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POLISH IMMIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND: THEIR PRESENT STATE AND SCENARIOS FOR THEIR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

The presence of an extensive number of Polish immigrants in Ireland has a short history, which began after Poland's accession to the EU. Therefore, the organizations that have been set up since 2004 were to a high degree built up with no or little impact of the existing tradition of immigrant structures and institutions. This makes Ireland a specific laboratory for testing a new model of immigrants' organization of the 21st century. The article aims to describe the development of Polish immigrant organizations in Ireland and to present their characteristics, including their goals, activities, the role of new media and technology, as well as the patterns of participation and communication. The detailed presentation of these characteristics and case studies serves the goal of answering the question: if and to what extent "young" Polish immigrant organizations in Ireland can be seen as the forerunners of a new model of immigrants' organization of the 21st century.

Key words: EU enlargement; post-accession migration; immigrant organizations; Polish diaspora

Introduction

As the pioneer, post-accession (post-2004) generation of Polish migrants to Ireland did not have to consider any previous patterns or structures, this country is a perfect laboratory for studying the development of Polish Immigrant Organizations (PIOs). The open labor markets in some EU countries, in conjunction with high unemployment and lack of opportunities in Poland, resulted in a cohort of some two million migrants spreading across Europe. The extra-fast process by which the Polish community became entrenched in Ireland provides a unique opportunity to observe not only the emergence of such organizations

but also their development over the last two decades. Tracing the development of these organizations could make it possible to anticipate future trends in the transformation of PIOs. Furthermore, study of these trends could provide insight into new models of twenty-first-century immigrant organizations, that is, not just PIOs in other countries but immigrant organizations worldwide.

The goal of this paper is to describe the current state of PIOs in Ireland and, based on current trends, the potential characteristics and development of a new model of PIO. Such a definition of my research goal is an attempt to overcome the existing gaps in the literature on this topic and to respond to other researchers' suggestions (Vermeulen 2006). The significance of studying the transformation of immigrant organizations lies in the fact that such organizations reflect both micro and macro transitions. On the one hand, they illustrate changes in individual migrants' social and cultural capital, and their engagement in civic activities, and on the other hand, they reflect and impact policies at the local and central level in the host and sending countries.

In the following subchapters I provide a conceptual framework and discuss the emergence of PIOs in the Republic of Ireland. Next, we describe the methodology of the present research project, and analytical procedures. In the next two subchapters we present the data regarding the state of PIOs, and the factors having an impact on it. In the next subchapter we discuss the key trends in the state of PIOs and their development on the basis of the research results and anticipate PIOs' future shape and development.

Conceptual framework

Organizations have been defined and understood in various ways: first, as a special-purpose group aimed at achieving specific goals in an organized way. Second, they are understood as the process of people's management to coordinate actions and achieve specific goals (Szczepański 1970: 231). Researchers characterize organizations in relation to their attributes, such as goals, formal structure, power relations, and personnel and their roles. Aside from the formal structure of organizations, researchers also look at their informal structure. Christine Lang and associates writes that "Organisations formulate and communicate specific goals; they have members as defined according to their respective rules, which are a way of drawing the boundaries of an organisation; and they have formal and informal structures guiding their members' behaviour and decision-making" (Lang et al. 2021: .2).

Such a definition is in line with the neo-institutional theory of Douglas North (1994) and Victor Nee (1998), who see institutions (rules, law, behavioral norms) as constraints developed by humans to govern their interaction. While

institutions set the action matrix, it is the organization–understood as a group of people sharing the same goals–that takes the real actions. This means that both formal and informal structures need to be studied in order fully to address the question of an organization's characteristics.

Academic literature in the field of migration studies focuses mainly on micro-level (migrants' trajectories) or macro-level phenomena (immigration policies). Since the late 1990s researchers have shown interest in social networks, mainly in interpersonal relations between migrants, their households, and families (Bilecen, Faist 2015; Faist 2010). Organizations (the meso-level) have attracted little attention, apart from studies of hometown associations and social remittances from the perspective of transnationalism (Levitt 1998, 2001; Schrover, Vermeulen 2005; Levitt, Lamba-Nieves 2011). This tendency has been clear, even though some scholars have pointed at the importance of ethnic organizations in connection with their impact on the sending and receiving countries and their functions (Vermeulen 2006: 12). The literature on immigrant organizations has grown since the late 2000s. The studies have covered such topics as the formation of organizations in receiving contexts (Vermeulen, 2006), the role of organizations in migrants' social and political inclusion (Fauser 2012; Pries 2010; Tillie 2004), and minority politics (Nicholls, Uitermark, 2013; Però 2008). Michał Nowosielski and Mariusz Dzięglewski pointed to some limitations of recent studies on immigrant organizations: their peripheral status in the field of migration studies, their descriptive nature and lack of theoretical framework, their focus on political aspects, and their emphasis on the perspective of the receiving countries (Nowosielski, Dzięglewski 2021: 22).

The theoretical perspective applied in this paper is based on an organizational approach that involves several disciplines and theoretical assumptions. One is the neo-institutional perspective in organizational sociology, which is useful as a theoretical frame (Scott 2008). What is important in the context of the following research project is that organizational studies consider organizations as units of analysis. The specific fields (within organizational studies) that were applied in the paper include:

(1) the process of organizational decision-making,

(2) internal structures of organization,

(3) relations between the organization and its environment (Lang et al. 2021).

In reference to the last point, neo-institutionalist theory is especially useful, including in regard to relations within organizations themselves. This theory's concept of an "organizational field" draws attention to the way interorganizational relations shape structures and processes. The "organizational field" also, as Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell argue, has a homogenizing effect on organizations, and this explains the similar characteristics of interlinked immigrant organizations in the given context (DiMaggio, Powell 1983). Neo-institutionalists

also use the concept of "decoupling" to draw a line between the formal structures observed at the level of existing data and the real practices of the main actors–which can be observed, at least to some extent, in the actors' narratives and actions (fieldwork ethnography).

Whenever the notion of a "Polish immigrant organization" (PIO) is mentioned in this article it means a non-governmental organization founded by Polish immigrants or their descendants and aimed at providing the immigrant community with social, economic, and cultural services, as well as advocacy in issues of concern to migrants in their country of residence (Moya 2005: 834; Vermeulen 2006: 825; Nowosielski, Dzięglewski 2021: 14).

The main emphasis in the paper is on the state of PIOs in Ireland as a starting point for anticipating the future development of such organizations. Michał Nowosielski defined the state of an organization in his study of PIOs in Germany (2016, 2018) and later developed the idea, with Mariusz Dzięglewski, in a study of PIOs in nine EU countries[1] (Nowosielski, Dzięglewski 2021). The state of an organization is understood to be its formal status, location, range of action, activity profile, relations to its environment, personnel, economic status, and sources of financing. What is important in Nowosielski's conceptualization is that he addresses how the nature of immigrant organizations in the twenty-first century has evolved under the influence of exogenous and endogenous factors (Nowosielski 2016: 20). The assumption behind the research project is that an analysis of the state of PIOs at a given point in time provides insight, first of all, into the characteristics of "new" and "old" PIOs, and second, allows the past features and contexts of PIOs' development to be reconstructed.

The main research question in the paper can be formulated as follows:

What are the anticipated characteristics of Polish immigrant organizations in Ireland and possible scenarios of their development in light of their current state?

To address such a research question, Nowosielski's model of the state of PIOs has been applied (Nowosielski 2016; Nowosielski, Dzięglewski 2021). It consists of the characteristics of PIOs presented above and four factors influencing the overall condition of organizations in each country, namely:

(1) characteristics of the migratory process and immigrant community,

(2) the characteristics of the receiving country and society,

(3) the characteristics of the sending country and society,

(4) the bilateral relations between the receiving and sending country (Nowosielski 2016).

In the process of applying the model, which was created for the study of PIOs in Germany, to research projects in other European countries, we decided to add

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[1] The study covers the analysis of PIOs conditions in the UK, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Spain, Norway, Sweden and Netherlands (Nowosielski, Dzięglewski 2021).

"global trends" (the technological revolution, mobility patterns, identity trans-formations) as one more factor that must be taken into consideration. We also noticed that the impact of bilateral relations between the receiving and sending country can hardly be observed (Nowosielski, Dzięglewski 2021). Consider-ation of the above set of factors is an attempt to overcome the mainly one-di-mensional approaches in the literature. Such an approach also builds on other researchers' attempts to offer more in-depth analyses (Brenton 1964; Schrover, Vermeulen 2005, Schrover 2006; Pries, Sezgin 2012; Babis 2016).

The chapters presenting data address the following specific questions on the state of PIOs and the factors influencing this condition as the starting point for addressing the main research question:

What are the key characteristics of existing PIOs in terms of their location, formal status, composition, and activity profiles?

What are the roles of PIOs in Ireland and their range of action, according to their representatives?

What are the patterns of PIOs' relations to their environment?

What patterns are to be found in regard to the personnel and engagement of PIOs?

To what extent do the factors included in the model influence the state of PIOs?[2]

Entrenching the Polish community in Ireland

In most of their destinations, Polish migrants have built their own institu-tional order based on a network of cultural institutions, organizations, services, shops, restaurants, and cafés. Every new wave of immigrants has had to relate to already existed PIOs and an institutional order set up by the previous waves of immigrants. Usually, the newly arrived immigrants formed their own organi-zations and institutions. The immigrants of the various waves usually differed in their understanding of what an organization's goal, structure, activities, and composition should be. The socio-economic and global context also plays a vital role in this process, thus what we can observe is an ongoing process of evolu-tionary change and the constant tension between the "new" and the "old."

Despite the briefness of Poles' presence in the Republic of Ireland, at first glance the structure of PIOs seems to be very traditional. Today, at the beginning of the 2020s, only two out of 34 organizations were set up before 2004 (Kałuski

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[2] The element of PIO's state is its economic status. Therefore, the one more specific research question – "*What is the economic status of PIOs in Ireland*" was added to the research. The date on this aspect of PIOs' state are not presented in this article due to lack of enough space.

2007). Both organizations still exist but they have not had a determining impact on post-accession organizations, as can be observed in the case of older and newer organizations in the UK or France (Nowosielski, Dzięglewski 2021). Before Poland acceded to the EU, in May 2004, the Republic of Ireland was not considered a desirable destination for Polish migrants. The government of Ireland opened the Irish labor market just after accession and within three years the number of Polish migrants in Ireland had reached 200,000 (GUS 2017a). During the economic crisis (2008-10), which heavily affected the construction sector, the number of Polish immigrants decreased to 120,000 (Krings et al. 2011, 2016; Mühlau 2012). Since then, the number of Polish immigrants in Ireland has been surprisingly stable at around 114,000 (GUS 2021).[3]

In just a few years, the Polish community became the largest immigrant group in Ireland, and the number of people speaking Polish came to outnumber those who speak Irish (Gaelic, CSO 2012). The unexpectedly numerous influx of Polish migrants contributed significantly to the sharp increase in net migration. Like Poland, Ireland has historically been a country of out-migration, but it has experienced a slow, steady increase in net migration since the late 1990s. During the "Celtic Tiger" economic boom (1995–2000s), net migration increased from around 0 to around 30,000 migrants. In 2007–due to immigration from Poland and other new EU member states– net migration reached 150,000 (McGinnity et al. 2018a, b). Within a decade Ireland went from being a country whose population had a 5.8% share of immigrants (CSO 2002) to a country with a 12% share of non-Irish residents, from over 200 countries (CSO 2012).

The "discovery" of the Emerald Isle as a desired destination for Polish migrants occurred in conjunction with a specific socio-economic situation in Poland. In 2004, Poland experienced a high rate of unemployment (19.1% in comparison to 4.7% in Ireland[4], Dzięglewski 2015). Long working hours, fixed-term employment contracts, low salaries, and few opportunities for young people were factors contributing to the economic character of post-accession migratory streams (Dzięglewski 2021).

In the first years after accession, the migratory stream included people in their twenties and thirties. Many of these pioneers were either single or had left their families behind in Poland. After a few years, an increasing number of family reunions could be observed. The whole Polish community is growing older; the modal age increased from 28 in 2011 to 33 in 2016 (Lesińska, Pszczółkowska 2019). Young singles who found a new home in Ireland established their own

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[3] According to Irish public statistical data, in 2016 there were 115,161 persons born in Poland living in Ireland (CSO 2017). The population of persons with Polish citizenship (including double citizenship, mainly children born in Ireland) was 131,788 (Lesińska, Pszczółkowska 2019).

[4] Eurostat, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database, (accessed: 7.02.2022).

families. Whereas in the 2010s most migrants' attitudes in regard to migration could be characterized as "intentional unpredictability" (Eade 2007), after nearly two decades of Polish presence in Ireland many post-accession migrants have decided to settle permanently in the country. As recent studies have revealed, the Polish community is well integrated in terms of the labor market, social relations, and home ownership, but tends to be detached from political participation (Fanning et al. 2021).

Most of PIOs in Ireland are focused on cultural, social, and educational activities. Many organizations were set up mainly to provide primary education to Polish children in Sunday schools. For Polish immigrants putting down roots on Irish soil, the education of their children became one of their most critical needs. Therefore, the system of Polish Sunday schools developed dynamically and now includes 39 schools with five counselling centers. They are run by the Polish Embassy in all regions of the Republic.[5] 21 schools are part of Polska Macierz Szkolna, a federation of educational institutions which can be found in many countries. Among the Polish immigrant organizations, there are also nine religious organizations (parish associations, convents), two football fans' associations, a center for counseling and psychotherapy, a scouting organization, and a folk-dancing club.

Methodological note

The data presented in this article comes from the project "Polish Immigrant Organizations in Europe" conducted between 2015 and 2020,[6] in which I was one of the researchers. The aim of the project was to depict the state of PIOs in nine countries: the UK, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Spain, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Methodologically, the research was based on four modules–two of which are considered in this paper. One of these modules involved a survey of institutions and encompassed 190 representatives of PIOs in nine countries. The data on PIOs in Ireland covered 21 organizations and was retrieved from this database. The second module involved (a) desk research, and (b) 21 IDIs with three categories of respondents: representatives of Irish institutions dealing with the implementation of immigration and integration policy (7); experts from PIOs (7); and leaders, members, and representatives of the local environment (5) engaged in the organizations that were the object of (c) five case studies.

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[5] Source: GUS 2017b. Irish public statistics reveal that between 2005 and 2017 there were 48 Polish schools, with 14,315 pupils (Kloc-Nowak 2018).

[6] The project was funded by National Science Centre under 'Sonata Bis 4" programme.

The questionnaires used in the survey were sent to all organizations in Ireland by email or by post and were filled out by 25 organizations. The questionnaire consisted of 45 questions organized in sections:

a. the basic characteristics of the organization represented by the respondent,

b. activity profile,

c. the organization's relations with its environment,

d. leaders, personnel, and members of the organization,

e. the organization's economic status,

f. the organization's contact data,

The survey was conducted between November 2016 and June 2017.

The part of the module based on individual in-depth interviews was addressed to different categories of respondents and the semi-structured topic guide used as a research tool was modified regarding the respondents' characteristics. The first category of respondents included seven representatives of Irish institutions dealing with the implementation of immigration and integration policy. The respondents were asked about immigration policy and their perception of PIOs in Ireland. The second category of IDI respondents were (seven) Polish experts on PIOs in Ireland. The interviews covered such topics as the characteristics of PIOs in Ireland, the positioning of PIOs within the institutional environment, relations between PIOs and the Polish state, and determinants of the state of PIOs in Ireland. The third category of IDI respondents included five representatives of PIOs (one respondent from each organization) that had been the object of a case study. All the interviews were conducted in person, during fieldwork research, between March 2016 and May 2018.

The last component of the research involved ethnographic case studies of five PIOs in Ireland. The sample was based on the criterion of variety in relation to the duration of the PIO's activity ("new" and "old" organizations), number of members, location, and activity profile. The data was collected using the ethnographic method and tools, and included fieldwork participant observation, IDIs, documents, and website content analysis.

The state of PIOs in Ireland in light of the data

General characteristics of PIOs (location, composition, and profiles of activity)

The case studies proved that members of PIOs were aware of the unique context of immigrant organizations in Ireland. They pointed out that the PIOs had emerged spontaneously in answer to specific needs. One of the respondents remarked on the advantages of this situation:

"One can see the advantages, as the Polish community is a bit on its own, and many of the initiatives they create, they create from scratch. They realize projects which relate to some sort of more contemporary forms of NGOs or minority, immigrant organizations, etc. They also follow the models of other organizations which exist here in Ireland" (Irlandia_4_OrgPanPol).

According to the institutional survey, most PIOs in Ireland address their services to residents of a region or municipality. The first organizations, which were established in the 2000s, were based in major cities, such as Dublin, Cork, or Limerick, but later they appeared in other areas, such as Arklow, Kilkenny, Ennis, Galway, and Gorey. Almost all the organizations addressed their services to post-accession migrants, but representatives of PIOs pointed to the limited number of recipients of their services. 14 out of 21 declared their audience to range from 21 to 500 recipients; only two estimated their recipients in the range of 2,001 to 5,000. The experts pointed to the evolution of Polish immigrant organizations after 2004 in terms of the scope of their activities and the composition of the recipients. The educational, cultural, and social services of PIOs have gradually come to be addressed to whole families (children, parents). More and more events have been focused on the engagement and integration of the entire community (annual ethnic festivals: "Polska-Eire," "WOŚP"). In keeping with the life cycle of post-accession migrants, the services of PIOs have been addressed to more specific categories, such as children, youth, women 50+, community leaders, and candidates to the local administrative bodies. More and more services in recent years have been addressed to non-Polish immigrants and representatives of the host society. All these tendencies are typical in ethnic minorities putting down roots in a new country, but historically they have occurred much more slowly and have developed fully in the second generation of immigrants.

Roles of PIOs and range of action

The goals and activities of PIOs in Ireland can be presented on an axis: from goals oriented toward the cultivation of national culture, with a sort of distancing from Irish society, to full integration and the participation of representatives of the Polish minority in Irish administrative bodies. The first goal is realized by bringing Polish immigrants together in connection with ethnic events, the development of Sunday schools, and the promotion of Polish culture in Ireland. These kinds of activities were typical in the first years after accession, as many migrants treated their stay in Ireland as temporary. However, as the PIO experts explained in their interviews, over the course of time, PIOs came to focus more of their activities on the professional development of community leaders, participation

in local bodies,[7] and lobbying for beneficial solutions in local and national Irish policies: for instance, use of Polish in the educational system.

The experts criticized some PIOs that were oriented on cultural activities for not considering that legislation and citizens' rights are important aspects of the integration process. Generally speaking, the activities of PIOs in Ireland might be divided into categories of inclusion and exclusion. The latter are open to various recipients, but at the same time they include aspects of Polish ethnicity, seen from the wide perspective of other immigrant minorities and the host society in general. Still, such activities do not seem to be numerous. Contrary to the experts' belief, 80% of the surveyed PIO representatives declared that the most important role of their organization was the cultivation of Polish culture and tradition, the creation of a positive image of Poland and Polish people in Ireland, and maintaining bonds with Poland and people of Polish origin (pic. 1).

Pic. 1. Roles of their organizations declared by PIO representatives (N=19)

Declared role of organization	Number of organizations claiming the role is important
Cultivation of Polish culture and tradition among immigrants from Poland	17
Creation of positive image of Poland in Ireland	17
Creation of positive image of Polish people in Ireland	16
Creation and maintenance of bonds between immigrants from Poland	16
Maintenance of bonds with Poland	16
Teaching Polish language	14
Integration of Polish immigrants with Irish society	13
Advocacy for Polish community in Ireland	11
Support for Polish immigrants in their adaptation in Ireland	8
Social and legal support for Polish immigrants	4
Supporting bilateral agreement between Poland and Ireland	2
Economic and financial development of Polish immigrants in Ireland	0

Source: Institutional survey (N=190)

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[7] Such activities were especially numerous during the EU elections in 2014, as the activities were supported by Polish government bodies and its institutions abroad, namely the Polish Embassy in Dublin. In the same year, some PIOs ran an awareness campaign with the slogan "Vote! You are at home," which was aimed at mobilizing Polish immigrants in the 2014 Irish local government elections (Fanning at al. 2021: 266). Nine Polish candidates ran in local elections in Ireland in 2009 and 2014, but none were elected (Lesińska, Pszczółkowska 2019:3); three ran in 2019 (Pszczółkowska, Lesińska 2022).

The declared roles of PIOs in Ireland are similar to the roles that such organizations declare in other European countries, with the exception that there is a higher number of organizations in Ireland emphasizing the importance of teaching the Polish language and advocating for the Polish community (Nowosielski, Dzięglewski 2021).

The activities the PIOs most often declared are in line with their goals. Among the educational activities, for instance, there were workshops and conferences for Polish teachers, and the organization of competitions for pupils. Activities aimed at maintaining Polish identity included Polish library services, cultural events with Polish artists, writers, and musicians, and the celebration of national historical anniversaries. The promotion of Poland included lobbying and the social mobilization of migrants through meetings with national and local Irish authorities and the training of community and PIO leaders.

Patterns of PIOs' relations to their environment

According to the institutional survey, 15 out of 21 representatives of PIOs declared that they regularly cooperated with other organizations. However, PIOs in Ireland do not belong to a single federation which would represent the Polish minority in Irish society. One formal federation (Macierz Polska) encompasses certain educational organizations and Sunday schools; another– Forum Polonia– can be seen as potentially a good candidate to become an umbrella organization as it serves as a communication platform for all PIOs and their activities. However, neither Macierz Polska nor Forum Polonia have managed to attract all the PIOs, and their profiles situate them at opposite ends of the political-cultural spectrum. The short history of PIOs in Ireland has meant that they offer a wide range of services and are complementary. Cooperation between the organizations, which was confirmed by the experts, stems from the homogeneity of Polish immigrants in terms of their arrival, the many needs to be filled, and the different priorities of the PIOs.

The relations of PIOs with Irish institutions and the NGO sector are very weak. One third of surveyed PIO representatives did not cooperate with any Irish institution or NGO. The PIO experts defined the relationship between PIOs and Irish institutions as neutral, marked by political correctness, unsystematic, and informal. Only inclusively profiled organizations incidentally cooperated with Irish institutions at the municipal and local levels in such cities as Dublin, Limerick, and Cork. The Irish experts were unable to recall the name of any particular PIO. Generally, cooperation with the NGO sector was seen by the experts as quasi-cooperation arising from the need to apply for a common grant. However, in light of the case studies, the inclusive PIOs are an exception. They regularly cooperate with the Irish NGO sector and are often invited to collaborate with Irish organizations and institutions.

Surprisingly enough, cooperation between PIOs and local authorities, political parties, the Church, the media (in Ireland and Poland), and Polish institutions such as government bodies, is not intense. The lack of cooperation with the Roman Catholic Church is another visible symptom of the diminished role of this institution as an institution of social control and as the focal point of immigrant life (as it used to be two decades ago). Only six out of 19 of the surveyed PIOs cooperate with Polish government bodies. The only exception to the tendency is close cooperation with the Polish Embassy. In the interviews and case studies, cooperation with the embassy was seen as fruitful, close, and based on partnership. The distant relations of PIO representatives with Polish institutions can be better understood from the interviews with the PIO experts, who pointed to the critical attitudes of many leaders to Poland's official foreign policy and policy on the diaspora (MSZ 2015). The policies are criticized as being focused on education, history, and cultural heritage, and as not keeping pace with the real needs of contemporary migrants. Such policy trends were positively evaluated by the traditional, exclusive educational organizations, whereas the representatives of inclusive organizations would have preferred an emphasis on lobbying and the creation of a national brand abroad. Such polarized attitudes mirror the political realm of contemporary Poland.

Patterns of personnel and engagement in PIOs

Representatives of PIOs generally agreed that the social engagement of Polish immigrants in their organizations' activities was weak. In a survey conducted by Magdalena Lesińska and Dominika Pszczółkowska, only 5.4% of Polish immigrants declared that they are, or have been, active in an organization, association, or club while living in Ireland (2019: 4). According to the PIO experts the lack of social engagement and low trust in formal organizations among the older generation of immigrants is a heritage of communist times which the immigrants have brought to their new destination. Some PIO representatives understand the weak social engagement in formal organizations to be the effect of the high number of Polish immigrants in Ireland, as this fact facilitates the immigrants' ability to have most of their needs met among an informal circle of friends:

"[…] they meet their needs by living among other Polish immigrants. Okay, so they don't have to attend any PIO events. There are a lot of them; the priest speaks Polish; it's cool. They have Polish television, internet; let's say, they can speak Polish; they know what's going on in Poland." (16_IDI_O3b_PIOE_Ireland).

The PIOs in Ireland are usually of medium size, with between 21 and 150 members, or less frequently between 151 and 500 members The engagement of members in the PIO's activities varies. According to the institutional survey,

only half of the organizations stated that over 40% of their members engaged in PIO activities. The most active members were those engaged in cultural activities: artists, journalists, event managers, and young activists (20-45 years old). The most engaged members were usually the board of management. Board members work voluntarily and are often geographically dispersed. They communicate through social media and mobile phones.

Factors influencing the current state of PIOs in Ireland

Characteristics of the migratory stream

The recent massive wave of Polish migrants to the Republic of Ireland resulted in the homogeneity of the migrants in terms of their time of arrival. Therefore, migrant organizations emerged in response to the needs and expectations of this particular–mainly economic–category of migrants. Another important factor explaining the dynamic development of organizations in the first years of the post-accession migratory stream was the socio-demographic profile of the migrants. The process was highly selective and involved a significant number of younger migrants with tertiary education, who integrated relatively easily in the local labor market (Kloc-Nowak 2018). As a result, the engagement of Polish migrants on the Irish labor market was substantially higher than that of their Irish counterparts. A decade after Poland's accession and the presence of migrants in the Irish landscape, there is a trend toward permanent settlement. The trend is empirically verified on the basis of data analysis referring to the number of family reunions, childbirths to Polish mothers, the growing number of Polish children and young people in the Irish education system, the increasing number of properties owned by Poles, and the rising number of migrants with dual citizenship (Kloc-Nowak 2018). All these characteristics of the post-accession migratory stream to Ireland explain to some extent the parallel development of "traditionally" oriented organizations focused on education and identity and "new" organizations focused on integration, social activism, and advocacy for the Polish community.

Characteristics of the home country and society

In recent years, the shift in policy in regard to the Polish diaspora has made Polish residents in Ireland a second-category "functional group" (MSZ 2015). The priority of the current policy is to support the diaspora in the East; economic migrants to Ireland are treated as mobile EU citizens who do not need structural support. On the one hand, the emphasis on sustaining national culture and identity, history and tradition–as declared in the policy's documents–are in line with the "traditional" model of immigrant organizations. On the other

hand, positioning the diaspora as a lobby group and focusing on the creation of a national brand are positively assessed by the "new" model of organizations focused on integration and advocacy. A very significant factor in the poor engagement of Polish migrants in institutionalized collective activities is the weak civic engagement in Poland. The migrants bring these attitudes to their new destination. The low level of social trust in institutions in Poland (Domański 2014a,b), and the perception of volunteer work as worthless, were echoed in the interviews whenever the respondents tried to explain why there was such a small number of active PIO members. Despite some PIOs' focus on mobilizing civic activism among Polish migrants, the number of Polish leaders running in local elections or other civic activities has been more than modest,[8] and the whole community's participation in the Irish political and social scene remains rather insignificant (Fanning et al. 2021). Some researchers also underline the role of nationalism, resistance against national solidarity and moral obligations towards country of origin (Garapich 2012, 2013).

Characteristics of the host country and society
    The characteristics of the host country and Irish society are conducive to a focus on the social, economic, and political integration of immigrant communities. At the level of declarations in core documents (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017), Irish immigrant and anti-discrimination policy is centered around wide access to local political participation for immigrants and support for them in the education system and labor market. However, comparison of this declaration with the experiences of representatives of Irish NGOs brought to light a more ambivalent picture of policy implementation. According to the experts, the OPMI (Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration), the body responsible for policy implementation, is ineffective, and the burden of immigrants' integration is transferred to local authorities. As an unfavorable factor for PIOs, it should also be pointed out that immigration policy is mainly aimed at non-EU members. As mobile EU citizens, immigrants from the new member states of Eastern and Central Europe seem to be "invisible" and are not really included in structural support. Therefore, even if PIO representatives did not find administrative barriers in registering their non-profit organization in Ireland, they saw little opportunity to obtain financial support for their statutory activities from public or EU funds, (especially during 2007–2014) as the funds were allocated to non-EU immigrants. A factor which can be seen to favor the development of PIOs in the Republic of Ireland is the positive image of Polish immigrants

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[8] Nine Polish candidates ran in Irish local elections in 2009 and 2014. In 2019 only three candidates ran in local elections. None of them was elected (Lesińska, Pszczółkowska 2019: 3; Pszczółkowska, Lesińska 2022).

in Irish society. They are perceived as hardworking, dedicated, qualified, trouble-free, easily integrating, and well-organized. The Polish community is seen as an "invisible minority." There is additionally a belief in Polish people's being culturally and historically similar to Irish people (their Catholic faith, the experience of massive out-migration, the fight for independence). In general, the friendly attitudes of the Irish to Polish residents should be seen as a favorable factor in the development of PIOs.

Global trends

The last set of determinants having a great impact on the state of PIOs–not only in the Republic of Ireland–are global trends, namely, the digital revolution, cheap transportation and the reinterpretation of attachment to a geographical territory, shifts in patterns of community building, the transformation of the value system in the Western World, and the shift towards a new transnational identity. The new digital technologies changed patterns of communication between members of immigrant organizations, as well as relations with immigrants' families in Poland. Access to the internet and social media gradually replaced the traditional role of PIOs as the provider of information, platform of integration, and "planner" of community life. The development of cheap flights accelerated access to international mobility and resulted in a new perception of geographical distance. Both new technologies and the revolution in transportation produced a reinterpretation of the idea of geographical space and place construction, with shifts in perception and in migrants' attachment to place (in regard to leaving, residing, and settling). These trends can be observed in the geographical dispersion of board of management members, who conduct their activities and meetings through social media. Some PIOs in Ireland deliberately choose not to possess any property or headquarters; they simply organize their activities in rented venues, hotels, pubs, or online. The increase of individualism[9] in the Western world, and "post-material values" as Roland Inglehart calls them (Inglehart, Welzel 2005), interlinked with shifts toward transnational identities, challenges the traditional understanding of immigrant or minority communities. The observable diminution of social engagement in formal immigrant organizations is not just the result of the culture of distrust brought by Polish migrants from their home country. Global trends also play a vital role in this process. It seems that instead of focusing on the poor social capital of the Polish migrants in Ireland, attention should be paid to such shifts and to new forms of accumulating social capital based on networking through digital media (Maffesoli 1996).

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[9] A careful observer of changing European societies will point to the alternative direction toward the renaissance of a new locality and the revival of local communities. Paradoxically, this tendency seems to parallel the rise of individualism.

Discussion

Several conclusions can be reached from the research on the state of PIOs in Ireland. First, two forms of immigrant organization–the "old" and the "new"–coexist, but the old-type ones prevail, even if those organizations were built by the relatively young pioneer generation of migrants. Whereas the traditional organizations focus on national and ethnic identity and address their activities exclusively to the internal Polish community, the new-type organizations are aimed at integration and advocacy (civil rights, social protection), and are open to the public, regardless of ethnic background. The prevalence of the old-type organizations can be interpreted as the result of a tradition of Polish migration going back at least to the nineteenth century, and a specific pattern of organizational processes deeply rooted in the social consciousness. Second, the activity profile, personnel, and relation of PIOs to the local environment changed over the years as the young generation grew older. The change can be understood as a natural shift in migrants' needs at the next stage in their life course. It can also be viewed as the result of settling in Ireland; the first generation of migrants could see that their children were growing deeply integrated with their Irish peers. Third, the factors having an impact on the state of PIOs not only pertain to the specific context of Ireland as the migrants' country of residence but also point to trends in the future development of PIOs. The change from old- to new-type PIOs in Ireland are not that different from the changes occurring in other European countries (Nowosielski, Dzięglewski 2021); neither are they distant from changes observed in the past (Thomas, Znaniecki 1918). What makes migration to Ireland unique is the fact that the pioneer generation of migrants' and their organizations can be observed *in statu nascendi* and the fact of an acceleration in what used to be a long-term process of change. What has happened in Ireland within one decade formerly took half a century or more in countries where the Polish community is well established (Germany, France).

On the basis of the data presented above we claim, that potential "new" immigrant sociability patterns will have the following characteristics:
- the main platform of communication and participation will be social media
- the informal nature of the organization will prevail
- the composition of the organization will be unstable, open to everyone sharing the same passion (transnational)
- bonds between members will be more ephemeral and based on general values, attitudes, hobbies, and ways of living rather than on ethnicity
- ethnicity is likely to be treated as an "added value" in a multicultural society
- many activities will take place online; those events that occur in real life will be focused on fulfilling societal needs rather than celebrating ethnicity

- cultural events will undergo the festivalization of ethnicity (events, ethnic food, music) (Jackson 2020)
- traditional functions of PIOs, such as help with jobs, housing, financial support etc., will be taken over by dedicated platforms, or professional service providers
- the scope of organizational activities will be transnational, and will include various immigrant groups and host society representatives.

A trend toward PIOs' developing in a "new," more informal and pro-integration direction can be observed in many countries. The question then arises as to what is the main determinant of this trend. Observations indicate that it is due to the impact of global trends, especially the technological revolution. Considering the emergence of nationalist sentiment in Europe can we expect that the trend toward a more inclusive and informal model of PIO will be durable? It cannot be taken for granted. Even if unlikely, the alternative–backward– direction seems possible given a specific constellation of internal and external factors. Our results reveal that despite PIOs weaknesses–such as economic instability, weak engagement, and cooperation–the traditional organizations tend to reproduce. Some of the "old" organizations studied may face closure due to the passing of the senior members and lack of young members. However, others may see a chance to survive in changing their activity profile to attract young people.

Another interesting question is the impact of the "new" on public policies. Provided that at some stage the "new" organizations will prevail, both the sending and receiving country's policies will have to change. Poland's policy on the diaspora will have to be renegotiated. The balance between the transnational, ephemeral profile of Polish communities worldwide will pose a challenge for stakeholders in supporting the national and ethnic identity. In the same sense, the makers of immigrant policy will have to evaluate what has taken place in Europe over the last decades. European countries' policies on immigrants are challenged by dilemmas involving patterns of inclusion/exclusion, social cohesion, and–increasingly–the issue of internal and external security.

On the basis of case studies, experts' interviews, and institutional survey, we can anticipate three scenarios for the development of PIOs in Ireland and elsewhere in the near future. New models of immigrant organizations will develop in parallel with existing ones, especially with "traditional" organizations focused on education, cultural heritage, and identity. These can be defined in relation to their main activity profile as follows:

(1) the immigrant organization as a platform of social engagement,
(2) the immigrant organization as a professional service provider,
(3) informal networks, groupings, and virtual communities.

In the first scenario, organizations will focus on a wide range of inclusive activities aimed at integration and the civic participation of Polish immigrants and the creation of a strong national brand in the multi-cultural society of Ireland. Communication between members, and many activities, will take place through digital media, and events are likely to be organized in rented venues in various geographical locations, as the PIOs will not have physical headquarters but rather fanpages on social media. Members and supporters of the given organization will resemble a virtual community of followers linked by an informal transnational network open to non-Polish immigrants, representatives of the host country, and anybody who would like to engage in the organization's activities[10].

The second scenario in regard to the development of PIOs in Ireland is that there will be organizations that act as professional service providers. Such organizations will be set up by Polish professionals with the intention of developing their professional skills and/or building a community of professionals, with little or no attention to the members' ethnic origin. After a time, they will turn into institutions or companies which are hardly recognizable as "Polish." Gradually, this kind of organization will engage members, employees, and volunteers of many nationalities, and offer its professional services to all the residents of the Republic. Therefore, ethnicity does not play any significant role in this model of organization. Its "Polishness" seems to melt into the multicultural society[11].

The third scenario of possible shifts in the development of PIOs in Ireland stems from observation of the rising importance of informal networks and groupings. On the basis of this observation, we might anticipate that at least some formal organizations will be replaced by a multitude of dispersed informal networks involving migrants and non-migrants. These networks will be based on geographical proximity or residence (local communities), including family and circles of friends, or on the basis of common interests, passions, hobbies, and activities. Ethnicity in such networks will be an asset but not a criterion for being a member of the group. Communication between members will be maintained through social media. The composition of networks/groupings will

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[10] Currently, a good illustration of such an organizational pattern is Forum Polonia. The organization was set up in 2008 by a few activists who considered that a formal organization could be a tool for the communication and cooperation of various PIO representatives, activists, media, and other ethnic institutions. Therefore, from the very beginning, the organization was viewed as a platform for social engagement and information for any Polish migrant who wanted to take part in community life (Lopez Rodriguez 2019: 48).

[11] A good example of this model of organization is D-Light Studios in Dublin, which was set up in 2008 by a professional fashion photographer, Agata Stoińska. The organization's mission is to build a space for artists, creative professionals, and the local community, to empower creativity through social business innovations, to collaborate and educate, and to inspire change and regeneration in Dublin's North Inner City. https://www.d-lightstudios.com/about (accessed 4.02.2022)

be based on informal and ephemeral relations. Therefore, activities and events will be spontaneous and participation will depend on members' engagement in the community at a given moment (Castels 2002; Mafessoli 1996)[12].

Conclusion

Analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data from the research project concerning PIOs in Ireland has occurred at a specific historical time–the moment when massive post-accession migrants from Poland are putting down roots in the Republic. The institutional survey and interviews revealed the present state of immigrant organizations and their possible directions of change. The strengths of PIOs in Ireland include mainly the lack of strong organizational structures before 2004, lack of open conflicts between organizations, the wide range and complementary nature of PIOs' activities, and charismatic leaders. Their weaknesses include economic instability, lack of one umbrella organization, the low level of engagement of Polish immigrants in organizations' activities, and the low level of cooperation with Irish institutions and NGOs. The state of immigrant organizations is the result of a unique constellation of various determinants, mainly, the characteristics of the migratory stream (massive post-accession migration), the characteristics of the home country (a low level of civic engagement), the host country (a policy of integration), and global trends (the digital revolution, cheap flights, and cultural transformations).

The case studies of existing Polish immigrant organizations in Ireland allow us to anticipate possible scenarios for the development of PIOs. We propose to look at three possibilities: the transformation toward organizations serving as platforms of social engagement, organizations as professional service providers, and the increasing role of informal networks, groupings, and virtual communities. These scenarios have to be treated as solely hypothetical, as the pace of social and cultural change is accelerating. The anticipated transformation of immigrant organizations is rather of an evolutionary than a revolutionary nature and might lead to parallel forms of immigrant social engagement, as can be observed in other countries, such as the UK or France.

The shift toward integration, especially in countries with immigrant policies oriented toward immigrants' wide participation in various areas of social and cultural life, could be beneficial for immigrants' status in their new destination.

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[12] An illustration of this type of migrant social engagement is the Polish Runners Club Ireland, which was established by a "group of friends, who since 2009 run, train and develop their passions together," as we can read on the group's official Facebook fanpage, https://www.facebook.com/PolishRCIreland/, (accessed 5.02.5.2022).

Policy in regard to the Polish diaspora would benefit from analysis of contemporary changes and implementation of solutions in line with these alterations. The contemporary transformation of immigrant organizations will be difficult to understand unless researchers focus on the nature of informal bonds, and on network and social activities within the context of the digital revolution. We also need to revise the existing theoretical framework as well as methodological approaches in order to understand and study the role and functioning of contemporary immigrants' organizational life.

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