov.uk³⁸.

The main family allowances in Poland such as child benefit and parental leave payment are means-tested and in 2010 the threshold for these benefits was set at 38% of the minimum gross monthly wage per family member. Despite the long parental leave period in Poland, the uptake is low and 50% of eligible mothers and only 2% of fathers used it in the past, and even then it was often not taken in full (Plomien, 2009). The low wage replacement level, strict eligibility criteria and the fear of losing jobs have been frequently reported by other scholars to act as an incentive for mothers to go back to work after maternity leave (Kotowska et al., 2007; Pascall et al., 2005).

³⁵ All conversions from Polish Zloty (PLN) to UK Sterling are made at £1=4.7 PLN, though the value of UK Sterling fluctuated between 4.3 and 5.4 PLN during 2010-2011 (based on www.waluty.onet.pl, accessed on 20/02/2012).

³⁶ All relations to average and minimum wage are calculated by the author based on amounts from 2010 and they need to be considered cautiously as the respective levels may not change concurrently.

³⁷ All data about social provisions in Poland accessed from quoted sources between 1-30/01/2012 unless stated otherwise.

³⁸ All data about social provisions in the UK based on cited sources was accessed between 1-30/01/2012 unless stated otherwise.

5.5.1 Tax credits and income support

Having children is related to economic inactivity and/or reduced working hours for mothers, particularly among Polish families in the UK who often live on one or one and a half income. Tax credits and income support were reported by many respondents in London to provide families with additional income, substituting, at least partly, for the non-working parent's wage, shaping individuals' Attitudes and beliefs about the financial consequences related to having another child. Informants also reported that availability of such benefits makes exit from employment to care a viable option for parents who prefer to do so (see also Himmelweit et al., 2004) and thus it relates to parents' behavioural control by making it easier to have a second child.

Several of my respondents in London received various means-tested tax credits. These include Working Tax Credits (WTC) for people on low income working more than 16 hours a week. Child Care Tax Credit can form a part of WTC to help with childcare costs that could cover up to 80% of the costs before 2011 and 70% as from April 2011. Child Tax Credit (CTC) is another means-tested allowance for carers of children and it does not depend on employment status of the carer. The exact amount one can claim depends on individual circumstances and family income, and, for example, a couple with one child and a joint annual gross income of £20 000, not paying any childcare costs, in 2010 could claim £2195 in tax credits annually, the amount doubled for two children. People in employment can also receive Income Support which is designed for individuals on low income who work less than 16 hours a week (based on www.gov.uk).

Many parents I talked to in Krakow complained about rigid eligibility criteria for social benefits in Poland. Indeed, one of the important cross country differences in eligibility criteria for various means-tested social benefits is that in Poland there is one relatively rigid income threshold for each benefit and exceeding it even by a small amount disqualifies the family from receiving any allowance. In the UK most income based allowances are progressive i.e. the amount of the allowance decreases with the raise in

family income, but the benefit is not necessarily withdrawn altogether while the upper thresholds are relatively high³⁹.

Tax relief for families with children is universal in Poland, the maximum deductible annual amount for each child is 1112 zlotys (£236) (based on www.mf.gov.pl). There is no assistance to cover childcare costs unlike in the UK. Low income families in Poland can claim social assistance allowances; these are intended for low income families in difficult financial situations, therefore their purpose is similar to the tax credits in the UK, however, nobody in Krakow reported receiving these allowances. The low eligibility criterion may be one reason for that, in 2010 it was set at 27% of the minimum gross monthly income per person in a household of two or more people (based on www.pomocspoleczna.ngo.pl).

5.5.2 *Housing allowances*

In both countries people on low income can claim assistance with the costs of rent, and qualitative data suggest that such benefits alleviate the consequences of the lost second income among some respondents in London and improve parents' financial and housing situation. In the UK people can claim means-tested Local Housing Allowance (LHA) or Housing Benefit (HB) to pay all or part of their rent. The amount of the benefit varies by the household size and depends on individuals' circumstances. For example, a family of three is eligible for a two bedroom property, and in Inner West London the maximum LHA rate for this type of property in 2010 was £290 per week. Individuals can also apply for housing owned by local councils where rent tends to be cheaper compared to private landlords. In Poland housing allowance in 2010 was available for people where gross monthly income per person in a family did not exceed 67% of the minimum gross pay in households of more than one person. The total amount of the housing allowance is based on individual circumstances; the maximum limit varies among different local districts between 50% and 90% of the total costs of keeping the housing including rent and bills⁴⁰ (based on www.pomocspoleczna.ngo.pl). Nonetheless, none of my respondents in Krakow reported receiving housing allowances, partly because these on

³⁹ For example, regarding WTC in the UK prior to 2012 a family on a joint income of £40 000 could obtain £545 annually (see Chapter 9 for more information on recent changes in welfare benefits in the UK and Poland).

⁴⁰ For example, in Krakow it cannot exceed 70% of the total costs (based on www.bip.krakow.pl).

low income often lived rent-free with other relatives (see section 5.6 on housing tenure), without a tenancy agreement which made them ineligible for such benefits.

5.5.3 *Benefits uptake among Polish nationals in Poland and in the UK*

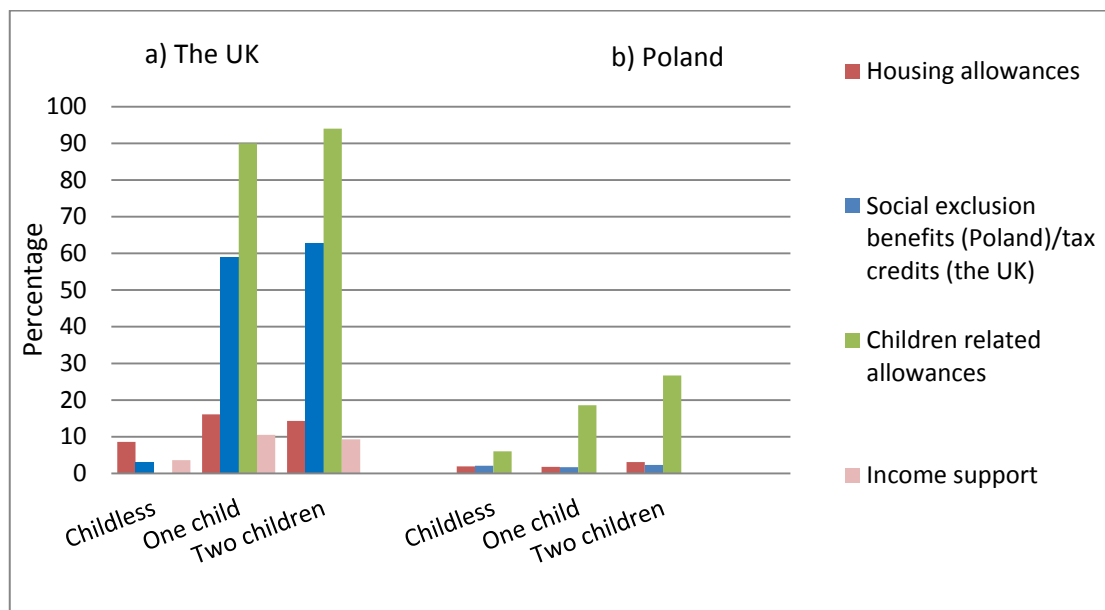
Before May 2011 Polish migrants in the UK had limited access to state benefits until they had been in continuous employment (with breaks not longer than 30 days) for 12 months, although as EU8⁴¹ nationals, they had immediate access to (provided that they had a job) child benefit and tax credits (they lost these entitlements if they became unemployed during the first 12 months). After being in employment for a 12-month period, Polish migrants gained rights to income-related benefits such as job-seekers allowance or housing benefits (Osipovic, 2010; Trevena, 2009a). Although from 2011 these restrictions do not apply, rights to social benefits are based on migrants' employment or dependency status.

According to the LFS data Polish parents in the UK had much higher propensity to claim means-tested benefits such as housing or tax credits than childless migrants. In contrast, in Poland the uptake of housing and social exclusion allowances was small regardless of the number of dependent children (Figure 21). Universal child benefit was the most commonly claimed allowance among migrants and it was received by 92% of families with dependent children under 16. In Poland 18.6% of households with one child received children related allowances, increasing to 27% for households with two children.

Tax credits are the second most popular benefits among Polish nationals in the UK, particularly among parents, however, the childcare element of WTC to help with childcare costs was claimed only by 12% of all families with a youngest child under the age of 5. The EU-SILC provides data on social benefits for people with low income at risk of social exclusion and around 2% of households in Poland received these benefits regardless of the presence and number of dependent offspring.

⁴¹ EU8: EU Member States which joined the EU on the 1st of May 2004 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia).

Figure 21 Benefits' uptake by number of dependent children among Polish nationals in the UK (2008/09) and Poland (2008).



Note: Children related allowances in Poland include: child benefit, parental leave payment, benefits for families with three or more children, benefits for disable children and single parents. In the UK it refers to child benefit only.

Household data (EU-SILC) and pooled total of family units (the UK LFS), weighted.

Source: Author's calculations based on EU-SILC 2008 and the UK LFS 2008/09.

Among migrants, housing related allowances were received by 16.1% and 14.3% of families with one and two children respectively compared to 8.6% of these with no dependent children. In Poland overall fewer people were in receipt of housing allowances i.e. 1.8% with no dependent children, 1.9% and 3.1% of households with one and two children respectively.

The statistical data do not give any clear indication of how benefit uptake might relate to PBC among Polish parents in the UK and Poland. On the one hand, one could conclude that among migrants having children introduces the need for state help or makes it easier to establish eligibility for social support. Earnings of migrants are low relative to the average wage in the British economy and families with children often live on one or one and a half income. This may explain why such a high percentage of migrant families with children receive means-tested allowances which are designed for the poorest families only. On the other hand, respondents in London often compared welfare allowances in the UK to what was available in Poland and the fact that a higher percentage of parents in the UK receive means-tested benefits than their counterparts in

Poland is, at least partly, related to the low and austere threshold for most social benefits in Poland; in the UK the eligibility criteria are less strict while the levels of benefits appear to be higher relative to benefits in Poland.

5.6 Housing

It was often mentioned by my respondents in both cities that having adequate housing conditions was an important precondition to have another child. Having sufficient space for the family and children is one of the dimensions of adequate housing situation. Regrettably based on LFS and EU-SILC data it was not possible to analyse housing space per individual, nor the number of rooms available per person. Tenure status is also related to housing conditions as owning a property may give individuals more stability and they may feel that they are in a better position to have a/nother child. For instance, renting was seen as insecure by some respondents in the qualitative part of the study as one can be asked to move out at any time and to look for other accommodation, while some individuals who rented also aimed at owning a property which can compete with resources required to invest in another child.

Based on LFS data in 2008/09 the vast majority of Polish migrants, regardless of the number of children and the area of residence lived in rented housing (86.9% of those in London and 90% in the rest of the country). The vast majority of migrants had a private landlord and only a minority rented from a social landlord⁴². Unlike migrants, the majority of residents in Poland live in privately owned properties. The second most common housing tenure in Poland was accommodation provided for free, and my qualitative data indicate that this is likely to be due to adult children (and their families) living at their parents' or in-laws'. Renting in Poland is quite rare, overall around 4% of all respondents in EU-SILC are found in rented housing (Table 7), which corresponds to my qualitative data.

⁴² Social landlords include: registered housing associations and cooperatives and local authorities. Accommodation provided by social landlords is cheaper compared to accommodation rented from private landlords.

Table 7 Housing tenure and number of dependent children among Polish migrants in the UK and residents in Poland (in percentages).

Accommodation details		Polish migrants in the UK			Residents in Poland		
		Childless	One child	Two children	Childless	One child	Two children
Owned property	Owned outright	3.0	0	0	61.9	56.8	64.3
	Bought with mortgage or loan	11.0	5.9	19.6			
	Part rent, part mortgage	2.1	0	0			
Rented	Renting	82.2	94.1	80.4	3.6	5.2	4.4
Rent free	Rent free	1.	0	0	34.5	37.9	31.3

Pooled total of surveyed persons aged 16 and over, weighted.

Source: Author's calculations based on LFS 2008/09 and EU-SILC 2008. Data

Unfortunately EU-SILC does not provide any information about whether property was owned with or without a mortgage; however, according to Eurostat data, in 2008 62% of residents in Poland lived in owned properties with no outstanding mortgage or loan, while only 4.4% of owners had a mortgage. This illustrates that the majority of people in Poland live in owned properties and, unlike their migrant counterparts, pay neither mortgage nor renting costs, a topic discussed in detail in later chapters.

5.7 Conclusions

Factors associated with reproductive intentions and behaviour in the qualitative part of this study and related to aspects of Attitudes and PBC include employment, income, welfare state support and housing conditions and the accounts of these aspects can vary

depending on gender and country of residence. In this chapter I outlined structural settings in Poland and in the UK since each country provides a specific set of constraints and opportunities for women and men to negotiate their childbearing intentions. I also analysed socioeconomic characteristics of Polish nationals living in the two countries by parity and gender and this chapter provided an overview of macro contexts to better understand my informants' narratives in the following chapters.

The data presented here demonstrated that Polish men in both settings tend to work full-time regardless of parity while having children is associated with lower employment rates among mothers in both countries relative to men and women with no dependent children. However, while mothers in Poland work full-time, a considerable percentage of their migrant counterparts are found in part-time employment. I also demonstrated that despite having similar educational status Polish migrants often occupy low and semi-skilled jobs in the UK, while a higher percentage of residents in Poland are in professional and skilled occupations, which relates to different accounts of opportunity costs linked to childbearing in Krakow and London. Comparing wages in cross-country settings is problematic due to differences in costs of living, nonetheless, if we measure monthly earnings in PPP migrants still earn more than nationals in Poland, despite their concentration in low-skilled jobs.

The role of the welfare state is often discussed by my informants in Krakow and London in relation to their childbearing intentions. Welfare state contexts can relate to individuals' PBC by providing conditions which can make it easier for individuals to have children; and to Attitudes by influencing the costs associated with childbearing and childrearing. The policy overview showed that the level of welfare provision, in terms of cash transfers, tax credits and availability of formal childcare, is more generous in the UK when compared to Poland. On the other hand, the length and wage replacement levels of maternity leave as well as the costs of formal childcare are better in Poland relative to the UK. The statistical data also illustrate that parents residing in Poland have a lower propensity to receive any state benefits than Polish residents in the UK, which corresponds with qualitative findings.

Aggregate data presented here sketch the background for my study and contribute a description of a range of factors that my female and male respondents in Krakow and London associated with childbearing decisions making processes. Childbearing intentions are influenced not only by group socioeconomic characteristics and structural

settings as seen in the aggregated statistics, but also by individuals' subjective experiences and preferences (Billari, et al., 2009). In the next chapter I therefore focus on rationalisations of childbearing intentions by participants in this study as I examine their views regarding conditions which they report as necessary before having a second child.

6 Childbearing Intentions in Transnational Milieu

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 described the macro institutional and economic settings and I analysed the socioeconomic characteristic of Polish nationals living in the UK and Poland. Such examinations reveal only part of the story, as, for instance, individual preferences are unobservable in the statistical analysis I presented. What constitutes sufficient economic or institutional resources for progression to a second parity can only meaningfully be conceived of in relative terms by exploring how parents themselves identify and define factors important for childbearing intentions. This chapter, therefore, contributes to the understanding of how individuals arrive at perceptions of adequacy, what they assess as sufficient resources to have a second child and how they evaluate what consequences a second child should be allowed to have on the family's living standard.

This chapter is divided into five sections. It begins by considering the role of transnationalism and social comparisons in understanding childbearing intentions since how individuals construct their aspirations and evaluate their situation partly depends on what frame of reference they employ in their appraisal of what circumstances are adequate. The next section explores the importance of economic rationales, related to Perceived Behavioural Control (PBC) and Attitudes, in narratives about progression to a second parity. The following three sections examine the accounts about particular resources that were prominent in relation to having more children and the role of social comparisons and groups of reference in respondents' accounts. I examine interviewees' aspirations and assessment of income, costs of living and raising children in Krakow and London, and I consider their accounts regarding housing and educational provisions for children. In the following section I explore expectations for the welfare state in assisting individuals to achieve their desired standard of living and their reproductive goals and underlying beliefs. Finally, I consider the accounts about expectations for, and transnational comparisons of, family life and their links to migration as well as childbearing decisions.

6.2 Transnationalism, social comparisons and childbearing intentions

Scholars consistently assert that the difficult institutional situation is the main reason for decline and persistence of low fertility in contemporary Poland (Kotowska et al., 2008a;

Matysiak, 2009a; Mishtal, 2009). In quantitative demographic research however the questions and response categories devised to measure socioeconomic aspects of childbearing tend to be broad and general. For instance, in a survey about childbearing decisions in Poland women who did not intend to have a/nother child or were unsure were asked whether their decision was because their 'financial situation did not allow for that' or their 'housing situation did not allow for that' alongside such factors as age, health, having as many children as one wanted or a lack of a stable partner (Baranowska, 2007a).

Although to the best of my knowledge none of the studies on fertility in Poland have employed the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB), socioeconomic factors related to Attitudes and PBC are examined in most research. Furthermore, in surveys based on TPB, PBC is often measured by asking whether respondents' decision to have a/nother child depends on a number of economic and institutional factors such as employment, income, housing situation, the availability of childcare or parental leave (Billari et al., 2009; Buber et al., 2011). Attitudes are measured by asking respondents about the consequences (both positive and negative) of having a/nother child, which in turn, are composed of varied factors including socioeconomic (e.g. housing, financial situation, employment or educational status), value orientation and psychological factors (e.g. joy and satisfaction of having children, security in old age).

Despite the importance of beliefs in TPB, research typically focuses on the central constructs while exploration of the underlying beliefs in surveys is limited or de-emphasized and there is little possibility to examine in depth the origins of Attitudes and PBC and how these are created in particular contexts (Steers, 2012). Consequently, the design and interpretations of most fertility intentions research often entail fixed concepts of what income, housing or financial situations are satisfactory or not, often without accounting for underlying differences in individuals' beliefs regarding these factors. In reality though the definition of aspects of Attitudes and PBC i.e. resources needed for childbearing, opportunities, constraints and costs related to having children depends on the beliefs and logic about the elements constituting adequate standards against which individuals judge their situation and form aspirations. Indeed, the most pressing issue for my informants was not numbers of children; it was instead their ability to provide children with what they, as parents, considered as necessary commodities and standard of living in the country of residence. Respondents in Krakow

and London alike compared themselves to others, often across borders, in their accounts of what they considered adequate. Although the aspect of social comparisons is overlooked in measuring socioeconomic facets related to childbearing intentions and trends, economists and social psychologists have long acknowledged that people compare themselves with others when forming beliefs, aspirations and judging their own living conditions and their abilities (Festinger, 1968; Kruglanski et al., 1990). As Baxter (1988 p.99) explained:

Judgements about status and self-esteem, and the process of self actualisation, generally entail in some degree social interaction and interpersonal comparisons... These comparisons provide a yardstick by which judgements can be made. Goals may also be set and expectations formed by reference to others.

Researchers suggested that certain individuals are more likely to engage in social comparisons than others (see, for example, Gibbons et al., 1999) and it was noted that men tend to be more competitive and show more tendency towards social comparisons than women (Schneider et al., 2014). Nonetheless, in this study both men and women engaged in social comparisons and I have not detected any gender differences in the way these comparisons were constructed.

Social comparisons, rather than objective circumstances, may impact the appraisal of individuals' resources and their evaluation of socioeconomic consequences of having a second child. Individuals' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with specific conditions and outcomes may depend on their chosen group of reference i.e. 'those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically' (Sherif, 1953 p. 161). For instance, it was reported that individuals employ social comparisons to assess their earnings and the higher the income of reference group[s], the less satisfaction an individual derives from their own income (Clark et al., 1996; van Praag et al., 2009). The idea that feelings of deprivation are less related to objective hardship, rather they depend on the group(s) to which individuals compare themselves dates back to Stouffer (1949) who noted that dissatisfaction among American soldiers was not always triggered directly by objective adversities they suffered but depended on how they framed judgments of their own situation, while they frequently based these on comparisons to others who, somehow, were believed as providing appropriate reference for self-evaluation. The same mechanism of social comparisons can, however, lead to relative gratification and perception of advantage if

one's reference group is perceived as less fortunate. This implies that objectively advantaged individuals may feel more deprived than those who are objectively disadvantaged depending on what groups of reference they choose as the benchmark for their judgement (see also Guimond et al., 2002).

Reference group theory has a long history, however in the past researchers focused primarily on comparisons that individuals made with neighbours, friends or social classes in the same nation while the role of cross-national frames of reference that individuals employ to assess their situation has been explored only in the last decade (Delhey et al., 2006). Recently a body of literature emerged which illustrates the association between cross-national comparisons and satisfaction with living standards (see Delhey et al., 2006; Fahey, 2010; Goedeme et al., 2011; and Whelan et al., 2009 for an alternative argument which minimises the relevance of cross-national comparisons). Social comparisons that individuals make are intrinsically complex, multiple and shifting thus national and cross-national social comparisons can, and do, operate simultaneously (Walker et al., 2002). However, previous research indicated that individuals are not entirely constrained by national borders when judging their circumstances but that other nations are a legitimate, though not the only, influence on their judgements (Fahey et al., 2004).

The fact that people endeavour to move across borders echoes their ability to make comparisons of living standards in various nations (Delhey et al., 2006). Migrants often maintain dual attachment to families, communities and traditions outside of the borders of nation-states to which they have relocated (Ryan, 2011; Vertovec, 2001; White, 2011) which encourages further cross border comparisons. Vertovec (2010, p. 2) defined transnationalism as 'sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formations spanning nation states'. Connections and movements across borders can be material as well as ideational (Hurrelmann, 2011) and while transnationalism is often applied to studies of migrants, non-migrants can also engage in complex transnational ideational practices and comparisons. The integration of the European Union (EU) in particular brought into the limelight the question of transnational practices within Europe and the formation of transnational European identity and European citizenship (Bruter, 2005). EU integration facilitates cross-border connections linking Europeans through the single market, funding of interregional cooperation through EU cohesion schemes, or EU policies that shape aspirations and

evaluations of national policies and generate national debates. Moreover, national media frequently cover EU related news while the reporting of national economic, political or social issues is also often framed in a wider pan-European context (see for instance Bruter, 2005; Siapera, 2004). The integration of the EU therefore makes transnational connections in Europe particularly salient since close political and economic ties between European nations and its residents facilitate exchanges in political, economic but also in cultural practices, thinking and identities (Hurrelmann, 2011). European societies have become increasingly culturally similar over time (Kaelble, 2004), and Fahey et al. (2004, p. 24) noted that:

...in judging the adequacy of their personal situations, Europeans seem to have an uncanny grasp of where their societies stand in the international (or at least European) hierarchy of economic development and take that standing into account in arriving at subjective evaluations of their personal circumstances.

The aspirations of Europeans have accordingly become similar and Dickes et al. (2010) pointed out that across EU Member States similar goods and services are considered as essential for a satisfactory living standard.

Economic factors are important components in both childbearing intentions and in migration choices. Migration theories often focus on income discrepancies between nations in their attempts to conceptualise and understand migration decision making processes. According to neoclassical economic theory, income disparities between regions are the major reasons for labour migration and individual workers relocate from low to high income countries (Boswell, 2008). Although the new economics of labour migration focuses on households' decisions, rather than on individual's, and also acknowledges that income comparisons to groups of reference are important in migratory decisions rather than absolute levels of wages, the theory still focuses on income *per se* as a criterion for comparison (Jennissen, 2007). Nevertheless, as I illustrate in this chapter, male and female informants in this study evaluated not only income related aspects of living standard in their migration and childbearing decisions but the ability of one partner to be a full-time home maker was a recurring feature of cross-national comparisons and was brought up in relation to respondents' assertions of what constituted desirable family life. This aspect of an improved living standard and improved quality of family life, although present in narratives, is often neglected in

migration theories as it is not reflected in wage comparisons and is also missing from most research on childbearing intentions and trends.

In this section I have outlined the theoretical concepts that allowed me to understand and explain my informants' narrations regarding socioeconomic aspects of Attitudes and PBC. Now this chapter turns to exploring the strength of the economic rationale in respondents' narratives as well as particular resources that were prominent in their accounts.

6.3 Childbearing intentions and economic rationale

Top in the list of factors related to the intention whether or not to have a second child among male and female interviewees was the subject of costs of living and raising children and the ability to secure satisfactory living standards and economic resources for the family in the country of residence, and which related to respondents' Attitudes and PBC. This section reviews prevailing economic justifications of childbearing choices highlighting how these permeate people's narratives before I set to describe in the following sections cross-country comparisons and groups of reference which underlined these narratives.

The key to being a responsible parent in both Krakow and London was awareness that rearing children requires financial resources and investment, and parents routinely gave accounts of economic reasoning when justifying their reproductive intentions. When I asked Waldek how many children he intended to have, he answered:

Waldek: I was thinking about it, surely it is two, maximum, because I see that I could not afford three children... I know that we will afford two children because an average cost... the costs are high, really, very high and it is simply difficult to earn decent money in this country and to have a good standard of living.

JM: What did you consider when calculating these [costs]?

Waldek: Well, my wages, overtime... and well, I would not want just to make ends meet, only [I want] to have some savings and to go on holidays... And I want to meet my children's small wishes...surely more expensive clothes, new computer, or a play station. (Waldek, 23, child 5 months old, Krakow)

Mateusz told me that ideally he wanted to have bigger family and up to five children, however:

JM: Why the ideal is five [children] but you intend to have two?

Mateusz: We decided to have two and not more...because of down to earth reasons. I think I earn decent money [przyzwoicie] but it is probably too little to support a bigger family without problems. (Mateusz, 33, child 18 months old, London)

As many respondents repeatedly reasoned, offspring are financially demanding, they not only need food, clothes and toys, they need computers, play stations, up to date, modern gadgets and that is even before they grow up and bigger investment is required according to some parents:

JM: You said that you do not feel a need to have another child?

Zofia: It is not a problem to bring up a small child...the problems start when the child grows up and has higher materialistic demands, computer, the newest iPod, clothes, school, holidays... (Zofia, 29, child 8 years old, Krakow)

Economic rationale is a vital part of beliefs about good parenthood, that parents must either embrace or reject however they can rarely ignore it. Individuals who do not follow this rational, economic reproductive strategy may well be afraid of being judged by others as irresponsible. For instance Wojciech who intended to have a second child in the near future told me:

JM: And do you consider anything when deciding about another child?

Wojciech: Health...well, maybe this is a childish behaviour [gówniarskie zachowanie] but we never thought about our financial situation [when thinking about 2nd child]

JM: What do you mean by childish?

Wojciech: Well, irresponsible, somebody can see it like that, that we did not think about it and did not calculate the costs... (Wojciech, 32, child 6 years old, Krakow)

6.3.1 *A note on economic rationale and progression beyond the first parity*

Although media accounts suggest that the economic rationale pertains to all childbearing choices, Mynarska (2009a, p. 137 emphasis in original) noted that financial considerations are more imperative in higher parity intentions than for entry

into parenthood since in Polish culture in order to become a fulfilled and complete human being and to have a 'full' family 'one *has to* become a parent', since a couple, even if married, is not yet a 'real/full' family until a child joins them. Indeed, many individuals I talked to asserted that the desire for childbearing is fundamental to human nature. When I asked Rysiek how he decided to have a child he told me: 'it was advisable [pasowało] to have the first child, offspring [potomstwo], obviously, every person aspires to have some offspring, or one child' (Rysiek, 39, child 12 years old, Krakow). Krzysiek also said 'naturally I wanted to have a child, like every normal person' (Krzysiek, 28, child 3 years old, London); Mariola similarly replied 'why marry if you do not want to have children?' (Mariola, 29, child 19 months old, Krakow). Olga told me that 'people who do not want to have children...if they do not have medical reasons I think that something is wrong with them' (Olga, 33, child 9 months old, London). Consequently, progression to parenthood provides parents with immediate benefits as it relates to individuals' and couples' development because having a child binds partners and creates a family. Such immediate benefits are associated with 'perceptions of a normal and natural life course' (Mynarska, 2009a, p. 100 italics in original). On the other hand, delayed benefits of having a child are linked to respondents' perceptions of the negative consequences of being childless and getting old, as elderly people are perceived as needing offspring for support and happiness (see also Mynarska, 2009a).

Most people I talked to agreed that reproducing is a natural human need, that 'normal' individuals desire to procreate and that it is important to provide good standard of living for one's offspring (see also Kanaaneh, 2002). The majority of informants told me that they wanted to have more children and to invest in these children to provide them with perceived requirements. Indeed, my respondents' preoccupation with economic and structural conditions to a degree echoed the media accounts and academic literature on fertility choices in Poland. While demographic research often takes the socialist past as a reference point for evaluating the current economic and institutional situation and interpreting fertility trends in Poland, after in-depth examination of informants' accounts regarding what constituted the necessities, and the costs of providing them in the country of residence, it becomes clear that respondents in this study often drew on comparisons with other nations and their residents in assessing their situation. Such

comparisons were an essential component of respondents' PBC and Attitudes, the subject of the next sections.

6.4 Transnational comparisons, income, costs of living and childrearing

Many migrants have developed transnational ties and their comparisons of living standards are also transnational (see also Ryan et al., 2009b; White, 2010). Although Krakow-based respondents have fewer opportunities to form transnational comparisons relative to those in London, informants in both cities engaged in multiple cross border comparisons related to childbearing intentions' justifications. Their PBC (i.e. perceptions about presence of factors that facilitate or impede having a second child) and their Attitudes (i.e. beliefs about outcomes of having another child), were related to comparisons to transnational groups of reference.

The argument about costs of living and raising children was frequently brought up in relation to both negative and positive intentions regarding a second child. It was pointed out to me by male and female informants in London that basic goods for children such as food, toys, clothes, equipment, toiletries or medication were expensive in Poland and cheaper in London. Felicjan, for instance, told me enthusiastically:

JM: You started talking about reasons why you came here [to the UK]

Felicjan: ... recently we bought a buggy, we paid £200 and in Poland it costs 1300zlotys [£276] ...in Poland it would be half of my wage, here it is one tenth. (Felicjan, 24, child 3 years old, London)

Maja also commented that many consumer goods are cheaper in the UK relative to Poland:

JM: Do you visit Poland?

Maja: ... in Poland even food is very expensive...not to mention buying toys, because they are expensive in Poland... (Maja, 32, child 6 months old, London).

Also other commodities were reported to be cheaper in London than in Poland. For instance, Grzesiek told me that:

JM: So when you want to go somewhere [on holidays], where do you go?

Grzesiek: ... prices are horrendous there now [in Poland], everybody says so...how is it possible that Łaciate [Polish milk] is

cheaper in a shop in London than in Poland? My mum was leaving [for Poland after visiting him in London] and I tell her 'maybe I will give you a souvenir from the UK? I will give you Łaciate, take it to father' [laughing]...whether clothes or anything else it is cheaper here. An example, an energy saving Phillips bulb in Poland costs 15 zlotys [£3,2], here in Sainsbury's it is 30p, I bought two bags, seriously...I will send them to Poland. How is it possible? (Grzesiek, 34, child 10 months old, London)

Such comparisons related to respondents' PBC, many parents in London expressed that overall it was easier to have children and provide for one's family in the UK than in Poland partly because lower costs of living relative to wages and overall living conditions were more favorable in the former:

JM: So you always wanted to have two children?

Kinga: I wanted to have two children whether here or in Poland but here it is easier to achieve this goal than in Poland. In Poland it is hard all the time [pod górkę cały czas]. Here in general, the economy, shops, prices, wages, the government's help, if you take all that into consideration it is easier than in Poland... (Kinga, 28, child 5 years old, London)

Another important aspect of cross-national comparisons related to PBC of mothers and fathers was the costs of doctors and medication. Some parents in both cities reported that there was little choice in Poland but to go to private doctors, which could prove a costly alternative to public healthcare. Moreover, medication is free for children in the UK unlike in Poland, and several respondents in London highlighted how much money they would need to spend in Poland to buy medicine which they received free of charge when abroad. When I asked Renata what was the reason she came to the UK she replied:

Renata: Simply for money. In Poland... my husband earned 1000 zlotys [£213] and my son has an allergy and the treatment was expensive...here the medicine is for free...In Poland I went to the doctor privately [with her son] ...to pay for the visit, medication... it was 400 [£85] a month and we did not get any money for the child... (Renata, 34, son 4 years old, London)

Unlike Renata, Kuba had never used the Polish healthcare system for his child who was born in London, but, although he wanted to return to his country of origin one day, he also mentioned the costs of medication when justifying his postponement of going back:

JM: So when do you plan to return [to Poland]?

Kuba: ...medication for kids is for free here and she [daughter] gets special things [milk, creams etc. for allergy]...if we moved to Poland now this would cost us a lot... and you would need to go to a private doctor [in Poland]... (Kuba, 33, child 1 year old, London)

Within a national frame of reference, one could infer that low wages of Polish workers relative to the average wage in the UK economy would negatively impact their PBC; nonetheless, this is not the case. The examination of groups of reference Polish nationals use in evaluating their situation in the UK sheds light on their responses regarding economic aspects of PBC. Informants in London rarely compared resources available to them with what was accessible to natives, more frequently they evaluated their situation in the UK relative to what was available to them when they resided in Poland. Frequently their groups of reference were also their network members back in Poland such as family members and friends, occasionally other immigrants, mostly compatriots but also other nationals. According to Stark et al. (1985, p. 173) ‘a person may migrate from one location to another to change his relative position in the same reference group, or to change his reference group’. Many London-based informants in this study evaluated their childbearing related capital within a Polish reference group, rather than changing their reference group altogether. And since they often perceived themselves as better off relative to people and circumstances they compared themselves with, this was accompanied by accounts of gratification about their own situation and childbearing resources in the country of destination. These comparisons are also related to the fact that they often postponed return migration, despite that some respondents in London reported that they initially planned to stay in the UK only for a short period of time.

The frequency of comparisons migrants made with Poland is also observed by other scholars. For example, White (2011 p.19) noted that her Polish interviewees in the UK created ‘a ‘good’ local livelihood in the UK, but according to Polish criteria’. Many parents I talked to in London kept close ties with Poland, facilitated by modern technology. Frequent Skype conversations with family and friends, keeping in touch through emails and the internet, social networks such as *nasza klasa*⁴³ and reading Polish news were common practices in London. Cheap flights made it also possible to visit Poland at least a few times a year, while economically inactive women whose

⁴³ Popular Polish social network similar to Facebook.

children were not yet at school sometimes told me that they visited their families in Poland even more often. The data show that between 2000 and 2007 there was more than twenty-fold increase in the number of passengers travelling between the UK and Poland identified as visiting friends or relatives (Civil Aviation Authority, 2009). Through these visits migrants get an up to date and direct understanding of their home country (Aksoy et al., 2000). On the other hand, the lack of English language skills among some Polish people in the UK made it problematic to follow British media or to socialise with anybody but other Poles. Many respondents also mentioned that they lived in neighbourhoods, socialised or worked with other immigrants, including compatriots rather than English people, which is in line with other studies (Spencer et al., 2007). Moreover, most respondents had some, even though often vague, plans to return and settle down in Poland. All of these factors might have reinforced their attachment to Polish standards when evaluating their own situation in London.

The regularity of comparisons that London-based informants made between the UK and Poland 'reflects the strength of their belonging to their home country' (Parutis, 2009, p. 259), however, as Parutis (2009) noted 'transnational practices become less frequent as migrants get more integrated into British society'. Baltatescu (2007) also posited that the longer migrants reside in a nation the more dissatisfied they become with the destination place and less likely to compare it to the country of origin. On the other hand, the relative deprivation hypothesis in migration theories assume that reference groups are relatively stable over time, especially for international migrants, mainly due to social and cultural distinctiveness between sending and receiving nations which minimises the likelihood of reference-group alteration for migrants (Stark et al., 1989). However, most of the research focuses on international migration from developing to developed countries (e.g. Mexican migrants to the US) while migration flows within the EU are between relatively similar communities. Consequently, it may be expected that the longer Poles stay in the UK the more they compare themselves with natives, which may lead to less favorable assessment of their overall living situation in the receiving society and, consequently to less positive views about their economic and institutional resources to raise children in the UK. If the receiving country replaced the sending nation as a reference group, migration could increase migrants' sense of relative deprivation whereas by preserving the sending nation as a reference group migrants increase the gains from geographical relocation (Stark et al., 1991). Nowicka (2014)

noted that despite the fact that many Polish migrants in the UK are highly skilled workers in low-wage occupations and despite their aspirations of upward social mobility, they often employ their transnational position and Polish reference groups to construct a narrative of a successful migrant biography. According to social comparison theory comparisons to others are used to enhance one's self-esteem. The desire for self-enhancement can motivate the direction of the social comparison i.e. whether individuals compare themselves to more (upward comparisons) or less fortunate others (downward comparisons), while individuals experiencing negative outcomes can improve their subjective well-being through downward comparisons (Gibbons et al., 1999; Guimond, 2005; Suls et al., 2000). Thus, retaining sending country as a reference group may be a strategy through which Polish migrants justify their migration decisions, and enhance their subjective wellbeing in the destination country. Even though some of my informants changed their idealistic vision of life abroad after they had lived in the UK for some time, most retained Polish groups of reference as frames for evaluating their fertility-related capital and family life in London. For instance, Ela who came to the UK in 2000 told me:

JM: Why did you decide to come here?

Ela: ... I always looked at these people here [the UK] as living, much, much better than in Poland...

JM: What about now?

Ela: Now I do not think it is so colourful here as I used to think. It is good though, surely it is much better to raise a child [here] than in Poland, because my brother has a small child in Poland and I know how hard it is for them...
(Ela, 36, child 16 months old, London)

From the very first interview I conducted in Krakow and many thereafter, I heard that the financial burden of having children in Poland was heavy, apparent from the moment when the baby was born, while wages were often believed to be much lower relative to other nations. Maria, for instance, decided to have a child despite her dissatisfaction with her income and the necessity to limit her consumption needs such as forgoing holidays after she had a baby; however she wanted to make sure that her family income was higher before she had a second child:

JM: Your husband also works?

Maria: Well, but the money is still not enough... if every Pole earned twice as much as now it would be acceptable, if Poles earned three times as much we could afford to go

somewhere on holidays, nothing special. Simply, wages are four times lower than anywhere abroad and this is a problem... I am full of admiration for people that for this money, with these prices they decide to have children. Well, I decided to have a child though I knew it is not good in Poland. (Maria, 32, child 21 months old, Krakow)

Other informants' PBC, their dissatisfaction with wages and price levels in Poland was also framed in a wider pan-European perspective. For instance when Jakub was talking about his wife's job as a hospital equipment cleaning technician, he elaborated:

Jakub: ...my wife earns 1400zlotys...only in Poland it is like that, everywhere in the West they work half as much and they earn three times as much...(Jakub, 48, child 4 years old, Krakow)

Similarly, Rysiek evaluated his financial situation and the costs of living in Poland in relation to his groups of reference abroad:

JM: You said that both you and your wife have good jobs?

Rysiek: ...spending is equal to income and all income is gone immediately. I have a friend in England, he brings me clothes from there, and the prices there, if shoes cost 200 zlotys [£42] here, then there he buys it for £15, this is a difference. So, life is simply easier there, isn't it? (Rysiek, 39, child 12 years old, Krakow)

While the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita measured in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) for Poland is around half of that for Western and Northern European nations (Eurostat, 2012-2014), respondents perceive differences in wages and price levels between Poland and Western Europe more sharply. This echoes research in which Turks were reported to have a rather extravagant idea of what is a satisfactory standard of living compared to people in more affluent Western European nations, which may be a consequence of exaggerated stereotypes conveyed partly by media and film representations of how people live in the West (Delhey et al., 2006).

According to TPB beliefs are the ultimate psychological determinants of the main theoretical constructs (Ajzen, 1991), however, if questionnaire items do not examine comprehensively beliefs underlying Attitudes and PBC which are important for childbearing intentions among particular populations, this may lead to findings with relatively low reliability (Ajzen, 2002a). Such research used for policy recommendations may impact the effectiveness of intervention programs designed to assist individuals in achieving their reproductive goals. For example, if individuals'

beliefs regarding requisite resources to have a/nother child are based on transnational social comparisons, and if these comparisons are, to a degree, related to exaggerated stereotypes, than current policy efforts based on nationally bounded approaches may be ineffective.

Although the literature on fertility trends in Poland frequently compares current socioeconomic conditions in Poland to its socialist past in describing determinants of fertility patterns (Kotowska et al., 2008b; Kotowska et al., 2007; Matysiak, 2009a; Mishtal, 2009), very few respondents mentioned the socialist years. Most respondents were under the age of 35 and thus too young to remember that period well. Although direct experiences are not imperative for social comparisons, in the current milieu of Europeanisation, where Central and Eastern European countries seek to reach similar levels of economic development to the Western Europe (O'Brennan, 2012), cross-national, contemporary groups of reference may be more relevant for individuals' understanding of adequate living conditions than historical, within-nation comparisons. Few interviewees spontaneously referred to social allowances for families in the past based on what they heard from their parents. Furthermore, some respondents mentioned that living standards and aspirations of people in Poland are higher compared to the past which, combined with an increased availability of consumption goods makes it harder to support a family and raise children. For instance, Jurek told me that it was easier for his parents to raise three children because:

JM: What do you mean by that [that socialist times were different]?

Jurek: ...it was a bit easier for them [parents] to have children, now people cannot afford everything [nie na wszystko ludzi stać], the fact that one does not have a car is a tragedy and earlier it was normal and people managed somehow and now we are somehow less resistant...when it comes to finances, kind of, now there are plenty of things [consumption goods] but one walks through a shopping centre and... counts to make sure one has enough [money] and in the past, such a problem did not exist [because there were not so many goods]. (Jurek, 25, child 9 months old, Krakow)

It was the need to spend a great deal of money on commodities for children, according to some respondents, that stood behind the perception that raising offspring was expensive in Poland and related to individuals' Attitudes and PBC. Bartłomiej, for

instance, blamed prioritising children's consumption needs over one's needs on Polish mentality:

JM: And your son, is he one year old, yes?

Bartłomiej: ...one can buy cheap things for children second hand but there is this mentality in Poland to keep up with the Joneses [zastaw się a postaw się] 'oh you will not save money on your child' so you buy if you can afford and if you cannot then you will deny yourself and buy for the child. Because clothes and toys are expensive, this table [for a child] from Kingfisher...it costs 200zlotys [£42]. (Bartłomiej, 30, child 8 months old, Krakow)

Purchasing branded and new clothes was moreover important for parents of older children since in Polish schools children did not wear uniforms:

JM: You keep saying 'you know what the times are'?

Rysiek: Well, I keep saying it because that is the truth, the costs are horrendous, of everything....you give the money so that the boy [son] has good clothes too, because obviously a lot of kids have branded [oryginalne] clothes so let him have it too, because we have the money so let him have it. (Rysiek, 39, child 12 years old, Krakow)

Commodities for children denote a certain life style to which individuals aspire and have become a status symbol, rather than being just functional and practical objects (see also Georgiadis, 2006). Childrearing in Poland, according to Halina, has become an opportunity to demonstrate parents' prosperity:

JM: In what way [earning more money has changed your cousin]?

Halina: ...You know what is mentality of people in Poland...maybe people now earn more but they also spend more...So, maybe you can see yourself, how people now even started to make the First Communion⁴⁴ parties, was it like that before, that parents ordered limousines or [had parties in] restaurants...no, in the past it was in the house... So I think that, because of the TV or the internet, so everything is a show off, because people cannot afford it, they take loans. And they do it to show that they can afford it... (Halina, 34, child 1,5 years old, Krakow)

The extent to which commodities determine one's status came to my attention often in unintended ways, for instance, when I noticed that some of my respondents in Krakow,

⁴⁴ First Communion is traditionally taken in Poland by children 8 or 9 years old and it is an important occasion for large family gatherings and parties to celebrate the event.

and their children, wore branded clothes such as Gant or Ralph Lauren. Of course, they might have bought these clothes second hand, but the unspoken message conveyed to me was that they adopted Western products that signify status, and they signify status even more in Krakow than in London. I never saw any brand names worn by respondents or their children in London, which could indicate that they were not as focused on wearing branded clothing as informants in Krakow, or possibly, I just did not notice since they would blend easier into London's landscape than they did in Krakow. Researchers have long noticed the spread of the same consumer culture from Western countries to other nations (see, for example, Ger et al., 1996) and as Jagger said (2000, p. 50) 'consumption, then, is far from being simply about the satisfaction of fixed needs; it is about desires and dreams'. It has been argued that consumption allows people to share in the experiences of others and provides a sense of collectivity (Willis, 1991) and that 'the articulation of social ties through commodities is...at the heart of how sociality is experienced in consumer capitalism' (Urla et al., 1995, p. 282). By consuming certain products individuals become a part of an imagined community, even if only for a short period of time (Appadurai, 1990). Through buying certain products Polish people become a part of an affluent Western European community, as Kemper (1993) noted, living certain life styles and consuming certain goods allows people to become a part of alternative realities and create different identities and geographies.

Considering the statistical data on incomes and welfare provisions presented in the previous chapter it could be assumed that residents in Poland have fewer economic and institutional resources to invest in children and to pursue their consumption aspirations compared to Poles living in the UK. Respondents' narratives however indicate that even though economic factors are important in childbearing rationalisations, interpreting such factors is far from straightforward. The expectations regarding income, living standard and other resources among informants in Krakow were often higher relative to London-based respondents and different aspirations and expectations related to individuals' perceptions of costs of childbearing and their ability to have a second child in the country of residence. While individuals often draw on wider transnational comparative frameworks when reporting facets related to Attitudes and PBC, surveys do not capture such essential components of these items as groups of reference. Subsequently, the interpretation of variables related to economic and institutional factors in fertility research are typically constrained to national contexts (see, for example Baranowska,

2007a; Kotowska et al., 2008a) thus their results can only provide us with a partial picture of the meaning of these factors in decision making processes.

In his major study of poverty in the UK, Townsend (1979, cited in Sen, 1983, p. 115) who made ground-breaking contributions to the relativist view of poverty drawing on the concept of relative deprivation claimed that although absolute poverty declined in western world, poverty is still a meaningful concept if perceived in relative terms:

Any rigorous conceptualisation of the social determination of need dissolves the idea of 'absolute' need...The necessities of life are not fixed. They are continuously being adapted and augmented as changes take place in a society and in its products...the growth of powerful new organisations, create, as well as reconstitute, 'need'...

The last comment seems to be particularly relevant in the light of European integration and where the cross-national social and political formations in Europe seem to create and reconstitute the concepts of 'need' and 'adequacy', which are not fixed. Undoubtedly there is not one universal European standard, but for respondents in Krakow, Europe often meant the West or the North. Individuals I talked to in Poland repeatedly made comparisons to Germany, Austria, France, Ireland, Norway or the UK. Spain and Greece were never mentioned, while only once I heard comments about Italy. The geographical proximity to Germany and Austria and the longstanding migration history that dates back to socialist years could explain the selection of these nations as reference groups (Jaźwińska et al., 2007). The intensity of Polish migration to the UK and Ireland post-2004 can also explain why these two countries were often used as frameworks for reference. Furthermore, several respondents in Krakow had personal migration experiences. Some had short term summer jobs abroad, a few had participated in student exchange programmes with overseas universities, others spent various amounts of time working abroad that ranged from half a year to 10 years in countries including the UK, Ireland, France, Portugal, Italy, Canada, Germany and Norway. Two of the interviewees in Krakow with previous migration experience were actively searching for job opportunities abroad when I talked to them, others may well relocate abroad in the future, and thus my research captures them at a particular point in their life trajectories.

Additionally, many respondents in Krakow, even if they did not have first-hand experiences of living overseas, reported having family members and/or friends living

abroad and through contacts with migrants formed an idea of disparities in living standards between migrant destination countries and Poland. It is also plausible that some migrants portray their living situation in a better light than it is in reality to justify their migration decisions to residents in Poland without the latter being able to verify these claims. This may generate idealistic perceptions of living standard in other nations among residents in Poland and may encourage higher expectations regarding their own circumstances. Apart from general costs of living and raising children, respondents also engaged in a range of discussions and cross-country comparisons regarding housing situation in relation to having more children.

6.5 Housing

Previous research demonstrated that the average living area per individual in Poland is the lowest in Europe (Domanski 2007 cited in Trevena, 2009a p. 19). According to Eurostat data around 50% of the population in Poland in 2008 lived in conditions defined as overcrowded, one of the highest rates in the EU, while in the UK the rate was 6.5% (Eurostat, 2012-2014). Scholars reported that Polish migrants in the UK are disadvantaged on the housing market, that their accommodation choices are limited due to their low incomes relative to renting costs which results in overcrowded and poor quality accommodation (Gryszel-Fieldsned et al., 2007; Robinson et al., 2007a; Rolfe et al., 2009). What is overcrowded by British standards may, however, not be so when we consider the average housing space in Poland (see also Trevena, 2009a). The standards of accommodation in Poland are different than in the UK, having a living room in the former is rare ⁴⁵ and visiting my respondents in Krakow I carried interviews in bedrooms converted into a living area during the day. Therefore, many Polish nationals living in the UK are used to living in, what otherwise would be considered as small, dwellings (see also Trevena, 2009a) and underlying their housing satisfaction in London and their PBC is that they spontaneously evaluate it by Polish criteria:

JM: But tell me when you think about this second child, why do you intend to have it?

Beata: Simply, I can afford it, and I simply have housing conditions to have a second child...Well, I have good conditions, because we have a two bedroom flat, it is as if three bedrooms in Poland...I have Polish furniture there,

⁴⁵ A 2-bedroom flat in Krakow comprises of 2 bedrooms, kitchen and a bathroom, while in London it would have an extra room i.e. a living room.

convertible so you can sleep in the living room... (Beata, 31, child 2 years old, London)

As I later found out, Beata grew up in a two bedroom flat in Poland with her parents and a brother, which was now occupied by her mum and also her brother's family with two children. Some informants expressed some need to adjust to what they perceived as housing norms in England; nonetheless, their feeling of relative advantage compared to Poland prevailed:

JM: So if you had another child is your flat fine or would you need to change it?

Dominik: On the one hand, compared to living conditions we were used to in Poland, it is fine. When it comes to standards in England, where every child has a separate room...we would need to have a bigger flat. Although, this flat is enough...[it is] big space compared to what we were used to in Poland...(Dominik, 28, child 5 years old, London)

Migrants' opinions were positive about the UK regarding not only the space, but also frequently the costs of housing in London relative to Poland:

JM: And where do you live?

Marek: I rent a studio flat here for £670 a month... in Poland [Warsaw] I paid about £500 but in Poland I had to pay bills on top of that which are not cheap, energy and water in Poland and gas, the prices are cosmic... In comparison here it is dirt cheap [tanie jak barszcz]. (Marek 25, child 2 years old, London)

According to statistical data renting is prevalent among Polish nationals in the UK, unlike among residents in Poland who often own properties mortgage-free, and renting could be expected to have a negative impact on PBC due to, for instance, renting costs, particularly high in London. Because many informants in London had previously rented accommodation in the country of origin too (see also Chapter 7, section 7.4), and they compared their housing expenses in London relative to such expenses in Poland, their behavioural control related to housing was often high. Opinions about the costs of renting in London nonetheless varied; some informants reported that it was financially difficult to rent a spacious enough property to have another child. However, many parents in London, and none in Krakow received housing allowances that covered a part or total of their renting costs and these benefits were often reported as being crucial in their ability to rent adequate housing (see section 6.7).

Blocks of flats are a permanent part of the landscape not only in Krakow but in most Polish cities and towns, where semi- or detached houses are relatively rare. Only one respondent in Krakow lived in a house independently, three others shared houses with parents or in-laws while most lived in apartments. Informants' PBC was related to their perceptions about the inconveniences of living in a block of flats; the lack of space and gardens were topics related to their childbearing intentions. Some compared housing conditions in cities to rural areas in Poland where most people live in houses with gardens. Indeed, the likelihood of living in a house decreases with an increase of the population size of the place of residence. For instance, a survey on housing conditions in Poland conducted in 2008 illustrated that only 9% of respondents who lived in cities of 500 000 or more inhabitants⁴⁶ resided in houses while 82% lived in flats (CBOS, 2008).

Several parents during the interviews also brought up examples of migrants they knew who were often reported to live in houses with a garden, or migrants who purchased or built houses in Poland. For instance, Danuta, although proud of her newly bought apartment, also mentioned that her flat was small and that her friend in England 'lives in a house and they have a garden, but here in Poland standards are as they are' (Danuta, 30, child 2 years old, Krakow). Similarly Michal, who lived in an inherited 38 square meters flat wanted to migrate abroad to, among other things, earn money to build a house in Krakow. His dissatisfaction and aspirations regarding housing were motivated by migrants who had properties in Poland:

JM: [You would like to migrate] To earn? So what would you like to earn for?

Michal: The car is falling apart, we have a flat, I want to build a small house...I have a lot of friends and acquaintances there [working in Austria]... they have two cars in each family, they built new houses here [in Krakow] and they live somehow... (Michal, 47, child 2 years old, Krakow)

Consequently, cross-border comparisons that respondents employed in their accounts of behavioural control and adequate housing space to progress to higher parities were often accompanied by migrants' perceptions that their dwelling was satisfactory while informants in Krakow were more often dissatisfied, particularly when they compared

⁴⁶ In 2010 Krakow had 756 000 inhabitants (Central Statistical Office, 2011a).

their flats to houses with gardens. Apart from housing provisions however, there was another important aspect related to childbearing intentions, namely education.

6.6 The importance and costs of education

In researching fertility intentions an 'education' variable usually refers to parents' education and/or their educational plans (see, for example, Baranowska, 2007a; Billari et al., 2009). Even when scholars consider the rising costs of children's education in relation to decline in fertility in Poland the aspect of parents' aspirations regarding investment in educational activities was excluded (Kotowska et al., 2008a). An important concern my respondents in Krakow expressed was their ability to provide their offspring with, often Western, educational capital for successful life in the future.

The unavoidable and substantial financial expenditure according to many individuals in Krakow were devoted to various educational activities from the early years of a child's life. Parents in Krakow were conscious of the fact that education was an essential, though not sufficient, pathway to economic success in Poland and many were very motivated to invest in their offspring's education. Parents' PBC was related to evaluations of the adequacy of public provisions of education and curricular lessons in public kindergartens and schools were considered by many parents in Krakow as insufficient. There was a widespread demand for extracurricular educational activities which was met by a series of private institutes, especially private language schools, present all over Krakow. Speaking English is both enormously important in Poland 'as the modern lingua franca of the Western world and as a valuable asset in the national labour market' (Trevena, 2009b, p. 4). However, although necessary, English was perceived as not sufficient to gain a competitive advantage on the Polish labour market. For instance, Marta told me that she wanted to sign her 10 months old son up soon for private language lessons:

JM: You mentioned that in the village [where she used to live temporarily before moving back to Krakow] there are no additional activities in schools, so I understand such activities are important?

Marta: ...these days speaking at least two languages fluently, this is the basics...English is the basics and something additional...is an additional plus with an employer. (Marta, 29, child 10 months old, Krakow)

Parental investment in children's education is more expected from the middle classes and more highly educated people (see, for example, Crompton, 2006), but Marta was an unemployed shop assistant, her husband a builder. This was my first interview in Krakow, I had conducted many in London before and only once I heard about the necessity to invest in private tutoring, however, from a mother of a 9 year old child, rather than a toddler. As it turned out later, Marta's thinking was similar to views expressed by many other parents in Krakow regardless of their socioeconomic status and child's age and indeed, several of my respondents whose children were not yet at school attended private English classes which are organised for 1 to 2 year olds in Krakow. Polish parents in Krakow through investing in education aimed at providing children with educational capital, especially foreign languages and high level of schooling, to ensure their children's economic success in the future based on Western standards and the ability to provide such educational capital was an important aspect of Polish parents' accounts of their PBC.

Other scholars also reported that in the Polish context investing in education and private tutoring is prominent among different socioeconomic groups as a strategy to ensure a better future life for one's offspring (Dlugosz et al., 2011). To the best of my knowledge there are no data on the popularity of private classes for pre-school children or toddlers in Poland. Research however shows that 40% of secondary school pupils took private tuition and another 40% wanted to in 2004. Simultaneously, about one third of parents who used private tutors for their children evaluated their financial situation as bad (Putkiewicz, 2005). Similarly, in another survey 42% of parents of school children declared that their offspring attended or would attend private classes in the 2011\2012 academic year. Language lessons were the most popular followed by sports activities while parents spent almost 30% more money in 2011 on extracurricular activities than in 2004 (CBOS, 2011c).

Investing in educational activities, obtaining new diplomas, degrees and courses has become very popular in Poland and some scholars have argued that individuals simply consume education as any other commodity. Investing in educational activities is one of the ways to demonstrate one's social standing in Poland, occasionally a vehicle for competition and, for some, an expression of aspiration of class mobility (Kargulowa, 2005; Rudnicki, 2010). Moreover, the ideology of intensive investment in children has become so salient in Krakow that the majority of parents either follow the trend or

aspire to since the expectations that they will do so 'is perpetuated by setting up for failure those who attempt to counter hegemonic forces' (Johnston et al., 2006, p. 510). As informants occasionally told me one does not want one's children to be inferior to others, no-one wants to be perceived as a bad parent. This ultimately confines one's choices, and results in considerations such as Alicja's:

JM: Is there anything you would like to provide for your daughter?

Alicja: ...my friend... her child is in a kindergarten and she told me 'you know I never wanted to send my child for these private classes, but then she [the child] already has 3 afternoons taken, because, well one day there is English. Because what? Will I not enrol her for English? Well I have to enrol her; another day there is a rhythm class, well she has to be active. The third day there are swimming lessons, because what, will I not enrol the child for swimming?' So, I am also against sending children for private classes, but for English, rhythm and swimming lessons I will have to enrol her one day. (Alicja, 28, child 9 months old, Krakow)

For many parents I talked to it was, however, not the fondness of 'consuming' education but the competitive employment market in Poland to be blamed for the necessity of heavy financial investment in educational activities. Competition on the job market considerably increased in Poland following the system change in 1989 since employment ceased to be guaranteed, which encouraged people to invest in human capital to increase their chances of finding and retaining jobs (Domański, 2002; Rutkowski, 2002). According to many parents, while in the past a university degree was a guarantee for getting a well paid job, today, apart from getting a degree, one should speak, preferably several, foreign languages, while finishing several faculties can also improve chances of establishing a successful career that would enable children to have a desirable living standard in the future (see Chapter 7, section 7.3.1 for more details on investing in children's tertiary education). Respondents in Krakow often argued that, in order to give each child a good education it was necessary to spend a great deal of money, making it hard to afford more children, particularly as public provisions were viewed as inadequate to provide the necessary schooling. This echoes Becker's (1993) premises about the important role parents play in developing the human capital of children. The author noted that parents greatly impact the earnings of their adult children by investing in offspring' skills and education and that parental expenditure on

developing human capital of their children is determined by such factors as the number of children parents have and public expenditure on education.

Although the measurement of Attitudes in surveys is based on questions related to the consequences of having a/nother child for the individual only, a significant theme in respondents' accounts in Krakow was the consequences a second child would have on the living standard and educational opportunities for the first one. To increase survey validity in the Polish setting and to examine important items relevant for global Attitude survey questionnaires would benefit from adding a question which would capture the perceived influence of additional children on the existing ones. For example, for Weronika who did not pass *matura* exam (A Level equivalent) herself, the necessity for investing in education and the costs of raising children was one of the arguments to stop childbearing at parity one:

JM: Going back to your child, would you like to provide anything for him?

Weronika: Well, obviously, he [child] has to finish university.

JM: Why obviously?

Weronika: Well, obviously because such are times...there were times that high school was enough and now there are studies, and even then there is a question mark if they are enough or not because the market is saturated...Generally it is not a problem now to have many children only the problem is to bring them up, to educate them, and create good living conditions for them, obviously everything costs...you need to invest in this one child so that he has everything, indeed...(Weronika, 37, child 11 years old, Krakow)

Weronika's son took private English, German and IT classes and she also expressed a wish to sponsor his tertiary education in the future.

Some respondents in London, mainly those with tangible plans to return to Poland, told me that they had to invest in their children's education and private tutoring to ensure that they would not fall behind in schools upon return to Poland and would succeed one day in the demanding Polish employment market. However, whereas in Krakow many informants paid for private English classes starting from kindergartens or even earlier, children in London could learn English for free. London-based respondents hardly ever expressed such forward looking planning regarding tutoring and private investment in education as parents in Krakow did. I frequently heard in London that children had

many opportunities to attend various activities at low cost which would be more expensive in Poland:

JM: Does she [your daughter] like her school?

Ewelina: ...there are plenty of cheap activities for children... and I like that everything is so achievable here, for example if she wants to go swimming then she has swimming for free... in Poland even going to the cinema was so expensive that it was a big thing to go there. (Ewelina, 33, child 9 years old, London)

Similarly Olga reasoned:

JM: What kind of benefits [social benefits] are you talking about?

Olga: ...we go to baby massage, singing classes...one can attend classes on how to raise a child in two languages...and it is all for free because my friends in Poland...they pay a lot if they want to attend activities with their kids... it is a very good system [in the UK]...I take advantage of these classes...(Olga, 33, child 9 months old, London)

Even if some parents in London complained that the quality of education in British schools was lower than in Poland, nonetheless, they often recognised that obtaining British education would give their children better career prospects than Polish certificates (see also D'Angelo et al., 2011). Platt (2007) noted that high ambitions for children may be a part of migration rationales and although none of my respondents in London mentioned this as a reason for coming to the UK, some told me that the opportunities their children had in London were one of the motives to settle down in the destination country:

JM: You mentioned that it is a plus for you that your son can learn the language?

Edyta: ... because I had ambitions for him to speak English...I tell him [son] that the fact that we are here, this is an enormous opportunity to get to know other cultures, to live in such a capital of a previous empire, that here there are things that we do not have them in Poland...

JM: You also said that you are planning to stay here?

Edyta: My son has more possibilities of working here, he can learn, whatever he does with his life later, he has much more opportunities here than in Poland... (Edyta, 33, child 6 years old, London)

Krzysiek similarly reasoned:

- JM: You mentioned something about your child, that she has opportunities here?
- Krzysiek: Well, I think that this is a liberal country; more tolerant...England gives children many opportunities.
- JM: What kind of opportunities do you have in mind?
- Krzysiek: Different opportunities related to education, college, studies, courses and training, work...the system helps them [children] to integrate with different people and communities...It is better for her [daughter] if we stay here. The teaching methods are also better [in the UK] than in Poland. (Krzysiek, 28, child 3 years old, London)

According to many respondents in London, the UK gives children better educational and economic chances to succeed in the future than they would have in Poland (see also Lopez Rodriguez, 2010; Sales et al., 2008). While I have no doubts that many parents in the UK invest heavily in private tutoring, activities and schools for their children similar to my respondents in Krakow, these were not groups of reference for my London-based respondents. Becker (1993, p. 268) mentioned that for parents who face financial constraints on investing in their children '[e]xpenditure on children are discouraged when children are expected to be richer'. Indeed parents in London compared themselves to people in Poland, and by Polish standards children raised in the UK acquire better opportunities to prosper in the future, also economically, than children brought up in Poland, which reduces the need for parental investment in offspring. Moreover, through geographical relocation respondents in London already invested in their children and provided them with a certain type of Western capital which would facilitate their children's future success relative to their Polish groups of reference. Their children spoke or would speak English, had opportunities to attend various classes, lived in a multicultural society and would gain British qualifications one day. This undoubtedly was an important source of investment in their offspring relative to what they would be able to provide for them in Poland. Thus, the perception that their children had advantageous educational capital relative to Poland and that educational activities were cheap compared to the sending nation was an important part of parents' PBC towards having a second child. Moreover, although the presence of such opportunities was never reported by respondents in London as triggering migration, for some it was an important consideration in their decisions to stay in the UK. Similar educational capital was important in childbearing rationales of informants in Krakow

and London; however, PBC of Krakow-based respondents was related to perceptions that the Polish public educational system was inadequate to provide children with these requirements. Accordingly parents in Krakow, unlike those in London, anticipated that heavy financial investment was needed to provide their children with Western educational assets in Poland.

6.7 Accounts of the welfare state

Another important factor in respondents' behavioural control and a major source of comparisons in relation to childbearing related resources by informants in both cities revolved around the issue of welfare. According to my informants in both cities the Polish state, unlike governments abroad, gave people few, if any, incentives to reproduce. Commonly, my respondents in Krakow compared welfare support available in Poland to provisions abroad:

JM: What do you think about social support for families?

Józef: ...in France a woman with, I think, three children gets a state pension... but well I think, what one can expect from this country [Poland]...well, it is useless. (Józef, 28, child 15 months old, Krakow)

When Danuta told me that she was looking after other people's children to earn extra money while she was on unpaid parental leave, she elaborated:

Danuta: ...social support is also surely too small; looking at other countries it is really bad.

JM: Looking at what countries?

Danuta: Even Great Britain, I know it from TV so maybe these are not some reports that would give adequate picture but I have a family in Germany and I can see that social support there is on a much higher level... they get benefits for kids and I do not remember exactly how much but it was a lot of money...I read once...how the state helps young mothers...it was about England. And from that I concluded that the [social] help must be very good there... (Danuta, 30, child 2 years old, Krakow)

Halina complained about the lack of childcare provision in Poland, which she compared to provision in other nations:

JM: And your leave [parental leave] is this until the end of October?

Halina: ...when it comes to [availability of] a nursery this is a massacre, because I read that 2% of Polish children go to nurseries, compared to other countries in Europe where about 30% of them go to nurseries, it is really not a lot in Poland... (Halina, 34, child 1,5 years old, Krakow)

Indeed, she was very close to the actual data, where in the EU on average 27% of children under the age of 3 attend formal childcare compared to 2% in Poland (Eurostat, 2012-2014). Halina worked in Italy and Norway before she settled down in Poland and she drew on cross-country comparisons in her account of requisite social support for families. Many respondents in this study had transnational connections either because of their own migration behaviour, because of the networks in which they were embedded, or because of ideational cross-border connections. Thus individuals' understanding of adequate levels of economic wellbeing related to Attitudes and PBC is complex because they can draw on a wide range of perspectives.

Since 2004 Poland has remained under the influence of the EU policies and the new Member States have often been referred to as the poorer and less developed EU members (e.g. Goedeme et al., 2011). Through inclusion in the EU, Poland, along with other Central and Eastern European countries, was supposed to be 'Europeanised', 'modernised', and 'democratised' although the EU is far less generous to the new members in providing economic subsidies than to the old ones (O'Brennan, 2012). Polish people hardly see themselves as equal citizens within the EU, in a survey conducted in 2011 most respondents believed that the old EU Member States were the main beneficiaries of Polish accession to the EU while Poland was perceived as less privileged within the European community (CBOS, 2011b). The ideology of deprivation of the Eastern European countries relative to the Western states and the need to integrate EU policies and standards pervades many accounts and debates about living conditions, employment and social policies in Poland, and such beliefs are noticeable within academic research, political debates and the media (see, for example Sikorska et al., 2012; wPolityce.pl, 2011).

The idea that improved economic conditions relate to fertility decline in modern societies is not a new one as the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) posits that the increase in affluence and modernisation in the Western and Northern European societies was closely related to diminishing importance of the institution of family and children for individuals' wellbeing, postponement in parenthood and overall to decline in

fertility (Sobotka et al., 2003). Nonetheless, Polish nationals remain more family oriented and exhibit more traditional attitudes towards the institution of family, children and motherhood than many Western and Northern European nations although fertility rates in Poland are one of the lowest in Europe (Prskawetz et al., 2006; Sobotka et al., 2008) thus Polish case remains distinctive in light of SDT (see also Chapter 3, section 3.2).

Conversely, the arguments that the decline and persistence of low fertility in Poland was mainly an outcome of a difficult economic situation and inadequate welfare state provisions post-1989 appear to be puzzling if we consider the fact that wages, consumption expenditure, standard of living and also welfare provisions improved following the fall of the socialist regime. Upon a closer examination of beliefs underlying individuals' Attitudes and PBC related to childbearing intentions and the groups of reference Polish nationals employ when communicating such beliefs, the demographic changes become more comprehensible. The operationalisation of TPB constructs has not been complex enough to explore groups of reference which makes it difficult to accurately interpret survey findings since some respondents may be referring to local or national groups of reference when reporting aspects related to Attitudes and PBC while others may employ transnational groups of reference and refer to situations they aspire to belong to. Future surveys thus would benefit from incorporating questions, adjusting the wording of questions and/or response categories to capture individuals' groups of reference. Simultaneously, cautious interpretation of survey data and acknowledging data limitations is essential. Given that scholars, often implicitly, pursue exclusively nationally bounded approach when interpreting survey data this can weaken the understanding of current demographic trends in certain contexts and can influence effectiveness of social policies informed by such findings.

Respondents in London repeatedly referred to Polish welfare support, however, they highlighted that social help in the UK was better than in Poland. Even if occasionally they criticised welfare assistance in the destination country and made comparisons to others who, in the eyes of these informants, got much more generous benefit, most praised the British social support system. The British welfare system provided a safety net and a much greater feeling of security relative to Poland due to the ability to draw on benefits when and if in need. For instance, Krzysiek who gave up employment to

look after his son while his wife's wage was supplemented by tax credits and the family lived in a council flat, told me:

JM: Do you work?

Krzysiek: ...you will not die in England, if you lose a job the state will not let you die, you will get money for food and a place to live. In Poland you will get unemployment [benefit] for 6 months⁴⁷ and then you are on your own...
(Krzysiek, 28, child 3 years old, London)

Although it is only the availability of parental leave and childcare that surveys measure as facets of PBC, the availability of support in cash and tax breaks was also important for many parents I talked to. While most respondents told me that the universal child benefit was not a substantial contribution to their family budgets, still many brought to light that child benefit was universal unlike in Poland and the amount was higher than what one could receive in the country of origin:

JM: So would anything change at all with a second child?

Mateusz: ...we also get child benefit, for two children it would be more, surely this is much more than this 20 or 50 zlotys [of child benefit] in Poland...(Mateusz, 33, child 18 months old, London)

Similarly when Ireneusz was talking about education and activities for his daughter he explained:

JM: If I asked you what would you like to provide for your children?

Ireneusz: ...In England...the government gives money to bring kids up, the help is enormous, incomparable to what is in Poland... in Poland to get a child benefit or any help from the state it is very difficult... (Ireneusz 34, child 14 years old, London)

Other benefits, although means-tested were also believed to offset the costs of having children unlike in Poland. Marysia who received tax credits and housing benefit which covered her housing costs in full, when considering the consequences of having another baby elaborated:

JM: Is there anything else you consider [when you intend a second child]?

⁴⁷ The unemployment benefit in Poland is available only for a 6 to 12 month period after which individuals receive state insurance only (see Chapter 5 for details).

Marysia: I do not know how it is with another child but looking at friends because here if we had two children now...and we get some benefits they will add enough [welfare benefits will increase] and it will be ok... social help is good here so this is a big plus here, because... in our country these things are not happening... (Marysia, 29, child 5 years old, London)

Respondents in GGS were asked whether their decision to have a/nother child depended on a number of factors related to welfare support, the expectation whether these factors would be present or not was however not measured as an aspect of PBC (see also Ajzen et al., 2013). My respondents' narratives demonstrate that state support has an important role in childbearing intentions' rationalisations and individuals' PBC; however, informants in London, unlike those in Krakow, often believed that they had access to satisfactory welfare support. Consequently, surveys need to measure not only how much the decision to have a/nother child depends on specific welfare-related factors, but also the extent to which individuals believe they have access to adequate welfare support (Ajzen et al., 2013). Findings based on current measurements of PBC which rely only on the perceived importance of a factor, but fail to measure beliefs whether a particular factor will be present or not, provide little information about respondents' actual PBC.

The welfare state in the UK is often believed by scholars to provide meagre support for individuals and families (Fleckenstein et al., 2012; Sigle-Rushton, 2009). However, since Polish nationals living in London compare British social support to Polish welfare allowances, they consider the former to be sufficient and often generous, which is related to their positive PBC. For example, Olga's family received child benefit, housing benefit and tax credits, and she explained:

Olga: ...I suspect that if I lived in Poland I would not decide for a [second] child because of financial reasons...

JM: What about your financial situation here, would that change [having another child]?

Olga: ...in this country all benefits you have cover costs [related to having children], because, for instance in Poland...if there is a couple and the mother does not work then...she gets I think 40 zlotys [£8] of child benefit and that is it...my partner does not earn much and they [government] add him something [in benefits]...so this is a big help. This is incomparable to social allowances in Poland... (Olga 32, child 9 months old, London)

While social policy is often confined to the nation state and uses only the state as the context measuring relative living conditions for designing adequate redistributive social policy (Wimmer et al., 2002) wider cross-country comparisons impact individuals' perceptions of what is a desired standard. Individuals' perception of whether the state facilitates or impedes having more offspring, thus their PBC is related to comparisons of welfare provisions in different European nations. Such comparisons often underlined respondents' expectations as well as reports of satisfaction or discontent with welfare support in their country of residence. Furthermore, many breadwinner model families in London appreciated receiving various benefits because they often substituted them for the second wage (see also Osipovic, 2010). Consequently, it was often reported that families in London could live on one wage unlike in Poland.

6.8 Quality of family life and cross-border comparisons

Ackers (1998) argued that some female migrants appreciate moving to a welfare state based on the male-breadwinner model, which allows them to stay at home and be full-time mothers. Similar, in a study conducted by Ryan et al. (2009b) the breadwinner model was perceived by Polish migrants as offering a better quality of family life compared to Poland, where both partners had to work in order to sustain the family. Indeed in this study living in the UK was seen by many respondents as allowing them to have better quality of family life by enabling one parent, usually the mother, to stay at home, which was not feasible in their country of origin. Furthermore, for many respondents in London employment was less attractive than for those in Krakow, given the lower status of jobs many performed relative to their skills and previous employment (see also Chapter 7, section 7.2). For instance Iwona, reported that, partly due to welfare allowances, she was able to stay at home while in London and devote more time to her family whereas in Poland she had to work full-time:

...In Poland I earned peanuts and the child was shifted [przerzucane] from one carer to the other from morning till the evening...Here it is easier... it is a life where I am available for my son and I can work a bit and my partner works like a man... (Iwona 30, child 10 years old, London)

Iwona's account highlights gendered norms visible also in other narratives in London where the key woman's role is to be a homemaker while the man's main responsibility is to earn a living. Scholars have indicated that it is the consistency between gender

ideology and practices that is linked to higher likelihood of progression to the second parity, whether it is traditional or egalitarian (Torr et al., 2004). Since many of my respondents in London expressed traditional gender ideology, combined with the perception of limited career opportunities, this was linked to respondents' rationalisations to have a second child (see also Chapter 8, section 8.5). However, gender ideologies are not necessarily fixed and if the society is restructured to facilitate reconciliation of paid work and parenthood it could influence parents' gender beliefs (Matthews, 1997).

While for some London-based respondents welfare allowances were important in facilitating a lifestyle where one person could be a full time homemaker, for others, one wage was seen as sufficient without resorting to benefits. Mateusz told me that 'it is easier here with one wage than in Poland with two wages' although his family did not receive any benefits (apart from child benefit). He also reasoned that if his wife went to work she would 'lose contact with children...then mistakes in their upbringing could appear...' (Mateusz, 33, child 18 months old, London). Thus, he was pleased that his wife was able to devote her time to raising their daughter and possibly more children and which related to his behavioural control as Mateusz thought it was easier to raise children in the UK when one partner could stay at home.

Although migration as a means for a better family life is missing from economic theories of migration, the comparison between family life in Poland and the UK provides a rationalisation of migration extending beyond the discussion of simple income maximisation. Through such accounts individuals emphasise other important, family motivations, if not to migrate but to continue living abroad once they became parents. For example, Ela, moved to the UK as a single individual seeking both adventure and a better living standard for herself. However, as a parent she valued the opportunity to be a full-time mother in the UK, which she thought would not be possible in Poland:

...Here I have this impression that I have it so well, I know that I do not work...I could not afford not to work in Poland and be able to support family on a satisfactory level. (Ela, 36, child 16 months old, London)

Individuals in Poland who planned to migrate also brought to my attention that the mother would be able to give up employment upon migration, which was an appreciated aspect of resettlement. Ania, for instance, told me that she was thinking about the best

time to have a second child to fit with her and her husband's migration plans and that living abroad would enable her to be a full-time mother, while despite of having a Master degree, career was not the biggest concern for her:

- JM: And this [ability to go on maternity/parental leave] is important if you want to have another child?
- Ania: It depends on the situation we are in...if everything goes in a good direction, when we migrate maybe I will be able to stay at home and spend time with children...I would have to know that my husband earns enough to support our whole family... I am not counting on a big career anymore...when we migrate then again I will move into a new branch... well, there are women who go back to work quickly after having children... but I would like to commit some time for the kids... (Ania, 34, child 2 years old, Krakow)

However, for a number of parents in London and Krakow career considerations were also important in their migration decisions and the breadwinner model did not appeal to everybody, which is a theme I will talk about in more detail in the next chapter.

6.9 Conclusions

Respondents link reproduction to economic factors which has become an essential part of responsible parenthood ideology among Polish parents. The number of children is consequently not the main focus of parents' *raison d'être* when they talk about their childbearing intentions; it is rather couples' ability to ensure an adequate standard of living for their families and children. However, apparent throughout this chapter is that transnational comparisons and groups of reference are omnipresent in informants' narrations in what are satisfactory economic and institutional conditions to have a second child. Social comparisons underlie beliefs related to Attitudes and PBC among Polish respondents and TPB is a flexible framework which can be used to further identify core beliefs related to intentions among particular populations in specific contexts (Hagger et al., 2007). Surveys such as GGS use standardised measures of TPB to research childbearing intentions among different populations and they do not comprehensively explore beliefs underlying the main theoretical constructs specific for particular contexts. Such narrow and general operationalisations of the main constructs in TPB may lead to partial interpretations of findings and to inaccurate social policy recommendations. For example, as I have argued in this chapter, policy makers in Poland would benefit from understanding beliefs underlying individuals' expectations

regarding welfare state provisions before designing social policy programs which aim at assisting parents to raise children.

Respondents in both cities often assessed resources available to them to what they perceived was available to individuals residing in other nations, as well as comparing general economic and institutional conditions in their country of residence to situations in other nations in Europe. While informants in London often favourably compared their living situation and fertility-related resources in the country of destination to conditions in Poland, they repeatedly reported relative satisfaction from these resources in the UK. On the other hand, individuals in Krakow often framed their expectations regarding adequate resources to have more children based on circumstances they perceived as prevalent in other European countries. Respondents in Krakow engaged in comparisons with individuals and circumstances across borders they affirmed as more advantaged which frequently led to their reporting of discontent from childbearing resources that were available to them in Poland. Moreover, respondents in Krakow often expressed higher expectations regarding resources necessary for childbearing relative to these in London which, in turn, often fuelled their beliefs that they had to spend a considerable amount of money to provide their children with conceived necessities in Poland. When material aspirations of residents in Poland increase, partly as a result of comparisons to other nations, the costs of raising children rise too because individuals have to invest more in their offspring and they have to compete with other parents in a society where investing in children is an important aspect of being a good and responsible parent (see also Dalla Zuanna, 2001). In contrast, Polish individuals in London do not feel the same necessity to compete with other parents.

Additionally, the economic rationale and transnational comparisons pertain to a number of themes that are rarely considered as aspects related to childbearing intentions in surveys. Overall, parents in Krakow were often concerned about the consequences that having a second child will have on the first child's standard of living, and about the availability of adequate education for their children. Such facets of Attitudes and PBC are currently not incorporated into TPB-based questionnaires and the sum of currently measured behavioural and control beliefs in surveys such as GGS may not correlate well with the global items in some contexts. Moreover, the ability to live on one wage is a focus of respondents' comparisons and an important aspect in their rationalisations

of childbearing intentions though these are missing not only from operationalisations of TPB constructs but also from some migration theories.

This chapter illustrated that the notion of economic wellbeing is variable and complex, and while most research focuses on national frameworks and perceives populations, institutions and social policy as nationally bounded, in fact individuals can draw on international standards in forming their ideas of what they expect from their standard of living, the welfare state and what consequences a/nother child should be allowed to have on family's lifestyle. The nationally bounded approach, although legitimate in some circumstances, becomes thus insufficient to fully comprehend reported PBC and Attitudes and to understand individuals' childbearing intentions in increasingly transnational settings. Surveys designers thus would benefit from considering frames of reference while constructing questionnaires and scholars from acknowledging data limitations, particularly when making social policy recommendations. The theoretical and methodological considerations will be elaborated on in the next chapter where I consider the strategies that parents used or thought about using in each setting to achieve conditions which they reported as vital before having more children.

7 Strategies to Achieve Adequate Resources

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 demonstrated that wider cross-country comparisons informed respondents' accounts of what constitutes satisfactory institutional and economic resources to raise children and progress to the second parity. Structural conditions in Poland and in the UK provide a distinct set of opportunities and constraints for my respondents to negotiate their family life and to achieve perceived necessities. In this chapter I therefore focus on strategies informants in this study used or envisioned using in Poland and the UK in order to achieve their pre-conditions for having a second child. The narratives of these strategies illustrate that a wider set of socioeconomic aspects is related to childbearing intentions than current research and surveys based on Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) take into account (see, for example Billari et al., 2009; Kotowska et al., 2008a; Vikat et al., 2004).

This chapter is arranged around three sections. It starts with a description of employment patterns which parents in both settings report as vital to achieve their desired economic and family situation before they have another child. The following section discusses two, often alternative strategies, to achieve required resources, namely the welfare state and family support. Thus, I focus on the importance of assistance from extended family in Krakow and London, its consequences for childbearing intentions and I also discuss the role of welfare allowances for childbearing capital in each setting. The last part considers migration strategies and justifications in the light of previous sections, their implications for selection of migrants and for childbearing rationale.

7.2 Dual earner versus the male breadwinner model

Transition into motherhood is related to lower employment rates among Polish women in Poland and the UK, however employed mothers in Poland tend to work full-time while mothers in the UK more often work part-time. Moreover, mothers in London are more often economically inactive than their counterparts in the rest of the UK (see Chapter 5, section 5.2). In line with statistical data, most mothers I talked to and female partners of my male informants in Poland continued to work full-time or remained unemployed, in the UK most women were either economically inactive, or, when they worked, it was frequently part-time.

Economically inactive mothers in London often told me that they wanted to work. However, dual earner status was not seen as essential in rationalising intentions for the second parity even if some asserted that it was desirable for women to work before having another child, mainly as a means to receive maternity allowances after the birth. For example, Iwona, unemployed at the time of the interview, explained that having another child would not change much in her situation, either economically or career wise:

JM: So you would look for a job [before having a second child]?

Iwona: I think I would try to get a job before I get pregnant to get maternity leave, but if I cannot get it then that is ok... We are not rich, but we would not be poorer [with a second child]...So I could have it [another child] and financially it would not ruin me and my career, because I do not have one and I am not planning to have one. (Iwona 30, child 10 years old, London)

Iwona, who was an accountant in Poland, took a less skilled job upon moving to the UK and worked part-time as a kitchen porter before she volunteered for redundancy, seizing the opportunity to spend more time with her family and to supervise more closely her son's education. Although she hoped to find an administrative job one day she was not planning to return to accountancy partly because she did not see it as a viable option while she lived in the UK, partly because she prioritises her family life over investing in a professional career (see also section 7.4).

Many respondents in London reported that one income, occasionally supported by welfare benefits was sufficient to support a family to a satisfactory level and there was no immediate financial need for women to work. One or one and a half wage was perceived as adequate, as Janusz, whose wife worked two days a week told me '...it is not big money but it is sufficient for a normal life and to pay for everything' (Janusz, 32, child 2 years old, London). Similarly Grzesiek told me: 'it is only me who works... one can say it is not a luxury lifestyle [nie ma Ameryki] but it is ok, we have enough...' (Grzesiek, 34, child 10 months old, London). According to Natalia who worked part-time 'we [she and her husband] both work, but we both work not because we must but simply because this is why we came here, to work' (Natalia, 27, child 5 years old, London). Only for Krzysiek it was essential to achieve dual earner status before having another child in London, although he also mentioned that '...when one person works

you can, on a certain level, not on a very high [level] maybe, maybe even below the average, but one can support the family...' (Krzysiek, 28, child 3 years old, London). However, since it was his wife who was the only provider, he explained, they would not be able to manage financially on her maternity pay; therefore, he was determined to have secured a job for himself before they could have another baby.

At the same time many women in London complained that they were socially isolated by being tied to their homes while their partners often spent long hours at work. Also men in London occasionally told me that the non-working partners' self-esteem and emotional wellbeing suffered due to lack of work. Furthermore, work was sometimes the only place where London-based informants had contact with the English language and their confinement to the home sphere was accompanied by a reported loss of language skills, which in turn, could make an eventual return to paid employment in the future more difficult. However, the vast majority of my informants in London were concentrated in low-skilled jobs regardless of their education and they did not express concerns regarding their long term wage or career penalties associated with employment disruptions following the birth of children relative to mothers I talked to in Krakow, especially tertiary educated ones. Mothers in low-skilled jobs experience flat earnings trajectories which lead to lower final wage penalties associated with shifts in employment following births of children relative to mothers in high skilled jobs (Bastagli et al., 2011; Sigle-Rushton et al., 2007). Consequently, 'women who are less successful in the labor market may be more likely to decide to have children, to have larger numbers of children, and to withdraw from the labor market' (Sigle-Rushton et al., 2007, p. 58). This echoes Janusz's way of thinking, whose partner worked part-time as a housekeeper in London:

JM: If you had a second child, would anything change in your life?

Janusz: Most likely not...I think that from my partner's point of view it would be good to have this second child because it would prolong the time when she does not have to work full-time, which of course would be much more tiring than to work Saturdays and Sundays. (Janusz, 32, child 2 years old, London)

It was more acceptable, and sometimes desirable, for women to take employment breaks in London but not in Krakow. Many parents in Krakow discussed mothers' paid work following childbirth in detail in relation to family finances. Although their own

employment disruption was not a concern for fathers I talked to, who did not think about staying at home with the child, nonetheless, in Krakow the dual earner model was often considered by both genders as essential to achieving a desired standard of living.

Although not all mothers in Krakow worked, nonetheless, the vast majority were either in employment (or on parental leave) or they were registered as unemployed. Only Weronika and Zbyszek's wife were economically inactive in Krakow. However, Weronika's husband worked in the UK while she and their son lived in Krakow thus she reported not being able to work due to childrearing demands and household duties but she also could 'afford not to work' (Weronika, 37, child 11 years old, Krakow). Zbyszek, on the other hand, was discontented about his wife not working:

JM: You said that your wife does not work?

Zbyszek: ...I demand that she works but she tells me that the child is taking all her attention and she cannot work, although I know it is not true because I hardly know any mothers who use that explanation...we live in a world where the roles are shared...we share caring for children and earning. (Zbyszek, 38, child 5 years old, Krakow)

For the majority of respondents in Krakow, female employment was important before deciding to have another child. Income, the security of having a job to go back to after a career break, as well as social provisions such as paid maternity leave were all essential aspects in relation to childbearing intentions.

In both the UK and Poland having a/nother child was linked to similar employment consequences for mothers, namely to difficulties in retaining jobs and to employment breaks. Yet, while many respondents in London considered career breaks following childbirth as a positive outcome, for most informants in Krakow, although for various reasons, such consequences were seen as negative. Gender and Generation Survey (GGS) measures Attitudes towards having a child by asking whether having a/nother child would be better or worse for one's and partner's employment. However, the questionnaire items do not provide any information why the subjective perceptions of objectively similar employment outcomes are so radically different among the two populations. GGS can be combined with the contextual databases provided by Gender and Generation Program (GGP) which consist of quantitative and qualitative information derived from national and international sources (see Vikat et al. 2007), which should facilitate interpretation of GGS findings, provided that necessary

contextual information exists to explain variations in explanatory variables related to fertility intentions among different groups. Statistical data on employment and occupational differences can be used to shed light on some of the reasons for the differences in subjective evaluation of the employment outcome among Polish nationals in Poland and in the UK. To gain more insight into the reasons for variations in factors related to fertility intentions, it still may be worthwhile to convey qualitative pilot studies in diverse contexts and among different subgroups of the population not only to produce meaningful indicators of TPB constructs but also to facilitate interpretation of the findings (see also Bernardi et al., 2010b).

Women were also often reported to be the main carers of children although female paid work in Krakow was seen as alleviating the financial burden for men, and women contributed considerably, occasionally more than their husbands, to the family budget (see also Buchowski et al., 2010). Where men occupied low paying jobs, two incomes were seen as vital for the family to be able to make ends meet in Krakow and often reported as imperative before they could have another child. For example, Halina in Krakow, reluctantly on paid parental leave as she was unable to find childcare for her son, considered becoming a self-employed home based tailor since her husband brought home only the minimum wage which made it imperative for her to earn money. Two incomes were also linked to the ability to guarantee adequate housing conditions before having a second child, especially for these respondents who needed a mortgage to own a property. For instance, Kasia and her husband lived in a rented room and she thought it was crucial for them to own a flat before they could have another child. Nonetheless, she told me that ‘nobody will give us a mortgage now...I do not have a job, if you calculate [income] there is no chance’ (Kasia, 29, child 1 year old, Krakow).

Moreover, respondents’ consumption aspirations varied, and people in higher-income jobs often had higher consumption standards deemed as necessary for having another child, thus two incomes were also often seen as vital for them. Alicja, for example, who run a private children’s centre explained that since she became a mother and devoted less time to work her income had declined. She told me that she was happy to take a short-term pay cut, however, long term she wanted to work and earn more:

JM: You cannot imagine, as you said, that your husband will support family from one salary?

Alicja: ...I cannot imagine that in two or three years I still earn little and my husband is responsible for the entire family budget...besides I have my expensive dreams that I want to travel, apart from wanting to raise my children to a certain standard, I want to have a nice house furnished in an expensive style...(Alicja, 28, child 9 months old, Krakow)

While Halina saw her employment as necessary to make ends meet and for Kasia it was a means to own a flat, Alicja's desire to work and earn, what she called 'concrete money', was informed by her higher consumption aspirations and professional ambitions. Though Alicja also mentioned that her family was in a good financial situation and that she could take a few years off work to raise children as her husband's lawyer salary would allow them to survive even if on a lower standard than she aspired to. Most female respondents in Poland, regardless of their education or professional status, were opting for, what Hakim (1996b) refers to a dual-role model, that of combining employment and motherhood, although for various reasons.

The importance of dual earner status in childbearing rationalisations on the one hand, and the necessity for employment breaks due to childbearing on the other, are obviously in conflict. Furthermore, three of my female respondents in Krakow had lost their jobs while pregnant, and it was difficult for them to re-enter employment while their children were small. Although women in Poland are legally guaranteed to retain employment while pregnant and to return to their jobs after maternity and parental leave, this law does not apply to women who are on temporary contracts. The protection ceases to exist once the woman returns to work, thus theoretically, her employment contract could be terminated the first day upon return⁴⁸ (based on blogprawniczy.com.pl, accessed on 5/11/2012). Notwithstanding the discrimination of mothers in the employment market, the most vehemently discussed subject in Krakow in relation to reconciling work with childbearing and childrearing was childcare.

7.2.1 *Childcare and employment in Krakow and London*

Krakow-based respondents often criticised a limited supply of public facilities that led to long queues, the costs of private kindergartens and the shortage of both private and public nurseries. Subsequently, many reported to struggle to achieve dual earner status

⁴⁸ Although there are certain exceptions, for instance the protection is extended until the end of parental leave period to women who are entitled to such parental leave and return to employment on a part-time basis.

that was seen as a prerequisite before they could have a second child. Kasia, an unemployed teacher, told me that:

- JM: Are you looking for jobs, would you like to work?
- Kasia: ...I decided that I had to find a job but we have nobody [no family] in Krakow...[to employ] a nanny for such a child then I would need to earn a lot and I will not earn so much for sure...
- JM: And a nursery?
- Kasia: I thought about it but if I earn 1200 zlotys and I pay for a private nursery or a children's club⁴⁹ ...I will end up with a minus ...besides looking at the [public] nursery...we are 130th or 135th on the list...such are the queues... (Kasia, 29, child 1 year old, Krakow)

Jurek reasoned that the lack of childcare was an important obstacle in achieving the desired dual earner status:

- JM: You said that the government [panstwo] is putting pressure [ciśnienie] on people to have children but the [state's] help is not great, how do you think the state could help families?
- Jurek: ...if such things [nurseries, kindergartens] were [available] with no problem so that people decide to have a child and they know that ok, in half a year the child will go to a nursery and then to a kindergarten, you know, the life would be less stressful and one could plan the future, children or career...we decided that our daughter would go to a nursery but suddenly there is no nursery and she is on the list, yes, but in the best case she is 70th, so damn it, when will she be in the [public] nursery?... (Jurek 25, child 9 months old, Krakow)

For Jurek it was vital that both he and his wife have permanent, full-time jobs and two incomes before they have a second child. At the same time, according to him, the lack of public childcare facilities made it difficult to plan one's employment, and the family already found it difficult to combine work with care of their daughter who, until the family could get a place in a public facility, attended a private, though according to Jurek, expensive nursery. Although the grandparents helped with childcare they were not willing to look after the child full-time and permanently, lack of affordable childcare led to concerns about his and his wife's ability to work if they were to have another child.

⁴⁹ Children's clubs in Poland are available for children from their first birthday and for a maximum of 5 hours a day (based on www.zlobki.mpips.gov.pl, accessed on 26/06/2012).

Childcare availability is measured as an aspect of Perceived Behavioural Control (PBC) (Vikat et al., 2004). For many respondents in Krakow it was not only the availability but frequently the costs of facilities which were imperative in their considerations regarding childbearing decisions and the different aspects of childcare could be accounted for in questionnaires, especially if the aim of surveys is to inform policy interventions. For example, due to severe lack of facilities for the youngest age group (see Chapter 5 for details), in 2011 Polish Parliament passed the Nursery Law to simplify the legal regulations for opening private facilities. Whether it brings the desired results in the form of creating more nursery places will need to be evaluated in the future, however, even if it does, the narratives in this study illustrate that the affordability of private services could be perceived as problematic by many parents, an important fact which currently would not emerge in surveys.

Two grandmothers looked after children in Krakow full-time, however often respondents explained that relatives could not act as a stable source of assistance. Most grandparents were themselves economically active; some were in ill health and sometimes informants were living rather distant from their families of origin. However, some shared housing with relatives or parents, in-laws lived within a few apartment blocks or nearby districts in Krakow and they looked after grandchildren in the evenings, weekends or when needed. Thus, childcare provided by grandparents, even though often irregular and sometimes impromptu, was appreciated as it provided many parents in Krakow with some free time and a degree of certainty since they knew that they could mobilise help from family members in case of emergencies.

7.2.2 Are mothers the best carers?

Although the vast majority of respondents in Poland complained that institutional childcare was expensive and/or unavailable, yet simultaneously many considered that mothers are the best carers, especially for children under the age of 3. During my fieldwork in Krakow I encountered numerous evidence that mothers were facing normative pressures that made it difficult to use nurseries or even informal care for children of younger ages (see also Knudsen et al., 2001). This was visible in the way many respondents, media, politicians and professionals, expressed opinions that mothers of young children are the best carers, while parents I interviewed repeatedly talked about the harmful effects of nurseries for their children's development. Most

informants in Krakow however agreed that when children approach the age of 3 they should attend kindergartens as these were commonly reported to be beneficial for children's development. Furthermore, expressed criticism regarding unaffordable and unavailable institutional childcare as hindering reproductive choices was not always congruent with actual behaviour. The ambiguity was visible in the way that individuals who criticised the Polish state for not providing adequate public childcare facilities occasionally also told me that they preferred to care for children under 3 years old at home. For instance Bartłomiej who was very negative about the welfare state in Poland since, among other things, 'they [state] get rid of nurseries and kindergartens...' told me that:

JM: So you and your wife look after him [son] yourself?

Bartłomiej: ...I think that a nursery is not a good thing...when he [son] grows up and he is 3 then we will need to send him to a kindergarten, then it is not a problem, and nursery, I do not want to. (Bartłomiej, 30, child 8 months old, Krakow)

Similarly Jakub who at one point told me that 'it's funny that our country cannot even manage to stimulate [openings of] kindergartens and nurseries...there should be many more kindergartens and nurseries', at another point in the interview he reasoned that children should not attend nurseries:

JM: What about your wife's plans, you mentioned that she wanted to open a restaurant?

Jakub: ...a year and a half old cousin of our daughter, her mum went to work and her father is protecting the child from going to a nursery...a child that is a year and a half left in a nursery is really too small ...it is hard to plan anything, when there is a child, the child is a priority and everything else is organised around it... my wife is 32 and having a child means 2 or 3 years of [employment] break, so she will be 35 ... (Jakub, 48, child 4 years old, Krakow)

Mariola had similar views and she preferred to care for her daughter herself:

JM: Is this [your employment] a temporary contract?

Mariola: ... I did not want to give my daughter to a nursery and I wanted to be her main carer...if the mother is not there then there are different problems...in the first years a child has a very strong connection with one person and if it is some aunt in a nursery then the child becomes, as if an orphan a bit...until 3 years old I want my daughter to be mainly at home and then to let her go to kindergarten. (Mariola 29, child 19 months old, Krakow)

Mariola's views vividly echo the intensive motherhood tenet where the child under 3 years old requires constant nurture of a main caregiver for good emotional and psychological development, and the mother is the best person to perform the task (Hays, 1996; Johnston et al., 2007). Consequently, despite reporting that her income was higher than her husband's and vital for their family budget, she expected not to have her employment contract renewed. Definitions of identity constructed around intensive motherhood ideology provide an insight into female respondents' narratives of their childbearing intentions because they shape the construction of meanings and experiences relating to motherhood, childbearing and childrearing (Walters et al., 2012). Researchers suggest that partners' identities regarding their roles as men and women in a relationship form the assessment standards for their division of work (Stets et al., 2000; West et al., 1987). Mariola, a university lecturer, worked from home whenever possible and in order to be the main carer she compromised on her employment responsibilities, since being a mother and a primary carer for her daughter was more important for her sense of identity and life satisfaction than her employment. Previous research demonstrated that it is the consistency between the division of domestic work and childcare and couples' gender role attitudes (whether in a traditional or egalitarian way) rather than gender equality per se that increases the likelihood of progression to the second birth (Torr et al., 2004). Mariola as well as several other women in this study expressed satisfaction from the gendered division of household work and consequently what could be perceived as gender inequity in the institution of family did not relate to childbearing intentions rationale in Mariola's account. The fact that some female respondents reported it as ordinary and appropriate to be the main carer and perform most of domestic work even if they were employed may at least partly stem from enduring socialist legacy of dual-earner, female carer gender ideology (Einhorn, 1993; Pascall et al., 2005). Current ideology of mother as a primary carer in Poland may reinforce gendered division of work and women such as Mariola expressed little reflexivity of the inequality at home. This somehow echoes Oakley's (1974) findings that although many of the women she interviewed did most of the housework they had little awareness of being a part of any organised and socially constructed gender roles.

Occasionally women I talked to postponed employment even if informal or formal childcare was available, although they asserted that living on one income meant economic hardship for the family. The lack of formal nurseries in Poland may at least

partly contribute to individuals' beliefs that nurseries are not good for young children. Nonetheless, in some cases mothers were preferred also over grandparental care, though the latter was favoured over formal day care. For instance Marta reasoned that having a second child would mean 3 years off the labour market for her and, registered as unemployed, she gave up a job offer though her mother offered to look after her child:

JM: You said that the issue [having a second child] is about you being excluded from paid work for another 3 years?

Marta: Exactly, really I had a dilemma because I was offered a part-time job...something tells me that I should stay with the child that this is the best for his development, on the other hand we would have a financial stability because we would have two wages... (Marta, 29, child 10 months old, Krakow)

Marta also explained that she did not want to send her son to a nursery because:

I cannot imagine that my son after such a day [in a nursery] where...he is left on his own, he would be very stressed, surely he would not be able to sleep, he would cry a lot.

Obviously, not everybody shared such views, and few parents actually said that nurseries are good for children. However, particularly mothers struggled with a sense of guilt when they left their children in day cares or even with relatives.

The Gender Equity theory states that women are likely to reduce the number of children they have when their opportunities in the employment market are restricted when they have children. However, since Polish mothers in London often held low-skilled jobs regardless of their educational background, they hardly ever saw motherhood as curtailing their opportunities, just the opposite, prolonged periods of employment inactivity or part time work due to childrearing were seen as advantageous (see also Chapter 8, section 8.5). In contrast women in Krakow often had more career opportunities than their counterparts in London although these opportunities were often curtailed by childbearing and childrearing as their participation in the employment market, although often seen as vital, was hampered when women became mothers. Consequently, the theory could be more relevant for studying childbearing intentions in Poland than among Polish migrants. Nonetheless, the picture in Poland is not a straightforward one since, firstly not all women wanted to work per se, for some work was rationalised as a necessity to make ends meet, purchase a property etc. and they did not necessarily talk about work as a means to personal fulfilment. Even mothers for

whom career satisfaction was important and who perceived having children as hindering their career options often saw their motherhood as a vital part of their identity from which they derived a sense of selfhood and life satisfaction while their employment was seen as secondary, even if important (Hays, 1996; Johnston et al., 2006). This is not surprising in the Polish context where childbearing is seen as a vital part of an individual's life course, a measure of individuals' success (see also Mynarska, 2007) and since mother- primary carer is the dominant mothering ideology in Polish culture. Consequently, the role of gender equity and Gender Equity theory in explaining childbearing decision making in the Polish context remains to be further explored.

Socialist policies in the past promoted women's emancipation through employment and were supported by an endorsement of a mother-worker ideal thus using formal childcare was socially acceptable as it allowed mothers to work (Einhorn, 1993; Metcalfe et al., 2005; True, 2000). Scholars noted that governments in Central and Eastern Europe have been promoting policies which encourage re-familialisation of the welfare state, through introducing policies that encourage women to leave the labour market and return to their homes (Fodor et al., 2002; Pascall et al., 2000; Saxonberg et al., 2007). Transition years from socialism to a market democracy in Poland were also linked to neo-traditionalism of gender identities and emerging cult of motherhood supported by the state and Catholic ideology which prescribe women primarily to the family sphere (Metcalfe et al., 2005; Nowicka, 2007; Titkow, 1993).

Notwithstanding the 'cult of motherhood', maternal employment rates in Poland at around 66% remain relatively high and are similar to maternal employment rates in such countries as the UK, the US or Germany (OECD, 2012). According to Rindfuss et al. (1996) a society with a high female labour force participation that favours mothers of preschool children to stay at home is faced with a dilemma to either change this norm or to reduce fertility and that US society was able to maintain high fertility levels partly due to pervasive change in the society that resulted in a wide acceptance of working mothers of small children. In Poland however politicians and childcare professionals often reinforce intensive motherhood ideologies, rather than encouraging change. When I asked Marta why she thought that she should stay with her child she elaborated:

I listened on TV about this, regarding the nursery policy...apparently children develop better, are less stressed... and they learn quicker one day ... (Marta, 29, child 10 months old, Krakow)

Such childrearing norms and discussions indeed underlined the Nursery Law debates in 2010 and 2011 which turned into widespread debates about the appropriate role of the mother. Following the day care reform proposal, a letter of protest was sent to Parliament signed, among others, by prominent psychologists, psychiatrists, and pedagogical specialists which claimed that nurseries are harmful to young children's emotional and physical development and put a strain on their whole life (Bunda, 2011; Kwiatkowska, 2011). Campaigns against day care centres picturing maternal employment as being detrimental to children under 3 years old were launched by organisations such as Cała Polska Czyta Dzieciom (All of Poland Reads to Kids), Związek Dużych Rodzin Trzy Plus (Association of Large Families Three Plus) or Towarzystwo Uniwersyteckie Fides et Ratio (University Association Fides et Ratio), were omnipresent in the media and echoed in some of my respondents' opinions. Irena Koźmińska, the president of the foundation All of Poland Reads to Kids assured in a number of interviews that the enthusiasm for the law is based on unawareness regarding emotional needs of children who, until the age of 3 need mothers and that parents' pursuit of finances (i.e. work) is in conflict with children's needs (Onet.pl, 2011a). Such expert opinions can contribute to formation of collective sense of what proper behaviour is, especially in accordance with one's gender (Brand, 2001). On the other hand, the Children's Ombudsman advocated that nurseries are good for parents and children, similar, though cautious opinions were expressed by the Polish President and his wife (RC et al., 2011). Experts' views and campaigns nonetheless generated heated debates in the Parliament and when finally the law was passed even supporters of the policy justified their opinions on pragmatic arguments; that certain families do not have a choice but to use day care as they need two incomes, and they did not argue directly against the notion that mothers of preschool children are best full-time carers. For example Ewa Drozd, the head of the subcommittee which worked on the bill asserted that:

The role of NGO's is to...make young parents aware about the consequences of giving small children under the care of institutions. The policy is for these who have no other choice-who have to work and have to find suitable care for their children (Czajkowska, 2011).

Some parents appear to have contradictory opinions regarding childcare and despite complaining about its lack they still articulate that parental care is their preferred choice. To gain a comprehensive understanding of factors that indeed could facilitate or

impede realisation of childbearing intentions, measurements and interpretations of the childcare aspect of PBC need to be sensitive to parenthood ideologies specific to the national context. Insufficient childcare facilities in Poland were often linked to low maternal employment participation constituting a barrier to dual earner status and childbearing choices in Poland (Matysiak, 2009a) as well as to sustained low levels of fertility (Kotowska et al., 2008a). Based on such conclusions we could assume that increasing public childcare availability should alleviate the work family conflict and lead to an increase in fertility, yet, this is not necessarily the case. As narratives illustrate even if public childcare became widely available at moderate costs, it would facilitate work-family reconciliation for mothers and fathers (and possibly make it easier for people to have more children) only if potential parents as well as society in general recognised that there is little risk for children's development if they are cared for by professional care providers rather than exclusively by parents (Rindfuss et al., 1996).

In a majority of families in London, parents, mostly mothers, were the main carers, and even when some doubted whether formal childcare was best for small children, respondents in London never talked in such detail about the harmful effects of non-parental childcare as those in Krakow. However, only one parent with a child below the age of 3 used formal childcare, while in the 3 to 5 years old age group attendance was limited to the free provision of 15 hours a week. Respondents in London predominantly focused on the costs of formal childcare relative to their wages and the distance from grandparents to explain their childcare choices. Especially for parents of children under the age of 3, employment was seen as unprofitable if one had to pay for private care. As Marek told me:

JM: How old is your son?

Marek: ... my wife wants to go to work but I am advising her not to... we went to a private nursery and it is unfortunately £500 a month, and if my wife went to work and earned £700 so I tell her 'honey so you will earn enough to pay for a nursery and tickets, and you will be left with enough [money] for a lipstick'... (Marek, 25 child 2 years old, London)

Childcare costs were often perceived as a direct consequence of mothers' employment and were assessed in relation to women's rather than the family's income in both countries (see also Himmelweit et al., 2004). It was more financially viable for mothers

in London not to work relative to their counterparts in Krakow, particularly since they had to pay, what they often considered high childcare fees relative to their wages while transport costs were also an important consideration.

The availability of affordable childcare services which support mothers' access to paid work can have particularly gendered outcome for migrants, since their citizenship rights are based on their employment or dependency status (Osipovic, 2010). EU migrants to the UK can access social rights not as a universal right but conditional upon being in paid employment. The provisions are extended to family members of the migrant as derived rights only as long as the migrant worker qualifies for these rights and as long as the dependant remains the family member. This limits the social rights post-divorce or separation, until the economically inactive migrant gains a right to permanent residency (i.e. resides in a Member State continuously for a 5 year period). Economically inactive migrants that have not acquired permanent residency rights must fulfil the condition of being self-sufficient and not becoming 'an unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of the host Member State' (European Parliament and the Council, 2004). Thus economically inactive migrant mothers are particularly dependent on their working partners regarding access to social rights and social benefits relative to non-migrants. Marriage is considered as a precondition to childbearing in Poland (Matysiak, 2009b) and according to the Census in 2011 informal unions made up a mere 3.4% of all unions, well below the rates in many Northern and Western European countries (Matysiak et al., 2013). Although the total divorce rate has been increasing in Poland in recent decades it still remains relatively low compared to other European nations. For instance between 2000 and 2008 the crude marriage rate in Poland was between 5.5 and 6.0 per 1000 inhabitants with crude divorce rate raising from 1.1 to 1.7. In the same period in the UK the marriage rate varied between 5.2 and 4.5 while divorce rates were between 2.6 and 2.4 per 1000 inhabitants (Eurostat, 2012-2014).

The divorce rates, separations and cohabitation are correlated with women's employment and childbearing, for instance women were found to increase their labour supply and decrease fertility with increased risk of separation and divorce since participation in the employment market secures their options outside of marriage (Ozcan et al., 2012). However, none of my respondents in Krakow mentioned the issue of union dissolution, neither in relation to their own relationship nor as a societal trend in general. Only Olga who lived in a cohabiting relationship in London mentioned the

possibility of her union dissolution which she related to uncertainty regarding her childbearing intentions. Cohabiting couples have higher rates of union dissolution than married ones (Steele et al., 2005) and in my sample there were more cohabiting couples in London than in Krakow (7 in London and 1 in Krakow). Consequently the link between union dissolution and fertility intentions may be more relevant for Polish migrants in the UK than residents in Poland, a subject to be further explored in future studies.

Informants in London did not talk in detail about whether formal childcare per se was good for children or not. For instance, Tamara told me that she returned to work when her daughter was 8 months old; however she gave it up after two months and stayed at home full-time:

- JM: So you stopped working after your daughter was born?
- Tamara: ...nursery is horribly expensive so money that I earned actually went for the nursery and the child was not happy... the worst thing was that they [nursery workers] spoke worse English than I do, so I am supposed to spend so much money and my child will not have any benefits from that [childcare attendance]. (Tamara 30, child 2 years old, London)

Although there was a theme of her daughter not being happy in the nursery in Tamara's account, this was explained by the poor quality of service and financial costs of childcare relative to her wage was predominant in Tamara's explanation of childcare choices. The free provision of 15 hours a week of day care for children over 3 years old, though valued for educational reasons, was seen by some parents as an inadequate amount of time to allow them to work, even part-time, however, others considered it as an opportunity to return to part-time employment. Working weekends, evenings and/or night shifts was sometimes reported as a means to achieve one and a half or, less frequently, dual earner status and combine working with childcare. For many London-based informants it was only when children started school when women could work, even if part-time. School hours from 9am to 3pm were sometimes also seen as hindering possibilities for full-time work because increased working hours bring little financial reward when the extra income is spent on before and after-school childcare.

Many informants in London mentioned the lack of grandparental help with children as one of the main drawbacks of living abroad. In 2008/09 around 10% of Polish children in London were looked after by grandparents, this data however refer to childcare

provided in the reference week only, and it was not possible to identify whether grandparents provided care on a regular basis or not (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.1). Although on many occasions I heard of grannies coming over to help out my London-based respondents with childcare, this assistance was usually with new born babies and for short periods of time, while none of my respondents in London could rely on informal childcare long term. Many grandparents were still employed and these who were not, were often reported to be unwilling to spend longer periods of time outside of their communities, leaving their spouses, other children and grandchildren behind to come to London. Some informants had other family members, such as siblings, cousins, aunts or uncles, living nearby; nonetheless, they were hardly reliable as childcare providers, mostly due to their own employment. Two interviewees mentioned that they could rely on friends in emergencies; however, it was an irregular solution and by no means an alternative to formal or kin-provided childcare. Otherwise, never such an arrangement was described to me. Consequently, for most parents I talked to in London it was the capability of one parent, mostly the mother, to stay at home full- or part-time when the child was not in free formal care, which was seen as the best and/or the only viable childcare solution. On the other hand, since most informants in London did not report dual earner status as imperative to achieve a desired living standard before one could progress to higher parities, the topic of childcare availability was rarely directly linked to their childbearing intentions. Conversely, apart from paid work there were other important sources of income that assisted parents in attaining economic resources related to childbearing, which will be discussed in the next section.

7.3 Kin support and welfare benefits in Krakow and London

Surveys often measure PBC by asking a broad question whether the decision to have a/nother child depends on, among other things, financial and housing situation; however there are various means (e.g. personal income, kin support, social benefits) by which individuals can access these resources. According to scholars social support and the welfare state should act as a safety net for events such as illness, unemployment, or low income (Burt et al., 2000) while the lack of welfare state provisions is believed to increase the need for family support (Grandits, 2010). Indeed, respondents in Krakow asserted that the state's support for families in Poland was meagre, and one should rely on family help instead. When I asked Jurek if he received any family allowances he told

me: ‘these days one should rather count on oneself, or on family, because from the state there is no help’ (Jurek, 25, child 9 months old, Krakow). Similarly when Jakub was talking about the universal and one off Birth Grant he received, he mentioned that, despite the governments’ declarations, family policies did not exist in Poland and that: ‘one way or the other one needs to count on oneself, what else can one say, I don’t believe in anything such as pro-family policy, it is only some slogans...’ (Jakub, 48, child 4 years old, Krakow). A number of parents complained, for example, about strict eligibility thresholds for family related benefits in Poland, low amounts of universal provisions such as Birth Grants or tax deductions, expensive healthcare provisions and medication for children.

Many informants declared that in Poland it was family assistance that had a central role in the organisation of individuals’ welfare. For instance, Józef, explained that although his family received social allowances (parental leave payment and child benefit), he relied heavily on family support to make ends meet:

JM: What do you think about social support for families?

Józef: We get benefits but it is a terribly small amount, it is hardly enough, if one lives at parents’ then you can survive, but independently, if one was to live somewhere in a flat there are no chances [to survive]...they [parents] help, I do not pay for accommodation, for bills... (Józef, 28, child 15 months old, Krakow)

Other scholars noted that Polish welfare state exhibits implicit familialism since the lack of social support implicitly locates the responsibility for individuals’ welfare and for care work within the family (Szelewa, 2006; Szelewa et al., 2008). Only two respondents in Krakow received child benefit, nobody obtained any housing support, partly because respondents on low income, such as Józef who earned a minimum wage working in a restaurant, often lived in properties that belonged to their relatives with no legal tenancy agreement which made them ineligible for any housing support.

On the other hand, applying for welfare allowances that were directed at low income families rather than children per se was often related to stigma and family assistance was preferred when it was available. For instance, even though Zofia’s narration regarding her intention for a second child centred around her financial adversity, when I asked her if there was any social assistance she could receive Zofia explained that she would not apply for any welfare allowances because: ‘I do not like to beg because it is

like begging' (Zofia, 29, child 8 years old, Krakow). To my question about social support Zbyszek also explained that:

...if one tried one could get something embarrassing, a few hundred [zlotys] but I think it is humiliating... I could get a housing benefit 300 zlotys or something like that but it is below dignity. (Zbyszek, 37, child 5 years, Krakow)

Although he felt that it was humiliating to apply for social benefits, he also told me earlier in the interview that his wife received regular financial assistance from her mother:

JM: Does your family help you in any other way now?

Zbyszek: ...my wife does not earn so she uses her mom's help...in general she gets money from her mother...one can say it is regular...a couple of hundred zlotys a month...

Kin networks in Krakow provide one of the most important sources of social capital i.e. resources that individuals have access to through their personal connections and which have been reported to broaden individuals' range of choices and facilitate achievement of their goals (Astone et al., 1999; Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2001; Quarantelli, 1960; Wellman et al., 1990), including fertility-related decisions (Buhler et al., 2005). Buhler et al. (2007; 2004) also reported that intentions of parents in Poland to have a second child increased the more parents, friends, and neighbours were involved in supportive networks. In my study, relatives, mostly parents and in-laws but also grandparents of my interviewees, rather than friends or neighbours, were the most important sources of aid in Krakow, while material support was most frequently mentioned in relation to childbearing intentions rather than services, time or emotional support. While the income data most frequently analysed in fertility research do not include inherited wealth or financial support from relatives, economic and housing resources of my respondents in Poland were often an accumulation of one's earnings from an occupation together with resources they received through kin networks. The access to kin support, although absent from operationalisations of TPB constructs, was a vital facet of Krakow-based respondents' behavioural control, and a significant factor for understanding of childbearing intentions' rationale in the Polish context.

While several informants in Poland continued to live in their parental households, others had family members, especially parents and/or in-laws living in the same city. Some internal migrants came from towns and villages in the same or adjacent regions, thus a

majority of my interviewees in Krakow retained geographical proximity to their families, which facilitated frequent, relative to London-based informants, face to face contacts. Such contacts increase the probability of receiving help in kind since the donors of such aid are more aware of receivers' needs while proximity also reduces the costs of providing support (Fokkema et al., 2008). Thus, not surprisingly many persons I talked to in Krakow told me that, apart from money, they received such commodities as diapers, food, toys and clothes. This type of help was often reported to be an important relief to household budgets:

JM: What does your husband do?

Alicja: ... it is also that our in-laws are not far away [in the same city], every time we go there we get soup or a dinner... or something else...when we go to my parents then we have to take [home] a bag of food, so this simply is also a big help from people who are not far away. (Alicja 28, child 9 months, Krakow)

Particularly informants who shared households with their parents or in-laws received substantial help, often rent-free accommodation but also in kind:

JM: Have you thought about getting your own place [to live]?

Halina: We thought about it but it costs ...As long as parents allow us to live with them...so I have a lot of help from her [mother], I get help with the child, but also a bit financially, because mum, for instance buys food. Surely we give her money for bills, some peanuts [jakieś grosze]... (Halina, 34, child 1,5 years old, Krakow)

Such social capital comprised not only resources that respondents were already utilising but also these they knew or expected to be able to use when needed (Harknett, 2006). Mariola, for instance, whose husband was self-employed without a regular income, brought to light that she not only received help from parents and in-laws in different forms but that she could borrow money from her mother if needed:

JM: It varies [your financial situation]?

Mariola: ...our parents help... we always get a lot of food from them and other things too, this helps a lot... if there was a difficult situation they would surely help...we can always borrow money from my mother...because we did it in the past... without any interest...so this is a lot from my mum... (Mariola 29, child 19 months old, Krakow)

Such a private safety net, i.e. 'the *potential* to draw upon family and friends for material or emotional support if needed' (Harknett, 2006, p. 172 highlight in original) is a form

of insurance against life's uncertainties and several researchers found that it is the availability of help, even devoid of actual receipt, that is linked to better economic outcomes for parents on low income (Henly et al., 2005; Howard, 2006). Reproductive choices imply long-term costs, uncertainties, and high risks in the life course which can barely be anticipated when the decision to have a/nother child is made (Buhler et al., 2005; Nauck, 2007). The availability of kin help can reduce such long term uncertainties related to childbearing decisions and may be a very distinct facet of reported PBC than income from employment since the latter may be far less predictable while the ability to borrow (receive) money from relatives can provide economic as well as emotional wellbeing (Edin et al., 1997; Harknett, 2006). For instance, Wojciech not only received regular financial assistance from his parents but was also able to borrow money when needed, which he linked to his sense of financial security in relation to his reproductive intentions:

JM: Are there any conditions on which your decision about a second child depends?

Wojciech: Well, illness would mean that we could not have a child...I have never thought about money because... we never lacked money and there is always help... I am not sure how much they [parents] have left, but surely we can borrow money if we need...we can count on money to buy a house [in the future] but every month... we get 1000 [£213] zlotys...sometimes they [parents] give 1500 [£319]. (Wojciech, 32, child 6 years old, Krakow)

Subsequently, in the Polish context not only the income of adult children is sensitive to parental investment in their human capital as I mentioned in the previous chapter, but the financial wellbeing and inheritance of assets depends on the wealth and transfers from parents to their adult children (Becker, 1993; Dalla Zuanna, 2001). Survey data demonstrate that a considerable amount of older people are involved in intergenerational transfers in Poland. While 23% of households with residents over 50 years old provided financial transfers to other households, only 8% received such transfers. The majority of cash transfers were to children (63%) and grandchildren (15%) (Kalbarczyk et al., 2009). The data are only approximate since they relate only to inter-household transfers, while transfers within multigenerational households are not recorded though evidence of such transfers was also present in respondents' accounts. Moreover, results of survey on attitudes towards elderly people in Poland illustrated that 87% of adult respondents believed that elderly people are needed in the society and

among this group 97% justified their opinions by saying that grandparents have time for their grandchildren when parents are at work, while 90% said that seniors are needed as they provide financial help to their adult children and grandchildren (Wadolowska, 2009). Social norms offer guidelines for appropriate behaviour towards relatives including sharing economic resources and 'acting selflessly in the family interest' (Coleman, 1988, p. 104; see also Folbre, 2008). Social expectations indeed seem to reinforce the assumptions that relatives, especially parents, will assist their adult offspring. It was 'a matter of honour' (Jurek, 25, child 9 months old, Krakow) as Jurek said for his father to help his adult son while Zofia, as many others who lived in parental households, was not expected to contribute to costs of keeping the house because 'my parents told me that they do not want any money, because they want to help me as much as they can' (Zofia, 29, child 8 years old, Krakow).

The geographical distance between informants in London and their relatives was undoubtedly the reason why none reported getting any in kind help. Even when grandparents visited and assisted with childcare in London I was told on numerous occasions that my respondents sponsored these stays. Although proximity should have no impact on the monetary aid received, the difference in income levels between Poland and the UK (see Chapter 5, section 5.3) makes it understandable why receiving financial assistance was mentioned only by one respondent in London, and even then it was pointed out to me that this was a one-off episode. Few respondents who did not have jobs prior to coming to the UK mentioned receiving financial help with the costs of migrating. While not receiving any financial help when in London, some mentioned supporting their aging parents in Poland as well as their siblings with families. Occasionally individuals talked about giving their families back in Poland money to cover housing costs, bills or costs of medications, however, more frequently they bought presents for them. For instance Renata said 'my dad always said that the neighbour had a new tractor so my husband bought dad a new tractor' (Renata, 33, child 4 years old, London). Maja also told me that 'we support parents with small amounts of money or some presents' (Maja, 32, child 6 months old, London). Beata talked extensively about buying food and presents when she visited her family in Poland but also about paying for their visits to London, however, she had to limit this assistance following the birth of her daughter:

JM: So you have a brother?

Beata: ...I travelled to Poland, sent money...when I go there, I buy presents and spend money, buy food for everybody...I always bought tickets for everybody [i.e. mum, brother and his family to come to London]...but now...I do not work so I cannot afford what I could before... so I tell my mum 'I will buy tickets for you and for the kids [nephew and niece]...and my brother with wife can buy tickets themselves...(Beata, 31, child 2 years old, London)

Similarly Kuba said:

JM: Are they [your family] in Poland?

Kuba: ...we often help them [family in Poland], because one needs to buy coal or something, now the roof needs changing... often we need to support family there [in Poland], either one or the other [his or his wife's]. Because my parents also got ill and also they cannot afford medications, for instance... (Kuba, 33, child 1 year old, London)

Parutis (2009) also illustrated that her Polish and Lithuanian informants in London often helped financially their families in the sending countries through buying presents, giving them money or paying for their visits to the UK. Between 2003, a year before Poland joined the EU, and 2010 the official migrant remittance inflows increased more than three-fold and in 2010 they constituted 1.7% of Polish GDP (based on www.worldbank.org, accessed on 20/10/2012). It is impossible to identify all remittances across borders since e.g. physical transfers of cash or goods, most frequent forms of remittances in my informants' accounts, are not included in statistical data (Kaczmarczyk et al., 2008). It appears that the amount of help migrants provide to the sending country is wide-ranging and bigger than official data show.

In Krakow family aid supplemented respondents' income from employment whereas respondents in London hardly had access to kin help. Nonetheless, unlike in Krakow, it was the welfare allowances in the UK that supported my respondents' wages and related to their PBC, their perceptions about their ability to support families and raise children. Apart from the universal child benefit which was received by all but one informant, seven of my London-based interviewees claimed housing benefits and in two cases it was reported to cover 100% of the rent while one person lived in a council house, and nine informants obtained various tax credits. Some respondents told me that independence from welfare was preferred, however, it was not always seen as an

achievable option, especially if one had children and consequently, had to live on one wage:

JM: And why did you say that they [other migrants] exploit the welfare state [ciągną państwo]?

Grzesiek: ...Surely, I would prefer to earn enough not to get these benefits...because it is not a pleasure to ask, no, but without these benefits one would not manage to have children and live somehow. (Grzesiek, 34, child 10 months old, London)

A supplementary income from benefits was thus reported as an important part of family budgets in London. It allowed many parents to make improvements in living standards and sometimes to invest in their children's activities (Osipovic, 2010). Some parents praised the benefits in particular for enabling them to invest in children:

JM: And she [daughter] was born here?

Ela: ...[because of] benefits, one can start bringing the child in comfort, no need to worry about things such as diapers, or how I will buy food for her [daughter] and one can focus on child's development and some additional activities... (Ela, 36, child 16 months old, London)

Ewelina, who received child benefit had similar opinion:

JM: And what do you think about social support for families?

Ewelina: ...Child Benefit is helpful...it gives me an opportunity to pay for her [daughter's] clubs... sometimes we do not have our own earned money so thanks to it [child benefit] she can fulfil some small wishes like a cool jacket or cinema. (Ewelina, 33, child 9 years old, London)

Many respondents, even these who did not receive means-tested benefits, were aware that various welfare allowances were obtainable if they fell into financial difficulties or their financial needs increased as a result of having more children. London-based informants often reported that the British welfare state alleviated economic insecurity, and such beliefs, even devoid of actual receipt at the time of the interview, related to respondents' behavioural control, thus, in certain contexts, surveys could benefit from measuring beliefs about the welfare state's ability to alleviate the economic risk that parenthood involves (see also Ellingsæter et al., 2012) to gain a meaningful indicator of global PBC. The welfare context and the awareness of the availability of various welfare allowances was reported to reduce the potential financial insecurity that

parenthood necessitates, and related to parents' confidence in their ability to have more children:

JM: If you had a second child would it affect your life at all?

Marek: Obviously, another child means expenditure...I know that here, if our finances do not allow for this, then the government will help. (Marek, 25, child 2 years old, London)

Similarly, Felicjan who received tax credits in the past when he was on low income, said:

JM: Would anything make it easier to fulfil your intentions and have more children?

Felicjan: ...Now I am in a good financial situation... but I also have this awareness that I have a chance to get different benefits here... This I think is good, with a low income it would be more difficult to have a bigger family [he intended 3 or more children] and with these benefits this makes a difference... (Felicjan, 24, child 3 years old, London)

While receiving kin support is linked to expectations of reciprocity, welfare assistance does not require such reciprocity, which is a subject of the next section.

7.3.1 *Long term intergenerational support and childbearing intentions*

Among different kinds of kin support, housing was the most prominent in Krakow and it was reported to provide substantial, long-term economic security and reduced the costs of living. Renting or owning a property with a mortgage is rare in Poland, while the majority of Polish residents in the UK live in rented housing (see Chapter 5). Indeed, rent-free housing, either inherited or living at relatives', was the most common housing arrangement among respondents in Krakow. Ten Krakow-based interviewees lived in inherited properties, six persons lived at their parents' while only three informants had mortgages and another three rented accommodation. Informants in London mostly rented while only two had shared ownerships of their flats with part rent, part buy mortgages. There was a widespread perception in Poland that taking a mortgage is a very risky endeavour, one to be avoided if possible. Many parents in Krakow commented that renting and mortgage instalments were not affordable relative to wages. Bartłomiej who lived in a flat his wife inherited from grandparents explained the importance of family help in the Polish context, mainly with housing:

JM: Why is it that he [a grown up child] has to have support from parents?

Bartłomiej: ... in Krakow if you do not have any financial help from parents then it is very hard even to live anywhere, because flats are so expensive ... and you earn, lets' say 2000zl... and you pay 1500 a month for a mortgage, what are you supposed to live for? One cannot manage, without parents' help you simply cannot even live in Krakow... (Bartłomiej, 30, child 8 months old, Krakow)

Receiving kin support has twofold consequences for individuals' childbearing rationale. Firstly, such assistance can make it easier to start a family and to progress to the first and sometimes to the second parity. Even though family support or inheritance do not in and of themselves make people want to have children, they are an important facet of PBC and fertility related capital (such as adequate and secure housing situation) that is rationalised as necessary before having offspring. For example, when I asked Alicja how she decided to have her first child she explained that:

...well we were also in a good situation...because my husband inherited a flat... so we did not have to worry about the basic elements to secure a living [dorobić się] because this was given to us...so we did not think in these categories that we have to secure a living [dorobić się] to decide to have a child... (Alicja, 28, child 9 months old, Krakow)

Becker (1993) posited that parental investment in children is motivated by expectation of future utility as they rely on children for support in old age. However, my respondents rarely expressed such expectations of being supported later in life (see also Mynarska, 2009a). On the other hand, assistance obtained from relatives can also be based on indirect reciprocity where persons receive resources from one individual and provide assistance to other ones (Coleman, 2000; Gouldner, 1960; Yamagishi et al., 1993). For example, individuals who receive support from parents may be expected to provide similar assistance to their own offspring. Although respondents in Krakow received extensive help from kin networks, which could be assumed to be positively related to their PBC, this was not always the case, particularly regarding progression to the second and higher order births. Several respondents in Krakow explained that it was important for them to support their adult children, particularly with housing and children with fewer siblings have a better access to inheritable wealth and parental assistance as adults (see also Becker, 1993; Dalla Zuanna, 2001). Although outcomes of having a/nother child for the existing children are not measured as facets of Attitudes in

surveys, informants' behavioural beliefs were often related to their concerns that having more offspring could have negative consequences for the children's economic situation in the future. For instance Waldek, who expected to inherit an apartment from his parents while his in-laws promised to buy him another one, answered to my question why he intended two children:

...so we will own two flats, and with three kids, I would give one flat to two children and nothing for the third one? So this would be a bit strange... (Waldek, 23, child 5 months old, Krakow)

Bartłomiej and Alicja cited above, both living in inherited apartments, mentioned that they would like to build houses in the future without selling their flats as they intended to have two children and to provide a property for each one. Bartłomiej told me:

JM: So what would you like to provide for your children?

Bartłomiej: I will surely try to support them [children], so that they do not need a mortgage for 30 years... I will give them some property so that they do not have a debt for 30 years...because obviously we got this flat from grandparents... (Bartłomiej, 30, child 10 months old, Krakow)

Bartłomiej and Alicja also considered during the interview having a third child but their decision depended, among other things, on their ability to provide all children with similar opportunities including housing. For some respondents owning two properties was not seen as attainable though they expressed similar motivations to provide their children with a good 'start' into adult life, including a property. The aspirations and expectations of intensive and long-term investment in children can thus negatively relate to parents' PBC beyond the first child as they increase the resources seen as necessary for raising children. For example, to my question what she would like to provide for her child Marta, who lived in her parental household, mentioned that:

...Surely, we would want him [child] not to start with, when he is 18 years old, not to start with nothing...I would not want him to look for a flat and take a mortgage. We have a flat guaranteed... I think the grandparents will give him [the flat]. (Marta, 29, child 10 months old, Krakow)

Later in the interview Marta explained that she was not thinking about having another child, because, among other things, of the financial constraints:

JM: Does he [husband] share your opinion [to have one child]?

Marta: ...to support a child, provide this start for a child... to educate him... and to provide him with a flat...well you need finances and with two children it would not be easy.

These narratives illustrate that having fewer children is seen as a good familistic device in Poland as parents which would assist few or the only child to achieve better education and overall better economic success in the future (see also Becker, 1993; Dalla Zuanna, 2001). The requirement for a substantive long-term investment in one's offspring could shed light on the existence of very low fertility in countries characterized by high family solidarity (Heady et al., 2010). Since children, especially 'high quality' ones, are undoubtedly expensive in Poland one should have fewer, better educated children with access to kin support and heritable wealth in the future. This rationale suggests a child quantity versus quality trade-off (Basten, 2009; Smith et al., 1974). For example, Borgehoff-Mulder (1998) posited that low fertility rates are optimal if children are brought up in environments where it is essential and expensive for parents to invest extensively in childbearing thus parents have a few children and invest heavily in them rather than many with less investment per each child.

Some London-based informants also had access to free housing in Poland. Four respondents inherited properties but two of them did not reside in these prior to migration due to distance between their place of employment in Poland and the location of these properties, therefore, even while living in their country of origin they rented accommodation. Another three lived at parents' or in-laws' prior to coming to the UK, however, lack of jobs in local areas and/or financial and housing dependence on family members did not make these an attractive housing solution. Through migration these individuals acquired more control to make autonomous decisions regarding life-style, housing, childbearing and childrearing. The independence often counterbalanced drawbacks of living abroad and the lack of access to kin help:

JM: So your in-laws want you to return [to Poland]?

Krzysiek: ...We have ideal housing conditions in Poland, well, I mean with in-laws, right [ironic]... it is better that we are left on our own here... they would want to bring our son in their own way and tell us what to do [if they lived in Poland] ...here [in London] nobody helps us, but nobody can interfere either. (Krzysiek, 28, child 3 years old, London)

Other researchers also noted that migration provides means for an independent life-style to avoid intergenerational conflicts especially for individuals who lived with their

parents before resettlement (Parutis, 2009). Unlike their counterparts in Krakow, none of my informants in London mentioned that providing housing for their adult offspring would be their responsibility or even an aspiration. The objectives to provide housing for their adult children suggest that Krakow-based informants assumed that their children would remain in Poland, while it is more likely that London-based respondents saw their children as potentially geographically mobile. Moreover, they themselves did not rely on parental support with housing or financially while in London, and many of these who relied on some form of help in the past reported to be particularly happy about their economic and/or housing independence from family. Furthermore, as I discussed in the previous chapter many London-based informants, unlike these in Krakow, considered renting an affordable solution. Neither was it imperative to own a property in London before one could have more offspring. Even though many parents in London aspired to purchase a flat or a house in the future these plans were usually distant and/or often related to other goals such as finding different employment or to their migration plans. Many were uncertain regarding their permanent settlement; some were considering moving to other parts of the UK where properties were seen as more affordable or to other countries in Europe, including, but not exclusively, Poland.

Surveys measuring childbearing intentions often include a question on housing conditions as a facet of PBC (Billari et al., 2009; Vikat et al., 2004). In Poland women who did not intend to have an (additional) child were also asked if their 'housing situation did not allow for that' (Baranowska, 2007a). Individuals however have different perceptions of what adequate housing conditions are and respondents' intention to have a second child can relate to 'housing situation/conditions' in distinctively different ways, as some respondents in both cities talked about having adequate space to accommodate two children, but many in Poland were also concerned about providing adult children with properties. Furthermore, the meaning attached to such broad questionnaire item as 'housing conditions' could change for the same person as they change their national context.

The pervasiveness and importance of substantive intergenerational support in Krakow translates to young parents' anticipation to provide for their children long into adulthood with housing but also with education. Graduates in Poland have both higher wages and lower unemployment rates compared to people with secondary and vocational training (Eurostat, 2012-2014; Sedlak&Sedlak, 2009). In 1989 only about

15% of people were attending universities in Central and Eastern Europe (UNICEF, 2001) while in 2009/10 academic year 54% of people aged 19-24 were attending tertiary education in Poland (Central Statistical Office, 2010). Between 1988 and 2006 the percentage of population in Poland with tertiary education went up from 6.5% to 14.6% (based on www.poland.gov.pl, accessed on 12/03/2012). Melosik (2009) noted that over-education is characteristic of contemporary Polish society and, responsible for de-valuation of degrees and other qualifications. The popularity and high percentage of tertiary educated people in Poland means that educational requirements for many jobs are relatively high compared to the UK. For instance, it is a common practice for primary school or kindergarten teachers to have a Masters degree in Poland. Since education is seen as a vital investment in children, particularly in Poland (see also Chapter 6, section 6.6) sponsoring tertiary education for adult children was another theme related to costs of childrearing. For instance, Maria told me that children do not cost so much when they are small, but they require substantial financial resources when they grow up:

JM: Is there anything else you consider when you think about having another child?

Maria: ...surely when he [child] goes to university, surely we will need to provide that...

JM: Why did you say that 'when he goes to university you will need to provide that'?

Maria: Yes, exactly, parents supported me for a long time, I rented a flat when I went to university and parents paid for that...so as you can see I have this conviction that one should provide for a child when they go to a university...
(Maria, 32, child 21 months old, Krakow)

Parents frequently contribute financially towards further education of their offspring. A research report on student life in Europe demonstrated that 50% of students in Poland lived with their parents, one of the highest percentages among the participating countries⁵⁰ and additionally Polish parents contributed 15% to their income. Regarding students who did not reside at parental houses, in Poland 46% of their total income came from family/partner, 36% from self-earned income, while only 6% from public

⁵⁰ There were 25 countries participating in the survey between 2008 and 2011: Austria, Croatia, Czech Republic, England and Wales, Estonia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands and Turkey.

sources (including student loans and scholarships), compared to 19%, 28% and 43% respectively in England and Wales (Orr et al., 2011).

Some parents in London, similar to these in Krakow, mentioned that they expected to pay for their children's universities. For instance Beata, with vocational training herself, told me that she wanted her daughter to be well educated and to finish university. Since Beata worked in a factory and as a cleaner upon arriving in the UK she wanted to make sure her daughter had a better employment start and she expected to pay for her child's education because 'who else will pay for that?' (Beata, 31, child 2 years old, London). Many others in London, on the other hand, pointed out that children should be independent. For instance, though Ola's parents paid for her living costs when she was studying for her Master degree in Poland she told me that:

JM: So your parents helped you [financially] when you were studding, would you do the same for your child?

Ola: It depends on my situation, it is my responsibility to help my child until he is self-sufficient...although I will strive to ensure that my child becomes self-sufficient as soon as possible, so that he [son] is aware that the quicker he becomes self-sufficient the better he will manage in life and the smaller burden he will be on his parents...I want to invest in his independence. (Ola, 30, child 16 months old, London)

Living in the UK was often seen as providing children with a better capital to succeed when they grow up relative to Polish group of reference, such as learning fluent English language and gaining British diplomas, which may partly explain why parents in London were not so much focused on sponsoring their children's tertiary education.

Additionally, in Poland the system of student loans was introduced only in 1998 and is not very popular as until 2010 only around 8% of students took advantage of these provisions (Kowzan, 2011). This is a much lower percentage than in England, where in 2008/09 academic year the Maintenance Loan to cover living expenses was taken by 80% of all eligible students (Student Loans Company, 2011). What is also vital, the repayment of loans in Poland must commence 2 years after the completion of a course, regardless of the income or employment status of the former student, although from 2011/2012 there is a possibility of temporary suspension of repayments for up to 12 months if the borrower is in financial difficulties (Kowzan, 2011). Such repayment requirements may, at least partly, explain the reluctance to incur debt by students in

Poland, as it can lead to financial difficulties if the borrower is on low income or faces prolonged periods of unemployment. In the UK the repayment commences only when the borrower earns more than £21,000 year while Polish migrant workers and their families are entitled to financial assistance with tertiary education with the same rules as British citizens (based on direct.gov.uk, accessed on 10/11/2012).

The link between kin aid, Attitudes and PBC is varied and parity specific. Polish parents often considered different financial and housing resources as necessary to have more children depending on the country of residence and the role of kin support in childbearing rationale is different depending on the context. The aspiration towards survey harmonisation and cross-national comparability encourages operationalisations of TPB using fixed, standardised definitions and indicators across different populations. GGS employed the same questions and response categories to research childbearing intentions in 19 nations, in varied populations and in multicultural societies such as the UK. The beliefs related to PBC and Attitudes expressed by my informants are not inconsistent with the constructs as described in TPB, the complexity they involve however highlights the need to address geographic and socioeconomic context (see also Burke et al. 2009). Research findings stemming from operationalisations of the theory which fail to acknowledge different meanings attached to factors vital for decisions to have children among different populations may produce findings of relatively low validity, may lead to incomplete interpretations and misinformed policy recommendations (see also Ajzen, 2002a; Bernardi et al., 2010b).

The importance of kin support does not entirely explain childbearing intentions rationale among Polish parents, and whether one intends and will have another child is not determined by one's ability to receive help from parents, and provide one's adult offspring with assistance. Neither do I wish to imply here that individuals have no choices regarding their reproductive lives as the discussions of childbearing intentions should not be oversimplified. The definitions of economic adequacy and requirements for childbearing are furthermore flexible and shifting, and even people who strongly subscribe to the economic rationale and lack resources themselves are capable of finding alternative strategies such as migration.

7.4 Migration as a strategy for the asset poor and family oriented

Residents in Poland often live in mortgage free, owned properties or rent-free (see Chapter 5), however interviews illustrated that London-based Polish nationals often rented properties when they lived in Poland or had mortgages, which could suggest that they may be a selected group of people with limited assets back in their country of origin. The fact that some respondents in London reported providing help for their families in Poland also implies that their access to social capital in Poland was absent or negligible. Looking at reported reasons motivating geographical relocations such as inadequate incomes to make ends meet, to pay mortgage instalments or desire to earn money to purchase a property indicates that migration was perceived as a strategy to acquire resources which many respondents in Krakow received from kin networks. For instance, two persons in London had mortgages for apartments back in the homeland; however Natalia explained that she and her husband were able to get a mortgage only when they started working in England. Natalia could not rely on financial assistance from her family, although she mentioned that she could live with her parents, one of her four siblings already resided in her parental household, and she also preferred to live independently:

JM: Where did you live in Poland?

Natalia: ...we rented...We came here to earn for a flat, because we did not have one..., this was our main reason to come here...because we had to earn for it [flat] ourselves ...because a marriage, especially when there is a child I think should live alone [without parents/siblings]...
(Natalia, 27, child 5 years old, London)

Mateusz, on the other hand, got a mortgage while working in Poland but struggled with repayments and after his request for a pay rise was refused, he gave up his job and came to London. Consequently, in both cases the inability to own an apartment back in Poland was an important aspect of their migration rationale. Others in London mentioned that they would need to rent were they to return to their homeland and they spoke of the costs of rent and some London-based interviewees aimed at saving money while living in the UK to purchase properties back home. For instance, when I asked Janusz whether he planned to stay in the UK or return to Poland he said that ‘we [he and his wife] are not coming from some rich families’ and that they would need to secure their own accommodation in Poland:

...we do not have our own property there [in Poland]... if I went back and I got a job and earned...this is nothing, even 2500 zlotys and if I was to rent a flat... (Janusz, 32, child 2 years old, London)

Similarly, Ania and Michal in Krakow were considering migration as a strategy to achieve such resources as housing or financial means to have a second child when family support was not available. Ania was one of the few parents in Krakow who rented an apartment and she reported that migration, among other things, would provide her family with resources to buy a property either in Krakow or abroad. Although Michal had received extensive financial support in the past, including an inherited flat, his parents and in-laws 'already gave what they had' (Michal, 47, child 2 years old, Krakow). He planned to work abroad to gain money to pay for an infertility treatment to have a second baby as he and his wife previously used assisted reproductive technology to conceive their first child. Additionally, Michal aimed at earning money abroad to build a house in Poland as he wanted to have a bigger living space but also he aspired to own a second property if he was to have two children. Accordingly, migration was a central strategy in Michal's childbearing rationale.

Migration appears to be an alternative approach for the asset poor and to some extent a substitution for family assistance. By migrating, individuals can change the perceived constraints related to childbearing, which can have implications for their experience of behavioural control, although scholars often interpret these obstacles as constant. Nonetheless, decisions to live abroad are also linked to career considerations. Polish nationals in the UK most often work in low-skilled jobs although many are well educated (see Chapter 5). Some respondents were satisfied with their jobs upon migration even if they were overqualified for these jobs and/or they hoped to be able to advance their careers abroad. For others, family motivations were more important than professional lives (see also Chapter 6). On the other hand, some respondents in both cities were dissatisfied with their employment options and/or career breaks following migration, and this discontent was related to their rationale to return to Poland. Natalia, who had a Master degree, worked as a care assistant and talking about her employment in the UK she explained that:

...one has a degree from Poland...comes here and rarely one has a job in one's profession. And I am tired of it and also because of that I want to go back. (Natalia, 27, child 5 years old, London)

Likewise, Ewelina, an economist in Poland, who decided to be a full-time mother when she moved to London, disappointed by the lack of career opportunities told me:

...I was naive, I thought I would find a cool job without speaking the language...I want to return home and go to work and do something for myself because I have stayed at home for long enough. (Ewelina, 33, child 9 years old, London)

Similarly Jacek decided to settle down in Poland after 10 years of living abroad and when I asked him about his reasons to return he explained that:

...I will achieve something quicker here than abroad. And she [his wife] would have the same problem as me [abroad] that she would have a job that gets on her nerves and does not interest her and with no chances for development... (Jacek, 35, child 1 year old, Krakow)

When talking about his housing situation Jacek mentioned that ‘... I do not have a family who will give me a flat as a gift, so I have to buy a flat myself...’ and his wish to purchase an apartment partly motivated his decision to migrate although he was not able to achieve that goal. When I asked Jacek what he wanted to provide for his children, he said:

First of all a flat, so when they leave home they know that they will not have to migrate, and swindle [kombinować], and think how and what to do to get it... Secondly, education...

Jacek’s views about the importance of intergenerational assistance arise somehow from his own inability to resort to kin support that was related to his decision to migrate whereas his subsequent disappointment with his employment abroad motivated his return. Since career satisfaction was important for him and migration was seen as disadvantageous to his career prospects it reinforced his rationale to invest in his children’s capital in Poland to guard them from the necessity to migrate in the future. For Jacek, access to kin support is a much better alternative for himself and his own offspring than migration.

Migration as a strategy to gain adequate resources related to childbearing intentions may thus be a short-term solution. It may be more acceptable to take career breaks or low-skilled jobs temporarily, and women may be happy not to work in the short-term when their children are young, but it may not be a desirable long-term option. Simultaneously, even if migration is an imperfect means to achieve ones’ aspirations

and involves plentiful compromises, the ease of migration within the EU provides individuals with more choices than they would have otherwise in their pursuit of desired living standard and childbearing related capital and by migrating individuals can change their PBC.

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter illustrated that specific socio-institutional settings are linked to different strategies parents employ to achieve desired resources and standard of living related to their childbearing intentions. The desirability of the dual earner model on the one hand, and intensive motherhood ideologies prevalent in Poland which portray mothers of children under the age of 3 as the best carers on the other, are clearly in conflict making it challenging to combine employment with childrearing. Respondents in Krakow often resorted to the market and the family itself (nuclear and extended). The extensive help individuals received from parents and in-laws, particularly with housing but also with education, cash and in kind, constituted a significant part of informants' capital in Krakow. However, the pervasiveness and importance of long-term kin support in Krakow increases economic resources seen as necessary for childrearing and it has negative consequences for reproductive intentions because many parents in Poland expect to invest rather heavily in their children long into adulthoods. It appears to be more rational in Poland to have fewer children and invest more in them since, *ceteris paribus*, children who have fewer siblings are more likely to have a better social standing since they have more access to kin support, inherited wealth, and also to better education which, in turn, can improve their material wellbeing in the future (Casacchia et al. 1999, cited in Dalla Zuanna, 2001, p. 151; Palomba, 1995).

Polish families in London derive resources based on the market and the welfare state in a modernised male breadwinner model, and the latter is viewed as the most viable approach for work-family reconciliation within nuclear families. Economic inactivity among Polish mothers in London was often more acceptable than in Krakow given their concentration in low-skilled jobs and since one wage, sometimes supplemented by social welfare allowances, was frequently reported as sufficient to sustain a family regardless of kin's ability and/or willingness to provide any support. Although narratives of respondents in London uncover a plethora of attitudes regarding provisions for their adult offspring their expectations about long-term financial costs of

childbearing were overall lower than in Krakow. Unlike in Krakow, nobody in London expressed an expectation to provide their adult children with housing even though few mentioned sponsoring their children's (tertiary) education.

Narratives of London-based respondents often accentuated that they had limited access to kin support and/or were unwilling to resort to such assistance and some provided financial aid to their families in Poland while living abroad. Consequently, for many informants in London and some in Poland migration is a process through which they are able to gain some of the capital that others received from relatives, for instance, property ownership or ability to afford renting costs. Nonetheless, career and family orientation also play a role in migratory justifications in both cities and employment dissatisfaction is related to return migration rationale.

The narratives presented in this chapter also question suppositions about the meaning of categories used in surveys measuring childbearing intentions. Although surveys tend to measure the effect a/nother child would have on the parents, intentions for higher parities in Poland were frequently linked to parents' considerations of the consequences for the children. Such an omission of a vital component of Attitude can impact validity of the results, as the sum of the indirectly measured items may not correlate well with the global Attitude (Francis et al., 2004). Surveys are often inattentive to contextual factors and based on a small number of broad questions such as whether one's decision to have children depends on 'housing conditions' or 'childcare availability'. Nonetheless, these concepts in individuals' narratives are more multifaceted and context specific than what crude quantitative indicators capture. For instance, adequate housing may signify enough space for a second child but it can also denote being able to provide a property for each adult child. The chapter also demonstrated that the link between kin support and childbearing intentions is complex, context specific and could well change for an individual when they migrate, and through migration respondents can alter perceived constraints to childbearing, although neither current research on fertility in Poland nor TPB-based surveys take these into account. If one can delineate such contextual differences in individuals' perceptions and meanings of factors necessary for childbearing, this can provide a more comprehensive tool to produce meaningful indicators of TPB constructs which would capture aspects that matter for childbearing intentions more effectively. Overall findings based on contextualised theoretical items

would be better equipped to inform social policies than single internationally comparative questionnaires (see also Bernardi et al., 2010b).

In this and previous chapter I considered separately each of the most prominent themes in relation to intention for parity two which appeared in informants' accounts for the purpose of clarity. This is not to imply that straightforward rationalisation determines whether an individual intends to have a second child or not. Not everyone agreed on what exactly children should be provided with either, and even these who had a clear idea, were not always certain whether this rationale should determine their childbearing intentions. In reality the *raison d'être* behind whether or not to have another baby involves a mixture of factors under any circumstances, from the widely discussed economic aspects, through the uncertainty regarding future settlement, to the more intimate issue of unspecified desire to have another infant or the lack of it. The following chapter thus captures the complexities of factors involved in childbearing intentions' rationalisations based on selected case studies while also providing an insight into some of the challenges with applying the TPB in empirical research.

8 Theorising and Researching Childbearing Intentions and Individuals' Accounts

8.1 Introduction

This thesis now turns to exploring intentions to have a second child from a more holistic perspective and this chapter discusses the complexities involved in fertility intentions rationalisations based on respondents' narratives. Findings from previous chapters suggested that the operationalisation of constructs in Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) has important limitations due to the narrowness of explanatory factors underlying childbearing intentions. The aim of this chapter is to further interrogate the theoretical framework and variables used in demographic research.

Fertility rationalisations are rarely consistent or based on one, clear motivation as in reality any single individual refers to an array of, often contradictory beliefs and employs multifaceted strategies at any given time to construct and justify their reproductive preferences which poses challenges to understanding the processes involved in intention formation. Although the economic and institutional considerations were predominant in childbearing rationale, these were often interrelated with other factors, such as parental age, concerns regarding the increase in workload related to having another child and/or beliefs that it is beneficial for children to have siblings. Disparities within individuals' accounts and shifts in narratives are an integral part of exercising individual agency and the complexities of human experiences, inconsistencies and contradictions within individual stories bring to light challenges to comprehensively understand childbearing rationale based on TPB.

This chapter is organised into four sections. It begins with a discussion of how TPB constructs are conceptualised and operationalised and I provide an overview of the challenges posed by applying the theory in this research. It is difficult to understand the complex nature by which respondents negotiate and construct agency while rationalising childbearing intentions by looking at fragmented and partial pictures of each narrative, thus the following sections present three detailed case studies. I chose this form to gain a more comprehensive picture of childbearing rationales, to illuminate the diversity of factors involved in justifying and rationalising intentions, to explore in

depth how individuals construct and communicate their agency, and to demonstrate how the data relate to the theoretical model.

8.2 Theoretical considerations

The TPB holds that all essential factors to explain and understand intentions are captured by Attitudes, Subjective Norms (SN) and Perceived Behavioural Control (PBC), which are formed from beliefs and impact intentions in a causal manner (Ajzen, 1985). The TPB appeared to be the most promising paradigm to guide the design of this research and there exists a vast body of survey-based responses across a range of academic disciplines to support the theory (see Chapter 2, section 2.6). I suggested in previous chapters that concepts used in TPB research are not sufficiently well operationalised to fully understand childbearing intentions in different settings while surveys often rely on a relatively small set of narrowly defined variables to explore aspects related to intentions among diverse populations. Moreover, while researchers often focus on the predictive criterion for theory evaluation there is far less attention paid to the adequacy of its components and underlying causal mechanisms in this theoretical model. Without a thorough investigation of concepts and operations that are the major constructs of TPB we cannot be confident about the conclusions derived from empirical studies that employ the theory (Miniard et al., 1981). The interrogation of TPB with the empirical data, and analysis during the course of my research revealed a number of challenges which are discussed in this section and which will be illustrated in more detail in the case studies.

8.2.1 Resolving ambiguities while constructing narratives and TPB

Ajzen (1991, p. 189) refers to Attitudes, SN and PBC as ‘determinants’, and ‘antecedents’ of intention which ‘account for intentions’ and this vocabulary implies that the three items precede the intention itself in a deterministic manner and independently impact intention in causal processes. Most tests of TPB use correlational designs (Armitage et al., 2001) and Ajzen (1991, p. 179) asserted that ‘in broad terms, the theory is found to be well supported by empirical evidence’. He reviewed 16 studies which employed TPB and pointed to the amount of variance in intention explained by the three predictors, with an average correlation at 0.71. Daniel Little (2011, p. 274) defines cause in the realm of social sciences as a ‘condition that either necessitates or

renders more probable its effect, in a given environment of conditions'. Consequently correlation is not sufficient to support claims of causation since it does not provide any evidence that Attitudes, SN and PBC indeed necessitate particular intentions. This, of course, does not mean that there are no potential causal relationships, however, there needs to be further explanation of the mechanisms behind correlations if one is to claim a causal relationship (Little, 2011). No further explanation is, however, given.

Childbearing intentions in respondents' narratives are often related to contradictory and ambiguous beliefs and individuals' accounts are characterised by inconsistency, ambivalence and indecision. The TPB indeed acknowledges that Attitudes, SN and PBC are composed of both positive and negative beliefs, and that they are not necessarily internally consistent, however the theory assumes that respondents are capable of reporting accurately their beliefs and relative weighting, and the overall Attitude, PBC and SN are evaluated by subtracting the negative beliefs from the positive ones (Francis et al., 2004). Incoherencies and shifts within narratives illuminate that individuals are not always accurately reporting inconsistent beliefs; to the contrary, during an interview a person may alter their account of contradictory or ambiguous beliefs to bring these into a harmonious relationship. Cook et al. (2005b, pp. 144-145) noted that just because the components in TPB are related does not automatically imply that the assumed causality in the theory is accurate, and components 'generally correspond because the person is giving an intelligible account of their actions' and people use 'a common mode of explanation to justify and explain their intentions'. The theory of cognitive dissonance can be a useful tool in understanding the mechanisms individuals employ while constructing their narratives. The theory holds that 'the individual strives toward consistency within himself' while holding conflicting ideas, beliefs or values leads to a state of dissonance which is an uncomfortable emotional feeling (Festinger, 1962, p. 1). People are motivated to resolve any ambivalence and inconsistency and to reduce this dissonance by either altering their existing beliefs, values, ideas, or by adding new ones to create a consistent belief system (Festinger, 1962). Adjusting inconsistent beliefs into a coherent belief system may well be a 'common mode' of explaining and justifying intentions.

According to TPB beliefs, Attitudes, SN, and PBC connect according to regular, law-governed sequences of processes independent of individuals' agency and people reach decisions primarily because causal forces influence these constructs (Cook et al.,

2005a). If TPB constructs predict intention and behaviour in a causal manner, the implication is that we can change intention and behaviour by modifying Attitudes, PBC and SN which, in turn, we do by targeting the beliefs underlying these constructs (Steers, 2012). Gender and Generation Survey (GGS), for instance, aimed at capturing determinants of demographic choices to better understand ‘the causal mechanisms that underlie demographic change’ and to ‘build the basis for devising policies that respond to the demographic changes...’ (Vikat et al., 2007, p. 391). Surveys and research which have employed TPB often endeavour to make social policy recommendations which could assist individuals in fulfilling their reproductive intentions (see, for example, Klobas, 2010; Philipov, 2009; Philipov et al., 2009; Sobotka, 2011a). It is nonetheless not possible to confirm that the assumed causality is accurate and that Attitudes, SN and PBC are formed earlier in time than intention or to judge whether a change in an intention was caused by corresponding changes in the three items as only joint connections could be known. Because it is only the joint connection that is observable in empirical studies some researchers point out that the components of the theory are parts of intention not causal explanations (Greve, 2001; Smedslund, 1978). If the assumptions about causality in TPB do not always reflect how individual actors construct and communicate their childbearing intentions, interpretations of findings based on TPB may be partial with consequences for the effectiveness of policy interventions.

8.2.2 *Contextual factors and explanatory variables in TPB*

The TPB is often regarded as a universal paradigm to explain and predict human behaviour across diverse contexts and populations as any factors determining the intention are captured through one of its components. As Ajzen (1991, p. 126) affirmed ‘in the final analysis, a person’s behavior is explained by considering his or her beliefs’. Contextual, background factors (such as education, culture, social status etc.) are important only indirectly as they influence beliefs behind Attitudes, PBC and SN, thus the measurement confined to these three items are sufficient for understanding intention and behaviour (Fishbein et al., 2005). Moreover, the theory focuses exclusively on beliefs that individuals are conscious of, excluding any unconscious, automatic cognitions (Hobbis et al., 2005). The theory defies the possibility that people construct cognition and express themselves not only explicitly but also unconsciously and

discursively, rationalisations are culturally embedded and the process of meanings derivation can be both conscious and unconscious. Rationalisations and motivations can be routine and embedded in social contexts while the line between discursive and routine consciousness is often permeable and shifting (Giddens, 1984; Pasick et al., 2009a). According to anthropologist Kiefer (2007) behaviour is guided by the meanings individuals attribute to things and events, while attaching meaning is an ongoing, dynamic and contextual process rather than guided by a mechanical cause-and-effect model. Respondents' cognitive strategies to resolve any contradictions and ambiguities related to childbearing intentions are positioned within specific contextual circumstances, beliefs may be reconfigured and fine-tuned routinely or discursively in patterned ways, particular for the context (Billig, 1996; Currie, 1988). Consequently, contrary to TPB, it is plausible that contextual factors not only influence beliefs but that they are distinctively related to mechanisms of rationalising intentions, as reported beliefs may be intensified, circumvented and/or attenuated and reconfigured in specific ways depending on the context (see also Pasick et al., 2009c).

8.2.3 *How to measure Subjective Norms?*

The concept of SN encompasses a mixture of perceived expectations from relevant others to perform the behaviour together with motivations to comply with these expectations. One of the challenges I faced when interviewing and interpreting individuals' responses was that, even when respondents recognised the existence of others' expectations regarding having another child, they frequently denied the impact of these on their intentions asserting their individual autonomy in childbearing decision making process. Scholars point out that even when individuals are aware of a normative motivation, they often underestimate these as related to their own behaviour (Nolan et al., 2008). Individuals may not be able to detect the influence of SN on their behaviour, or they may not report it if, for instance, other norms support individual independence hence disapprove of such compliance. Since individual independence is highly valued in modern societies this could suggest that a norm favouring independent decision-making regarding parenthood may have impacted what respondents reported in interviews. Social desirability can bias the answer and impact any research based on interaction between the observer and the observed (Fenton et al. 2001). It may be seen as not socially desirable to admit in front of a researcher any conformity with others'

expectations thus SN may be better captured in self-administered questionnaires rather than in qualitative interviews.

It was suggested that social pressure is hardly ever so explicit therefore the extent to which individuals are able to detect the existence of SN can be questioned (Cialdini, 2007; Nolan et al., 2008). Individuals function within a framework of implicit norms, not directly communicated, which they may infer from observing others around them. Such implicit norms may also entail a need to comply with them, even if individuals do not feel or report any pressure or obligation to accept them (Terry et al., 2001). Childbearing rationales are constructed in a global environment of social and economic norms and individuals' intentions may not only be impacted by what 'important others' expect but by what 'people in general think an individual should do' (Fukukawa et al., 2010, p. 51). Demographers, for instance, discuss a two-child norm and consider if the norm is 'global' (Basten et al., 2011). Obviously, such a norm to have two children may not be explicitly shared by relevant others. In fact most respondents' childbearing intentions reflected a two child norm even though often they either did not recognise or denied its impact on their intentions. Consequently, in this study determining with confidence the role of SN in respondents' intentions is highly problematic since many informants could not identify any norms as related to their intentions for a second birth. Even regarding recognised expectations from others, parents rarely reported any motivation to comply with these while some strongly denied any possibility of compliance.

8.3 Introduction to case studies

In the previous section I have outlined theoretical and methodological challenges which I encountered in the attempts to analyse and understand my informants' narrations based on TPB. Now this chapter turns to exploring case studies which demonstrate and elaborate on these issues, they also complement the findings from previous chapters and they offer in-depth information and a more complete picture of factors and processes involved in childbearing intention rationalisations. Case studies illustrate the diversity of factors involved in childbearing rationale under any circumstances, they show how individuals construct their accounts, and they draw attention to the challenging nature of conceptualising and measuring factors related to fertility intentions. Three informants were selected from a diverse cross section of participants. I made a preliminary

selection on the basis of demographic characteristics as I included respondents from London and Krakow, men and women. I wanted to bring attention to some of the most typical subjects in each setting and for different genders and cases were chosen because each one represents several themes that were common in accounts of childbearing intentions in Krakow and London and among men and women. Therefore, I selected interviews that were particularly informative and wide ranging in the issues participants discussed. Simultaneously, I chose each case study to ensure that the three together bring attention to a wide set of themes and highlight various theoretical and methodological issues. The reasons behind selection of particular individuals and common themes they shared with others are provided in the table below.

Table 8 Reasons behind the selection of particular case studies.

Case study	Commonalities with other respondents and uniqueness.
<p>Marian</p> <p>Krakow, 31 years old, child 2 and a half years old. Secondary Education (<i>Matura</i> exam-A Level equivalent)</p>	<p>Themes common among respondents in Krakow:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -necessity for dual earner status in relation to childcare and family's economic situation -comparisons drawn to migrants in opinions regarding one's living standard -necessity of financial investment in children -age threshold for childbearing (also frequent theme among respondents in London) <p>Themes common for male respondents in both Krakow and London:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -'passive agency' i.e. placing responsibility for childbearing decision on the female partner <p>Uniqueness among respondents in Krakow:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Marian did not have access to extensive kin support, however, a few other respondents in Krakow and many in London were in a similar situation -mortgage for an apartment
<p>Ola</p> <p>London, 30 years old, child 18 months old. Tertiary education (Master's degree)</p>	<p>Themes common to other respondents in London:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - breadwinner model as a way of work-family reconciliation -importance of welfare benefits for economic wellbeing -childcare costs in relation to women's employment -vague plans to return to Poland in the future -migration linked to occupational downgrade -frequent comparisons to Poland -age threshold to childbearing -spacing between children (also relevant to respondents in Krakow) <p>Themes common to female respondents in London:</p>

	-ambivalent about economic inactivity, however, homemaker role is more appealing than employment
Ewa Krakow, 29 years old, child 2 years old. Tertiary education (Master's degree)	<p>Themes common to other respondents in Krakow:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -appeal of dual earner model though it is not vital financially -extensive kin support -childbearing intentions related to ability to support children into adulthood -age threshold to childbearing <p>Themes similar to other female respondents both in Krakow and London</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lack of partner's help with childcare and housework is related to childbearing intentions - exercising female agency and contraceptive use - 'desire' to have a/nother child (also present among some men) <p>Uniqueness among respondents in Krakow:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -grandmother looked after her daughter full-time -lack of transnational comparisons in appraising living standard and resources available to her

8.4 Case study 1: Marian: discursive use of economic and age threshold logic

I met Marian, a 31 year old IT customer service worker in a quiet coffee shop located in one of the residential areas in Krakow. It was just after 5 pm and he came straight from work to see me. Marian lived in a block of flats nearby and he suggested the meeting place himself. After ordering two coffees I switched on my recorder and we began the interview. He spent his entire life in Krakow, his parents and a younger sister resided in a flat in the neighbouring residential area. Elzbieta, his wife, grew up in a small town, but since getting any paid employment was difficult there, soon after finishing high school she relocated to Krakow in search of work, where they met. They moved in together after getting married four years earlier and shortly after they bought a 38 square-meter apartment with a mortgage. Marian also told me that he and Elzbieta always wanted to have a child as they saw an offspring as 'completing their family', and 'expression of love' while his life without offspring was 'empty'. Therefore it was 'obvious' that they would have a child. After their son was born 2 and a half years ago, Elzbieta, a care assistant, took maternity leave for 6 months after which period her temporary employment contract was terminated and they both decided that she would not search for work; instead she would look after their son. Marian told me that Elzbieta

was registered as unemployed though she did not receive any unemployment pay and kept her registration only to get the healthcare insurance.

8.4.1 *Mothers are the best carers*

Marian explained that nurseries were a ‘necessary evil’, they were ‘not a good thing’ since they had ‘negative impact on children’s future learning and emotional development’. He and his wife would consider sending his son to one only if they could not survive on his income. And since they could survive, though it meant a lower standard of living, they decided that Elzbieta would stay at home until their son goes to a kindergarten at the age of 3. Marian’s views, echoing the intensive motherhood tenet, were not uncommon in Krakow. Marian initially worked overtime to make up for the lost second income; nonetheless, he did not say anything about how his long working hours could impact his son’s development, as he told me that his primary role was earning a living and ‘looking after his son...when possible’. Questions about the role of fathers in caring for young children were rarely voiced by my respondents. Clearly, the ideology of intensive mothering affects men nearly as much as it affects women, though in a different way. It influences women such as Marian’s wife and other mothers I talked to through their resignation from paid work, the long hours of physical and emotional care they devote to child raising or feeling guilty if they decide to work. But the impact extends to men too. Although Marian or other men in this study did not expect to forgo their employment to look after their children, it still affected him through long hours spent in paid employment when he worked overtime, through the limited time he had available for his son and also through his physical fatigue.

Most research on work-family reconciliation has focused on mothers ability to reconcile employment and childrearing (Crompton et al., 2006; Fagan et al., 2008; Gornick et al., 2003). Studies also illustrated that full-time working mothers tend to face greater challenges than fathers working full-time in reconciling work with family life (Matysiak, 2005; Milkie et al., 1999). The mainstream assumptions are that women respond to gender inequity and to the double shift of combining paid and unpaid work by reducing fertility (Chesnais, 1998; McDonald, 2000a; Rindfuss et al., 1996). This interpretation can however be extended to men. Although men in this study did not report to perform as much housework and childcare as women did, the lack of equal division of paid work placed more strain on men such as Marian since he had to

combine breadwinning with involvement in fathering and caretaking. While Marian and most fathers I talked to considered breadwinning to be their main role as husbands and fathers they were also attempting to remain involved with their children (Kilkey et al., 2014). Marian gave much thought into his son's upbringing, he talked a lot about children's development and he was actively involved in caring for his son when he was not at work. In the European Social Survey in 2004 over 90% of fathers in Poland and the UK stated that it was important to have employment which would allow them to combine work with family life, simultaneously, the same data demonstrated that fathers in Poland were working more than fifty hours per week on average and they reported that they would still increase their working hours for better pay (Hobson et al., 2009). Consequently, when low fertility is viewed as a response to competing demands and lack of gender equity (Morgan, 2003; Rindfuss et al., 1996) it may impact men's childbearing decision making since, struggling to combine breadwinning with more active fathering, men may choose to have fewer children (see also Torr et al., 2004). When overtime ceased to be available for Marian, he accepted it with ambivalent feelings: on the one hand he told me that he was happy to be able to spend more time with his family, on the other hand he complained about the cut in his income which resulted in lower living standards.

While Marian's beliefs about the disadvantages of formal childcare created internal constraints on the family's care options, Elżbieta's prospective income as a care assistant was likely to be similar to the costs of a nanny in Krakow, coupled with the lack of availability of nurseries in Poland, produced external constraints on the family's care choices. However, Himmelweit et al. (2004) reported that preferences regarding childcare can adapt to employment behaviour when women enter paid work. It is plausible that if the external constraints on their care options were alleviated and, for instance, Elżbieta earned a higher wage relative to the costs of paying for a nanny or public nurseries were available (good quality and affordable), Marian's views regarding childcare preferences might alter. Their relatives, Marian also commented, could not and did not help on a regular basis with childcare as his parents worked full-time while Elżbieta's mother lived too far away and was in poor health, consequently, Marian reasoned, there was no option but for Elżbieta to stay at home. Nonetheless, his parents occasionally looked after their grandson while Elżbieta had two sisters who studied and worked in Krakow and they helped with childcare in emergencies.

8.4.2 *Dual earner logic in childbearing rationale*

Although Marian explained that it was vital for Elżbieta to forgo employment at least for the first three years of his son's life, throughout the interview he frequently told me that his family was in a difficult financial situation due to their one income status. When I asked him at the beginning of our interview whether his wife was working or not he instantly elaborated:

She looks after the child...we live on the edge of, well I will not say poverty because it would be an exaggeration, but my wage is just enough to make ends meet and any extra expenditure...is something that we have to borrow because we cannot manage otherwise.

Marian did not receive any social benefits as the family passed the income eligibility threshold. Marian also told me that he had a 'minor debt' in the bank since any unexpected expenditure related to, for example, broken appliances in the household meant that he needed to borrow money either from the bank or sometimes from his parents. However, his parents were 'not rich', and what they could lend him was some 'funny amounts, sometimes 100 or 200 zlotys [£21-£42]' which Marian had to repay from his subsequent wage. When I asked him how many children he intended to have, Marian related his reproductive intentions to their financial situation:

We intend to have two children but we have one [child] and if our financial situation, because unfortunately in our situation we have to consider costs of having another child...if our [financial] situation gets better let's say within a year or so we will have another one, but if not then we will have one child.

Marian also denied that other people could have any influence on his reproductive decision making, as when I asked him if anybody he knows thinks he should have a second child he asserted:

Nobody said 'have another child'...even if somebody said or asked, our plans to have more children are only ours... and when anybody tries to interfere we both [him and his wife] say no [to such interference].

Marian's intention to have a second child was primarily related to his weak behavioural control and to his financial situation and he explained that Elżbieta had to find employment before they could have another offspring as it would translate into a better family income and also she would be entitled to maternity allowance. Since his son was

already 2 and a half years old, they would need a kindergarten soon. Simultaneously, Marian doubted that his son would get a place in a public kindergarten due to the limited availability of places and he worried about the affordability of private ones:

...if a public kindergarten in Poland costs about 200 zlotys [£42] then a private one costs 1000, 1200 [£213; £255] and it is not even full-time but if we want to leave the kid for 8 hours a day it is even more expensive.

Thus, Marian reasoned that if their son does not get a place in a public kindergarten, the high costs of private ones will not justify Elżbieta's return to paid employment.

It was also vital for Marian that his son attends a high quality kindergarten, where he could have access to additional activities; in particular it was important for him that his son has English classes, and since even public facilities offer English at extra costs Marian explained that childcare is expensive. The necessity of spending a large amount of money on children, particularly on childcare and education, combined with alleviating costs of living and low wages relate to Marian's weak behavioural control and made it difficult, Marian told me, to have another child:

JM: You said that 'there are always some costs' [related to having another child], so what costs? You mentioned diapers and a pram.

Marian: ...surely costs of things such as toys or clothes can be limited...but kindergarten, books, education, university ...these are things that we will not avoid...and prices are dreadfully increasing so we have less financial resources in practical terms...because in Poland wages are not going up as quickly as prices...

Marian wanted to help his children with more than just the bare necessities and he not only wanted his son to learn English in kindergarten but also to pay for his university in the future. He made it explicit that one had to spend a lot of money on children, kindergartens and education in particular, to be a good parent. Such thoughtful economic discourse is a part of reproductive culture in Poland and Marian presented a responsible and judicious approach to childbearing that was often approved of, and more importantly, expected of good parents in contemporary Poland (see, for example, Klinger, 2010).

According to Harre et al. (1972) individuals tend to abide by the rules they believe to be socially approved rules of behaviour and adhere to social roles, either overtly or tacitly, in everyday behaviours and in the accounts of that behaviour when it is explained and

justified. The interpretation of reality, individuals' construal of facets related to TPB and the manner in which people explain intentions and reconfigure various beliefs is constructed within and informed by specific social contexts, although the theory assumes that its constructs work alike in diverse contexts (Burke et al., 2009). Reproduction has been repeatedly linked by respondents to the need for extensive financial expenditure and to the discourse of economic adversity thus it can become a self-perpetuating socially acceptable explanation of childbearing choices in Poland and can influence individuals' experiences, perceptions and/or explanations of PBC. Consequently, if Marian and Elżbieta stopped childbearing at parity one it would be only because of external constraints:

JM: So you said that if your situation does not improve you will have one child?

Marian: Yes, because it is, it will be forced upon us by our financial situation...well I would not like the child, or two children, because really, we could have a second child now, but the result would be that we would need to cut the costs, limit something, and we would not want children to be poor.

According to Marian it was not he and his wife who decided about whether to have another child; it was the external circumstances such as high costs of childrearing, low incomes and rising living costs. Moreover, Marian's Attitude toward having a second child was related to his account that a second baby would be detrimental essentially for his child as he would not be able to provide two children with the necessities. It was thus logical that being a responsible father Marian should not have a second child in his current financial situation as he did not want his offspring to feel that they are poor and deprived.

All of these factors related to Marian's reported weak PBC and his negative Attitude towards having a second child, however since it is Marian who interprets and communicates his intention he is the one who constructs the explanations and determinants of his intention (Rottman et al., 2011). Because of the identity individuals constructed as responsible, judicious parents it is possible that only certain options are under consideration (see also Himmelweit et al., 2004) and these options may be specific to the context. Equally, a responsible parenthood ideology encompassing a strong economic rationale can be used discursively, perhaps unconsciously, to validate one's childbearing intentions and Marian's construal of his responsibilities towards his

child(ren) gives him a socially acceptable answer about the right things to do (see also Duncan et al., 2003).

8.4.3 *Motivations to have a second child and lifestyle aspirations*

Marian told me that both he and Elzbieta had siblings with whom they had close ties and Marian said that ideally he wanted to have two children as he wanted his son to have siblings too (see also section 8.5.2 on beliefs about only children). He also explained that looking after his son was ‘one of the best times of my life’; it gave him a lot of satisfaction and his ‘life meaning’. While the description of his job was short and devoid of much excitement, he talked at length about his son with pride and animation. Concurrently, Marian repeatedly explained that external financial constraints determined his childbearing decision making process; nevertheless there was a trace of his lifestyle aspirations and his opinions about what consequences a second child should be allowed to have on his standard of living in his narrative (Himmelweit et al., 2004). Marian told me that following the birth of his first child he and Elzbieta had to limit their spending:

JM: What exactly you had to limit?

Marian: When it comes to ourselves, we reduced some clothes shopping...having 10 pairs of shoes does not make sense...so most often one can give up buying additional shoes...we do not need to buy ham for 30 zlotys, we can buy worse quality ham for 15 zlotys... alcohol or things like that...if needed one can reduce to zero.

Thus, it appeared that his Attitude towards children was not influenced by the fact that he had to make consumption sacrifices following having a child, nonetheless, later in the interview Marian also told me that his friends in Krakow earned money which went to pay for bringing up children and for paying for childcare instead of earning money to:

...buy themselves a pair of shoes, you know, you can live like that for a month or two but for many years [when you spend money on children] you keep putting off all pleasures for later... sometimes you need to buy something for yourself, something stupid even, meaningless to feel that there is some sense in you going to work.

Thus Marian thought that one must finance investment in children by reducing parental consumption which discouraged him to have more offspring (see also Becker, 1993). Moreover, although he never went abroad, Marian had some friends living in Germany,

England and Ireland, and occasionally he compared his lifestyle to that of his migrant friends. For instance, talking about his intention to have a second child he elaborated:

...We started from the position that we would have two children... the truth is that if I earned more I would not worry at all, we would have enough money...my friend lives in Ireland and her husband works and they have two kids and it is only him working and they can manage to support the family with these two kids and they live in a house...

Marian said that he intended to have a second child but at the same time his Attitude towards children was clearly related to his considerations that it was not fair to make consumption sacrifices and to 'put off all pleasures for later' in order to raise children. Moreover, if his friend in Ireland could have a relatively good standard of living on one wage and two children, maybe Marian did not want to reduce his standard of living further to have another child. Social comparisons to his groups of reference, among which were his friends living abroad, are likely to underlie Marian's Attitude and his appraisal of the impact that a second child should and would have on his life, while also informing Marian's PBC and his construal of requisites to have two children (earning more money). It is possible that since Marian could not have both i.e. his ideal of two children and his desired standard of living, he may well chose to compromise on his ideal vision of family. Conversely, by having one child he already enjoyed the benefits of parenthood and he would decide to have a second child only if his financial situation improved.

8.4.4 *How old is too old to have a child and whose age matters?*

During the interview Marian mentioned a few times that Elżbieta had an age threshold by which she wanted to have another child:

JM: So if your financial situation improves in a couple of years time? How will it be with a second child?

Marian: Rather not, because of our age...If our financial situation does not improve in, I do not know, a year, then later... considering pregnancy and the time to get into shape after, then, I will not say we will be too old, but no, then we will not have it [another child]...the risk of congenital defects increases with woman's age.

Marian's decision to have another child was dependent on Elżbieta's age and he considered the consequences of the second pregnancy on Elżbieta's physical shape and

the baby's health. Elzbieta was 34 years old at the time of the interview and in order to have another child they had to find means to increase their family income within the limited time frame in which they could have another baby, that is within a year and before she reached 35 years of age.

The idea that 35 is a threshold to childbearing for women was a widely shared one both in Krakow and London, although there also existed a great deal of flexibility around it as, according to Marian, missing such a limit does not ultimately translate into a negative intention, nevertheless, it is yet an additional factor used to reinforce Marian's childbearing rationale. Moreover, according to Marian and other respondents it was the medical profession and the media that conveyed opinions about the dangers of pregnancy for women older than 35 years old. Such a normative belief can influence childbearing intention rational, even if it is not explicitly shared by important others, thus it cannot be incorporated into the concept of SN.

Advanced maternal age is related to foetal and maternal risks, for instance gestational diabetes, high blood pressure, chromosome abnormalities, foetal death, stillbirth and pregnancy complications (Cerdeira et al., 2008; Hassold et al., 1985; Luke et al., 2007; Reddy et al., 2005). Nonetheless, there is evidence that the impact of an increase in age on obstetric outcomes is a continuum not a threshold (Cleary-Goldman et al., 2005) and that 35 is a rather arbitrary mid-decade number used in medical literature which reflects the distinct 5 year categories used in research (Billari et al., 2011). Another line of research argues that late childbearing can have potential benefits for children since, for instance, older mothers, seek prenatal care earlier, are less likely to smoke and also tend to be more advantaged in socioeconomic terms which can benefit their children (Carolan, 2003; Fertig, 2010; Tough et al., 2002). Furthermore, medical literature suggests that men's fertility is also affected by their age (Fisch, 2009; Lambert et al., 2006) and is associated with genetic disorders such as autism, miscarriage or higher rates of schizophrenia (Brown et al., 2002; De la Rochebrochard et al., 2005; Schubert, 2008). Paternal age however was not given any attention in relation to health outcomes for the child by my respondents although the underestimation of the dangers for men can lull them into a false sense of security regarding their age and biological possibilities of childbearing (see also Daly et al., 2009).

Views about an age limit to childbearing had consequences for Marian's intentions, however he, like most men in this study, did not feel impacted by these directly; rather,

it impacted Marian through his wife. When I asked Marian whether he considered his own age he explained that Elżbieta's age was more important since childbearing impacted women more than men. Marian himself appeared to be flexible with the time frame for another child, to my question about what would happen if their financial situation improved in a few years time he continued: 'I will leave it up to my wife [to decide about having another child], how she feels'. It was up to Elżbieta to decide, since, it was she who would be pregnant but most importantly it was 'the woman' who 'has to take care of the child constantly for 3 or 5 years...'. Marian also elaborated that unlike their neighbours who represented an 'alternative way of thinking', his and Elżbieta's child raising methods were tiring and demanded a lot of energy. For his female neighbour it was easy to look after her three children because Marian considered that the woman did not take active care of them, the mother just:

...takes them to the playground and tells them 'play'...She only sits and makes sure that they do not hurt themselves...It is not like that with us, maybe we are a bit more tired because we have a very active child and we are physically exhausted...but we think that it is good for the child, that ...we are more involved with him.

According to Marian, good parenting demands active involvement, intensive attention and greater investment, not only of money, but also of time and energy. It is physically exhausting nonetheless necessary and good for the child (Beck et al., 1995; Hays, 1996). Elżbieta's physical fitness to look after two children and her age was therefore important in his reproductive justification.

By putting Elżbieta on the spotlight, Marian was no longer responsible for his reproductive decisions, which further supported Marian's narrative of his low behavioural control. It was up to his wife to decide whether she felt capable of dealing with the burden of childbearing and childrearing. I frequently found this attitude among male respondents in both Krakow and London, where they presented themselves as somehow passive in childbearing decision making and, to a degree, passed the responsibility and initiative regarding having another child to their female partners (Townsend, 2002). This echoes what Luker (1978, p. 133) called a passive form of agency among men in contraceptive decision making, and if men are 'passive spectators' the childbearing decisions become women's responsibility. Nonetheless, such a lack of decision in childbearing rational is an expression of agency in itself (Carter, 1995) and could be seen as an implicit exercise of behavioural control, although

it escapes TPB logic of clear, straightforward rationality. Since Marian as well as several other men in this study expressed that it was appropriate and desirable that the woman takes primary responsibility for childbearing decision making, these fathers similarly to American fathers in Townsend's (2002, p. 90) study 'depended on women to mediate their fatherhood in the sense of facilitating their reproduction'. Moreover, while in the past birth control depended heavily on sexual abstinence and coitus interruptus (Szamatowicz, 2007) which involved participation of men, the spread of modern contraceptive methods such as the pill or IUD moves control over reproduction to women (see also Townsend, 2002 and section 8.6.4 on female agency in contraceptive decision making).

Despite telling me a few times and with apparent certainty, perhaps because of normative pressure, that he wanted and intended to have another child, Marian's difficult financial situation, the heavy costs involved in raising children, the lack of affordable childcare and his wife's age determine the childbearing outcome according to Marian's account. Nonetheless, upon closer examination of Marian's narrative, his behavioural goal appears to be far less certain, and his childbearing intentions are related to multiple, and sometimes contradictory ideas and beliefs and he uses themes related to financial and age constraints discursively, possibly to reduce ambivalence in his belief system and/ or to create a socially acceptable explanation of his intention and behaviour. Since processing of information operates both consciously and unconsciously (Hobbis et al., 2005) individual actors may not be able to identify and/or report salient positive and negative beliefs accurately, which poses challenges to understanding intentions based on broad questions in large international surveys which often aim at eliciting clear-cut answers.

8.5 Ola: contextual factors and intention to have a second child

I met Ola and Wiktor, her 16 month old son, in their semi-detached house in the East of London. She let me into their living room where Wiktor was playing. It was Saturday afternoon and her husband, who was a security guard, was at work. Ola showed me the house, the kitchen with an entrance to the garden and she explained that the dining room, next to the living area, was converted into a play room for Wiktor. There were two bedrooms and a bathroom upstairs. I settled down on the sofa with a home baked cake and a cup of coffee before we started the interview. Ola was very talkative and did

not need much encouragement to tell me about herself and to answer my questions, interrupting herself from time to time only to tend to Wiktor.

Ola and her husband, Marcin, came from a small town in the south of Poland. Marcin did not have a job there but he found one in London through an employment agency based in Krakow. Marcin decided to venture to London on his own in early 2007 but after three months when he settled down in his job as a security guard and found accommodation, Ola quit her work in Poland and joined him. She recalled being scared at first to migrate to a new country, especially because she did not speak any English, but she also did not like her job so Ola 'left everything and came to London'. Although she completed a part-time Master's degree in Finance, she had worked as a logistic clerk ever since high school because the job opportunities in her small town were limited, unless one 'had connections', but she did not. In Poland the couple lived with her parents where Ola's brother also resided and she reported that this housing arrangement led to family conflicts, which was an additional motivation for the couple to move abroad as they hoped to be able to save money to purchase their own flat in Poland one day. Two weeks after arriving in London, Ola found a cleaning job in a hotel and three months later she was pregnant with Wiktor. After maternity leave she decided not to go back to work and stayed at home full-time.

8.5.1 *Staying or returning?*

Early in the interview Ola mentioned that she and her husband planned to go back to Poland in the subsequent 2 or 3 years because she wanted Wiktor to go to school there, moreover, she missed her family and friends. Concurrently, she expressed doubts whether they would manage to have sufficient savings to purchase a property in Poland, although she did not want to live in her parents' house upon return. Thus, Ola's re-migration plans were vague and she added chuckling: 'we came here only for a year and it is changing from day to day...' Indeed, they had been in London for about 3 years when I met her. Their continuous postponement of return to Poland did not surprise me at all; to the contrary, it seemed to be a common pattern among many London-based respondents I interviewed. Ola further elaborated on her future re-migration plans:

...Obviously the economic situation has not changed in Poland so much... We would not have anywhere to stay [in Poland] because to rent a flat or to buy anything with a mortgage demands that both partners work and we rather

cannot count on that [that they both work], nor that one of us finds some well-paid job, especially that where my husband works now it is ok, also his wage, as he got promoted recently...

It seemed that Ola wanted to stay in the UK whilst also wanting to go back to Poland for different reasons. As the interview progressed she gave me plenty of reasons why they cannot go back to Poland (e.g. bad economic situation in Poland, lack of accommodation, difficulties with finding good jobs) and why they should stay in London instead (e.g. her husband's wage, his promotion).

8.5.2 *Ambivalent feelings toward having a second child*

When I asked Ola if she intended to have more children she looked at Wiktor and said:

Well it depends on him; he is very demanding and jealous so it would be difficult now, though if I had two children I would have to manage. I would like to have two kids but I do not know if there will be two children or not.

Ola appeared ambivalent about her intentional goal to have another child and she added that her life at home with one child was very 'convenient' as she had free time for herself while with two offspring there would be much more work:

I have learnt to be convenient...I am very convenient, I do not have to do this or that, when I feel for it I can go to bed when he [Wiktor] goes to sleep, I can read if I want to, I clean if I want. So, I will not have better times, at least than now with one child, because when there are two [children] it is different, because he [Wiktor] may want to go for a walk and the second [child] may sleep, or one goes to sleep and the other will wake him up.

Ola clearly felt a conflict of interests between her own needs and her reproductive desires (Kettle, 1980) but despite expressing these concerns she also explained that she could not imagine Wiktor not having siblings as both she and her husband had brothers and sisters (Ola had two brothers and her husband had a sister). According to Ola and many other participants in this study, an essential advantage of having a second child, and a distinctive facet of Attitudes although absent in questionnaires based on TPB, was to benefit the first one. Similar to Marian, Ola thought that it was better to have two children than to have only one, as siblings can play together, enjoy each other's company, and having a sibling reinforces many values and life skills that are necessary in adult life, such as sharing or team work because siblings are often required to share

their belongings, space and even parents' time. Alike to Marian and other respondents, Ola also expressed concerns that the lack of siblings can have adverse consequences for her son as singletons are often stigmatised and presuppositions that equate them with selfish, lonely and spoilt are common. Ola worried that as an only child Wiktor would be considered as 'worse' and would become an egoist, he would not be able to cooperate with others. She alleged that 'if we do not want to have an only child, a good age difference [between children] will be approximately 3 years'. Ola expressed conflicting beliefs towards a second child, and it seemed to me that since Wiktor was 16 months old, she was considering having a second child in the near future concurrently presenting constraints and arguments not to have another baby, maybe to develop a justification if she does not have it. Another issue was involved in her thinking. Ola told me giggling that she was already 'an old cow' to have children and she wanted to have another baby before she became 35 years old because she wanted to 'bring this child up to maturity [odchować]'. Unlike Marian's wife who was 34 years old at the time of the interview, Ola, at the age of 30, had more time to achieve her reproductive goals before she reached her age threshold to childbearing.

8.5.3 *Contextual factors and childbearing intentions*

Ola's childbearing intentions are not explicitly expressed at the time of the interview (Luker, 1978; Rocca et al., 2013), however her individual reproductive strategy is formulated within the contextual setting and the external opportunities and constraints she faced. Although Ola's expressed intention was ambiguous, it may be better understood if we consider contextual factors which also shed light on how Ola negotiated, developed and communicated her reproductive intention. She had worked ever since high school until she had Wiktor and her narrative regarding childbearing experiences and intentions was full of references about the relationship between fertility and employment. Ola quickly found a job in London which shaped her perceptions of the 'right' time to have her first child. At the same time her husband's 'good' wage supplemented with welfare benefits meant that money was not at the forefront of Ola's mind when thinking about having children in London. For instance, she was not concerned about not being entitled to full maternity pay when she had Wiktor and she told me that 'if I worked for over a year [before she had Wiktor] then for 3 months I would get 100% [of her wage when on maternity leave] but I do not know, I was not

interested in that'. Equally decisive in her decision to enter parenthood was her willingness to leave work and Ola mentioned that she was content to have an employment break. For Ola, similarly to Marian's wife, childrearing meant postponing paid work, however, unlike for Marian, in the socioeconomic context in which Ola lived, an employment break was considered as a positive outcome of having children, related to Ola's positive Attitude towards childbearing.

Ola's husband often worked overtime spending long hours away from home, and she felt lonely and isolated, which was also why she wanted to work in the future. Ola had few friends in London, however, she managed to make virtual friendships in forums and Polish social networks, these were the people, apart from her husband and son, she interacted with on a daily basis. Despite saying that she wanted to work, Ola also articulated that her cleaning job 'made no sense' and that she wanted to stay with Wiktor at home. This rationale was further reinforced by the fact that wages she got as a cleaner did not justify paying for Wiktor's nursery while the social benefits the family received substituted for her wage:

JM: Would anything change in your life if you had another child?

Ola: Well, I would like to stay at home at least 3 years with a child if there is such a possibility, although if I had to go to work then the child would need to stay either with a nanny or in a nursery. But in England it does not make sense, because if I earn £7 or £8 in my job the government gives me the same and I can stay at home and I do not need to leave my son with strangers. So I prefer this solution rather than to leave him with a stranger and to have the same [money]. In Poland it is different, I would need to go to work and he would go to a nursery because there is no such help from the government in Poland...

Apart from child benefit her family received housing allowance which covered all of their housing costs and her husband received tax credits. As Ola said, her husband's wage was sufficient to cover their living expenses and to make some savings so there was no financial need for her to work. They were also on a waiting list for a council house, and, Ola elaborated, if they received one they could buy it one day if they 'stay long enough in London'.

The theme of work – family reconciliation and childbearing intentions was linked in Ola's narrative to whether she returned to Poland or remained in the UK. Throughout

our interview Ola compared an imaginary situation of having more children in Poland and in the UK. While she did not have to work in London, she reasoned that it was not possible to be economically inactive in Poland since two incomes were necessary to, for instance, rent a flat. Overall, considering accommodation, finances, her employment options and social help Ola told me that she would prefer to have another child in the UK rather than in Poland.

JM: So does your decision [to have a second child] depend on anything?

Ola: I cannot imagine living with two children in one room, even with one child it would be difficult, especially that I am used to spaciousness now. Financially, here there is no problem but in Poland I would think about it. Here the government divides earnings by four [in relation to means-tested benefits if they had two children]. Well, it [having a second child] depends on work, if I had a good job then I would need to think if I want to sacrifice this job for a child, even this 3 or 4 months...if they frown upon you when you want to take maternity leave. So, I would prefer to have a second child here [in England], even when it comes to delivery, here it is simply a luxury [in a hospital].

Ola was pleased with health care in the UK relative to Poland and told me that the hospital where she delivered Wiktor was 'like a room in a hotel, luxury, in Poland there are three women in one room, there is no comparison'. Moreover, she was 'used to spaciousness now' as she lived in a semi-detached two bedroom house in London while if they were to return to Poland she considered renting or buying a flat, rather than a house. Ola also rationalised that welfare benefits in the UK facilitate making a decision to have children even when women do not have 'good jobs' unlike in Poland where one could not count on welfare support thus having established employment and earnings were important for childbearing decisions:

...In England it is easier to make a decision [to have another child], there is no problem if a woman does not have a good job because the state is capable of helping her...In Poland a woman who does not have a job and gets pregnant, in general, cannot count on much [in terms of welfare allowances]...

Ola explained that she did not have any chances of getting a job related to her education in London due to her lack of language skills, therefore she had not looked for such a job either. Moreover, she said that it was hard for her to improve her language skills since

she could not join language courses due to the lack of childcare; she would need to learn English either at work or in everyday life. However, she did not work, even if she returned to her job she had limited opportunities to practice English while cleaning, and she had only Polish friends. Thus, Ola reckoned that she could not learn English and, consequently, had no choice but to do manual jobs in the UK if she returned to the labour market.

Although Ola and her husband had a 'joint plan' regarding their life, in fact, it revolved around his work and she would follow. She talked with pride about her husband's job in London which was related to his qualifications and interests. Her husband, according to Ola, unlike herself, was in a better position to get a job also in Poland if they returned since he had the necessary work experience and he spoke good English. Ola, to the contrary, lacked employment experience in her profession and she called herself 'out of service' (using the English expression) in the employment market, therefore, she reasoned, it would be difficult for her to get a professional job in Poland too. Ola was far more animated when talking about her role as a homemaker than when she talked about her employment plans and prospects. This echoes Oakley's (1974) findings where women constructed the care of children and housework as a gratifying vocation faced with a lack of 'transcendent' alternatives. Ola was proud of her husband to be a good breadwinner and pleased that she could stay at home, because Ola as many other women in London was, at least on the surface, a content homemaker. For instance, when I asked her about how domestic duties were divided in her family she told me: 'what duties? To clean, cook, do the laundry or bake something, it is only pleasure' and Ola said that she was content to do most of the childcare and housework. Ola also explained her inability to work for pay by being irreplaceable for her son. She told me that Wiktor cries when left with her husband, and he could not be cared for by anybody else apart from herself. Consequently, the positive association between men's participation in housework and the progression to a second birth found in earlier studies (Cooke, 2003; Olah, 2003) may be mediated by the contextual factors and also gender attitudes.

The TPB is assumed to be universally applicable across populations and cultures and presumes a shared rationality among diverse populations and in multicultural societies. However, rationality varies depending on the meaning an individual attaches to events, and how Ola attached meaning to events related to the socioeconomic and geographical

context. Ola openly held contradictory beliefs regarding having a second child, however, it is possible that some aspects of the context influenced the way Ola re-configured and fine-tuned these beliefs, and as the interview progressed she attenuated the importance of some while accentuating others. Ola engaged in complex cognitive acrobatics possibly to manage the tension between conflicting beliefs as she manoeuvred factors related to her childbearing plans in the process of active construction of a coherent narrative as when she was vigorously validating her homemaker role (Johnston et al., 2007) and her socioeconomic and geographical position might have fueled her focus on her role as a housewife and a mother simultaneously underestimating the importance of her paid work.

There is a visible interplay between the contextual factors and her subjective agency and although structural settings do not determine childbearing intentions, they provide a frame in which individual intentions are negotiated and rationalised and Ola no doubt faced structural constraints on her employment role and opportunities to be a housewife. If Ola was ambivalent towards having another child she was not excited about going back to work either and was pleased with the ‘convenient’ life she had as a homemaker. And while having her first child was related in her narrative to leaving her manual job, having a second child would postpone her return to the labour market. Ola’s intention is developed in the course of finding out which goals are more satisfactory given her means and alternatives which Johnson-Hanks (2005, p. 376) calls ‘judicious opportunism’ and ‘instead of rationalizing means to chosen ends, therefore, actors take advantage of whatever means are available and thus settle on a specific end out of the many that would have been acceptable’.

Ola is not a passive actor as she is manoeuvring within the socioeconomic context so it works for her rather than against her in the attempts to achieve an optimal lifestyle (see also Lopez Rodriguez, 2010). Given Ola’s perception of her resources and opportunities in the UK, the traditional role of a homemaker seems to hold more appeal for her.

Her rationale that having a second child would be good for Wiktor added strength to her argument regarding her reproductive intentions. At the end of the interview when I asked her how many children she thinks she will have she said ‘probably two, rather yes...’ Ola’s contradictory beliefs related to her childbearing plans, her ambivalent feelings towards having a second child, contradictory statements regarding her desire to be employed or her migration plans, make it difficult to examine and understand her

childbearing intention based on a set of variables neatly and systematically organised around Attitudes, SN and PBC only. The knowledge of contextual factors help to better comprehend cognitive mechanisms involved in Ola's accounts and her childbearing intentions.

8.6 Ewa: fine-tuning inconsistencies in the narrative

I met Ewa, a 29 year old civil servant, in a cafe close to the main square in Krakow and nearby her work. It was four thirty in the afternoon and she came straight from work. In her smart business suit, neat blond long hair and subtle make up she looked like many stylish professional young women in the city at this time of the day. Ewa had worked in the local city council ever since she received her Master's degree in engineering 5 years earlier. After Ania, her daughter, was born two years ago, she took a year and a half off from paid work before deciding to return to work 4 days a week. The decision to resume employment was not without dilemmas as Ewa was afraid that she would miss out on Ania's development and that 'somebody else' would look after her child, but she was also 'tired of staying at home'. The decision, I was told, was facilitated by the fact that she had a legal right to request part-time working hours when she was entitled to parental leave (i.e. a 3 year period after maternity leave). Ewa's retired mother, who lived 30 kilometres away from the city, came to Krakow every Monday morning and stayed with Ewa's family until Thursday evening to look after Ania. Her husband, Tomek, also a civil servant worked in the same building. Tomek's parents lived in a small town close to Krakow but his mother worked full-time while father was in ill health so they could not look after Ania on a regular basis. Ewa's in-laws left Krakow a few years earlier thus Ewa and Tomek moved into their 50 square meter, 3 bedroom flat⁵¹. Ewa's parents also used to live in Krakow and after they moved away Ewa inherited their flat which she let out and received supplementary income. Both Ewa and Tomek had one sister each. Tomek's sister, with her husband and son resided permanently in Germany; while Ewa's sister had migrated only a few months earlier to Sweden to work as a nanny for their cousin's family.

⁵¹ Three bedrooms plus kitchen and a bathroom, living room is commonly counted as a bedroom in Poland.

8.6.1 *He does not help but does it matter?*

Ewa got married after she graduated, and soon afterwards she wanted to have a child; however she reported that Tomek was scared at the prospect of becoming a father as he was about having a second child:

JM: And how did you decide to have a child?

Ewa:[Tomek] was stressed the entire pregnancy, simply he was afraid, so, even now when I mention a second child he is afraid if we manage with everything.

JM: If you manage with what?

Ewa: Maybe more financially, if we manage financially. To be honest I want to have more children, I want to have two, well, three children...in general my husband is not somebody who helps me much...he does not show any initiative to be with her [daughter]...or to alleviate my work...however, because of that for the time being we are postponing, I myself postpone the thought about a second child. I wanted, when my daughter was born I assumed that when she is one year old we would start trying to have a second child...But it has been two years now [laughing]...I am not sure, maybe when my daughter goes to kindergarten...then I will not have two children with me [at the same time]...I am not sure if I can manage with two children on my own.

When I asked Ewa why she wanted to have another child, she elaborated that she wanted her daughter to have siblings but also that she had a ‘maternity instinct’, she felt ‘for having a baby’ and that ‘such small babies are simply delightful [rozkoszne]’. This conscious wish to have another child, as scholars suggest, is the major biological foundation for having children and is linked to the enjoyment of having sex and of parenting (Miller, 1986; Morgan et al., 2001). Ewa shared this desire or maternity instinct with other women in this study and though paternity instinct never came up in interviews with men, they sometimes also talked about a desire or need to have another baby, albeit less often than their female counterparts. However, it may simply not be considered appropriate or masculine enough to verbalise paternity instinct to a female interviewer.

Though Ewa wanted to have more children, what she wanted to do did not translate straightforwardly into what she intended to do. This was partly because, among other things, Ewa had to account for her husband’s behaviour and his childbearing rationale

while forming and justifying her intention. And, according to Ewa, while their financial situation was an important part in Tomek's reproductive thinking, his lack of help with childcare and housework was a significant factor in Ewa's behavioural control. While division of unpaid work is not included as a variable in surveys based on TPB (see, for example, Billari et al., 2009; Vikat et al., 2004) neither it is considered as an important factor in childbearing decisions in Poland it was an important element in several women's childbearing rationale in this study.

Although Ewa was similar to Ola in reporting that she did the majority of childcare and housework, unlike Ola, she articulated a sense of injustice with the unequal share of unpaid work (Walters et al., 2012). However, Ola in London did not (want to) work while her paid work was similar to what she did at home, by being economically inactive Ola not only had more time for housework and childcare but justifying her homemaker role was essential in her childbearing rationale. Ewa, on the other hand, enjoyed her job while her attempts to combine paid work with household duties resulted in her reported lack of sleep and tiredness. Ewa wanted to have more children but she also felt tired with the double burden of combining professional work and domestic tasks and she felt it was unfair for her to do the majority of work at home. She thus faced a dilemma how to combine her gender ideology, her double burden and to realise her childbearing goals. She could have changed her reproductive goals, however Ewa considered two children as a minimum, and at times she mentioned that she would want three or four offspring and despite postponing the decision to have a second child, Ewa never uttered the possibility of not having another child altogether. Neither could she resign from her paid work or even reduce her working hours further to have more time for family life as, according to Ewa, they needed her income. She also liked her job and did not want to prolong her parental leave any further though she could stay at home until Ania was three and a half years old. Ewa used a combination of different strategies to resolve the dilemma. For instance, she attempted to involve grandparents in care and household work to substitute for Tomek's assistance. Unlike in Ola's and Marian's situations, the grandparents were in a close geographical proximity, willing and able to help. Ewa's mother looked after Ania not only when she was at work but also occasionally in the evenings as when we met. The grandmother also helped with some of the housework. Additionally, the family spent most weekends either at Ewa's parents or in-laws thus grandparents helped substantially to care for her daughter. Indeed,

Cooke (2003) found that the help from relatives with childcare and housework increase the probability of a second birth among dual-earner couples in Italy. Help from relatives was also reported by my informants to have the advantage over formal childcare due to relieving the household of childcare costs. Ewa however worried that aging grandparents would not be willing and physically able to help so much if she had two children (Matthews, 1997).

Reflecting on the dilemma regarding the division of work between her and her husband, Ewa also reported attempting to negotiate a more equal share of household tasks as she tried to get Tomek more involved, particularly in the care of their daughter, however, with mixed results. She ‘forced him’ to participate in some of their ‘family trips’ and to play with Ania though he was ‘not too willing to play with her’. It was still Ewa’s responsibility to do the housework while she mentioned that Tomek spent most of his free time in front of the computer. It was also Ewa who did the less rewarding parts of childcare such as getting up at night to make milk for their daughter, despite Tomek’s agreement to share the ‘night shift’ he quickly ‘forgot’ to get up at night when it was his turn.

There is an evidence of a negative association between women’s overload with household and childcare duties and relationship breakdown (Frisco et al., 2003; Sigle-Rushton, 2010; Wilkie et al., 1998) while relationship instability was found to have a negative impact on fertility plans (Bargain et al., 2012; Ozcan et al., 2012). Scholars also increasingly highlight the mediating role of women’s attitudes towards gender roles in the association between women’s house work, relationship instability and childbearing (Bernhardt et al., 2006; Pina et al., 1993; Wilkie et al., 1998). Ewa’s attitude towards Tomek’s lack of help seemed to be inconsistent. Despite articulating a sense of injustice with the unequal share of unpaid work and since her efforts to get Tomek more involved in domestic work were often futile, during the interview Ewa engaged in a complex set of rationales to validate the current state of affairs. Thus, her dissatisfaction about the unequal division of care and housework existed in conjunction with accounts where she discounted or justified Tomek’s lack of involvement. At times she blamed herself for being too demanding ‘maybe I want too much, for him to be such a daddy like in TV serials’. Another time she attempted to diminish the importance of Tomek’s lack of help for her childbearing decisions and reasoned that if she had two children she ‘will manage on my own’. Yet another time she told me in a noncritical

and as a matter of fact way that she got up earlier than her husband at weekends to look after Ania while Tomek was ‘catching up with his sleep’, even though earlier she complained that it was only herself who got up at night to attend to their daughter’s needs and her sleep was interrupted, not Tomek’s. Apart from devising reasons why Tomek did not help, Ewa also explained why he could not help even if he wanted to. She considered that Tomek was not competent enough with most of the housework and she did it better. Consequently, she was resentful about Tomek at one time and found explanation for his behaviour a few minutes later (see also Hochschild et al., 1990).

8.6.2 *‘Financial... factors are rather possible to overcome’*

While Ewa was concerned with Tomek’s lack of involvement, he, according to Ewa, was afraid about financial issues involved in raising more children:

- JM : So have you talked about having a second child with your husband?
- Ewa: Well, it means, we did not have a serious conversation, I mentioned it but, well, my husband looked at me with despair in his eyes and laughed that he will need to sell his kidney to have another child. But it is not so bad.
- JM: But why this despair?
- Ewa: I do not know, well, everything is getting so expensive.
- JM: Everything?
- Ewa: Well, food, food first of all...diapers, food, clothes are expensive, doctors, everything, everything, in general costs of living are high...But if you think about it, it is not so bad at all, so with a second child it will not be so bad either, especially that clothes can be re-used...

Despite Tomek’s perceived economic problems that stood in the way of having more children, Ewa’s reported behavioural control was related to her minimising the importance of obstacles, concurrently attempting to find solutions to solve them. She told me several times that their situation was not bad and that a second child would cost less financially than the first one, thus for Ewa ‘it is only a matter of, exactly, whether two or three [children], financial or material factors are rather possible to overcome’.

Ewa made certain adjustment in her lifestyle to make sure that her financial and employment situation would allow her to have another child. Though she claimed that as civil servants neither herself nor Tomek earned much, she gave up a job offer in a private company which was more related to her education and where she could earn ‘at

least 100% more'. She did it because she valued the security and flexibility that her public sector job gave her regarding working hours, returning to work after maternity leave and parental leave arrangements and which, according to her, would not be possible if she worked in the private sector. Regarding financial issues, Ewa refused to have a car though her father offered to buy her one since 'to run a car is costly', so she and Tomek used public transport although this was not always convenient, especially when they travelled to their parental houses outside of Krakow. Moreover, although she used to attend four classes a week with Ania in a private children's centre she reduced these to only one session a week. The downsizing was explained by her physical fatigue; however, this must have had financial consequences for her budget as such activities are costly. When she talked about sending Ania to a kindergarten in the near future Ewa explained that even if she did not get a place in a public facility and she had to find a private one 'I would not look for one for a lot of money but something that is reasonably priced'. Ewa clarified that she could not afford to pay 1000 zlotys [£213] for childcare; however, she was optimistic about finding cheaper ones as some of her colleagues paid half that price for private kindergartens. Therefore, unlike Marian, who considered that private kindergarten and additional classes for children are expensive but vital and who also had a car, Ewa appeared more willing to explore tradeoffs regarding her family's standard of living and having a second child. Additionally, while Marian compared his own living standard to a more luxurious one of his friends who resided abroad (who e.g. had two children, lived on one wage and in a house), Ewa did not ever refer to her or Tomek's sisters when she talked about her own expectations regarding her living standard. Thus, within a certain setting Marian and Ewa had the autonomy to choose certain ways of reasoning while constructing and explaining their intentions regarding another child. They both used economic aspects discursively and, possibly unconsciously, fine-tuned reported beliefs in their narratives to create internally consistent stories. Yet, contrary to Marian, Ewa attenuated and/or circumvented the importance of her negative beliefs and any obstacles to have a second child, possibly due to her strong desire to have at least two children and she also drew on other people's experiences to validate her childbearing rationale.

8.6.3 *Observing 'others' and childbearing intentions*

When I asked Ewa if anybody she knew thought that she should have a second child she told me that she never talked with either her friends or her family about how many children she wanted to have, thus, she did not recognise any SN to have specific number of children. Ewa, however, employed observable experiences and behaviour of other parents to justify her childbearing intentions and she talked about women with two offspring at work and in the children's centre she attended with Ania:

JM: You said that you relax [ładujesz baterie] at work?

Ewa: ...There are many women who have two children or are pregnant or already delivered and they somehow do not despair, but they are happy that they have a small baby [laughing]. So these mothers, they do not look either tired or exhausted with life but they even feel for going out, so, I like that they have these two children and they manage...

Thus, Ewa drew on examples from her immediate social environment to validate her intention. Researchers suggest that people are selective in their choice of individuals they observe and associate with, so that these individuals confirm one's beliefs and life's choices (Akerlof, 2008). It is possible that Ewa observed and searched for specific mothers (i.e. who were 'happy', 'either tired or exhausted', 'managed' etc.) in her immediate environment to associate with and whom she considered as her reference group. Along the lines of the cognitive dissonance theory, Ewa appeared to strive to achieve consistency with her beliefs system and in her narrative. If she paid more attention to women with one child only, these who had two children but maybe looked tired or even exhausted, looked differently at her financial situation (as her husband did) and also at her husband's lack of help, combined with her desire and intention to have at least two offspring may have produced an emotional discord. Therefore, it is plausible that Ewa was selective in how she perceived and interpreted the circumstances in her life and that she fine-tuned facets related to Attitudes and PBC to reduce any possible conflicting beliefs and ideas.

8.6.4 *Female agency and childbearing intentions*

In fact when I asked Ewa if she planned to work full-time in the future it became clear that she already thought about the timing to have another child and planned her employment around it:

Well, I can work part-time only till my daughter is 3 [legally-she is entitled to request part-time hours for the period she is entitled to parental leave]. Well no, I assume that this second child can happen to us now [laughing], when she [daughter] goes to kindergarten I will not work full-time because with a second child I do not want to go back to work after 6 months [maternity leave].

Ewa depicted childbearing as happening to her, which implies 'situations in which one lets the flow of time take the decision out of one's hand by making no explicit choice at all' (Fjellman, 1976, pp. 89-90). This could indicate a form of passive agency and 'non decision decisions' or 'passive decision making' (Carter, 1995, p. 56). Despite presenting herself as somehow a passive agent, towards the end of our interview, I found out that Ewa had already put the wheels of the process in motion to have another baby. Without telling her partner she already came off the oral contraceptive pill because 'it was not good for her health', knowing what the consequences might be if they continued to have sex. This echoes other studies where women perceived technological or pharmaceutical contraceptive methods as potentially unhealthy (Bledsoe et al., 2002; Gribaldo et al., 2009).

When I naively asked if she was not afraid that she would become pregnant she answered:

Ewa: No, if I want to have a second child it would even be good, such an accident, no, if I did not want to have this second child I would go back to using pills...but if I assume that I want this second child then this accident would be good, the situation with a second child would be solved. I would not feel that it was me who had to force my husband to this child, some sort of giving up on responsibility [zrzucenia odpowiedzialności].

JM: Do you feel that you would need to force your husband?

Ewa: No, we will not talk about it, simply I will present him with a fait accompli [faktem dokonanym]...

Similar to few other women I talked to in both cities Ewa admitted that she would not discuss her plan to conceive with her husband and she would present him with a fait accompli. Though there are no systematic studies on contraceptive use in Poland the available data show that, depending on a survey, between 20-30% of women use contraceptive pills (based on www.federa.org.pl, accessed on 12/11/2012). The data also indicate an increasing popularity of female-controlled methods compared to studies conducted in the 90s, for instance in 1991 only 2.3% of couples used the pill

(Szamatowicz, 2007). Females may thus be becoming more influential in contraceptive and thus reproductive decision making relative to men (see also Biddlecom et al., 1998; Townsend, 2002).

Unlike many men in this study who placed the responsibility to make the decision to have more children on their partner's shoulders, Ewa was in fact deliberately overriding her husband's agency to bring her reproductive desires into reality. Even if she did not have a fixed strategy in mind to have another child she was in fact planning an 'accidental' pregnancy. As she faced many dilemmas regarding having another offspring which possibly she was not able to resolve with complete satisfaction one way of confronting these concerns without having to make a decision per se was by leaving it up to 'chance' to decide for her (see also Georgiadis, 2006). As Gribaldo et al. (2009, p. 10 italics in original) noted in a context where ambivalence of desire to have children plays an important role in contraceptive decision making, the potential of technological contraceptives to definitely prevent a birth necessitates a level of decision making which is not acceptable because women 'do not want to make it entirely certain that a pregnancy doesn't happen' which has implications for understanding childbearing behaviour. Thus, while Ewa exercised her agency and free will it was not always done 'in a straightforward, rational or explicit manner' (Georgiadis, 2006, p. 179) which escapes the TPB logic of a clear, rational and conscious relationship between theoretical constructs.

8.6.5 *Intentions for completed fertility*

Ewa was confident that she would have two offspring, however, there were complex factors involved in her thinking about having three or four children. Ewa kept delaying her decision regarding a second child because of Tomek's lack of help. '[P]ostponement is a major cause of having fewer children than intended...' and 'is a major factor in missing a fertility target' (Morgan et al., 2010, pp. 95, 113), and, as research illustrated faced with lack of paternal support and in response to being overburdened with household tasks and childcare duties mothers may limit the number of children they want to have (see, for example, Matthews, 1997; Presser, 2001). Consequently, Ewa's perceived unequal division of work might well have a negative consequence on her completed fertility, even if she has a second child, while Tomek's contribution to housework or/and child care could make it easier to realise her childbearing ideals (see

also Cooke, 2003; Olah, 2003). Furthermore, her decision to have a third or more children depended, according to Ewa, partly on her housing situation. She was thinking about either building a house or moving into her in-laws' house since 'I do not want to have three children in a block of flats... if we are to live in a flat then two [children]. Somehow in a flat there is so little space...'. Moreover, she also considered her ability to provide both education and housing for her children when they grow up and, since, at the time of the interview she and Tomek owned two apartments, thus building a house was a part of her childbearing rationale:

JM: You mentioned about providing the future for your children?

Ewa: I would want them to have possibilities to go to a good school, to university... I would like to make sure that my children have somewhere to live [in the future]...so I would not like them to look for a flat and take a mortgage...because we have two flats, maybe we can build a house...so we could have three children...

Finally, there was also her own age which, Ewa said, had to be considered in her childbearing intentions. Since she was 29 years old at the time of the interview she was still in good time to have a second child, but she was concerned about later motherhood and its impact on a baby's and her own health, but also on her ability to look after her grandchildren in the future:

JM: And what do you think about the space between one child and the other?

Ewa: ...I would not want such a situation that when I am a grandmother and I would be supposed to [miałabym] look after my child's children that I will not have the strength any more, I will not manage...

JM: So is there an age after which you would not decide to have a child?

Ewa: I think it is maximum 35 years old, because of the health reasons, for the mother and for the baby...

Even if Ewa was certain to have at least two children, she may not be able to reach her ideal of three or four offspring because of Tomek's lack of help but also due to her beliefs about the consequences of her age for her own and the baby's health, her housing conditions as well as her expectations to provide both material and non material assistance to her grown-up children.

8.7 Conclusions

This chapter illustrated that individuals construct their accounts of childbearing intentions in a complex manner employing a multifaceted set of factors to explain their reproductive goals. First in this chapter I reviewed a number of challenges I faced when applying the theoretical model in data collection and analysis. In particular I drew attention to the fact that individuals often hold contradictory beliefs related to childbearing and, consequently can adjust explanations of various factors in order to give a consistent narrative which, in turn, questions whether Attitudes, SN and PBC are explanatory variables of the intention in the way that the theoretical model assumes. Moreover, it is plausible that contextual factors have a more important role in childbearing intention rationale than currently theorised as beliefs may be reconfigured in patterned ways specific for the context (see also Pasick et al., 2009c). I also discussed the difficulties in measuring SN in interviews based on interaction between the interviewer and the interviewed since my informants rarely admitted, and sometimes denied, any motivation to comply with others' expectations, even if they recognised these expectations. Furthermore, normative influence may be implicit, not necessarily shared by important others, and individuals can infer norms related to childbearing by observing others around them, although such normative influence is not accounted for by the concept of SN.

Communicating childbearing intentions is not always rational and straightforward as the decision making processes and their explanations can involve an implicit and explicit application of routine consciousness and adherence to social roles and rules of behaviour to create a coherent and socially acceptable narrative. Mechanisms underlying intention rationalisations are not always clear-cut and explicit and often cannot be observed by looking only at a fragmented picture of a story. Thus I also illustrated three case studies which gave a more comprehensive account of how individuals justified and reported their reproductive intentions. Case studies illustrated multiple understandings and reconfigurations of aspects perceived as important for childbearing intentions to illuminate the discursive use of contradictory beliefs in the process of constructing a coherent narrative. In any single narrative a combination of themes arose in relation to intentions of whether or not to have a second child. For instance, economic and institutional considerations were considered simultaneously with concerns around appropriate age to childbearing, partners' intentions, financial

investment in adult children and division of housework and childcare. In all three case studies, individuals held contradictory and/or competing beliefs and motivations related to having a second child and often they fine-tuned these to create a consistent account of their childbearing rationale. But in each case specific factors were different which resulted in diverse consequences for reproductive intentions rationalisation among these three individuals. Marian repeatedly told me that he wanted and intended to have a second child while he persistently rationalised that external circumstances in his life, including his financial situation and his wife's age did not allow him to have another baby. At the same time his narrative unveiled his views that another baby would bring undesirable consequences for his first child, his own standard of living and his ambiguous beliefs toward having another baby. Ola, on the other hand, was open about her ambivalence about having a second child, but structural opportunities and constraints she encountered made the homemaker and mother role more appealing to her thus she was actively constructing a narrative where she rationalised that having a second child would be favourable. Ewa's strong desire to have at least two children was accompanied by her adaptation of various factors related to her childbearing intentions to overcome or diminish the importance of any perceived obstacles or contradictory beliefs she held.

The TPB has undoubtedly been a helpful tool in examining factors related to intentions in many academic disciplines. Respondents' narratives highlight many complex factors and cognitive mechanisms involved in rationalising and communicating intentions which are currently missing from the theory and the mainstream demographic research. I have argued that more comprehensive operationalisations of the theory are important for a better understanding of childbearing intentions. The specificity of the theorised concepts and operations still excludes significant contextual aspects and cognitive mechanisms, the inclusion of which may vastly improve the understanding of processes involved in reproductive decision making (see also Burke et al., 2009). The detailed knowledge may be particularly important for a more comprehensive exploration of divergence and diversity in below-replacement fertility levels among different populations. In order to make sense of these and previous findings it is necessary to review them concurrently in light of my research goals. This is the aim of the subsequent and concluding chapter in this thesis.

9 Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this study was to further the understanding of factors involved in rationalising fertility intentions towards having or not a second child among Polish men and women living in Poland and in the UK. In order to achieve my main research objective I employed the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) and explored the role of its components in explaining intentions' rationales. The rapid process of transformation from socialism to a market democracy in Poland, accompanied by a steep decline in fertility rates and unprecedented waves of Polish migration within the enlarged European Union (EU) made the Polish case a challenging context to study and an opportunity to compare childbearing rationales of individuals who grew up in the same national context but at the time of the study lived in different socioeconomic settings. I also endeavoured to bring a gender perspective to this research by exploring whether and how childbearing rationales differ between men and women.

This final part of the thesis offers reflections on the main findings in light of my research objectives and I discuss wider implications of this research. This chapter is organised into three sections. Firstly, I discuss the main findings in a comparative perspective reviewing gendered as well as country differences and similarities and I reflect on the theoretical and methodological contributions of this thesis. I consequently review the socioeconomic differences between Polish nationals in Poland and in the UK and I also outline findings related to transnational comparisons, kin support, migration motivations, gendered division of work as well as disparities between individuals' accounts of their childbearing intentions, theoretical suppositions and operationalisations of TPB. Secondly, I discuss some implications of this research for social policies, particularly important in the milieu where many governments in Europe express concerns about low birth rates. Finally, I consider the limitations of this project and directions for further research.

9.2 Discussion of findings in light of research goals and scholarly contributions

This section discusses contributions of my study in light of my research goals to explore and compare childbearing intentions' rationale of Polish mothers and fathers in Poland and in the UK and to interrogate the TPB. By utilising the strengths of in-depth

interviews to produce theoretical and methodological understandings my study uncovered a plethora of issues that could be addressed to further the understanding of childbearing intentions, transnationalism and migration.

9.2.1 *Macro picture of Polish men and women in two countries*

The statistical data in this thesis addressed some of the gaps in existing research, namely it explored socioeconomic characteristics of Polish residents in the UK by parity and gender and compared these to characteristics of Poles living in Poland. The data also set background for successive chapters and informants' accounts of factors related to structural conditions. The comparative analyses of macro settings and socioeconomic variables associated by my respondents with childbearing intentions highlighted several country and gender differences. For instant, I demonstrated that Polish men tend to work full-time regardless of the country of residence and the presence of children while women's employment status and patterns are related to their childbearing and country of residence. Although employment rates of women are lower compared to men in both countries, Polish mothers in the UK tend to work part-time while their counterparts in Poland often work full-time and it was also illustrated that Polish nationals in the UK often work in unskilled jobs although many are well qualified. This data enriched qualitative findings whereas one or one and a half wage was considered as sufficient for families in London and childbearing among mothers in London, unlike in Krakow, was related to low opportunity costs. The picture derived from statistical data suggested that Polish nationals in the UK have more financial resources to invest in childbearing relative to residents in Poland due to their higher wages and because their incomes were more frequently supplemented by welfare allowances. The data also demonstrated that they often live in rented accommodation while those residing in Poland often dwell in owned or rent-free housing, which corresponds with qualitative findings. The main body of this thesis consists of qualitative data which elaborate on factors considered as important by individual mothers and fathers in their childbearing intentions rationales.

9.2.2 *Transnational comparisons and groups of reference*

Qualitative data in this thesis demonstrated setting-specific differences and similarities in aspects that individuals reported as vital for their childbearing intentions and which were not identified in statistical data due to data limitations. A dominant message

throughout this thesis has been that economic and institutional factors were at the top and most frequently mentioned in relation to having or not another offspring among researched groups, however, the scope and meaning of economic aspects relevant to childbearing intentions is much more multifaceted than survey research based on TPB capture. I have illustrated the importance of cross-border comparisons and groups of reference in defining what circumstances and resources were deemed as adequate and in subjective evaluation of the consequences a second child would have on individuals' and their first child's life. Transnational comparisons often underlie mothers' and fathers' accounts of factors related to Attitudes and PBC, although these are absent in demographic research. The EU integration permits relatively easy geographical relocation of its citizens between different Member States but it also facilitates numerous cross-border exchanges of social, political, cultural and economic ideas and practices and such exchanges are further enhanced by the media where news are often framed in a wider pan-European perspective. Although transnationalism is predominantly applied to study migrants' behaviour, many of my respondents in Krakow had transnational identities, not only due to their own previous migration experiences, but also through ideational transnational exchanges and networks they were embedded in.

Comparisons to transnational groups of reference often informed male and female participants' expectations and aspirations regarding fertility related capital and their perceptions about their ability to achieve these aspirations in the country of residence. Whereas respondents in London compared what was available to them with residents in Poland or general conditions in their country of origin, Krakow-based informants often compared themselves to Polish emigrants, nationals of other countries as well as general institutional and economic conditions in other, often Western European nations. Despite limited financial means relative to Polish nationals in the UK, respondents in Krakow sometimes pronounced higher expectations regarding necessary resources and conditions to progress to a second parity than individuals in London. Many Krakow-based respondents envisioned their children having to negotiate the same socioeconomic circumstances and they wanted to equip their offspring to succeed in the Polish environment. Different expectations related to different Attitudes and PBC toward childbearing and childrearing in the two cities. Parents I interviewed in London, unlike these in Krakow, often had more positive Attitudes and PBC, they reported that

the institutional and structural environment in which they lived was overall more favourable to having children and frequently they had a more positive view about the consequences of having a second child for their own financial and employment situation relative to informants in Krakow.

The demographic literature on fertility trends in Poland has indicated that socioeconomic changes following the collapse of the socialist regime translated into economic and institutional adversities leading to persistently low fertility rate in Poland and demographers often compare current socioeconomic conditions in Poland with its socialist past. However, economists have repeatedly highlighted that structural changes were successful and both welfare provisions and the economic situation of individuals living in Poland are much better compared to the conditions during socialist years. Furthermore, issues related to childbearing and childrearing are of media concern and repeatedly appear in Polish media. As Stark et al. (2004) argued paying close attention to how media report and discuss the topic of childbearing can assist professionals in understanding subjects related to fertility that are important to the public. The overview of media debates of issues related to reproduction shed light on the social context in which people construct their narratives and it illustrated that media, similar to my respondents, often compared economic and welfare conditions in Poland to situation in other European nations, rather than to Poland's situation during socialism. The findings presented in this thesis suggest that the interpretation of the meaning of circumstances and resources acceptable for childbearing and transnational groups of reference motivating aspirations are likely to have played a role in shaping fertility trends in Poland rather than merely economic and institutional hardship post-1989. Furthermore, the notion of economic and institutional deprivation based on Western European criteria coupled with a responsible parenthood ideology in Poland that encompasses a strong economic rationale can be self-perpetuating by making economic explanations of reproductive intentions not only socially acceptable but desirable among residents in Poland.

For a better understanding of reproductive intentions, and consequently choices, it is important to explore in depth beliefs behind Attitudes and PBC. This points towards the vital role of explorative qualitative studies which would enable to identify the most important factors relevant for childbearing in specific contexts and among different populations in the formative stages of questionnaire development (Ajzen, 2002a;

Bernardi et al., 2010b). For instance, surveys questions or response categories on childbearing intentions among Polish nationals could be re-framed, or a separate question could be added to capture an aspect of reference groups.

These findings contribute to the emerging literature on transnationalism in Europe as well as the role of relative deprivation in the integrated EU (see Fahey, 2010; Goedeme et al., 2011). This contrasts with the prevalent methodological nationalism, also in demographic research, which takes the nation state as the framework for analysis (Beck et al., 2010; Wimmer et al., 2002). This study points to a data limitation and suggests that economic and institutional variables have become more complex and consideration of the frames of reference, some of which have become transnational, is essential to grasp the complex nature of people's subjectivity and for robust measurements of variables, particularly for producing policy relevant knowledge (Fahey, 2010). In the current milieu of globalization, international or transnational social and political formations emerging worldwide, and the rising significance of transnational relations due to modern forms of communication, the more complex approach for social-scientific analysis is more informative (van Oudenhoven et al., 2013; Wimmer et al., 2002).

9.2.3 *Investing in children, kin support and childbearing intentions*

My study also highlights the need to consider the economic concept of substituting children's quantity with quality to understand individuals' childbearing intentions in specific contexts (Becker, 1993; Dalla Zuanna, 2001). The necessary financial investment individuals assign to childrearing is higher among Polish nationals in Poland than in the UK as parents in Krakow often aspire to invest more heavily and long-term in their children relative to their counterparts in the UK. For example, through buying branded clothes, goods and investing in educational activities parents in Krakow provide their children with certain capital based on Western European standards. Concurrently, living in the UK is perceived by many parents as providing their children with such a capital, since Polish children raised in London, for instance, learn the English language, will have a British education one day and overall, are seen as having better prospects of succeeding in the future than they would have back in the country of origin.

My research findings support Buhler et al.'s (2007) claims that social networks, including kin support, are significant factors in childbearing intentions, particularly for a second birth. My study furthers the understanding of the relationship between such aid, migration and childbearing justifications. Many of my respondents in Krakow, unlike these in London, received considerable financial, in kind and housing assistance from their parents and in-laws. The presence of long-term and extensive intergenerational help in Poland is related to the expectations of high costs of childrearing in Krakow, while London-based respondents did not expect to provide such an extensive assistance to their adult offspring. Considering the familialistic social context in Poland where parental support to adult children is seen as important for young people's economic wellbeing, the results from my study suggest that many Polish individuals adapt the traditional and family-oriented values to the requirements of a contemporary European society. Polish parents often place a very high value on children, they want to invest a great deal of resources in them and consequently, instead of having several offspring many perceive it as more rational to have fewer children and invest more in them (Palomba, 1995). Alternatively, for others migration is an avenue through which one can provide children with the required resources and opportunities (see section 9.2.4 below).

By accentuating competing views about resources needed for childbearing and the role of intergenerational support, I also highlighted the need to develop context specific operationalisation of TPB constructs as meanings of definitions can be then addressed properly. Such information can improve the quality of demographic data and analysis. Internationally comparative, large scale surveys such as Gender and Generation Survey (GGS) often use standardised definitions and concepts to measure childbearing intentions across different populations and inclusion of more context-specific definitions and concepts will undoubtedly add to the complexity of the design, implementation and analysis of such data and increase prior research, nonetheless, drawing on standardised definitions and concepts across different populations could impact data validity and reliability (Coast, 2000). The discrepancy between the narrowness of the concept of 'housing conditions' used in GGS to measure PBC and the qualitative data which demonstrated a much broader and varied understanding of its meaning where it may relate to adequate space and/or providing properties to adult children depending on the setting is perhaps the clearest example that current variables

are not directly comparable between populations and in reality they are much more multifaceted. These findings also suggest a need for cautious interpretations of currently available data.

9.2.4 *Migration motivations*

My study brings to light various reasons for migration and the narratives of Polish nationals explored here imply that there is a need to move beyond economic/income indicators of migration motivations in migration theories. In this regard, I argue that aspirations regarding family lifestyle and career as well as access to kin support and inheritance should be considered in the context of migration motivations and the decisions to stay or return (see also Ryan et al., 2009b; White, 2010). The fact that most informants in London lacked access to kin help, and some provided such support to their families in the country of origin, suggests that asset poor individuals in the country of origin are more likely to move across borders. Individuals' preferences regarding mothers' employment and their career aspirations are also significant factors involved in both childbearing and migration rationale and many informants in London were pleased that women were able not to work and could devote their time to family and raising children. Conversely, since migration is often linked to low-skilled jobs or economic inactivity for mothers, such relocation is usually related to career considerations while employment dissatisfaction encourages re-migration plans. These findings nonetheless show that the ease of migration within the EU provides individuals with more choices to seek situations and environments that they perceive as better for family life and having children, and migration enables individuals to change perceived constraints to childbearing and their PBC.

9.2.5 *Gendered division of work and childbearing intentions*

Of particular interest to this study has been whether the Gender Equity Theory has relevance in the Polish case. Consequently I explored whether and how perceived gender inequity between different institutions (i.e. family or employment market) and the gendered division of childcare and household duties is relevant for studying fertility trends as so far these issues were disregarded in the Polish context and not covered in surveys based on TPB. Concerns regarding the increase in workload related to having additional children were present in accounts of childbearing intentions of my female

respondents in both cities which indicates that gender [in]equity in the family sphere has some significance in childbearing intentions. Most research that takes into account the role of gender [in]equality in fertility rates consider the role incompatibility between motherhood and formal work (Rindfuss et al., 1996; Torr et al., 2004), while women who rely on a male breadwinner are often believed to be ‘more likely to accept the full responsibility for the domestic sphere’ (Schober, 2013, p. 6). In this study women who wanted to work and who perceived the division of work as unjust expressed concerns regarding unequal division of domestic tasks and their childbearing intentions. Earlier studies also reported that gender ideology mediates the influence of division of household work on fertility through impacting the perception of its appropriateness (Bernhardt et al., 2006; Coltrane, 2000; Greenstein, 1996; Hochschild et al., 1990). However, despite expressing dissatisfaction with division of unpaid work in relation to intentions to have more children other structures were sometimes in play that could counterbalance the lack of men’s involvement. For example, the accounts of discontent existed in conjunction with a need to retain a degree of gendered roles and narratives were sometimes accompanied by a discourse of male incompetence especially regarding housework (Walters et al., 2012) while for some women in Poland grandmothers substituted for men’s help. How exactly gender inequity in the institution of family and the dissatisfaction from division of work impacts childbearing behaviour and completed fertility, and whether indeed economically inactive Polish women, i.e. mostly these living abroad, are more likely to disregard expressed dissatisfaction is open to examination by further research.

9.2.6 *Gendered ways of exercising individual agency*

The majority of people I talked to did not have a predetermined and clear-cut strategy regarding their reproductive lives which was also visible in the way individual men and women exercised their individual agency (Currie, 1988). Overall men reported granting more decision making power regarding a second child to their female partners, consequently their decisions were being negotiated through non-decisions and passive agency (Carter, 1995; Fjellman, 1976; Luker, 1978; Townsend, 2002). Conversely, several mothers in this study reported covertly ceasing or thinking about stopping the use of oral contraceptives being aware that they may get pregnant. By contraceptive risk-taking behaviours women in this study exercised their agency even if in an

ambiguous manner as they were in fact making deliberate actions that could result in a seemingly accidental pregnancy without openly reporting making attempts to get pregnant. This escapes the logic of TPB about a rational individual pursuing an openly intentional behaviour in a clear manner and that individuals can and do report their beliefs accurately. Other scholars also noted that an unintended pregnancy can be a consequence of a purposeful action (see, for example, Gribaldo et al., 2009; Harris et al., 1999; Lifflander et al., 2007; Moos et al., 1997). These findings highlight the complexity involved in defining intended and unintended pregnancies as well as advocating a need for a better understanding of the gendered ways in which individuals rationalise and communicate childbearing intentions.

9.2.7 *Childbearing intentions' rationale and TPB*

Throughout the thesis I have postulated the need to reconsider the assumptions demographers make about the universality of meanings of categories in surveys. I have argued that current indicators of TPB constructs do not necessarily capture the key items relevant for childbearing intentions in different contexts, and findings based on such indicators may have little significance for understanding childbearing intentions among specific populations (see also Bernardi et al., 2010b). Researching fertility intentions require more complex and context-specific operationalisations of all constructs of the theory, examining the underlying beliefs and developing a comprehensive taxonomy classifying factors related to Attitudes, Subjective Norms (SN) and PBC for different populations. For example, the narratives demonstrated that the Attitudes of Polish parents were related to their considerations about the consequences a second child would have on the financial and emotional wellbeing of the first one, although survey questionnaires measure Attitudes by asking about the consequences of having a/nother child for the (prospective) parents only. Since surveys such as GGS measure TPB constructs indirectly by asking questions about a number of beliefs related to each main item, and the questionnaire items do not cover some of the factors important for childbearing intentions, the findings based on such measures may not correlate well with the global Attitude or PBC in specific contexts (Francis et al., 2004).

Still I have suggested that the theoretical assumptions need to be broadened and rethought. Childbearing intentions are frequently related to contradictory and

ambiguous beliefs and their rationalisations often involve complex cognitive processes, mechanisms and pathways of communication which question TPB assumptions of causal determinism between Attitudes, PBC, SN and intentions. Moffitt (2005, p. 33) reviewed these assumed causal relationships in demographic research and argued that ‘most of the methods used in the past are open to serious objection’ because of the lack of addressing mechanisms involved in producing an outcome, together with simplifying assumptions that inform analyses and exclusion criteria. As narratives in this thesis illustrated, parents’ childbearing intentions are not always a result of straightforward and clear deliberations as they are characterised by inconsistent beliefs while individuals tend to fine-tune their narratives and report aspects related to TPB constructs discursively to reduce incongruity. The processes of constructing justifications can be conscious, unconscious and/or discursive and the ways in which people reconfigure various beliefs into a coherent narrative may be context-specific as socioeconomic context may provide individuals with specific socially acceptable rules of behaviour and modes of explaining such behaviour. In this thesis I provided explanations of contextual influences that are multifaceted and probably beyond the perceptions of people, nonetheless, they relate significantly to constructing and communicating childbearing intentions (Pasick et al., 2009b). For example, I have argued that the ideology of responsible parenthood based on a strong economic rationale and economic deprivation in Poland may provide individuals with a socially acceptable and patterned way of fine-tuning their conflicting beliefs into a coherent narrative.

9.2.8 *TPB and demographic research*

The TPB has been used to explain various behavioural intentions, for instance, to vote, lose weight, play video games, learn to ski or to breastfeed (Ajzen, 1991). The simplicity of TPB makes it an appealing tool to explore how individuals employ aspects related to Attitudes, SN and PBC to construct and explain their childbearing intentions although the accurate measurement of its constructs in surveys needs to be further addressed. Reproductive intentions and choices are however much more multifaceted than, for instance, intentions to learn to ski or to go on a diet (see also Morgan, 2010). Hakim (1996a, p. 4) pointed out that ‘theory is not right or wrong. Theory is either useful or not in making sense of the world’. Developing theories which would be able to

capture the more complex cognitive and context specific processes involved in (explaining/reporting) childbearing decision making would facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of factors involved in reproductive trends.

Several scholars have called for rethinking of theoretical frameworks and methodological paradigms currently employed in demographic research with attempts to address them (see, for example, Hobcraft, 2006; Roth, 2004). For instance, the newly emerging Theory of Conjunctural Action (TCA) is proposed as a comprehensive framework to investigate family change and it 'defines and integrates a set of common mechanisms that produce family change and variation' (Johnson-Hanks et al., 2011, p. 138). The TCA draws on interdisciplinary research from psychology, cognitive science, anthropology, history, evolutionary biology and sociology among other disciplines to understand complex processes involved in demographic behaviour. The theory moreover advocates a more detailed analysis of factors that are already measured in demographic research and paying attention to variables that are not measured. It also highlights the importance of interplay between structure and agency as well as focusing on how particular demographic outcomes emerge from a convergence of different circumstances. The theoretical paradigm is still new and in need for further development as the authors acknowledge, however, it offers a promising tool for understanding demographic behaviour and a methodological innovation that is more holistic and wide-ranging than current tools. Notwithstanding its advantages such a comprehensive framework poses enormous methodological challenges since it requires cooperation between scientists from various disciplines and a wide range of methodological skills which is undoubtedly more difficult and costly to implement (Johnson-Hanks et al., 2011). However, such tools may be worthwhile in order to improve our understanding of the variations in reproductive behaviour in different contexts and among different populations.

9.3 Policy discussions

The theoretical perspective advocated in this thesis and the empirical findings are of policy relevance. Surveys state that individuals in many European nations intend to have more children than they actually have, which is believed to be an opportunity for policy action. My findings illustrated several limitations of 'childbearing intentions' research; this poses challenges for effective policy intervention based on such studies.

Although many low fertility nations including Poland registered moderate increase in TFR in recent years (Eurostat, 2012-2014; Goldstein et al., 2009), governments in Europe still perceive fertility rates as alarmingly low and are concerned about population decline and its impact on economic development (European Commission, 2006a; European Parliament, 2008). Particularly the economic turmoil which began in 2008 increased concerns about the future of fertility levels in the current environment of economic uncertainty (Kreyenfeld et al., 2012). Many European governments are attempting to devise policy measures which would allow their citizens to realise their reproductive goals. The assumed causality in TPB implies that we can change intention and behaviour by modifying its main constructs, which can be done by targeting the underlying beliefs (Pasick et al., 2009b; Steers, 2012) and much of the research on childbearing intentions in Europe has been carried out with an aim for policy recommendations (see, for example, Philipov et al., 2009; Vikat et al., 2007). Policy-relevant demographic studies are believed to benefit from an explicit focus on fertility intentions measured on the basis of TPB and recent research was often based on GGS conceptualisations of Attitudes, SN and PBC (Billari et al., 2009; Sobotka, 2011b; Spéder, 2011). Throughout my study I have argued that better uncovering of the multiple factors involved in childbearing intentions in different contexts is vital for social policy recommendations which would provide valuable information to assist social policy users in developing effective measures to manage population decline and aging.

Social policies in Poland have implemented several changes in recent years to ease family-work reconciliation, such as the extension of paid maternity leave for up to a year and introduction of Nursery Law which is hoped to stimulate the opening of new facilities. These policy actions were perceived as governments' response to the problem of low birth rates in Poland (Hoorens et al., 2011). However as my study illustrated, childcare policies in Poland need to take into account prevalent motherhood ideologies as policies which aim at opening new nurseries will facilitate work-family reconciliation and possibly assist parents in having more children only if individuals recognise that formal childcare is not detrimental to children's wellbeing. Additionally, considering the European comparative framework in which many Polish individuals shape their expectations regarding welfare provisions for families with children there may be an even stronger demand for a further government's intervention.

My findings moreover relate to the body of research on redistributive social policies within the wider Europe (Delhey et al., 2006; Fahey, 2010; Goedeme et al., 2011). It is expected that the redistributive systems of welfare states will produce more cohesive, egalitarian societies within Europe and The Council of Europe talks about social cohesion as ‘the capacity of a society to ensure the well-being of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding marginalisation’ (Council of Europe, 2010, p. 14). As I have argued in this thesis cross-national relativities should be given a greater emphasis in examination of inequity in Europe since these are much more consistent with how individuals perceive their subjective wellbeing (see also Fahey, 2010).

The pan-European framework in which welfare state provisions are assessed may perpetuate the importance of intergenerational support in Poland and entrench heavy reliance on kin networks to provide perceived necessities. Family allegiance and loyalties appear to be strong in Poland, not only within a nuclear family but they extend to the larger kin group. By demonstrating the significance of parental support for adult children in Krakow and its relationship to childbearing intentions’ rationale, this thesis also added to the scholarship on familialism and low fertility (Dalla Zuanna, 2001; Heady et al., 2010). I argued that transfers between parents and their adult offspring generate and propagate perceptions of the necessity to invest heavily and long-term in children and consequently familistic societies may be less able to reproduce themselves (Dalla Zuanna, 2001), particularly if they are embedded in a competitive social setting where kin support is a vital component of social inequalities and social mobility.

Inheritance and assets transferred within families are a source of wealth inequality and intergenerational transmission of inequity (Karagiannaki, 2011, 2012). Indeed, this study illustrated that the access to financial kin support and inheritance plays a significant role in Polish individuals’ economic situation and is a key factor in life decisions such as migration and childbearing. While international migration can counterbalance the economic disadvantage caused by a lack of kin support, migration is often accompanied by an occupational downgrade, especially among people with more years of schooling. Although access to education is held to create more equality and provide opportunities for social class mobility and large numbers of young Polish nationals complete tertiary education, kin support appears to be more important in maintaining economic inequalities among Polish nationals than education.

My study also contributes to the body of research on welfare state and gender relations (see, for example, Ackers, 1998; Lewis et al., 2007; Orloff, 1993). The findings indicate that care provisions among Polish nationals are highly gendered although different welfare states in Poland and in the UK promote varied practices among Polish parents. The British state provides cash transfers that substitute for the lost second income, simultaneously offering childcare services which are unaffordable to validate Polish mothers' work considering their low wages. British welfare thus supports traditional division of labour among Polish nationals by making the male breadwinner model a more viable solution to work-family reconciliation within nuclear families. Since migrants' access to social rights is based on their labour market or dependency status, employment and care practices may have implications for Polish women's access to social rights in the UK. Although a number of Polish mothers in London valued their ability to be full-time homemakers, to a degree their choice to care was related to the constraints they faced in employment and formal childcare options. Policies which provide services that aid work-family reconciliation would facilitate mothers' access to paid work by making it a viable choice (Pettit et al., 2009). Although the idea of a genuine choice in social policy is a problematic one, it has been acknowledged that policies can alleviate constraints on choice, giving parents, both mothers and fathers, the options to care and/or to work (Lewis et al., 2007). Social policies undoubtedly need to respect individuals' views of what they want, nonetheless, there is evidence that while attitudes regarding acceptability of formal childcare influence women's decisions to enter employment, attitudes change as women enter the labour force with a mutually reinforcing feedback. Thus although women's preferences regarding childcare may prevent them from taking up paid work even in the absence of external constraints, policies can enable choices that are currently not viable (Himmelweit et al., 2004). Since many breadwinner model families have young children, providing universal and affordable childcare would enable paid work as an option for mothers whose wages are not sufficient to pay for childcare (see also Ben-Galim, 2011; Dickens, 2011; Lewis et al., 2007). The government in the UK aims at promoting a choice for parents to care by providing various tax credits which are supposed to reduce the financial costs of staying at home. There is some evidence that tax credits can improve the situation of many individuals and families on low income but they have many pitfalls as they create a disincentive to higher earnings because people focus on retaining the tax credits (Davies, 2007). Thus tax credits serve as 'a disincentive to two-earner status among

couples' (Bryson, 2003 p.93) as the non-working partner, usually the woman, has no incentive to work because this carries a financial penalty in the form of supplement decrease or withdrawal (see also Brewer et al., 2011).

In Poland the market and the family itself (nuclear and extended) provide welfare for nuclear families in a dual-earner and familialistic system. Care work still remains a private issue with limited public childcare supply and meagre cash transfers beyond maternity leave payment. The Polish government's focus on prolonging paid maternity leave might be detrimental to women's standing in the employment market. Long maternity leaves may reinforce mothers' and young women's discrimination in the labour market as employers may become more cautious when employing females while mothers may find it harder to re-enter paid work after long leaves. Since a secure dual income is often seen as necessary before having (another) child in Poland, women may become more cautious regarding their childbearing plans.

9.4 Limitations of the study and directions for further research

This is the first empirical comparative study employing a qualitative methodology to explore intentions to have a second child among Polish men and women living in Poland and in the UK. Nonetheless, this study has many limitations; while some of these stem from and, therefore, relate specifically to the Polish nationals living in two settings, many are relevant to groups other than the ones looked at in this enquiry and/or have wider methodological implications.

Comparing Polish residents in Poland to these in London had its limitations. Scholars noted that migrants may be intrinsically different than non-migrants regarding observed and unobserved characteristics (Hwang et al., 1997; Kulu, 2005; Milewski, 2007). I examined possible observed differences between Polish nationals in the UK and Poland by, for instance, analysing their educational status and age structure. Unobserved characteristics such as independence or familial attitudes are more difficult to account for. Since this was a cross-sectional study of Polish nationals only, I had limited ways of exploring whether any detected differences in attitudes, preferences or ambitions between respondents in Krakow and London were because the latter group differed from the previous one prior to migration or whether any differences resulted from migrants' characteristics changing over time as a result of cultural and socioeconomic circumstances they encountered in the destination country (Milewski, 2007). I could

only explore such issues by asking respondents in London about their preferences or attitudes prior to migration while their memories and responses might have been selective. A longitudinal study design would be a better method to examine sources of differences as it would allow interviewing London-based respondents prior and after migration; however this was not feasible due to time constraints.

Given that I spoke to only a few parents whose children were already at school and very few of my respondents were in their late 30s I wondered whether and how their accounts would provide findings that are useful to this project. Although I devised advertisements that targeted this group, still majority of parents I interviewed had relatively young children and most respondents were in their 20s and early 30s.

Due to the research goals of this study, I only interviewed people of childbearing age, however, throughout the course of the data collection and analysis I wondered how grandparents perceived and what they thought about their assistance to their adult offspring. I also considered whether older generations of women and men encouraged or discouraged my respondents to have more children. Moreover, considering the amount of support some of my respondents received from their parents and in-laws and the possible expectations of reciprocity I wondered whether the childbearing intentions of my informants were at all related to their (prospective) caring responsibilities towards their own aging parents. Nobody ever spoke about it, but would it reveal any differences between respondents in London and Krakow, men and women?

It would be useful to further develop the understanding of whether and how circular migration and re-migration is linked to particular rationale regarding childbearing intentions. Many of my informants in Krakow had previous migration experiences and some were planning to relocate again while some women in London, particularly economically inactive, spent long periods of time in both the sending and receiving countries. Would this have contributed to my understanding and arguments about migrants' transnational connections and their strategies to pursue childbearing related and/or career goals?

The concept of SN is very narrow as I discussed elsewhere in this study, however, exploring in detail broader explicit and implicit social norms, particularly in the context of migration was not feasible during this project. Migration of Polish nationals is a widespread phenomenon and international migrants are often in a social and cultural

flux and positioned between the sending and the destination countries. In the latter they interact with other nationalities, whether native population or other immigrants, while they also form enclaves living and socialising within their own communities (Green et al., 2008), which can incorporate aspects of the home culture. As I illustrated in this thesis Poles living in London maintain frequent contacts with their families and friends at home and also other Polish immigrants in the UK. The variety of norms migrants encounter provides them with a wider socio-cultural repertoire relative to non-migrants and a wider set of social norms to draw on when constructing and explaining their childbearing intentions, although it can lead to diverse outcomes. Due to the exposure to constant influences by elements of other cultures in multicultural British society Polish nationals in London can go through an acculturation process which is accompanied by a 'complex pattern of continuity and change' (Berry, 1997, p. 6). This may result in the formation of hybrid cultural forms. The cultural identity of migrants may represent a type of biculturalism where both social norms of the country of origin and destination form a distinctive set of principles which can be called 'a third value' system (Mostwin, 1995). Alternatively, to protect boundaries between themselves and other nationalities, some individuals living abroad may preserve their national traditions or even reinforce them. This is particularly relevant to the economically inactive mothers, especially if their English language skills are limited, as they have few opportunities for social contacts with anybody apart from other Polish nationals in the UK, while their abilities to learn English language when staying at home are also restricted. Such protective nationalism may also play a role in maintaining Polish migrants', perhaps perpetually postponed, intentions to return to their homeland one day. The fertility rationale of Polish people is formed in very complex settings which involve diverse social norms related to childbearing. Consequently, rigorous examination of the plethora of possible social norms related to reproductive intentions based on semi-structured, one to two hour interviews that covered a broad range of issues was not achievable in my study.

Ethnography would be a better way to explore explicit as well as implicit norms because ethnographers live in the communities that they study and 'no interpretation of a quote or an event is made in isolation, but rests on a broad understanding of how a social system holds together' (Johnson-Hanks et al., 2011, p. 143). Nonetheless, my study was not ethnographic as, first of all, I lack the skills to conduct such a research. Secondly, good ethnographic research which is able to provide ample and rich examples

that other researchers could reinterpret is time consuming, to achieve such a standard could take several years of fieldwork which would not be attainable in this project since I spent less than a year in the field. Of course open-ended questions I asked during semi-structured interviews offered opportunities to expose certain norms, however, what can be researched in such a way is limited. Social norms may not be consciously available to respondents and asking interviewees to think about them can impact the answer while social desirability can also impact responses during such interviews. Systematic analysis of media debates, the structure, content of textual information can offer some evidence of both explicit and implicit social norms around childbearing. Thus, the analysis of media debates I carried out provided additional opportunity to explore existing norms that related to childbearing, however, as they were only additional to interviews, the analysis was far from exhaustive. Moreover, migrants encounter a variety of media sources i.e. Polish, British and these aimed at the migrant community, and a thorough analysis of all of these was beyond the scope of this study. Having more time I would have liked to examine media debates of issues related to reproduction as well as to more general socioeconomic conditions in some more detail.

Finally, my findings open more questions as to the future of fertility trends among Polish nationals, especially during the recent economic downturn, questions which may well be relevant for other nations. Informants in this study were hardly concerned about the economic crisis; however the interviews were conducted in late 2010 and in 2011 when the Polish economy was doing well. Poland has been relatively unscathed by the global economic turmoil and registered a remarkable economic growth compared to other EU countries prior to 2012 (European Commission, 2012b). The country is however facing an economic slowdown in the coming years although the EU forecast is for a continuing, albeit slower growth. Polish Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is predicted to decrease to 1.8% in 2013 (from 4.4% in 2011) before raising again to 2.4% in 2014 (European Commission, 2012a). The unemployment rates also increased from 12% in 2011 to over 14% in the first quarters of 2013 (based on www.stat.gov.pl, accessed on 24/05/2013).

Despite the economic crisis in Europe, the last couple of years have brought a number of changes in family policies in Poland. The income thresholds and the level of family benefits slightly increased in 2012. Paternity leave was extended from 1 to 2 weeks from 2012 and from September 2013 maternity leave will be extended from 6 months

paid at full wage to a maximum of 12 months paid at 80% of wage replacement⁵² (based on www.mpips.gov.pl, accessed on 13-19/02/2013). Still labour market uncertainties, the general economic volatility and media coverage of the economic slowdown may impact individuals' feelings of security and their childbearing intentions in coming years.

The economic downturn has affected the UK to a greater degree than Poland in previous years. The EU forecast for the country is for a slow growth and economic uncertainty, the GDP is supposed to grow to 0.8% in 2013 and to 2% in 2014, with the unemployment rate remaining at around 8% (European Commission, 2012a). London-based informants gave little consideration to the economic downturn and statistical data show that EU8 migrants', including Polish nationals' employment rates between 2010 and 2012 were at over 80% compared to 70% for the entire population in the UK (ONS, 2013). Nonetheless, high employment rates among migrants might result from a selection process as those who lost their jobs might have left the country in search of employment in other nations. Furthermore, the recession triggered a number of changes in the welfare benefits in Britain which were still under consideration when I entered the fieldwork and individuals I talked to were hardly concerned about these. Nonetheless, since wages of Polish nationals living in the UK are relatively low, many of the proposed changes are unlikely to impact them. For instance, the previously universal child benefit will be withdrawn completely only if one parent earns more than £60,000 and the benefit will be reduced for those with an income of more than £50,000. As statistical analysis in this thesis showed, wages of the majority of Polish nationals in the UK are below these thresholds. Eligibility criteria for tax credits are quite complex as they depend on various personal circumstances, nonetheless, from 2012 the amount of Child Tax Credit actually increased by 5.3%, while parents with an income of £40,000 or more lost the benefit although prior to 2012 they received the family element of over £500 a year (based on www.hmrc.gov.uk, accessed on 13/02/2013). Other changes, such as the reduction in housing benefit due to under-occupation introduced in early 2013 may well impact some Poles. Overall, it was estimated that the move to a single benefit system i.e. Universal Credit which will entirely replace means-tested benefits

⁵² As before September 2013 mothers will be able to take maternity leave paid at full wage for a 6 month period, after which parents (either mother or father) will be entitled to another 6 months of parental leave at 60% of wage replacement, alternatively women will be able to take a 12 month leave at 80% of wage.

and tax credits⁵³ will benefit poorer families relative to richer ones. Couples with children will benefit more than those with no offspring while the latter will still gain more than single and childless individuals although lone parents were estimated to lose due to the system redesign. Universal Credit was also estimated to decrease incentives to work for (prospective) second earners in couples (Brewer et al., 2012). However how these changes affect Polish nationals in the UK and their childbearing intentions remains to be explored by future studies.

The relationship between economic downturns and fertility levels is not a straightforward one and varies by sex, number of children, socioeconomic status or welfare state model. It has been acknowledged that recessions in the past had small influence on aggregate fertility impacting timing rather than cohort fertility (Sobotka et al., 2011). Research on the link between recent economic uncertainties and family dynamics in a number of European nations demonstrated various relationships between different aspects of uncertainty (e.g. unemployment, contract types, income) and fertility, further differentiated by welfare and gender regimes. For instance, it was illustrated that in the UK women's unemployment increases propensity to enter into parenthood, while in Italy and Germany the economic activity of men, rather than of women, is related to couple's fertility decisions. On the other hand, in Sweden unemployment and temporary employment contracts among both men and women reduced transition to first births (Kreyenfeld et al., 2012). This implies that women's employment is more relevant for fertility choices in countries with preferred dual earner model such as Sweden (or Poland), while the breadwinner system in the UK provides incentives for unemployed women to use periods of economic inactivity to have children. However, how the crisis develops, what are the institutional responses to it and whether it will influence individuals' childbearing intentions is a research area still to be pursued (Sobotka et al., 2011).

Although Poland fared well in the economic downturn relevant to other EU nations, the incomes and consumption expenditure of Poles are still lower compared to Western European countries and the average EU levels (European Commission, 2010b). The former socialist block was labelled as in need of 'catching up' with Europe or, rather Western European standards while the EU enlargement supposedly gave Eastern

⁵³ The Universal Credit will be implemented from October 2013 for new claimants, while existing ones will be moved to the new system over the subsequent four years.

Europeans a chance to 'return to Europe' (O'Brennan, 2012). It is likely that residents in Poland will continue to judge their own standard of living, economic and institutional conditions in Poland based on Western European criteria, at least until East and West reach similar standard of development. What impact this may have on demographic developments in Poland? One can speculate that a number of Poles will continue to migrate abroad in search of conditions that they perceive as better for themselves as individuals and for their families. It is also likely that both long- and short-term migrants take a piece of Western European standards when they visit or return to their country of origin thus reinforcing the Western criteria for evaluating the socioeconomic situation in Poland. The question also arises as whether Polish nationals residing abroad will continue to assess their own situation based on Polish criteria or whether they will be more likely to refer to natives as their groups of reference the longer they live in the receiving nations. And if they change their groups of reference, will this affect their future childbearing intentions or behaviour?

10 References

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Appendix 1 GGS: Questions and response categories exploring childbearing intentions

Table 9 Questions examining childbearing intentions in GGS

Attitudes	Subjective Norms	Perceived Control	Behavioural Control
<p>If you were to have a/another child during the next three years, would it be better or worse for:</p> <p>(Measured from 1 (much better) to 5 (much worse)).</p>	<p>Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with these statements</p> <p>(Measured on a 5 point scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).</p>	<p>How much would your decision to have a/nother child depend on...?</p> <p>(Measured on a 4 point scale: 1 (not at all), 2 (a little), 3 (quite a lot), 4 (a great deal).</p>	
a. the possibility to do what you want	a. most of your friends think that you should have a/another child	a. your financial situation	
b. your employment opportunities	b. your parents think that you should have a/another child	b. your work	
c. your financial situation	c. most of your relatives think that you should have a/another child	c. your housing conditions	
d. your sexual life		d. your health	
e. what people around you think of you		e. you having a suitable partner	
f. the joy and satisfaction you get from life		f. your partner's/spouse's work	
g. the closeness between you and your partner/ spouse		g. your partner's/spouse's health	
h. your partner's/ spouse's employment opportunities		h. availability of childcare	
i. the care and security you may get in old age		i. your opportunity to go on parental leave or care leave	
j. certainty in your life			
k. the closeness between you and your parents			

Source: Vikat et al. (2004).

Appendix 2 Justifications for and selection of media debates

In gathering media accounts I decided to follow three online sources in Poland and one in the UK from 2010 and 2011 which corresponds to the timing of my fieldwork. These sources were selected on the basis that my informants had various backgrounds and interests and were likely to follow numerous media while internet portals include articles that are published in multiple newspapers and magazines that are read by diverse audiences. They reflect a variety of views which provided opportunities to capture as broad a range of perspectives as possible that target people with varying ages and interests. These online portals provide more detailed and extensive coverage of issues related to my project than any other media form such as e.g. TV, magazines or newspapers could do alone. Online availability also facilitates easy access to archived articles.

The first internet portal I examined was Gazeta.pl which is one of the top five most cited internet portals by other press, radio and TV (Institute of Media Monitoring, 2011). Essential for this study, it has a children's section, E-Dziecko with a co-existing monthly magazine Dziecko which are not only well archived online but also available in shops in the UK. E-Dziecko and its hard copy is addressed to people who want to become parents and those who already have offspring of different ages. The magazine and the portal are rich in information and expert advice on a number of topics such as pregnancy and birth, babies, nurseries and kindergartens, school aged children, education, health and shopping. As it targets parents with offspring of different ages E-Dziecko (and Dziecko) is quite unique as many parental magazines provide information specific to certain age groups e.g. newborns and babies. Furthermore, the fact that it has both online and hard copy versions makes it more accessible to various groups of the society. Onet.pl and Dziennik.pl are also two of the top most often cited internet portals by other media (Institute of Media Monitoring, 2011) with current news and various sections including health, culture, women and children. Apart from exclusive online pieces they also include articles taken from a variety of popular newspapers and magazines which are available in hard copies. MojaWyspa.co.uk was established in 2003 and it has become the leading information medium for the Polish community in the UK (based on www.mojawyspa.co.uk/english, accessed on 15/04/2010). The portal has sections covering news, woman and child, Poles in the UK, and career information.

It works together with several Polish newspapers in UK and Poland from which it publishes articles online but also articles that originate on the portal are later printed in these newspapers.

Survey data suggest that the internet is widely used by people in Poland. Internet users vary from non-users: 89%, 73% and 59% of respondents aged 18-24, 25-34 and 35-44 respectively used the internet at least once a week according to a survey carried out in 2009. Educational attainment is another important variable; internet usage is least popular among people with primary (20%) and vocational schooling (35%) and much more common among people with A levels (73%), and tertiary education (85%) (CBOS et al., 2009). Since some of my respondents had primary and vocational training, they belonged to the group of less frequent internet users, nonetheless, online articles are often printed in hard copies in newspapers and magazines.

The advantage of exploring online portals is that they are accessible to Poles in the UK. Migrants are likely to use a variety of information sources including Polish, British media and those that target migrants in particular. By selecting three Polish portals and one that targets specifically Polish nationals in the UK I have excluded British sources of information that undoubtedly also shape migrants' knowledge and perceptions. I did so as I believe it would be highly problematic to select a particular UK media source which I would be sure is read by Polish nationals in large enough numbers. It has not been investigated so far what British media are followed by Poles in the UK and in what numbers, while the scope of this project does not allow researching this issue in depth. My informants read Polish papers available in the UK as well as accessed information on Polish internet portals while some also followed British media. Not all migrants however are fluent in English, consequently, a number of them remain embedded within Polish culture (Ryan et al., 2009a). Consequently, it was more advantageous for this project and practical to concentrate exclusively on analysis of the Polish media. Media analysis is a supplementary source of data in this thesis providing further contextual information about general reproductive culture and considering the constraints of time and resources of this project, it is not meant to be exhaustive.

To ensure a more thorough search, I scanned online archives of these portals for relevant articles published between 2010 and 2011 using a number of keywords. I started the search using general phrases such as 'second child', 'children', 'siblings', 'only child', 'fertility'; and also introduced expressions related to topics my respondents

raised in the interviews e.g. 'childcare', 'nurseries', 'raising children', 'costs of living', 'nursery law', among others. After collecting material from media sources, I analysed them, which is the subject of the next section.

The analysis of media debates was carried out in the same way as analysis of in-depth interviews; using NVivo 8 and thematic analysis (see Chapter 4 for more details on analysing qualitative data).

Appendix 3 LFS and EU-SILC: Data comparability and description of variables

In order to analyse the socioeconomic characteristics of Polish nationals living in Poland and the UK I drew on the UK LFS and EU-SILC. Analysis based on two data sources has methodological caveats due to different definitions and categorisations. While some variables in both datasets have similar definitions and are easy to compare, in other cases comparisons were more difficult. Table below presents the variables used in the analysis and their comparability.

Table 10 LFS and EU-SILC: variables used for analysis and degree of their comparability.

		The UK LFS	EU- SILC
Variables where definitions vary between datasets	Education	Age completed full-time education	Highest level attained based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCE)
	Economic activity	Basic economic activity (International Labour Organisation (ILO) definition) (reported)	Self-defined current economic status
	Part/full-time work	a. Whether full or part-time b. Reasons for part-time work	a. Self-defined current economic status (full or part-time work among others) b. Reasons for working less than 30 hours
Variables defined similarly in the two datasets	Earnings	Gross weekly pay in main job (average), in UK Sterling. (Applies to employees and those on a government scheme)	Gross monthly earnings for employees (main job), in Euros. Includes overtime, bonuses etc.
	Occupation	Major occupation group (main job)	Occupation (International Standard Classification of Occupations) Current main job or last job for unemployed
	Childcare	a. Child attendance type (e.g. play group or pre-school/day nursery or workplace crèche/ nursery school and others).	a. Child care at day-care centre b. Education at pre-school (or equivalent) c. Child care by a child-

		b. Other carers (e.g. grandparents/ other relatives/ au-pair, nanny).	minder (nanny). d. Informal child care (e.g. grandparents/other relatives) e. Hours in childcare
	Welfare benefits	a. Whether claiming any state benefits/tax credits b. Type of benefit claimed	a. Family/Children related allowances b. Housing allowance c. Social exclusion allowances (periodic payments to people with insufficient resources)
	Housing tenure	a. Accommodation details (tenure status) b. Landlord of accommodation	Tenure status

Source: ONS (2009c).

Variables used to explore education, economic activity, employment patterns and income require clarification.

Analysing and comparing the educational status of Polish nationals in the UK and Poland turned out to be the biggest challenge in terms of data harmonisation. EU-SILC reports highest educational level attained based on ISCED which is coded according to seven categories⁵⁴. I have attempted to analyse the educational status of Polish nationals in the UK, however there are problems with the data. The LFS asks several questions about the educational level of respondents, most migrants, however, have educational qualifications from Poland which differ from those in the UK and, despite attempts to harmonise information across EU countries, questions on education in the UK LFS reflect the British education system and migrants' qualifications are often classified as 'other' and no further information is available.

There is a question about the age at which full-time education was completed and 97% and 95% of migrants in 2008/09 and 2006/07 respectively responded. This variable refers to continuous⁵⁵ full-time education only and can artificially lower the level of qualifications held by migrants as part-time studies are very popular in Poland. For example, in academic year 2009/2010 there were slightly more graduates from part-time

⁵⁴ ISCED categories include: pre-primary, primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, post secondary, first stage of tertiary education (Bachelor or Master degree) and second stage of tertiary education.

⁵⁵ Continuous education refers to education without a break; however, a gap of up to a year between school and university does not count as a break, neither do holiday jobs and National Service between school or college (ONS, 2009c, p. 280).

programmes than from full-time courses (Central Statistical Office, 2011b). Moreover part-time studies are more popular among female students than males, for example, women constituted 59% of part-time students in 2009 (Central Statistical Office, 2010), thus the analysis may lower the educational attainment of women more than men. While the EU-SILC data provide a clear measurement of the type of education completed, the variable I analysed in the LFS gives only an indication of the level of education attained and is much less reliable. Nevertheless, using other data sources is also problematic. Some researchers have attempted to analyse educational level of migrants based on the Polish LFS (see, for example, Kepinska, 2007), however, the Polish LFS gathers only information on nationals living abroad if at least one person from the household resides in Poland and the British LFS is overall a better source of information on Polish nationals living in the UK (see Chapter 3).

Employment status in the LFS is based on ILO definitions while, although there are several variables on employment status in EU-SILC, none of them is based on ILO definitions. I analysed self-defined economic status in EU-SILC, as this is the only variable that allowed me to examine part- and full-time employment patterns and these are particularly important for analysing the link between parenthood, employment and gender. However, since it describes respondents' own perception of their current main activity, it may differ from the ILO concept. For instance, some female informants I interviewed in London and Krakow considered themselves as full-time homemakers although they did some work for pay, thus they would be classified as economically inactive in EU-SILC and as employed by ILO since they had part-time work for which they received remuneration. Conversely, some women in Krakow were registered as unemployed although they were full-time carers to their children and were not looking for any employment and they would not meet the ILO criteria of actively searching for a job and being available to take up employment within two weeks (European Commission, 2010a). The distinction between full- and part-time work in EU-SILC is based on a subjective evaluation of the respondent, the LFS definition is also based on a personal assessment, although it should be made based on the employment contract of the respondent. Furthermore, in the LFS respondents are asked why they work part-time, in EU-SILC the question refers to reasons why individuals work less than 30 hours and some respondents in this category reported that they considered their job as a full-time employment, while for others working less than 30 hours may mean part-time

work. Thus, the lack of consistent definitions in both datasets could impact the analysis since individuals may have diverse interpretations of variables on employment status and working hours.

I have analysed benefit uptake in the LFS at the family level⁵⁶, given that couples must claim tax credits, housing allowance and child benefit jointly, and entitlement to means-tested support is based on the combined income of both partners. The LFS is however only indicative of benefit uptake in the UK since comparison between the LFS and other administrative data show that the former consistently undercounts benefit claimants (ONS, 2009c). Measurement of social benefits in EU-SILC is carried out at the household level only and if the household comprises more than one family unit it is impossible to allocate particular benefits to individual families. It should be noted that 11.9 % of adults in 2008 lived with their parents or other relatives in Poland, while these who shared housing with non-relatives were less common and often young and/or childless (CBOS, 2008). Nonetheless, results regarding family allowances should not be affected, while it is possible that this analysis slightly overestimates the prevalence of other than benefits related to children among families with children (i.e. if the benefit is taken by the grandparents rather than parents in multigenerational households). Since the uptake of these benefits is negligible among all households this imprecision is unlikely to have much impact on the overall trends.

Data on income in both datasets refer to the main job only, while 2.6% of Polish respondents in 2008/09 and 2.3% in 2006/07 reported having a second job in the UK compared to 7% of respondents in Poland. Thus the data on income can slightly underestimate monthly earnings, more so for nationals in Poland than in the UK.

⁵⁶ A family unit in the LFS includes either a single individual, or a married/cohabiting couple, or a married/cohabiting couple and their non-married children who do not have their own children living with them, or a single parent with children.

Appendix 4 Informants' characteristics

Information about respondents in London

Pseudonym	G	Age	Education	Employment Status	Relationship Status	Age of Child	Year of arrival to the UK
Kuba	M	33	Master	Full-time (FT)	Married	1 year	2003
Ela	F	36	Master	Inactive	Cohabiting	16 months	2000
Marysia	F	28	Vocational	Part- time (PT)	Married	5 years	2006
Grzesiek	M	34	Master	FT	Married	10 months	2006
Olga	F	33	Master	Inactive	Cohabiting	9 months	2005
Iwona	F	30	Secondary	Unemployed	Cohabiting	10 years	2006
Ewelina	F	33	Master	PT	Married	9 years	2006
Ireneusz	M	34	Secondary	PT	Married	14 years	2008
Renata	F	33	Vocational	Inactive	Married	4 years old	2008
Krzysiek	M	28	Secondary	Inactive	Married	3 years old	2002
Maja	F	32	Master	FT (on maternity leave)	Married	6 months	2005

Felicjan	M	24	Secondary	FT	Married	3 years	2007
Ola	F	30	Master	Inactive	Married	16 months	2007
Kinga	F	28	Vocational	PT	Married	5 years	2007
Mateusz	M	33	Secondary	FT	Married	18 months	2005
Janusz	M	32	Master	FT	Cohabiting	2 years	2003
Marek	M	25	Vocational	FT	Married	2 years old	2008
Edyta	F	33	Master	Unemployed at interview, part-time work when re-contacted	Cohabiting	6 years	2008
Natalia	F	27	Master	PT	Married	5 years	2006
Beata	F	31	Vocational	Unpaid parental leave	Cohabiting	2 years old	2001
Tamara	F	30	Secondary	Inactive	Cohabiting	2 years	2003
Dominik	M	28	Secondary	FT	Cohabiting	5 years old	2006

Information about respondents in Krakow

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Education	Current employment status	Relationship status	Age of Child
Marta	F	29	Secondary	Unemployed	Married	10 months
Kasia	F	29	Master	Unemployed	Married	1 year
Waldek	M	23	Vocational	FT	Married	5 months
Bartłomiej	F	30	Master	FT	Married	8 months
Danuta	F	30	Master	FT on unpaid parental leave	Married	2 years
Mariola	F	29	PhD	FT	Married	19 months
Ewa	M	29	Master	PT	Married	2 years old
Marian	M	31	Secondary	FT	Married	2,5 years old
Zbyszek	M	38	Master	FT self-employed	Married	5 years
Halina	F	34	Secondary	FT (on paid parental leave)	Married	1,5 years
Michał	M	47 (wife 38)	Vocational	PT temporary job	Married	2 years
Jurek	M	25	Secondary	FT	Married	9

						months
Jakub	M	48 (part ner 32)	Secondary	FT	Cohabiting	4 years
Alicja	F	28	Master	Owens small company	Married	9 months
Ania	F	34	Master	PT	Married	2 years
Maria	F	32	Master	FT	Married	21 months
Jacek	M	35	Secondary	Internship and freelance work	Married	1 year
Wojciech	M	32	Master	FT	Married	6 years
Rysiek	M	39	Bachelor	FT	Married	12 years
Weronika	F	37	Vocational	Economically Inactive	Married	11 years
Zofia	F	29	Vocational	FT temporary job	Married	8 years
Józef	M	28	Vocational	FT	Married	15 months

Appendix 5 Advertisements

The advertisements below explain that I am a student writing a thesis about life and plans of parents and I want to recruit parents with one child for an interview where I could ask questions relevant for my project. It also explains how much time will be needed for the interview, where it will take place and that interviews are anonymous and confidential. I have also explained that the results will be written as a PhD thesis and as papers for publication in academic journals. The advertisements posted online were longer and they also had additional information about a consent form, that parents can withdraw from the interview at any stage without giving a reason and that I will tape record the interviews. Although the form of newspaper advertisements and ones that were posted in shops etc. did not allow for placing detailed information about the project and the interview process, all individuals who contacted me were given detailed information and particulars about the interviews before they agreed to meet me.

Online advertisement posted on Forums

The screenshot shows a forum post on the website 'londynek.net'. The browser window title is 'Londynek :: Zobacz temat - Zapraszam rodziców na wzięcie udziału w badaniach - Windows Internet Explorer'. The URL is 'http://forum.londynek.net/viewtopic.php?t=6586'. The forum post is titled 'Zapraszam rodziców na wzięcie udziału w badaniach' and is posted by user 'dalberg' on 27 Kwi 2010 13:43. The post content is as follows:

Wiadomość Autor: **dalberg** Gość/Bieter Posty: 2

Temat: Zapraszam rodziców na wzięcie udziału w badaniach
Wysłany: 27 Kwi 2010 13:43

Jestem studentką w London School of Economics and Political Science i poszukuje polskich rodziców (zarówno kobiet i mężczyzn) mających jedno dziecko do wzięcia udziału w badaniach naukowych dotyczących życia polskich rodzin w Londynie. Zanim się Pani/Pan zgodzi, zależy mi aby jasne było na czym one będą polegać.

Na czym ma polegać Pani/Pana rola?
Jeśli wyrazi Pani/Pan zgodę, zostanie z Panią/Panem przeprowadzony wywiad. Wywiad przeprowadzony będzie w Pani/Pana domu lub w innym wcześniej ustalonym miejscu, potrwa około godziny podczas której będę pytać o różne rzeczy związane z tematem moich badań. Jeśli woli Pani/Pan na jakiejś pytanie nie odpowiadać, ma Pani/Pan prawo wstrzymać się od udzielenia odpowiedzi. Za Państwa zgodą wywiad zostanie nagrany na taśmę a później spisany.

Czy mój udział w badaniu ma charakter poufny?
Tak. Wszelkie informacje zebrane podczas wywiadu będą trzymane w ścisłej tajemnicy. Jakiegokolwiek informacji mogącej Panią/Pana zidentyfikować będę usunęła. Informacje zebrane będą służyć do opracowania wyników tylko i wyłącznie tego badania. Co się stanie z wynikami badań?

Wyniki będą spisane w formie pracy doktoranckiej, Pani/Pana dane personalne nie pojawią się w żadnej publikacji.
Jeśli zgadzi się Pani/Pan na wzięcie udziału w badaniach, proszę o kontakt emailowy j.marczak@lse.ac.uk . W razie jakiegokolwiek niejasności proszę pytać.

Przed rozpoczęciem wywiadu poproszę Panią/Pana o podpisanie zgody na wzięcie udziału w badaniach, niemniej w każdej chwili może się Pani/Pan wycofać bez konieczności podawania powodu.

Ostatnio zmieniany przez dalberg dnia 10 Maj 2010 13:22, w całości zmieniany 4 razy

[Poniadom o nadzyciu](#) [cytuj](#) [profil](#)

The forum page also features a search bar, navigation links, and a sidebar with a 'Zaloguj' (Login) section and a 'Wielka Brytania' (Great Britain) section listing various topics like 'Praca', 'Mieszkanie', and 'Zdrowie, Medycyna, Rodzina'.

Advertisement placed in shops, coffee shops, Polish churches in London etc.



The advertisement is a vertical rectangular poster with a light, speckled background. At the top left, there is a small graphic consisting of a vertical line and a horizontal line intersecting, with a small square above the intersection. The main title is written in a large, red, stylized font. Below the title, there are two paragraphs of text in a standard black font. At the bottom, contact information is provided in a smaller black font.

Poszukuję rodziców do wzięcia udziału w wywiadach

Jestem studentką, piszę pracę na temat życia i planów rodzin i poszukuję rodziców (zarówno kobiet i mężczyzn) mających jedno dziecko do wzięcia udziału w wywiadach w których będę mogła zadać pytania związane z tematem mojej pracy.

Rozmowę mogę przeprowadzić w domu lub w innym wcześniej ustalonym miejscu (np. kawiarni), potrwa od 60 do 90 minut. Wywiady są anonimowe i poufne a wyniki będą spisane w formie pracy doktoranckiej i artykułów naukowych.

Kontakt:
Joanna
j.marczak@lse.ac.uk
telefonicznie: 789320574

Appendix 6 Question guides

Pilot study question guide

I would like you to tell me how you grew up and how did your life in PI look like?

Where did you grow up? (What did you do in Poland?)

What was the reason for you coming to the UK? What have you done since then?

How would you describe your life here? (Would you like to change anything?)

How would you describe your opportunities when it comes to employment?

What about housing? (Who is the owner of your house, who do you live with, how many rooms to you have)

What gives you satisfaction in your life?

Is there anybody who is a role model for you? Why?

When you think about your future, do you have any dreams?

Have you got any plans/expectations about your near future?

Do you plan to stay here, if so for how long? Why?

I would like to ask you about your marriage/relationship. Tell me how did you meet your partner and how did your relationship has evolved?

How would you describe your relationship? Has your life changed since you got married/started to live together/haw has it changed?

Were there any important moments in your relationship –what were they?

I would like to talk about your child now; can you tell me something about him/her?
How old is your child? Where was it born?

How was it when you decided to have a child?

Was it planned? If not did you do anything to avoid pregnancy?

What matters (if any) did you consider when you decided to have your child?-job, relationship, housing, education, others etc.

Did anybody talk to you about having a child before you had one?

Has your life changed after your child was born? What has changed?

How did you imagine being a parent before you had your child? Has that changed now?

How, according to you, care of a child should look like? Who should look after a child?

What is your role as a mother/father in bringing the child up?

What would you like to provide your children with?

Are you thinking about having another child? If yes, then when?

What about your partner's intentions?

If not/not in near future-what do you do to avoid pregnancy?

If respondent expresses doubts if they intend to have another child: why are you not sure? –what could change your decision?

What are arguments in favour of having another child? What about arguments against?

Are there any things on which your decision about the second child depends? (In terms of relationship, income, career, housing, help of family etc. Are any of these more important than others?)

If you could imagine having a second child now how would your life look like? (Would second child bring any changes in your life? If yes, what kind of changes? Employment of you and your partner, housing, plans for the future, money, time).

Have you talked with anybody about having another child?

Is there opinion important to you?

What is the best age for having the second child? Why do you think so?

What about the deadline? Why?

What do you think about the age difference between the first child and another one?

Is there anything that your decision to have a second child depends on?

I would like to talk about social support. Have you ever received any social benefits? (If yes where and what kind? What do you think about them?)

What do you think about childcare, school (time, costs?)

What about maternity leaves, parental leaves (do you know anything about it?)

Has anybody from family friends (grandparents) ever helped you with childcare? Why? (Would there be a possibility for anybody to help if you had another child)

I would like to talk about your daily tasks, how does your day look like? How was it before you had a child?

Who does what in your home as far as the daily routine is concerned? (Housework, cooking, childcare etc.)

How should these tasks be divided in your opinion?

When you think about an ideal family, what comes to your mind? What ideal family means to you?

According to you is there an ideal family size? What is it? Why do you think it is like that?

If the numbers between ideal/ would like to have/ and intend to have differ – why?

If you could sum up, what would you say, is the most important thing when you think about your future?

Is there anything else you would like to tell me or any questions you would like to ask?

In-depth interview guideline

Polish version

Czy możesz mi powiedzieć coś o sobie i swoim życiu?

-Gdzie dorastałeś?

-Czy masz rodzeństwo? (Rodziców-gdzie?)

-A twój partner /małżonek, jak długo jesteście razem? (wiek, praca).

- Co możesz powiedzieć o swojej obecnej pracy? (Co myślisz o swoich perspektywach jeśli chodzi o pracę/kryzys ekonomiczny?)

-Gdzie mieszkasz/z kim? (Jak duży jest twój dom / mieszkanie? Czy jesteś właścicielem lub wynajmujesz).

-Czy masz jakieś plany na najbliższą przyszłość (prywatne lub zawodowe)?

Pytania w Londynie

-Kiedy przyjechałeś do Wielkiej Brytanii?

-Co Cię tutaj sprowadziło?

-Co robiłeś od tamtej pory?

-Czy zamierzasz tutaj zostać, jeśli tak, to na jak długo? Dlaczego?

Chciałabym porozmawiać o Twoim dziecku, możesz mi powiedzieć coś o nim / niej? (wiek, gdzie się urodziło, czy chodzi do żłobka, przedszkola itp.).

-Jak to było, kiedy zdecydowałeś/las się na dziecko (czy było planowane)?

-Według Ciebie, jaka jest twoja rola jako rodzica?

Czy zastanawiałeś się nad kolejnym dzieckiem?

-Jeśli tak, to kiedy?

-Jeśli masz wątpliwości: dlaczego?

-Co myśli twój partner o 2-gim dziecku?

-Jeśli nie / nie w najbliższej przyszłości, co robicie aby uniknąć ciąży?

-Ile dzieci masz zamiar mieć?

Jakie są argumenty przemawiające za kolejnym dzieckiem?

-A jeśli chodzi o argumenty przeciw?

-Gdybyś miał drugie dziecko to jakie miało by to skutki na Twoje życie?

-Czy jest coś co chcesz zapewnić swoim dzieciom?

Czy rozmawiałeś z innymi o posiadaniu kolejnego dziecka?

-Czy ktoś uważa że powinienem mieć drugie dziecko? (Ile oni mają dzieci?)

-Czy ważna jest dla Ciebie opinia tej osoby?

-Czy istnieje jakiś limit wiekowy żeby mieć dzieci? Dlaczego?

-Co sądzisz o różnicy wieku między pierwszym dzieckiem a drugim?

Czy są jakieś warunki od których zależy Twoja decyzja?

- Czy którekolwiek z nich są ważniejsze od innych?
- Jaki masz wpływ na te warunki?
- Czyli czy jest coś co ułatwiłoby twoja decyzje żeby mieć drugie dziecko? A utrudniło?

Co sadsisz o pomocy społecznej dla rodzin? (Czy kiedykolwiek otrzymałeś świadczenia rodzinne lub inne jakie?)

Czy ktoś z rodziny lub znajomych kiedykolwiek pomógł Ci?

Chciałabym żebyś mi powiedział jak sa podzielone obowiązki domowe u was w domu? A jeśli chodzi o opiekę nad dzieckiem?

Ostatnie pytania. Wracając do dzieci wspomniałeś że zamierzasz mieć dzieci?

Według Ciebie jest idealna liczba dzieci w rodzinie? Dlaczego?

Jeśli istnieje różnica między ideałem a zamierzona wielkością rodziny to dlaczego?

Czy jest coś co chciałbyś dodać na koniec? Masz jakieś pytania

English translation

Can you tell me something about yourself and your life?

-Where did you grow up?

-Do you have siblings? (Parents-where do they live?)

-And your partner/spouse how long have you been together? (What is their age/job?)

- What would you say about your job? (How do you feel about your employment prospects/economic crises?)

-Where do you live/with whom? (How big is your dwelling/are you the owner or do you rent?)

-Do you have any plans for the near future (private or professional?)

Additional questions in London

-When did you come to the UK?

-What brought you to the UK?

-What have you done since then?

-Do you plan to stay here, if so for how long? Why?

I would like to talk about your child now; can you tell me something about him/her? (age, where were they born etc.).

-How was it when you decided to have 1st child (Was it planned?)

-According to you, what is your role as a parent?

Are you thinking about having another child? (If yes, then when?)

-If respondent expresses doubts: why?

-What does your partner think about having 2nd child?

-How many children do you intend to have altogether?

What are arguments in favour of having another child?

What about arguments against?

If you had a second child what effect would it have on your life?

Is there anything you would like to provide for your child[ren]

Have you talked about having another child with anybody?

Does anybody think that you should have a second child? (How many children do they have).

Is there opinion important to you?

Is there a deadline to having another child? Why?

What do you think about the age difference between the first child and another one?

Are there any conditions on which your decision about the second child depends? (would anything make it easier or more difficult to have another child)

Are any of these more important than others?

What influence do you have over these conditions?

What do you think about social support for families? (Have you ever received any social benefits?)

Has anybody from family or friends ever helped you (either with childcare, financially or in any other way).

I would like you to tell me about your daily tasks and who does what in your home?

What about childcare?

Last questions. Going back to children you said that you intend to have.... children?

According to you is there an ideal family size? Why is it ideal?

If there are is a difference between ideal and intended family size then why?

Is there anything else you would like to tell me? Do you have any questions you would like to ask?

Appendix 7 Consent form

[Polish version]

Zgoda na uczestnictwo w badaniach

Zanim się Pani/Pan zgodzi na wzięcie udziału w badaniach zależy mi aby jasne było na czym one będą polegać. W razie jakiegokolwiek niejasności proszę pytać. W przypadku zgody na wzięcie udziału w badaniach, proszę o podpisanie niniejszego dokumentu, niemniej w każdej chwili może się Pani/Pan wycofać bez konieczności podawania nam powodu.

Na czym ma polegać Pani/Pana rola?

Jeśli wyrazi Pani/Pan zgodę, zostanie z Panią/Panem przeprowadzony wywiad. Wywiad potrwa około godziny, podczas której będziemy pytać o różne rzeczy związane z tematem moich badań. Jeśli woli Pani/Pan na jakieś pytanie nie odpowiadać, ma Pani/Pan prawo wstrzymać się od udzielenia odpowiedzi. Po uzyskaniu zgody of Panstwa wywiad zostanie nagrany na taśmę a później spisany. Wywiady i transkrypcje zostaną przechowane w formie anonimowej.

Czy mój udział w badaniu ma charakter poufny?

Tak. Wszelkie informacje zebrane podczas wywiadu będą trzymane w ścisłej tajemnicy. Jakiegokolwiek informacje mogące Panią/Pana zidentyfikować będą usunięte. Informacje zebrane będą służyć do opracowania wyników tylko i wyłącznie tego badania.

Co się stanie z wynikami badań?

Wyniki będą spisane w formie pracy doktoranckiej oraz w formie artykułów naukowych które ukażą się w periodykach akademickich. Pani/Pana dane personalne nie pojawią się w żadnej publikacji.

Zgoda

Zgadzam się wziąć udział w badaniach dotyczących życia rodzin z dziećmi (w Londynie) i ich planów.

Imię i nazwisko:

Podpis:

Data:

[English translation]

Consent form to take part in a research project.

Before you agree to take part, it is important for you to understand what it will involve. If you have any questions, or if anything is unclear, please do not hesitate to ask.

What do I have to do if I take part?

If you agree to take part, you will be interviewed. The interview will take approximately one hour, and I will ask you a number of questions about how you think and feel about various issues linked to the family life and family plans. If there are any particular questions which you would prefer not to answer, you do not have to answer them. If you agree the interview will be recorded for transcription purposes. Interviews and transcripts will be stored in an anonymous form.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information which is collected from you during the course of the interview will be kept strictly confidential. Any information which could identify you will be removed. The information gained will be used only for the purposes of this study.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results will be written up as PhD thesis and as papers for publication in academic journals. You will not be identified in any publications.

You are also asked to sign this consent form but you are still free to withdraw from the study at any time without the need to provide a reason.

Consent

I agree to take part in the study about the life of families with children (in London) and their future plans:

Name:

Signature:

Date: