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High Mobility of Polish Women: The Ethnographic Inquiry of Barcelona

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses migration narratives of a small group of Polish female “repeat migrants” currently residing in Barcelona. Before settling there they lived in at least three other countries. I argue that repeat migrants experience many challenges: learning multiple languages, integrating into multiple labour markets, building multiple social networks, and adapting to cultural contexts. I asked whether these challenges have resulted in increased integration in the host societies or integration into international expatriate communities. The main findings are that the two main subgroups were 1) women who adapted well to life in Barcelona because of their Catalan partners and 2) women with international partners who tended to live in clusters of internationals. Polish immigrant women in my fieldwork perceived themselves as outsiders unless they quickly learned Spanish and Catalan. I also argue that the availability of different kinds of Urry’s mobilities might influence and facilitate decisions on becoming more mobile.

INTRODUCTION

Spain has been a destination country for Polish migrants since the 1980s.¹ In 1989, approximately 4,500 Poles lived in Spain. However, in 2001, the number of Poles with residence permits reached 19,000. Since Poland’s accession to the European Union, Polish migration to Spain has increased even further, reaching 37,000 and 46,000 registered Poles in 2004 and 2006, respectively (Stanek, 2007b: 199-201). Yet the Polish Embassy in Madrid estimated the number of registered and illegal Polish citizens in Spain at 100,000 (Nalewajko, 2012: 320). This increase is attributed both to continued migration flows and relaxed legalization procedures (Nalewajko, 2012: 314). In 2010 and 2012, the statistical report of the Secretaría General de Inmigración y Emigración (The General Secretariat of Immigration and Emigration) listed around 86,000 and 85,000 Polish residents in Spain, respectively (<http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es, 2.-01.-2013>). The majority of Polish migrants live in the Madrid area; other large groups settled in Valencia and Catalonia (Sobczak and Stanek, 2007a).

The Spanish labour market first opened, albeit only partially, to Polish migrants in 2004; Poles were allowed to work without a visa in agriculture for up to 180 days a year or to start their own business. On May 1, 2006, Poles gained full access to the Spanish labour market. The Polish community includes both low-wage migrants who moved to Spain for seasonal or domestic work and skilled professionals (doctors, engineers, and IT specialists). At first, most men worked in construction, while most women worked as domestics (Stanek, 2007a). After 2008 this changes: some young educated Poles still migrated to Spain to study or gain work experience, while low-wage workers started moving from Poland to the UK, Germany and elsewhere in Europe, due to

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1 economic crisis in Spain (Spain sees...; personal observation; communication with Stanek). The
2 number of Poles in Spain is not substantially changing since the crisis (Nalewajko, 2012: 357–362;
3 <http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es>, 2.01.2013).

4 This article analyses migration narratives of a small group of Polish female “repeat migrants”
5 currently residing in Barcelona. Before settling in Barcelona they lived in at least three other coun-
6 tries. I argue that repeat migrants experience many challenges – learning multiple languages, inte-
7 grating into multiple labour markets, building multiple social networks, as well as adapting to
8 multiple socio-cultural contexts. I ask whether these experiences and challenges have resulted in
9 increased integration in the host societies (Catalan and Spanish), integration into international expa-
10 triate or Polish communities, or confining to nuclear family life. I focus on the following issues:
11 (1) reasons for migration, (2) language competencies, (3) employment, and (4) social network of
12 migrants. This article seeks to add to our understanding of the phenomenon of “repeat migration”
13 through a grounded and essentially qualitative analysis of the experiences of Polish women residing
14 in Barcelona in 2011.

15 There has been research on Polish circular, seasonal and long-term migration to Germany,
16 the United Kingdom (Frelak et al., 2009; Guziuk, 2007; Kepińska, 2008; Jaźwińska and
17 Okólski, 2001) and even to Spain (Nalewajko, 2012; Redondo Toronjo, 2010; Matejko, 2004;
18 Stanek, 2007; Sobczak and Stanek, 2007a; Ramirez Goicoechea, 2003), but the issue of “repeat
19 migration” of Poles has not received much attention. Repeat migration between several coun-
20 tries is different from circular, seasonal and temporary migration – the latter implies that
21 migrants keep strong connections with and frequently (and finally) return to Poland, while the
22 former means that people keep moving from country to country. Long-term migration is usually
23 from one country to another with different level of attachments to home country. In some cases
24 repeat migrations ends in permanent residence. Furthermore, migration scholarship includes very
25 few studies of “repeat migration” of migrant women; the only larger study I found is a statisti-
26 cal analysis of multiple female migrants and their social participation in the Hamilton-Burling-
27 ton area of Canada (Demmler-Kane, 1980). The anthropological study of global nomads
28 forming countercultures in Ibiza and Goa (D’Andrea, 2007) is relevant to my research, as the
29 author discusses various forms of mobile identities, e.g. global nomadism. The study of expatri-
30 ates in Indonesia (Fechter, 2007), especially the chapter on expatriate wives, also informed my
31 analysis. In the European context, the article on scientific mobility (Ackers, 2004) showed the
32 impact of mobility on career trajectories of female scientists in relationships, who became “tied
33 movers”.

34 While there is little research on repeat migrants, particularly on women, there is a new and grow-
35 ing trend in the migration literature to focus on *mobilities*. Methodologically, it is a challenging
36 issue for anthropology, since this discipline is usually focused on place while contemporary popula-
37 tions are increasingly mobile in many aspects. Mobility paradigm includes concept of five interde-
38 pendent mobilities: physical travel of people, physical movement of objects, imaginative travel,
39 virtual travel, and communicative travel, all interconnected (Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2006:
40 47-49). These mobilities became very common among peoples of the affluent “North and West”
41 during the 2000s – “the richer the society, the greater the range of mobility systems” (Urry, 2007:
42 51). I argue that such mobilities are based on expert forms of knowledge and depend on digital
43 worlds (computer software, etc). Furthermore, mobility in this sense is a resource not available to
44 all; and often gender plays a role: male breadwinners have better options for communicative,
45 virtual, imaginative and physical travel (thanks to resources provided by employers) than jobless
46 mothers. Still, different kinds of mobilities help to deal with many consequences of migration. The
47 studied multiple migrants used internet-based communication, travelled virtually, received objects
48 (food, clothes, medicines) from their former countries of residence, and thus maintained connec-
49 tions and networks. I argue that the availability of different kinds of mobilities might influence and
50 facilitate decisions on becoming more mobile.

METHODOLOGY

This article is part of a larger comparative study on migration trajectories as well as health-related strategies among Polish migrant women in Barcelona, Berlin and London. In this article, I present findings based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Barcelona between Winter 2010 and Summer 2011. I conducted 38 interviews with Polish female migrants. In comparison with London and Berlin, Barcelona's Polish community is quite small. There are fewer Polish migrant institutions, a shorter tradition of community organizing, and many mixed marriages. Conducted in Polish, my mother tongue, the semi-structured interviews, ranging in length from two to three hours, took place in private homes or public spaces (usually cafés). The selection method was based on a snowball principle and purposeful sampling. In Barcelona, I found my interviewees on playgrounds (which I frequented with my daughter), through contacts at the Polish Language School, through the Polish Consulate, and through Internet searches. I chose to interview a diverse group of Polish females (in terms of age, education, marital status, professional position and migration trajectory); thus, I purposefully searched for women representing these different statuses.

During the interviews with Polish women in Barcelona I found out that there are multiple migrants among them and their situation was more complex than that of other Poles. This article focuses on cases of eight Polish women who had each migrated at least twice in their lives. All are highly educated and hold Polish and foreign diplomas; seven have masters' degrees, one has a doctoral degree. Many have completed additional professional training. Although half of my 38 Polish respondents in Barcelona had primary/secondary education, none of them was a multiple migrant. It seems that more educated women are therefore more likely to be multiple migrants. At the time of our interviews, the women ranged in age from 28 to 44. Seven women had children and were either married or in serious relationships, and one was a widow without children.

Sharing many experiences with the interviewed women – being a female migrant and a mother – had both advantages and disadvantages: it was relatively easy to talk with women about “similar experiences”, since there was a lot of understanding and empathy, yet it was difficult to liberate myself from my own assumptions. I am a repeat migrant, I have lived in Barcelona, Budapest, Edinburgh, London, Vienna, and Berlin for periods between two months and three years over the last 15 years (studying or conducting research). My aim is to present the insiders' point of view: “emic” accounts are the core of this study. A concept of comprehensive interview was influential – I tried to conduct interviews in an engaged and empathic manner whenever possible (Kaufmann, 1996). The eight multiple Polish migrants I conducted my interviews with were by no means selected in a representative manner; these were women who experienced multiple migration. I also acknowledge both the essential connectedness of the anthropologist to her subjects of “study,” and the intense subjectivity of the anthropological endeavour (Davis-Floyd and Davis, 1996: 245). The subjectivity was present during data collection and analysis – I asked for stories, later read the transcripts, and looked for themes and patterns that would show why multiple-migrants moved from country to country and how these moves influenced their lives.

TRANSNATIONALISM, GLOBAL NOMADISM AND WOMEN

My research on Polish migrant women relates to discussions of several concepts describing people's mobility. All the women in my study live transnational lives. “Transnational connections have considerable economic, socio-cultural and political impacts on migrants, their families and collective groups, and the dual (or more!) localities in which they variably dwell” (Vertovec, 2001: 575). The women studied lived in several localities and maintained ties with their former countries of residence and with the people who remained there. For all of them, Poland was still an important

1 reference point; and, in some cases, “transition countries” became equally as important because
2 they were the homelands of the partner or the residence of his or her family. At the same time,
3 maintaining strong transnational connections might reduce efforts to integrate locally.

4 The concept of neo-nomadism is useful for categorizing the women in my study. In keeping
5 with D’Andrea notion of nomadology which rethinks “identity as always mobile and processual,
6 partly self-construction, partly categorization by others, partly a condition, a status, a label, a
7 weapon, a shield, a fund of memories”, women identities are based on continuous metamorphosis
8 (D’Andrea, 2007: 15). The women studied could be called global nomads, since they migrated
9 many times and some planned to migrate more in the future. For all of them, previous migratory
10 experiences were significant and incorporated into their identities, performing different functions.
11 For example, one interviewed women mentioned that she learned to enjoy various elements of
12 local cultures; her residence in Australia resulted in sport activity and she eats breakfasts inspired
13 by her Swedish husband. The global nomads described by D’Andrea were hippies, alternative
14 people, rebellious Europeans and Americans residing in Goa and Ibiza who shared a cosmopolitan
15 culture of expressive individualism, manifested in multiple variations of New Age and Techno
16 practice. The women in my study are mobile for various reasons, yet they have no ideological
17 convictions about it.

18 Some Polish migrants in Barcelona are connected with “globally integrated networks” – struc-
19 tures of transnational corporations and supranational organizations. Three partners of the studied
20 Polish women worked in corporations. The “incorporated wives” are provided with material privi-
21 leges; yet, they also experience the dependency on global markets and contracts that is often the
22 case in corporations (D’Andrea, 2007: 12). Polish “incorporated wives” have little impact on the
23 next destination and, therefore, tend not to integrate in the host or Polish community in Barcelona,
24 but have a few international friends. In many ways their position is similar, both limiting and liber-
25 ating to other “incorporated wives”: limiting because they often terminate their careers, disconnect
26 from family and friends, and leave behind their own homes (as places of residence); and, liberating
27 because they have opportunities for crossing boundaries and for increased agency (Fechter, 2007:
28 3-57). In the interviews, Polish “incorporated wives” mentioned mostly limiting and negative
29 aspects; even the fact of agency and responsibility for daily activities and children in the family
30 (due to long working hours of their partners) were seen in negative terms. Often, they do not feel a
31 privileged group, rather mentioned that their material and social status is often not very different
32 from that of the Catalan population.

33 34 35 36 WOMEN ON THE MOVE: REASONS AND OUTCOMES OF MIGRATION 37

38 Migration trajectories, reasons of mobility and factors leading to adaptation/integration among stud-
39 ied Polish women living in Barcelona are very complex. The city was either a temporal or perman-
40 ent location for this highly mobile group. The three main reasons for migrating included: family
41 reunification, education, and employment. First, I present “pull factors” affecting the mobility of
42 the most “nomadic” women in my sample.² By 2011, Kinga had lived in six countries, Anna and
43 Kasia in four countries, and Natalia, Beata, Ewa, Krystyna, and Blanka in three countries. There
44 were many reasons for moving and different reasons at different times. Anna, Krystyna, Ewa and
45 Kasia first migrated in the 1980s when they were children. Anna, born into a Polish-Russian fam-
46 ily, moved between Poland and the former Soviet Union several times until she was seven years
47 old, when she and her family settled in Poland. The other three women migrated from Poland to
48 Germany, Canada, and the USA at the ages of 11, 14 and 17, respectively. Ewa followed her
49 mother who migrated to Berlin 4 years earlier; Krystyna went with her parents to Canada; and,
50 Kasia followed her sister to the USA.

1 Kasia was a young woman when she emigrated, and she reflected on her first migration experi-
2 ence and cultural differences between Poland and the USA:
3

4 I was first illegal and worked as cleaner, my English was very basic, but I was ambitious. I learned
5 quickly, I studied and worked and by 26 I was working as a lawyer and tax advisor. I moved sev-
6 eral times in the USA, stayed in the office after hours if necessary...In the early 90s, I visited my
7 friends in Warsaw and I was shocked at how different they were. They lived according to schemes:
8 worked till 4, didn't drive, never moved, even from one district of the city to another...I was
9 shocked how much I changed in the USA.³

10 Other women did not experience such significant differences, possibly due to generational and
11 social differences between the 1980s and the early twenty-first century.

12 Kinga, Blanka, Ewa, and Beata first migrated as adults in the 1990s or later to pursue educational
13 goals in Germany, Italy, France, USA, UK, and Spain, where they enrolled in undergraduate, grad-
14 uate, and postgraduate programmes. They ranged in age from 19 to 24. Kinga finished her master's
15 degree in Poland and, upon receiving two scholarships, moved to France for two years and then to
16 Italy for four years, where she received a doctoral degree at the European University Institute.
17 Anna was an Erasmus exchange student in Barcelona where she met her partner. Ewa met her
18 future partner – an Erasmus exchange student – in Germany, where she was living at the time.
19 For Poles the possibility of studying abroad substantially increased after 1989, which meant that
20 they started to participate in global student mobility. This mobility in turn might result in
21 staying abroad, seeking employment abroad or/and marrying a foreigner which was the case of my
22 respondents.

23 Six of the women (at some time in their lives) migrated abroad for work (to USA, UK,
24 Poland, Spain and France); most combined work with studies to improve their education. They
25 mostly worked in low-wage jobs, and studied languages and took courses to further their edu-
26 cation, improve their qualifications, or certify their credentials. In terms of migration to Barce-
27 lona, one interviewee, Natalia, said that she came alone to work in Spain; Krystyna and
28 Blanka migrated with partners to start new jobs; and, five women followed partners who were
29 offered jobs in Barcelona or joined partners who already lived there. Before moving to Barce-
30 lona, three of the women had lived in the USA, Australia, and Switzerland, respectively, where
31 they also joined partners. Krystyna returned to Poland after living in Canada for 14 years, but
32 after four years in Cracow, she migrated with her Polish partner to Barcelona. In the past five
33 years, Anna and her partner have moved several times and lived for three months or more in
34 Spain, Poland and Mexico. Blanka and her partner moved from the UK to Spain because of
35 the deteriorating British labour market as well as the more attractive lifestyle and climate in
36 Spain.

37 In terms of moving to Barcelona, the women in my study exemplify three types of migration: 1)
38 migration to Catalonia where a non-Spanish partner got a job, 2) migration “for love” to partner's
39 home country, and 3) lifestyle migration of a couple to a third country. Most of the women who
40 migrated frequently were in relationships with international partners – American, Swedish, and
41 Mexican – who moved frequently between countries because of professional jobs. Only one woman
42 in this cohort had a Polish partner, whom she met in Canada. In most cases women followed their
43 partners.

44 In terms of future plans, only four women either planned to leave the city or were undecided.
45 The remaining four intended to stay in Barcelona or elsewhere in Catalonia. Natalia and Ewa
46 planned to remain in Barcelona because their partners were Catalan. Blanka, a widow, and Kasia,
47 married to an American, planned to stay because they liked the city and felt “settled”; they had
48 lived there for a long time (9 and 12 years, respectively). Other factors that influenced their deci-
49 sion to remain in Barcelona included quality of life and stability for their children.
50

1 Each type of migration brings different challenges and opportunities. Migration to the partner's
2 homeland means that it is easier to acquire legal status; the host country language can be practised
3 at home, as one of the partners is a native speaker and can serve as both a language instructor and
4 a cross-cultural broker. When both partners live in a foreign country, it is more difficult for them
5 to gain the local cultural capital to live comfortably. Multiple migrants constantly negotiate their
6 place of living in a fluid environment. The studied families debated the issue of "place of living",
7 especially when they had no family link to Spain and Catalonia and when children were small.

8 The multiple movers face several challenges related to their "liquid" condition, including
9 language, employment, social networks and daily practices. As they move and adapt to new places,
10 women and their families need competence in local language to compete in the job market, create
11 a strong social network, and manage daily needs. The degree of adaptation clearly depends on the
12 length of stay in Barcelona. All the women came between 1999 and 2008. Beata and Kinga, who
13 arrived in Barcelona most recently, in 2007 and 2008 respectively, had the most challenges in
14 adapting to life in Spain. Their struggles were exacerbated by their short length of time in the
15 country as well as by their international partners and small children. Personal attitudes also mat-
16 tered: Krystyna was strong-minded and adapted relatively well; she learned Spanish and found a
17 job immediately after arrival using the contacts from her previous job in Poland.

18 In each journey, migrants lose cultural capital gained in the country of origin, but the loss varies
19 based on the geographical, cultural and institutional distance between the origin and destination
20 country (Koryś, 2010: 7). I argue that multiple migrants must make a significant effort to accultur-
21 ate and adapt, in Berry's sense, in a new country. Acculturation experience and long-term adapta-
22 tion is influenced by individual factors (coping strategies, age, gender, personal characteristics,
23 experiences of discrimination, social support) as well as group factors (society of origin and of set-
24 tlement) (Berry, 1997: 13). Multiple migrants accumulate cultural capital in each country where
25 they settle for some time. Successful acculturation and good adaptation is defined as mental and
26 physical health, psychological satisfaction, high self-esteem, and good work performance (Phinney
27 et al., 2001: 501). The studied women expressed having experienced problems with many of these
28 issues. In my view multiple migrants, due to their experience of previous migration, might have
29 developed better coping strategies; yet they might also experience prejudice and discrimination
30 more often. Many women mentioned the difficulties they faced at the beginning: communication,
31 bureaucracy, navigating the city, food, etc. For Kinga dealing with administration in Barcelona was
32 very stressful. Natalia said: *they prefer to give job to a local person, now when there are no jobs*
33 *in general. Beata complained: they smoke here everywhere.. even at the playground for children, it*
34 *is so different from the USA.*

35 For the women in Barcelona, their level of social support depended on many factors but espe-
36 cially on their relationships with their partners. It was much easier ~~to~~ for those in relationships
37 with Catalan partners, who got access to local people and language. The studied women also
38 formed migration networks with other internationals and Poles, and self-referred to their own
39 "mobile" personality. According to psychologists Boneva and Hanson Frieze, migrants often have
40 "a migrant personality"; they are: "more work-orientated, have higher achievement and power
41 motivation but lower affiliation motivation and family centrality" (Boneva and Hanson Frieze,
42 2001: 479). First-time migrants moved because they believed migration would improve their eco-
43 nomic situation and opportunities. However, when family reunion is the reason for migrating, the
44 family affiliation motivation and family centrality was high. Second-and-more-time migrants who
45 migrated to reunite with family members were clearly more frustrated because they had to adapt
46 many times. The difficulties were the most acute when both the women and their partners
47 migrated to a third country so that the family could be together. Anna, Beata, Kinga, and Kasia –
48 all in this situation – struggled with learning new languages, finding new friends, looking for job.
49 As "trailing spouses" they exemplify "tied migration" typically following the male partner
50 (Ackers, 2004: 190).

“COMESTÀS?”: LANGUAGE COMPETENCIES

It is a truism to say that language competence is a prerequisite for successful integration. In cases of multiple migrants who often only accommodate to local conditions (and plan to migrate further), language competence is also necessary for managing basic needs. In this section I discuss general language competency and the ability to speak Spanish and Catalan.

The studied group had advanced language competency: they spoke at least two languages fluently and often had good or basic knowledge of a few other languages. Two women who migrated in early childhood called themselves bilingual – one was raised by Polish and Russian parents, mostly in Poland and the other lived in a Polish family in Germany. The other women learned foreign languages during general education and in private language schools in Poland before migrating to the USA, France, Germany, the UK, and Spain. Out of four women who left Poland before adulthood, only one migrant was raised in a mixed family. The others migrated with Polish parents and/or siblings.

Most of the migrant women analysed could speak basic Spanish before coming to Barcelona. Beata studied Spanish and English at the undergraduate level in Poland. Anna (who came on the Erasmus exchange programme) improved her language skills quickly through university courses. Three women with Spanish-speaking partners quickly learned to speak Spanish fluently. Krystyna rapidly learned Spanish through language courses and private lessons in Barcelona while she worked for an English-speaking company. Language ability was more challenging for women in relationships with English-speaking or Polish-speaking partners. Women who were in Barcelona for a longer time period also claimed to speak Spanish well. Two women (Kinga and Beata) who struggled to speak Spanish had non-Spanish partners and had lived in Barcelona for less than four years. Also they had small children at the time and were busy with childcare. Both planned to move away from Spain. One planned to move to the USA, the home country of her partner, where she had lived for ten years. The other hoped to go to Australia where she had spent an enjoyable three years. Unemployed women with non-Spanish partners also mentioned that they had very few chances to speak and improve their Spanish because the majority of their friends were English or Polish-speaking. They entered a vicious circle: they were not speaking Spanish and therefore were not improving their language skills, which prevented them from speaking Spanish unless it was absolutely necessary or at a basic level (e.g. during shopping and eating out). They were not able to have longer or more complicated conversations in Spanish and thus limited their social circle to English- or Polish-speaking groups.

All women mentioned that speaking Spanish was a necessity. Kasia said: “I don’t understand these Polish women who are here for a few years and don’t speak Spanish. They cannot answer a postman or go to a doctor alone.” Some women in this small group were affluent and paid for intensive courses in recommended language schools and/or private teachers. Others took free language courses at local universities. Multiple migrants mentioned that speaking a few languages helped them to learn another one; yet in cases when further migration was planned, they also felt discouraged about learning a new language.

Catalan is an official language in Catalonia, and language certificates are required with applications for many jobs. Women commonly complained about this requirement, and few claimed a good language competence in Catalan. While Spanish was perceived as one of global languages (thus worth learning), Catalan was seen as an unnecessary burden. Natalia came to Barcelona out of curiosity for a job and new experiences and did not even know that Catalan was used in the city. On the contrary, Ewa, who met her Catalan partner in Berlin, had already studied the Catalan language in Germany before moving to Barcelona. Anna, who spoke basic Catalan but fluent Spanish, described a frustrating situation:

I went to a sports centre to ask for yoga classes and the women addressed my five-year-old son in Catalan. He did not understand so I translated and this women was so surprised ... but it is strange for me: Spanish is his father's native tongue, why should he speak Catalan? It is discrimination.

Beata also complained about the situation of her four-year-old son:

He spoke English and Polish at home and went to international nursery that used the English language. I did not want to send him to the local nursery (crèche) to learn Catalan. I would prefer that he learn Spanish. Yet, after a year I regretted the decision because he could not communicate with other kids at the playground and he was frustrated.

She worried about this experience and was concerned about further educational options for her son. Krystyna complained that although she spoke Spanish and had a job, she had no local friends because her skills in the Catalan language were limited, and “Catalan people were a bit reserved.” She blamed it also on her career path: “I worked hard to get to this financial level so that I can send my son to a private school, other mums were rich from home...we don't have much in common,” referring to class differences between herself and the local community of her son's private school. As a “self-made women”, she felt different and was frustrated.

The “nomadic women” of my study speak at least three languages and, in some cases, even five languages that they learned mainly as result of migrating. These skills were not, however, very helpful on the local job market where speaking Spanish and Catalan was a necessity. Only one woman used her language skills in a professional way – she worked a short time as an interpreter in three languages, although the job was temporary and low-paid. While the Polish language was not an asset, sometimes speaking English partly helped on the job market.

One woman complained about “the provincial character of Barcelona” where even “an international film festival was run in Spanish and Catalan” and it “was impossible to offer a university course in English” – even in the international law department. It is clear from my interviews and own experience that speaking Spanish was necessary in everyday life in Barcelona. Even to register as a foreigner in Catalonia (and get the NIE number – Número de Identificación de Extranjeros), one had to speak Spanish, as many officials in the Barcelona office for the registration of foreigners could not communicate in English. The situation was similar in the city council, where one gets a certificate of residence in Barcelona – necessary to access local banks, libraries, the biking scheme, and the health service. Clearly, in many commercial places, one could communicate in English as Barcelona is very open to tourists; yet, to manage daily life (registration and communication with offices, kindergarten, school, hospital, etc.), one had to speak Spanish, or Catalan or come with an interpreter.

THE WORK SITUATION OF MULTIPLE MIGRANT WOMEN

Women who moved frequently often had past problems in finding a job and long periods of unemployment. Seven in the study group were mothers, and it is hard to say if maternity was more important than migration as a factor of unemployment. Additionally, the high unemployment rates after the 2008 economic crisis in Spain limited job openings (BBC News, *The Economist*, 28.04.2009). Women whom I interviewed moved to Barcelona between 1999 and 2008, when the economic situation was better. In this part, I focus on such issues as job acquisition, satisfaction with the Spanish work style, state support for mothers and women's work strategies.

Four women got jobs very quickly. Ewa obtained an internship in 1999, just after completing her studies, in a company that later employed her. Blanka already had about ten years of professional experience in the UK when she came in 2002. She had actually planned to change professions,

1 which proved difficult. Still, she quickly got a job thanks to her previous qualifications in the IT
2 sector. Natalia got a job after two weeks in an international company thanks to her legal degree
3 and knowledge of languages. Krystyna found a job in Barcelona while still living in Poland where
4 she worked with companies selling translations. Through the international contacts in this work,
5 she looked for jobs abroad.

6 Four women were not looking for a job immediately after arrival in Barcelona. Anna and Kasia
7 became mothers soon after arrival while Kinga and Beata came with small babies. Three women
8 soon gave birth to their second child. Beata said that they planned the babies since she knew her
9 migration to Spain was temporary and it would be hard to find a job. Kasia, who had her second
10 baby in 2001, later worked for a while in an international company. Anna had only temporary jobs
11 in renovation and translating, and in 2011, she had her second baby. Kinga has a doctoral degree
12 and work experience but had already followed her husband three times as he changed countries for
13 his work. Kinga's experience is an example of occupational degradation. She was very frustrated
14 that she had not had a job for more than five years, and she had tried several times to get academic
15 positions. She learned Spanish, but it was still not enough for her to find a job. Kinga was consid-
16 ering a second pregnancy but was also afraid of further decreasing her chances of a professional
17 career. Her frustration was augmented by the fact that her husband was also an academic with a
18 similar degree. The case of Kinga exemplifies the tendency of female scientists in relationships
19 with other mobile scientists to exit from science careers or to fail to progress. "'Slotting back'
20 into a highly skilled and specialist area of scientific research in another country is often not an option
21 for a 'trailing' partner in a dual science career couple" (Ackers, 2004: 193). Kinga experienced the
22 same difficulties as many female migrant workers in a worldwide context: mobility spawns immo-
23 bility (downward mobility). Middle-class college-educated women migrate to work as domestics
24 (Lee and Pratt, 2011: 243), as exemplified by highly-educated, English-speaking Poles who work
25 in the UK in non-skilled jobs (Trevena, 2011). In most cases, Polish multiple migrants in Barcelona
26 did not have to make such decisions, yet many experienced difficulties in the local labour market.

27 Out of eight women, only Blanka, whose husband has already died, was financially independent
28 and worked full-time in a company. Krystyna was the first woman of the group to support her fam-
29 ily for one year while her husband studied for an MBA in Barcelona. She quickly returned to work
30 after both maternity leaves. The other women either never had a job, had only temporary jobs, or
31 resigned from working after becoming mothers. The fact that they had a working partner influenced
32 the women's occupational choices. They were not forced to take jobs for financial reasons.
33 However, the family's financial statuses were very diverse. One family was financially insecure,
34 one modest and six were in a good or very good financial situation in their self-assessment. Three
35 families where women were not working had employed help for housework.

36 All the women who had any work experience in Barcelona complained about long working
37 hours, stress, and lack of satisfaction. Ewa said:

38
39 I don't like the working hours, you get back after 8 pm, kids are taken care by grandmas or baby
40 sitters after the school and you see them very little. I want to spend more time with my children, I
41 want to eat lunch together, so I am not working. I am trying to have the third baby. I would take a
42 part time job but presently it is impossible to get one.

43
44 Having a child was a strategy to either not work at all or postpone the job search for a later time.
45 Natalia resigned from work in a company due to long working hours and dissatisfaction with the
46 style of work. "We worked long hours, without effect; there was a lot of work and no results, it
47 was frustrating." She started her own company, offering advice, mostly legal but also cultural, com-
48 mercial, etc, which has been much better for her, especially when she became a mother (her child
49 was two years old). "I only sent my baby to a nursery for a few hours a day, I worked and had
50 time to take care of her."

1 Kasia worked for a short period in the international company after her children were old enough,
 2 but she did not like it and is trying to start her own business producing olive oil. Her case exem-
 3 plifies occupational mobility, yet also, due to her husband's high earnings she saw her job as a
 4 hobby and not an economic necessity. Krystyna complained that her situation was worse than that
 5 of other mothers because she had no family support, and when her children were sick, she had to
 6 leave her job. Her expectations of institutional support might have been part of her Canadian expe-
 7 riences since, both in both Poland and Catalonia, a safety net is offered by the family and not by
 8 the state.

9 In Spain, "support by the family is essential for understanding women's integration in the labour
 10 market" (Zontini, 2010: 11). It is common that working hours are much longer than school or nursery
 11 opening times, so grandparents or non-working family members take care of children. There are also
 12 many days off in schools and nurseries when parents are again required to take care of their children
 13 the whole day (even though they are working). As comes from my interviews and own experiences,
 14 state and city support for families is limited. Financial support is being offered only to those with a
 15 small income and is being decreased due to the economic crisis. The number of places in state nurs-
 16 eries is limited and waiting lists are long – local population and long-time residents have priority. Private
 17 nurseries are expensive, some offer only part time services. In the studied group, only a few Polish-
 18 Catalan families have had some level of family's support (when Catalan grandparents offered it).

19 As mentioned earlier, the studied women self-referred to their own "mobile" personality, which
 20 according to scholars might correspond to being more work-orientated, and less family-centered
 21 (Boneva and Hanson Frieze, 2001: 479). In the studied cases the family affiliation motivation and
 22 family centrality was high yet these women also aspired to have a job. They mentioned that when
 23 children are old enough go to pre-school and school it is important to them to find a job, according
 24 to their education and skills. Unemployed mothers worried that a long break from work might
 25 decrease their chances to find one. They stressed that being wife and mother was not enough and
 26 sought for career opportunities.

27 The issue of women's unemployment resulting from migration with their working partner was
 28 therefore not simple. A sociological analysis of multiple migration and social participation of mar-
 29 ried women in Canada discovered that multiple movers have less labour force participation than
 30 single movers, which might be a result of their partner's larger income and their larger family, so
 31 "at least at this point in their lives they do not desire to be employed" (Demmler-Kane, 1980:
 32 70-71). It is clear that for some women self-employment became a great option (Anthias Mehta,
 33 after Smagacz-Poziemska, 2008: 45) while others would prefer a job in an institution or company.
 34 Perhaps the high level of education (doctoral level) is also a negative factor in applying for jobs in
 35 countries where one has only been living a short time (a hypothesis based only on three cases, two
 36 of which were not included in this article). In several cases becoming a mother of a first or next
 37 child was a strategy used when getting a job was difficult or impossible. As mentioned earlier, it
 38 was sometimes a decision made before fixed-term migration, i.e. when the stay in Barcelona was
 39 seen as a gap in professional career. In some cases, the stay was planned as permanent, yet difficul-
 40 ties on local job market stimulated decisions about motherhood.⁴ A study by Ackers shows that not
 41 having children or postponing having them was an intentional choice by some female scientists,
 42 due to academic career demands and separation with their partners resulting from mobility (Ackers,
 43 2003: 33). However, keeping the family together and having children was a priority for the women
 44 in my study, who either adapted to the local job market or resigned from work.

47 FAMILY AND FRIENDS – SOCIAL NETWORK

48 Relations in families, friends, role of migration networks and personal qualities for making social
 49 network by multiple migrants are important for their adaptation. I discuss family situation, the
 50

1 significance of keeping contact with family in other countries, the use of different mobilities and
2 factors contributing to making social circles in Barcelona. The nomadic women that I interviewed
3 usually lived in small families of just partners and children while parents, siblings and extended
4 families lived in other countries. Two women in relationships with Catalan men lived relatively
5 close to Catalan parents-in-law and saw them quite often (usually once a week). Other women
6 visited parents and parents-in-law once a year or less often. In some cases, family was spread
7 over several countries, which made meetings even more difficult. Interestingly, three women
8 (Anna, Beata and Ewa) got support from their mothers after their babies were born. Mothers
9 came for a few weeks or even longer to help. All women kept in contact with their siblings, par-
10 ents and other family members by phone, skype (video calling), and e-mail. Yet they realized that
11 it was hard to stay in close relationships because: “we miss all these little details in our lives so
12 my sister can talk for hours with her best friends but with me only a shorter time and just about
13 important things” (Ewa).

14 While Bauman discusses postmodern life strategies which “tend to render human relations frag-
15 mentary...and discontinuous, ... against the construction of lasting networks of mutual duties and
16 obligations” (Bauman, 1996: 33), the studied multiple migrants searched for networks and kept
17 hold of the strings based on virtual, communicative, and – when possible – physical presence in
18 the fragmented circumstances of their lives. The analysed Polish migrants did not neglect obliga-
19 tions; women were often responsible for performing “kinwork” – the emotional work involved in
20 supporting the family abroad (Leonardo, 1998, in Fechter, 2007: 54). The studied group of women
21 arranged visits to their parents, parents-in-law, siblings, and other family members; they were the
22 ones to remember about anniversaries and holidays. All these activities were important to women,
23 they mentioned their emotional well-being, getting emotional support from family members and
24 passing on traditions from grandparents to children.

25 Multiple migrants are devoted users of different forms of mobilities to keep contact with people
26 and places: travel of people, movement of objects, imaginative, virtual and communicative travel.
27 They themselves tried to visit family and friends in Poland and other transfer countries as often as
28 possible, also with children and partners. For practical and emotional reasons, they attempted to
29 make such visits during the Christmas holidays. Women brought back, received via mail or were
30 personally gifted from visitors, objects from Poland and other countries. For example, Beata and
31 Kasia received vitamins for children from the USA; all the women had different objects from
32 Poland (food, cosmetics, medicines, books, newspapers, clothes). Many women read Polish news-
33 papers (on-line), novels, guides; some watched movies and photos with family members; some
34 watched Polish movies or listened to music. These mobilities were always present even though
35 financial situations might have limited their extent. Using new mobilities, much of the social lives
36 of multiple migrants was centered on maintaining emotional relations with home and transfer coun-
37 tries and with people left behind.

38 All eight women had Polish and international friends, and few had Spanish or Catalan friends.
39 “My best friends are from UK and Argentina...my friends are from mixed marriages (Polish-Irish,
40 Polish-Swedish).”² Five had contact with Poles through the Polish-Catalan Cultural Association, the
41 Polish School and the Polish Information Point in Barcelona.⁵ Natalia said: “I left Poland 12 years
42 ago and I like to have contact with Poles so I organize informal meetings of professional women
43 once a year.”² Kasia, who lived in the USA for 13 years, joined the International Women Network,
44 later the Barcelona Women’s Network (with a membership fee; <http://www.bcnwomensnetwork.com/>),
45 commenting: “I met nice foreign women there.” She shared experiences of “incorporated
46 wives” with teenage children whose daily language was English, financial status was high; and had
47 time for extended social activities. Women in relationships with Catalans who also spoke some
48 Catalan met people through nursery, playgroup or school but did not call them friends. They
49 claimed that friendships between Poles have a very different nature from those between Catalans
50 and Spaniards.

1 Women with Catalan and international partners, self-made women and incorporated wives (limit-
2 ing and simplifying as these categorizations are) had different friends and social circles. Neverthe-
3 less, women mentioned that they had a reliable group of friends, who often had similar experience
4 of migration and adaptation to a new country. Thus, these friends were more open than local peo-
5 ple to meeting new people and spending time together. Clearly, experiences of migration helped to
6 make friendships. Social networks were important in the process of adaptation in Barcelona. A
7 study of social networking and immigrants' mental health showed that immigrants worked actively
8 to create social networks in the new society, and thereby experience success in transplanting their
9 lives (Kuo and Tsai, 1986: 134). In the interviewed group, migration networks played a very small
10 role in decisions about moving: their decisions to migrate were either individual actions or neces-
11 sary to keep the family together. They relied either on themselves (through scholarships and jobs)
12 or partners when moving to a new country. Yet, in the new country the studied women were very
13 motivated and took initiative to establish new social networks of support.

14 According to sociologists, individualist strategies of moving are more typical for better educated
15 and younger migrants (Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski, 2009: 183). With regards to the question
16 of whether there are characteristic personality profiles more open to migration, scholars point to
17 such traits such as competence, appropriate striving and productive orientation. The studied group
18 clearly migrated mostly as young people all of them are well; or very well educated. Kuo and Tsai
19 propose the concept of hardiness in order to measure the quality of the immigrant's purposive
20 actions: assertiveness in attaining and manipulating external rewards, initiative, willingness to take
21 risks, and ability to face uncertainty (1986: 137). My data about migrant Polish women in Barce-
22 lona is mostly declarative, yet ethnographic observation and interviews can still support hypotheses
23 about particular personal characteristics of migrants.

24 Personal life philosophies were very important when making friends in Barcelona. Natalia men-
25 tioned that she moved with her partner and daughter to a countryside village near Barcelona to
26 change their style of living. In a supportive context of people with similar attitudes, they adjusted
27 their leisure activities, diet and working hours. Blanka was tired of living in the centre of Barcelona
28 and searched for different social and environmental conditions until eventually moving to the Sitges
29 area (around 30 kilometres from Barcelona). She made new friends there who valued a healthy life
30 style, local food, and nature.

31 32 33 34 CONCLUSIONS 35

36 The state of high mobility creates significant changes in women's lives. On the one hand, women
37 increase their knowledge of places, their ability to speak languages, and their number of experi-
38 ences and encounters with different cultures. On the other hand, they have to leave their jobs,
39 friends and family, adapt to new places and find new social networks. Moving, in and of itself, is
40 demanding, especially with children.

41 Experiences of highly mobile women varied dramatically, depending on their life phase when
42 they moved. The same person had different attitudes to moving when it was for their education or
43 own work, when it was to keep family together by joining their partner on his journey or after he
44 already resided in another country. Many times, motivations for moving were intertwined, and
45 women used the time abroad to study or have children. Even when they were unemployed, they
46 appreciated the advantages of financial stability due to their partners' salaries. For some women in
47 the group, moving to Barcelona to follow their partners meant accepting a lower professional posi-
48 tion. After experiencing downward mobility several times, interviewed women were often quite
49 frustrated. These women – highly educated and skilled but also mothers and “tied migrants/trailing
50 partners” – experienced several barriers in professional and social life: as migrants, as women, as

1 mothers. Still they exercised a high level of agency. Their priority was to make an efficient migrant
2 household even in the situation of “global nomadism”.

3 Attitudes toward learning a new language, getting a job and establishing good relationships with
4 local people depended on their future plans of residence or relocation, among other factors. Most
5 women were still in an undetermined situation; yet some women preferred to stay (or knew very
6 well that their partners would not agree to emigrate), and others were willing to leave (often sup-
7 ported by their partners). The two main subgroups were: women who adapted well to life in Barce-
8 lona because of their Catalan partners and women with international partners who tended to live in
9 clusters of internationals. The temporary nature of their stay in Barcelona meant that they had more
10 contact with international women and couples and even other multiple migrants. The interviewed
11 women stated that the shared experience of migration was important for making friends. Only two
12 women were in their 40s; the rest were younger and had small children, which greatly influenced
13 their social life. They spent time with other mothers and had difficulty finding time for their own
14 hobbies, entertainment, or sports, where they could potentially meet local people. In both temporary
15 and permanent situations women looked for contacts with other Poles. The interviewed women, in
16 the majority of cases, did not know each other although they knew about Polish places such as the
17 Polish Information Point, Polish shops, the Polish Consulate, and the Polish mass. In the local job
18 market, the ability to speak English, international diplomas and working experience were valued
19 more than Polish fluency or Polish education. The multiple movers were fluent in a number of lan-
20 guages, yet this ability did not help in jobs applications because skills in the Catalan language were
21 considered more important.

22 One of my research questions was whether the experience of living in more countries led to a
23 better adaptability and integration or life in clusters of internationals. My ethnographic fieldwork in
24 Barcelona demonstrates that the multiple movers adapt and integrate better only when they intend
25 to stay in Barcelona or Catalonia. In other cases, they searched for other international couples and
26 women. The foreign-born population in Barcelona is around 7 per cent, coming predominately from
27 Italy, Ecuador, Pakistan, Bolivia, Peru, China, Morocco, France, and Columbia. There are only
28 around 10,000 native English-speakers and 2,200 Poles out of 3.5 million inhabitants ([www.
29 idescat.cat](http://www.idescat.cat), 15.12.2011). It is therefore not simple to live in an English- or Polish-speaking cluster.
30 Nevertheless, the “internationals” – not the Catalans – were the main reference point for the majority
31 of the women (some suggested that Spanish are also “international” in Catalonia).

32 I also inquired about feelings towards local immigration policy and access to healthcare service,
33 education, etc. The Council of Barcelona refuses to create specific offices for immigrants that pro-
34 mote their integration into the regular services of the city (Zontini, 2010: 21). Consequently, insti-
35 tutional support is lacking, as migrants have to rely solely on family and ethnic social networks to
36 receive basic information about access to different social services. For example, the web page of
37 the Polish School in Barcelona offered detailed instructions about how to enroll a Polish child into
38 a Catalan school. Most activity by local authorities for the immigrants concentrates on recognition
39 of cultural differences, especially through large-scale “multicultural festivals” (Zontini, 2010: 10;
40 Pawlak and Bieniecki, [2009]-: 44). While experts and officials from Catalonia presented a very
41 positive image of institutional programmes for immigrants (Pawlak and Bieniecki, [2009]-: 40-49),
42 Polish immigrant women in my fieldwork did not share this optimism. They perceived themselves
43 as outsiders unless they quickly learned Spanish and Catalan and found little institutional support
44 even for language-learning activities. They also complained about “localism” and lack of interest in
45 “the others” among the Catalans. These factors, among others, weakened any attempts at adaptation
46 and influenced plans of further migration, especially for the unemployed women and “incorporated
47 wives.”

48 The multiple migrant women exemplify the very complex nature of challenges in new migration
49 countries, both for their personal and professional development, and as result for wellbeing of their
50 families. Though mobility is a recognized social phenomenon of the twenty-first century,

1 Policymakers and administration have not yet created programmes to address multiple migrants,
 2 and especially multiple migrant women. The multiple mobility of women who follow their male
 3 partners is shaping family life, professional careers, and social life. This article has raised questions
 4 about the consequences of such migration that should be further explored, also concerning the edu-
 5 cation of children, social security and pension schemes. The results of this case-study confirm that
 6 multiple migration is far more complex than traditional migration paradigms suggest, depending on
 7 both personal abilities and structural conditions.

11 NOTES

- 12 1. Polish people have been settling in Spain since the sixteenth century. In the nineteenth century military
 13 men dominated; after the Second World War the Polish community was small and diffused (Stanek,
 14 2007a). In the 1980s, migration had a political character while in the 1990s it included mostly economic
 15 migrants (Ramirez Goicoechea, 2003: 99–100).
- 16 2. Names have been changed to preserve anonymity.
- 17 3. All translations from Polish to English language are done by the author.
- 18 4. Recent UK data shows that Polish female migrants have much higher fertility rate than Polish women in
 19 Poland and average British women (Krystyna Iglicka in “Gazeta Prawna” 21.09.-2011). I would argue that
 20 personal decisions leading to overall high fertility result both from better family policy in the UK (than in
 21 Poland) and the strategy of Polish ~~secondary~~-migrants to do something meaningful when they are often
 22 non-working secondary migrants (joining Polish partners) or dissatisfied with below-qualifications jobs pri-
 23 mary migrants.
- 24 5. The Association was created in 2000. Its main goal was to popularize Polish culture in Catalonia. It cur-
 25 rently organizes Polish School in Barcelona, courses in the Polish language for adults, a Polish cinema club.
 26 It also lends books from a Polish library and offers support and advice at the Polish Information Point
 27 (*Polski Punkt Informacyjny*) (interview with the office’s coordinator, web page: <http://accpbarcelona.blogspot.com/> 5.12.2011)

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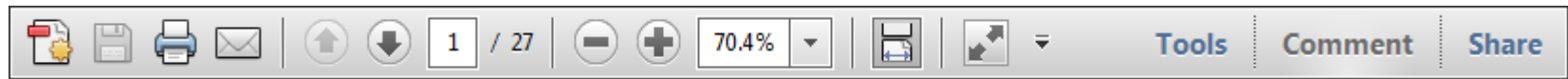
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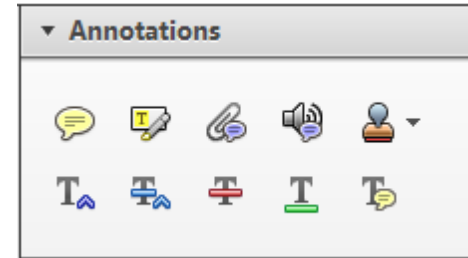
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This will open up a panel down the right side of the document. The majority of tools you will use for annotating your proof will be in the [Annotations](#) section, pictured opposite. We've picked out some of these tools below:



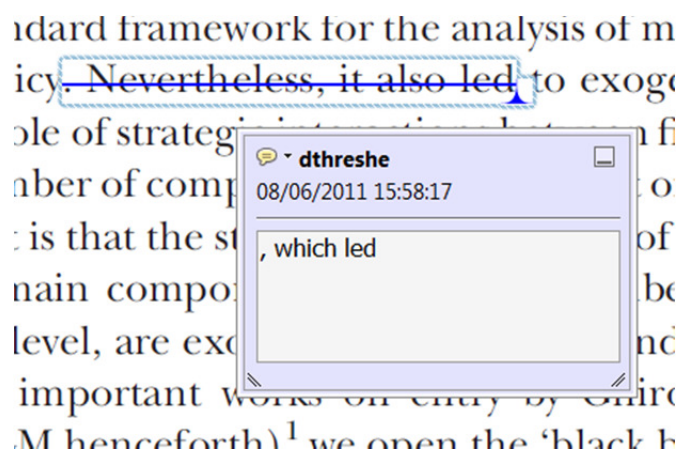
1. Replace (Ins) Tool – for replacing text.



Strikes a line through text and opens up a text box where replacement text can be entered.

How to use it

- Highlight a word or sentence.
- Click on the [Replace \(Ins\)](#) icon in the Annotations section.
- Type the replacement text into the blue box that appears.



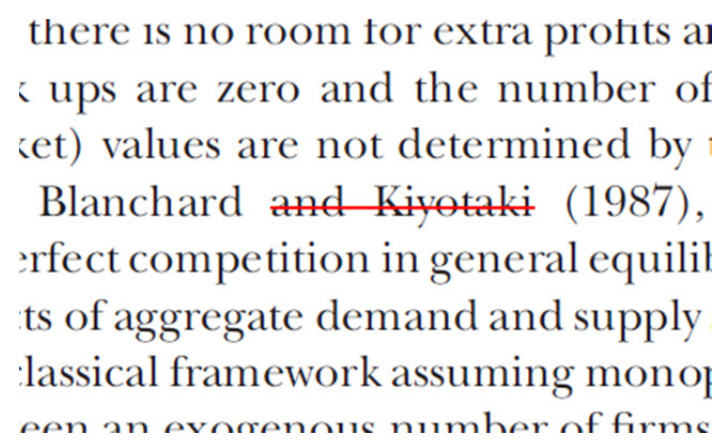
2. Strikethrough (Del) Tool – for deleting text.



Strikes a red line through text that is to be deleted.

How to use it

- Highlight a word or sentence.
- Click on the [Strikethrough \(Del\)](#) icon in the Annotations section.



3. Add note to text Tool – for highlighting a section to be changed to bold or italic.

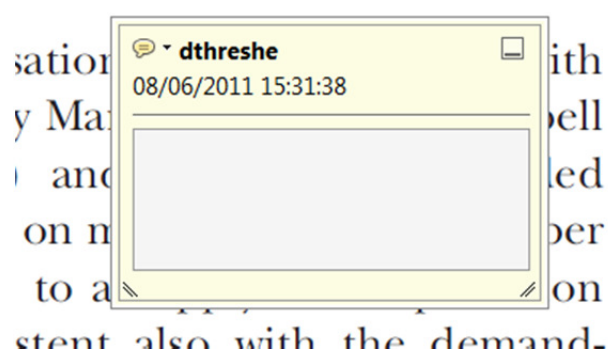


Highlights text in yellow and opens up a text box where comments can be entered.

How to use it

- Highlight the relevant section of text.
- Click on the [Add note to text](#) icon in the Annotations section.
- Type instruction on what should be changed regarding the text into the yellow box that appears.

dynamic responses of mark ups
ent with the **VAR** evidence



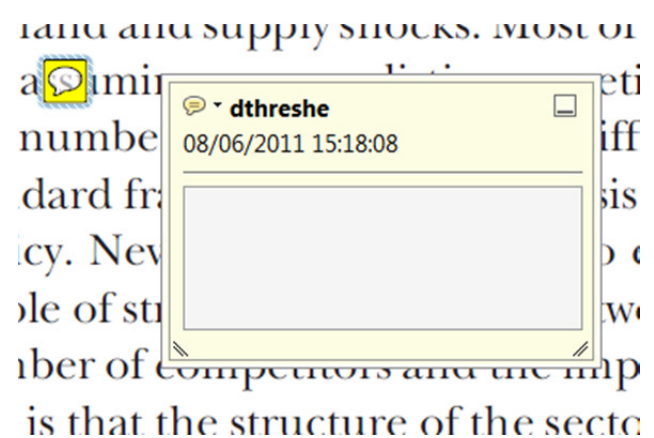
4. Add sticky note Tool – for making notes at specific points in the text.



Marks a point in the proof where a comment needs to be highlighted.

How to use it

- Click on the [Add sticky note](#) icon in the Annotations section.
- Click at the point in the proof where the comment should be inserted.
- Type the comment into the yellow box that appears.



USING e-ANNOTATION TOOLS FOR ELECTRONIC PROOF CORRECTION

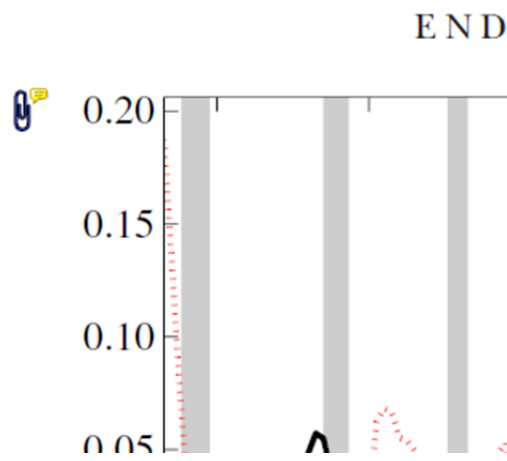
5. Attach File Tool – for inserting large amounts of text or replacement figures.



Inserts an icon linking to the attached file in the appropriate place in the text.

How to use it

- Click on the [Attach File](#) icon in the Annotations section.
- Click on the proof to where you'd like the attached file to be linked.
- Select the file to be attached from your computer or network.
- Select the colour and type of icon that will appear in the proof. Click OK.



6. Add stamp Tool – for approving a proof if no corrections are required.

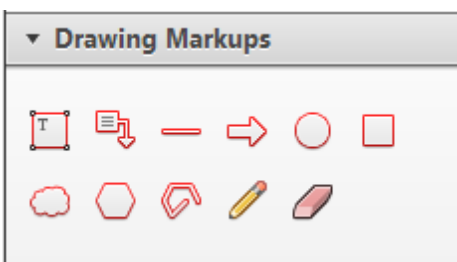


Inserts a selected stamp onto an appropriate place in the proof.

How to use it

- Click on the [Add stamp](#) icon in the Annotations section.
- Select the stamp you want to use. (The [Approved](#) stamp is usually available directly in the menu that appears).
- Click on the proof where you'd like the stamp to appear. (Where a proof is to be approved as it is, this would normally be on the first page).

of the business cycle, starting with the
 on perfect competition, constant return
 production. In this environment goods
 extra profits and the market
 he market. The New-Key
 otaki (1987), has introduced product
 general equilibrium models with nomin
 ed and supply shocks. Most of this literat

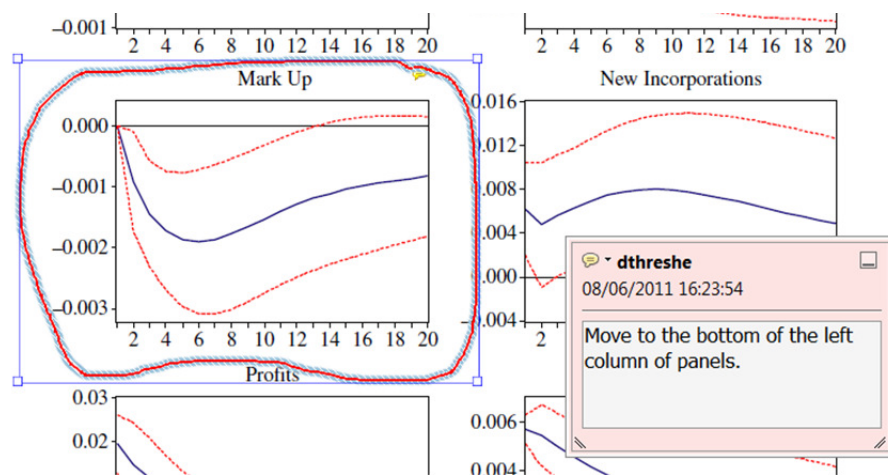


7. Drawing Markups Tools – for drawing shapes, lines and freeform annotations on proofs and commenting on these marks.

Allows shapes, lines and freeform annotations to be drawn on proofs and for comment to be made on these marks..

How to use it

- Click on one of the shapes in the [Drawing Markups](#) section.
- Click on the proof at the relevant point and draw the selected shape with the cursor.
- To add a comment to the drawn shape, move the cursor over the shape until an arrowhead appears.
- Double click on the shape and type any text in the red box that appears.



For further information on how to annotate proofs, click on the [Help](#) menu to reveal a list of further options:

