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Mediating Catholicism – Religious Identities, Polish Migrants and the Catholic Church
in Ireland

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Table of Contents

List of Tables	6
Summary	9
Acknowledgements	10
Dedication	12
Chapter One – Introduction	13
Introduction	13
1.1 Introduction to the Topic	19
1.2 Thesis Structure	20
1.3 Catholicism in Poland and Ireland	24
Poland	24
Ireland	34
Conclusion	44
1.4. Theoretical Framework	45
1.5 Data and Methods	49
1.6 Thesis Summary	51
Chapter Two - Setting the Context	52
Introduction	52
2.1 Role of Religion in Integrating Non-Polish Migrants in Ireland	53
2.2 Prior research on the Role of Religion in Integrating Polish Migrants in Contexts Beyond Ireland	60
2.3 Literature on Polish Migrants in Ireland	65
2.4 Immigration and Religion Literature	68
2.4.1 Debates in the Literature	69
Conclusion	71

Chapter Three - Theoretical Frameworks	73
Introduction	73
3.1 Transnationalism	75
3.1.1 The Concept	75
3.1.2 Concepts of Transnationalism	80
Religion and Transnationalism From Above	80
Religion and Transnationalism From Below	84
3.2 The Church – Alba, Raboteau and DeWind’s Theoretical Framework	88
3.2.1 Religion as system of meaning	88
3.2.2 Religion as institution	89
3.2.3 Religion as ethnic identifier	91
3.2.4 Religion as social capital	93
3.3 Religious Beliefs and Practices – Grave Davie’s Theoretical Framework	93
Conclusion	99
Chapter Four – Methodology	102
Introduction	102
4.1 Qualitative Approach	103
4.1.1 Interviewing	105
4.1.2 Participant Observation	106
4.2 Methodology Framework	108
4.3 Fieldwork	109
4.4 Setting	110
4.5 Recruiting the Sample	112
4.5.1 Profile of Participants	115
4.6 Ethical Considerations	119

4.6.1 Ethics	119
4.6.2 Reflections	121
Conclusion	122
Chapter Five - Motivations for Migrating to Ireland	124
Introduction	126
5.1. Religion and Polish Migration	129
5.2 Immigration Trends among Polish Migrants	134
5.3 Motivations for Migrating to Ireland	134
5.3.1 Economy	134
5.3.2 Social Networks/Capital	137
5.3.3 Arbitrary Factors	143
5.4 Why Religion was not a Significant Factor Motivating Migration to Ireland	146
Conclusion	148
Chapter Six - Religious Beliefs and Practices of Polish Migrants	150
Introduction	150
6.1 Polish Migrants' Religious Beliefs and Practices in Ireland	153
Chapter Seven - Polish Migrants and the Church	180
Introduction	180
7.1 Polish Migrants' Engagement with the Church	182
7.1.1 Religion as system of meaning	184
7.1.2 Religion as institution	187
7.1.3 Religion as ethnic identifier	191
7.1.4 Religion as social capital	195
7.2 Polish Migrants, Religious Practices and Engagement with the Church	201
Conclusion	210

Chapter Eight - Transnationalism From Above	212
Introduction	212
8.1 Transnationalism From Above: A General Description	214
8.2 On-the-ground Realities of Religious Transnationalism From Above	216
8.2.1 Transnational religious institution – The Polish Chaplaincy	216
8.3 Transnationalism From Above: The Experiences and Views of Polish Clergy	222
8.3.1 Negotiating the local religious field and missionary agenda	222
8.3.2 Spiritual and social roles of the church – The views of Polish Clergy	225
8.3.3 Migration and religion – The views of Polish clergy	230
8.4 Transnationalism from above: The Experiences and Views of Polish Migrants	233
8.4.1 The spiritual and social roles of Polish church – The views Of Polish migrants	235
8.4.2 Reasons for referring to the church – The views of Polish Migrants	237
8.4.3 Experiences of the Church – Polish migrants	238
8.5 Non-Religious Varieties of Transnationalism	241
8.5.1 Economic transnational activities	244
8.5.2 Political transnational activities	246
8.5.3 Socio-cultural transnational activities	248
Conclusion	250
Chapter Nine – Conclusion	253
9.1 Methodology	255
9.2 Migration and Religion	256
9.3 The Migration Journey – Transnationalism	266
9.4 Limitations of the study	268

9.5 Future Research	269
Concluding Remarks	271
Bibliography	272
Appendices	302
Appendix 1 - Polish Embassy – 10th April 2010	303
Appendix 2 - Polish Embassy – 10th April 2010	303
Appendix 3 - St. Audoen’s Church – 11th April 2010	304
Appendix 4 - St. Audoen’s Church – 11th April 2010	304
Appendix 5 – Activelink advertisement	305
Appendix 6 – Activelink advertisement (Polish version)	306
Appendix 7 – Metro Éireann advertisement	307
Appendix 8 - Interview Questions	308
Appendix 9 – Consent form	315

List of Tables

Table 1.1:	Profile of religious affiliation in Poland (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007)	28
Table 1.2:	Percentage of people attending Sunday mass and receiving Holy Communion in Poland between 1980 and 2008 following selected political events	31
Table 1.3:	Religious Affiliation in Ireland, Census 1961-2006	35
Table 1.4:	Irish Populations' Sexual and Reproductive norms, 1991, 1998, 2008	39
Table 1.5:	Irish Population weekly church attendance (%) 1973-2008	40
Table 1.6:	Irish Populations' Religious Affiliation 2006, 2011	42
Table 4.1:	Participant Observation Schedule	112
Table 4.2:	Recruitment of participants	114
Table 4.3:	Profile of participants in the study	116
Table 5.1:	Main destination countries for Polish emigrants 2000-2007	130
Table 5.2:	Profile of Polish Migrants in this Study	132
Table 6.1:	Profile of non-religious participants	155
Table 6.2:	Socio-demographic factors relating to non-religious Polish migrants	159
Table 6.3:	Point of contact relating to non-religious Polish migrants	160
Table 6.4:	Profile of participants who believe but practice occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland	161
Table 6.5:	Religious beliefs of Polish migrants who believe but practice occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland	162
Table 6.6:	Religious practices of Polish migrants who believe but practice occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland	164
Table 6.7:	Socio demographic factors relating to Polish migrants who believe but practice occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland	167

Table 6.8:	Profile of participants who believe and choose to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church	169
Table 6.9:	Religious beliefs of Polish migrants who believe and choose to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church	171
Table 6.10:	Religious practices of Polish migrants who believe and choose to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church	173
Table 6.11:	Socio demographic factors relating to Polish migrants who believe and choose to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church	176
Table 6.12:	Breakdown of Polish migrants in each of the three categories	178
Table 7.1:	Profile of Polish migrants who referred to the church for some form of support	183
Table 7.2:	Profile of Polish migrants who referred to the church for spiritual support	184
Table 7.3:	Gender division of Polish migrants that referred to the church for 'religion as system of meaning'	185
Table 7.4:	Polish migrants who referred to the church for spiritual support and whether or not they had a point of contact in Ireland	186
Table 7.5:	Profile of Polish migrants who referred to the church for social support	188
Table 7.6:	Gender division of Polish migrants who referred to the church for 'religion as institution'	188
Table 7.7:	Polish migrants who referred to the church for social support and whether or not they had a point of contact	190
Table 7.8:	Profile of Polish migrants who referred to the church for ethnic identification	192
Table 7.9:	Gender division of Polish migrants who referred to the church for ethnic identification	193
Table 7.10:	Profile of Polish migrants who referred to the church for social Capital	196

Table 7.11:	Gender division of Polish migrants who referred to the church for social capital	196
Table 7.12:	Polish migrants who referred to the church for social capital and whether or not they had a point of contact	197
Table 7.13:	Gender division of Polish migrants and how they engage with the church and its resources	200
Table 7.14:	Profile of Polish migrants – religious beliefs and practices and the ways in which the migrants engage with the church’s properties	202
Table 7.15:	Polish migrants' religious beliefs and the ways in which they engage with the church’s properties	204
Table 7.16:	Breakdown of Polish migrants by beliefs and practices, point of contact in Ireland and the ways in which they refer to the church for various kinds of support	208
Table 8.1:	Attitudes of Polish clergy regarding the role of Polish church in Ireland	228
Table 8.2:	Attitudes of Polish migrants regarding the roles of Polish church in Ireland	234
Table 8.3:	Profile of Polish migrants and their transnational activities	242

Summary

This thesis investigates the experience of Polish migrants in Ireland and how, if at all, spirituality or the church figure in terms of social and spiritual support. Drawing on data from in-depth interviews with Polish migrants and clergy, participant observation and documentary materials and guided by theories of religion as resource, achieved identity, and transnational identity, I identify four major empirical findings. First, religion is not a significant factor motivating the migration of Polish migrants to Ireland and instead economic and social factors predominate. Second, there is considerable variation in migrants' religious beliefs and practices, ranging from migrants who strongly identify with Catholicism to migrants who dis-identify with Catholic identity. Third, some Polish migrants rely on the church for various resources while others do not, depending on factors such as social networks, transnational ties and religious identity. I find that religion matters more as a marker of ethnic identity and social service resource than spirituality. In addition, the Polish chaplaincy draws on transnational resources to help some migrants maintain their religious identity and connection to Poland. Migrants, in turn, mobilise transnational networks to further support the preservation of ties to their homeland. Theoretically, this thesis gives weight to the perspective that religion and religious institutions operate transnationally, yet migrants' relationship with religion is constantly negotiated and adapted depending on their time and context specific situations, some migrants 'opt in or out' of religion when 'necessary'.

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For my mum and dad,

Mo thuismitheorí dhí

Chapter One

Introduction

If people need it, it's there [church]...they can go and come, it's up to themselves (Max, male, 28)

Introduction

Beata arrived to Dublin in 2006. Aged 28, she migrated to Ireland in search of adventure, employment and the hope of saving enough money to set up her life in Poland. Given the economic situation in Poland this was not a possibility. In Poland Beata finished university with a Master's in Psychology. She lived with her mother in the city of Krakow. With few job opportunities she had to work in a local restaurant. She simply did not earn enough money to move out of her family home, and her current job meant that she had no chance of saving enough money to rent or buy an apartment in Poland.

By this time, Poland had joined the European Union and a pattern of movement from Poland to Ireland had developed. Beata's friend knew of someone who had migrated to Ireland and she told her of the abundance of jobs available there. Beata discussed the idea of migrating to Ireland for one year to earn money. Her mother was apprehensive about her daughter moving to a new country where she knew no one. Beata's mother discussed her daughter's migration with their local priest, who in turn informed her of the importance of maintaining her Catholic faith in Ireland. He told Ana, Beata's mother, that it was important for Beata to draw strength from her faith. This would support her during her sojourn. Beata was religious and attended mass weekly with her mother. It was also important to Ana that Beata maintained her faith – they celebrated their religion as a family.

On arrival in Dublin, Beata had a 'point of contact'. Her friend, Aga, had given her the mobile phone number of one of her friends that was living in Dublin. She met Luckasz, a friend of a friend, at the spire in Dublin city centre. He

let her stay in his apartment for two weeks, helped her find employment, set up a bank account and get a PPS number. After a series of low-paid jobs in the retail sector, she got a job in the Polish Embassy. She set up a life for herself in Dublin. She is currently trying to get her Psychology Master's recognised in Ireland. She is in a relationship with an Irish man and they are hoping to buy a house in the suburbs of Dublin within the next year. When she arrived in Ireland, she did not have time to attend mass regularly. This did not bother Beata. She wanted to focus on settling into Ireland. It was only then that Beata started attending mass. Beata only attends Polish church. She does not feel that she could get the same spiritual experience from an Irish church. She likes the sense of belonging that she gets from attending mass and it affirms her identity, both Polish and Catholic.

Beata's brother, Martin, migrated to Ireland in 2009. He wanted a better life than he could have in Poland. He lived with Beata for three months. She helped him find employment, set up a bank account and get a PPS number. Off-and-on over the years Beata had friends migrate to Ireland and she also offered them her support and assistance when they arrived. Although Beata's mother, Ana, remained in Poland she knows all about life in Ireland from her son and daughter. She has never visited them but imagines the experiences of Ireland through photographs and the stories that she is told. Beata, her boyfriend and Martin, return to Poland twice a year. Beata talks to her mother daily on Skype and stays in contact with her friends through email. Beata voted in the Polish general election. She reads Polish newspapers from her local community online. Both Beata and Martin transfer money to their Polish bank accounts and send money to their mother when possible. Beata and her boyfriend attend Polish events in Dublin from time to time.

Beata's story echoes the migration experience of many Polish. However, this research reveals that Polish migrants represent 'Catholics of different stripes' (i.e. great variation in the ways they believe, practice and engage with religion and church) and extract varying resources from the institutional church. Therefore, to capture the variation, complexity and nuance of the Polish migrants' religious experiences, how the institutional church responds to migration and how migrants interact with it or not I relay two further migrants' stories.

Tomasz arrived in Dublin in 2004, aged 31. Newly married, Tomasz and his wife left their home in Bydgoszcz in the hope of earning enough money in Ireland to fund a more comfortable life when they return to Poland. He completed a Business Degree and had hoped to start up his own business. However, Poland offered very few opportunities, particularly to someone without experience in the business world. Tomasz had many friends that migrated to Ireland and had heard many success stories. He had taken English classes throughout his years at college and felt comfortable communicating in English. After contacting a number of his friends in Ireland and making arrangements with them to help him 'set up' when he arrived, Tomasz moved to Ireland. His initial plan was to move to Ireland, find employment and housing and then his wife would move over. They had planned to stay in Ireland for three years.

Similar to Beata, Tomasz's point of contact supported him. Tomasz's friend, Marek, helped him to get a PPS number, set up a bank account and find employment. He worked for a Polish organisation. He stayed with Marek for one week and stayed with another friend, Tom, for two further weeks. Tomasz's wife moved to Ireland a month later. By this stage, Tomasz had a large group of friends, mostly Polish but also a few Irish and other nationalities. Through his employment, he met a lot of Polish people. Prior to Tomasz's wife moving to Ireland, he stayed in constant contact with his wife using Skype and telephone. Now, they both engage in regular transnational activity – they return to Poland two or three times a year, they contact their families daily through Skype, email and text. They are politically active in both Poland and Ireland and they have bank accounts in both countries. They attend cultural events not only to raise the profile of Tomasz's organisation but also for personal reasons. Tomasz has now set up his own Polish organisation in Ireland. Tomasz has developed many transnational links with Poland as the main aim of his organisation is to help, support and facilitate the transnational migration experiences of Polish migrants.

Tomasz is not religious. Although baptised and raised Catholic, he has not practiced nor believed in Catholicism for many years. He did not practice religion in Poland and has continued this trend in Ireland. He has not been in contact with the Polish chaplaincy or Polish clergy in Dublin

and has not contacted the church for spiritual or social support. Through his organisation, he has become aware of the chaplaincy and the work that it does. Although he would never refer to the church for support (he prefers to rely on his social networks or seek support through his transnational links) he believes that the chaplaincy can have a role for those that need it. He believes that people in need are likely to go to places that are familiar for support, this is the reason he set up his organisation. He feels that if someone is a practicing Catholic then they may draw on the church's resources but he states his organisation supports all Polish migrants regardless of their religious beliefs or practices. Tomasz believes that the Polish chaplaincy was motivated to set up in Ireland to prevent a 'spiritual drift' among Polish Catholics, i.e. Polish migrants moving away from religious beliefs and practices after migration. He also believes that the Polish clergy attempt to exercise social control over Polish Catholics settling in Ireland. However, he acknowledges that the dynamics of migration means that some Polish migrants are likely to get help from a number of different organisations and institutions – adopt a market-place approach to supporting their migration experiences.

The third story I outline provides an insight into this migration experience from the Polish clergy's perspective. Father Marek moved to Ireland in 2006, aged 53. Unlike many Polish priests that have engaged in a missionary-pastoral migration to administer to the Polish community in Ireland, Father Marek decided to leave his parish in Krakow in search of adventure. He spoke to his bishop and was advised to move to Ireland. He joined the Sacred Heart parish in the suburbs of Dublin. During the first few months, Father Marek did not get involved with the Polish chaplaincy or community in Dublin. He administered to the Irish congregation within his parish. However, after some time he was approached by the Polish chaplain and asked to work with the Polish community within the parish.

Father Marek believes that the church needs to work to its full pastoral potential to support the social and spiritual needs of the Polish community. He feels that the church has a pivotal role in shaping the migration experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland. Father Marek believes that migration negatively impacts on migrants' religious identities, beliefs and in

particular religious practices. To prevent a spiritual drift, he supports the creation of the Polish chaplaincy and Polish masses throughout Ireland. Polish Catholicism, Father Marek argues, is distinct and unique. There are cultural and ethnic differences between Polish Catholicism and Irish Catholicism, hence he argues that Polish Catholics cannot integrate into the Catholic Church in Ireland. Therefore it is necessary that Polish churches and priests are available to administer to the Polish congregations.

Father Marek has learned a great deal about missionary work and the structure of the Catholic Church's pastoral programme since working with the Polish chaplaincy and migrants in Ireland. The transnationality of the Catholic Church ensures that the chaplaincy is connected with its sister congregation in Poland. As an institution, the church can influence the dynamics of migrants' adaptation through the resources it provides. The Polish chaplaincy has set up a wide range of facilities and networks to support migrants during their time in Ireland. The chaplaincy has free English classes, information boards, support groups, weekend schools, legal and social advice centres, counselling facilities and AA groups. Father Marek notes that the Catholic Church has extended transnational ties that enable the Polish chaplaincy to establish institutional responses to support the Polish. He highlights that the institutional response is played out at the pastoral level, whereby Polish clergy are provided with the necessary tools (i.e. churches, funding and resources) to ensure that Polish migrants' needs are catered for. Moreover, Father Marek notes that it is important that Polish migrants are supported by specifically the Polish church opposed to Irish church and by the Polish community opposed to the Irish community. Accordingly, he feels that the Polish church and Polish community are better equipped to address the needs of their co-ethnics. He feels it is important for Polish migrants to stay within their ethnic community. He believes that Polish migrants do not have to integrate into Irish society; they are able to choose which sectors they need to adapt to. These beliefs are grounded in the fact that he feels a good deal of the Polish is engaged in a migration with a short-to-medium time horizon. He believes that the Polish chaplaincy and the facilities, groups and opportunities it offers are important spiritual and social resources for some migrants in Ireland.

These three stories provide an insight into the complex and varied

transnational religious and social experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland – both from the perspective of migrants and clergy. Beata's story provides an insight into religion's place within her migration experience. Religion supports her ethnic identity and ideological ideas of nationality and religion. The Polish church reinforces her religious- ethnic identity in multiple ways. For example, Beata met a number of friends through attending church services, the church enabled her to have increased contact with co-ethnics; she celebrates Polish religious holidays in the church (Easter, St. Anne's feast day, Polish President's funeral and memorial days) and she attends different religious and cultural events organised by the church or groups associated with the church. Although migration has had an impact on her religious practice, Beata categorises herself as religious. She has religious beliefs, practices occasionally and views her ethnic identity in religious terms (Polish-Catholic). Beata draws on different aspects of her faith and church to support her migration experience. Beata has transnational ties and social networks which she also draws on to support her experiences in Ireland. Beata plans to move back to Poland in two years. For this reason, she believes that it is not necessary to assimilate into Irish society. Polish migrants are EU citizens and have unrestricted access to Ireland, thus Beata is able to selectively adapt to Irish society while drawing on transnational ties to preserve her ethnicity and connection to Poland.

Tomasz, on the other hand, is not religious. Although raised as Catholic, since the age of fifteen Tomasz no longer has religious beliefs. Tomasz and his wife have no association to the Catholic Church. They both agreed that they will not have their children baptised into the Catholic faith. Despite his own personal feelings on religion, he believes that religion can provide socially and materially for some Polish migrants. For Tomasz, transnational links and social networks are more important in supporting his migration experience. Tomasz plans to stay in Ireland for a few more years but ultimately wants to move back to Poland and start his own business. For this reason, Tomasz selectively engages with different sectors of society. Tomasz believes that his transnational activities enable him to remain part of Poland and choose his own adaptation path in Ireland. Tomasz's experience can be framed by transnationalism.

Father Marek's story provides an insight into the ways in which the church develops institutions to respond to migrants' needs. Moreover, his account shows us how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. We are able to see the Catholic Church as a 'public religion' (Casanova 1994) and trace the missionary and pastoral agenda of the church in the way it has been set up to support Polish migrants. His account reveals a significant insight in that some Polish priests do not encourage religious integration; rather, they feel that Polish religion and culture should be preserved and maintained in Ireland. Based on Father Marek's story, we see that the church views the Polish as short-to-medium term migrants. Therefore, in addition to spiritual support, the church provides material and social assistance to facilitate migrants' sojourn in Ireland, while also maintaining their connection to Poland (e.g. weekend schools). Father Marek's story enables us to see how the church organises and mobilises resources in response to migrants' needs.

1.1 Introduction to the Topic

These three stories shed light on the complexities and nuance of Polish migrants' religious beliefs, practices and identities and how the institutional church responds to migration. This is a significant study as this migration represents a move from a majority Catholic context (Poland) to a similar majority Catholic context (Ireland). The majority-majority case provides an interesting test of the Roman Catholicism notion which implies that because the Irish and Polish share the same religion they should be in harmony with one another (i.e. negotiate their place in Irish society and adapt easier). However, the current study finds that ethnicity prevents this. The majority of Polish Catholics view their religion in ethnic terms (national) opposed to universal. Religious integration is highly uncommon (10% attend Irish church – 3/31 Catholic migrants). Religious integration is unnecessary as the Polish chaplaincy was set up, in addition to widespread Polish religious services celebrated throughout Ireland, to support this community's spiritual and social needs. This study enables us to employ what we know about Polish migrants and Polish churches in Ireland to contribute to wider understandings of religion and society. This research explores the socio-religious experiences of

Polish migrants (i.e. how migrants draw, if at all, on religion to support their adaptation) as well as how the church as an institution influences this dynamic. This provides data which presents great variation in the ways in which these migrants engage with their faith and the church in Ireland. It also provides insights into the ways in which the Polish chaplaincy adopts social and spiritual roles to ensure migrants remain connected to Polish Catholicism.

This cohort represents Catholics of different stripes (i.e. great variation in religious beliefs and behaviour) and there is great variation in the ways in which these migrants extract resources from the church. For those who are religious (75% – 31 out of 41 migrants), religion matters more as a marker of ethnic identity (92% - 24/26 out of total number of migrants who referred to the church for support) and social service resource (34% - 9/26) than spiritual support (19% – 5/26). Non-religious mediating factors such as transnational ties and social networks support migrants’ ‘self selection’ in terms of religious beliefs and practices. These factors support migrants and enable them to ‘*opt in or out*’ (Gosia, female, 27) of religious beliefs and practices which explains the varied and nuanced ways in which migrants engage with the church and its resources. All of the migrants refer to social and transnational networks inside and outside of their immediate physical environment as support mechanisms. Within the wider context of understanding the relationship between religion and society, this research provides significant insights into the different ways in which transnationalism has implications for how migrants draw on religion and their faith to support their sojourn. Furthermore, this study sheds light on the ways in which the church responds to migrants and their needs in a context in which migrants share the majority religion of the local society.

1.2 Thesis Structure

This thesis presents and analyses a sample of diverse concepts, arguments and theories which provide the reader with a better sociological understanding of the religious and social experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland and how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. The study presents the experiences of Polish migrants and

how, if at all, spirituality or the church figure in terms of spiritual and social support. This thesis responds to recent calls among scholars for studies of transnational migration to incorporate religion into the analysis (Coakley and Mac Éinrí 2007). This is significant research as it explores how and why the church develops institutions to respond to the needs of migrants in a context in which they share the majority religion of the local society.

Chapter One provides an introduction to the thesis and sets out the research question. It points out the significance and contribution that this thesis makes to sociology and the transnationalism, immigration and religion literature. Chapter One outlines the research topic. It details the three theoretical frameworks which structure this research – transnationalism, concepts derived from Alba et al's (2009) research on religion and Grace Davie's (2006) theory of religion as 'choice'. This chapter briefly addresses the thesis structure and outlines the data and methods employed to do this research. Two literature review chapters set out the context for this study. The theories mentioned above are discussed in these theoretical chapters and are analysed in corresponding analysis chapters. Chapter Two and Three reviews literatures relating to this study and analyse the appropriateness of the aforementioned theories in framing this research. These two chapters correspond with the four empirical chapters, Chapter Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

Chapter Four addresses the research methods I employed, the analysis process and the limitations of this research. The challenges of researching in multiple, and often unfamiliar sites, as well as my position as a 'non-migrant' observer are identified and reflected upon. This qualitative study was designed to explore critical themes and identify features of modern migrants' transnational and religious experiences.

Four empirical chapters set out the contribution of this research. Chapter Five introduces the first empirical chapter and analyses whether religion had a role in the migrants' decision to choose Ireland as a country of destination. This chapter outlines the factors which motivated this migration pattern and considers if the 'Catholic compatibility' hypothesis (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000) is relevant – this hypothesis suggests that possessing the same religion as the majority population eases immigrants' adaptation experiences.

Henceforth, this chapter sheds light on whether religion was a motivating factor in the migrants' decision to move to Ireland. Chapter Six analyses the religious behaviour of Polish migrants in Ireland. Drawing on Dunlop and Ward's categorisation (2012), Polish migrants can be categorised by three responses to religion and beliefs within the experience of migrating from Poland to Ireland: 1) no longer believing or practicing a religion, 2) believing but practicing occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland, 3) believing and choosing to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church. This relates to Davie's theory (2006) of 'religion as a choice' – Davie argues that immigration from a context of 'religion as an obligation' to a context of 'religion as a choice' results in a decline in migrants' religious behaviour. Chapter Seven identifies if migrants' beliefs and/or practices correspond with the ways in which they employ their faith to support their migration experiences. The ways in which Polish migrants refer or employ their faith can be divided into four categories – religion as system of meaning (Alba et. al 2009), religion as institution (*ibid*), religion as ethnic identifier (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000) and religion as social capital (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). This chapter reveals the multiple ways in which Polish migrants employ the social and sacred properties of the church.

Chapter Eight continues the analysis of the Polish migrants' relationship with religion, their faith and the migrant church. To situate this research into the wider context I adopt a transnationalism lens. First, this chapter considers the multiple ways in which religious institutions operate within the transnational space. This sheds light on the different ways in which the clergy renegotiate and reshape their practices in response to the needs of migrants in the host society. Second, this analysis identifies how Polish migrants embody religious practices and beliefs within the transnational space and this compounds the argument set out in Chapter Seven (religion matters more as a marker of ethnic identification and social resources than spirituality). Finally, to fully address the experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland this chapter shifts focus to consider the non-religious variables of transnationalism and how these shape migrants' experiences in Ireland.

Chapter Nine focuses on the theoretical and empirical contributions of this study. This chapter integrates all the elements of the analysis to detail the

conclusion of this study. This study draws attention to the ways in which religion operates transnationally at the macro and micro level to support migrants' needs. I argue that transnationalism has a much greater role for contemporary EU citizens migrating within Europe. The political and legal status of Polish migrants in Ireland has transformed their migration trajectories and the ways in which they live their lives transnationally. I argue that transnationalism has a much greater role for contemporary EU citizens migrating within Europe. Similarly Krings, Moriarty, Wickham, Bobek and Salomonska's (2013) qualitative panel study, *'New Mobilities in Europe: Polish Migration to Ireland post-2004'*, details the primarily economy-driven Polish migration and experiences in Dublin. In this study, which complements my own research, they point out that the motivations to migrate post-2004 are complex and highly situated and include diverse non-materialistic as well as non-work related reasons. However, East-West migration does not represent the classical patterns of labour migration; rather the 'mobility turn' supported through 'mobile technologies' both physical (i.e. low-cost air travel) and virtual (i.e. social networking services, instant messaging agents) enable Polish migrants to develop 'boundaryless careers' and move countries as well as within national labour markets. The political and legal status of Polish migrants in Ireland has transformed their migration trajectories and the ways in which they live their lives transnationally. Their transnational social networks become support mechanisms; these provide Polish migrants "*with an extra 'lift' in terms of material and moral resources*" (Portes 2001:189) which supports their sojourn in Ireland. Therefore, it can be concluded that non-religious mediating factors such as transnational networks support migrants' 'self-selection' in terms of religious beliefs and practices. This support enables migrants to '*opt in or out*' (Gosia) of religion which explains the migrants varied and nuanced ways of engaging with the church and employing its resources. These factors, in addition to religiosity, are important in explaining the migrants' reliance on the church's resources. This chapter also proposes an outline of the main findings of the study and how these can be taken forward for future research.

1.3 Catholicism in Poland and Ireland

To contextualise this study I provide a discussion outlining Catholicism in Poland and Ireland. Poland and Ireland are cited as anomalies to the secularisation process in Western societies (Gorski and Altinordu 2008). The Roman Catholic Church is the majority religion in both countries. Based on this, it could be proposed that a ‘religious compatibility’ (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000) could support Polish migrants’ adaptation experiences in Irish society. This discussion analyses the similarities and differences that exist between Catholicism in Poland and Ireland. Exploring the historical development of the Catholic Church, in addition to analysing the contemporary position and role of the church (church-state relationship and the influence of the Catholic Church on people’s everyday lives and values) in both countries identifies if such a ‘religious compatibility’ exists. I argue that the Catholic habitus (i.e. how individuals believe, practice and possess religio-national identity) of the Irish and Polish people is quite different, even though they are situated within the universal Catholic Church. This section also analyses the religious behaviour of Polish and Irish people. This overview provides an insight into the contemporary Catholic Church in terms of global Catholicism and how religion travels across borders.

Poland

Without Christ it is impossible to understand the history of Poland...It is impossible, without Christ, to understand and appraise the contribution of the Polish nation to the development of man and his humanity in the past, and its contribution today (Pope John Paul II, Return to Poland, 1978)

John Paul II’s statement evokes an image that Poland was a nation dependent upon the church and the church dependent upon the nation. However, this version of Poland’s history is contradicted by Brian Porter (2001, 2011). He acknowledges that religious and national identity is inextricably intertwined. Catholicism, for the majority of Polish people, was a means of describing who they are (‘European’ or ‘Western’) and who they are not (Protestant/German, Jewish, or ‘Eastern’). Thus, any discussion or research of identity in Poland

must include Catholicism - *“The church is deeply rooted in Poland, but the linkage between Catholicism and an articulated ethnic identity – not to mention a politicized understanding of national belonging – is more tenuous than is usually assumed”* (Porter 2001:289). Therefore, it is necessary to present a discussion on Poland’s national history and how the church emerged as a powerful institution. Lipski (1994:52-53) remarks that *“the formation of our culture was produced by a synthesis with Christianity, adopted from the West in the tenth century, and the percolation of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and romanticism”*. There has been a strong institutional bond between the majority of Poles and the church that developed over the years. Tracing the roots of religion’s role in Polish society or the power of the Catholic Church in Poland throughout the centuries is tenuous and for many it entails a *“highly exclusionary telling of national history”* (Porter 2001:289).

The Catholic narrative of Polish history purports that, generally speaking, Polish Catholicism has always been the national religion and the bond between church and nation was one of Poland’s inherent features. The narrative retells the strength of Polish Catholicism under the system of the Noble’s Democracy (15th and 16th centuries) even when Poland was a refuge for religious dissidents. The bond, some argue, was further strengthened with the partitions of the country in 1772, 1793 and 1795 when the church was the only depository of the national culture, tradition, and collective memory of the nation (Komorowski in *Miasto i Kultura* 27; Cywinski47-48, in Porter 2001:292). Casanova noted that as a result, in *“the 19th century, Catholicism romantic nationalism and Slavic messianism contributed to the development of the new Polish civil religion”* (2005:160). Brian Porter (2001, 2011) contradicts this one sided account of Polish history and reveals a more disjointed relationship between the Catholic Church and state throughout the centuries.

The first challenge to Catholicism was during the Reformation in the sixteenth century. During this period Poland had a heterogeneous blend of Catholics, Jews, Eastern Orthodox, Armenian Catholics and Muslims. Calvinism spread rapidly in Poland and by the mid sixteenth century Protestantism was the majority religion in the Polish senate. Such diversity led the assembled nobles of the Polish republic in 1572 to issue a declaration *“that we who are divided by faith will keep peace among ourselves, and not shed blood on account of different faith or church”*. This era of pluralism and tolerance earned Poland the

reputation in sixteenth century Europe as a land where religious indifference made Catholicism vulnerable, but where official tolerance made it impossible for Protestantism to institutionalise its success (Tazbir 1966:35-60).

The next period, the counterreformation, marked an era where the church worked to construct a new Catholic narrative of Poland's past and present – to both eliminate religious diversity in the present and to write Protestantism out of the Polish history (Porter 2001). In the latter half of the sixteenth century, non-Catholics were expelled from the Polish Republic and a decade later it became a crime for Catholics to convert to other faiths – “*in 1573 the sejm made it impossible for non-Catholics to be ennobled, in 1716 a decree banned the construction of non-Catholic houses of worship, and three decrees from 1718, 1736, and 1764 established religious tests for all deputies to the sejm and all employed of the state administration*” (Porter 2001:292-293). The Catholic narrative of this period purports a religious identity that is natural not constructed or politically enforced. Jerzy Kloczowski states “*the cause of the collapse of Protestantism was not force; rather, today we are inclined to see this as a result of the attraction of a vital and renewed Catholicism*” (Chrzescijanstwo w Polsce 88, in Porter 2001:293). Over this period the church established itself in Polish society. However, the Enlightenment introduced new challenges for the church. This period modernised the Polish state and the Polish population. The clerical monopoly over education was weakened, anticlerical satires emerged, the lifestyle of the elites grew even more secular, and the church had to defend itself against attacks from Enlightenment political theorists. However, Catholicism was preserved but Porter (2001) remarks that it did so at the cost of welcoming some extraordinarily heterodox intellectuals back into the fold.

In the nineteenth century, the era of partitions, Bernhard (1993:136) noted that Polish national consciousness came to be strongly tied to a Catholic religious identity. Religion was the natural locus of identity given the fact that it was partitioned and occupied primarily by Orthodox Russia and Protestant Prussia and remained free of russification or germanization. Again, Porter points out that the church distanced itself from the patriotic cause, eventually becoming one of the few indigenous bastions of loyalism in partitioned Poland. The Vatican made its stance clear in 1832 – Pope Gregory XVI's encyclical, *Cum Primum*, stated “*we are taught most clearly that the obedience which men are*

obliged to render to the authorities established by God is an absolute precept which no one can violate". The Tsar of Russia, the Pope continued, was a "legitimate prince" and that Poles owed him their submission (Gregory XVI in Papal Encyclicals 233-234, in Porter 2001). In 1863 when the Polish nationalists revolted against the Catholic Church as an institution urged the rebels to lay down their arms and accept Russian rule (Jablonska-Deptula and Skarbek in *Chrzescijanstwo w Polsce* 441, 445). Thus Porter (2001, 2011) argues that religion was far less important to national survival in the nineteenth century than is usually assumed. The church was never the only space within which Poles could express and cultivate myths, customs, or practices of their ethnicity. In the early twentieth century the term 'Polak-Katolik' became many Catholics rhetoric. There were heated debates between those who defined the nation as essentially and necessarily Catholic and those who refused to do so. The 'Jewish-Question' was at the centre of this conflict. Polish-Catholicism became a vehicle for anti-Semitism. However, after World War II the post-war boundaries were drawn so as to exclude almost all Lithuanians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians, the Germans were forcibly expelled, and most of the Jews perished in the Holocaust. Porter (2001:297) concludes that "*for many Poles today...the Polish nation had always been religiously and ethnically homogenous, even though a great number of 'aliens' or 'minorities' had lived within the boundaries of the Polish state...After World War II those aliens were gone, and it became easier than ever to promote the Catholic narrative....*".

After 1989, clergy involvement in politics increased and with the victory of democracy in Poland parliamentary elections the church started to play a new political role – that of an ally for post-Solidarity political parties and individual politicians. The church succeeded in influencing legislation in such spheres as education and family life, for example in 1991, a law was passed providing for Christian values to be respected in education, and religion instruction returned to primary and secondary schools (Doppke 1998). Like any other social institution, the church has a structure, roles to play and powers to exercise. Structurally, it is hierarchical and complex and made up of parishes which include staff of 133 bishops, 22.2 thousand priests, 6.3 thousand monks and 23.3 thousand nuns (Statistical Yearbook 2010:215-244). The economic component of the church included property, sources of revenue, means of funding and privileges and exemptions not granted to most other social institutions. Apart from land, in

relation to sacral and non-sacral buildings, most of which were recovered after 1989, the church took advantage of state subsidies which included the cost of religious instruction, funding of Catholic higher schools and financing the theological departments at state universities. The Catholic Church has a well defined mainstream position in Poland and its influence on societal discourse and policies is evident in modern Poland. The rise of the Catholic Church and the development of the church-state relationship have been tenuous with different authors citing different perspectives on major events throughout the centuries. This discussion on religion and the Catholic Church in Poland presents a brief insight into significant periods in Polish history that has led to the development of religion and religious identity in Poland today.

The twenty-first century has marked a new era for ‘Polak-Kataliks’. Changes to the church-state relationship have been accompanied by a marked decline in Polish people’s religiosity and public trust in the Catholic Church. The influence of the Catholic Church on Polish people’s everyday lives and values has lessened. First, I present an analysis of the decrease in Polish people’s religious beliefs and practices. Table 1.1 shows that affiliation with minority religions remained steadfast, whereas the number of individuals affiliated to the Roman Catholic Church declined. The number of individuals declaring that they are Catholic decreased from 94.2% in 1990 to 88.4% in 2007. Significantly, individuals stating that they have no religion increased from 2.6% in 1990 to 9% in 2007.

Table 1.1: Profile of religious affiliation in Poland (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007)

Year	Total population		Roman Catholic Church		Other religions		No religion	
	[1]	[2]	[1]	[2]	[1]	[2]	[1]	[2]
1990	38,119,000	100.0	35,894,538	94.2	1,227,893	3.2	996,569	2.6
1995	38,609,399	100.0	34,908,739	90.4	1,005,507	2.6	2,695,153	7.0
2000	38,646,000	100.0	34,608,967	89.5	995,450	2.6	3,041,583	7.9

2005	38,157,010	100.0	34,197,400	89.6	901,559	2.4	3,058,051	8.0
2007	38,116,600	100.0	33,699,264	88.4	986,059	2.6	3,431,277	9.0

Notes: [1] Number of persons; [2] Percent of total population - Source: compilation of data based on: Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1991, 1991:57-58; Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1996, 1996:72-74; Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2001, 2001:120-121; Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2006:220-221; Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2008, 2008:212-213.

Table 1.2 indicates that there has been a decrease in the number of individuals attending Sunday mass. There was just under a ten percent decrease in the number of individuals attending Sunday mass between 1980 and 1990. Interestingly, after major political events in Poland, religious participation (attending Sunday mass) increased. This idea of increased contact with religious organisations subsequent to major political or tragic events is relevant for understanding the different roles of religion in society. This is an important point to mention as it applies to the Polish migrants religious experiences in my research. The Polish President was killed in a plane crash in 2010 and the Polish chaplaincy in Ireland held a memorial service so that the Polish migrants could come together to share in the loss and grief of this tragedy. Large crowds of Polish migrants came to the church after the president's death and hundreds attended the memorial service. This public gathering and expression of loss enabled this migrant group to come together to create a sense of solidarity. Studies show that the church has a role in times of social crisis. Tony Walter (2001) asks the question "*where do mobile, individualistic member...spontaneously congregate, e.g. for public mourning, and what does this tell us about the construction of solidarity and a sense of society?*"? Drawing on Durkheim's analysis of collective ritual, Walter (2001:495) argues that the more disturbing a death, because of its tragic circumstances or because of the high status of the deceased, the greater the tendency for mourners to come together in an attempt to glue the social bonds back together again. Tony Walter's study (2001) of public expressions of mourning in the aftermath of Princess Diana's death in 1997 found that although churches were important sites for people other places such as town halls, war memorials, shops and public buildings also acted as magnets to bring people together.

On the other hand, Grace Davie's study of Liverpool in the aftermath of the Hillsborough tragedy (F.A. Cup semi-final match between Liverpool and

Nottingham forest, held in Hillsborough stadium in Sheffield when ninety-six people were crushed to death by overcrowding) purports the highly expressive religiosity of Liverpool in a time of heightened emotional tension. Davie points to the relationship between organised religion and the football world and how, at this time of social crisis, religion provided a strong sense of communal identity. Davie's research shows that people found comfort in coming together on the day after the tragedy. They came primarily to their church, to the Roman Catholic Cathedral or to Anfield (home ground of Liverpool Football Club). These spontaneous individual gestures became more organised and before long "pilgrims" - as they were called (Davie 1993:81) - emerged. By the end of the week, an estimated one million people had filed through the ground, twice the population of the city. To a much lesser extent, this type of trend was witnessed during my research. Polish migrants flocked to the Polish Embassy and the Polish chaplaincy to lay flowers and wreaths. These two places soon became sites for the public expression of grief and loss that the Polish community in Ireland had experienced. Although not all religious, attending the Polish chaplaincy not only for the memorial service but also to lay flowers was the 'expected' response of Polish citizens in Ireland. This type of public expression allows everyone, irrespective of personal religious beliefs, to come together and to be a part of a wider social event. Similarly, Davie points out that 'believing without belonging' characterised British society, but subsequent to the Hillsborough disaster "*Christian teaching was respected: it was 'added to' rather than rejected in the emergent amalgam of faith which Liverpool people found such innovative ways of expressing*" (1993:88). This type of public expression, albeit the death of Princess Diana, the Hillsborough Disaster or the tragic death of the Polish President, indicates that people can have an exceptionally strong sense of communal identity. Moreover, churches can be symbolic places for gathering at times of grief and national/global disasters.

In Poland, turning to the church in the form of increased participation subsequent to political and tragic events was a trend evident in the 1990's and 2000. Religious participation shows only one aspect of an individual's religiosity. The importance placed on receiving Holy Sacraments is another factor indicative of people's religiosity. Thus Table 1.2 shows that receiving Holy Communion has remained relatively steady between 1980 and 2008, fluctuating between 7.8% (1980) to 19.4% (2000) and 15.3% (2008). The numerical difference

between those that attend Sunday mass and those that receive Holy Communion is indicative of Polish Catholics observance to religious traditions – Polish Catholics do not receive the Eucharist unless they have attended confession prior to the religious service (Chapter Six). Marianski (2000) suggests that the decline in Sunday religious activity is a sign of a shift towards modern values, which is accompanied with the declining relevance and importance placed on the Catholic Church’s teachings. The decrease in the number of individuals identifying with Roman Catholicism and the increase in the number of individuals with no religion is supportive of Marianski’s hypothesis.

Table 1.2: Percentage of people attending Sunday mass and receiving Holy Communion in Poland between 1980 and 2008 following selected political events

Year	Percentage dominicantes (Sunday mass)	Percentage of communicantes (Holy Communion)
1980	51.0	7.8
1981	52.7	8.1
1981 – Martial law		
1982	57.0	9.6
1985	49.9	9.1
1988	48.7	10.7
1989	46.7	9.9
1989 – Start of transition to democracy		
1990	50.3	10.7
1995	46.8	15.4
2000	47.5	19.4
2001	46.8	16.5
2002	45.2	17.3
2003	46.0	16.9
2004	43.2	15.6
2005	45.0	16.5
2006	45.8	16.3
2007	44.2	17.6
2008	40.4	15.3

Source: selected data from Zdaniewicz Adamczuk 2009 in Wodecka (2009:7)

Between 2005 and 2013 the proportion of respondents attending religious services at least once a week fell from 58% to 51%, while the number of people never going to church rose from 9% to 12%. More people attend religious services irregularly (increase from 33% to 37%). Aggregated data from four national surveys conducted in the period April-July 2013 (CBOS report) identified non-believers, those who strongly believed and those who believed. Women were most prominent in the strong believers category (64% of them are women and 36% are men), while men prevailed in the non-believers category (37% are women and 63% are men). Non-believers are predominantly young; two-fifths are in the age 18-34 years while over half of the people whose faith is strong are at least 55 years old. The majority of non-believers reside in big cities while the reverse is true about believers and strong believers – three-fifths live in villages and small towns. Three-quarters of non-believers have at least a secondary education, whereas half of believers and strong believers have primary or basic vocational education.

Although there is a notable decline in Polish people's religious beliefs and practices, a strong sense of Catholic identity remains. Demerath (2000) remarks that the link of Poles as Catholic is well established. Bernadetta Siara (in Peter Nynas 2013) contradicts this and argues that it may not actually have strong grounding in social reality. The majority of respondents in CBOS polls (2009a, 2009b) describe themselves as Catholic (96%), yet only two-thirds said that they believe in God or considered themselves to be religious. Demerath (2000) argues that Catholicism can be seen more as a cultural rather than a religious identity – Poles describe themselves as Catholic because they associate Catholicism with Polishness, but neither are they religiously active nor do they practice Catholicism in their everyday lives. Siara's research furthers this assertion and points out that some Polish Catholics appeared to be selectively picking and choosing elements from the Catholic dogma which they found acceptable. They incorporated non-Catholic, more tolerant and democratic elements into their worldviews and merged them with Catholic ones. This shows how the church no longer holds the moral monopoly over Polish people's values and attitudes.

A recent Warsaw-based CBOS Polish opinion poll (2013) further sheds light on the shift towards liberal attitudes and values. It shows that there has

been a significant decline of public trust towards religion in Poland. The 2013 CBOS poll reveals that 74% think that religion is not always the source of morality and people should follow their own conscience. 41% think that there is no direct link between religion and morality – this is an 8% increase from 2009 polls. The poll also shows that there has been a decrease in the number of people who believe that religion is the only source of morality – from 24% in 2009 to 16% in 2013. Public debates such as in-vitro fertilisation (IVF), ending state subsidies for the church, whether to legalise civil unions are challenging Catholicism's role in guiding Polish people's decision-making. Interestingly though 75% condemn abortion and 56% condemn homosexuality. Yet behaviours that are more socially acceptable than unacceptable are sex before marriage and contraception (both 59%) and relationship without marriage (53%). The poll shows that the most controversial issue is divorce with the level of approval and disapproval aligned at 36% and 38%. This recent poll shows that although there has been a decline in the influence of the church on Polish people's everyday lives, Catholicism still shapes some of their attitudes and values to some extent. Accordingly, the CBOS reveals that the level of liberalism varies depending on age and level of religiosity and increases with education. However, the CBOS poll identified a number of issues that people have with the Catholic Church and these have had damaging effects on the church and its followers. 43% consider cases of paedophilia among priests to be the biggest problem facing the church, while 29% consider homosexuality of priests to be an issue. 28% believe that the excessive political activity of the institutional church to be problematic. 26% believe that the process of secularization of the society as a serious challenge for the church.

The romanticised view of Poland and the 'Polak-Katolik' stems from the idea of an indissoluble bond between faith and nation. However, this is all too far removed from the actually-existing Poland, as Father Mieczyslaw Nowak remarks "*no statistic can render precisely the question of faith....For a large percentage of the Poles, faith is only a stereotypical mindset, a tradition, an extremely superficial declaration*" (Porter 2001:290).

Ireland

Ireland and Poland loosely share some cultural similarities. History of foreign occupation and extensive emigration marked the development of both countries. However, there are many differences between both countries. There has been a continuing trend of emigration in Poland. Ireland, on the other hand, has undergone a transformation from a country of emigration to one of immigration. The greater economic difference in both countries is a contributing factor to these trends. The historical analogies and the role of the Catholic Church in the development of both countries mark the formation of a religious-national identity. Patriotism and Catholicism became intertwined to form a national religion. I argue that this cultural or ‘inherited’ religious identity persists to some degree even on the backdrop of religious decline. A trend of religious decline is evident in both Poland and Ireland, particularly in the mismatch between peoples’ beliefs and practices. This discussion on Catholicism in Poland and Ireland provides a context for understanding key differences in how Polish migrants view and experience Polish Catholicism within the Irish religious landscape. Similar to the discussion on Poland, I set out the church-state relationship and the influence of the Catholic Church on Irish people’s everyday lives and values.

The struggle for Independence from British colonialism was a hard fought battle. The Catholic Church played a prominent role representing and uniting the Irish people and their fight for freedom. By the time the Irish Free State emerged in 1921, the Catholic Church had built “*itself into the very vitals of the nations*” (Larkin 1972:644-65, 1975). President de Valera was deferential towards the church. This was reflected in the 1937 Irish Constitution whereby the Catholic Church was given a ‘special position’. The church placed resources and investment into education, health and social welfare. These institutions were organised, controlled and managed by the church. This ensured that the Catholic Church was an important institution, influential in all spheres of Irish society. Thus, in self-governing Ireland the Catholic Church had from the start a powerful inherited position of state-supported institutional strength. Dr. James Devane remarked that “*perhaps the Republic of Ireland, as it is constituted today, is the only integral Catholic state in the world*” (Devane 1952). The 1950s marked a transition period brought about dramatic changes for the Catholic Church and Irish society. Irish society was ethnically

and religiously homogenous and intensely religious, so much so that weekly mass attendance in rural areas reached 100 percent and not far off that in cities (Girvin 2008:75; Ward 1972; Blanchard 1963). The latter half of the twentieth century brought about profound change for the church, the state and religion in Ireland. The church-state relationship was dissolved and there have been dramatic changes in religious piety, beliefs and practices among the Irish population. Table 1.3 illustrates the change in Roman Catholic affiliation between 1961 and 2006. It decreased from 95% to 87%. Interestingly, there was an increase in the number of individuals with no religion. This category increased from <0.5% in 1961 to 4% in 2006. Similar to Poland, Ireland had experienced a decline in Catholic affiliation that was accompanied with an increase in individuals stating that they have no religion.

Table 1.3: Religious Affiliation in Ireland, Census 1961-2006

	%	%	%	%	%	%
	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002	2006
Roman Catholic	95	94	93	92	88	87
Church of Ireland (including	4	3	3	3	3	3
Muslim	0	0	0	0	1	1
Other Christian Religion	0	0	0	0	1	1
Presbyterian	1	1	<0.5	<0.5	1	1
Orthodox	0	0	0	0	<0.5	1
Methodist	<0.5	<0.5	<0.5	<0.5	<0.5	<0.5
Other stated religions	<0.5	<0.5	<0.5	1	1	1
No religion	<0.5	<0.5	1	2	4	4
Not stated	<0.5	2	2	2	2	2

Source - Census, Religion, Volume, various years, rounded up (www.cso.ie)

A number of political, religious and social events can account for the transition in Irish society. The political landscape underwent major reform throughout the latter half of the twentieth century and the initiation of these changes can be traced to the policies implemented by the new Taoiseach at the time, Seán Lemass. Appointed in 1959, Lemass focused on economic development and the modernisation of Ireland. A process of opposition and

conflict emerged between different political parties about the role of Church in the state and the position of the church in Irish society. This process continued and to some extent continues today (debate over legalising abortion, 2013). Two significant and overlapping events (Second Vatican Council and debates on liberal issues beginning with contraception) marked the development of policy in Ireland and redefined the relationship between religion and politics in Ireland.

The publication of *Humanae Vitae* in 1968 generated controversy in Ireland. The impact of the Second Vatican Council was profound. It opened a space for Irish liberal/conservative divisions around contraception, abortion and divorce to emerge within a previously monolithic context. The Council introduced a new era of “*freedom, progress and opened to the modern world*” in contrast to the restrictive attitude to modernity that had marked the church since the Counter-Reformation. The changes were felt immediately with changes to the mass, such as replacing Latin with the vernacular and the radical simplification of the rubrics with the priest facing the congregation. These changes were inspired by the Liturgical Movement which began in the latter half of the 19th Century. The Council also gave its full endorsement of the ecumenical movement of rapprochement with non-Catholic Churches and ecclesial communities. Vatican II abandoned the existing portrayal of the church as a pyramid with the Pope on top of descending Cardinal, bishops and priests in favour of a more universal church. It is these changes that situate the Polish Catholic Church’s organisation and operations in Ireland. The new church brought about by Vatican II supports ethnic forms of Catholicism, thus the Irish Catholic Church facilitates for national forms of Polish Catholicism to operate in Ireland. Furthermore, as stated previously, liturgically Vatican II replaced Latin with the vernacular. With regards to this study, we can see how this opened the way for Polish masses in Dublin. Moving away from Latin masses further supported national forms of Catholicism which are re-enforced by national language. Identifying the changes brought about by Vatican II enables an understanding of why and how Polish Catholicism exists and is celebrated in Ireland – a country where Catholicism is the dominant church and there already exists many Catholic Churches. Vatican II renovated the church and presented it as a ‘communion’ of members with a more modernised agenda.

Subsequent to the Vatican Council, the Supreme Court held a liberal attitude toward non-Catholic Churches and recommended that article 41 be

amended to take account of religions that accepted the dissolution of marriage (Girvin 2008:78). Contraception remained one of the most contentious issues between liberals and conservatives between 1969 and 1990s. Significantly, this issue brought about major clashes between the state and church. By the early 1970s there was a political will for a change in moral politics. In 1972 article 44.2.1 was deleted from the 1937 constitution with very little opposition from the church. However, Fianna Fáil remained opposed to any changes and increasingly reflected the views of the hierarchy. There were significant changes in people's attitudes and this was presented in sociologist Michael Mac Gréil's survey of Dublin opinion in 1977. Ireland was becoming increasingly pluralistic. He found that the percentage of those attending church weekly had not declined, yet there were major changes in attitudes toward church doctrines. Sixty-three percent disagrees with the view that the use of contraception was always wrong; forty-three percent agreed that laws against homosexual behaviour should be decriminalized; forty-six percent agrees that priests should be allowed to marry. Girvin (2006) notes that Mac Gréil identified that these liberal attitudes were mostly held among those under thirty-five, university-educated males, and those in executive or professional occupations. Similarly, he points out that RTÉ current affairs program *7 Days* carried out a national poll and found similar findings to Mac Gréil. Dublin stands apart not just from rural areas but from all of Ireland – thirty-seven percent of Dublin respondents agreed that contraceptives should be available to everyone; the national figure was sixteen percent. Nationally, forty-two percent of those interviewed believed that contraceptives should only be available to married persons, while in Dublin the figure was thirty-seven percent. The survey found opinion evenly divided on the issue of divorce, with forty-eight percent in favour of change and forty-seven percent opposed. Liberalism was concentrated in Dublin but drew support nationally from the young and middle-class males. Liberalism became influential and increasingly assertive.

Also in 1977 the new Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Tomás Ó Fiaich, joined the debate and publically supported the idea of separating church and state. The bishop of Limerick, Jeremiah Newman, was critical of the emerging trends in Ireland and insisted on the preservation of Catholicism in politics and society. The Minister for Health Charles Haughey introduced a restrictive Family Planning Bill in 1979. However, in 1982 Barry Desmond, Minister for Health in

the Fine Gael-Labour government liberalized the law on family planning. Despite this development, 1979-1991 represents a period of conservatism rather than liberalism in Irish politics. The visit of Pope John Paul II provided a potent stimulus to antiliberal sentiment (Girvin 2008:85). Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald embarked on a “constitutional crusade” to amend the 1937 constitution but faced strenuous opposition. The right to life referendum was passed after much debate, while the right to divorce in 1986 was rejected. Although the antiliberal movement was strong these debates resulted in the Catholic Church being forced to refine its position in respect of church and state. However, the link between the Catholic Church and Fianna Fáil was reinforced during the debate over divorce. In the Dáil, Fianna Fáil representatives repeated various options put forth by the hierarchy at the New Ireland Forum which could be introduced instead of divorce. A similar situation emerged with regards to abortion. By 1990 some two-thirds of those surveyed agreed that abortion should be permitted if a mother’s life was at risk while in 1992 only twenty percent should be permitted, while thirty-three percent agreed that there were some circumstances when this should be allowed. However, on 25 November 1992 the abortion referendum was defeated. The gradual liberalization of opinion represented wider change during the 1990s. This is reflected in a number of studies on Irish people’s attitudes towards church and state and religion in general.

The transition in attitudes towards the church and clergy is evident when comparing surveys carried out over the sixty year period. In the 1960s Bruce Biever carried out a sociological study of Irish Catholicism and revealed that clerical influence in the lives of the community was viewed positively. Eighty-eight percent of respondents agreed that the Catholic Church was “*the greatest force for good in Ireland*”. In a conflict between the church and state the majority responded in favour of the church. He also noted the conservative attitude of people towards issues such as sexuality. A report by the Bishops’ Research and Development Commission in 1974 indicated that religious participation was high amongst Irish Catholics (91% attend mass weekly). However, it found that religion did not guide their socio-moral attitudes (Dublin: Research and Development Unit, Catholic Communications Institute of Ireland 2008, 1975, 1976). This research is supported by the findings in

the Statistical Yearbook of Ireland. Table 1.4 illustrates that in 2008, 60% of those surveyed believed that sexual relations before marriage is not wrong at all, while 42% state that gay sexual relations is not wrong at all. These reflect liberal attitudes that are in stark contrast to the teachings of the Catholic Church. Further liberal changes have taken place in Ireland. The Family Planning Act was passed in 1979 which allowed access to contraception and further changes were made in 1985 and 1992. Legalised homosexual practices came into legislation in 1993. Divorce was legalised in 1995. These developments shed light on the change in Irish peoples' attitudes towards religion. However a conservative attitude on some issues still exists. Table 1.4 shows that in 2008, 51% of the Irish people surveyed believe that 'abortion if defect in the baby' is almost always wrong. This figure slightly declined from 1998 (55%). Interestingly, between 1998 and 2008 there was an increase in the number of individuals that believe 'abortion if family have very low income' is almost always wrong (78% - 80% respectively). These statistics suggests that although liberal progressive trends have emerged, a conservative attitude regarding fundamental contentious issues such as abortion is still prevalent to some extent in Ireland.

Table 1.4: Irish Populations' Sexual and Reproductive norms, 1991, 1998, 2008

	%			%		
	Almost always			Not wrong at all		
	1991	1998	2008	1991	1998	2008
Sexual relations before marriage	49	40	23	35	43	60
Sexual relations with someone other than	91	84	84	3	6	4
Sexual relations between two adults of the	78	70	43	13	20	42
Abortion if defect in the baby	-	55	51	-	26	26
Abortion if family have very low income	-	78	80	-	10	9

Source - Vital Statistics, 2003:266; Statistical Yearbook of Ireland, 2008:85

The Central Statistics Office published a report titled *‘That Was Then, This Is Now: Change 1949-1999’* in 2000 which documented the phenomenal change in Ireland during the latter half of the twentieth century. This report sheds light on rural traditional life in Ireland prior to the turn of the century, before *“the state abandoned the Church’s ideal of a self sufficient, rural society based on small scale production in which family, community and religious life took as much precedence as the acquisition of material possessions”* (Inglis 1998:246). Thus, 1972 marked an era for change in Ireland that particularly affected the Catholic Church, its relationship with the state (as discussed above) and the influence it had on the everyday lives and values of the Irish people. Constitutional changes and alterations were made that affected Ireland's position in Europe. Key economic developments modernised Ireland. These included the establishment of the Industrial Development Authority in 1949, the Whitaker Report of 1958 and the entry into the European Economic Community in 1973. The liberalisation and progression of the education system was also a significant development. There was a shift away from the church controlled curriculum which put emphasis on religion and Gaelicization (OECD funded report in 1965 titled ‘Investment in Education’ highlighted grave inadequacies of the clerical run education system). Economic, social and political changes impacted on the church and Irish people’s religious morals and beliefs (Table 1.5). Table 1.5 shows that between 1973 and 2008, weekly mass attendance decreased from 91% to 43%. This significant decline reflects Davie’s ‘believing without belonging’ (1994) hypothesis.

Table 1.5: Irish Population weekly church attendance (%) 1973-2008

	%								
	1973	1978	1981	1984	1985	1990	1991	1998	2008
All	92	91	83	-	88	81	65	57	40
Roman Catholic	91	-	87	87	-	85	68	62	43

Source - % for 1973-1990 are Eurobarometer statistics based on Figure 3.4 from Fahey, Hayes and Sinnot, 2005:42

As the economy developed, modern Western trends became widespread in Ireland. The church was no longer able to act as a 'sacred canopy'. The change in religious behaviour reflected the transformation in Irish peoples' attitude towards religion. This is presented in Fahey, Hayes and Sinnott (2006) analysis of the similarities/differences in the cultural values and attitudes of individuals in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Employing a sample survey technique and primarily drawing on EVS data between the years 1970 and 2003 they point out that in comparison to their European neighbours, both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland remain morally conservative and religious societies. Fahey et al. points out that religious affiliation and national identity is very much intertwined. They found that 87.8% of the sample identified as Catholic in the Republic of Ireland while 40.3% identified with Catholic in Northern Ireland. 8.6% stated that they are not affiliated to a religious denomination in the Republic of Ireland while in Northern Ireland the figure was 14%. In regards to church attendance, they point out that in the Republic of Ireland 76% of Catholics attend regularly while 24% attend irregularly. This is compared to 87% of Catholics in Northern Ireland attend regularly and 13% attend irregularly. With regards to moral issues, the data from Fahey et al's study identifies the attitudes of those with religious identification towards divorce, abortion and homosexuality. In the Republic of Ireland, it was revealed that 30% of Catholics believe that divorce is never justified, 66% believe abortion is never justified and 42% of homosexuality is never justified. In Northern Ireland, 33% of Catholics believe divorce is never justified, 72% believe abortion is never justified and 43% believe that homosexuality is never justified. This shows that Catholics both North and South of the border still possess a quasi-conservative attitude towards moral issues. However the latest Census 2011 report points out that the Catholic Church's influence in Irish society has significantly decreased. Table 1.6 illustrates that Roman Catholic affiliation has increased by 4.9% between the 2006 and 2011 Census. More significant is the 44.8% increase in individuals declaring no religion. However, Table 1.6 shows that 32% of the 269,000 individuals that have no religion were non-Irish nationals. 7.3% of the 3.4 million Catholics in Ireland are non-Irish nationals and out of just over 122,000 Polish migrants in Ireland, 90% identified themselves as Catholic. Migrants are definitely affecting the Irish religious landscape.

Table 1.6: Irish Populations' Religious Affiliation 2006, 2011

	Census 2006	Census 2011	Percentage of change (%)
Total Population	4,172,013	4,588,252	
Roman Catholic	3,644,965	3,861,000 (84.2%)	4.9
Church of Ireland	118,948	129,000	6.4
Muslim	31,779	49,200	51.2
Orthodox	19,994	45,200	117.4
Other Christian	28,028	41,299	40.9
Presbyterian	21,496	24,600	4.5
Other	54,033	81,000	64.7
No religion	175,252	269,000	44.8
Not stated	66,750	72,900	3.7

Source: Central Statistics Office 2006, 2011 (www.cso.ie)

Inglis (2007) suggests that a new type of Irish Catholic has emerged. At the parish level, Irish Catholics maintain religious rituals of baptisms, communions, confirmations and funerals. Children are socialised into Catholicism through structures such as the family and school. From an early age, Irish Catholics develop a 'Catholic habitus' (Inglis 2007; Bourdieu 1982) that shapes their identity and guides their spiritual and moral beings. 'Catholic habitus' is a "*deeply embodied, almost automatic way of being spiritual and moral that becomes second nature and creates a Catholic sense of self and a way of behaving and interpreting the world*" (Inglis 2007:205). The Catholic socialisation process and the development of a Catholic habitus has resulted in Catholicism being deeply entrenched in Irish society during the twentieth century. Even on the backdrop of secularisation processes and religious decline, religious identification still remains. Inglis refers to this trend as "*belonging to an Irish Catholic heritage*" (Inglis 2007:208). Although Inglis (2007) points to the family and the education system as components in reproducing a Catholic habitus, major developments have been made to remove the Catholic Church's influence in institutions. Multi-denominational schools have been established and further action to remove religion from schools has been supported in the media. Headlines such as '*Irish Minister says religion in schools is a waste of class time*' (Irishcentral.com) and '*Multi-belief religious teachings may be way*

forward' (The Irish Times, 9/4/2012) have become prominent as the debate on the school patronage report continues. The school patronage report of the Advisory Group of the Forum on Patronage and Pluralism guides on how to transfer Catholic schools to other patrons. As it is, the Catholic Church own about 90% of schools, for example the church owns 1,500 of all primary schools in Ireland.

The emergence of multi-denominational schools and the transfer of Catholic schools to other patrons are significant for the development of diversity in the education system. Furthermore, the breakdown of the church-state relationship has been evident over the past thirty years (discussed above) and a shift in the influence of the Catholic Church on the everyday lives and values of Irish people has also been presented. The church's position in Irish society has been altered and the clerical child sex abuse scandals had a significant impact on these. Betty Hilliard's qualitative study (2003) takes account of these scandal factors and how it impacts on people's attitudes and relationship with the church. Bishop Casey's revelation that he had a son led to disillusionment. Hilliard points out that her respondents note the hypocrisy that priests were "*laying down the law to you and I and they were having their own fun afterwards*" (pp.42). People began to think critically and question the idea of church and morality, for example, Hilliard found that after the Bishop Casey revelation followed by clerical child sex abuse scandals and the covering up of these allegations respondents became more liberal in their attitude towards sexuality. The respondents had a change in ideology and practice and the church did not have the level of "*consciousness of control*" (pp.44) that it once had. Hilliard's study, in addition to Girvin's study, contributes to the discussion on changes to the church-state relationship and the shift in the Catholic Church's influence on the everyday lives and values of Irish people (Census data). Fahey et al's study points to the development of the Irish liberal movement. The key points analysed in this discussion presents how Irish liberals began to get the upper hand over Irish conservatives in relation to abortion/divorce battles and the emergence of a new era with the shift in attitudes towards the church and its teachings.

Conclusion

Poland and Ireland are said to be anomalies to the secularisation process of the rest of Western societies (Gorski and Altinordu 2008; Casanova 2006). This hypothesis is based on continuing religious beliefs and practices in Poland and Ireland. However, secularisation trends are evident in both countries. The Catholic Church in both countries has experienced a decline in affiliation and participation levels. The significant gap between Catholic affiliation and religious practices in both countries suggests that for some, Catholic affiliation stems from a cultural or religio-national identity. The Catholic Church's public role, during and subsequent to these historic events, resulted in its growing influence over other institutions in society; Catholicism and nationalism were used to strengthen one another. Although there seems to be similarities regarding the Catholic Church and religion in Poland and Ireland, great differences exist. Trends of religious affiliation and participation are somewhat similar but the church's structure, the habitus of the Catholic people in each country and the tenets of religion, the meaning making process and how they construct what is important is extremely different. This is partly due to the different histories of both countries but it also relates to the structure, development and how the church is embedded in both countries.

In Ireland, Roman Catholicism became intertwined as an assertion of Irish identity in the face of British imperialism. Levels of religious beliefs and affiliation remain high (compared to other EU countries). However, religious change has occurred alongside broader social and cultural changes in Ireland. Changes in both the social and cultural landscape has created a more diverse, urbanised population which are much less likely to conform to religious practice, prayer, beliefs, and teachings of the church (sexual and reproductive norms, etc). Modernisation has brought about a more secular society with church evoking less confidence and their scope for influence and power has diminished. In Poland, Roman Catholicism is a social institution of ritual and tradition. For some, religious identification and beliefs are based upon routinized means of identifying with culture and Poland – 'Polak-Katolik'. Statistics show that religious participation has been lagging. Various factors such as Poland's entry into the EU, globalisation of information, widespread consumerism, post-modern changes in value hierarchies, and changing attitudes of the clergy has led to increased

signs of 'believing without belonging' (Davie 1994).

The majority of people in both countries identify as Catholic. However, there has been a decline in Catholic affiliation and a notable increase in individuals declaring no religion. Although Gorski and Altinordu (2008) and Casanova (2006) claim that Ireland and Poland are relatively Catholic countries, it is evident that there has been a notable change in the religious landscape in both countries.

1.4. Theoretical Framework

Three theoretical perspectives guide the analysis of Polish migrants' socio-religious experiences, including migrants' religious behaviour, how migrants rely on the church for resources and how the church responds to migrants needs.

First, transnationalism offers a perspective for analysing the different ways in which religion travels across borders (Chapter Six, Seven, Eight). I adopt a transnational lens (Vazquez and Marquardt 2003; see also Beyer 2006) to illustrate the relationship between religion and globalisation. The transnational framework sheds light on globalisation 'from above' (Appadurai 2001; Guarnizo and Smith, 1998) and globalisation 'from below' (Guarnizo and Smith 1998; Della Porta, Andretta, Mosca and Reiter 2006) and situates Polish migrants' religious experiences within the wider context. The framework that informs this research is 'transnational migration'. This diverges from the customary view of international migration as a unilineal process of travel across borders leading to assimilation. In transnational migration, "*persons, although they move across international borders and settle and establish social relations in a new state, maintain social connections within the polity from which they originated. In transnational migration, persons literally live their lives across international borders*" (Glick Schiller 1999:96). The transnational framework provides a critical lens for analysing and understanding this research objective - why do some migrants rely on the church for support and others do not; how and why does the church develop religious institutions to respond to the needs of migrants in a context in which migrants share the majority religion of the local society.

This research contributes to the transnational migration literature in

substantial and theoretical ways. First, very little research exists to date on the transnational experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland and my research addresses this gap. Second although a great deal of research exist relating to transnational ties, such as remittances and cross-border politics and businesses (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 2003; Itzigsohn 2000; Glick Schiller 1999; Smith 1998), research on migrants' transnational religious activities remains under-developed (although it must be noted that it is growing) (Vásquez and Marquardt 2003; Levitt 2001a; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Menjivar 1999). This is particularly true in relation to research on Polish transnational religious experiences post EU accession. It is only within the last two decades that religion has become a point of focus within the transnational migration literature (Levitt 2007). Polish migrants face multiple challenges in the host society such as negotiating their place in the new socio-spatial context. I explore the place of religion within this transnational perspective – drawing on the concept of transnationalism from above I explore how religion as an institution responds to migrants and their needs (Chapter Seven and Eight), while the concept of transnationalism from below provides a lens for exploring the ways in which migrants experience and draw on their beliefs and practice to support their experiences (Chapter Six and Seven). The narratives of the interviewees shed light on the public role adopted by ethnic religious institutions to support Polish migrants in Ireland. The global transnational activities of the Polish chaplaincy in Dublin situate migrants within a well-resourced transnational religious space. This, I argue, further facilitates the congregation – secular or sacred – to selectively draw on religion, or utilise religion or religious institutions for identification needs or spiritual and social resources. This corresponds with Alba, Raboteau and DeWind's theory which argues that some immigrants refer to religion "*out of necessity*" (2009:3).

Infrastructural and communication developments enable Polish migrants to travel to Poland regularly and stay in daily contact with family and friends. This provides new support structures for migrants. Modern Polish migrants are situated within a transnational space that enables them to live and partake in two places at once. This research presents examples of the ways in which Polish migrants live their lives (religious, social, economic and political) transnationally. These transnational activities construct a way that

bridges global and local divides. Concepts of transnationalism provide a lens for exploring the ways in which migrants exert their agency to link practices of transnationalism from above and below, create socio-spatial relationships and sustain transnational ties. Transnationalism guides this research to understand the intersection of the macro (religious institution) and micro (migrants' religious practices, beliefs and engagement with church) transnational activities of Polish migrants. A transnational framework allows for an exploration of the relationship between immigration, religion and transnational social, economic, and political activities which are all guided by the migrants' responses to their individual circumstances (i.e. economic, employment status, social networks and language ability). Transnationalism enables a more in-depth micro-scale analysis of how migrants negotiate their everyday religious and social experiences within the transnational space.

Second, concepts derived from Alba, Raboteau and De Wind's (2009) theory of 'religion as system of meaning' and 'religion as institution' frame the migrants' religious experiences. These concepts inform the investigation of how and why some migrants draw on religion and faith to help their migration and adaptation experiences in Ireland (Chapter Seven). Alba et al's theory (2009) argues that religious institutions respond to migrants' needs, the church adopts a double function (spiritual and social) to support migrants' adaptation experiences in the host country. 'Religion as system of meaning' points to the spiritual role of religious institutions. This concept sets out how religious institutions, the clergy and religious congregations spiritually support migrants and help them make sense of their migration experiences. 'Religion as institution', on the other hand, highlights how religious institutions materially aid migrants. This sheds light on the different roles that religious institutions adopt to help migrants with spiritual needs or for example social problems, finding employment and housing.

This research expands on Alba et al's theory to show that the Polish migrants' religious behaviour and identities vary greatly. Significantly, for the majority of migrants whom religion is important it is largely in terms of 'religion as ethnic identifier' opposed to spiritual or social assistance. The variation amongst migrants' religious practices, beliefs and the ways in which religion informs their identities is established through analysing the migrants' narratives regarding their personal religious experiences in Ireland.

This study explores four concepts, ‘religion as system of meaning’, ‘religion as institution’, ‘religion as ethnic identifier’ and ‘religion as social capital’ which sets out the different ways in which some Polish migrants rely on the church for support. These concepts enable an exploration of the ways in which religious institutions adapt and negotiate their roles in response to the needs of migrants; in this case, in a context which migrants share the majority religion of the local context. The important question to emerge is why there is such variation in the ways in which Polish migrants whom are religious rely on the church for support and others do not? This question makes an empirical contribution to transnationalism, immigration and religion literature. It departs from a significant body of existing literature that highlights the spiritual role of religious institutions for immigrants (Hirschman 2007; Menjívar 2006; Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Vasquez and Marquardt 2003; Warner 1998) to show that non-religious mediating factors such as social networks and transnational ties are also important in explaining the migrants’ reliance on the church’s resources.

Third, Grace Davie’s theory (2006) argues that there has been “*an erosion of a common religious narrative*” (*ibid*: 145), that is to say there is no longer an obligation to participate in religion. This presents migrants with the choice to participate in religion opposed to religious participation as obligatory. This framework offers a fruitful way of understanding Polish migrants’ religious behaviour and demonstrates the mismatch between religious beliefs that people profess and actual religious practice (Chapter Six). I argue that Davie’s theory progresses the analysis past the secularisation lens to analyse how Polish migrants choose to be religious and draw on their faith in a new society. Drawing on the ascribed status/chosen identity distinction employed by Dunlop and Ward (2012) I frame the different ways in which migrants experience religion and create new ways of religious practice. Situated within a new religious context (migrants’ view Polish and Irish Catholicism as distinctly different), one characterised by Catholicism and growing religious plurality, Polish migrants are no longer ‘obligated’ to practice their religion. The migration experiences of this cohort have led to changes in their religious beliefs and practices and how they extract different resources from the church. The majority of Polish migrants whom are religious engage with the church and

their faith in multiple nuanced ways. The transnational capabilities of the Polish chaplaincy (resources, support) and the transnational ties and activities of Polish migrants shape and influence their everyday religious and social experiences.

These three theoretical frameworks guide the analysis of migrants' religious identities, behaviours, how migrants rely on the church for resources and how the church is organised in response to migrants' needs. This thesis makes important empirical contributions to studies of transnationalism, immigration and religion. It has important implications for understanding religion in Ireland, as its focus is on a relatively recent migrant group about which there is limited existing research on their religious experiences. Moreover, the empirical contributions that this specific case study makes enable us to learn about the relationship between religion and society in the wider context.

1.5 Data and Methods

Recent critiques highlight the ambiguity of transnationalism (Kivisto 2001), thus to overcome any shortcomings it is necessary to have an appropriate methodological framework for the study. My decision to explore the socio-religious experiences of Polish migrants stems partly from conducting research on the religiosity of a community in a small North-West parish of Ireland in 2008. A recurring theme in the narratives of many of the interviewees pointed to the increase of Polish migrants in the parish and their involvement in the church. Further research into Polish migrants in Ireland enabled me to see that more and more Polish masses have been celebrated throughout Ireland. Additionally, a Polish chaplaincy was established with a large number of Polish clergy coming to Ireland to administer to the Polish community. I felt that this was an under-researched area. I had many questions that I wanted to address such as did Polish migrants continue to believe and practice their faith in Ireland? Did Polish migrants rely on religious institutions to support their sojourn opposed to secular ones, or did they rely on any such support? What role do these religious institutions have for Polish migrants? How does the church respond to migrants' needs? Does the church or the

migrants' spirituality support them outside of religious institutions as they cope with the challenges of migration?

The research was conducted over a two year period, 2008/2009 – 2010/2011, in County Dublin. As the capital of Ireland, the city offered access to a large diverse Polish population. The Polish chaplaincy is also located in Dublin which enabled me to observe Polish masses and explore the various services and social assistance that the church offers to this community. With the availability of such opportunities, in accordance with CSO data which indicated that the majority of Polish migrants in Ireland reside in Dublin (CSO 2006), it was decided to focus solely on Dublin as the site of research. Henceforth, the scope of the study is limited. A comparative analysis with for example a rural town could yield a more holistic analysis of the religious and social experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland, and moreover how the church develops institutions to respond to migrants' needs. However, the time frame and availability of resources for this study did not allow for such an undertaking.

Two methods were employed – semi-structured interviews (forty-one interviewees; thirty-nine individuals and three clergy) and participant observation (forty-three hours). Semi-structured interviews provide in-depth narratives on the participants' religious and social experiences in Ireland (Chapter Four). Participant observation was the second methodology employed. Sites of observation were purposively chosen as I wanted to observe the religious and social behaviour of Polish migrants in Ireland (Chapter Four). I chose three churches to conduct my observation – St. Audoen's Church (Polish chaplaincy), St. Xavier's Church and St. Saviour's Church. Observation began in October 2009 and was completed in April 2011. Observation was also carried out in a number of social sites set up for the Polish community, in some cases these were connected to religious events (e.g. Polonia concert set up to help flood victims in Poland – June 18th 2010).

These methodologies ensure that this study provides rich data on the religious and social experiences of Polish migrants in Dublin. Moreover, how migrants draw on religion, if at all, in helping their adaptation and how religious institutions influence their experiences.

1.6 Thesis Summary

There is great variation in the ways in which migrants believe, practice and possess a sense of collective identity, both religious and national. Religion appears to matter more as an ethnic identification marker and social service resource opposed to any spiritual connection. These migrants undertake self selection with regards to religion and “*be part of it when it suits them*” (Barbara, female, 54) or when ‘necessary’ (Alba et al. 2009). The transnationality of the Catholic Church enables the clergy to provide resources to support migrants' socio-religious experiences in Ireland. The church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care.

This study is significant as this migration represents a move from a majority Catholic context (Poland) to a similar majority Catholic context (Ireland). The majority- majority case provides an interesting test of the Roman Catholicism notion. This sheds light on how the state responds to ethnic religious institutions and religion in society. I argue that Polish Catholicism is perceived as familiar and “*closer to the dominant culture and therefore need less control*” (Cesari 2013:21). As a result, the state does not have any significant role (or even co-operative role liaising with the Polish chaplaincy) in shaping the church's response to Polish migrants or how they organise their pastoral agenda. As such, the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. This research sheds light on the socio-religious experiences of Polish migrants and how the church responds to support their needs in Ireland.

Chapter Two

Setting the Context

Everybody knows now of Ireland because of the relatives...my mother knows all about Ireland because of us (Beata, female, 28)

Introduction

The intent of this study is to provide an understanding of the religious and social experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland and how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. This chapter sets out a framework to understand Polish migration and the role of religion within this process by exploring previous literature and empirical evidence. A great deal of attention has been given to transnational migrants and to the changing role of religion in modern society, yet the relationship between religion and transnationalism remains under-developed. Studies that explore this relationship are mainly situated within the US context (Warner and Wittner 1998; Levitt 2007). Within the European context, immigration and religion scholars tend to focus primarily on Islam (Foner and Alba 2008) or the role of religion within the immigrants' integration process (Tubergen 2007). The central focus of this thesis is to examine the socio-religious experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland and how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. This provides insight into how religion or the church figures, if at all, in supporting Polish migrants' spiritual and social experiences in Ireland. To date in Ireland there is limited information available on transnational Polish migrants' religious behaviour, including beliefs and practices, and how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care, including spiritual and social support. Moreover, there is a dearth of research exploring whether or not religion or the church is relied upon to support their migration experiences. The framework of this study explores the interplay between broader processes of transnational activity and connectedness and the religious beliefs and practices of migrants in a new country. My research seeks to shed light on the role of religion for Polish 'transmigrants' (Schiller and Basch 1992); more specifically, this study highlights the global transformation of migration trajectories brought about by transnationalism and the place of religion within this phenomenon (Chapter Six, Seven, Eight).

In the current chapter, I explore literature that focuses on the religion and

immigration experiences of migrants in Ireland and internationally. As there is little research relating to the Polish migrants' religious and social experiences in Ireland (Coakley and Mac Éinrí 2007), I examine and draw on other migrant groups' immigration and religion experiences. I analyse four sets of literature pertaining to this research - first, literature is explored on the role of religion in integrating non-Polish migrants in Ireland, this provides an insight into the existing immigration and religion literature in Ireland (Ugba 2005, 2009; O'Leary and Li 2009). These case studies illustrate the role, if any, that religious organisations have in mediating immigrants' social and religious experiences in Ireland. Second, literature is explored detailing prior research on the role of religion in integrating Polish migrants in other contexts beyond Ireland (Trzebiatowska 2010). This sheds light on the religious belief, practice and experiences of Polish migrants. Third, literature is drawn on relating to existing studies of Polish migrants' experiences in Ireland (Kropiwek 2006). Finally, I explore immigration and religion literature in general. This outlines key ideas and debates in the literature.

2.1 Role of Religion in Integrating Non-Polish Migrants in Ireland

I critically analyse a number of different immigrant groups' relationship with religious organisations and present how the church can socially and spiritually support immigrants in Ireland. This selective review provides an insight into the religious and social experiences of other immigrant groups and explores the dual role (spiritual and social) that religious organisations can have for immigrants in a new country. Although these studies inform my research, Polish migration to Ireland provides a unique case study as this migration represents a move from a majority Catholic context (Poland) to a similar majority Catholic context (Ireland). As mentioned previously, the majority-majority case provides an interesting test of the Roman Catholicism notion which implies that because the Irish and Polish share the same religion they should be in harmony with one another. Ebaugh and Chafetz propose that a cultural '*compatibility*' (2000), in particular religion, shared between migrants and the local society can positively impact on their migration experiences. A great many immigrants in Ireland do not share the majority religion of the local society (Roman Catholicism). Cesari (2013) argues that for immigrants whose migration results in the experience of majority-to-majority

religious status then this can have negative repercussions on the immigrants' broader migration experiences.

The current discussion is set out to explore the different experiences of immigrants according to their religious denominations – Catholic .vs. non-Catholic. This sheds light on the varying experiences of different religious migrant groups and how each church organises and responds to immigrants.

Garret Maher's study (2011) looks at the religious experiences of Catholic and Evangelical Brazilian immigrants in Gort and Roscommon. Specifically, Maher explores how the migrants' religious activities shaped their integration experiences. From his one hundred interviews, questionnaires and focus groups undertaken in Brazil and Ireland he identified that religion had an important role for these immigrants. The Brazilian immigrants' ethnic identities prevented them from slotting into Irish Catholic and Evangelical churches; instead the immigrants established their own ethnic places of worship. These parallel congregations were situated within the umbrella of the Irish Evangelical and Catholic Churches. He found that both immigrant communities have religious beliefs and engage in religious practice to varying degrees. Maher found that Catholic Brazilian immigrants, unlike Evangelical Brazilian immigrants, were best disposed to interacting with the local society. Although these immigrants attend their own ethnic religious services in Portuguese, they also attend Irish mass on weekdays. Some immigrants are involved in church groups (e.g. the choir or cleaning of the church). Maher argues that this interaction and the fact that they share the similar religion with the local society make them more likely to interaction and integration. For example, he points to the Brazilian immigrant children and Irish children receiving the sacrament of Communion and Confirmation together. A translator was provided during the service for Brazilian immigrants. If we draw on Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) notion of '*Catholic compatibility*', it appears that the Brazilian and Irish communities shared religion (Catholicism) helps bridge the divide by providing a sense of familiarity. This was not experienced by the Evangelical Brazilian immigrants. For immigrants that attended the Evangelical churches, religion was not a mediating factor but a disruptive factor on their integration into the local community. In this case, it is necessary to explore the immigrants' motivations for attending church; these may have shaped the influence that religion had on their integration experiences. While the Catholic immigrants attended church for spiritual support, the Evangelical immigrants were more likely to refer to the church for social support (i.e. assistance with finding

employment).

Maher's study emphasises Ebaugh and Chafetz's hypothesis of religious 'compatibility' and suggests that Catholic Brazilian immigrants are able to overcome national-religious identity to avail of Irish Catholic churches as well as Brazilian Catholic Churches. I argue that it is this point (overcoming national-religious identity) that explains why Catholic Brazilian immigrants are better disposed to integrate into the local society.

If we look specifically at non-Catholic immigrants and their religious experiences in Ireland we can see how different immigrant groups experience religion in Irish society and how different churches respond to immigrants. Abel Ugba's studies (2008, 2009) on African immigrants in Ireland are examples of a group whose immigration can be characterised as a move from a majority-to-minority religious status. Ugba's research explores the social and spiritual support that the African Pentecostal church in Ireland offers immigrants. First, Ugba's study in 2008 explores how Pentecostal African immigrants refer to their faith to construct their understanding of self, sameness and solidarity in the new society. Drawing on ethnographic observation, in-depth interviews and a survey of one hundred and forty-four members of four churches in the Greater Dublin Area, Ugba argues that religion has a spiritual role for the immigrants' understanding of self, the migratory event and the construction of boundaries and belonging. Using a Weberian perspective to frame this analysis, the study sheds light on the immigrants' relationship with religion. Their experiences in Ireland have resulted in them further distinguishing between 'us' and 'them'. For example, African immigrants are much more visible in Irish society given their racial and cultural differences to the Irish population. They are more open and vulnerable to racism and discrimination because of this 'visibility'. Such discrimination, for example in the labour market or in their everyday interactions, impedes on some immigrants' adaptation in Irish society. For this reason, Ugba argues that African Pentecostal churches become important spiritual organisations for mediating the community's formation. The church does so by de-emphasising the immigrants' status, race and nationality. It becomes a source of religious and ethnic identification, distinguishing between Irish Pentecostalism and African Pentecostalism. By reproducing religious and cultural African traditions, the church creates identities drawn along the lines of 'sameness' and 'other'.

Ugba's research draws attention to the role of the pastor in supporting immigrants. This provides an insight into the pastoral care initiative that the church has established. Ugba found that the pastors in each church adopt spiritual and social roles (i.e. providing information) and are often relied upon to materially support immigrants. The church provides English classes and information which can facilitate and support immigrants' adaptation into mainstream society. The church is relied upon for 'bonding capital' (i.e. cementing only homogenous groups; Putnam 2000). The ethnic church provides the immigrants with a feeling of belonging, forming part of a community and having a support group. Ugba contemplates that these ties and reliance on the church can negatively impact on African immigrants' integration. I argue that such bonding capital has the possibility of creating a 'little Africa' in Ireland. Belonging to a religious organisation provide immigrants with many spiritual and social resources. Social capital (Putnam 1995) is one of the main resources that religious organisations offer. Social capital is relations that have value or effectively help achieve common objectives. African immigrants establish social networks through their religious activity. These networks share information, knowledge and resources that can benefit the immigrants and their integration in Ireland. However, providing services (i.e. religious and social/information) in their native language and the reproduction of cultural traditions provides immigrants with familiarity, comfort and security but it also ensures that immigrants remain close to the church for such support. For some immigrants this negatively impacts on their adaptation into Irish society. Ugba points out that the immigrants' narratives reveal their interaction in the social, educational, economic and financial institutions. However, they show little support of transforming their Pentecostal African led churches into a multi-ethnic church and getting involved in the dominant culture and society.

Contrary to Ugba's study which shows the importance of religion for African immigrants and how the church 'bonds' the African immigrant community, Coakley and Mac Éinrí's (2007) report argues that these immigrants are actively trying to integrate into Irish society. The qualitative approach, specifically the free flowing interview technique, enabled Coakley and Mac Éinrí to capture different aspects of the African immigrants' lives that are important and relevant in Ireland. Religion was not mentioned by the participants and instead families and social networks predominate. The absence of religion from the immigrants' narratives is revealing. Thus, it can be argued that these African immigrants do not view religion

as an important factor shaping their integration experience. Therefore I argue that religion, in particular religious identity, is a consequential factor shaping the variation in the different experiences of African immigrants' outlined in Coakley and Mac Éinrí's study and Ugba's research. Notably, the immigrants in Coakley and Mac Éinrí's research referred to the positive impact of transnational activities and ties on their experiences in Ireland. The support of transnational ties and the connectedness that comes from transnational activities, it could be argued, lessens the need for migrant churches to act as '*mediating institutions*' (Mooney 2009). In this regard, '*mediating institutions*' refers to the role of migrant churches in mediating between the host state and the immigrant community. The religious organisation advocates on behalf of the immigrants in the new country. Coakley and Mac Éinrí identifies that African immigrants engage in activities which can be categorised as '*transnationalism from above*' and '*transnationalism from below*' (Smith and Guarnizo 1998). African immigrants engage in economic remittances which is an example of transnationalism from below. Transnationalism from above is evident in the spread of global media in Ireland and, in this case, these immigrants are consumers of the various forms of African media in Ireland. African immigrants tend to frame their migration and integration experience in transnational terms. They strongly maintain their ethnic identity. Although, these immigrants do not return home regularly they forge strong connections with family and friends in Africa (through global communications).

As highlighted in Coakley and Mac Éinrí's (2007) research, religion is not important for all immigrants in a new society. Similarly, O'Leary and Li's (2008) qualitative research exploring the religious experiences of Chinese students and immigrants in Ireland found that religion was of no significance to the majority of the immigrants. This corresponds with CSO data (2008) which indicates that eighty percent of Chinese immigrants in Ireland have no religion. O'Leary and Li's research indicates that the majority of these immigrants are not interested in Christianity. Ethnic Chinese churches provide pastoral care and offers social provisions for immigrants, such as English classes, resources, and social networks; yet the immigrants engagement with religious organisations was as little as one in ten respondents. Interestingly, the non- Christian immigrants that had ever attended church alluded to the cultural and social aspects of church opposed to spirituality. The immigrants' lack of religious affiliation could reflect the fact that these immigrants are 'target learners' (Wang and King- O'Riain 2006). The immigrants

come to Ireland under a state level education cooperation programme between Ireland and China. O’Leary and Li point out that mainland Chinese immigrants’ are more concerned about their life and issues than religion. This corresponds with previous studies which indicate that for some immigrants’ religion is not a primary concern. Other factors and issues (i.e. employment, housing) take precedence over maintaining faith or religious practice in the host country. Finke and Stark’s hypothesis of labour immigrants can explain this situation – ‘target learners’ similar to labour immigrants have to prioritise their time and commitments and religious practice is not considered a priority.

These studies shows that Chinese immigrants, similar to the African immigrants in Coakley and Mac Éinrí’s study (2007) and Ugba’s research (2008, 2009), experience religion differently and engage in religious beliefs and practice to varying degrees.

At an institutional level, Passarelli’s qualitative research (2009) addresses the impact of immigrants (predominantly African immigrants) on the Protestant churches in Ireland and Italy. Passarelli proposes that the strategies adopted by the Protestant churches in Ireland could reflect the government’s top-down integration policy of interculturalism. Critical of both the Protestant church and the government’s integration strategies, Passarelli found that the Church of Ireland has a strong will to develop an integration strategy that would facilitate immigrants’ integration. However, these have not been progressively developed to facilitate or assist the immigrants’ integration trajectories. The pastoral care offered by the church supports bonding the community together but fails to bridge the immigrant community into mainstream society. These findings are similar to Ugba’s research (2007, 2009) in that religious organisations foster social capital that bonds the immigrant community but in the case of the Protestant church it fails to act as a bridge between these immigrant communities and Irish society. Passarelli argues that there is a lack of government support for immigrants. The lack of coherent immigration and integration policies, she argues, impacts not only on the immigrants’ experiences in Ireland but also on how other social and religious institutions respond to immigrants. This research shows the religious integration experiences of a group whose immigration can be characterised as a move from majority-to-minority religious status. Passarelli’s research contradicts Jocelyne Cesari’s report titled ‘*Religion and Diasporas: Challenges of the Emigration Countries*’ (2013) in which she argues that the state does not interfere in the experiences of immigrants who

possess the majority religion of the local society as they are viewed as ‘familiar’. This argument suggests that the state is involved in issues relating to immigrants who possess a minority religion as these immigrants are deemed ‘unfamiliar’. Passarelli’s research found that the state negates any significant role in supporting African immigrants’ integration experiences – an immigrant group that does not possess the majority religion of the local society. In regards to the church, it is left at its own discretion what pastoral care approach it adopts and how it chooses to respond to the needs of immigrants. In the case of the Church of Ireland, Passarelli argues that it maintains immigrant community bonds opposed to supporting the immigrants’ bridge into the local society.

These studies explore the role of religion in integrating non-Polish migrants in Ireland. For the most part, religion supports bonding capital that unites immigrant communities. Religious institutions provide for immigrants’ spiritual needs (i.e. support through religious narratives, religious services), social needs (i.e. support through English classes, information) and as a marker of ethnic identity (religious services in native language, celebrating cultural holidays). The pastoral care initiatives adopted by different churches varies between different religious denominations. This reflects the structure, resources and transnational capabilities of different religious institutions. It could also be a reflection of the Irish government’s response to immigrants’ religion, which is highlighted in Passarelli’s study.

Two main conclusions can be drawn from these studies. First, religious institutions provide pastoral care to spiritually support immigrants in Ireland. Furthermore, religious institutions provide socially and materially for immigrants. Second, these studies suggest that immigrants can be categorised into two groups. Initially, for some immigrants religion is not significant (O’Leary and Li 2009); it does not have any great role in supporting their immigration and integration experiences. The second group possess a religious identity and are able to get spiritual support from their faith and religious activity (Ugba 2007, 2005; Maher 2011). Immigrants in this group may or may not utilise the social and material support of the church. As Cadge and Ecklund (2007) detail in their review of immigration and religion studies, religion for a great deal of immigrants is important for their spiritual well-being, and in some cases immigrants regularly participate in religious services and rely on the church for a variety of support. However, from the aforementioned studies in addition to my

research, there is great variation in the ways in which immigrants engage with the church and its resources.

2.2 Prior research on the Role of Religion in Integrating Polish Migrants in Contexts Beyond Ireland

Very little research exists relating to the Polish migrants' religion or religious experiences in Ireland, with the exception of studies such as Kropiwek (2006) and Grabowska (2003) which briefly refer to Polish migrants' religion. To get an insight into Polish migrants' religious experiences, I argue that it is necessary to draw on research exploring the role of religion in supporting Polish migrants' adaptation experiences in other contexts. Migrant churches can be an important resource for some immigrants (Ugba 2009). Religious institutions adopt a dual role supporting immigrants in a new country – 'religion as institution' (social support) and 'religion as system of meaning' (spiritual support) (Alba, Raboteau and De Wind 2009; detailed in Chapter Three). Religious institutions can play an important social service provision role as well as a spiritual role for some immigrants. Additionally, migrant churches can preserve immigrants' ethnic identity. It is debated whether this support mediates the immigrants' adaptation into a new society or if religious institutions act as a buffer from society, thus impedes immigrants' adaptation (Smith 1978; Finke and Stark 1992). Studies from Irish immigration and religion literature support the claim that religious institutions can create ethnic enclaves that negatively impact on some immigrants' integration experiences (Ugba 2005; Passarelli 2007). These studies may not accurately reflect the experience of all immigrant groups, particularly the experiences of Polish migrants. To understand the immigration, religion and adaptation experiences of this migrant group, I draw on literature from other contexts documenting the experience of Polish migrants and how the church figures in terms of spiritual and social support.

Marta Trzebiatowska's (2010) qualitative study explores the religious integration experiences of Polish migrants in Scotland. Her research offers an insight into a Polish migration characterised by a move from majority to minority religious status (Catholic majority to Protestant majority). Drawing on Bourdieu's 'Sociology of Catholicism' and his idea of 'religious field' (*ibid*: 1056), Trzebiatowska's research primarily identifies the conflicting relationship that exists between the British Catholic clergy and the newly transplanted Polish Catholic

clergy. Although both are Roman Catholic, the British Catholic Church attempts to monopolise control of the pastoral care for Catholic followers in the secular context. The British clergy believed that they should cater for the Polish Catholics needs and as such the migrants should merge into British Catholic Churches. This, they argue, would support integration into the local society. However, the universal nature of British Catholicism was in conflict with the migrants' Polish Catholic habitus, i.e. ethnic homilies, religious narratives, pray, the format of religious services, language, Polish feast days, marking Polish holidays and significant religious figures. Polish migrants want to experience Polish Catholicism. The Polish Catholic Church felt that it was necessary for Polish clergy to travel to Scotland and cater for the spiritual and social needs of Polish Catholics. By doing so, the Polish Catholic Church is combating a 'spiritual drift' which is commonly associated with migration, i.e. migrants tend to move away from their faith and religious participation in a new society, other aspects of their migration (e.g. employment) can take precedence over religious commitment. By creating ethnic religious institutions, the Polish Catholic Church is also exercising socio-moral control over migrants, i.e. situated in a new society, migrants' moral judgements and guidance can alter or shift depending on specific situations. These types of missionaries have long formed part of the Catholic Church's agenda. It was evident in the experiences of Irish Catholic immigrants in Britain (Lynch 2008). The Catholic Church sent Irish clergy to Britain to cater for migrants' spiritual and social needs and to ensure that they maintained their religious identity, beliefs and participation in the new society.

Trzebiatowska's methodology, interviewing ten Polish parishioners, ten Scottish parishioners, Polish clergy, local clergy and conducting participant observation at Polish religious services provided an insight into the struggle between the British Catholic clergy and Polish Catholic clergy in the 'local religious field'. Moreover, it enabled us to see the mismatch in opinions between Polish parishioners and Scottish parishioners regarding 'parallel congregations'. She found that the formation of 'parallel congregations' (British Catholic congregations and Polish Catholic congregations existing simultaneously in and around the same area, Numrich 1996; Trzebiatowska 2010) prevents Polish migrants' integration into the local religious field. Ethnic churches generate and preserve ethno-religious identities. These churches celebrate Polish religious and cultural traditions in the Polish language which also facilitate the preservation of a distinct Polish Catholic identity.

Trzebiatowska points out that in the case of the Catholic Church, integration strategies are left at the discretion of the clergy without interference from the state. These findings relate to Jocelyne Cesari's (2013) argument. As previously outlined Cesari argues that the state does not interfere in the experiences of immigrants who possess the majority religion of the local society as they are viewed as 'familiar', "*closer to the dominant culture and therefore need less control*". (ibid:21). Thus, drawing on this idea and Trzebiatowska's findings, it can be argued that in Britain where the majority population are Protestant, Catholicism is deemed close to the dominant culture as it is 'familiar'.

Trzebiatowska's research is important as it highlights the Polish migrants' resistance to religious integration. Catholicism, for some Polish migrants, forms part of their national culture. Some of these migrants view their identity in religious terms and as such want to experience Polish Catholicism. This preserves their religio-national identity. Therefore, the resistance may not be a reflection of the secular field that they are situated within but a reflection of the strong connection and ideology between national and religious identity. The Polish Catholic habitus is distinct from universal Catholicism (by the fact that Polish migrants' Catholicism is intertwined with Polish culture); therefore, it is valid to argue that Polish migrants will resist religious integration in any context. Dunlop and Wards visual ethnographic research (2012) on the impact of migration on young Polish migrants' religion in London contradicts this hypothesis. They draw on Davies theory (2006) that immigrants leave a culture of religious obligation and enter a culture of religious choice/consumption. This migration is characterised as a move from a context of majority to minority religious status. Their research points out that in the new context, Polish migrants become increasingly open to other forms of Christianity opposed to demanding only Polish Catholicism. Moreover, in the pursuit of spirituality their beliefs and practices can change the nature of lived religion. Also, their understanding of what are sacred shifts from acceptance of traditional definitions to renegotiating preconceptions. Dunlop and Ward argue that relationships have a key role in mediating this. Unlike Trzebiatowska's findings which point out that Polish Catholics demand their ethnic forms of Catholicism, opposed to British Catholicism or other religions, they found that migrating from Poland to England resulted in the migrants (1) no longer believing or practising a religion, (2) believing but not practising religion in England, (3) believing and

exploring Christianity within other Christian denominations, (4) believing and choosing to continue to practise Christianity within the Catholic Church.

A research report commissioned by the Dioceses of Brentwood, Southwark and Westminster (Davis et al. 2006) found that the Catholic Church's social service provision role facilitates integration opposed to creating ethnic enclaves. This report focused exclusively on the Catholic Church and its pastoral care for immigrant communities in London. Just under half of the one thousand participants were Eastern European. This study provides an insight into the role of the Catholic Church in spiritually and socially supporting Polish migrants' integration in London. The report found that the majority of Eastern European migrants attend ethnic churches and want their own ethnic form of Catholicism in the new society. The migrants' narratives reveal that language is an important factor in their decision to participate in religion – migrants wanted to attend religious services in their native language. The Polish church (in terms of structure and environment) and religious service is familiar for Polish migrants and this supports their ethnic identity.

This report found that Polish migrants believe that the church had a positive role on their integration experiences in the local area. They pointed to the social service provisions (i.e. English language classes) that the church provides as an example of how the church mediates their integration. Although not explicitly classified by nationality, excerpts from Polish interviewees were found throughout the report. These excerpts indicate that Polish migrants relied on the social assistance provided by the church. This correlates with Alba, Raboteau and DeWind's (2009) conceptualisation of the dual function that religious organisations can have for immigrants – 'religion as institution' and 'religion as system of meaning'. Some Polish Catholic migrants in London rely on the social service provisions as well as the religious and spiritual support that the church offers. It is particularly interesting that the Polish migrants in London who featured in this report found that the ethnic church acted as a 'bridge' into the local community. Furthermore, their narratives revealed that the church's social service role facilitated integration into the wider community. Unlike Trzebiatowska's findings, which indicated a clash in the local religious field between the Polish and British Catholic clergy, this report found that the relationship between Polish clergy, Polish Catholics and the local community and clergy did not hinder the migrants' integration into the local community. One interesting finding of the report is its recommendation for greater transnational

communication on behalf of ethnic religious organisations. It also called for greater pastoral care for migrants in London, in particular the most economically vulnerable.

It is evident from the aforementioned studies that one of the primary roles that religious organisations have for immigrants in a new society is preserving their sense of ethnic and religious identity. Studies in the US also indicate similar findings. A longitudinal study carried out by Krystyna Bleszynska and Marek Szopski (in Bonifacio and Angeles 2009:183-198) explores the role of religion in supporting the integration of Polish migrants in California. The primary role of the Catholic Church was to preserve the identity of Polish migrants. Supporting migrants' ethnic identity through religious activity cultivates an ethno-religious identity. This was further enhanced by the transnational activity of the Catholic Church. Transnational activity ensures that the Polish Catholic migrants maintain their connection to Poland and Polish tradition. Bleszynska and Szopski found that becoming part of the parochial community acted as a step towards integrating into mainstream American society. Parochial communities facilitate Polish migrants learning host cultural norms and social rules. Furthermore, it was revealed that only 12% of the participants had no religious affiliation. However, when these migrants were asked for example, the role of religion in their everyday lives, religion loses significance. Other factors such as family and happiness predominate. This suggests that for these Polish migrants, social networks and other arbitrary factors take precedence over spirituality or religion in supporting their experiences.

The studies discussed explore the role of religion in integrating Polish migrants in the UK and US respectively. These studies inform this research of the complex interplay between the Polish community, religion and migration. The creation of migrant churches enable religious institutions to provide spiritual and social support or as Alba et al. (2009) terms 'religion as system of meaning' and 'religion as institution'. Such developments can be problematic, as highlighted in Trzebiatowska's study. Polish Catholic Churches and Polish clergy have to negotiate their place/role in the local religious field. They are "*positioned within uneven social networks and hierarchical social relations in the religious field of the transnational Catholic Church*" (Gray and

O' Sullivan Lago 2011:107). Ethnic churches cater for Polish Catholicism and, as these studies indicate, this preserves migrants' ethnic-religious identity and provides a sense of community and belonging. However, it is debated whether or not the church and the support it provides facilitates the Polish migrants' integration at the local level. These studies set out the immigration and religion experiences of Polish migrants in contexts beyond Ireland. Literature on Polish migrants in Ireland, for the most part, relate to their labour market contribution or their experiences within the economic and political spheres. There is limited engagement with religion within these studies. No study exclusively addresses how, if at all, spirituality or the church figures in terms of social and spiritual support for Polish migrants. A small number of studies (Grabowska 2003; Kropiwek 2006) briefly refer to the Polish migrants' religion but these do not analyse this any great detail. The next section provides an overview of the existing literature on Polish migrants in Ireland.

2.3 Literature on Polish Migrants in Ireland

The East-West migration from Poland to Ireland increased rapidly from May 1st 2004. Following Poland's accession into the European Union large numbers of Polish migrants moved to Ireland. Recent CSO figures (2011) indicate that these migrants currently form the largest immigrant group in Ireland – one hundred and twenty-two thousand Polish migrants now reside in Ireland. The influx of Polish migrants peaked in 2006 (Krings 2010). The increase in the number of these migrants residing in Ireland between CSO 2006 and CSO 2011 suggests that they are not returning home, even though Ireland is in a recession. Research exploring Polish migrants' economic, political and social experiences has formed the main discussion in Irish immigration literature over the past decade (Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamanska and Wickham 2009 Kerr 2007; Kropiwek and King-O'Riain 2006). One of the most obvious conclusions from this volume of literature is the economic benefits that immigration has had for Ireland. Polish migrants represent one of the main labour migrant groups in Ireland and as such have contributed to Ireland's economic sector. Sassen (1999) states that:

History suggests that [the latter] is an advantage which labour-sending areas either a) cannot catch up with and/or b) are structurally not going to be part of, because the spatialisation of growth is precisely characterised by this type of uneven development. History suggests it takes several major

economic phases to overcome the accumulation of disadvantage and exclusion from the dynamics of growth. One cannot be too rigid or mechanical about these generalisations. But it is clear for Italy and Ireland, even if they now receive immigrants; the fact of two centuries of labour exporting was not a macroeconomic advantage. Only some individuals and localities may have benefited. Today when a whole new economic era is afoot, Italy and Ireland have become part of the new growth dynamics – each in its own specific manner (p. 140).

Studies on Polish migrants tend to highlight five key factors that influence their decision to migrate to Ireland. First, Ireland's decision to allow new EU citizens full access to the labour market, one of only three countries to do so (UK and Sweden are the other two countries, Barrett and Duffy 2008), has contributed to the volume of European migrants to Ireland. Prior to Poland's accession, a survey indicated that Ireland did not feature significantly as a destination country for Polish emigrants (Grabowska 2003). Second, economic reasons were a major pull factor for Polish migrants. Kropiwek (2006) found that earning and saving money is one of the primary motivating factors for Polish migrants moving to Ireland. The main push factor is the economic and political situation in Poland (Grabowska 2003). Polish migrants' view Ireland as a place to earn money which will provide a better life for them and their families back in Poland (Kropiwek 2006). For this reason, Polish migrants were labelled 'labour migrants'. Third, English language is cited as a prominent factor attracting Polish migrants to Ireland (i.e. opportunity to learn/improve the English language). Fourth, Bushin (2009) indicates that the quality of life that Ireland offers, in addition to the friendly environment, is a pull factor for these migrants. Finally, Kropiwek (2006) noted the importance of social networks in Polish migrants' decision to move to Ireland. Interestingly, Kropiwek (2006) briefly mentions that religion is not a motivating factor stimulating this migration. This is similar to my research findings and casts doubt on Ebaugh and Chafetz hypothesis of religious 'compatibility' (2007) as religion was not considered in their decision to migrate to Ireland (Chapter Five).

Barrett and Duffy (2008) acknowledge the relationship between immigration and education in their study of Polish migrants in Ireland. This analysis reveals that the Polish migrants in Ireland have a higher level of education than the average Polish population. Based on this finding, it can be argued that emigration is selective (i.e. migration is a self-selection process whereby migrants with education qualifications think they will have better economic opportunities in

Ireland). For example, Kropiwec (2006) found that a significant number of Polish migrants hold third-level Degrees and as such are over-qualified for their current employment positions in Ireland. The majority of Polish migrants work in the service and hotelier sectors. Kropiwec (2006) suggests that these migrants' view Ireland as a 'trampoline' country. They use Ireland as a stop off to gain work experience, improve their level of English and save money. Favell (2008) suggests that "*East European migrants are in fact regional 'free movers' not immigrants and with the borders open they are more likely to engage in temporary, circular and transnational mobility*" (p. 4). This perception relates to Castles (2002) understanding of contemporary migration as merely a development of a deeper transnational consciousness. It suggests that these new forms of migration are less intense than in previous decades. For example, Castles argues that in this globalised world, the decision to migrate is easier. The enlargement of the EU, opening of the Irish labour market and infrastructural development (i.e. expansion of cheap transport linking Poland with Ireland) has resulted in migration being less challenging for EU citizens moving within EU borders. The development of fast, cheap global communication and information technologies enable migrants to stay connected with family and friends in the home country (Portes 2003). Many Polish migrants keep up-to-date with Polish news on the internet and through various Polish newspapers and magazines available in Ireland (Titley 2008). Kerr (2007) points out that "*'mediascapes' and 'ethnoscapes' are important dimensions of global cultural flows which contribute to the construction of 'imagined worlds'*" (p. 1). Kropiwec (2006) found that many Polish migrants send money home, while Debaene (2008) revealed that Polish migrants actively participate in Polish political life.

Studies on Polish migrants in Ireland to-date focus predominantly on their labor market contribution, economic and political activities and social experiences. Mac Éinrí and White (2008) noted that a gap exists in the Polish migration literature in Ireland. They highlighted that a lack of attention has been given to the Polish migrants' religion or the influence of religion on these migrants' experiences. Thus, my research addresses this gap. To contextualize this study I draw on literature from different research areas and contexts – the role of religion in integrating non-Polish migrants in Ireland, the role of religion in integrating Polish migrants in contexts beyond Ireland, Polish migrants in Ireland and finally the next section sets out a discussion on the immigration and religion literature in general.

2.4 Immigration and Religion Literature

The emergence of religion as a theme within immigration literature was a gradual process that began in the latter half of the twentieth century. It was an extension of foundational work by earlier scholars such as Herberg (1960) and Gordon (1961). Will Herberg's (1955) *'Protestant, Catholic, Jew'* focused on immigrant assimilation and argued that immigrants were not required to abandon or change their religious identity. Herberg argued that an immigrant's religion facilitated assimilation as religion provided them with an "*identifiable place in American life*" (1960:40). Milton Gordon's (1961) *'Assimilation in American Life'* identifies that there are seven stages of assimilation. Cultural and religious assimilation led to structural assimilation and inclusion into networks and institutions in American society; this in turn led to immigrants' adaptation to mainstream society. These studies brought attention to immigrant religion and provided the foundation for the revival of religion in immigration research. Within contemporary immigration literature, scholars have devoted a great deal of attention to religion and religious institutions (O'Connor 2011; Van Tubergen 2011; Davie 2006; Levitt 2005; Bankston and Zhou 2000; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Warner and Wittner 1998). This section reviews the development of religion in the immigration literature and outlines the pertinent debates within this volume that are relevant to this research project.

Scholars have responded to the call to incorporate religion into the immigration literature, yet this remains largely limited to the US context. Much of the studies tend to focus on the ways in which immigrants contribute to the changing US religious landscape (Levitt 2007; Vasquez and Marquardt 2003; Warner and Wittner 1998). Some scholars devote their attention to exploring religious institutions and the transnational religious networks they create and maintain (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000). Other research focuses on the role that religion plays in the process of immigrant integration (Foner and Alba 2008; Levitt 2007). In the European context, a number of studies have explored the religious practices of immigrants but these have focused mainly on Islam (Foner and Alba 2008). Another body of research has focused on the ways in which religion assists or hinders immigrant incorporation (van Tubergen 2007), while some studies analysed the transformation of contemporary religious institutions (Davis et al 2006). Although immigration and religion literature has developed significantly over the past decade, Hagan and Chafetz (2003) state that research relating to the ways in which religion impacts on all aspects of the

immigration experience has been virtually neglected.

2.4.1 Debates in the Literature

The impact that the act of immigration has on migrants' religion is a topic of discussion on both sides of the Atlantic. The debates on whether or not an immigrant's religiosity increases, decreases or remains stable after immigration forms an important part of discussions. Timothy Smith (1978:1175) asserts that immigration can be a '*theologizing experience*'. He argues that religious faith becomes intensified as a result of immigration. People struggle to cope with the inevitable challenges that accompany settlement and integration. These people can come to rely and find comfort in their faith. In the home country, religion is taken for granted. Whereas the immigration experience forces the immigrants to re-evaluate their religious beliefs, including their faith and the ways in which they practice their faith. In this vein, religion often takes on more of a prominent role in the life of some immigrants (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000). Moreover, Warner (1998:193) suggests that religion can become more important for some immigrants "*because religion is one of the important identity markers that help them preserve individual self-awareness and cohesion in a group*". The opposing viewpoint argues that the act of immigration and the subsequent integration process disrupts and decreases immigrants' religious participation compared to that in their home country (Finke and Stark 1992; Wuthnow and Christiano 1979).

Within the European context, empirical studies have reported conflicting results – some empirical studies find a decrease in the immigrants' religious involvement subsequent to immigration (Connor 2011; van Tubergen 2007; O'Leary and Li 2008), others report that immigrants' religiosity remains stable, particularly among Muslim immigrants (Diehl and Koenig 2009; Trzebiatowska 2010), while another set of research has pointed to an increase in immigrants' religious practices after immigration (Ugba 2007). In the US, empirical studies demonstrate that regardless of the context, religion is the '*sacred canopy*' (i.e. a group that share a set of commonly held assumptions that give order and meaning to life; Berger 1967) through which immigrants can foster structural and social cohesion with the mainstream population (Zhou, Bankston and Kim 2002; Warner 1998; Min 1992). A number of studies explore the factors that contribute to the change in immigrants' religious participation. Finke and Stark (1992) points out that the majority of

immigrants particularly labour immigrants are single men with no children or spouse. For this reason, the immigrant is focused on employment with little time for religious activity. Thus, their religious participation declines subsequent to immigration. Studies highlight familial status as a factor influencing religious participation (Tilikainen 2003; Kurien 2002). Many immigrant families use religion as a vehicle through which they can transfer morals and values, history and culture to their children. For this reason, the family's religious participation is likely to increase. An immigrant's minority religious status is another factor influencing religious participation in the host society. It is argued that immigrants increase their religious participation for reasons of cultural reproduction (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000). This highlights the close relationship between religion and ethnicity (Smith 1978). Religious institutions become mechanisms for reproducing religious and ethnic values. Ralston (1998), on the other hand, points out that minority religious status can decrease immigrants' religious activity over time. Mooney's study (2005) of Haitian immigrants in Montreal demonstrates that immigrants who belong to the majority religion in the host country are more likely to be religiously active than those of a religious minority. Mooney points to the material assistance that organised religions provide for immigrants. Similarly, Alanzi (2005) argues that immigrants' religious participation is likely to increase for reasons of social capital. It is argued that immigrants who participate in local religious congregations are more likely to share social and economic knowledge which benefits their experiences in the host country (Zhou, Bankston and Kim 2002).

Debates regarding the impact of immigration on religious beliefs and participation continue. First, immigrants no longer believe or participate in religion which follows the theoretical assumptions of Finke and Stark (1992). Second, immigrants believe and participate occasionally which relates to the increase versus decrease debate and can be understood by exploring contextual factors (O'Connor 2008; Davie 2006). Third, immigrants continue to believe and participate which relates to Mooney (2005), Zhou, Bankston and Kim (2002) and Ebaugh and Chafetz's (2000) research. The impact of immigration on immigrants' religious participation sets out an introduction for a discussion on the role of religion in the integration experiences of immigrants in the host country.

There is an extensive volume of literature exploring the ways in which religion impacts on immigrants' integration experiences in the host country. In the United States religion is perceived as a means for successful structural and social integration,

whereas strong religious attachment in Western European countries is often viewed as a barrier to integration (Foner and Alba 2008; Hirschman 2004). Cadge and Ecklund (2007) point out that a good deal of immigrants in the US share a Christian background with the on average religious majority population, while in Western Europe the landscape is more secular and diverse with Muslim immigrants constituting a considerable part of the immigrant population (Buijs and Rath 2002). Developments in the immigration and religion literature emerged in the 1990s and began to explore the different experiences of immigrants and religion. Pioneering studies such as Warner and Wittner's (1998) project *New Ethnic and Immigrant Congregations Project* (NEICP) sheds light on the diverse set of congregations, many non-Christians, based in the US. This project analysed various local congregations in different cities throughout America and found that congregational forms of religion transform immigrant religions. Ebaugh and Chafetz's project (2000), *Research on Ethnic and New Immigrant Religion* (RENIR), explores different congregations focusing solely on Houston, Texas. They demonstrate the role of congregations in assisting immigrant adaptation in the host country, while also shedding light on the different contextual factors influencing immigrant religiosity. Within the last decade, research on religion within the immigration and adaptation process has evolved theoretically and conceptually (Cadge and Ecklund 2007; for full review see Cadge and Ecklund 2007).

Conclusion

The intent of this study is to examine the socio-religious experiences of Polish migrants and how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. In Ireland, research exploring how Polish migrants experience religion and how the Polish church supports their religious and social experiences has been virtually neglected in the immigration and religion literature. As a result little is known about the relationship between Polish migrants, their religious beliefs and practices, how they engage with the church and how the church responds to migrants. Nevertheless, the literature discussed in this chapter highlights many important aspects which relates to, and develops, an understanding of immigrants and religion in a new society.

Four sets of literature situate my research within the immigration and religion literature. First, the role of religion in integrating non-Polish migrants in Ireland details the various roles that religious organisations offer to support new

immigrant communities. The second section, the role of religion in integrating Polish migrants in contexts beyond Ireland, provides an insight into the institutional response of the Catholic Church to immigrants and the extent of parochial care it provides for Polish migrant communities in other contexts. Studies mentioned in this section are interesting as both Britain and the US have very different religious landscapes to Ireland. Unlike Britain and the US, Catholicism is the majority religion in Ireland, although recent CSO figures (2011) highlight the growing diversity of religions. Thus studying Polish migrants' socio-religious experiences in this context is unique - it sheds light on the experiences of a migrant group who shares the same religion as the local society. The third section, Polish migrants in Ireland, highlights the factors that stimulated this migration and provides an overview of the Polish community. The final review highlights the incorporation of religion into the immigration literature and points to the different debates that exist. It acknowledges that there is a greater need to include religion in the analysis of immigrants' experiences before, during and after immigration. The main arguments within this volume of literature address the impact that the act of immigration has on immigrants' religiosity – increase .vs. decrease debate – and the role of religion in the integration process. The research literature discussed relates to each of the empirical chapters – Chapter Five sets out whether or not religion was a factor motivating the migration of Polish migrants to Ireland. Chapter Six examines the religious beliefs and practices of Polish migrants, Chapter Seven explores the different ways in which Polish migrants refer to the church for support and Chapter Eight looks at the institutional structure of the church and how it operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care.

The literature discussed provides a contextual understanding of the immigration and religion research. This provides an introduction for Chapter Three which sets out the theoretical approaches employed to frame this research.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Frameworks

We have one foot in Ireland and one foot in Poland (Hanna, female, 35)

Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework that guides the analysis of migrants' religious behaviour, how migrants rely on the church for resources and how the church is organised in response to migrants' needs. Three theoretical frameworks guide this study: (1) transnationalism, (2) Alba, Raboteau and DeWind's 'religion as system of meaning' and 'religion as institution' (2009) and (3) Grace Davie's theory (2006) of a shift from 'religious obligation' towards 'religion as consumption/choice'.

3.1 Transnationalism

Immigration scholars noted the global, complex multidirectional flow of immigrants over the past number of decades and developed new theoretical perspectives to frame these movements. It was no longer adequate to characterise the immigration experiences of "*free movers*" (Favell 2008) as movement from one place to another without exploring the multifaceted processes within a wider context. Transnationalism gained attention among scholars but with that came questions regarding the novelty of this process, its theoretical strength and the extent of its validity to characterise immigration experiences.

Transnational migration research gained momentum in the 1990s with Glick Schiller (1994) defining transnationalism as a multidirectional, complex process of social relations across borders. Research expanded this field of inquiry to show how transnational networks comprised of ethnic or religious backgrounds span throughout the globe, beyond home and host countries. The growth of interest in this phenomenon coincided with theoretical and methodological shifts within social research; as Torpey (2000) highlights, scholars no longer perceived "*the nation-state as an exclusive, bounded 'population container'*" (Favell 2003:19). Increased attention to transnational

migration led to Vertovec (2004) arguing that transnational practices should be analysed along four dimensions of transformation – economic, political, socio-cultural and religious. Faist (2000) led research into the idea of ‘transnational social spaces’ with Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) employing the concept to show the significance of ‘social fields’ and the transnational networks operating within them. The different form and scales of transnationalism was explored in the work of Smith and Guarnizo (1998). They differentiated between ‘transnationalism from above’ and ‘transnationalism from below’ referring to the institutional and individual experiences of transnationalism. While Glick Schiller (1998), from the social field perspective, put forward the idea of ‘ways of being’ and ‘ways of belonging’ highlighting the agency of immigrants within transnational processes. Several important developments have been made in the transnationalism literature, yet critiques of the concept and its application remain.

The novelty of this phenomenon has been challenged. Morawska (1999) observes that transnational networks operated as early as immigration from Asia and Europe to the US in the 20th century. Gmelch (1980:135) noted that these immigrants “*were barely noticed by social scientists*”. Transnational practices were ongoing and immigrants formed networks between home and host countries. This led critics to question what was new about this phenomenon. Another critique of transnational studies point to the fact that a great deal of research are biased as they tend to focus on people already involved in transnational activities, while ignoring a large number of immigrants who are not. Following on from this, some of the critics call into question the validity of the concept. Portes (2003) points out that if transnational activities comprised only a small part of the everyday lives of immigrants this would still make them significant. The validity of classifying immigrants as ‘transnational’ needs further explanation and consideration needs to be given to the extent of transnationality, the relationships and continuity of flows over time. One crucial idea looks to the theoretical strength of transnationalism. This criticism emerges from the conflict over defining transnationalism. Glick Schiller (1994) offered it as an alternative to assimilation, while Portes et al. (1999) counteracted their idea and explored the middle range of transnationalism. Also, Kivisto (2001) disagreed with Glick Schiller and

argued that transnationalism is one variant of assimilation. Waldinger (2007), on the other hand, defined it as a social process. Such uncertainty has led to “*trade-off between depth and breadth*” (Hannerz 1998:248). This research addresses some of the methodological critiques of transnationalism and seeks to overcome them by exploring the transnational practices of Polish migrants’ everyday lives within the broader context.

Research exploring the role of religion within immigration has developed significantly in the past two decades. Even more recently, the role of religion within transnational migration began to be recognised. The delay in recognising the religious dimensions of immigration and transnational migration is largely due to claims of secularisation within the social sciences (Bruce 2002; Casanova 1994). Sociologists have developed a rich body of literature that provides important insights into the nature of religion within transnational migration (Wuthnow 2008; Levitt 2007; Warner and Wittner 1998).

The widespread understanding of immigration, that is the linear movements from one country to another, is insufficient for understanding contemporary immigration patterns. New immigration experiences involve complex relations between nation-states and include the social, material and symbolic ties and flows between homelands and destination countries. The transnational phenomenon relates to individuals and communities who live their lives across borders and maintain diverse links with their ‘place of origin’ and with ‘diasporas elsewhere’ (Vertovec 2007:1043). Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) points out that new forms of theoretical analysis and research methods are needed to address this issue and reconceptualise the immigration experience. In order to give an overview of the concept and its application as a framework for this study, I analyse some of the most important ideas of transnationalism.

3.1.1 The Concept

Comprehensive developments in transnational studies emerged in the 1990s. The term was initially developed and used by US scholars. Migration theories were no longer sufficient to address the new flows and activities of labour migrants to and from the country and these theories did not frame

“the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both host and home societies” (Glick Schiller et al, 1994: 6). Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc (1995) conceptualised this phenomenon referring to transnationalism as (1992:48) –

The process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnational to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders (1992:48).

In relation to immigrants that develop and maintain multiple relationships (familial, economic, social, organisational, religious and political) that span across borders, Glick Schiller (ibid) coined the term ‘transmigrants’ – immigrants *“whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relation to more than one nation-state”* (p.48). Living transnationally is not ‘new’ but the intensity and volume of these transnational ties and practices has transformed social, political, economic and cultural contexts (Levitt 2001). For this reason, transnationalism provides important conceptual approaches to understanding contemporary immigration experiences. Glick Schiller et al’s (1992) definition left certain analytical and methodological aspects unclear which opened their definition to much criticism (Kivisto 2001; Portes 1999). Theoretical and conceptual developments in transnational studies emerged in response to the multiple levels of transnationalism and the diverse interactions between wider socio-political contexts and the changes in people’s everyday lives (Faist 2000, 1998). For this study, I use the term transnationalism in order to conceptualise the experiences of Polish post-communism migrants. When discussing this migrant community I use the term ‘transnational communities’ opposed to ‘diaspora’ as it appropriately characterises the experiences of contemporary Polish migrants. The terms transnational community and diaspora are often used synonymously and to some degree are overused and used inadequately (Vertovec 1999). Levitt (2001) defines diaspora as *“groups who were forcibly expelled from their homelands and who remain socially marginal in societies that received them as they waited to return”* (p.202). Thus, the term originated from the notion of dispersal and it became commonly associated

with the Jewish historical experience of being a “*dispersed people sharing a common religious and cultural heritage*” (Vertovec 2008: 276). Levitt goes on to explain that a transnational community may become a diaspora “*out of real or imagined connections between migrants form a particular homeland that are scattered throughout the world. If a fiction of congregation takes hold, then a diaspora emerges*” (2001:203). Faist (2000:197) argues that the term diaspora should only be used if the group has suffered a traumatic experience. A transnational community can only be called a diaspora if they have developed attachment to the host country; otherwise the group is in exile. However, in recent years the term and its meaning has broadened to incorporate immigrant communities which Tololyan (1991:4-5) notes has resulted in the term diaspora including “*words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community*”. This has led to much criticism and debate as Brubaker (2005:3) warns, “*if everyone is diasporic, then no one is distinctively so*”. Although closely linked, important differences exist between ‘transnationalism’ and ‘diaspora’. As Vertovec (2009:137) writes,

Diasporas arise from some form of migration, but not all migration involves diasporic consciousness; all transnational communities comprise diasporas, but not all diaspora develop transnationalism.

One important aspect within the discussion of transnational communities and diasporas is the idea of identity and the hybridisation of immigrant identities (Pries 1997; Glick Schiller et al 1994). Hybrid identities result from simultaneous engagement in both home and host cultures which may develop a larger intercultural identity (Kim 2001). Scholars in the area of transnational community and diaspora studies point out that the individuals’ awareness of being simultaneously home away from home (Vertovec 1999) and in some cases identifying with more than one nation (Glick Schiller et al 1992) leads to hybrid identities. Marta Kempny (2010) in her study of ‘*Poles in Belfast*’ puts forward the idea that Polish migrants engage in a process of ‘layering of identities’ (Nagel 2006) which builds on Sommers (1991) position that ethnic groups construct and rely on ‘ethnic umbrellas’ or ‘cultural markers’. For some migrants, their identities expand to incorporate a layering of identities that span cross- borders. Anna Triandafyllidou’s ‘*Contemporary Polish Migration in Europe: Complex Patterns of Movement and Settlement*’

(2006) deals with the issue of 'identity' in the lived experiences of Polish migrants in Europe. The contributing authors argue that it is necessary to understand the meaning of immigration from the individual's perspective. Kosic's chapter '*Migrant Identities*' discusses the importance of understanding immigrants as individual social actors and, similarly to the aforementioned theme of the book, puts forward the argument that researchers should not view Polish migrants as homogeneous based on their shared ethnic background.

Identities refer to what people conceive themselves to be in a specific context...Individuals confront the reality that identity is not a stable set of characteristics attached to an individual but is hybrid, multiple and shifting. Although identity may have constancy, its content varies, and the construction of identity is a continuous effort to synthesize opposites, differences and similarities (2006:246-247).

In Kathy Burrell's '*Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union*' (2009), Siara's research (2006) highlights the ways in which the internet shapes the Polish migrants' everyday experiences and is a crucial part of negotiating their identity. This emphasises the importance of global technology in shaping the transnational experiences and identities of Polish migrants.

In recent years, increased interest in 'transnationalism' coincided with the intensification of inquiry into the phenomenon of globalisation (Vertovec 2007). Transnational migration is commonly perceived to be closely related to '*the dynamics of globalisation*' (Portes 1996:4). Globalisation influenced and changed immigrants' ways of living. Globalisation is the "*closer integration of countries and people which has been made possible by the significant reduction in costs of transportation and communication and the elimination of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge and people across borders*" (Stiglitz 2002:9). These changes introduced an era of globalisation which enabled immigrants to travel regularly to their home country, communicate instantly with people all over the world and engage in cultural, social, political and economic aspects of their home country, while also adapting and living in the host society. This brought about transnational migrants that can be categorised as people who are active in the host country while "*at the same time, they are engaged elsewhere in the sense that they*

maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated” (Portes 1999:48).

There has been much criticism regarding the role that globalisation of communication channels has played in maintaining transnational ties. The argument points out that communication, in its various forms, have always existed between the host and home country. Some critics of transnationalism argue that modern technology has a minor role in contemporary transnational connections (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004) but Portes (2001) argues that “*transnational activities could never have acquired the density, real-time character, and flexibility made possible by today’s technologies*” (p.188). Globalisation has resulted in increased communication speed as well as relative availability and affordability of communication technologies.

Guarnizo and Smith (1998) attempt to narrow the definition of transnationalism by distinguishing between ‘transnationalism from above’ and ‘transnationalism from below’. Transnationalism from above refers to the cross-border activities conducted by governments and corporations, while transnationalism from below refers to the activities of immigrants and grassroots entrepreneurs. ‘Transnationalism from above’ is perceived as representing practices of resistance to ‘transnationalism from below’, or as they (1998:5) contend “the hegemonic logic of multinational capital”. Although Guarnizo and Smith move away from such resistance, it remains that transnationalism from above is often viewed as the corrupt and oppressive form of transnationalism compared to transnationalism from below which is viewed as a liberating, subversive force (Appadurai 2001; Levitt 1998; Smith 1994). Adopting Guarnizo and Smith’s understanding of transnationalism (above and below) enables an exploration of how the church operates from above and how the migrants negotiate their socio-religious practices from below. This analytical lens situates religion within the transnational literature. The next section develops this discussion further.

3.1.2 Concepts of Transnationalism

Religion and Transnationalism From Above

‘Transnationalism from above’ (Guarnizo 1998; Mahler 1998; Itzigsohn 2000) refers to the activities by institutional actors that ‘push down’ on immigrants and shape their experiences. Religious organisations are powerful institutional actors in the transnational social field as they play a central role in the social, economic and political experiences of immigrants throughout the globe (Levitt 2007; Casanova 2004). Transnational religious organisations, or ‘mediating institutions’ as Mooney argues (2009), can support immigration and adaptation experiences. Mooney (2003:36-37) states that “*the ability of religious organisations to mediate for immigrants depends on the particular history of the community and the local and national contexts*”. For the purpose of this research, I explore specifically the Catholic Church as an ‘extended transnational religious organisation’, that is to say it is a “*transnational, publicly- influential institution*” (Levitt 2001:11). The Catholic Church’s hierarchical structure, centralised leadership and ideology of universality along with its interconnected network of national churches and religious orders has resulted in Catholicism being one of the primary religions transported throughout the globe. As far back as the 1800s, the church was mounting missions, establishing schools, building shrines and creating global networks of Catholic activities (Casanova 1994). It has always been “*a plural, multifarious, inclusive culture, able to absorb and refashion local cultures worldwide in an unending dialectic of the erudite, or institutional, and the popular*” (Lehmann 1994:12). The Catholic Church has further responded to globalisation, global changes and the flows of people worldwide. A number of important shifts within Catholicism have emerged. Most notable, the Second Vatican council (Vatican II 1962-1965) reflects the efforts of the church to modernise (Lehmann 2006). Casanova (1994) argues that the Catholic Church, post-Vatican II, enters the ‘*undifferentiated sphere of civil society*’ and the church has become increasingly responsive to the needs of immigrants and have taken on a more ‘public’ role. In essence, Vatican II acknowledged the plurality of national Catholicism and allowed for national Catholic traditions to flourish. This was done within the context of a centrally regulated system

in Rome (Hervieu- Léger 1997). The pope has become “*the high priest of a new universal civil religion of humanity and the first citizen of a global civil society*” (Casanova 1994:130).

This new vision of community supports Catholic immigrants and situates them within a global institution that empowers, protects and advocates on their behalf. Menjivar’s mixed method (survey and interview) study (1999) of Salvadoran immigrants in the US reveals ways in which the Catholic Church organises its institutional response to immigrants. In some cases, this meant encouraging a ‘pan-Latino’ identity to create a form of solidarity. She argues that the Catholic Church favoured creating a pan-ethnic identity amongst the congregation and discouraged the development of ties to the homeland. The Protestant churches were not restricted by extensive global networks. As such, they did not have to create new, all inclusive identities. Menjivar revealed that membership in the Catholic Church was less supportive of transnational activism than membership in Evangelical churches. Levitt’s qualitative study (2001:3) of Irish immigrants in Boston, on the other hand, shows how ethnic churches encourage immigrants to retain their faith and religious practice within a pan-ethnic context. Levitt stresses the importance of religion in creating the international connections that engender universal identities as well as religious movements that are operating in a broad geographic context, engage in increasingly homogenized forms of worship and organization that give rise to global communities that locals can join. Notably, Levitt points out that the ‘new’ Irish immigrants (i.e. those who had arrived to an already established Catholic Church) did not have to create a religious landscape, they simply had to adapt. The transnational nature of the Irish Catholic Church in Boston was supported by bringing Irish priests to serve in migrant churches. Their role was to combat a spiritual drift and ensure immigrants maintain their religious identity, beliefs and practice. The clergy provided resources to facilitate migrants’ adaptation in the US and support migrants’ connection to the home country. The migrant churches are supported by the Irish Catholic Church, the Irish government and the Boston Archdiocese. The Irish clergy reported to superiors in Boston and Ireland. Although Levitt did not go into great detail analysing the paradox of carrying out the agendas of both the Irish and Boston churches, studies that follow show the problematic nature of this missionary work – how ‘Catholicism from

above' can affect the operation of 'Catholicism from below' and the subsequent experiences of this.

Religious spaces have often become sites of contention. The transnational organisation of the church and its network of institutional, material and human resources have reflected the hierarchy's efforts to encourage the plurality of congregations. Menjivar (1999:599) argues that 'Catholicism from above' is not easy to translate at the local level. The challenge of juxtaposing between national orientations and implementing the universal nature of the Catholic Church has proved to be problematic. Immigrant groups that have maintained strong ties with the homeland often seek to express their ethnic forms of Catholicism within a transnational setting. This is often contentious within the larger universal nature of the Catholic Church's structure. Although not adopting a transnational framework to explore Polish Catholics' religious experiences in Scotland, Trzebiatowska's (2010) study demonstrates the religious experiences of immigrants and clergy entering a new society. Moreover, it shows the contentious relationship between them and the local clergy/religious context. The transnational missionary agenda of the Polish Catholic Church is to send Polish clergy to Scotland to support the migrants' religious needs. Polish clergy came with their own spiritual and institutional agenda and this was met with contention from local clergy – "they enter an already formed social field which has been shaped by previous struggles and *politics they know little or nothing about*" (*ibid.*). Contrary to Levitt's assertion that the Catholic Church enables migrants "to move seamlessly between sending and receiving country parishes" (2004:2), Trzebiatowska's study shows how the varying agendas of sending and receiving dioceses cause conflict within the local religious field. In essence, Polish clergy come with the agenda to preserve Polish Catholicism which is met with conflict as Scottish bishops' view their role as facilitators of integration and help migrants adapt to the universal nature of the Catholic religion. However, the transnationality of the church enables national churches to send clergy around the world to support ethnic forms of Catholicism. Trzebiatowska's study shows us that Polish migrants possess a religio-national identity. Thus Polish Catholics do not want to celebrate universal forms of Catholicism; they want their ethnic and cultural forms of Catholicism. This study shows how religion travels across border.

Similarly, Gray and O' Sullivan Lago's study (2011) explores the transnational dynamics of the Catholic Church. Adopting a transnational framework, the study explores migrant chaplains in Ireland and reveals the different ways in which migrant chaplains mediate their position within the transnational religious field. Gray and O' Sullivan Lago point out the struggle between migrant chaplains and the indigenous Irish clergy over different forms of capital and in some case equality ('fit in'). One interesting aspect of their study is the idea that migrant chaplaincies are created to aid integration. This relates to '*Erga Migrantes*' - the response of the Catholic Church to immigrants which highlights the role of the chaplain as a 'bridge' in the host country. They reveal that migrant chaplains face the common perception that the chaplaincies encourage segregation. The language barrier is often cited as an example of creating such segregation. Gray and O' Sullivan Lago's study (2011:108) and Trzebiatowska's study highlight the dichotomy between "*the transnational universal aspirations of the Catholic Church and the habitus of different national church members*". These studies shed light on how the Catholic Church organises its transnational pastoral response to immigrants at the institutional level (i.e. creating ethnic/national churches, mobilising transnational resources).

Religion within the 'transnational from above' sphere is a powerful institutional actor. 'Catholicism from above' operates as "*national fields of practice that validate themselves through an ideology of transnationalism – the universal church*" (Gray and O' Sullivan Lago 2011:107). The national and transnational are not binary opposites; the national are invoked, lived and reproduced in particular ways within the transnational religious space (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004). The organisational structure of the Catholic Church shape the religious experiences of immigrants 'from below' but immigrants often seek to express their religion within an individual, cultural and transnational context. The next section explores empirical studies which focus on the religious experiences of migrants using the 'transnationalism from below' framework.

Religion and Transnationalism From Below

‘Transnationalism from below’ refers to the everyday, grounded practices of immigrants and how they relate to their home country in economic, cultural and political terms (Guarnizo and Smith 1998). Thus, ‘Catholicism from below’ refers to the everyday religious practices and celebrations of individuals and groups within a religious and lay context. Considering the role of religion in the everyday lives of immigrants shows the ways in which transnationalism and religion plays out at the local level. As outlined previously, within the macro context, ‘Catholicism from above’ dictates how local religious institutions facilitate, support and engage with immigrants at the local level. The common assumption among scholars purports that ‘transnationalism from above’ impacts and shapes the transnational practices from below. Based on this argument, it can be said that religious practices are shaped by the institutional structure of the Catholic Church – one of its universal roles is pastoral care. For example, at the local context, the congregations’ religious and cultural practices enable them to ‘feel at home’. Religious institutions support migrants by reproducing and maintaining cultural practices and recreating feelings of belonging; they act, in some cases, as extensions of home (Casanova 1994:64). Religious institutions create the space for immigrants to produce ‘imagined’ ideas of home. This environment encourages immigrants to view the church and the religious community as a kind of ‘extended family’. Vasquez and Marquardt’s ethnographic study (2003) of Brazilian immigrants in two churches in the suburb of Atlanta reveals that this ‘feeling of home’ can create a sense of ethnic identity through material objects and imageries of the homeland. Evoking such feeling supports immigrants and enhances their belonging in the new country. Vasquez and Marquardt (2003: 146) argue that these spaces are ‘anchored’ in particular places. This space is a constantly changing continuum shaped by global processes and the transnational actions of immigrants that occupy it (Ehrkamp 2005). Therefore, religion forms part of a transnational network. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2002) explore how religion functions across borders and using network analysis illustrates the different ways in which immigrant religious practices can be transnational. This study demonstrates the ‘circular path’ of immigrants’ religious practices which Ebaugh and Chafetz (2002:6) argue they bring with them. The migrants’ religious practices then adapt to

their lives in the US and through transnational connections influence the religious structures and practices in their homeland.

Portes et al. (1999) and Vertovec (2004) argue that immigration can impact and transform culture, value systems and even social systems. These practices can change institutional structures. For example, Levitt emphasises the concept of 'religious remittances'. This idea stems from her understanding of 'social remittances' which refers to the transference of practices, ideas and values across borders. With regards to religion, therefore, she argues that transnational religious activity, in particular religious remittances, leads to new forms of religion being experienced by immigrants and their family in the homeland. The development in communication and transportation technologies has enabled immigrants to be religiously involved in the home and host country (Yang and Ebaugh 2001). These new technologies facilitate the immediacy and intensity of such remittances and connections.

Studies discussed in Chapter Two show evidence of how religion operates transnationally at the individual level. For example, Ugba's research (2006) on African Pentecostal churches in Dublin found that although some immigrants belong to their original ethnic church, others have formed breakaway religions. Ugba argues that contextual factors associated with immigration and adaptation (economic difficulties, alienation) lead to new forms of religious practice and religious movements. Dunlop and Ward's study (2012) of young Polish migrants in Britain also shows the different ways in which migrants' experience religion and creates new ways of religious practice. Situated within a new religious context, one characterised by religious plurality, Polish migrants are no longer 'obligated' to practice their religion. They argue that Polish migrants draw on lay experiences to encapsulate the sacred as they adjust to their new social context. Their religious experience and ways of believing and belonging alters in the new society. Whereas Ugba (2006) found that African immigrants in Ireland tend to form new religious movements or merge into the African Pentecostal churches, Dunlop and Ward reveals that Polish migrants in London alter the ways in which they engage with religion, in some cases move away from religion completely.

It can be argued that similar findings were identified in a report commissioned by International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC)

regarding the religious practices of Irish immigrants in England and Wales. Spencer's report (1960) reveals that Irish immigrants altered their religious commitment after migration. The role of religion in the lives of these Irish immigrants seemed to be lessened and this was further reflected in their attitudes towards religion. This presented the Irish Catholic hierarchy with a complex situation – at a time when Ireland was characterised as undergoing a 'devotional revolution', its emigrant communities' religious commitment was in doubt. Dunlop and Ward drew on Davies work (2006) to understand the religious experiences of Polish migrants in Britain. I argue that this also frames the experiences of the Irish immigrants in Spencer's report - Irish immigrants were situated in a secular context with a religious landscape that positioned religion as a 'choice' opposed to religion as an 'obligation'. The Irish immigrants exhibit new forms of religious practice, commitment and attitudes that were in stark contrast to their religiosity in Ireland. As Finke and Stark (1992) argue labour migrants have to prioritise their time and commitments and religious practice is not considered a priority. This reflects the religious attitudes of some immigrants as they negotiate the new context. Immigrants have to adapt to the new social context and negotiate their cultural, religious, economic and political habitus in the new setting. The religious practices of the Irish immigrants in Britain, Polish migrants in Britain and the African immigrants in Ireland show the various ways that religion is experienced, embodied and practiced at the local level.

Studies on immigration and Catholicism explore the religious practices of immigrant communities (Orsi 1996). They reveal how religious practices provide some immigrants with important spaces and resources to make sense of their migration experiences and redefine their place as a transnational migrant. These studies contribute to an understanding of Catholicism as practiced within a lay context. My research draws on insights outlined by the aforementioned empirical studies to consider the role of religion in the transnational lives of Polish migrants at the local level and how the Polish chaplaincy operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care to support their spiritual and social experiences. Such a consideration shows the complex ways in which migrants engage with religion and transnational practices. Moreover, it sheds light on how immigrants occupy the religious space. The interaction and engagement of transnational and religious processes from above and below

enable immigrants to renegotiate and respond to new circumstances (i.e. religion provides spiritual and social support) and become complex actors linking institutions and everyday experiences (i.e. ethno-religious identities maintained through religious institutions are expressed in everyday life).

Transnational religious institutions, in particular the Catholic Church, operate at the macro, micro and meso levels. The Catholic Church has a long history of 'mediating' (Mooney 2003) the immigration and adaptation experiences of immigrants globally. Catholicism from 'above' demonstrates the institutional response of the church to the flow of immigrants across border. At the macro level, the church takes on a 'public role' (Casanova 2004) that advocates on behalf of immigrants in different political, economic and social conditions. Catholicism from 'below' shows the different ways in which immigrants' embody, practice and experience religion at the local level. Religion can take on many roles at the community level for immigrants. The grass root religious activities of immigrants are negotiated in response to their new context (i.e. Portes argues that for labour migrants' employment takes precedence over religious practice). The clergy become key actors 'mediating' (Mooney 2003) the religious experiences of immigrants. The transnational practices of immigrants and migrant-led churches help immigrants to stay connected to their homeland through a sense of belonging, identity, religious narratives, celebrate ethnic holidays and ultimately through their native language. This supports their well-being and adaptation in the new context.

Transnationalism provides a new perspective for understanding the adaptation processes of contemporary circular immigrants. Transnationalism has become a significant field of research. Scholars are developing new analytical frameworks and responding to theoretical and methodological challenges posed by such a phenomenon. There is a gap in the research – the role of religion remains relatively neglected in this research. The religious dimension of transnationalism and the ways in which religion impacts upon immigrants' transnational experiences needs more attention. This current research addresses this gap. I argue that a transnational framework allows for an analysis of how Polish migrants' religion moves across borders. More specifically, how the migrants' religion changes or is altered in a new society, how they refer to

religion to stay connected to Poland and finally, how the Polish Catholic Church is transplanted in Ireland and how the ethnic church tailors its pastoral care agenda to support immigrants transnationally. This theoretical lens frames the overall experience of the Polish migrants but it is also necessary to draw on other frameworks to guide the analysis. Additional frameworks (discussed below) offer more in-depth ways of exploring the everyday religious and social experiences of Polish migrants, their religious identification, what factors contribute to/hinder the ways in which Polish migrants' believe, practice and engage with the church and how the church and clergy support migrants. Concepts derived from Alba et al's (2009) volume of studies – 'religion as system of meaning' and 'religion as institution' – is the second theoretical framework guiding this research.

3.2 The Church – Alba, Raboteau and DeWind's Theoretical Framework

The second theoretical framework is guided by concepts derived from Alba, Raboteau and DeWind's (2009) analysis highlighting that the church operates as a 'system of meaning' (i.e. provides spiritual and religious support) and 'religion as institution' (i.e. provides material and social resources) to support immigrants in a new society. First, I analyse 'religion as system of meaning' to frame the spiritual experience of some immigrants.

3.2.1 Religion as system of meaning

Religion as system of meaning refers to the spiritual and religious support that religion and the church offers immigrants. Based on Handlin's assumptions (1973) that religion is the bridge that connects the old world to the new society, it can be argued that religion provides immigrants with an identity and a greater spiritual understanding of their migration. Some scholars note that the migratory journey itself can lead to increased spiritual consciousness for the immigrant (Smith 1978). Hagan and Ebaugh's study (2003) analyses the journey of Mayan immigrants from Guatemala to Houston. Religion was called upon for spiritual guidance at each step of the journey, from the decision to migrate to the preparation and adaptation experience in the United States. Faith provided these immigrants with spiritual

guidance, protection and personal peace. This corresponds with some studies of minority groups' religious experiences as Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) posit "*it is reasonable to expect that reliance on the church for spiritual counsel and protection may assume greater importance, especially for the migrants coming from traditional religious communities*". Next, I analyse 'religion as institution' as it frames the social assistance that religious institutions provide to support immigrants and their experiences in the host country.

3.2.2 Religion as institution

For some immigrants, religious institutions become key sites for access to practical as well as social and emotional support during their immigration and adaptation experiences (Min 2001; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000b). Religion as institution refers to the ways in which the church offers practical and material assistance to support immigrants. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) in their study of thirteen religious communities in Houston note the development and expansion in the number of roles that religious institutions adopt to support immigrants. Other studies illustrate the formal and informal social services that local religious institutions provide for immigrants (Min 1992; Menjivar 2001; Ebaugh and Pipes 2001). Guest (2003) highlights the various social services that Chinese immigrants have access to through the church in New York's Chinatown, e.g. housing, employment and food. Similarly, Bankston and Zhou (2000) shed light on the material assistance that the religious institution provides as well as the social and economic capital that local congregations offer. Some scholars refer to religious institutions as "*informal social service delivery*" (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000:74) which function as a source of social capital. This is important for some immigrants as it provides informal networks of information and social resources which supports their adaptation.

Hirschman (2004) proposes that religious institutions provide three types of support to immigrants – refuge, respect and resources. Refuge refers to the emotional assistance that religion provides for immigrants. Respect refers to the opportunity of upward mobility for immigrants, such as political incorporation, educational opportunities and economic advancement across immigrant generations. Resources refer to the information and knowledge sharing that occurs within religious institutions, for example the different

forms of capital that are shared among the congregation. For this reason, religious institutions are important sites of support as it offers resources which for some immigrants are crucial (i.e. immigrants with no social networks, inability to speak the host country's language).

My research progresses the framework set out by Alba et al (2009) as it sheds light on how immigrants use religion and the church out of “*necessity*” (Alba et al 2009: :2; Chapter Six, Seven and Eight). This moves the analysis beyond ‘religion as system of meaning’ and ‘religion as institution’ to demonstrate the different ways in which immigrants “*opt in or out*” (Gosia) of religion to support their needs. Based on the Polish migrants’ narratives, I argue that Alba et al’s framework is limited (Chapter Seven). It provides a starting point for analysing the pastoral care initiative adopted by religious institutions. However, these categories limit a holistic exploration of the various and dynamic roles that the church adopts; it doesn’t capture the different ways in which migrants refer to the church for support. Therefore, to fully understand how and why some migrants refer to the church for support (and what type of support they need) I extend Alba et al’s framework and incorporate two further roles that the church provide – ‘religion as ethnic identifier’ and ‘religion as social capital’.

3.2.3 Religion as ethnic identifier

Religion as ethnic identifier refers to the ability of religious institutions to support immigrants’ ethnicity through the reproduction of culture, having religious services in the immigrants’ native language, celebrating ethnic religious feast days and ethnic holidays. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000:18) observed that – “*religious rituals, with their symbolic re-enactments of and ties with tradition, often serve as primary mechanisms for the production of culture*”. Some scholars point out that ethno-religious identities become more important subsequent to immigration and as such religious institutions can have a much greater role for some immigrants in supporting and preserving their ethnic identities. Based on her study of Chinese immigrants, Ng (2002) highlights the importance of agency in developing an ethno-religious identity. Immigrants are able to draw on the religious institution to support their ethnic identity as it provides cultural imaginaries and narratives that

construct and reinforce a sense of belonging to the homeland. Similarly, Joane Nagel (1994) puts forward the idea of ‘layering of identities’—immigrants has different identities that are adapted and utilised in accordance with individual and social changes. Religion provides an overarching symbolic system of cultural consciousness that act as ‘cultural umbrellas’ and ‘ethnic markers’ (Sommers 1991) for immigrants. These can be powerful tools in constructing a sense of belonging or collective identity (Gans 1994). Durkheim (1912) refers to this as ‘collective effervescence’ whereby religious practice and symbolism can strengthen and preserve ethnic identity. Religion can be used to construct a specific ethno-religious identity, to facilitate development or retention of an ethnic identity or a combination of both. Most of the current literature focuses on the ways in which immigrant religious institutions help to reinforce and maintain ethnicity (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000b; Warner and Wittner 1998). These spaces evoke a sense of ethnic identity with material objects and imaginaries that are reminiscent of the immigrants’ homeland. They also reinforce immigrants’ culture which further supports their ethnic identity. Next, I discuss how religion and the church can support the creation of social capital.

3.2.4 Religion as social capital

Religion as social capital refers to the possible rewards that participating in a local congregation can offer; congregations can provide immigrants with the opportunity to share knowledge and create social networks and capital (social, economic, political and human). Putnam (2000) theorises ‘social capital’ as the resources generated from human relations and these resources range from trust, norms and reciprocity. Putnam (2000:66) points out that “*faith communities in which people worship together are arguably the single most important repository of social capital*”. Coleman (1990) argues that social capital can be viewed as a set of moral resources. Putnam (2000) distinguishes between social capital that is bonding and social capital that is bridging. Social capital that is bonding refers to the value of social networks between homogenous groups of people. Social capital that is bridging, on the other hand, refers to the value of social networks between heterogeneous groups.

A developing literature explores the positive and negative aspects that social capital and social networks can have for immigrant communities (Menjivar 1999). From the studies discussed in Chapter Two, we see examples of religion as social capital. In the Irish context McGrath and Murray's study (2009) of Brazilian immigrants explores Putnam's concept of bonding and bridging social capital. They found that bonding social capital has advantages for these immigrants as it creates co-ethnic networks. However, participation in ethnic religious services led to the creation of few bridges beyond their ethnic group. Similarly, Passarelli's research (2010) shows how mainline churches are more likely to provide social capital that is bridging while migrant-led churches are likely to produce social capital that is bonding. Religious institutions and congregations have the ability to build and sustain social capital which can have many rewards for immigrants. As Levitt and Hejtmanek (2009:92) argue "*connections forged by faith are by far the most powerful generators of social capital*".

These four aspects of church provide the second theoretical framework which guides the analysis on the different ways in which religion supports immigrants' experiences in the host society. Alba et al's two-prong approach – 'religion as system of meaning' and 'religion as institution' – is significant. The strength of this theoretical framework is that it provides a starting point for understanding that the church goes beyond a spiritual role to support immigrants. Their conceptual framework enables us to analyse the social roles that churches adopt and this concept allows for an analysis of how the immigrants refer to the church for material support. Alba et al's analysis is quite limited as it does not take account for the other roles that the church fulfils, nor does it provide a lens for understanding how immigrants rely on the church in other ways. By extending this analysis and including 'religion as ethnic identifier' we are able to explore one of the most significant resources that migrant churches provide. As outlined previously, ethnic religious institutions reproduce and maintain ethno-religious identities through various ways. Moreover, it enables immigrants to practice their ethnic forms of religion which provides immigrants with familiarity in a new society. The environment of the ethnic church as well as ethnic clergy supports the immigrants' connection to their homeland. For immigrants who view their

ethnicity in religious terms migrant led churches are important sites of cultural reproduction. They are instrumental in maintaining ethnic and religious identities.

If we look at religion as social capital, we are able to understand that religious congregations act as networks, which Alba et al doesn't take account for. These congregations provide a space for the creation of networks and these networks generate information (social, economic, education, political, and financial), guidance and a sense of belonging, identity and support. For some immigrants the congregation is their main source of support. Thus, 'religion as social capital' is a direct resource available from immigrants forming part of their ethnic religious congregation. Similar to the criticism of the transnational framework, Alba et al's concepts (including the extended framework that I present) do not capture the immigrants' religious beliefs and practices or how their religiosity alters in the new society. These two frameworks set out how immigrants' religion travels across borders and how the immigrants draw on religion and the church to support their experiences. However, they fail to take account of the immigrants' religious beliefs and practices and what factors bring about changes to immigrants' religious behaviour. Thus, the next theoretical framework, Grace Davie's theory (2006) religion as a choice opposed to obligation, allows for an in-depth analysis of migrants' beliefs and practices which addresses the shortcomings of the previous theoretical frameworks outlined.

3.3 Religious Beliefs and Practices – Grace Davie's Theoretical Framework

The third theoretical framework guiding this research is based on Grace Davie's observation that "*in Europe as well as America, a new pattern is gradually emerging: that is a shift away from an understanding of religion as a form of obligation and towards an increasing emphasis on consumption or choice*" (2006:96). Davie first developed this hypothesis after observing that in Britain there is "*an erosion of a common religious narrative*" (2006:145); that is to say, there no longer seems to be an obligation to participate in religion which has resulted in a large proportion of the population neither believing nor belonging to a religion. I argue that it is possible to use Davie's hypothesis to frame the experience of immigrants in a new society. For some immigrants who are religious, migration locates them

within a new religious landscape which enables them to choose their religious beliefs and practices. Religion can shift from being an obligation to that of consumption (Davie 2006). The application of Davie's theory is something novel, as few studies have used it to frame the experiences of immigrants' religious behaviours in a new society (with the exception of Dunlop and Ward's study 2012). Therefore, there is little empirical research to draw on. However, I set out the tenets of this hypothesis and refer to some empirical studies to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of using such a framework to guide my analysis.

Grace Davie has striven to understand religion and its place in modern Europe. Her research has led her to question the mismatch between individual's religious beliefs and religious practices. In 1994, her groundbreaking book '*Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging*' substantially progressed our understanding of how individuals maintain inherited religious beliefs yet do not practice. This theory, although progressive, was limited as it was more descriptive than explanatory. Her work relied heavily on quantitative methods and to address this she moved towards a qualitative approach. Thus, our understanding of religion in modern society was further developed by Davie's research exploring patterns of religion in Northern Europe. She argues that religion shifted from a culture of obligation to a culture of choice/consumption. One key aspect within Davie's analysis is her emphasis on 'vicarious religion'.

The crucial idea of vicarious religion is that "*the notion of religion performed by an active minority but on behalf of a much larger number, who (implicitly at least) not only understand, but, quite clearly, approve of what the minority is doing*" (Davie 2010:22). There is a "*willingness of the population to delegate the religious sphere to the professional ministries of the state churches*" (2000a:59). The church performs vicariously on behalf of its members, i.e. "*articulate the sacred*" as members are "*more than half aware that they might need to draw on [it] at crucial times in their individual or collective lives*" (2002: 19). At certain times, churches – or church leaders or church members – are "*asked to articulate the sacred*" on behalf of individuals, families or society. Davie gives a number of examples to support this concept. She refers to the mourning and articulation of grief after Princess Diana died in 1997; after the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001 and on a more regular basis the

persistence of religious ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, etc. People instinctively turn to the church in times of social crisis. This aspect relates to this research study – Polish turned to the church, its officials, buildings, symbols and liturgy to help them understand and articulate the sacredness of the sudden and tragic death of the Polish President (see Chapter One).

Vicarious religion is a fruitful sociological tool for understanding that “*while many Europeans have ceased to participate in religious institutions, they have not yet abandoned any of their deep-seated religious inclinations*” (1999:68). It is this exact point that Davie uses as a rebuttal of the secularisation theory. Proponents of the secularisation thesis argue that the theory encapsulates the trend of long-term decline in church-goers, decline in public influence and decline in religious beliefs. Davie, however, argues that even in light of such trends, a society could still be considered religious if its collective religious memory were carried out by a large or influential enough minority, to be accessed at key times. Amarasingam (2012) critiques Davie’s idea that religion operates vicariously. He argues that if we use Jose Casanova’s (1994) argument that secularisation consists of three different propositions – religious decline, differentiation, and privatisation – Davie’s notion of vicarious religion does not challenge any one of them. He further asserts that vicarious religion seems to be a theory that takes the differentiation thesis for granted when attempting to explain how religion functions in society. However, Davie points out that central to the theory of ‘vicarious religion’ is the idea of “*‘on behalf of’ element in vicarious religion, which rests in turn on the legacy of the state church. Mentalities endure, even when the institution has altered considerably*” (2010:265). Davie does not dismiss the differentiation thesis, at the individual or societal level, rather she acknowledges it and claims that “*increasingly, religion will be chosen rather than inherited and the range of choices will include forms of religion that have come into Europe from outside*” (2010:264). Furthermore, in her rebuttal of Bruce and Voas’ article, Davie makes observations that are also relevant to Amarasingam’s critique; she comments that “*vicarious religious is, therefore, not the opposite of secularisation theory, as Bruce and Voas seem to imply; it is one factor among many in the continuing re-adjustment of religious life in modern Europe*” (2010:264).

Vicarious religion offers a different approach to the secularisation theory – if religion is being continued vicariously, to some extent, it is less dependent on

individual, personal participation and regular attendance. Berger, a proponent of the desecularisation theory, notes that Europe is an exception in that secularisation trends are evident and suggests that Eastern European countries will fall into this “secular Euro-culture” as they integrate into new Europe (1999:10). If I apply this idea to my research, it could be assumed that religion in Poland, and by proxy the Polish migrants in Ireland, will become secular both in society and individual consciousness. This concept does not fit very well with my data nor does it provide any great insight into the multifaceted religious experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland. Thus Davie’s idea of vicarious religion is more useful for understanding the complex nuanced ways in which some Polish migrants engage with the church and others do not. Bruce and Voas point out that “*only in a culture that shares a common religious tradition, and in which the vast majority of those who are not active in that tradition nevertheless pay lip service to it, can vicarious religion survive any sort of critical examination by the virtuosi*” (2010:255). This critique explains why this concept is applicable to understand Polish Catholic migrants and their religious behaviour – Poland has a long standing history with the Catholic Church, so much so that a religio-national identity exists, ‘Polak-Katolik’ and there is a high level of religious identification irrespective of religious beliefs or practice (Chapter One).

Davie points to a number of factors explaining the current religious situation in Europe – three of the most important for this research study are that historic churches still have a place at particular moments in the lives of modern Europeans, the idea of a cultural heritage and the shift of religion from obligation to consumption (Davie 2010:263). Steve Bruce and David Voas (2010) provide a detailed critique of ‘vicarious religion’ and its worthiness as a conceptual framework in sociology of religion. Moreover, they point to these factors and offer other ways of viewing what is occurring. Proponents of secularisation, they dispute Davie’s claim that criticism of ministers of religion provides evidence that the majority expects religious personnel to believe on their behalf. They point out that there is “*no direct evidence that anyone expects someone else to hold beliefs about the supernatural so that others may be relieved of the burden*” (ibid:248). Furthermore, they argue that “*the media attention given to unorthodox pronouncements by religious leaders is a rejection of hypocrisy: it’s not a case of expecting them to be moral on our behalf; we simply resent being lectured on morality by the immoral*” (ibid:249).

They concede that ‘religious organisations contribute to contemporary debates’ but question whether religious groups provide a forum for topics that society finds difficult to discuss. Rather they argue that the contribution by churches often take the form of ‘*anodyne pronouncements on global topics (poverty, climate change, and war are bad; must not be one) or more controversial and usually conventionally conservative stands on specific topics (stem cell research, assisted suicide, etc)*’ (ibid:249). For Bruce and Voas, the general weakness of Davie’s examples is that they do not provide “*evidence that the non-religious people who in a variety of ways make use of the churches or wish them well do so because on some inchoate way they wish they were themselves more religious or wish to gain religious benefits from association*” (ibid:254). Bruce has argued that the majority of Davie’s examples show only that many approve of the secular work of religious institutions. Bruce and Voas state that “*non-believers may appreciate the secular utility of religious institutions and officials*” but challenge how Davie “*construe[s] such appreciation as ‘vicarious religion’*” (2010:244). They agree that non churchgoers’ appreciation of the secular utility of religious organisations is largely dependent on those activities ‘*being conducted in a secular spirit*’ (ibid:254). Davie’s response sums up the conclusion – “*over-rigorous attempts to clarity destroy the subtlety not only of the concept under scrutiny but of the reality that lies beneath*” (Davie 2012:199-120). This concept provides a tool for exploring the reality that lies beneath religious identification to analyse how this translates into beliefs and practices, and how individuals embody the adhoc nature of religious ‘belonging’.

Dunlop and Ward’s ethnographic research (2012) on Polish migrants in the UK adopts Davie’s theory of religion as a form of obligation to one of choice (2006) to frame the nature of change in religiosity for this migrant group (Chapter Two). Dunlop and Ward found that this migration resulted in the Polish taking responsibility for their personal religiosity. They make the decision whether or not to maintain religious beliefs, spirituality and religious practice while they re-evaluate what is sacred. Davie notes that this idea of ‘choice’ becomes central to understanding how religion is experienced and played out. They revealed that when Polish migrants are presented with this choice, they needed to rethink the way they thought about religion and engagement with the church. For those who don’t ‘opt in’ to religion, they

experience a loss which was not categorised as significant or something that the migrants had regretted. The change in the nature of religious beliefs and practices relates to other studies which can also be framed by Grace Davie's earlier theory of 'believing without belonging' (1994). This theory sets out a basis for understanding the different ways in which individuals believe and practice religion. Davie argues that there is a mismatch between the religious values that people profess (believe) and their religious practices (belonging). This theoretical development advanced our understanding of religion in modern society. Frank Van Tubergen's qualitative study (2006) of immigrants' religiosity in eight Western countries revealed that the new society influenced the ways in which these immigrants practiced a religion. They maintained their religious beliefs from the homeland (inherited religion) but religious practice varied in the new society. Douglas Massey and Monica Higgins' analysis of data from the New Immigrant Survey conducted in the US in 2003 compared reported church attendance in the immigrants' homeland and the US which led them to conclude that immigration disrupts religious practice. Thus, they argue that in the new society some immigrants will continue maintaining religious beliefs but more than likely will not be religiously active. For example, they point out that 67.2% of Polish Catholics attended mass once a week in Poland yet in the US only 30.2% attend mass once a week. This led them to argue that "*people do not change their religious beliefs when they migrate internationally; they do change their religious behaviours*" (2011:1387).

Davie's conceptual understanding of how religion is experienced, altered and renegotiated in modern Europe provides a lens for understanding contemporary immigrants' religion and religious experiences. Davie proposed that there is a shift away from religion that is imposed to forms of religion that are chosen – "*a culture of obligation to one of consumption*" (2006:96). This theory frames the shifting nature of religious beliefs among Polish migrants in Ireland. This research reveals how their religious beliefs and practices are altered in the new society. Subsequent to migration, Polish migrants find that they are no longer obligated to practice their religion rather they can choose how to be religious. Grace Davie's theory (2006) takes into account how a change in the ways in which the culture of religion is experienced can impact on how

religion is embodied and practiced at the individual level. Thus, Davie's theory guides this research as it explores how Polish migrants negotiate their religious identities, beliefs and practices once they have left their culture of religious obligation and become situated in a culture of religious choice in Ireland.

This theoretical thread developed with Davie's fruitful insight into the mismatch between peoples' religious beliefs and practices – people possess religious identities and beliefs but this does not translate into active religious participation. Davie frames this mismatch by exploring 'vicarious religion' whereby church leaders and church-goers embody the sacred, behavioural and moral codes on behalf of the population. The church continues because it provides, vicariously, a number of tasks on behalf of the congregation. This theoretical thread provides a lens for exploring the Polish chaplaincy in Ireland and how it organises its spiritual and pastoral agenda for a congregation that is negotiating their religious beliefs and practices in a new religious landscape.

Davie's theoretical developments provide an analytical lens for framing and understanding Polish migrants religious experiences in Ireland.

Conclusion

The intent of this study is to examine the religious, social and transnational experiences of Polish migrants and set out how the church acts as an organisation of transnational pastoral care. Three theoretical frameworks guide the analysis of my research. First, transnationalism is an important analytical tool for understanding the "*repeated movements across national boundaries, in which individuals maintain continuous contact with events and other individuals in more than one place*" (Portes 1996:2). It provides a frame for understanding the "*links between migration, communication, cultural exchange and subjectivity*" (Dunn 2010:3). The volume of transnational studies reflects the growing importance of transnationalism and the many sectors and areas it relates to. An important area within transnational studies is religion. This chapter has set out how religion and religious institutions can shape immigration and transnational experiences. It draws on arguments put forward within existing scholarship and points out some

important theoretical approaches for understanding the contemporary experiences of immigrants. I argue that it is necessary to understand the interplay between immigration, religious practice and beliefs and transnationalism. Religion and transnationalism are understood as operating from 'above' and 'below' (Guarnizo and Smith 1998). This approach provides a framework for the analysis set out in Chapter Eight.

Concepts derived from Alba, Raboteau and DeWind's (2009) volume of studies – 'religion as system of meaning' and 'religion as institution' – provides the second framework for this study. These aspects shed light on how churches operate as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. The church and clergy organise and renegotiate their role to spiritually and socially support immigrants in a new society. Based on the empirical data from my study, I argue that it is necessary to extend Alba et al's framework and include two additional roles that the church have for immigrants – 'religion as ethnic identifier' and 'religion as social capital'. These four roles provide an analytical lens to explore how the church supports immigrants and moreover, how immigrants refer to the church for support. This framework supports the analysis presented in Chapter Seven.

The third theoretical approach which frames this research is Grace Davie's theory (2006) of a shift from religion as a culture of obligation to religion as a culture of choice/consumption. This provides an appropriate sociological tool for analysing migrants' religious beliefs and practices in a new society. Moreover, it sets out a framework for understanding the relationship between religion and society. Davie's idea of 'vicarious religion' provides a link between her previous theory of 'believing without belonging' (1994) to understanding that immigrants can choose to opt in or out of religion. The church and church leaders are relied upon to perform vicariously a number of tasks 'vicariously' on behalf of the population. Although people may not practice religion they recognise the church's worth and are aware that they may one day need to draw on it. I argue that this framework is applicable for understanding the religious experiences of immigrants and exploring the mismatch between maintaining inherited religious beliefs and lack of religious practice. Immigrants experience this 'shift' during migration and for some religious immigrants they move from a context where religion is a culture of obligation to one where religion is a choice. It also provides a lens for exploring the factors which impact on their religious behaviour

(religious change) and how they refer to the church. This framework guides the analysis presented in Chapter Six.

The objective of this research is to explore the role of religion and the church in supporting the social and religious experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland. This chapter theoretically frames the role of religion in the everyday lives of transnational immigrants. The next chapter addresses the research process and the methodological approaches that were employed to carry out this research.

Chapter Four

Methodology

Not everybody is interested in integration. Remember we are in EU, we are not from Africa...lots of possibility to go to Poland. Polish people are travelling very often to Poland, they have Polish television, Polish radio. They come here to earn money, not to stay here. Some of them, yes...we are like commuters (Father Augustyn)

Introduction

The focus of this thesis is to examine the socio-religious experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland. The study also explores the varied ways in which migrants rely on the church and, moreover, how the church acts as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. To a large extent in Ireland there is limited data on Polish migrants' religious behaviour or the role of religion for these migrants. Therefore, there is little known about the relationship between these migrants and religion and how the church impacts on their experiences in Ireland. Through the narratives of migrants in this research we can hear the ways in which they make sense of and negotiate their religious practices in the new society. These migrants are profoundly transnational which enabled this research to shed light on the role of religion within the transnational migration experience of relatively new movement patterns – East-to-West migration flow. This chapter sets out the methodological framework that underpins the research. I outline the research objectives, processes and fieldwork which guide this study. A qualitative approach was employed which entailed in-depth semi-structured interviews with forty-one Polish migrants and clergy and participant observation in several religious and cultural sites in Co. Dublin.

The chapter is divided into four sections which detail the methodological framework that situates the research's objectives and process. First, a discussion is presented on the theoretical framework of this study and the ways in which it shapes the research method is outlined. Second, this chapter details the methodological approach employed for this study. Within this discussion, I

set out the methods and the rationale behind choosing such approaches. Third, the methodological framework is further analysed with the fieldwork, data sampling process, data analysis and interpretation outlined. Within this discussion a profile of the interviewees is presented. This paves the way for the final part of this chapter which explores ethical considerations. I also consider the limitations of this study and provide an insight into some reflection on my own position and experiences within the research.

4.1 Qualitative Approach

When we reduce people's words and acts to statistical equations, we can lose sight of the human side of social life. When we study people qualitatively, we get to know them personally and experience what they experience in their daily struggles in society (Taylor and Bogdan 1998:7).

This research explores the role of religion in supporting the spiritual and social experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland. My research aimed to capture their transnational and religious practices in Ireland. A qualitative methodology seeks to see through the eyes of the people being studied and to acknowledge that people are capable of attributing meaning to their environment (Bryman 2008; May 1993). Thus this approach enabled me to capture the experiences, practices and discourse of this migrant group. A survey based or statistical approach would not permit such an in-depth exploration into the ways in which religion, if at all, penetrates Polish migrants' lives across borders. Two overlapping qualitative methods, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, facilitated a more grounded perspective and guided this research.

Qualitative and quantitative research methodologies are presented in opposition to one another. Qualitative research emphasises the process and meanings within the phenomenon being researched. Quantitative research, on the other hand, involves methods of studying a phenomenon without influencing it or being influenced by it. Guba and Lincoln (1994:110) note “*inquiry takes place as through a one way mirror*”. Critics of qualitative research methods refer to the researchers ‘objectivity’ or if the research is ‘value-free’. For the purpose of my research it is important to “*study things in*

their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:2). Qualitative and quantitative research methodologies differ in the philosophical theories that underpin them. Fielding and Lee (1998:6) point out that the ontological and epistemological assumptions of qualitative and quantitative research methods dictate how the researcher relates and understands the social world that is being studied.

Bogdan (1972) remarks that qualitative research left its mark conceptually and theoretically on the social sciences. Qualitative research has “*quality*” (Dabbs 1982:32). However, Dabbs (1982:32) makes clear that “*qualitative and quantitative are not distinct*”. By combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better substantive understanding of reality. This ‘mixed method’ approach, combining several lines of sight, enables researchers to go beyond the limitations of a single method of research. Fielding and Fielding (1986:31) suggest that the importance of triangulation is not the combination of different methods but that the use of multiple methods supports the validity of the research. I employed a variety of qualitative methods for this research - in-depth semi-structured interviews, participant observation and documentary materials.

Three key reasons define why I employed a qualitative approach. First, there is little existing qualitative data relating to the Polish migrants’ religious and social experiences and how the church supports these migrants in Ireland. The information that does exist is predominantly Census data and this does not provide any insight into migrants’ individual experiences. Second, this research explored the religious beliefs and practices of Polish migrants and how they refer to church in Ireland which is subjective. Thus, this requires research methods that capture the complex, individual, often shifting position, of religion in their lives. Finally, given the lack of research relating to these migrants’ religious, social and transnational experiences in Ireland, the interviews enabled migrants and clergy to shed light on the church, the Polish community and their experiences in Irish society. The methods employed in this research are discussed in more detail below.

4.1.1 Interviewing

In its most characteristic form...[ethnography] involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions - in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995:1).

Ethnography is a sociological method for exploring how people live and make sense of their lives with one another in particular places. This type of research method developed in Anthropological studies in the 1900s. It was adopted by the Chicago School of Sociology and applied to frame the study of social life. Ethnographic research includes a repertoire of techniques but for the purpose of this research I employed semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Ethnography enabled me to study “*people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by means of methods which capture their social means and ordinary activities*” (Brewer 2000:10).

Qualitative methods are said to provide a ‘deeper’ understanding of social phenomena. In migration studies, qualitative research is a form of “*empirical inquiry into meaning*” (Shank 2002:5) which enables researchers to explore real people in real situations and their interactions at the micro level (Blumer 1969). Thus, interviews provide the forum for migrants to describe the setting and experiences “*in sufficiently vivid detail that the reader ‘knows what it feels like to be there’*” (Knapp 1979:119). Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick (2008:292) point out that “*the purpose of interviews is to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on specific matters*”.

Interviews formed a key part of this research design. Gill et al. (2008:291) distinguish between three types of interview techniques. Structured interviews include a list of predetermined questions. This structure is rigid and has little or no variation. It allows for limited participant response and is little use if in-depth responses are needed. Unstructured interviews, on the other hand, do not reflect any preconceived theories or ideas and simply starts with an open question. This type of interview structure is useful if not much is known about a subject area. Semi-structured interviews consist of several key questions to

help define the topics being explored. Such a structure allows the interviewer to diverge in response to the participants' answers. Semi-structured interviews are flexible and provide in depth information. One key aspect of this type of interview structure is that it allows for the discovery of information that is important to participants. Semi-structured interviews enable researchers to “*capture participants in their own terms*” (Lofland 1972:7). For this research, a semi structured interview technique was employed which captured the ‘individual participants’ stories in more detail’ (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). It has the feel of a “*friendly conversation*” (Spradley 1979:58) which enabled me to be reflexive and responsive to the experiences being conveyed. However, prior to the interview a set of interview questions were drafted which included key themes and concepts that corresponded with the aims of this research (Chapter One; Appendix 8) - “*at the root of ...interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience*” (Seidman, 1991:3).

4.1.2 Participant Observation

This ethnography technique is “*the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the research setting*” (Schensul et. al 1999:191). Observation enables researchers to view the nonverbal expression of feeling, determine who interacts with whom and check how much time is spent on various activities (Schmuck 1997). Participant observation is often used as a way to increase the validity of the study. Observation enables research to better understand the context and phenomenon under study –

The goal for design of research using participant observation as a method is to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study that is as objective and accurate as possible given the limitations of the method (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:92).

DeWalt, DeWalt and Wayland (1998) highlight that when conducting observation the researcher's participation in the situation can be a limitation. Atkinson and Hammersley (1995) refer to this as participant and non-participant observation. My position within this research can be characterised as non-participant or ‘on-looker’ (Patton 1990). Although I

attended a great number of religious services and cultural events my position remained as an ethnographer, the researcher. Permission to conduct observation was sought. I emailed each of the three churches (St. Audoen's church, St. Saviour's Church and St. Xavier's Church, all located close to Dublin city centre) to inform them of my research and that I would be attending masses at various times over an eighteen month period. I invited them to contact me at any stage to discuss the research. I followed this up with a second email and phone call to discuss Polish clergy taking part in the research. My goal was not to share in their experiences but to understand them from the clergy and migrants' perspective. My Catholic upbringing enabled me to engage with the religious discourse and services. However, as masses were celebrated in Polish I did not understand the homilies. Although this is a limitation, I observed the ways in which homilies were delivered (passionately narrated by the clergy and how the congregation listened intently). I also observed Polish religious holidays and the number of people attending these services which is an indication of how migrants may draw on religion to support their ethnic identity. My Catholic upbringing could be viewed as having given me an advantageous position in accessing Catholic migrants and clergy but this was not the case. In one particular incident a Polish priest assumed that I had no understanding of Catholicism. Although I corrected him, his attitude of mistrust and condescension persisted and he continued to imply that I could not possibly comprehend the Catholic structure or how the church operates. This incident did not impact on the study; although it was revealing in that it showed my position was firmly as an 'outsider' both in ethnic and religious terms. This was not a limitation of my research. My research was concerned with understanding the religious and social experiences of Polish migrants from their own perspective.

Rich, textured narratives gave details of the migrants' experiences from their own perspective and observation enabled me to see their religious and social experiences opposed to my involvement in these experiences. During the ethnographic process I kept detailed field notes. I took notes detailing all of my observations, the context, environment, people's interactions and so forth during participant observation sessions. After the observation sessions I went through these notes and expanded on

them in more detail. I linked interesting findings with notes taken during interviews which provided new insights and ideas to explore in the next interview or observation site. As mentioned, during interviews I also jotted down notes regarding the participants' attitude, the environment where the interview took place, important ideas and reflexive notes on my technique or on the interview questions (discussed in reflexivity section).

4.2 Methodology Framework

The methodologies employed for this research frames the objectives of the study (i.e. qualitative research enables the researcher to see through the eyes of the people being studied and to see the meaning they attribute to their actions and environment). The methodology facilitated an exploration of three specific empirical research questions (outlined below). First, Polish migrants' religious identities, beliefs and practices; second, the different ways in which migrants' use religious institutions; and third, how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care.

1. Polish migrants' religious identities and behaviour across borders

- How do Polish migrants maintain their religious identity and beliefs in Ireland?
- Do Polish migrants participate in religious practice in Ireland?
- Does religion penetrate migrants' everyday lives?

2. How migrants employ the church and its resources to support their experiences

- In what ways do Polish migrants employ the resources of the church to support their experiences?
- What is the most significant resource that the church provides for migrants, and what does that tell us about this migrant group?
- Why do some Polish migrants refer to the church for various forms of support and others do not?

3. The church as a transnational organisation of pastoral care

- How does the church respond to migrants' needs in a new context?
- How do the clergy negotiate and adapt in the new religious field?

How does the church act as a transnational organisation of pastoral care?

The research was designed to address these questions and engage with broader issues around Polish migration, transnational and religious experiences in Ireland. A qualitative methodology ensured that important insights from the migrants' narratives were not overlooked. The following discussion sets out the fieldwork of this research - how migrants were recruited, the sampling process, the interviews, observations and the profile of the migrants.

4.3 Fieldwork

The main research was carried out over an eighteen month period (November 2009-May 2011). Prior to this, a number of steps were taken to prepare for this period of fieldwork. I contacted various Polish centres (cultural and social) and the Immigrant Council of Ireland to discuss this research. I met with migrants that are involved with setting up Polish media in Ireland and with a number of individuals from Polish institutions in order to get their insight into Polish migration experiences in Ireland. This provided a forum to discuss my research and gain an understanding of migrants and scholars' thoughts on this project. Furthermore, I explored the Census data relating to the Polish migrants in Ireland. Census data and documentary evidence were relied upon to inform the initial stages of the research. I referred to the Polish chaplaincy's website (<http://www.polish-chaplaincy.ie/>) and to the Irish Catholic Bishops' conference (www.catholicbishops.ie) to get an insight into the Polish chaplain and to understand the chaplaincy's organisational structure. I also read through pamphlets at the chaplaincy to see if I could get any further insight into how the church is organised – these pamphlets were in Polish but referred mainly to Saints' feast days, Polish holidays and provided information on employment, housing and institutions. Census data was particularly helpful as it informed me of how many Polish migrants were in

Ireland and the number of Polish migrants that identified as Catholic. The CSO (2006) published a report profiling Polish migrants in Ireland (www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/Census/documents/nonirishlivinginireland.pdf). It provided me with quantitative information about Polish migrants' religious identity, the distribution of Polish migrants throughout Ireland and their general experiences in the social, economic and political spheres. This was particularly helpful at the beginning of the research as it familiarised me with key details but this data was also referred to throughout the research process (as highlighted in Chapter One) for statistics relating to Polish migrants and their religious affiliation. The European Values Studies were also drawn on for quantitative information relating to Poland, Ireland, Polish migrants and religion (www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/evs/research). These provided statistical information and helped me form an understanding of Polish migrants, their religious identification and experiences before and during my research.

The key stages of my methodology are outlined below.

4.4 Setting

I selected three churches as the primary sites for my fieldwork – St. Audoen's Church (Polish chaplaincy) on High Street Co. Dublin, St. Xavier's Church on Gardiner Street Co. Dublin and St. Saviour's Church on Dominick Street Co. Dublin. St. Xavier's church is a Jesuit Church and St. Saviour's is a Dominican Church. This had no impact on the study. These churches were chosen as they facilitate and provide the space for Polish Catholic masses to be celebrated weekly. The decision to focus on three Catholic Churches located close to the city centre of Dublin was based on the need to narrow down the research field and give more depth to the study. CSO data revealed that the majority of Polish migrants are located in and around the Greater Dublin Area. For this reason (access to sample) I chose to base my research in Dublin. Perhaps if I chose a different research site, such as Donegal, the findings may be different in that migrants would be located in a rural area with limited access to religious services in Polish. This can be considered for future research, i.e. a comparative analysis. However, for the intent of this study I chose Dublin as it gave me greater access to the Polish migrants, Polish church and Polish clergy. In addition to the churches as research settings, I also carried

out research at Polish cultural events and the Polish Embassy, as outlined in Table 4.1 (Table 4.1; Appendix 1, 2). The additional research sites were chosen because the study was also concerned with the social experiences of migrants and the impact of religion in shaping these experiences. These particular churches were chosen because the Polish chaplaincy is the central hub of Polish Catholicism in Ireland and St. Xavier's Church and St. Saviour's Church are two large churches in Co. Dublin that provide Polish religious services.

On 17th September 2006, Archbishop Diarmuid Martin handed over St. Audoen's church to the Polish Community in Dublin, through the Polish Cardinal Józef Glemp, to be used as their chaplaincy. This research represents an interesting case study as it provides an insight into the official migrant church of the Polish community in Ireland. It explores how the chaplaincy operates locally, nationally and globally and links with its sister church in Poland. It is under the directive of the Irish Catholic Church but also the Catholic Church in Poland. Father Jaroslaw is the Polish chaplain of Ireland and he sets out the pastoral care initiatives for the wider Polish community. He also manages the Polish clergy throughout Ireland. The chaplaincy holds services everyday at 6pm. On Sunday there are five religious services and the church also holds one religious service in English on Tuesdays. There are daily confessions, while on a Sunday confessions are held before every mass. During my fieldwork, I usually went to one or two masses on Sunday mornings and one mass during the week. English classes are also held at the Polish chaplaincy but I was denied access to these. Initially no reason was given as why I was denied access to these classes. However, after continuous pressure to get more information about the classes (number of attendees, profile of attendees, etc) the Polish chaplain informed me that he didn't want people to feel uncomfortable and that my presence at these English classes may cause this. He wouldn't engage with me any further on this matter. I also attended other events at the Polish chaplaincy, including a mass for the Polish President's death and a mass held in honour St. Anne's feast day. Both of these events, perhaps more so the mass to commemorate the Polish President's death, were illuminating experiences and I met many Polish migrants at these (Appendix 3, 4). Both St. Xavier's Church and St. Saviour's Church are located in the centre of Dublin and are both Irish churches. However, on Sundays and one day throughout

the week these churches hold Polish masses. I usually went to St. Xavier's Church for Polish mass on Tuesday evenings and St. Saviour's Church on a Sunday morning. After mass on a Tuesday evening at St. Xavier's Church there was a social gathering during which I met migrants and discussed their experiences. Throughout my fieldwork in all three churches I wrote detailed notes in my field diary, recording my experiences. Table 4.1 presents a breakdown of the participant observation schedule.

Table 4.1 Participant Observation Schedule

Venue	Date	Nature of Event	No. of Hours
St. Audoen's Church	November 2009-May 2011	Religious	15
St. Xavier's Church	November 2009-May 2011	Religious	10
St. Saviour's Church	November 2009-May 2011	Religious	10
Polish Embassy – Day the Polish President died	April 10 th 2010	Social/Cultural	2
Polish Embassy (Day after the death of the Polish President)	April 11 th 2010	Social/Cultural	1
St. Audoen's church (Polish President's Funeral)	April 18 th 2010	Religious/Cultural	2
Kinopolis – 4 TH Annual Film Festival	April 2010	Social/Cultural	2

4.5 Recruiting the Sample

Recruiting participants for this research proved quite difficult. I had hoped to recruit participants through religious settings but that did not happen. I interviewed one Polish priest from each of the three churches and for the most part I was made feel welcome. However, as mentioned previously, in one case I was made feel like an outsider who had no business carrying out research on the Polish community. Furthermore, the priest explained that Polish and Irish Catholicism are very different and that I may not be able to understand the religious experiences of Polish migrants. However, for the most part the priests were friendly and invited me to social gatherings and prayer meetings with the congregation.

I posted a notice on the information board in all three churches

advertising my research and stated that I was looking for volunteers to participate. I received no response but recruited seven participants through social gatherings after mass or meeting people outside church after mass. I also posted this advertisement on notice boards in Polish shops and in Tesco (see Activelink advertisement, Appendix 5, 6). I received two responses and therefore I decided to post an advertisement online (Activelink) seeking participants (Appendix 5, 6) – Activelink is an online website providing information on research, jobs, volunteering, events and fundraisers. I obtained five participants from this source. Furthermore, I posted an advertisement in a multi-ethnic newspaper (MetroEireann) seeking participants for the research project (Appendix 7). I recruited three participants from this source. As people were made aware of my research, I was able to make contact with other people through snowballing – a process whereby participants provided links to other potential participants. I recruited twenty-one participants in this manner. Recruiting Polish priests was much more difficult and it involved constantly contacting the chaplaincy. One priest was recruited in this way. Following this, I approached Polish priests at masses that I had attended and two priests eventually agreed to take part. Recruiting Polish priests may have been difficult for a number of reasons. First, it may have been the case that as I was an Irish researcher they felt that I may not be able to fully understand Polish Catholicism, its structures and how the migrant clergy operate in Ireland. Thus, they may have felt that my findings would not represent the church, the clergy, the migrants and Polish Catholicism in a way that they felt was appropriate. Second, it may have been the case that the clergy do not like research being done on their churches and congregants. They may prefer to remain closed off and away from the spotlight of sociologists researching religion. Third, the clergy may not have had the time to meet with me. Father Augustyn explained in his interview that there are only a small number of Polish priests in comparison to the number of Polish Catholics in Ireland. Thus, they are always busy. Therefore, it may have been the case that they did not have the time to take part in an interview.

I carried out the interviews in a number of locations throughout Dublin. The participants chose the location. The majority of the interviews were carried out in local cafes and restaurants. Three were carried out in

churches. I do not think the interview location had any bearing on the findings or answers given by participants as they chose the location for the interviews. Therefore, they are likely to have chosen a place that is familiar to them and a place where they felt comfortable. There was a great deal of interest in my research and people seemed keen to participate but often it was quite difficult to get the individuals to commit to a time and place. On a number of occasions I had arranged to meet people for interviews but they did not show. Despite these drawbacks, I was able to recruit forty-one participants. This enabled me to gain an insight into the religious and social experiences of Polish migrants, while also exploring how the church and clergy respond to migrants' needs in Ireland. The way in which the majority of participants were recruited (snowballing) resulted in the sample comprising of a range of religious and non religious migrants. Table 4.2 outlines how each interviewee was recruited and how many were recruited from each source.

Table 4.2: Recruitment of Sample

Technique	Male	Female	Clergy	Total
St. Audoen's Church (Polish chaplaincy)			1	1
St. Xavier's Church			1	1
St. Saviour's Church			1	1
Church gatherings or meeting people after masses	1	6		7
Activelink (online)	1	4		5
Metro Éireann (Newspaper)	2	1		3
Notices on shop notice boards		2		2
Snowballing	8	13		21
Total	12	26	3	41

The interview consisted of three main parts. It was structured around the themes and sub questions of this research (Appendix 8). The first part focused on the Polish migrants initial experiences in Ireland, their decision to migrate, their point of contact, setting up bank accounts and so on; the second part looked at migrants' religious behaviour in Ireland, how it has changed subsequent to migration and the ways in which they refer to church; the third part was concerned with exploring their transnational experiences, social networks and how these networks form new support mechanisms for migrants in Ireland. The interview outline was adapted for respondents who had no religious affiliation. A separate interview schedule was used for Polish clergy. This interview schedule focused more on the pastoral care

initiatives of the Polish church, how the chaplaincy is organized, how it maintains transnational links and how the chaplaincy is situated within the Irish Catholic Church.

All interviewees' names were changed – I used pseudonyms to protect the identity of participants. All the interviews were recorded using digital audio equipment. All interviews were transcribed. Transcribing the interviews enabled me to reflect on the data and this was an important part of the analytical process. As Heritage (1984) states, this allows the researcher to re-familiarize themselves with the data and identify important themes and patterns. The interview transcripts were organized into themes – religious, non-religious, clergy, male, female. The field notes that I wrote during the interviews were also filed with these transcripts. I then reviewed and reread through the transcripts identifying key themes and patterns. I linked themes with the detailed field notes taken during observation which enabled me to identify and develop new themes and modify my research questions accordingly. Thus, for example, one key way in which my research question needed to be modified was with regard to the theme of transnationalism as support networks. I re-examined my research question and began to explore how and why Polish migrants employ transnational activities and ties for support within the context of migration and religion.

I employed a computer software package (Maxqda) to help me code the data. Conducting interviews, transcribing and coding the data allowed me to understand the context within which migrants are situated, the dynamics of their migration process and draw connections between their narratives. Analyzing and coding data enables the research to “*keep a sense of voice present*” (Eisner 1998:2) so readers will know the people behind the words.

4.5.1 Profile of Participants

Table 4.3 presents the profile of each participant in this research. This table provides background information on each participant and their individual situations.

Table 4.3: Profile of participants in the study

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Religiosity	Year of arrival	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications	Engagement with church's resources
Beata	28	Believe O.P	2006	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Secretary	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I
Alex	29	Believe O.P	2007	Yes	Krakow	Married	0	Retail	No	S.O.M R.E.I
Barbara	54	No	1994	No	Bydgoszcz	Married	0	Unemployed/migrant	No	S.O.M
Borys	31	Believe, O.P	2006	No	Lublin	Single	0	Unemployed	No	R.A.I R.E.I
Hanna	35	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Photography	R.E.I
Tomasz	31	No	2004	Yes	Bydgoszcz	Married	0	Businessman	Degree in Business	
Roman	48	No	1998	Yes	Krakow	Married	2	Owns real estate business/ Migrant organisation	Seminary	
Dariusz	25	Yes	2004	Yes	Krakow	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Business	R.A.I R.E.I
Leon	33	No	2004	Yes	Lodz	Married	1	Business man	No	
Justyn	26	Yes	2006	No	Szczecin	Single	0	Child minder	Teaching Degree	R.S.C R.A.I R.E.I
Adrianna	26	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Single	0	Hotelier	Degree in Accountancy	R.E.I
Nadia	34	Believe O.P	2005	No	Poznan	Married	2	Child minder	Degree in Psychology	R.E.I R.S.C
Karol	26	No	2004	Yes	Katowice	Single	0	Business man	Master's in Business	R.E.I
Albin	28	Yes	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Arts	R.A.I R.E.I R.S.C.
Tomek	52	Believe O.P (Irish church)	2008	No	Szczecin	Married	2	Doctor	Medicine	
Lidia	35	Yes	2004	No	Warsaw	Married	2	Retail	Master's in Psychology	
Katia	26	Yes	2004	Yes	Warsaw	Single	0	Psychologist	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I
Gosiasta	28	Yes	2008	Yes	Gdansk	Married	1	Retail	Master's in Psychology	R.A.I R.E.I
Gosia	27	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Slupsk	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Law	R.E.I R.S.C
Karolina	26	Yes (Irish church)	2006	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Degree in Accountancy	
Asia	28	No	2004	Yes	Zakopane	Single	0	Hotelier	Degree in Arts	
Marek	33	No	2004	Yes	Cieszyn	Married	1	Migrant organisation	Master's in Business	
Luckasz	27	Yes	2005	Yes	Olsztyn	Married	0	Works in security	No	S.O.M R.E.I
Aine	28	Yes (Irish church)	2004	No	Katowice	Single	0	Retail	Teaching Degree	
Martin	32	No	2004	No	Poznan	Single	0	Works in construction	Degree in Engineering	
Zofia	27	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Hotelier	Diploma in Child Care	R.A.I R.E.I
Dorota	38	Yes	2006	No	Warsaw	Married	0	Secretary	Diploma in Secretarial Studies	R.E.I

Aga	33	Yes	2004	Yes	Torun	Single	0	Unemployed	Degree in Arts	S.O.M R.A.I R.E.I R.S.C
Anna	28	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Journalist	Degree in Journalism	R.E.I
Klaudia	26	Yes	2006	Yes	Poznan	Boyfriend		Child minder	Degree in Psychology	R.E.I
Martyna	28	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Rybnik	Single		Retail	Degree in Psychology	R.A.I
Ilona	28	Believe O.P	2008	Yes	Brzostek	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I
Izabella	28	No	2004	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Degree in Arts	
Julianna	25	No	2004	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Hotelier	No	
Patryja	26	Believe O.P	2005	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Master's in Sociology	S.O.M R.E.I R.S.C.
Kat	26	Believe O.P	2004	No	Poznan	Married	2	Secretary	No	R.E.I
Alexandra	29	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Married	0	Retail	No	R.E.I
Max	28	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Businessman	Master's in Business	R.A.I R.E.I
Polish clergy										
Fr. Marek	53	Yes	2006	Yes	Krakow	-	-	Catholic Priest	Seminary	
Fr. Amadej	61	Yes	2004	Yes	Poznan	-	-	Catholic Priest	Seminary	
Fr. Augustyn	-	Yes	2004	Yes	-	-	-	Catholic Priest	Seminary	

* Religiosity denotes religious beliefs and practices; Believe, O.P – Believe but occasionally practice; RSM – religion as system of meaning; RAI – religion as institution; REI – religion as ethnic identifier; RSC – religion as social capital

This sample comprises of a range of participants and is very broadly representative of typical post-2004 Polish migrants in Ireland – CSO data reports that ‘new’ Polish migrants are young labour migrants, occupying low-mid level skilled jobs with high levels of education; this typifies a good deal of participants that make up this sample. Although broadly representative, I acknowledge that this is a very small sample that is not statistically representative of the wider Polish population in Ireland but it gives voice to a range of experiences of Polish migrants. Forty-one interviews were carried out, fifteen male and twenty-six female. The higher number of females represented in this sample reflects the Census data which shows that there are more Polish woman in Ireland than Polish men with a ratio of 64:36% (CSO 2006). Participants included religious and non-religious migrants and three priests. The majority of participants were from Krakow and Poznan or had moved there in search of employment. The ages of the participants ranged from eighteen to sixty one, with the majority in their late twenties. Apart from the clergy, three participants work for migrant organisations. The majority of

participants work in the service sector which reflects the findings of studies on Polish migrants in Ireland (Kropiwiec and King O’Riain 2006; Grabowska 2005). Among the female participants ten work in retail, four in hotels, four as secretaries, three as child minders, two work as Psychologists and three are unemployed. Six male participants work in business, two in security jobs, one in construction, one in a migrant organization, one is a doctor and one is unemployed. Three of the male participants were priests. Most of the participants were involved in a process of ‘de-skilling’ in Ireland in relation to their occupation (i.e. they are employed jobs that they are over qualified for; Chapter Five). The majority of participants are educated and cited economic reasons for their migration. Eleven participants plan on staying in Ireland long term, while thirty participants plan on returning to Poland within the next five years. I should point out that when analysing this sample I use percentages and numbers to represent findings. I do this not as an attempt to make the study pseudo-quantitative but rather to present the reader with a clear, concise analysis. In addition to an analysis of the rich data I provide further clarity and support the qualitative analysis by inserting graphical presentations and percentages of the sample (Bernard and Ryan 2010) which help the reader understand the complex relationship between Polish migrants, religion and the church. Thus, the tables and percentages in the data analysis chapters are to help as an overview and for illustrative purposes only. They are not representative of the whole Polish community, nor can generalisable conclusions be drawn from them. I acknowledge that this is a limited sample and by no means is it my intention to generalise these findings. Rather, this study consists of a relatively small sample which enables these Polish migrants to have a voice and shed light on their socio-religious experiences in Ireland.

The following discussion reveals the ethical considerations of this research and reflects on the overall methodological process.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

4.6.1 Ethics

Ethical approval for this research was granted in November 2009 from NUI Maynooth Ethics Review Panel. I adopted an ethical approach throughout this research. The primary ethical consideration relates to the consent of migrants to take part in this research. I provided an overview of my research in Polish to all participants (a fellow Polish colleague translated this document into Polish). In this, I outlined the research objectives and how the information would be used. I also provided them with details of the interview process (i.e. meeting with me, discussing questions on their religious and social experiences, interviews recorded, pseudonyms used). Participants were required to sign a consent form (Appendix 9). Participation was voluntary and the participants were given pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity. The participants had the right to remove themselves from the interview at any time. I usually went through the interview process with the participants before each interview. This was informal and built a rapport with each participant.

One major ethical issue that I had to overcome related to language. Although all of the interviews were conducted in English, this was not the mother tongue of the participants. The degree to which the participants were able to speak English varied. This created some challenges, both in terms of communication and interpretation. General problems of translation between languages have been discussed in a methodological perspective. Rumbaut (1999) points out immigrants that do not have English as their first language hold different concepts, values and beliefs from the researchers. For this reason, the accuracy, trustworthiness and validity of the research are questioned (Morse 1999).

I approached this limitation pragmatically and took measures to address the issue. Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson and Deeg (2010:316) suggest that when there is a language difference between those being researched and the researcher it is necessary to use “*the services of a professional translator*” as this will “*contribute to improving the validity of the research and of the quality of the transference of the findings to the reader*”. However, Esposito (2001) acknowledges that an ‘insider’ would not overcome this limitation; instead the researcher’s reflexivity can address this challenge. To address the issue of

language and to ensure validity of the interpretation of meaning, I let participants re-read their transcripts if they wished. Qualitative research seeks to study meanings in subjective experiences and as Polkinghorne (2007) states “*Qualitative research is considered valid when the distance between the meanings as experienced by the participants and the meanings as interpreted in the findings is as close as possible*” (Van Nes et al. 2010:314). By re-reading their transcripts the participants could address any issue or clarify any point that I had misinterpreted. This addresses the issue of interpretation of meaning. However, when the data was fed back to the participants none of them changed any details in the transcripts. I do not believe that conducting the interviews in English did an injustice to the research or that the findings would have been different if a native Polish speaker conducted the interview. In the study I provide rich text quoting the participants and providing firsthand accounts of their experiences and thoughts. Van Nes et al. (2010:315) state that text is the ‘vehicle’ with which meaning is transferred and this can overcome language issues – “*rich descriptions with the use of quotes of participants are considered to contribute to trustworthiness in qualitative research*”. In this vein, Ulrich Oevermann’s (2008) solution is to treat a transcript just like any other transcript, which justifies my approach. Inhetveen (2012) suggests that a multi-method approach would overcome limitations brought about by language differences. I also conducted participant observation in religious, cultural and social sites which supported data that was emerging from the interviews. The approach I adopted enabled migrants to tell their stories and have their voices heard with the level of English that they had.

Another ethical issue that I considered related to what I was ‘giving back’ to the community. Due to my budget, I was unable to pay participants. This did not seem to be a major issue with the participants but some did ask what they were ‘getting out of it’. To address this, I offered participants a copy of the research findings when the research was complete. I also highlighted that this was an opportunity for them to have their ‘voices’ heard and let a wider audience understand their experiences.

4.6.2 Reflections

The research proved to be a little more difficult than I had expected, particularly with regards to recruiting participants. Finding research participants took longer than I had planned and once individuals had agreed to participate arranging times and locations presented difficulties. This was mainly due to peoples' work commitments and having to travel to the interview site. This was a major research challenge. On one occasion I was asked how many participants I needed. When I answered that I needed at least forty interviews one man remarked, jokingly, that I would definitely have to pay them to do the interviews as I would never get that many Polish people to participate. Relating to the boundaries of the 'researcher-researched' (Pile 1991), I had a surprising encounter with an older Polish participant. After the interview, he answered his phone and recounted that he had just finished an interview with a researcher that 'looked like a twelve year old!'. This led me to reflect on my position during the fieldwork. I had to acknowledge that my youthful looks in one way made people feel at ease during the interview but, on the other hand, led some people to question my ability to be a researcher. Reflexivity enabled me to renegotiate my position at different stages throughout the research process. My position was not fixed and as such could adapt throughout the process. Interestingly, my position as an 'outsider', in that I am not Polish, was an advantage during the research process. The participants conveyed that because I was Irish I was more trustworthy than a Polish researcher. This relates to research which states that there is a high level of mistrust among the Polish community (Grabowska 2005). Furthermore, my Donegal accent was a source of bemusement to the participants and they seemed to enjoy trying to mimic me. This let the participants feel more comfortable and place more trust in me.

Conducting research on the topic of religion was quite challenging at times. Participants often presumed because I was Irish that I was also Catholic. Moreover, they presumed because I had an interest in studying religion that I must be religious. In a number of interviews this led some participants to apologize for not being religious. On these occasions, I stated clearly that this research is a reflection of their experiences and not of my ideas. Although for the most part, my 'Catholic upbringing' did not pose too much of a challenge,

on one occasion a participant felt it was 'fate' that brought her to the interview so that she could give me rosary beads to help me keep my faith. This led me to reflect on whether or not I should answer this question (my personal relationship with religion) so as not to persuade or dissuade participants from narrating their own personal experiences.

The issue of language was an aspect of the research that I gave much attention. The migrants in this study had some level of English, ranging from basic to fluent. Nevertheless, conducting research on a community that have a different mother tongue to the researcher poses challenges. To ensure the validity of the data, I let participants re-read a transcript of their interview which enabled them to highlight any issues or clarify any point that I had misunderstood. Throughout the research process, I continuously reflected on this issue and how I was overcoming it to ensure that the validity of the data was been maintained at all times.

Reflexivity enabled me to develop my research technique throughout the process. My field diary was crucial to this as I was able to re-read different encounters and learn from them.

Conclusion

The intent of this study is to explore the socio-religious experiences of Polish migrants and how, if at all, the church spiritually or socially supports migrants in Ireland. Hearing the lived accounts of Polish migrants and clergy is vital for understanding the transnational migrants' relationship with religion. The purpose of this chapter was to provide a systematic review of the research process used in the undertaking of this research. By doing this, it has enabled the reader to make sense of how the sociological knowledge was produced and justified.

I have presented the different stages within the research process. This chapter presents a discussion detailing the importance of adopting an ethnographic, qualitative approach to explore migrants' individual and collective religious and social experiences during the transnational migration. A qualitative approach enabled me to get rich data. However, with this type of methodology the findings are not generalisable to the wider Polish community.

It provides an in-depth understanding of the experiences of this sample. Essentially it allows for the development of fruitful sociological knowledge through empirical data which can direct future research. I carried out forty-one semi-structured interviews with religious and non-religious migrants and clergy and engaged in extended participant observation in three primary sites (other sites included social and cultural events). This framework allowed me to gain an insight into individual micro experiences and understand the migrants' position within the broader context. This chapter sets out how the research was carried out and with whom. This paves the way for an in-depth analysis of the migrants' narratives.

Chapter Five

Motivations for Migrating to Ireland

I knew if I wanted to do something with my life I would have to leave Poland...that's just it (Justyn, female, 26)

Introduction

Immigration is a current topic in contemporary Irish society (Coakley and Mac Éinrí 2007). East to West migration flows, and immigration trends to Ireland in general, have captivated scholars and economists alike. This chapter highlights the structural factors that influenced the Polish migrants' decision to move to Ireland. Given the religious similarity between Poland and Ireland it is necessary to consider religion as a motivating factor in the decision-making process. Scholars have pointed out that religion can have an important role for some immigrants – during their decision to migrate right through to supporting the immigrant in the host society (Cadge and Ecklund 2007; Haddad et al. 2003; Warner 1998). These studies show religion to be a significant motivating factor in the migration from one country to another. Unlike the aforementioned studies, this research finds that religion is not a consequential factor in the migration decision-making process. This chapter sets out the Polish migrants' motivations for moving to Ireland and explains why religion had no influence in the decision-making process. I argue that economic factors, as well as social networks, are primary factors stimulating this migration.

This migration represents a move from a majority Catholic context (Poland) to a similar majority Catholic context (Ireland). The majority-majority case provides an interesting test of the Roman Catholicism notion which implies that because the Irish and Polish share the same religion they should be in harmony with one another. This study reveals that religion had no role in the decision-making process as ethnicity prevents Polish migrants from viewing their religion as universal. Migrants view their religion in national terms, thus it is distinctly different from Irish Catholicism. Henceforth, religion was not a motivating factor for migrating to Ireland.

This chapter begins the analysis as it sets out the factors stimulating the migration and explains in-depth why religion was not a factor in the decision-making process. This provides a platform for Chapter Six, Seven and Eight which analyses the experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland and how, if at all, spirituality and the church figure in terms of social and spiritual support. Chapter Six explores the religious beliefs and practices of Polish migrants. The migrants' religion and the impact of migration on their faith and religious activity are identified. Exploring how migrants employ different aspects of religious institutions to support their practical, religious and ethnic identification needs in the new country further sheds light on whether spirituality or the church figures in terms of social or spiritual support for Polish migrants. Thus, Chapter Seven sheds light on this and argues that religion is relied upon mainly for its ethnic identification and social service benefits as opposed to faith and spirituality. Significantly, there is great variation in the ways in which the migrants in this sample believe and practice their faith and engage with the church – i.e. over 86% of Polish migrants in this sample who are religious (24/28 – clergy were not included in this sample) rely on religion as a marker of ethnic identity - they view their religion as ideological and symbolic (Sommers 1991). Chapter Eight explores the institutional response of the religious organisation to migrants in the new context. The chapter sets out the transnationality of the Catholic Church and explores the experiences of the Polish clergy and migrants. Transnationalism as a framework enabled me to explore the relationship between migration, religion and transnational activities, all of which are guided by the migrants' responses to their individual circumstances (i.e. current employment status, migration time-horizon). This chapter argues that non-religious varieties of transnationalism such as contemporary transnational consciousness coupled with multiple scales of regular and intense transnational ties and activities provide migrants with support systems. The conclusion chapter, Chapter Nine, brings together the theoretical assumptions that underpin the empirical findings.

The migration experience has changed dramatically with intensive globalisation and transnational activities. These two developments have led to increased circular migration while also supporting migrants' connection to Poland. Varied religious beliefs, practices and engagement with the church, as

well as intensive transnational activity have resulted in new migration patterns. Favell (2008a:705) refers to this as a “*new migration system in Europe*”. For the most part, the majority of migrants in this sample refer to transnational ties, opposed to religious or social institutions in Ireland, as significantly supporting this migration – all of the interviewees refer to transnational ties as a support mechanism, while out of 28 migrants that are religious (clergy not included in this analysis, 28/31 Catholics) 17% refer to the church to support them spiritually, 32% refer to the church to support them socially, 86% refer to the church to support their ethnic identification and 21% refer to the church for social capital. This shows that for the majority of migrants in this sample, religion matters more as a marker of ethnic identification than spirituality.

This chapter has four sections. First, I introduce the topic of religion in respect to the Polish migrants. I detail the lack of research exploring the role of religion in the Polish migration decision-making process. Second, I explore the immigration trends among Polish migrants and outline the extent of East-to-West migration flows. Intense immigration trends bring about dramatic demographic, social, economic, political and religious changes in both sending and receiving contexts. In this regard, it is important to highlight and acknowledge the factors that contribute to the decision to migrate. Thus in the third section I analyse the motivations for migration. Finally, after establishing the significant factors stimulating this migration I provide an account of why religion was not a factor in motivating migration to Ireland.

5.1. Religion and Polish Migration

While there is a notable lack of empirical research into the study of religion as a motivating factor in Polish migration, a small number of studies make reference to Polish migrants and religion (Storch 2008; Kropiwiec and King-O’Riain 2006). As outlined in Chapter Two, Kropiwiec and King O’Riain (2006) found no evidence to suggest that religion was a factor in Polish migrants’ decision to move to Ireland. In other contexts such as Britain and the US, unlike the unique case of Ireland, Polish migrants are adjusting to a society in which Catholicism is not the majority religion.

However, the Catholic Church is well established in both contexts. Moreover, 'Polish parishes' (in terms of religious services and in some cases Polish churches) have been created and are embedded within the religious landscape of each country. Thus, religion as a factor motivating Polish migration can be explored in Britain and the US. With regards to the UK, Kathy Burrell's (2009) edited collection of essays exploring Polish migrants in Britain only briefly refers to religion. This collection sheds light on other aspects of this new migration pattern. They point to the importance of transnational networks, ties and technologies, the labour market experiences and how these migrants' lives have changed by moving to the UK. This is important as it highlights the "‘New’ European Union" or as Krings et al. terms it "the new European mobility space" (2013:89).

In the US context, Ingram and Asher (2009) trace the historic immigration experiences of Polish migrants while Podgorski (2008) explores the immigration and religious experiences of these migrants. Neither study found religion to be a factor considered during the migration decision-making process. Studies on Polish migrants in the UK and US do not make reference to religion as a motivating factor for immigration or as a factor considered when choosing their country of destination. It could be thought that Ireland, unlike the US and UK, offer a unique case for Polish migrants as both countries are predominantly Catholic – however, as Chapter One pointed out Catholicism in Poland and Ireland is very different both in terms of national identity and state-church relationship.

Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) hypothesise that if immigrants share cultural similarities, in particular religion, with the host population then they are more likely to adapt easily in the host country. Byrne (1971) points out that such similarity leads to an 'attraction' whereby the immigrants are attracted to a particular country because of such similarities. Given the similar Catholic background between Poland and Ireland, was this 'compatibility' a factor or an 'attraction' for Polish migrants when deciding to move to Ireland? The narratives of Polish migrants in this research indicate that, for them, religion was not a factor in their decision to migrate, nor was it a factor in choosing Ireland as the country of destination. Trzebiatowska (2010:1070) in her study of Polish clergy in Scotland notes that -

While it may be true that Catholics of different nationalities can understand one another because their religious habitus is formed by the same religious institution 'that features a very centralized and unifying liturgical spine' (Rey, 2007: 88)

Following this, Trzebiatowska points out that Polish migrants “expect ‘Polish’, and not apparently ‘universal’ Catholicism”. Her research reveals evidence of ‘parallel congregations’ opposed to Polish Catholics integrating into Scottish Catholic congregations. ‘Parallel congregations’ are evident amongst Polish Catholics in my study as the majority of these Catholics attend Polish church (90% of this sample, 28/31 migrants). The Polish Catholics in this study have a distinct form of ethnic Catholicism which re-enforces their religious habitus through ethnic religious rituals and identity. For these migrants, Catholicism is not viewed as universal; it is nationalistic and ethnically grounded. This explains why only two interviewees posited that they considered religion when deciding Ireland as the country of destination.

I knew from the history that you had similar history to ours so I thought that we are bit similar background and I knew that Catholic Church here dominates...like in Poland. I knew they were similar like that so I should be, you know, ok (Martyna, female, 28).

Martyna points out that the cultural similarities between Poland and Ireland reassured her of her decision to move to Ireland.

Well I think that we...there are similarities in the religion and I thought of that point of view. But it was important for me 'cause I know that there is some connection between Polish people because of that reason, that we are both the nations of Catholic. I think that people trust each other much more because of that (Ilona, female, 28).

Ilona specifically chose Ireland as she thought that the people would be similar, as Catholicism is the dominant religion in both countries. These two extracts suggest that a ‘compatibility’ (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000) or ‘attraction’ (Byrne 1971) based on cultural similarities was a factor considered by some migrants during the migration decision-making process.

However, only two interviewees (4% of this sample, 2/41 migrants interviewed) referred to this ‘compatibility’ or religion in general when discussing their decision to migrate which is quite telling. Religion was not a factor considered by the majority of interviewees. Other aspects, such as the economy, proved to be much more significant in stimulating the migration and choosing the country of destination.

The diverse ways in which Polish migrants negotiate their decision to migrate illuminates the myriad of factors that are considered. ‘Catholic compatibility’ or cultural similarities acting as an ‘attraction’ did not feature in the majority of migrants’ decision to move to Ireland. This study establishes that religion was not a factor in the Polish migrants’ decision-making process. Therefore, the next sections details the immigration trends among Polish migrants, followed by an analysis of the factors that were significant in the migration decision-making process for this sample of migrants.

5.2 Immigration Trends among Polish Migrants

An economic upturn coupled with the accession of ten new member states into the European Union resulted in unprecedented growth in immigration figures to Ireland.

Everyone at the moment was going to Ireland, 2004. So I say why not!
(Adrianna, female, 26)

The most recent Census (2011) revealed that 544,357 immigrants reside in Ireland, an increase of 29.7% since Census 2006. Residents from outside of Ireland account for 12% of the total population. The fastest growing immigrant groups were Romanians (up 110%), Indians (up 91%), Polish (up 83%), Lithuanian (up 40%) and Latvians (up 43%). The immigrants come from 196 different countries.

Polish migrants are the largest immigrant group in Ireland, replacing British immigrants who are now the second largest immigrant group (112,000). Census 2011 revealed that there are just over 122,000 Polish migrants in Ireland. This is a 94% increase in the number of Polish migrants moving to

Ireland since 2006. 90% of these migrants moved to Ireland after Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. In 2006, it was revealed that the demographic distribution of Polish migrants in Ireland was uneven. There were nearly half as many Polish men as there were Polish women with a ratio of 64:36 (%). Census 2011 observed that 32,642 more Polish women live in Ireland since 2006. There are now 55,584 Polish woman and 59,609 Polish men residing in Ireland. Kępińska (2007) found that Ireland is one of the most popular destinations amongst these migrants – Ireland is ranked the third most popular destination for immigrants leaving Poland. Germany is ranked second with 490,000 Polish migrants choosing to move there, while Britain is the most popular destination with 690,000 Polish migrants travelling there (CSO 2008 in Burrell 2009:173-192).

Table 5.1: Main destination countries for Polish emigrants 2000-2007

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total number of emigrants	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UK	4%	7%	7%	9%	11%	20%	31%	32%
Germany	35%	37%	34%	31%	29%	25%	20%	16%
Ireland	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	6%	7%	12%
Italy	6%	8%	14%	13%	11%	12%	8%	8%
US	19%	23%	19%	20%	19%	11%	11%	7%
Netherlands	2%	4%	5%	4%	3%	2%	3%	6%

Source: Kępińska 2007

Table 5.1 illustrates the developing immigration trends among Polish citizens in the last decade. The increase in migration within Europe is evident, as is a notable decline in immigration to the US. Krings et al. (2013:88) note that *“Polish migrants are part of a new generation of mobile Europeans...contemporary moves are often multidirectional and transient,*

blurring the distinction between migration and other forms of mobility such as tourism, commuting and student migration”.

Drawing on the narratives of the Polish migrants, this immigration trend is one that reflects a pattern of re-uniting family and friends.

That is important, you know, lots of family and friends. Someone brave goes first. My sister and her husband, my sister-in-law and uncle and five friends came because we were here and we told them they could stay. We know other people that came because they had friends over here. It was always like a family going together, for most part it would be brothers and sisters going over bringing their partners and family (Beata, female, 28).

Immigration flows to Ireland and Britain increased dramatically in 2004 which coincided with Poland’s accession into the European Union. Poland’s accession into the EU enables Polish citizens to move around Europe without restriction. One of the main reasons as to why Ireland and Britain are popular among Polish migrants is that both countries have an open labour market. The EU has “*evolved into a transnational social space with the right to free movement at its core*” (Krings et al. 2013:89). Thus, Polish migrants form part of a “*new generation of mobile Europeans who increasingly make use of their free-movement rights in pursuit of flexible worklife pathways in the new European mobility space*” (*ibid*:88).

Polish migrants reside in every town in Ireland with a greater proportion residing in Co. Dublin. Immigrants are geographically concentrated in areas that have greater job opportunities in the secondary sector market. The number of Polish migrants residing in the capital city reflects their motivations for migrating to Ireland – in search of labour. Central Statistics Office released figures in 2006 (www.cso.ie) that reveals over half of Polish men in Ireland work in construction while Polish women work in retail, hotelier or restaurant occupations. Significantly, a quarter of migrants recorded in 2006 aged fifteen or over who had finished their education had completed a third level Degree or higher. The transference of these skills and qualifications did not occur when they arrived in Ireland.

I have Degree in Psychology but it’s not recognised here (Klaudia, female, 26).

To move the analysis beyond CSO statistics, I provide a detailed table (5.2) which sets out the profile of this sample. It provides socio-demographic information on the Polish migrants in this sample. This enables a better understanding of the migrants that make up this new immigration trend from Poland to Ireland.

Table 5.2: Profile of Polish Migrants in this Study

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications
Beata	28	2006	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Secretary	Master's in Psychology
Alex	29	2007	Yes	Krakow	Married	0	Retail	No
Barbara	54	1994	No	Bydgoszcz	Married	0	Unemployed/ migrant organisation	No
Borys	31	2006	No	Lublin	Single	0	Unemployed	No
Hanna	35	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Photography
Tomasz	31	2004	Yes	Bydgoszcz	Married	0	Businessman	Degree in Business
Roman	48	1998	Yes	Krakow	Married	2	Owns real estate business/ Migrant organisation	Yes (Seminary)
Dariusz	25	2004	Yes	Krakow	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Business
Leon	33	2004	Yes	Lodz	Married	1	Business man	No
Justyn	26	2006	No	Szczecin	Single	0	Child minder	Teaching Degree
Adrianna	26	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Single	0	Hotelier	Degree in Accountancy
Nadia	34	2005	No	Poznan	Married	2	Child minder	Degree in Psychology
Karol	26	2004	Yes	Katowice	Single	0	Business man	Master's in Business
Albin	28	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Arts
Tomek	52	2008	No	Szczecin	Married	2	Doctor	Medicine
Lidia	35	2004	No	Warsaw	Married	2	Retail	Master's in Psychology
Katia	26	2004	Yes	Warsaw	Single	0	Psychologist	Master's in Psychology
Gosiasta	28	2008	Yes	Gdansk	Married	1	Retail	Master's in Psychology
Gosia	27	2004	Yes	Slupsk	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Law
Karolina	26	2006	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Degree in Accountancy
Asia	28	2004	Yes	Zakopane	Single	0	Hotelier	Degree in Arts

Marek	33	2004	Yes	Cieszyn	Married	1	Migrant organisation	Master's in Business
Lukasz	27	2005	Yes	Olsztyn	Married	0	Works in security	No
Aine	28	2004	No	Katowice	Single	0	Retail	Teaching Degree
Martin	32	2004	No	Poznan	Single	0	Works in construction	Degree in Engineering
Zofia	27	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Hotelier	Diploma in Child Care
Dorota	38	2006	No	Warsaw	Married	0	Secretary	Diploma in Secretarial Studies
Aga	33	2004	Yes	Torun	Single	0	Unemployed	Degree in Arts
Anna	28	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Journalist	Degree in Journalism
Kludia	26	2006	Yes	Poznan	Boyfriend		Child minder	Degree in Psychology
Martyna	28	2004	Yes	Rybnik	Single		Retail	Degree in Psychology
Ilona	28	2008	Yes	Brzostek	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Master's in Psychology
Izabella	28	2004	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Degree in Arts
Julianna	25	2004	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Hotelier	No
Patryja	26	2005	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Master's in Sociology
Kat	26	2004	No	Poznan	Married	2	Secretary	No
Alexandra	29	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Married	0	Retail	No
Max	28	2004	Yes		Single	0	Businessman	Master's in Business
Polish clergy								
Fr. Marek	53	2006	Yes	Krakow	-	-	Catholic Priest	Yes (Priesthood)
Fr. Amadej	61	2004	Yes	Poznan	-	-	Catholic Priest	Yes (Priesthood)
Fr. Augustyn	-	2004	Yes	-	-	-	Catholic Priest	Yes (priesthood)

This table details the profile of a small sample of the Polish migrant community in Ireland and points out some interesting statistics regarding the socio-demographics of this migrant group. The next section analyses the significant factors which motivated Polish migration to Ireland.

5.3 Motivations for Migrating to Ireland

This discussion provides an insight into the factors which influenced this sample of Polish migrants to move to Ireland. The decision to migrate is individually experienced. However, general patterns and themes emerge that reveal collective realms of experiences among this particular sample of migrants. The following analysis sheds light on the factors that influenced these interviewees migration decision-making process.

5.3.1 Economy

It was economy I suppose that brought us here (Nadia, female, 34).

There are a number of factors that have influenced Polish migrants' decision to move to Ireland. Certainly, the negative effects of the unstable economic condition in Poland reverberated throughout the post-communist era. The consequences of high unemployment rates and a weak economy significantly impacted on the country's middle-class. The impact of this was relayed in the narratives of all the interviewees. One interviewee's response embodies the attitude of all the narratives. Tomasz conveys that the economy was a major factor in their decision to migrate.

After I graduated from the university I knew I had to emigrate. There is nothing here, no job, no opportunity (Tomasz, male, 31).

Krings et al. (2013) in their longitudinal qualitative panel study of Polish migration to Dublin found similar findings and argue that Ireland was seen as “a ‘goldrush’ labour market” and this “created an apparently infinite supply of new jobs and demand for labour” (Krings et al. 2013: 90).

Gupta (2007) points to three factors that characterise economic migration. First, the migration is from an economically less developed country to an economically better developed country. Second, the motivation must be to earn a living or improve the immigrant's material condition. Finally, the immigration must be for a prolonged length of time. The findings of this study support Gupta's characterisation of economic migration.

..Couldn't think about mortgage and the kids in Poland. We wanted these

things, we wanted a stable life for our children. We had to move, we had to leave Poland for, well, for some time. We can make a better life here for us and the children (Lidia, female, 35).

Polish migrants have a positive view of Ireland which they use to rationalise their migration decision. Margolis (1998:12) notes that young educated immigrants' view emigration as a "*temporary, low cost personal investment opportunity*" that can overcome the limited professional opportunities in their home country. These limited opportunities, associated with an unstable economic situation, were relayed in the narratives of all the interviewees. Katia, a Polish Psychologist aged 26 with a Master's in Psychology explains that Poland offers few opportunities for young educated people and emigration is the only option.

You get a Degree, I have a Psychology Master's, but let's say you have a Degree...you won't get job. You have to work in a grocer, and that's if you're lucky! And if you have job the pay is very very low. You can't move out of your parents house, you wouldn't be able to afford apartment, you can't do anything, you're stuck, just stuck there living with your parents even in your thirties and working for nothing really. It's not possible to stay there. Ireland offers us more, a chance to earn money and have a better life back in Poland (Katia, female, 26).

Sassen (1998) highlights the role of foreign policy in shaping economic migration. The 'world system theory' indicates that capitalist economic relations, foreign policies penetrating non-market or pre-market social and economic structures, directly impact on attracting immigrants to Western countries. This is achieved through the creation of ideological and material links (Sassen 1998:128). When immigrants move to the host country they are hired in the secondary labour market. A survey in Poland revealed that immigration to the West in post-communist era was a direct result of the penetration of international capitalism operating in Poland (Jaźwińska and Okólski 1996). It could be argued that this is still relevant as Ireland deliberately enticed European immigrants with their open labour market policy; European immigrants, in this case Polish migrants, tend to engage in circular migration patterns which suited Ireland's economic needs at that specific time. Krings et al. (2013:88-89) reveal that "*Ireland's free-movement policy afforded Polish migrants new mobility opportunities*" and "*European migrants are not only free to move across national boundaries but also within national labour markets. Hence the 'boundaryless career' (Arthur 1994), where the work experience is no longer confined to a single firm, occupation or nation-state, [which] increasingly shapes the migration*

experience of mobile Europeans”. This idea closely relates to the segmented labour market theory (Piore 1979) which frames the Polish migrants’ experiences in Ireland – Polish migrants engage in segments of society that is necessary to achieve their goals in Ireland. A bifurcation occurs in wealthy economies labour markets whereby the primary sector (stable work, highly paid) is occupied by nationals. This results in a lack of labourers for the secondary sector (unstable, low-paid). This theory implies that immigrants are relied upon to fill this gap. Employers initiate an immigration flow which is facilitated by governments to fill the demand. In some cases this leads to an enclave economy in the host country. Again, this is evident in the case of Ireland. Ireland’s open labour market, coupled with attractive wages for jobs in the secondary sector (relative to wages in the immigrant’s home country), attracted Polish migrants to Ireland. This is further emphasised by the fact that some education Degrees and qualifications are not recognised in Ireland. This ensures that Polish migrants remain in the secondary sector.

I work in Dunnes. It is good pay, I get to save some and enjoy myself. So I’m not complaining but I think from time to time I have a Master Degree in Psychology and here I am working in a job that teenagers do during their holidays...It’s just not recognised here, they say I have to do more courses and then it’ll be recognised, but I don’t have money to go to university in Ireland. It’s a Master Degree, you know, I just don’t understand how it’s not good enough here (Gosiasta, female, 28).

The segmented labour market theory along with the narratives of the Polish migrants in this research corresponds to Morawska’s (1999) interpretation that Polish migration is a response to the needs of Western employers. However, a significant trend that has emerged, and is summed up by Gosiasta, is the ‘deskilling’ of Polish migrants.

By ‘deskilling’ I mean that the migrants’ level of education qualifications do not correspond with their current employment position. In this study, thirty-three interviewees possess some form of education qualification. The majority of migrants are employed in positions that they are over-qualified for. They slot into secondary sector jobs when they possess Diplomas, Degrees or Master’s. This corresponds with the labour market demands and ensures that immigrants are excluded from certain sectors of the Irish labour market. This forces immigrants to work in areas that are below their qualifications. Again, Krings et al. (2013:91) found similar findings in their study of Polish migrants’ experiences in Dublin – *“In spite of these qualifications, NMS migrants tend to be over-represented in less-skilled occupations, suggesting difficulties in the transferability of skills and qualifications as well as possible*

language barriers”. However, they go on to argue that “*it is worth pointing out that NMS migrants are by no means confined to these low-skilled*”. I agree with Krings et al’s assertion that migrants are still positive about their migration experiences regardless of this ‘deskilling’. As Krings et al. point out “*even a low-wage job offers opportunities, including that of living a ‘normal life’*” (2013:96).

My qualification is not recognised here...it’s not just me, most of the people I know experienced the same. But I have a job, it pays good. Better than Poland. Here I can get my own apartment, have money to save and go out. This would not happen in Poland! Everything I do there is watched, it’s a small community and I’m expected to do certain things, like my friends back at home are getting married and having children. I don’t want that, I’m too young! Here, I have freedom, I do what I want, not what’s expected (Karolina, female, 26).

In Grabowska (2003) and Kropiwek and King O’Riain’s (2006) discussion of Polish migrants in Ireland, they point to the neo-classical push-pull model for explaining Polish emigration. De Haas (2007) notes that this model results in subjective judgement establishing whether the push or pull factor is dominant. I propose expanding on Grabowska (2003) and Kropiwek King O’Riain’s discussion to include Bourdieu’s idea of different forms of ‘capital’ – social, cultural, symbolic and economic (1986). I argue that all four contribute to this immigration flow and it situates immigration within a wider context. It illustrates that the world system theory, segmented market theory and the neo-classic push-pull model play a role for Polish migrants when rationalising their decision. The geographical concentration of Polish migrants in Dublin (the main area for job opportunities) indicates that the majority of Polish migrants are labour migrants. Polish migrants employ their social and cultural capital to produce favourable economic outcomes and upward mobility. Capitalist economic relations, foreign policies and the demand for secondary sector workers produce push and pull factors. These new forms of contemporary migration are complex and multifaceted. McIlwaine (2011) points to the inequalities in national and capitalist systems that account for ‘survival concerns’ of immigrants. It is these everyday concerns that make different forms of capital crucial for immigrants.

5.3.2 Social Networks/Capital

My friends all came, it was everybody! So I wasn’t staying behind! (Dariusz, male, 25)

David Gauntlett (2011:2) considers Bourdieu's idea of social capital and concludes that *'It's not what you know, it's who you know'*. This is relevant in relation to this sample of Polish migrants and their experiences in Ireland. Thirty-one interviewees (76%, 31/41 migrants in this sample) had a point of contact on arrival in Ireland. All the interviewees highlighted the importance of creating social networks in Ireland. Massey (1990) refers to the existence of social networks as the 'cumulative causation' of migration flows. These networks operate before, during and after the immigration process. These networks encourage and help immigrants during migration; in particular, they support the arrival and initial adaptation of new immigrants to the host society.

We got...had a number, a phone number of a friend of a friend of a friend of a friend!! A Polish lad who was just here for the summer. When we arrived first I think we spend the first three days in his gaff. So, he was sort of, he was kind of like, like our first contact otherwise we would have just stayed in a hostel and we wouldn't have known anything! (Asia, female, 28)

Asia's narrative encapsulates the importance of social networks – they wouldn't have known how to get set up in Ireland without direction from *'a friend of a friend of a friend of a friend'*. The majority of the migrants in this study narrated similar circumstances. These networks provide migrants with important information that aided their initial social and economical experiences in Ireland. The networks are extensive and interlinked. These widespread connections within the community further support Polish migrants.

I think most groups are the same, it's not just Polish. You help your own! You help with job, apartment, maybe even money. It's like a web, I get help then I help someone, then they help someone else set up, then they do the same and it keeps going. I don't think you'd manage without this web (Marek, male, 33).

Marek's idea that these social networks form a *'web'* emphasises the significance of *'who you know'* and how far-reaching these networks can be. The interviewees highlighted the importance of having a specifically Polish point of contact and Polish networks to support their arrival in Ireland.

They were Polish. You know...they were Polish that's, you know, important. They know what it's like coming for us. So they help

because they know. They explain how to move around the city and they gave us accommodation. And they told us how to get bank account, PPS number. After a week they show us how to know the city and how to look for a job and that sort of thing. So they were very helpful, they understand exactly (Luckasz, male, 27).

Ten interviewees in this sample (10/41) had no point of contact but some voiced the importance of establishing social networks on arrival in Ireland. Eight of these interviewees moved to Ireland with their partners. In some cases their partners moved to Ireland first to find employment and housing. These eight interviewees did not need any further support from points of contact during their initial stages in Ireland.

My husband came, got a house and job and after a few months when he saved, I moved over with the children. My husband had everything set, he met people in our area, had a job, house, so it wasn't difficult for me, I didn't need any help, he'd everything done, you know with house, friends... (Nadia, female, 34).

The interviewees reveal that social networks were created through employment or other arbitrary means. These social networks offered many forms of support which could be turned into capital.

...After a few weeks I had to find a job and day care, you know. Luckasz, a good friend my husband met when he came here, knew someone was looking for a receptionist and he told me to go for it. I got it! It just shows you, you know, how important it is to know people here. Then day care, I was worrying. Luckasz' sister talked to me about day care that her children go to and I got my two in there. We were so lucky to know people who knew things! (Nadia, female, 34)

The two other interviewees that had no point of contact revealed that they did not desire to have Polish social networks in Ireland.

I had two options - you can go to UK or Ireland. There was a lot of Polish people already in London so I decided to move to Ireland...It was just that too many Polish people in UK already so I decided to move to Ireland instead...I don't want to move, you know from Poland to emm another Poland...I don't come here to live in a 'little Poland' and just know Polish (Tomek, male, 52).

Tomek's extract is revealing as it shows he wants to experience other cultures and people. Interestingly, Tomek refers to the idea of a 'little Poland' existing in Ireland, something that other interviewees did not allude to. For him, belonging to such a 'community' would be counter-productive to his migration experiences. Following on from Tomek's idea, Aine emphasises the negative

aspects of ethnic networks and points out that Polish migrants lack solidarity. Aine, a Polish retail assistant aged 28 with a Teaching Degree explains that some Polish are competitive and exploit one another. Aine revealed that Polish migrants do not act as a community or support system in Ireland.

I didn't want to know other Poles. It's funny 'cause there's this thing between us. It's hard to explain to you but Poles won't help you, all we do is complain and try do better than the other one. It's true there's no, what's the word, community together, you know closeness let's say. We don't want to see the other succeed! That sounds terrible, I know, but it's just who we are! (Aine, female, 28)

Although this was not a common perception, the narratives reveal some level of mistrust among Polish migrants. Divisions relating to factors such as social class were evident.

I wouldn't want to be around certain Polish. You know there's a lot here that sit around, drink, drink vodka and do nothing. I don't want anything to do with them. Certain people I want to be around and others I don't. I wouldn't be around them in Poland so why would I here? (Martin, male, 32).

Such divisions have been observed during my fieldwork. For example, at the Annual Kinopolis Polish film festival I observed distinct groups within the crowd. These groups did not mix. On another occasion at the Polish Embassy on the day of the Polish President's death, pockets of people formed with no interaction between the groups. It was observed that each group was quite distinctive in that families spoke to one another but would not engage with a group of men dressed in work clothes (mechanic/plumber work clothes).

On one occasion when leaving the front gates of the Embassy the couple with the pram noticed another woman and man with a small child. They spoke quietly to each other and then approached the other couple. From their initial interaction it's obvious that they did not know one another. To the left of them a group of men stood together. They were wearing mechanic/builders uniforms. This group of men were quite loud and had shouted to another Polish man across the street. The group of two sets of parents gave looks of disdain to the group of men. Interestingly, the set of parents interacted with nobody else and the other little groups that had gathered at the gates did not speak or

acknowledge any of the other people present (Polish Embassy 10/4/10).

On the other hand, despite the existence of factions, this study reveals that a collective ‘ethnic consciousness’ exists among the Polish community. This could be a response to the dislocation involved with the experience of migration but this ‘ethnic consciousness’ for the most part leads to the formation of social networks. The majority of Polish migrants sought out a point of contact in Ireland prior to migrating. Throughout the interviews migrants repeated the value of ethnic networks. These networks provide social, economic, political, cultural and symbolic capital. At the micro-level, these networks facilitate the flow of information which helps immigrants negotiate their position in the new society. The interviewees’ narratives echoed David Gauntlett’s conclusion that ‘*It’s not what you know, it’s who you know*’ (2011:2).

Social networks give rise to chain migration (Price 1963 cited in Castles and Miller 2003).

Because everyone was going to Ireland...it was the thing to do! My friends all went, my brother, cousins, so I went too! (Karol, male, 26)

Chain migration refers to immigration that is stimulated by one person residing in the host country, encouraging and supporting other friends and family to come to that country and they in turn bring friends and relatives. Veerstegh (2000) in his research on family and ethnic community networks highlights the important role of family networks in the host country. Ilona’s extract confirms the salience of family support in Ireland.

My brother, his wife and Katia’s sister were here. I was in, you know, not sure. Then my cousins, two came. They got a house, all of them together. So they said come we’re all here, so I did (Ilona, female, 28).

This type of migration creates dense networks in the host society.

I wouldn’t come if my friend wasn’t here. She tells me that everyone knows everyone and it’s true. You can find out anything, it’s like a big family!! I give you example - like I came to Dublin and stayed with Anita for three weeks and I wanted to move to Galway for a while. So Anita talked to friend who knew someone that knew someone who lived over there and I went over to Galway to her and she let me stay and helped me get job (Zofia, female, 27).

These networks serve as support systems for people who are considering

migrating. In the case of Albin, a Polish security guard aged 28 with a Degree in Arts felt that knowing people in Ireland could make his adaptation easier.

I had someone here to see and help me so...it might be easier I thought, so I came (Albin, male, 28).

Polish migrants already in Ireland recommend life here to their friends and in some cases they inform them of employment opportunities. Thus, social networks are a major contributing factor in the migrants' decision to move. These networks serve to function as networks of flow (information) which further support Polish migrants' sojourn in Ireland.

The interviewees noted that 'a culture of emigration' existed in Poland. This gave rise to chain migration, particularly after Poland's accession to the EU in 2004.

There's a culture of emigration. It has always existed in Poland, in one form or another. I think since 2004 this idea has really taken off. It's like a cultural trait!! Everyone can go and come back; everyone can experience the things that they've heard about for years (Doroata, female, 38).

This 'culture of emigration' acts as a stimulating catalyst for immigration, as identified by Doroata. The narratives of the Polish migrants expand on this assumption and point out that Poland's history and current state has resulted in Polish citizens emigrating or wanting to emigrate. The East-to-West flow post-2004 has further enhanced the idea that a culture of emigration exists. The West is perceived as a destination for improved living standards and has been romanticised in post-communist propaganda. Western magazines, television programs, films from abroad or from those who have already emigrated have influenced the ways in which Polish citizens view the West. Bauman (1994:23-24) confirmed this notion by saying that, "*there is little doubt that the life of the affluent West, "as seen on TV", holds a tremendous and unqualified attraction for "the people" even if not briefed to this effect by the native intelligentsia*".

I thought Ireland would be...like in films, you know. Leprechauns, drinking, cottages!! We have a very romantic view of Ireland!! (Dariusz,

male, 25)

Poland's position within the EU and the development of global infrastructure (i.e. cheap and plentiful flights to and from Poland) has resulted in circular migration which has given rise to a 'culture of emigration'. This culture of emigration is a result of structural factors within Poland and Ireland that act as push and pull factors for migrants.

5.3.3 Arbitrary Factors

Teresa Sales (2000:155) draws attention to the fact that “[*the*] genesis of migratory flows seems always to depend on fortuitous or random factors that underlie the pioneers’ decision to migrate”. It is necessary to consider the arbitrary factors that contribute to the Polish migrants’ decision to move to Ireland. There are multiple examples of diverse and often chance phenomena that have given rise to more migration flows. As discussed previously, economic, social and cultural factors have played a significant role in the Polish migration decision-making process. However, just as important are the arbitrary factors that influence this migration flow. Krings et al. (2013) use the term ‘*worklife pathways*’ as a way of bringing together all these factors which drive this East-West migration.

Throughout the narratives of the Polish migrants, non-economic factors such as lifestyle were also discussed as stimulants for migration. Lifestyle migration is defined as the spatial mobility of “*relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life*” (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009:609). I challenge Benson and O’ Reilly’s assumption that ‘affluent individuals’ engage in such migrations. This research finds that neither class nor status is a factor determining the type of migration that these migrants are engaged in. Macro-level factors (i.e. Poland’s entry into the EU) enable all types of citizens to engage in lifestyle migration. Krings et al. (2013:94) noted that “*Polish migrants deploy similar mobility strategies to other young Europeans for whom the migration experience is not confined to work and career matters, but also includes the search for excitement and adventure. Such a mobile lifestyle is much facilitated by the EU free-movement regime*”.

I had nothing going for me there. My English is not good. But I know people here and they tell me 'bout better life here. Everyone is relaxed, it's no pressure. More opportunities, just better life than Poland right now (Aga, female, 33).

Ireland offers Polish migrants a different way of life to that in Poland and this is conveyed in the migrants' narratives. Poland's entry into the EU and the unrestricted access to the Irish labour market has meant that Polish migrants have more opportunities to enhance their living standards in Ireland. One key challenge facing a large number of immigrants in Ireland relates to legal status; there are restrictions on immigrants who seek visas to enter Ireland (Quinn 2009; Ruhs 2009). This is not a concern for Polish migrants as they are European citizens. In fact in June 2009, EEA citizens were given a further boost; rules were implemented which indicated that jobs had to be advertised for longer before employers can claim that they cannot fill the position with an EEA citizen. This enhances Polish migrants' economic and political position in Ireland. Polish migrants referred to their legal status as a contributing factor in their decision to move to Ireland.

First because we are in EU and we could work without permission...We have same rights, that's, you know, something. It means we don't have to worry. We have the same entitlements, work and stay as long as we want (Anna, female, 28).

Anna points out that Polish migrants' legal status and access to the Irish labour market impacts on their time horizon. Polish migrants are characterised as being 'target earners' (Kropiwiec, 2006) who engage in short-term circular migration. My research supports this characterisation. The interviewees' narratives indicate that migrants move to Ireland with the intention of staying for a few years. Eleven interviewees (27%, 11/41 migrants in this sample) project that they will stay in Ireland long-term, while thirty interviewees (73%, 30/41 migrants in this sample) state that they will stay between one to five years. This group of migrants can be characterised as 'sojourners' opposed to 'settlers' and this contributes to a sense of 'temporal liminality'. The interviewees' temporal horizons are constantly changing as their social and labour position changes. The majority of these Polish migrants moved to Ireland for one to two years but all the interviewees have stayed longer as more opportunities became available.

I came for a year but here I am four years later! I've a good job and friends so I think I'll stay a few more years, then I'll go back home. There's no pressure though, we don't have to worry about visas or permission to stay here, so it's really our decision (Klaudia, female, 26).

Other arbitrary factors were discussed throughout the interviews. Cultural similarities and the desire to learn English were also factors in the interviewees' decision for choosing Ireland as the country of destination. Other random factors relating to the interviewees personal situations were also mentioned as contributing factors for migrating. Martin, a Polish construction worker aged 32 with a Degree in Engineering speaks about his personal situation as motivating his migration.

There was something that happened that I am not very happy about. I was cycling after two or three pints. I was stopped by the Polish police. I didn't get arrested or anything but it was put down in my own permanent record so I said I've had enough of this (Martin, male, 32).

The narratives of the Polish interviewees in this sample demonstrate that a myriad of factors contributed to their decision to migrate to Ireland. This section highlights these different factors. This sets out the variation in motivations and life circumstances among these Polish migrants in Ireland. Structural factors account for the main influence on their decision. The interviewees' narratives indicate that economic factors, social networks, cultural similarities and their position within Europe are the main factors stimulating their migration. The narratives of the Polish migrants in this research indicate that these migrants are predominantly 'labour migrants'. The narratives of the Polish migrants revealed a link between their motivations and experiences in Ireland. They integrate into the economic sector of Irish society which improves their quality of life. This is not done at the expense of ethnic identity; these Polish migrants retain their ethnicity and culture. It is important to establish the factors that contribute to the Polish migrants' decision to move to Ireland as these factors guide and shed light on their subsequent experiences in Ireland.

Ireland continues to be a country of destination for Polish migrants. The intense immigration from Poland to Ireland has resulted in these migrants forming the largest immigrant group in Ireland. Polish migrants are becoming

an important part of Ireland's social fabric. In a survey conducted before Poland's accession to the EU, Polish citizens indicated a willingness to migrate to Western European countries for work but Ireland did not feature significantly as a country of destination (Grabowska 2003). However, this situation has changed considerably since Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. Polish migrants are aware of their rights as European citizens and legal status is certainly a key aspect (MCA 2010b). The lack of restriction on the movement between Poland and Ireland since 2004, and in particular Polish migrants' ability to work in Ireland without restriction, has resulted in variations in their time horizons. This section has presented the significant factors that contribute to the Polish migrants' decision to move to Ireland. The first section of this chapter established that religion was not a significant factor in Polish migrants' decision to migrate to Ireland. Economic factors and social networks were much more important than religion in motivating this migration. To bring this analysis together and conclude religions place within the migration decision-making process, the next section presents an analysis of why religion was not a significant factor motivating migration to Ireland for this sample of migrants.

5.4 Why Religion was not a Significant Factor Motivating Migration to Ireland

Scholars have pointed out that religion can have an important role during immigration for some immigrants (Warner 1998; Haddad et al. 2003; Cadge and Ecklund 2007). The previous sections present the structural factors that influenced these Polish migrants' decision to move to Ireland. It revealed that economic factors and social networks were more consequential for motivating migration than religion. In fact, religion had little influence in motivating this East-to-West migration flow.

The question then arises as to why religion was not a significant factor in motivating Polish migration to Ireland. Byrne (1971) contends that cultural similarities act as 'attractions' for immigrants when choosing a country of destination. Similarly, Ward and Searle (1991) point to 'culture distance' as a factor effecting immigrants' adaptation to the new environment. More

recent, Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) argue that cultural similarities, in particular religion, between host and immigrant communities ease the adjustment of immigrants in the new country. My research is an interesting study as this migration represents a move from a majority Catholic context (Poland) to a similar majority Catholic context (Ireland). The majority-majority case provides an interesting test of the Roman Catholicism notion – the Polish migrants share the same religion as the local society. This research found that the majority of Polish migrants’ view their religion in national terms. They perceive Irish and Polish Catholicism as distinctly different. Thus, the ‘compatibility’ theory (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000) or cultural similarities as an ‘attraction’ (Byrne 1971) is not relevant.

The Polish chaplaincy...It’s more like home, like it is in Poland. It’s our culture, sentiment...Irish church is not the same (Albin, male 28).

Albin’s extract reiterates that some Polish migrants view their religion as distinctly different to Irish Catholicism. This is the reason that religion was not considered during their decision to migrate to Ireland. Polish migrants form ‘parallel congregations’ in Ireland and as such do not view their religion as ‘compatible’ with Irish Catholics. In this sample, for those that are religious, 90% attend Polish church (28/31 interviewees). Ethnicity prevents religious integration. The recurring narratives among this sample of migrants reveal that those who are religious are more likely than non-religious migrants to fuse religious and ethnic identities. Polish churches and masses reinforce religious-ethnic identity by increasing co-ethnic contact, marking Polish holidays and organising cultural events. Albin, a Polish security worker aged 28 with a Degree in Arts spoke of the ‘*sentiment*’ attached to Polish Catholicism. They could not get this cultural experience in Irish churches. The connection between national and religious identity means that Polish migrants’ view their religion as ethnic/national and not similar/compatible to Irish Catholicism.

This empirical finding provides us with an understanding of the importance of ethnic forms of Catholicism. It sheds light on the impact that these national forms of Catholicism can have for migrants and the religious landscape of the host society. This case study exemplifies this - separate Polish churches and masses are widespread in a society where Catholicism is the majority religion. Opposed to integrating into Irish churches, these Polish

migrants want to celebrate their ethnic form of Catholicism. Furthermore, religion was not consequential in the migration decision-making process which shows that these migrants do not view Catholicism in universal terms; migrants define their religion in ethnic terms and not compatible or similar to Irish Catholicism. As Trzebiatowska states (2010:1070) – although “*Catholics of different nationalities can understand one another because their religious habitus is formed by the same religious institution*”, ethnicity results in the development of national forms of Catholicism which prevents religious integration and creates ‘parallel congregations’.

Conclusion

I needed to go. There was nothing in Poland. I had no job. I lived with my parents. I had no money, no life. Friends moved here in 2004 and some cousins so I talk with them. They told me everything. They say life is good in Ireland, no problem with job ‘cause my cousin knew someone who’d help me, no problem with accommodation you stay with us. So that was it. I have friends and family there who’d help me, I can earn good money, so why not. You know, if I don’t like it or it doesn’t work out, no problem I come back, easy enough! (Izabella, female, 28)

This extract offers an insight into the decision-making process of the forty-one Polish migrants in this study. It characterises the movement as predominantly an economic migration which was facilitated by social networks. This in turn has led to a ‘culture of emigration’ or chain migration to Ireland. This chapter analyses religion as a factor in the decision-making process and establishes if the ‘Catholic compatibility’ (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000) between Poland and Ireland contributed to migrants specifically choosing Ireland. This begins the investigation into the role of religion for these Polish migrants in Ireland.

The enlargement of the European Union in 2004 has been heralded as a profound moment. Favell (2008:702) points that “*borders are coming down, and a new European migration system is being established on the continent*”. European migrants can now be characterised as “free movers”. In Ireland, Polish migrants have become a statistically significant ethnic population. They are now the largest immigrant group in Ireland, with numbers rapidly

increasing since 2004 (Census 2006, 2011; www.cso.ie). In such a short space of time, Polish migrants have made a significant impact on Irish society and are one of the most visible immigrant groups – growth in ethnic shops, businesses, media, religion, and politics. In 2003, unemployment in Poland was at 20%. This was a major factor that stimulated East-to-West migration, particularly after Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. Ireland was a favourable country of destination for Polish migrants as it was experiencing an economic boom and had an open labour market. Employment was plentiful and Ireland offered migrants the opportunity to earn wages that wasn't possible in Poland. Migration presented these Polish migrants with the chance to learn English and experience different cultures.

This chapter provides interesting insights into the factors that stimulated migration for these Polish migrants. It highlights the ways in which the economy and social networks are driving the wider processes of migration. This study found that religion was not a motivation for migrating to Ireland. The majority of these Polish migrants did not consider religion during their migration decision-making process. The main reason for this is that these migrants' view their religion as distinctly national/ethnic not 'universal'. Thus, they do not view Polish Catholicism and Irish Catholicism as similar. Therefore, the 'compatibility' theory (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000) or cultural similarities as an 'attraction' (Byrne 1971) are not relevant. For the migrants in this sample that are religious, the majority attend Polish church opposed to Irish church (90% - 28 out of 31 interviewees). Ethnicity prevents religious integration in Ireland.

Non-religious mediating factors such as the economy and social networks are the most significant factors explaining this East-to-West migration flow. Although religion is not consequential for this migration, the next chapter identifies these migrants' religious identities, beliefs and practices in Ireland. This analysis provides an insight into how religion travels across borders.

Chapter Six

Religious Beliefs and Practices of Polish Migrants

I am Catholic but, well, I don't have time for church right now. Maybe when we're more settled but right now I'm busy with work and you know... (Anna, female, 28)

Introduction

November 1st 2009 – St. Audoen's Church (Polish chaplaincy), 12.30pm Mass

What is striking about the Polish chaplaincy is its style. The Polish chaplaincy has been decorated to reflect the style of churches in Poland...outside the church a few young men and another group of four women were standing looking at the notice board. On entering the church I immediately noticed the queue for confession. One elderly couple were lighting candles at the back of the church...when mass began, the church was full. The congregation was mixed, various age groups and gender - from my observation a large number of the congregation were in their twenties and thirties. I observed a number of families and three or four young couples with small children or babies. I also observed six or seven different elderly couples with families...confessions continued for about twenty minutes after mass had started. A Polish priest emerged from the confession box to say that confessions had finished for now, not everyone had had the opportunity to go to confession. During mass I observed one mother teaching her child (maybe 3years old) to say the prayers aloud with the others, to bless and to hold her hands in a praying position. I observed that people were taking part in the mass, praying, closing their eyes listening to the priest's homily (which I could not understand as he spoke in Polish) and singing. I observed a number of people using their rosary beads to say the rosary quietly to themselves at communion time. I would estimate that only half of the congregation received the Eucharist....after mass ended, the majority of the congregation left right away. I noticed a few people nodded or smiled at one another as they left the church but did not stop to talk. Outside the church, a small number of people stood talking but the crowd quickly dispersed and only a few young people remained looking at the notice board outside the church....

This observation, taken during my fieldwork in 2009, provides a snapshot into the number of congregants attending the Polish chaplaincy, the physical

environment of the chaplaincy, the number of people attending confession, the congregation's religious behaviour during mass (praying and receiving the Eucharist) and their interactions with one another before and after mass. Based on this observation, it could be argued that a large number of Polish migrants are religious and attend mass. However, this observation alone cannot accurately reflect the Polish migrants' religious beliefs and practices in Ireland. The contradiction between this observation and the aforementioned extract from Anna, a Polish journalist aged 28 with a degree in Journalism shows that further analysis is necessary to understand the variation in Polish migrants' religious beliefs and practices.

Chapter Five unpacked the Polish migrants' decision to migrate. Chapter Five revealed that economic factors and social networks mattered more than religion in stimulating this East-to-West migration flow. Interestingly, the majority of Polish migrants in this sample view their identity in ethnic and religious terms. They do not view their religion as universal, thus migrants' view Polish and Irish Catholicism as distinctly different. This contradicts the argument of the majority-majority case (Poland and Ireland predominantly Catholic countries) of the Roman Catholicism notion - this implies that because the Irish and Polish share the same religion they should be in harmony with one another. The contextual analysis reveals that ethnicity prevents Polish and Irish Catholicism from being perceived as similar, thus for the majority of interviewees religion had no influence on their decision to migrate to Ireland. To continue forward with the analysis of how, if at all, spirituality or the church figure in terms of social and spiritual support for Polish migrants, Chapter Six explores the migrants' relationship with religion. I draw on the narratives of Polish migrants to gain an understanding of the diverse and nuanced interplay between migrants, religious beliefs and practices.

Recent, though still limited, research on immigration and religion in Ireland (Ugba 2005, 2008, 2009; O' Leary and Li 2008; Coakley and Mac Éinrí 2007) has formed part of a wider debate about the socio-religious experiences of immigrants. This has framed Ireland as a 'multicultural' society in which religious institutions are now playing a more prominent and visible

role in a number of different areas for immigrants (Casanova 1994). Coakley and Mac Éinrí (2007) acknowledge that there is a gap in existing immigration and religion literature in Ireland. They call for more attention to be given to migrants' religiosity and the role of migrant churches. CSO 2011 revealed that over 90% of Polish migrants in Ireland are Catholic. Antje Roeder's literature review (2011) of Polish migrants in Ireland reveals that there are three Polish Catholic churches in Dublin. Roeder points out that there is also a Polish chaplaincy in Dublin which is the main religious hub for the Polish Catholic community. The Polish chaplain, Fr. Jarosław Maszkiewicz, works with the Polish and Irish governments as well as other institutions to create initiatives which support the experiences of the Polish community in Ireland. Various hypotheses have been put forward regarding the debate surrounding immigration and religion. Smith (1978) argues that immigration accentuates religiosity as immigrants rely on religious institutions for spiritual, cultural and social support. Massey and Higgins (2011) and Finke and Stark (1992) suggest that the act of immigration diminishes immigrants' religiosity as this move, particularly to a secular context, interrupts the immigrants' religion. Scholars have also explored the numerous social roles that religious institutions adopt to support immigrants in the new country (Warner and Wittner 1998). Religious institutions, it has been noted (Mullins 1987), act as centres of resources and provide space for collective belonging. Research on immigration and religion reveals a variety of different ways (e.g. economic, social, political and cultural) in which religion influences the experiences of immigrants (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Menjivar 2006; Van Tubergen 2006; Levitt 2005; Haddad et al. 2003; Min and Kim 2002; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000b; Warner and Wittner 1998). Thus, this chapter begins the analysis of Polish migrants, religion and the church by addressing and challenging existing literature on migrants' religious behaviour during migration.

The current chapter explores the Polish migrants' religious beliefs and practices. This sheds light on the variation that exists between the ways in which these migrants possess religious beliefs and practice their faith. Polish migrants engage in religious practice and beliefs in multiple and nuanced ways. The migrants' religious practices are analysed by exploring a number of variables (based on questions used relating to religiosity in the European Values Survey 4th Wave 2008) – mass attendance, confession attendance,

parish group membership, beliefs and the role of religion in daily life. The migrants' narratives provide an insight into their religious experiences, beliefs and practices in Ireland. Similar to Dunlop and Ward's (2012) findings of Polish migrants' religious behaviour in the UK, it is concluded that the Polish migrants can be categorised by three responses to religion and beliefs within the experience of migrating from Poland to Ireland: 1) no longer believing or practicing a religion, 2) believing but practicing occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland, 3) believing and continuing to practice religion within the Catholic Church. This chapter unpacks the variation between Polish migrants' religious beliefs and practices in Ireland.

6.1 Polish Migrants' Religious Beliefs and Practices in Ireland

There is a notable lack of empirical research into the study of religion among immigrants in Ireland, in particular Polish migrants. Chapter Two highlights existing studies which reveal that immigrants maintain their religious affiliation in Ireland (Maher 2011; Ugba 2005, 2008, 2009). However, these studies do not accurately reflect the immigration and religious experience of Polish migrants in Ireland. Thus, this study addresses the gap in the literature by focusing on Polish migrants, their experience with religion, religious institutions and the role that church has in supporting their spiritual and social experiences in Ireland. The current study explores the interplay between Polish migrants, their beliefs, practices and the church.

Recent studies of Polish migrants in the UK and the US (Trzebiatowska 2010; Report for Dioceses of Brentwood, Southwark and Westminster in Davies 2006; Bleszynska and Szopski 2009) revealed patterns of religious continuity among Polish Catholics. These studies reveal the variety of ways in which migrants' believe, practice and engage with their faith during different stages of immigration. However, the relatively new flow of migrants from Poland to Ireland, coupled with political and cultural factors, makes contemporary Polish migration and religion experiences in Ireland a unique case study. This study contributes to the immigration and religion literature in Ireland and to our wider understanding of the relationship between religion and society.

Massey and Higgins argue that “*although people do not change their religious beliefs when they migrate internationally, they do change their religious behaviour*” (2011:1387). To analyse the religious beliefs and practices of Polish migrants in Ireland, I employ questions relating to religiosity used in the European Values Survey 4th wave (2008). I analyse migrants’ mass attendance, confessional attendance, beliefs, prayer and the role of religion in their lives. Analysing these variables reveals that the Polish migrants can be categorised by three responses to religion and beliefs within the experience of migrating from Poland to Ireland: 1) no longer believing or practicing a religion, 2) believing but practicing occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland, 3) believing and choosing to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church.

Based on an analysis of the Polish migrants’ religious behaviour, I employ Davie’s theory (2006) to frame the migrants’ religious experiences. Davie (2006) argues that some immigrants leave a context where religious participation is obligatory and enter a context in which religious participation is a choice. This type of immigration is a move from the ‘sacred canopy’ (Berger 1967; Durkheim 1912) which affects the religious behaviour of some immigrants. By sacred canopy, I refer to the migrants’ collective religious consciousness that provides social solidarity. Based on the reoccurring narratives of Polish migrants in this sample, I find that this concept appropriately conceptualises religion in Poland –

Polish people strike me sometimes as being fanatically religious...so I think it’s a pretty, I would say, there is an identity of Catholicism. Even with young people, they’re the same. Catholicism and Poland, it’s one of the same! (Roman, male, 48)

CSO data (2011) shows that over 90% (110,410) of Polish migrants in Ireland state that they are Catholic. Currently, there is no data in existence that shows how this Catholic affiliation translates into religious practice or the extent of religious beliefs among the Polish Catholic community in Ireland. This research sheds light on Polish migrants’ religious identities, practices and system of beliefs. By exploring the religious affiliation of Polish migrants, we are able to see the changing patterns of sacred practices and beliefs among the interviewees. This outlines how migration from the ‘*sacred canopy*’

(Durkheim 1912) to a context characterised by Catholic decline (CSO 2011; Chapter One) affects Polish migrants' faith and religious behaviour. Davie's theory (2006) of immigration from a context of religious obligation towards one of consumption or choice is relevant in this analysis; it frames the migration and religious experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland. The variation in migrants' religious behaviour sheds some light on the impact of the socio-religious context that migrants are situated within. It demonstrates that in Ireland Polish migrants are no longer 'obligated' (Davie 2006) to attend religious services. Therefore when presented with religious choice, migrants' level of religious beliefs and practices vary.

The next discussion sets out the religious beliefs and practices of these migrants in Ireland. This paves the way for the next chapter which analyses the different ways in which Polish migrants engage with ethnic religious institutions and its sacred and social properties.

1) No longer believing or practicing a religion

Ten interviewees (24%, 10/41 migrants in sample) stated that they no longer believe or practice Catholicism. Table 6.1 presents the breakdown of those that have no religious beliefs and do not practice a religion – there are four women (15% - of total number of women in sample, 4/26) and six men (40% - of total number of men in sample, 6/15). Four of these participants are in their twenties (40% - 4/10 interviewees) while four are in their thirties (40% - 4/10 interviewees), one is in their forties (10% - 1/10 interviewees) and one is in their fifties (10% - 1/10 interviewees).

Table 6.1: Profile of non-religious participants

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Religiosity	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications
Barbara	54	No	1994	No	Bydgoszcz	Married	0	Unemployed/migrant organisation	No
Tomasz	31	No	2004	Yes	Bydgoszcz	Married	0	Businessman	Degree in Business

Roman	48	No	1998	Yes	Krakow	Married	2	Owens real estate business/ Migrant organisation	Seminary
Leon	33	No	2004	Yes	Lodz	Married	1	Business man	No
Karol	26	No	2004	Yes	Katowice	Single	0	Business man	Master's in Business
Asia	28	No	2004	Yes	Zakopane	Single	0	Hotelier	Degree in Arts
Marek	33	No	2004	Yes	Cieszyn	Married	1	Migrant organisation	Master's in Business
Martin	32	No	2004	No	Poznan	Single	0	Works in construction	Degree in Engineering
Izabella	28	No	2004	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Degree in Arts
Julianna	25	No	2004	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Hotelier	No

* Religiosity denotes religious beliefs and practices

Drawing on Davie's theory (2006), it could be argued that migration offered some migrants the chance to move away from religion. However, this theory does not frame the experience of all migrants in this category. Some of the interviewees said that they had no religious affiliation in Poland.

No I'm not...part of my family is very religious...They like going to the church, so I am like the black sheep, you know. I just don't believe (Karol, male, 26).

This relates to the traditional secularisation perspective which argues that as a country modernises there is a church-state separation which is reflected in the declining religious affiliation of the population (Berger 1967). This pattern is evident in Poland as a compilation of data (Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1991, 1996, 2001, 2008; Chapter One) shows that there has been a steady increase in the number of people stating 'no religion' since the late 1990s (Chapter One). This challenges Casanova's (2006) hypothesis that Ireland and Poland are anomalies to the secularisation process of the Western world. However, the reoccurring narratives of most of the interviewees support Casanova's hypothesis – the majority of the forty-one migrants in this sample have some form of religious beliefs. They also highlight that historically Catholicism has fulfilled a 'sacred canopy' role

(Durkheim 1912) which is supported by an obligation to participate in religion (Davie 2006).

Roman, a Polish real estate agent aged 48 with an education in the seminary presents an account of his beliefs and religious experiences. This provides an insight into the importance that some people place on religion in Poland –

I think initially, you see I always had the option to go back to Poland but mmm...I think in Poland you know this...I just strongly felt I didn't want to go to Poland because of my situation. As an ex-priest our...even when I was thinking of leaving... I would be looked at in Poland as a traitor. Even my friends in Poland who were priest, they started to treat me this way, like I betrayed. And you know, my family as well... so I decided not to go, it was better for me to stay away. I thought it was the right decision (Roman, male, 48).

Roman's experience of leaving the seminary and the impact that it had on his relationships, particularly the way in which his family treated him, provides a vivid insight into the relationship with Catholicism that some people still have in Poland. This is similar to the experience of Karol, mentioned above. Karol was like "the black sheep" of his family because he was not religious. Roman and Karol's experiences demonstrate that for some people in Poland religion still has an important place in society and the religious institution is highly regarded. Ireland offered Roman and Karol a new social and religious landscape, a context where religion is a 'choice'.

I'm not religious and I know during ceremonies they try to impose this Catholicism on all of us...even in Ireland, the Polish church does this, they carry on like in Poland (Roman, male, 48).

In this new context where religion is a choice opposed to an 'obligation', Roman is not religious. He possesses no religious beliefs nor does he participate in any religious activity. Roman's story is enlightening. Other interviewees also claim that neither religion nor the church has a place in their lives. Migration offers these interviewees a new religious context which allows them to move away from obligatory religious affiliation.

In Poland I had to. But here, I've so much going on, so much to do. Plus my family isn't making me! I go in Poland but I don't believe

or want to go. Religion is not important or anything. Here though, it's fine to, you know, not be Catholic or practice. So I don't! (Julianna, female, 25)

Julianna, similar to Karol and Roman's account outlined above, felt obligated to attend religious services in Poland. This feeling of 'obligation' was very much associated with their family ties. However, these migrants explained that in Ireland, removed from the bonds of their family, they can freely choose whether or not to be religious without feeling like the "black sheep" or "family...making me". Migration presents them with this opportunity of 'religious choice'.

Father Marek, a Polish priest aged 53 believes that a move from the 'sacred canopy' to a context of religion as a choice negatively impacts on some Polish migrants' religious observance. He views migration as a serious moral issue.

It is a big problem. They behave a bit different. So, for example, ok I work very hard, I don't have my proper house, my proper family, nobody is watching me, there is no my mam or daddy around. So when I go to Poland I will say yes yes I go and this and that, I go for confession... but they don't here. But it is very easy to excuse yourself because you feel a bit, more free, you feel yourself more free. It is very bad for the people to move from one country to another one really, it is very serious moral problem... (Father Marek, male, 53).

Father Marek's assertion that migration enables religious freedom and that this can result in some migrants becoming less religious is applicable to this specific sample of interviewees. To fully understand these migrants dis-identification with Catholicism, I analyse different socio-demographic factors to see if these offer an insight into why some Polish migrants are not religious. Some studies (Trzebiatowska and Bruce 2012) point out that in relation to Polish Catholicism, men are more likely to be less religious than women. As presented in Table 6.1 this cannot be accurately tested in this analysis. Although 40% of men are non-religious compared to 15% of women, this does not offer a true reflection of the gender division in this sample; there are 26 women compared to 15 men in the total sample. For this reason, I explore the impact of socio-demographic factors on the migrants' level of religiosity.

Table 6.2: Socio-demographic factors relating to non-religious Polish migrants

	No religious beliefs		No religious beliefs
No. of women	4	No. of men	6
Married	1	Married	4
Married with children	0	Married with children	3
Single	1	Single	2
In a relationship	2	In a relationship	0
Education		Education	
- Master's	0	- Master's	2
- Degree	2	- Degree	2
- Diplomas	0	- Seminary	1
- Without education	2	- Without education	1

Table 6.2 presents a number of different socio-demographic factors relating to non-religious Polish migrants. The table shows that out of the four women and six men that are non-religious, one woman (25% - 1/4) compared to four men (66% - 4/6) are married. Three of these men have children. One woman is single (25% - 1/4) compared to two men (33% - 2/6), while two women are in relationships (50% - 2/4). In this analysis of non-religious Polish migrants (10 out of 41 interviewees), Polish men and women who are married or in a relationship are more likely not to be religious. Other studies explore education as a factor impacting on an individual's level of religiosity (Glaeser and Sacerdote 2008; Yang and Ebaugh 2001; Menjivar 1999). It is argued that education could lead to doubts about rationality of religious practice or secular liberal outlooks. This analysis explores whether or not this argument can explain the lack of religious beliefs among these ten interviewees. Two men have Master's (33% - 2/6). Two women (50% - 2/4) and two men (33% - 2/6) have Degrees while one man had an education in the seminary (17% - 1/6). Two women (50% - 2/4) and one man (17% - 1/6) has no education. The analysis of these ten non-religious migrants reveals that Polish men in this category who are not religious are more likely to be educated. This corresponds with the argument that these migrants have secular liberal outlooks. Karol, a Polish business man aged 26 with a Master's in Business sums up this point in the following extract –

People can do what they want, you know. Not be constrained by religion or anything else, you know. Religion for me, I grew up

Catholic, had my doubts and stopped in teenage years. Religion has too much control, everything should be separated and especially especially not be told what to do or pressured to do things by a “higher power”!! (Karol, male, 26)

Exploring education as a factor shaping Polish women’s religious beliefs in this category does not provide any great insight. Out of the four Polish women that are not religious, two have Degrees and two have no education qualifications. Thus, it is not possible to argue that education leads to a dis-identification with Catholicism among Polish women in this sample.

Next, I explore an important non-religious mediating factor that could account for Polish migrants in this sample maintaining their separation from religion. Recurring narratives point to the importance of having a point of contact in Ireland. This point of contact acts as a support mechanism for Polish migrants and assists them during their initial stages in Ireland. Similarly, studies show that migrants are more likely to get involved with religious institutions if they do not have a point of contact or social networks in the host society (Sroope 2011). One argument suggests that if non-religious Polish migrants did not have a point of contact on arrival, they may be more likely to return to their faith for support/assistance. Table 6.3 explores this hypothesis.

Table 6.3: Point of contact relating to non-religious Polish migrants

	Point of contact on arrival in Ireland		Total
	Yes	No	
Women (no religious beliefs)	3	1	4
Men (no religious beliefs)	5	1	6

Table 6.3 reveals that three women (75% - 3/4) and five men (83% - 5/6) had a point of contact on arrival in Ireland. One woman (25% - 1/4) and one man (17% - 1/6) had no point of contact. The majority of the ten non-religious migrants in this study had a point of contact. Therefore, it is not possible to test the above argument. The woman and man that had no point of contact both stated that this factor had no impact on their dis-identification with religion. Martin, a Polish construction worker aged 32 with Degree in Engineering remarks that –

I'm not religious, why would I start believing or going to church because I had no one here...it's not anything I would ever do...I never even considered it! (Martin, male, 32)

Martin's extract, in addition to the information provided in Table 6.3, shows that a point of contact on arrival to Ireland is not a mediating factor shaping these non-religious Polish migrants' relationship with religion.

This analysis presents data which explored whether a number of different socio-demographic factors impacted on these migrants dis-identification with religion. Education appears to be the distinguishing mediating factor for understanding the ten non-religious Polish migrants. I argue that education leads to doubts about rationality of religious practice and secular liberal outlooks. Other socio-demographic factors do not appear to have any great influence shaping these Polish migrants' religious behaviour, or lack thereof. Davie's theory (2006) of religion as a choice opposed to obligation is also relevant in explaining this cohorts' dis-identification with Catholicism. Next, the analysis sets out the Polish migrants who believe but practice occasionally/not practicing in Ireland.

2) Believing but practicing occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland

Sixteen Polish migrants profess that they are Catholic but great variation exists in the ways and extent to which they practice their religion (39% - out of total sample 16/41). Table 6.4 presents the breakdown of migrants who are categorised as believing but practice occasionally/not practicing in Ireland. Thirteen women (50% - of total number of women in sample, 13/26) compared with three men (20% - of total number of men in sample, 3/15) are Catholic but have varying degrees of religious beliefs and practices. The majority of interviewees in this category are in their twenties (75% - 12/16), while three are in their thirties (19% - 3/16) and one is in his fifties (6% - 1/16).

Table 6.4: Profile of participants who believe but practice occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Religiosity	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications
Beata	28	Believe O.P	2006	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Secretary	Master's in Psychology
Alex	29	Believe O.P	2007	Yes	Krakow	Married	0	Retail	No
Borys	31	Believe, O.P	2006	No	Lublin	Single	0	Unemployed	No

Hanna	35	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Photography
Adrianna	26	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Single	0	Hotelier	Degree in Accountancy
Nadia	34	Believe O.P	2005	No	Poznan	Married	2	Child minder	Degree in Psychology
Tomek	52	Believe O.P	2008	No	Szczecin	Married	2	Doctor	Medicine
Gosia	27	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Slupsk	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Law
Zofia	27	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Hotelier	Diploma in Child Care
Anna	28	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Journalist	Degree in Journalism
Martyna	28	Believe ,O.P	2004	Yes	Rybnik	Single		Retail	Degree in Psychology
Ilona	28	Believe O.P	2008	Yes	Brzostek	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Master's in Psychology
Patryja	26	Believe O.P	2005	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Master's in Sociology
Kat	26	Believe O.P	2004	No	Poznan	Married	2	Secretary	No
Alexandra	29	Believe ,O.P	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Married	0	Retail	No
Max	28	Believe ,O.P	2004	Yes		Single	0	Businessman	Master's in Business

* Religiosity denotes religious beliefs and practices; Believe, O.P – Believe but occasionally practice

First, this analysis explores the religious beliefs of this cohort. Subsequently I will analyse how, if at all, these beliefs translate into religious practice. Six main questions were asked to establish the religious beliefs of these sixteen migrants – 1. Do you believe in God? 2. Do you believe in heaven? 3. Do you believe in Hell? 4. Do you believe it is important to receive Holy Catholic Sacraments? 5. Do you believe in the institutional practice of Catholicism? 6. Do you believe Catholicism guides your socio-moral attitudes? Table 6.5 presents the findings.

Table 6.5: Religious beliefs of Polish migrants who believe but practice occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Do you believe in God?	Do you believe in Heaven?	Do you believe in Hell?	Do you believe it is important to receive Holy Catholic Sacraments?	Do you believe in the institutional practice of Catholicism?	Do you believe Catholicism guides your socio moral attitudes?
Beata	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Alex	29	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Borys	31	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hanna	35	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Adrianna	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nadia	34	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tomek	52	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Gosia	27	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Zofia	27	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Anna	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Martyna	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ilona	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Patryja	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kat	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Alexandra	29	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Max	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No

All of these interviewees narrated that they believe in God, Heaven and Hell. Thirteen interviewees state that they believe it is important to receive Holy Catholic Sacraments (81% - 13/16), while three stated they did not believe this to be important (19% - 3/16). When questioned further as to why they felt it is not important to receive Holy Catholic Sacraments, Gosia, a Polish secretary aged 27 with a Degree in Law, stated that –

Yes they [Catholic Church] say it's important. Ok yes you get baptised and that, you know, but more regular sacraments I don't think so. But...I have my own beliefs and way of doing things. Does it make me less Catholic not getting the Eucharist or what the sacrament of forgiveness, I don't think so. For me, the institution, you know that part, well it's there I can opt in or out (Gosia, female, 27).

Hanna, a Polish secretary aged 35 with a Degree in Photography explains that –

I...I don't participate no. I do feel comfort in some supernatural power that can help me with some things... I believe in God...but, plus there's a fear factor, I don't want to turn away from God in case he or she kicks me in the butt! (Hanna, female, 35)

With regards to Catholicism guiding the interviewees' socio-moral attitudes, out of the sixteen migrants in this category fifteen stated they feel that this is the case while one interviewee disagreed. Patryja, a Polish retail worker aged 26 with a Master's in Sociology explains that –

It's a guide, a moral one. It teaches you right from wrong. I try to live, you know, morally, by the teachings, doesn't always happen (laugh) but yeah it's a guide (Patryja, female, 26).

Max, a Polish businessman aged 28 with a Master's in Business does not believe that Catholicism guides his socio-moral attitude. Although Max identifies himself as Catholic, in Ireland he has experienced a shift away from religion and this is reflected in the following extract relating to his socio-moral

attitude –

Here, no. It doesn't guide my morals. Maybe it's, I can do what I want here, without feeling bad or without any of that. Put it like this, I do things that I know is against church teachings, like in work or social life, you know (Max, male, 28).

Max's extract supports Father Marek's idea (quoted previously) that migration has a negative effect on Polish migrants' religious beliefs and practices.

On a whole, the majority of the sixteen interviewees in this category identify with Catholicism. They believe in different aspects of Catholicism. However, there is variation as three interviewees separate religion and the religious institution. This is evident in their responses to institutional practices and receiving Holy Sacraments. The majority of these interviewees believe that Catholicism guides their socio-moral attitudes but one interviewee believes that this has changed since moving to Ireland. I will now analyse the religious practices of migrants in this category and present whether or not their religious identification and beliefs translate into religious practice.

There is great variation in the religious practices of the Polish migrants in this cohort. Table 6.6 presents the regularity with which these migrants attend mass, confession and engage in prayer.

Table 6.6: Religious practices of Polish migrants who believe but practice occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland

Participants Name (pseudonym)	How often do you attend mass?					How often do you attend confession?			How often do you pray?		
	Once a week	Few times a month	Once every few months	On religious holidays only	Do not participate regularly	Once a month	Once/a few times a year	Not at all	Daily	Occasionally	Not at all/not outside of church
Beata		Yes					Yes			Yes	
Alex					Yes		Yes				Yes
Borys				Yes			Yes			Yes	
Hanna					Yes			Yes		Yes	
Adrianna				Yes			Yes			Yes	
Nadia		Yes					Yes			Yes	
Tomek			Yes (Irish church)				Yes			Yes	
Gosia					Yes			Yes		Yes	
Zofia		Yes					Yes		Yes		
Anna					Yes		Yes			Yes	
Martyna				Yes			Yes			Yes	

Ilona			Yes				Yes			Yes	
Patryja		Yes					Yes			Yes	
Kat			Yes				Yes			Yes	
Alexandra					Yes		Yes				Yes
Max					Yes			Yes			Yes

Four interviewees attend mass a few times a month (25% - 4/16). Three attend mass once every few months (19% - 3/16). One of the interviewees, Tomek a Polish doctor aged 52 attends Irish church (6% - 1/16). Tomek explains that he does not view his religion in ethnic terms and as such does not feel compelled to attend Polish church.

I'm Catholic and Polish. I don't see it as Polish Catholic. They're separate! I mean I'm a father, husband, son, brother, friend, you know! One aspect of me doesn't define me! (Tomek, male 52)

The other interviewees in this sample attend Polish church. Three interviewees narrated that they only attend mass on religious holidays (19% - 3/16) while six interviewees do not attend mass with any degree of regularity (38% - 6/16). Thirteen interviewees attend confessions once to a few times a year (81% - 13/16) and three interviewees do not attend confessions at all (19% - 3/16). Table 6.5 shows that these three interviewees also stated that they do not believe in the institutional practice of Catholicism.

Interestingly, the majority of the sixteen interviewees in this category believe that it is important to attend confessions at least a few times a year. This corresponds with my observation at the three Catholic Churches in Dublin (Polish chaplaincy, St. Saviour's Church and St. Xavier's Church).

April 25th 2010 - St. Audoen's Church (Polish chaplaincy), 12.30 pm Mass

For about a half an hour before mass a long queue had formed and waited to go into confession. Once mass began the people remained in line for confession. After about twenty minutes the priest came out and said something in a low voice to the people waiting outside the confessional box. They then left the queue and sat down.

Gosiasta, a Polish retail assistant aged 28 with a Master's in Psychology talks about the influence that religion has on her life and the importance of confession.

Yes religion does have a role, it's important to me...you see I would feel guilt and shame, like when me and Thomas moved in together. I have it in my head like "what would people think?" you know. I think, I suppose I think what neighbours would think, and even God. This guilt comes from that. I know I'm not doing right with Thomas so I go to confession (Gosiasta, female, 28).

Gosiasta's extract is illuminating. It shows the influence that the church's teaching can have on some people, so much so that Gosiasta feels "*guilt and shame*" because she is living with her boyfriend. However, progressing the analysis further, we can say that although Gosiasta feels "*shame*" and attends confession for forgiveness she still continues to live with her boyfriend – she chooses to do this regardless of the church's teachings or the "*guilt*" she feels. Continuing on from this, she explains to me that she could only do this in Ireland which supports previous discussions in this chapter which outline that migration provides these migrants with the opportunity to be "*selective [with religious beliefs and practices] – like, you know those sweets, dolly mixtures, [laugh] that's the Poles*" (Barbara, female, 54).

My fieldwork observations further emphasises the importance that some Polish migrants place on confession and the impact that this has on their religious practices. During all of the religious services that I attended, I observed a common trend whereby a small number of migrants received the Eucharist. A great number of the congregation did not receive the Eucharist. I questioned Father Marek about this pattern and he revealed that -

In Poland, when we commit a sin especially a mortal sin we don't go to receive Holy Communion. Some people in Poland are very sensitive, for example, they can quarrel and they think it disturbs them when receiving Holy Communion. So we don't go easy to receive the Eucharist, we have to know I am really pure and sinless that way I am able to receive Holy Communion (Father Marek, 53).

This reveals that some Polish migrants place great emphasis on the institutional doctrines of Polish Catholicism. Some migrants do not receive the Eucharist if they have not attended confession to cleanse their souls. Again, this corresponds with the current data which indicates that the majority of interviewees in this sample believe in the institutional practices of Polish Catholicism and that the Holy Catholic Sacraments are important.

The sixteen interviewees were asked if they engage in daily prayer. None of the interviewees pray daily but thirteen interviewees' state that they pray occasionally (81% - 13/16), while three participants never pray outside of church (19% - 3/16).

There is great variation in the ways in which these migrants believe and practice their religion. I explore non-religious mediating factors to see if these can account for the variation in migrants' religious beliefs and practices.

Table 6.7: Socio demographic factors relating to Polish migrants who believe but practice occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland

	Believe but practice occasionally		Believe but practice occasionally
No. of women	13	No. of men	3
Married	4	Married	1
Married with children	2	Married with children	1
Single	7	Single	2
In a relationship	2	In a relationship	0
Education		Education	
- Master's	3	- Master's	1
- Degree	6	- Degree	0
- Diplomas	1	- Medicine (Doctor)	1
- Without education	3	- Without education	1

Four Polish women (31% - 4/13) compared to one Polish man (33% - 1/3) are married. Out of the four married women two have children, as does the Polish man that is married. Seven Polish women are single (54% - 7/13) compared with two Polish men (67% - 2/3). Two Polish women are in relationships (15% - 2/13). With regards to education, three Polish women have Master's (23% - 3/13), while one Polish man has a Master's (33% - 1/3). Six women have Degrees (46% - 6/13) and one woman has a Diploma (8% - 1/13). One Polish man studied medicine (33% - 1/3). Three Polish women (23% - 3/13) and one Polish man (33% - 1/3) have no education qualifications. Out of the sixteen migrants in this category, those who are single and educated are more likely than those who are married to have religious beliefs and practice occasionally. This propels the argument that this specific sample of Polish migrants engage in a process of self-selection (i.e. each individual

chooses whether or not to opt-in-or-out of religion). I put forward this idea of self-selection as an explanation for the different levels of attachment to Catholicism among these forty-one Polish migrants. The migrants in this sample are mostly young adults (all in their twenties) who are educated (as stated above education can lead to secular liberal outlooks) and the majority have engaged in a labour migration. These context-specific factors (i.e. labour migrants) and their current life situation (i.e. employment status) contribute to their varying levels of belief and religious practice.

I think it's just us, you know, the type of people that moved over here, you know we're young and we have to work (Martin, male, 32).

Martin believes that a large number of Polish migrants in Ireland are young and came here in search of work. Martin offers these factors as an explanation for the migrants varying levels of religious beliefs and practices. The reoccurring narratives among the interviewees point to work commitments or a lack of desire 'right now' as the main factors contributing to their irregular religious practice.

It's just this moment of life when I don't really... I haven't time because of work. I was even talking to a priest on Sunday telling him how I work weekends and he said it's a good excuse! I believe in God and would like to go to the church more but I don't have time at the moment...so I don't know...I am religious but at this moment I don't know how to classify (Beata).

Beata explains that she identifies as Catholic, possesses religious beliefs but does not practice regularly in Ireland. She points out that work commitments prevent her from engaging in religious practice. Obviously, this was troubling Beata as she spoke to a priest about her situation. Interestingly, the priest's response to Beata's circumstances gives us a glimpse into how some clergy accept that migrants may not have the time for religious practice – "it's a good excuse". Beata's account reveals a situation that a lot of migrants are faced with subsequent to migration. It can be argued that some migrants' 'believe without belonging' (Davie 1994). These migrants have a Catholic identity and they believe in God. However, they do not partake in regular religious practice. Beata's belief that, 'it's the situation I'm in', relates to Massey and Higgins (2010) and Finke and Stark's (1992) argument that the experience of

immigration negatively impacts on immigrants' religion. It also correlates with Finke and Stark's theory (1992) that labour migrants' work commitments take precedence over religious practice. I argue that Davie's theory (2006) frames this argument - the migration to Ireland offers these migrants the opportunity to choose whether or not to be religiously active. Based on this argument, it appears that the shift from a context of religion as an obligation to religion as a choice negatively impacts on these migrants' religious practices. For these migrants, religion provides them with an identity and set of beliefs but these religious beliefs do not translate into regular religious participation. Next, I analyse the religious behaviour of Polish migrants who believe and choose to continue practicing religion within the Catholic Church.

3) Believe and choose to continue practicing religion within the Catholic Church

Fifteen Polish migrants identify as Catholic and continue to practice their religion in Ireland (37% - out of total sample, 15/41). Three of these migrants are clergy (7% - 3/41). Table 6.8 presents the breakdown of migrants that can be categorised as believing and practicing Catholicism. Nine women (35% - of total number of women in sample, 9/26) compared with six men (40% - of total number of men in sample, 6/15) are Catholic and practice their religion. The majority of the interviewees in this category are in their twenties (60% - 9/15) while three are in their thirties (20% - 3/15), one is in his fifties (7% - 1/15) and another in his sixties (7% - 1/15). The final interviewee, a Polish priest, refused to reveal his age.

Table 6.8: Profile of participants who believe and choose to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Religiosity	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications
Dariusz	25	Yes	2004	Yes	Krakow	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Business
Justyn	26	Yes	2006	No	Szczecin	Single	0	Child minder	Teaching Degree

Albin	28	Yes	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Arts
Lidia	35	Yes	2004	No	Warsaw	Married	2	Retail	Master's in Psychology
Katia	26	Yes	2004	Yes	Warsaw	Single	0	Psychologist	Master's in Psychology
Gosiasta	28	Yes	2008	Yes	Gdansk	Married	1	Retail	Master's in Psychology
Karolina	26	Yes (Irish church)	2006	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Degree in Accountancy
Luckasz	27	Yes	2005	Yes	Olsztyn	Married	0	Works in security	No
Aine	28	Yes (Irish church)	2004	No	Katowice	Single	0	Retail	Teaching Degree
Dorota	38	Yes	2006	No	Warsaw	Married	0	Secretary	Diploma in Secretarial Studies
Aga	33	Yes	2004	Yes	Torun	Single	0	Unemployed	Degree in Arts
Klaudia	26	Yes	2006	Yes	Poznan	Boyfriend		Child minder	Degree in Psychology
Fr. Marek	53	Yes	2006	Yes	Krakow	-		Catholic Priest	Yes (Seminary)
Fr. Amadej	61	Yes	2004	Yes	Poznan	-		Catholic Priest	Yes (Seminary)
Fr. Augustyn	-	Yes	2004	Yes	-	-		Catholic Priest	Yes (Seminary)

*Religiosity denotes religious beliefs and practices

First, this analysis sets out the religious beliefs of the fifteen Polish migrants in this category. Subsequently, I will analyse how these beliefs translate into religious practice. As previously stated, six main questions were asked to establish the religious beliefs of this migrant cohort – 1. Do you believe in God? 2. Do you believe in heaven? 3. Do you believe in Hell? 4. Do you believe it is important to receive Holy Catholic Sacraments? 5. Do you believe in the institutional practice of Catholicism? 6. Do you believe Catholicism guides your socio-moral attitudes? Table 6.9 presents the findings.

Table 6.9: Religious beliefs of Polish migrants who believe and choose to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Do you believe in God?	Do you believe in Heaven?	Do you believe in Hell?	Do you believe it is important to receive Holy Catholic Sacraments?	Do you believe in the institutional practice of Catholicism?	Do you believe Catholicism guides your socio-moral attitudes?
Dariusz	25	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Justyn	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Albin	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lidia	35	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Katia	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Gosiasta	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Karolina (Irish church)	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Luckasz	27	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Aine (Irish church)	28	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dorota	38	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Aga	33	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Klaudia	26	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fr. Marek	53	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fr. Amadej	61	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fr. Augustyn	-	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

These participants strongly identify with Catholicism and possess religious beliefs.

Religion, it's part of my life, it's who I am (Luckasz, male, 27).

For Luckasz, religion forms a significant part of his life. He uses religion as a way of understanding himself. All the interviewees in this category believe in God, heaven and hell.

It's the base. If you don't believe in these then how are you Christian? (Justyn, female, 26)

As Justyn explains, these migrants all agree that belief in God, heaven and hell forms the base of their faith. As Justyn asks, “*how are you Christian?*” without belief in God, heaven and hell. Justyn’s extract encapsulates these interviewees’

thoughts. All of the fifteen interviewees believe that it is important to receive Holy Catholic Sacraments. When asked why they believe this to be important, Klaudia a Polish child minder aged 26 with a Degree in Psychology simply replied –

It is not enough to believe. If you do not receive the Sacraments then you are not in the faith (Klaudia, female, 26).

The importance placed on receiving Holy Sacraments was further emphasised by Father Augustyn who stated that these were the main reason for establishing the Polish chaplaincy in Ireland – to ensure Polish migrants continued receiving Sacraments.

We are here first of all because of Sacraments (Father Augustyn).

Similarly, all of these interviewees believe in the institutional practices of Catholicism and that Catholicism guides their socio-moral attitudes. I further questioned how Catholicism guides their socio-moral attitudes and if this means that religion has a role in their everyday lives. The general consensus among these interviewees is that religion has a role in their everyday lives because Catholicism has shaped their understanding of right from wrong.

I suppose, yes, it would have a role if you think of it like that. Religion, faith, it shapes our actions, you know? Like, let's say, I wouldn't go and hurt someone. That is a sin, I wouldn't do that. Why? Because I know it is morally wrong. Why? Because I learnt it in the bible, church, my faith (Katia, female, 26).

From the data presented in Table 6.9 as well as the migrants' narratives, I conclude that these fifteen migrants are strongly religious. They identify with Catholicism and possess religious beliefs that influence their lives. I will now analyse the religious behaviour of the migrants in this category and see if their religious beliefs transfer into active religious practice.

There is variation in these Polish migrants' religious practices. Table 6.10 presents the regularity with which these migrants attend mass, confession and engage in prayer.

Table 6.10: Religious practices of Polish migrants who believe and choose to continue to practice religion within Catholic Church

Participants	How often do you attend mass?					How often do you attend confession?				How often do you pray?		
	Name (pseudonym)	Few times a week	Once a week	Few times a month	Once every few months	On religious holidays only	Weekly	Once a month	Once to a few times a year	Not at all	Daily	Few times a week
Dariusz		Yes					Yes			Yes		
Justyn			Yes					Yes				Yes
Albin	Yes					Yes				Yes		
Lidia		Yes						Yes			Yes	
Katia		Yes						Yes			Yes	
Gosiasta		Yes					Yes				Yes	
Karolina			Yes (Irish church)					Yes				Yes
Luckasz		Yes					Yes				Yes	
Aine		Yes (Irish church)						Yes			Yes	
Doroata		Yes						Yes			Yes	
Aga		Yes					Yes			Yes		
Klaudia		Yes					Yes				Yes	
Father Marek	Yes						Yes			Yes		
Father Amadej	Yes						Yes			Yes		
Father Augustyn	Yes						Yes			Yes		

Four migrants attend mass a few times a week (27% - 4/15). Three of these are Polish priests. Albin, a Polish security worker aged 28 with a Degree in Arts explains why he believes it is important to attend mass regularly –

I feel connected. I feel close to God. I know, sorry, I feel, you know, comfort, spiritual maybe... (Albin, male, 28)

The majority of the fifteen interviewees in this category attend mass once a week (60% - 9/15). Recurring narratives suggest that these migrants believe that it is important to attend mass weekly, particularly to hear the gospel. Aga, who is unemployed aged 33 with a Degree in Arts suggests that the gospel, and lessons from mass, “gives you what you need” for the week.

Yes, I go to mass every Sunday. I don't want to say religion is my life because religion is not my life, Jesus is my life. Religion and being a Christian is significant in my life and mass is a big part of this. It's important to keep going, it gives you what you need 'till the next week (Aga, female, 33).

Aga's extract, as well as Albin's narrative above, shows how important religion, and engaging in religious practice, is for some migrants. The religious experience gives some migrants "comfort" and forms part of their lives.

Two interviewees attend mass a few times a month. Justyn, a Polish child minder aged 26 with a Degree in Psychology revealed that she would like to attend mass more regularly but due to work commitments this is not possible. Interestingly, two of the interviewees attend Irish church (13% - 2/15) – one migrant attends weekly and the other attends a few times a month. These two migrants' experiences could challenge studies which hypothesise that Polish migrants want to engage in an ethnically distinct form of Catholicism in the host country (Trzebiatowska 2010). These migrants do not perceive their religious identity to be interchangeable with their national identity. Although they notice differences in Irish and Polish church, they find universal Catholicism less "intensive" and more "relaxed". Unlike the majority of interviewees who engage in specifically ethnic forms of Catholicism, these migrants do not rely on their religious identity to provide a sense of belonging or cultural marker.

I go to Irish church. It's closer to my apartment. Mass here is more relaxed, less intensive. In Polish church it's really, really, I suppose intense! But I don't need church to give me belonging, or who I am, you know. Polish church is about forty minutes away and I'm not travelling that far! Irish church is fine for me! (Aine, female, 28)

However, this was not a common pattern among the interviewees. The majority of interviewees attend Polish church (87% - 13/15) and the data supports studies which argue that Polish migrants engage in ethnically distinct forms of Catholicism (Trzebiatowska 2010). The recurring narrative highlights the importance of attending Polish mass opposed to Irish mass.

I wouldn't get it. I wouldn't want to go to Irish church. Polish church, it's ours, it's our religion...why would I go anywhere else (Patryja, female, 26).

These migrants want to have their own ethnic religious services. They feel that they would not get the same religious experience from Irish religious services. Aga, who is unemployed aged 33 with a Degree in Arts

argues that Polish church is 'familiar'. This was also referred to by other interviewees. These migrants want to be a part of Polish Catholicism as they are familiar with the structural environment, the style of worship, theological orientation and ministry style. It is their argument that Irish church would -

Not be the same. I wouldn't know, you know, what was going on...not because of language but the whole, you know, thing. Why would I go to Irish church when I can go to Polish? (Dariusz, male, 25).

Migrants referred to wanting their "own" religion (Aga, female, 33). This relates to the fact that the majority of these Polish migrants' view their religious identity and national identity as synonymous (Chapter Seven).

In regards to confession, all of the interviewees in this category attend confession. There is variation in the regularity with which they attend confession. The majority of interviewees attend once a month (53% - 8/15). It was revealed that this was their religious routine in Poland so they continued with it in Ireland.

That's the way, once a month. So I do it here too... (Dariusz, male, 25).

One interviewee attends confession weekly (7% - 1/15). Interestingly, this is the same interviewee that attends mass weekly. Six interviewees attend confession once to a few times a year (40% - 6/15).

Praying is also important to the interviewees in this category. Six interviewees state that they pray daily (40% - 6/15), while seven interviewees pray a few times a week (45% - 7/15). Only two interviewees engage in occasional prayer (13% - 2/15). When I asked them why they engage in occasional prayer, they replied –

I pray in church. Sometimes if I need something I'll pray then, otherwise I wouldn't... (Karolina, female, 26).

There is variation in the ways in which these migrants' practice their religion. Although all of the interviewees maintain religious practice in Ireland, they do so to different degrees. This cohort's religious beliefs translate into religious practice. However, I will explore non-religious mediating factors to see if these can account for the variation in these migrants' religious practices.

This discussion explores non-religious mediating factors to see if these can shed light on the variation in these migrants' religious practices. Table 6.11 shows the socio-demographic factors relating to Polish migrants who believe and chose to practice Catholicism.

Table 6.11: Socio demographic factors relating to Polish migrants who believe and choose to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church

	Believe and practice		Believe and practice
No. of women	9	No. of men	6
Married	3	Married	1
Married with children	2	Married with children	0
Single	5	Single	5
In a relationship	1	In a relationship	0
Education		Education	
- Master's	3	- Master's	0
- Degree	5	- Degree	2
- Diplomas	1	- Seminary	3
- Without education	0	- Without education	1

Table 6.11 shows that out of nine Polish women (35% - out of total number of women in sample, 9/26) who believe and practice Catholicism in Ireland, three are married (33% - 3/9). Out of six Polish men who believe and practice Catholicism in Ireland (40% - out of total number of men in sample, 6/15) only one is married (17% - 1/6). Two women have children (22% - 2/9) while no men in this category have children. Five women (56% - 5/9) and five men (83% - 5/6) are single, while one woman (11% - 1/9) is in a relationship. In relation to the fifteen migrants in the category, the Polish men are more likely than Polish women to believe and practice Catholicism in Ireland. This contradicts previous studies which argue that Polish women are more likely to be religious than Polish men. However, if we look at category two (Polish migrants that believe and practice occasionally/not practicing in Ireland) and amalgamate the two groups we find that out of the thirty-one migrants in these two categories, Polish women are more likely than Polish men to believe in Catholicism and engage in varying degrees of religious practice. It must be noted that there are more women in this sample than men; this could explain the disproportionate levels in religious beliefs and practices between genders. However in relation to the Polish migrants in this

sample, those who are single are more likely to be religious than those who are married or in relationships. With regards to education, three women have Master's (33% - 3/9) while no men have Master's. Five women have Degrees (56% - 5/9). Two men have Degrees (33% - 2/6), while three other men attended the seminary (50% - 3/6). One woman has a Diploma (11% - 1/9). All of the women have education qualifications and only one man has no qualification (17% - 1/6).

In relation to the fifteen Polish migrants in this category, those who are single and educated are more likely to believe and practice Catholicism in Ireland. I argue that the shift from a context of religion as an obligation to religion as a choice does not impact on this particular cohort's religious beliefs and practices. For these migrants, Catholicism provides the majority of them with an identity and shapes their lives (i.e. through their socio-moral attitudes). This is supported through religious practices. Next, I bring this analysis together to compare and contrast the religious beliefs and practices of Polish migrants from each of the three categories. This provides an overall analysis of migrants' religious beliefs and practices and paves the way for exploring the interplay between these migrants and the ways in which they engage with the church and its resources.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the ways in which religion is practiced, experienced and lived among forty-one Polish migrants in Ireland. The current analysis explores these Polish migrants' relationship with religion, their faith and their religious practices during their sojourn in Ireland. These Polish migrants can be categorised by three responses to religion within the experience of migrating from Poland to Ireland: 1) no longer believing or practicing a religion, 2) believing but practicing occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland, 3) believing and choosing to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church (Dunlop and Ward 2012). Table 6.12 presents the breakdown of Polish migrants' beliefs and practices according to the three categories.

Table 6.12: Breakdown of Polish migrants in each of the three categories

	Believe and practice	Believe but practice occasionally/not practicing	No religious beliefs	Total
No. of women	9	13	4	26
No. of men	6	3	6	15
Total	15	16	10	41

Twenty-two women (87% of total number of females in sample, 22/26) have various forms of religious beliefs. This is compared to four women (15% of total number of females in sample, 4/26) that have no religious beliefs. Similarly, nine men (60% of total number of males in sample, 9/15) have religious beliefs compared to six men (40% of total number of males in sample, 6/15) that have no religious beliefs. Overall, combining both genders, it is revealed that thirty-one Polish migrants (75%) have some form of religious beliefs and Catholic identity compared to ten Polish migrants (25%) that have none. Thus, this reveals one of the main empirical findings – these Polish migrants are more likely to have various forms of religious beliefs opposed to no religious beliefs at all. The data presents an interesting scenario when we explore if the Polish migrants’ religious beliefs translate into religious practice in Ireland. There is a great variation in the religious practices of these migrants. Davie’s theory (2006) of ‘religion as a choice’ – Davie argues that immigration from a context of ‘religion as an obligation’ to a context of ‘religion as a choice’ results in a decline in migrants’ religious behaviour – can to some degree frame these research findings. In this context the migrants feel less pressurised to practice their faith, whereas in Poland it was a “*family tradition*” (Max, male, 28). The data presents an interesting scenario – given the option of ‘religion as a choice’ this particular group of Polish migrants are more likely to “*pick and choose*” (Max, male, 28) religious practices in accordance with their life experiences in Ireland (i.e. work commitments). Thus, this demonstrates that religious practice is shaped by a process of self-selection and is time and context specific. The reoccurring narrative among the interviewees point to work commitments or a lack of desire ‘*right now*’ to go to church as the main factors contributing to the variation in their religious practices. Finke and Stark’s hypothesis (1992) that labour migrants have to prioritise their time and economic advancement takes precedence over religious commitment informs

and frames our understanding of the variation in religious practices among these Polish migrants.

For someone it is important, for someone it is not important. If God for someone is important then he can, he knows, he believes that God is his supporter, God is his power, that God can help him survive. Yes, so in that sense he will maintain his faith here.....others will not (Father Augustyn).

Next, Chapter Seven identifies how, and if at all, these beliefs and practices translate into engagement with the social and ethnic properties of religious institutions. The different ways in which these migrants' engage with ethnic religious institutions, spiritually or socially, is categorised. I employ Alba et al's (2009) categories 'religion as system of meaning' and 'religion as institution' to begin this analysis. I point to two further ways in which these migrants refer to the church - 'religion as ethnic identifier' and 'religion as social capital'. These four categories set out how migrants' view their religion and how they engage with religious institutions and their properties. Chapter Six and Seven, collectively, present these Polish migrants' religious behaviour and how, if at all, spirituality or the church figures in terms of spiritual or social support. Through a nuanced approach, Chapter Six and Seven identify the interplay between Polish migrants, religion and the church.

Chapter Seven

Polish Migrants and the Church

It is easier to practice their religion in Polish. That is our aim of being here, to help them keep their religion. Not to be discourages, not to go...Yes, that's the main aim; the rest is like, if necessary (Father Augustyn)

Introduction

April 11th 2010, St. Audoen's Church (Polish chaplaincy) –

Polish President's Memorial Service

When I arrived a large crowd had already congregated inside, I estimated that nearly one hundred or so people were inside. The mood inside the church was quiet and sombre. Most people were praying, while a few were standing at the back of the church. I concluded that the people at the back of the church were talking about the tragedy [the Polish President died in plane crash] as one lady wiped her eyes and I observed another shake her head...Two shrines to commemorate the tragedy were located at the front of the church. Another memorial had been set up inside the church. These were quite poignant...I estimated that before the mass began there were a couple of hundred people, inside and out, gathered together to grieve with their community. I noticed that quite a few people wore black clothing. I also noticed a person wearing a black ribbon..The Polish chaplain, Father Jaroslaw, greeted the Irish President, Mary McAleese, and other politicians as they entered. She sympathised with him and others. Shortly after this, the chaplain made his way into the church. Automatically (and together) people began singing Mary queen of Poland...Throughout the mass people shed tears. They were comforted by their friends and partners. At this memorial service there were people of all ages...When the service ended some people left. However, many remained talking with those next to them, providing comfort to each other. I noticed people spoke with others that they did not seem to know (introducing themselves, shaking hands). People just began speaking with those next to them...As people left, their mood seemed a little better (i.e. people were talking and smiling as they left). I concluded that taking part in the memorial service, particularly a Polish memorial service, in the Polish church and in the Polish language helped migrants to feel close to the tragedy in Poland. Tears that were present at the beginning of the mass had subsided for smiles as some shared stories of their homeland and politics of their country (as I left I spoke with one Polish man that I had met previously and he informed me of that). In this particular incident, the church offered migrants the opportunity to come together to grieve. Moreover, the Polish church provided the space and religious service to strengthen cultural and transnational ties with Poland; migrants' felt connected to what was happening in Poland.

This observation, taken during the memorial service for the Polish President's death in 2010 (the Polish President died in a plane crash), provides an insight into one of the ways in which some Polish migrants draw on the church for support. It also sheds light on the Polish church and how it supports migrants' needs. This observation can lead one to argue that some Polish migrants are religious and engage with the Polish church and its resources. However, this observation alone cannot accurately reflect the interplay between migrants and the church. Therefore, this chapter builds on the religious behaviour of these forty-one migrants in Ireland (Chapter Six) and extends the analysis to explore how, if at all, the church socially or spiritually supports them in Ireland. This discussion establishes the different ways in which Polish migrants employ different aspects of the church to support their experiences in Ireland. Alba, Raboteau and De Wind (2009), in their compilation of *'Immigration and Religion in America: Comparative and Historical perspectives'* point to the important role that religion has for some immigrants in the US. This collection of studies highlight that scholars must pay attention to the impact of immigration on migrants' faith, religious institutions and the religious landscape. These studies highlight that religion offers migrants a way to stay connected to the homeland and express their ethnic differences (Casanova 2004). Alba, Raboteau and DeWind contend that religious institutions provides "*the sites and occasions for the members of these communities to come together, recognize each other, engage in a variety of communications and transactions, and give meaning, both transcendental and secular, to their experiences*" (2009:22-23).

Religious institutions act as support mechanisms, providing social and sacred resources to support immigrants' experiences in the host country. Exploring the sacred and social properties of ethnic religious institutions sheds light on how the church and clergy adapt and negotiate the religious space in the host country. Alba et al's concept of 'religion as system of meaning' and 'religion as institution' is an appropriate framework informing my study. It specifies how religion may be consequential for immigration and religion experiences. To capture the religious experiences of these migrants, I extend Alba et al's framework to incorporate two additional ways in which the church supports these migrants, religion as ethnic identifier and religion as social

capital. Thus, the migrants' narratives reveal four ways in which they refer to the church for support - 1) religion as system of meaning, 2) religion as institution, 3) religion as ethnic identification, 4) religion as social capital. This framework guides the analysis which highlights how migrants employ the church's resources during migration. It establishes the importance of religion for these Polish migrants and how, if at all, they utilise the sacred and social properties of ethnic religious institutions. This chapter argues that, for these forty-one Polish migrants, religion matters more as a marker of ethnic identity and social service resource than spirituality.

The second part of this chapter explores the extent to which migrants' religious beliefs and practices relate to their level of engagement with the church and its resources. This sets out one of the main empirical findings of this research – whether their level of religious beliefs or practices dictates the degree to which these migrants employ various aspects of the church to support their sojourn in Ireland. I argue that non-religious mediating factors such as social networks and transnational ties, in addition to religious identity, explain why some migrants rely on the church's resources and others do not. This analysis brings together Chapter Six and Seven and outlines the interplay between Polish migrants, religion and the church.

7.1 Polish Migrants' Engagement with the Church

The current section discusses the different ways in which these Polish migrants employ different aspects of the church to support their socio-religious experiences in Ireland. Based on the migrants' narratives, the church is primarily relied upon for four different aspects - 'religion as system of meaning', 'religion as institution', 'religion as ethnic identification' and 'religion as social capital'. I explore each of these aspects and examine a number of socio-demographic factors to explain the various ways in which some migrants engage with the church and its properties. Twenty-six Polish migrants employ one or more of the resources provided by the church (68%, 26/38 - out of total sample, excluding Polish clergy). It must be noted that for this analysis I did not include the Polish clergy in the sample; this analysis focuses on the different ways in which Polish migrants refer to religion, the

church and the clergy for support during their sojourn in Ireland. Therefore, it would bias the findings to include the Polish clergy in the total sample number. Table 7.1 presents a profile of the migrants that have engaged with the church's properties and shows which of the church's resources they employed.

Table 7.1: Profile of Polish migrants who referred to the church for some form of support

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Engagement with the church's resources
Beata	28	R.E.I
Alex	29	S.O.M R.E.I
Barbara	54	S.O.M
Borys	31	R.A.I R.E.I
Hanna	35	R.E.I
Dariusz	25	R.A.I R.E.I
Justyn	26	R.S.C R.A.I R.E.I
Adrianna	26	R.E.I
Nadia	34	R.E.I R.S.C
Karol	26	R.E.I
Albin	28	R.A.I R.E.I R.S.C.
Katia	26	R.E.I
Gosiasta	28	R.A.I R.E.I
Gosia	27	R.E.I R.S.C
Luckasz	27	S.O.M R.E.I
Zofia	27	R.A.I R.E.I
Dorota	38	R.E.I
Aga	33	S.O.M R.A.I R.E.I R.S.C
Anna	28	R.E.I
Klaudia	26	R.E.I
Martyna	28	R.A.I
Ilona	28	R.E.I
Patryja	26	S.O.M R.E.I R.S.C.
Kat	26	R.E.I
Alexandra	29	R.E.I
Max	28	R.A.I R.E.I

*S.O.M denotes religion as system of meaning, R.A.I denotes religion as institution, R.E.I denotes religion as

Twenty-six participants (68% - out of total sample, 26/38) referred to the church for some kind of support, while twelve participants (32% - out of total sample 12/38) did not. Twenty female participants (77% - out of total sample that referred to the church for some form of support, 20/26) compared to six male participants (23%, 6/26) refer to the church for some form of support. Next, I present a breakdown, analysis and discussion of the different ways in which migrants refer to the church for support.

7.1.1 Religion as system of meaning

And in that time, at the start, the priest helped a lot. It helped me to, you know, know who I am and...find myself, confident and you know....yeah it helped me a lot and now it is my kind of base for myself and, you know, because of the bible I know who I am... (Luckasz, male, 27).

The ‘religion as system of meaning’ argument suggests that religion influences immigrants by providing narratives that help them make sense of their life situation in the host country. Based on this argument, Polish migrants should be able to mobilise religious narratives to interpret their life situations and experiences in Irish society. The majority of interviewees did not refer to the church for this type of support. Table 7.2 presents the profile of Polish migrants that referred to the church for spiritual support.

Table 7.2: Profile of Polish migrants who referred to the church for spiritual support

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications	Engagement with church's resources
Alex	29	2007	Yes	Krakow	Married	0	Retail	No	S.O.M
Barbara	54	1994	No	Bydgoszcz	Married	0	Unemployed/migrant organisation	No	S.O.M
Luckasz	27	2005	Yes	Olsztyn	Married	0	Works in security	No	S.O.M
Aga	33	2004	Yes	Torun	Single	0	Unemployed	Degree in Arts	S.O.M
Patryja	26	2005	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Master's in Sociology	S.O.M

*S.O.M. denotes 'religion as system of meaning'

Five interviewees (19%, out of total number who referred to the church for some form of support, 5/26) narrated that they relied on the church for

spiritual support. Table 7.3 presents the gender division of migrants who employed this aspect of the church for support.

Table 7.3: Gender division of Polish migrants that referred to the church for ‘religion as system of meaning’

Participants	Religion as system of meaning
Female	4
Male	1
Total	5

As Table 7.3 illustrates, four of these participants were female (20%, out of total number of female participants who referred to church for some form of support, 4/20) and one was male (17%, out of total number of male participants who referred to church for some form of support, 1/6). Thus, in relation to this sample of forty-one Polish migrants, it appears that the female migrants are more likely than male migrants to refer to the church for spiritual support. However, previous studies illustrate that women are more likely to join groups and socialise in the church overall (Trzebiatowska and Bruce 2012).

The migrants stated various reasons for referring to the church for spiritual support. The experience of moving from Poland to Ireland was initially accompanied by feelings of doubt, disillusionment and loneliness. The unfamiliar environment, not speaking the language and having to find employment accentuated these feelings. The spiritual support that the church and Polish clergy offered is described as playing a crucial role for some migrants. Aga, who is currently unemployed, aged 33 with a Degree in Arts, stated that the spiritual support she received from the church enabled her to make sense of her migration and find strength.

I was scared. But I talk to priest a lot and he tell me not to be mmm frightened, God is always with me, always. And the church is always here for me and priest too. I know then I don't have to worry. I can do it, you know, I can do it here (Aga, female, 33).

It is important to highlight that only five migrants out of a possible thirty-one whom are religious referred to the church for spiritual support. The literature argues that immigrants are more likely to rely on the church for support if they do not have networks in Ireland. Thus, I examine whether or not having a

point of contact in Ireland was a factor explaining this variation. Table 7.4 presents the Polish migrants who refer to the church for spiritual support and whether or not they had a point of contact on arrival in Ireland.

Table 7.4: Polish migrants who referred to the church for spiritual support and whether or not they had a point of contact in Ireland

Participants who rely on the church for spiritual support	Point of Contact in Ireland	
	Yes	No
Female	3	1
Male	1	0
Total	4	1

Significantly, only one female interviewee had no point of contact on arrival to Ireland. The data shows that the majority of migrants who referred to the church for spiritual support had a point of contact. Therefore, point of contact was not a significant factor influencing whether or not these migrants referred to the church for spiritual support. Ethnic churches, for some migrants, are the stepping stone to mainstream society. They provide a familiar space for migrants to come to terms with the experience of being in a new country. Participating and adapting in a new society is an ongoing process for some migrants. Coping with daily challenges and adjusting to hardships are some problems facing these migrants. The church provides the sanctuary and the spiritual and religious guidance to cope with these challenges in Ireland. Although four interviewees had a point of contact on arrival in Ireland, their experiences led them to rely on religious narratives to spiritually support and guide them.

I talk with priest, he tell me everything be ok. It takes time and he was right. I was scared I think at first, it was different, the language, the people but I meet regularly with priest and he talk with me and pray and it helped (Patryja, female, 26).

One interviewee that was not religious contacted the church for what can be characterised as ‘spiritual support’. Barbara, who is unemployed aged 54 with no education qualifications, contacted the Polish chaplain subsequent to her friend’s sudden death in Poland. Barbara wanted to have a mass dedicated to her friend. Barbara established a relationship with the local priest and

visited the priest on a number of occasions.

He knows I'm not religious, you know, mass or that but I like talking to him. I know it's...you might think it's strange, but I know Beata was religious and if I want to talk to anybody 'bout things, she'd want me to talk to priest (Barbara, female, 54).

Although this interviewee is not religious, she found comfort in the familiarity that the religious structural environment offered (Min 1992; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000). She detached the spiritual comfort from religious aspects and utilised this service as it was familiar. This is an interesting insight into the immigration and religion experiences of some migrants – even though this migrant is not religious, she refers to an ethnic religious institution before other institutions as it is ‘familiar’. It is revealed that language is a significant factor creating this ‘familiarity’.

The significant finding that has emerged from analysing this aspect of Alba et al’s framework, religion as system of meaning, is that the majority of Polish migrants in this sample do not draw on religion or the church for spiritual support. A recurring narrative among the interviewees is the sense of agency. By ‘agency’ I refer to their ability to mobilise social networks and resources prior to, and during, their migration in Ireland. Their migration was not characterised as permanent or forced. In fact, for the most part, they have engaged in a migration with a short to medium time-horizon. They are equipped to negotiate their migration experiences. Therefore, it appears that the majority of the forty-one Polish migrants in this study do not rely on spiritual support from the church, nor do they rely on the church for spiritual guidance to support their religious experiences in Ireland. Next, I draw on the second aspect of Alba et al’s framework, religion as institution, to analyse whether religion or the church feature in socially supporting Polish migrants’ experiences in Ireland.

7.1.2 Religion as institution

‘Religion as institution’ argument suggests that religion influences immigrants by providing social resources that materially aid their experiences in the host country. Based on this argument, Polish migrants in Ireland should be likely to mobilise social resources from the church to help their adaptation

and social experiences in Irish society.

I didn't have money. I didn't even have job then. But I heard that church does English classes and you get information or anything you need there, so I went....But I'm glad I did 'cause it was, they help you with everything (Borys, male, 31).

Table 7.5 presents the profile of Polish migrants that refer to the church for social support.

Table 7.5: Profile of Polish migrants who referred to the church for social support

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications	Engagement with church's resources
Borys	31	2006	No	Lublin	Single	0	Unemployed	No	R.A.I
Dariusz	25	2004	Yes	Krakow	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Business	R.A.I
Justyn	26	2006	No	Szczecin	Single	0	Child minder	Teaching Degree	R.A.I
Albin	28	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Arts	R.A.I
Gosiasta	28	2008	Yes	Gdansk	Married	1	Retail	Master's in Psychology	R.A.I
Zofia	27	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Hotelier	Diploma in Child Care	R.A.I
Aga	33	2004	Yes	Torun	Single	0	Unemployed	Degree in Arts	R.A.I
Martyna	28	2004	Yes	Rybnik	Boyfriend		Retail	Degree in Psychology	R.A.I
Max	28	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Businessman	Master's in Business	R.A.I

*R.A.I denotes 'religion as institution';

Table 7.5 shows that nine interviewees (35%, out of total number who referred to the church for some form of support, 9/26) narrated that they referred to the church for social and material support. Table 7.6 presents the gender division of migrants that employed this aspect of the church for support.

Table 7.6: Gender division of Polish migrants who referred to the church for 'religion as institution'

Participants	Religion as institution
Female	5
Male	4
Total	9

Table 7.6 illustrates that five female participants (25%, out of total number of female participants who referred to church for some form of support, 5/20), compared with four male participants (66%, out of total number of male participants who referred to church for some form of support, 4/6) referred to the church for social assistance. In relation to this sample of Polish migrants, Polish men are more likely than the Polish women to employ social service resources from the church. However, it must be noted that there are more women than men in this sample and as such the data may be different if the gender division was equal (i.e. the number of men relying on this type of support appears significant given the small number of men that referred to the church for any form of support).

The interviewees' narratives highlight the different ways in which religion permeates the social sphere and functions to socially and materially aid Polish migrants experiences in Ireland. This shows how religious institutions are flexible and take on diverse roles in response to their new context and the needs of the congregation. Ugba (2007, 2006, 2003) notes in the study of Pentecostal African immigrants in Ireland, religious institutions can help immigrants with social aspects of their migration.

For me it was different, I suppose. I was here about year, I lost my job, I tried everything. So I went [to the church] and asked around and looked at the...mmm...information posts. I spoke to priest, he gave me a number to a man for...who helped. So it worked out! (Dariusz, male, 25)

Dariusz describes how the church and clergy move away from theological aspects to socially support migrants' needs outside of the church. Practical assistance in the form of information is an important role of migrant churches. The Polish clergy take on new roles and become points of information for migrants. The migrants indicate that the most utilised service that the church provides is English classes.

I went to church for English class. It was free, so course I was gonna go! It doesn't matter that it was church. I needed help so I went where it was free! (Martyna, female, 28)

One distinctive feature of Martyna's extract is that the religious aspect of church is not mentioned. Martyna points out that these English classes are free and views it as any other social resource. Religion was not a factor

influencing these migrants decision to attend English classes provided by the church. They are willing to avail of resources from any institution; it doesn't necessarily have to be from religious institutions – “*It's just another resource, it doesn't matter who provides it*” (Max, male, 28).

The Polish chaplaincy's social roles are manifold. The Polish chaplain recounts that at the beginning of this new wave of Polish migrants to Ireland in 2004, large numbers of Polish migrants were coming to the church for social and practical help. He noted that the Polish community are much more 'organised' now. They are able to navigate their migration experiences.

There is a lot going on, the chaplain and priests organise all things, they take it on themselves to do, there are these English classes, Polish weekend school for children, whatever children are missing from the Polish course of education. There is also a centre for people who are addicted to drugs and alcohol. And there is AA as well. And then there are initiatives like now there is a donation drive for flood victims in Poland. At the beginning of June there was an international children's day and there was an event for this day, like a picnic for the kids and their parents. There are concerts from time to time. The priests see this is the kind of role that is needed in this community and they do it (Zofia, female, 27).

Religious institutions support migrants' social experiences in Ireland. The Polish chaplaincy shows that it is flexible and adaptable to the new context. The Polish church is a centre that provides direct assistance to migrants in the form of language classes, information (employment, housing) and social and legal advice. For the migrants that utilise this service, it provides support that helps overcome difficulties experienced during their migration. I analyse whether or not having a point of contact is a factor influencing why some migrants' rely on the church for social assistance and others do not. Table 7.7 presents the data.

Table 7.7: Polish migrants who referred to the church for social support and whether or not they had a point of contact

Participants who rely on the church for social support	Point of Contact in Ireland	
	Yes	No
Female	4	1
Male	3	1
Total	7	2

Table 7.7 shows that four female participants had a point of contact (80%, out of total number of participants who referred to religion as institution, 4/9) compared to three male participants (33%, out of total number of participants who referred to religion as institution, 3/9). One female and one male (11% respectively) did not have a point of contact on arrival. These statistics correspond with the narratives of the interviewees which indicate that a point of contact on arrival to Ireland was not a mediating factor relating to whether or not the migrants employed this resource from the church.

‘Religion as system of meaning’ (19%, out of total out of total number of participants who referred to church for some form of support, 5/26) and ‘religion as institution’ (35%, out of total number of participants who referred to church for some form of support, 9/26) provide some Polish migrants with spiritual and social support during their time in Ireland. This presents a significant empirical finding – for the migrants in this sample, religion matters more for its social service resources than spirituality or spiritual support. However, variation exists as some migrants in this sample do not rely on the church for spiritual or social assistance. Based on the narratives of the interviewees, I extend Alba et al’s framework (2009) and explore other ways in which Polish migrants employ their faith to support their experiences in Ireland.

7.1.3 Religion as ethnic identifier

‘Religion as ethnic identifier’ argument suggests that religion influences immigrants by providing ‘ethnic markers’ that support their ethnic identity in the host country. Religion offers an ‘umbrella identity’ that provides immigrants with a sense of cultural belonging and collectivity (Sommers 1971; Gans 1994). Based on this argument, Polish migrants in Ireland should be likely to mobilise religious narratives, cultural traditions and objects to support their ethnic identity and belonging during their migration.

I suppose it’s part of my identity. You know, going to Polish church, Easter or Christmas or holidays, and I suppose the Polish chaplaincy on High Street, it boosts you, you know...this is hard to explain...like feeling of home, feeling of Polish, it’s all reminders of home and who we are (Klaudia, female, 26).

Klaudia explains that going to the Polish chaplaincy, attending mass and the physical environment of the church form part of a collective memory – an identity with Poland and a reminder of home. Mobilising religious narratives and cultural traditions and objects provide a “boost” which supports migrants.

Table 7.8 presents the profile of the migrants that refer to the church to support their ethnic identity.

Table 7.8: Profile of Polish migrants who referred to the church for ethnic identification

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications	Engagement with the church's resources
Beata	28	2006	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Secretary	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I
Alex	29	2007	Yes	Krakow	Married	0	Retail	No	R.E.I
Borys	31	2006	No	Lublin	Single	0	Unemployed	No	R.E.I
Hanna	35	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Photography	R.E.I
Dariusz	25	2004	Yes	Krakow	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Business	R.E.I
Justyn	26	2006	No	Szczecin	Single	0	Child minder	Teaching Degree	R.E.I
Adrianna	26	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Single	0	Hotelier	Degree in Accountancy	R.E.I
Nadia	34	2005	No	Poznan	Married	2	Child minder	Degree in Psychology	R.E.I
Karol	26	2004	Yes	Katowice	Single	0	Business man	Master's in Business	R.E.I
Albin	28	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Arts	R.E.I
Katia	26	2004	Yes	Warsaw	Single	0	Psychologist	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I
Gosiasta	28	2008	Yes	Gdansk	Married	1	Retail	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I
Gosia	27	2004	Yes	Slupsk	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Law	R.E.I
Lukasz	27	2005	Yes	Olsztyn	Married	0	Works in security	No	R.E.I
Zofia	27	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Hotelier	Diploma in Child Care	R.E.I
Dorota	38	2006	No	Warsaw	Married	0	Secretary	Diploma in Secretarial Studies	R.E.I
Aga	33	2004	Yes	Torun	Single	0	Unemployed	Degree in Arts	R.E.I
Anna	28	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Journalist	Degree in Journalism	R.E.I
Klaudia	26	2006	Yes	Poznan	Boyfriend		Child minder	Degree in Psychology	R.E.I
Ilona	28	2008	Yes	Brzostek	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I
Patryja	26	2005	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Master's in Sociology	R.E.I
Kat	26	2004	No	Poznan	Married	2	Secretary	No	R.E.I
Alexandra	29	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Married	0	Retail	No	R.E.I
Max	28	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Businessman	Master's in Business	R.E.I

*R.E.I denotes religion as ethnic identifier

Table 7.8 illustrates that there are twenty-four participants that employ religion

and the church to support their ethnic identity in Ireland (92%, out of total number of participants who referred to church for some form of support, 24/26). Table 7.9 presents the gender division of the migrants that employed this aspect of the church for support.

Table 7.9: Gender division of Polish migrants who referred to the church for ethnic identification

Participants	Religion as ethnic identification
Female	18
Male	6
Total	24

Table 7.9 shows that eighteen female participants (90%, out of total number of female participants who referred to church for some form of support, 18/20) compared to six male participants (100%, out of total number of male participants who referred to church for some form of support, 6/6) stated that they referred to the church to support their ethnic identification in Ireland. This illustrates that in this sample of forty-one Polish migrants both Polish males and females are likely to mobilise religion to support their ethnic identity. In this globalised world, identity becomes more important as it offers ways to identify ‘sameness’ and distinguish the ‘other’ (Clifford 1988). Gupta and Ferguson (1992) refer to identity as being contested, fluid and uncertain. Drawing on Simmel’s idea (1971) of self and identity, Polish migrants use religion (Catholicism) as a means of identifying with Poland. In Ireland, their religio-national identity provides a sense of cultural belonging and ethnically distinguishes them from the ‘other’.

Well for me, I’m a Catholic Polish citizen. It’s the same with everyone, they’re not separate! (Zofia, female, 27)

Although migrants have various different ‘layers’ to their identity (Nagel 1994), for some migrants in this sample a collective religion provides them with a fixed orientation through which their ethnic identity can be affirmed. Religious narratives and religious symbolism (Easter and Christmas religious traditions, St. Anne’s feast day, Pope John Paul II) are employed to provide a collective ethnic consciousness during the migrants adaptation to their new socio-spatial context. Great variation exists amongst this sample with regards to their

religious practice (Chapter Six). Religious narratives and religious practice are the most common ways in which migrants use religion to support their ethnic identities. Remarkably, some migrants who view religion as an ethnic identifier do not actively participate in religious practice. Thus, migrants employ their religion as an ethnic identifier in a number of different ways. Some migrants see religion as an overarching symbolic system of cultural consciousness which provides 'ethnic markers' (Sommers 1991). These migrants do not rely on active participation/involvement in Polish church to support this identity. They view their religion as a 'cultural umbrella' which provides a collective sense of belonging. This is evident in Karol's extract relating to the Polish President's death.

Organising this religious event, it helped this situation, you know, bring Poles together. This sort of thing, this is example of how important religion is to Poles in Ireland. You see how many came to this church event, some of them not even religious, you know, day to day...that shows to you the importance...you know, religion it's the one common thing that bring all together, doesn't matter, you know, if they are religious or not, it's part of us and it was a way to show respect or maybe sadness for the President, you know, what happened (Karol, male 26).

As Karol points out, the Polish chaplaincy's memorial service was a means through which Polish migrants could express their grief and pay respect to their President. Moreover, Anna a Polish journalist with a Degree in Journalism aged 28 highlights that this service enabled the Polish community to "come together and grieve as a community, to support each other 'cause they all shared in this". This is an example of what Durkheim terms 'collective effervescence' (1912); in this case religion provided the collective cultural experience which provided the outlet for their emotions and the sense of a 'communitas' (Turner 1967).

Religion can be a powerful tool in constructing a collective identity, as demonstrated in the narratives of these Polish migrants. For some, there still exists a relationship between their religious and national identity. Interestingly, one participant that is not religious relies on religion to support his identity. He believes that religion is a collective cultural identity among the Polish and it is an 'inherited' way of identifying with Poland and the Polish community in Ireland. Karol admits that he has always viewed his identity this way.

However, Karol is the only non-religious migrant in this sample that uses religion as way of “*identifying with Poland, history, you know all that, and the Polish community. It’s part of it. I’m not denying it ‘cause I’m not religious*”. The majority of the migrants in this category use religion (narratives, beliefs and practices) as a cultural umbrella and ethnic identifier. Interestingly, three migrants (10%, out of total number of participants that are religious, 3/31) that classify themselves as religious view their religious and national identity separately, opposed to fusing both to form an ethnic-religious identity (e.g. Polish-Catholic).

I’m Polish and Catholic but I don’t use them together, you know. I never seen as...together...that’s me, I see myself as lots of things and they’re not all together!! (Aine, female, 28)

Aine’s narrative refers to Nagel’s theory (1994), as previously mentioned, of ‘layering identities’. These three migrants’ view their identities as multiple and fluid which adapt to their different situations and experiences. These three migrants attend Irish church. Unlike the majority of interviewees who engage in specifically ethnic forms of Catholicism (90%, out of total number of participants that are religious, 28/31), these migrants do not rely on their religious identity to provide a sense of belonging or cultural marker.

The recurring narratives among this sample of migrants reveal that those who are religious are more likely than non-religious migrants to fuse religious and ethnic identities. Religion provides the majority of these migrants with a collective identity and acts as a cultural umbrella which provides a sense of belonging. Empirically, this reveals that for the majority of Catholic migrants in this sample, religion matters more for its ethnic identification resources than spirituality or social support. Next, I analyse whether or not Polish migrants utilise the church for its social capital resource.

7.1.4 Religion as social capital

Religion as social capital argument suggests that religion provides space and congregational structures that enable immigrants to create social networks that positively support their experiences in the host country. Based on this argument, Polish migrants in Ireland should be likely to create social

networks and mobilise social capital through ethnic religious congregations to support their migration experiences.

The priest down there, he gets people together, you know after mass or, you know. They exchange details for work, housing apartment social information, you know. This is all done through the church (Martin, male, 32).

Table 7.10 presents the profile of Polish migrants that refer to the church for its social capital resource.

Table 7.10: Profile of Polish migrants who refer to the church for social capital

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications	Engagement with church's resources
Justyn	26	2006	No	Szczecin	Single	0	Child minder	Teaching Degree	R.S.C
Nadia	34	2005	No	Poznan	Married	2	Child minder	Degree in Psychology	R.S.C
Albin	28	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Arts	R.S.C
Gosia	27	2004	Yes	Slupsk	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Law	R.S.C
Aga	33	2004	Yes	Torun	Single	0	Unemployed	Degree in Arts	R.S.C
Patryja	26	2005	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Master's in Sociology	R.S.C

*R.S.C denotes 'religion as social capital'

Table 7.10 shows that six Polish migrants refer to the church for its social capital resources (23%, out of total out of total number of participants who referred to church for some form of support, 6/26). Table 7.11 presents the gender division of the migrants that employed this resource.

Table 7.11: Gender division of Polish migrants who referred to the church for social capital

Participants	Religion as social capital
Female	5
Male	1
Total	6

Five female participants (25%, out of total number of female participants who referred to church for some form of support, 5/20) compared to one male participant (17%, out of total number of male participants who referred to church for some form of support, 1/6) stated that they referred to the church for its social capital resources. This illustrates that in regards to this specific sample of

migrants, the Polish women are more likely than Polish men to mobilise religion to support their social capital needs.

Religious communities are sites where immigrants can form relationships with people who share similar experiences. The migrants can use these relationships to gather social capital to enhance their economic and social success. A recurring narrative amongst these migrants is that ethnic churches provide the space and opportunity for the creation of networks. This space is important as some migrants would not have had the opportunity to create social networks elsewhere. This relates to literature which argues that immigrants who have no social networks/point of contact in the host society are more likely to rely on the church for such support. Therefore, I analyse whether or not having a point of contact impacts on whether or not migrants rely on the church for social capital resources. Table 7.12 presents the data.

Table 7.12: Polish migrants who referred to the church for social capital and whether or not they had a point of contact

Participants who rely on the church for social capital	Point of Contact in Ireland	
	Yes	No
Female	3	2
Male	1	0
Total	4	2

Table 7.12 shows that three female participants had a point of contact (50%, out of total number of participants who referred to the church for social capital, 3/6) compared to one male participant (17%). Two female participants did not have a point of contact (33%). This data reveals that having a point of contact was not a mediating factor determining whether or not the migrants referred to the church for social capital. The majority of migrants who referred to the church for this type of support had a point of contact.

Father Marek states that it is important that the Polish chaplaincy provides social capital resources for migrants.

They need to know each other, to have support, to exchange stories and have that network there. We help with that aspect as well, it's

important for them, it is necessary (Father Marek).

Father Marek explains that it is important that Polish migrants get to meet other Poles. He believes Polish church offers migrants this opportunity and that it is important as these networks provide support. Ryan et al (2008) in their study of Polish migrants in London describes how social networks are crucial forms of support for migrants. Social networks support migrants as they negotiate their migration experiences in the new context. Social networks produce social capital (Putnam 1995; Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1992). Similar to Ryan et al's (2008) idea that there are social ties which produce different types of support, this research illustrates that ties established through the church are, for the most part, loose and temporary. The migrants create networks that can generate specific forms of capital that they require at any given time. This is context-specific and changes relating to particular situations (i.e. seeking employment, housing, information). Justyn, a Polish childminder aged 26 with a Degree in Teaching relays the importance of social networks and social capital for Polish migrants in Ireland –

I go along to mass when I can. At this mass, I should say its Polish mass, well after they provide tea and we all stay and talk. So I meet people and I had that then, if you know what I mean. I got numbers and we could meet if I needed help with things, do you know what I mean?...So then I lost my job and I talked with Luckasz and the next week after church he introduced me to Bora and a few days later I got job working with him. So, you know, these friendships, well their not real friendships, Poles we're not like that, anyway we don't have friendships like you, but if I not meet these acquaintances let's say (laugh), then I wouldn't have help or, you know, got a job quick again. So they're important...to know people that can help you with all these different things or problems. I think all Poles have this, what could we say, source...but I had mine by church 'cause I don't know many other Poles you know on a day-to-day basis (Justyn, female, 26).

Justyn's experience shows how important social networks can be for some Polish migrants. These networks are dense and provide information and contacts to help with any situation. Interestingly, Justyn points out that the only reason she had this "source" in the church was because she didn't know many Polish people outside of the church. This extract relates to Max's narrative mentioned previously which highlights that religious institutions are one place out of a number of others that can be utilised to for its resources, networks and capital

- "It's just another resource, it doesn't matter who provides it". Although the Polish chaplain did not define the church as a social capital resource, he acknowledges that there is a need to support Polish migrants within their ethnic community.

Yes. I told you, because people need help and there is a big community, a big community. It is difficult to accommodate them within such a big community, among Irish community. It is easier to provide the help within our dimensions, because there are space, there is room for this. It helps even to integrate Polish people among themselves, 'cause that is also important, not only to integrate them with Irish but also...but we help them within our community (Father Augustyn).

This relates to Levitt's (2006) hypothesis which suggests that social capital formation and the creation of networks of 'trust' and 'reciprocity' does not necessarily imply active engagement with, or 'bridge' (Bourdieu 1992) towards mainstream society. This sheds light on why the majority of Polish migrants that are religious do not use the church or the religious community as a social capital resource. Some migrants feel that such networks and social capital keep migrants within the confinements of the Polish community and they prefer to navigate their own 'path to civic engagement' (Levitt 2006). Lidia points out that she has the skills needed to engage in the wider community and she prefers to "mix" opposed to socialising with only Polish people. She does not view church as a place for meeting people or socialising. That is not what she wants from church –

I go to mass, I leave after. I don't need to meet people; I go there for the mass nothing else. Some people do, of course, that is fine. They need that. But I just don't. I think that people that do, they stay within Polish community, you know, know only Polish, speak only Polish, stay close to the church, that's fine for them. But I don't want that, I like mixing, I'm able to manage to meet, work and do things for myself and in a way that I want! (Lidia, female, 35)

23% (out of total out of total number of participants who referred to church for some form of support 6/26) rely on faith communities to provide social capital. For these migrants, religious communities provide the space and opportunity to create social networks that can provide capital which supports their experiences. The recurring narratives among this sample of migrants reveal that those who are religious are more likely than non-religious

migrants to use religion as a social capital resource. More revealing, however, is that the majority of the thirty-one migrants that are religious do not rely on religion as social capital.

This analysis presents the different ways in which Polish migrants engage with the church and its properties to support their sojourn in Ireland. I employ Alba et al’s (2009) framework of ‘religion as system of meaning’ and ‘religion as institution’ as it sheds light on the social and sacred properties of the Polish church. To further this analysis, and based on recurring narratives of the migrants, I explore two additional aspects of ethnic religious institutions – ‘religion as ethnic identification’ and ‘religion as social capital’. This research reveals that out of the forty-one Polish migrants in this sample, those are religious are more likely than non-religious migrants to mobilise their faith to support their life experiences in Ireland. Table 7.13 presents a gender breakdown of the Polish migrants and the ways in which they refer to the church and its resources.

Table 7.13: Gender division of Polish migrants and how they engaged with the church and its resources

Participants	Religion as system of meaning	Religion as institution	Religion as ethnic identifier	Religion as social capital
Females	4	5	18	5
Males	1	4	6	1
Total	5	9	24	6

The majority of interviewees do not utilise the church’s sacred or social services. Although the church has a widespread pastoral care initiative (Chapter Eight), which sees its involvement in social and sacred aspects of Polish migrants’ lives outside of the church, the majority of migrants do not avail of these services. However, the social role of the church supersedes the spiritual dimensions of the migrant church. The data reveals that these migrants are more likely to contact the church seeking social assistance opposed to spiritual or religious assistance. The institutional space facilitates

the creation of social networks. Such practices help migrants in their everyday lives as they can be sources of social capital. These resources help migrants with their experiences in a new context but they do not get any kind of meaning, religious or spiritual, beyond material and social aid. Significantly, the majority of Polish migrants that are religious draw on religion as an 'ethnic identifier'. This aspect supersedes the other roles of the church. These migrants employ various aspects of their religion to support their ethnic identity. Moreover, religion provides ethnic markers which re-enforce a cultural umbrella of identification. This is a major empirical finding – for the forty-one Polish migrants in this sample, religion matters more for its ethnic identification resources than spirituality. Moreover, more migrants refer to the church for social service resources than spiritual support.

The next section explores how religious beliefs and practices affect the ways in which Polish migrants engage with the church. This analysis sets out whether religious beliefs and practices relate to how the migrants refer to the church for various kinds of support. I argue that non-religious mediating factors such as transnational ties and social networks are important in explaining migrants' reliance on the church's resources.

7.2 Polish Migrants, Religious Practices and Engagement with the Church

The past nearly six years or five years they are generally better organised. There are organisations, offices, people know where to go and where to solve problems. But at that time everybody came here, 'father help me with this or this or that' yeah (Father Augustyn).

Father Augustyn's extract provides an insight into the reasons why the Polish chaplaincy adopted a dual role (spiritual and social) to support Polish migrants in Ireland. This section delves into the interplay between Polish migrants and the church. So far this chapter has set out the different ways in which migrants' employ the church's resources to support their migration experiences in Ireland. The current analysis builds on Chapter Six which set out the religious beliefs and practices of these migrants. This section brings together the religious beliefs and practices of these migrants and the ways in which they engage with church and its properties. I analyse whether religious beliefs and practices affect the extent to which Polish migrants draw on the church for various kinds of resources.

Table 7.14 presents a profile of these Polish migrants. This table sets out their religious beliefs and practices and whether or not they engage with the church's properties.

Table 7.14: Profile of Polish migrants – religious beliefs and practices and the ways in which the migrants engage with the church's properties

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Religiosity	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Origin in Poland	Marital status	Number of children	Employment status	Education Qualifications	Engagement with church's resources
Beata	28	Believe O.P	2006	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Secretary	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I
Alex	29	Believe O.P	2007	Yes	Krakow	Married	0	Retail	No	S.O.M R.E.I
Barbara	54	No	1994	No	Bydgoszcz	Married	0	Unemployed/migrant organisation	No	S.O.M
Borys	31	Believe, O.P	2006	No	Lublin	Single	0	Unemployed	No	R.A.I R.E.I
Hanna	35	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Photography	R.E.I
Tomasz	31	No	2004	Yes	Bydgoszcz	Married	0	Businessman	Degree in Business	
Roman	48	No	1998	Yes	Krakow	Married	2	Owns real estate business/ Migrant organisation	Seminary	
Dariusz	25	Yes	2004	Yes	Krakow	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Business	R.A.I R.E.I
Leon	33	No	2004	Yes	Lodz	Married	1	Business man	No	
Justyn	26	Yes	2006	No	Szczecin	Single	0	Child minder	Teaching Degree	R.S.C R.A.I R.E.I
Adrianna	26	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Single	0	Hotelier	Degree in Accountancy	R.E.I
Nadia	34	Believe O.P	2005	No	Poznan	Married	2	Child minder	Degree in Psychology	R.E.I R.S.C
Karol	26	No	2004	Yes	Katowice	Single	0	Business man	Masters in Business	R.E.I
Albin	28	Yes	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Works in security	Degree in Arts	R.A.I R.E.I R.S.C.
Tomek	52	Believe O.P (Irish church)	2008	No	Szczecin	Married	2	Doctor	Medicine	
Lidia	35	Yes	2004	No	Warsaw	Married	2	Retail	Master's in Psychology	
Katia	26	Yes	2004	Yes	Warsaw	Single	0	Psychologist	Masters Degree in Psychology	R.E.I
Gosiasta	28	Yes	2008	Yes	Gdansk	Married	1	Retail	Master's in Psychology	R.A.I R.E.I
Gosia	27	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Slupsk	Single	0	Secretary	Degree in Law	R.E.I R.S.C
Karolina	26	Yes (Irish church)	2006	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Degree in Accountancy	
Asia	28	No	2004	Yes	Zakopane	Single	0	Hotelier	Degree in Arts	

Marek	33	No	2004	Yes	Cieszyn	Married	1	Migrant organisation	Master's in Business	
Lukasz	27	Yes	2005	Yes	Olsztyn	Married	0	Works in security	No	S.O.M R.E.I
Aine	28	Yes (Irish church)	2004	No	Katowice	Single	0	Retail	Teaching Degree	
Martin	32	No	2004	No	Poznan	Single	0	Works in construction	Degree in Engineering	
Zofia	27	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Lublin	Single	0	Hotelier	Diploma in Child Care	R.A.I R.E.I
Dorota	38	Yes	2006	No	Warsaw	Married	0	Secretary	Diploma in Secretarial Studies	R.E.I
Aga	33	Yes	2004	Yes	Torun	Single	0	Unemployed	Degree in Arts	S.O.M R.A.I R.E.I
Anna	28	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Journalist	Degree in Journalism	R.E.I
Klaudia	26	Yes	2006	Yes	Poznan	Boyfriend	0	Child minder	Degree in Psychology	R.E.I
Martyna	28	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Rybnik	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Degree in Psychology	R.A.I
Ilona	28	Believe O.P	2008	Yes	Brzostek	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I
Izabella	28	No	2004	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Retail	Degree in Arts	
Julianna	25	No	2004	Yes	Krakow	Boyfriend	0	Hotelier	No	
Patryja	26	Believe O.P	2005	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Retail	Master's in Sociology	S.O.M R.E.I R.S.C.
Kat	26	Believe O.P	2004	No	Poznan	Married	2	Secretary	No	R.E.I
Alexandra	29	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Gdansk	Married	0	Retail	No	R.E.I
Max	28	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Poznan	Single	0	Businessman	Master's in business	R.A.I R.E.I

*Religiosity denotes religious beliefs and practices; Believe, O.P. denotes believe and occasionally practice; S.O.M denotes 'religion as system of meaning, R.A.I denotes 'religion as Institution, R.E.I denotes 'religion as ethnic identification, R.S.C denotes 'religion as social capital'

Table 7.14 illustrates that twenty-four participants who have some form of religious beliefs and practice employ different resources from the church (92%, out of total number of participants who refer to the church for various kinds of support, 24/26). Two participants that are not religious refer to the church for support. Four interviewees that have some form of religious beliefs and practice did not draw on the church for any kind of support (14%, 4/28 - clergy not included in this analysis). These migrants narrated that they did not require any

assistance and had other support systems (i.e. social networks, transnational ties). This data reveals that in this sample of Polish migrants those are religious (have some level of religious beliefs and practices) are more likely to rely on the church's resources than those who are not.

Table 7.15 presents a breakdown of the Polish migrants religious beliefs and practices and the four ways in which they refer to the church for support. This analysis includes a gender breakdown which will highlight whether gender is a factor contributing to engagement with the church.

Table 7.15: Polish migrants' religious beliefs and the ways in which they engage with the church's properties

Female participants	Engagement with the church				Total
	Religion as system of meaning	Religion as institution	Religion as ethnic identifier	Religion as social capital	
Believe	1	3	7	2	13
Believe but practice occasionally	2	2	11	3	18
No religious beliefs	1	0	0	0	1
Male participants					
Believe	1	2	3	1	7
Believe but practice occasionally	0	2	2	0	4
No religious beliefs	0	0	1	0	1

Table 7.15 shows how some migrants rely on the church for multiple resources. The data reveals that there is no gender bias in terms of migrants that are religious and rely on church's resources (compared to migrants that are not religious). One male and one female participant that have no religious beliefs referred to the church for its resources. This was highlighted in the previous discussion regarding migrants and the ways in which they rely on the church. Although this data is revealing it does not provide any great insight into whether migrants engage with the church and its resources *because* they are religious, or if their level of beliefs and practices dictate the degree to which they refer to the church's resources. To complete this analysis, I draw on the migrants own narratives to reveal if this is the case.

Borys who is unemployed aged 31 with no education qualifications states that –

You might go, you might not. It depends on your circumstances...if you need to you will, if not then you won't...that's just the way it works.

Borys's extract encapsulates the attitude of the Polish migrants in this sample. The interviews reveal that for the majority of these migrants their religious practices are not a mediating factor relating to the different ways in which they refer to the church for support. Max, a Polish business man aged 28 with a Degree in Business explains that the church is not the only place people go to seek assistance - *"...you know what I mean, there are other places, people will go where it's easiest, or closest or cheapest, as I said it doesn't matter"*. Max believes that people will go to the church for help if it is convenient for them to do so, otherwise they'll go where *"it's easiest"*.

Religiosity is a mediating factor for some of the migrants that referred to the church for spiritual support. This specific type of support is dependent on the migrants' level of beliefs and participation. Five participants referred to the church for spiritual support (19%, out of total number who referred to the church for some kind of support, 5/26). These migrants drew on the support of Polish priests, ethnic religious services and religious symbolism and narratives (i.e. bible) to support their migration experiences. For one Polish female, religiosity was not a mediating factor for relying on the church for spiritual support. Barbara who is currently unemployed aged 54 with no education qualifications is not religious and only referred to the church to get a mass offered for her deceased friend. Overall, for four out of these five migrants their religiosity mediates the ways in which they refer to the church for spiritual support.

Religiosity is not a mediating factor influencing the ways in which these Polish migrants employ the church for social service resources. Nine participants referred to the church for its social service provisions (35%, out of total number who referred to the church for some kind of support, 9/26). The migrants narrated that their own personal beliefs and practices did not influence the ways in which they referred to the church. These Polish migrants' viewed the church as simply one institution which provided the resources that they needed. It must be noted that all of the migrants that referred to the church for its social service resources had a religious identity and some level of beliefs and practice. However, when asked *"because you*

are somewhat religious and attend church every now and again did that make it easier to approach the church for support?”, Martyna a Polish retail worker aged 28 with a Degree in Psychology answered – *“not at all, as I said it [English classes] was free, that’s all that mattered, not my religion”*. This is a recurring narrative among the interviewees that referred to the church for its social service provisions.

Religiosity is a mediating factor for Polish migrants that referred to the church to support their ethnic identification needs. Twenty-four interviewees (92%, out of total number of participants that referred to the church for some form of support, 24/26) reveal that their religion supports their ethnic identity. All of these migrants, with the exception of one, have some form of religious beliefs and practices. Migrants draw on religious narratives and religious symbolism (i.e. Easter and Christmas religious traditions, St. Anne’s feast day, Pope John Paul II) to provide a collective ethnic consciousness. However, there is great variation in the frequency to which these migrants engage in religious practice (Chapter Six). The migrants’ narratives reveal that they employ their religion as an ethnic identifier in a number of different ways. Some migrants see religion as an overarching symbolic system of cultural consciousness which provides ‘ethnic markers’ (Sommers 1991). These migrants do not rely on active participation or involvement in Polish church to support this identity. They view their religion as a ‘cultural umbrella’ which provides a collective cultural identity. Adrianna explains that Catholicism forms part of her identity, it’s part of being Polish.

It’s just the way. We’re Polish and Catholic...even, like me let’s say, I don’t go to services regularly but that’s still my identity (Adrianna, female, 26).

The connection between religion and national identity provides an inherited cultural identity. This is particularly evident in the narratives of Karol. He is the one migrant in this category that is not religious. Karol admits that he has always viewed his identity this way. He believes that religion is a collective identity; it is an “inherited” way of identifying with Poland and the Polish community in Ireland. Overall, however, the migrants’ narratives reveal that their religious identity and beliefs are more important than religious practice affecting whether or not they employ religion or the church to support their ethnic identification needs.

Six Polish migrants referred to the church for its social capital resources (23%, out of total number of participants that referred to the church for some form of support, 6/26). All of these migrants possess a religious identity. They have some level of religious beliefs and practices. However similar to the above discussion, there is great variation in the ways in which these migrants practice their religion. Justyn a Polish childminder aged 26 with a Degree in Teaching explains that -

I go along to mass when I can. At this mass, I should say its Polish mass, well after they provide tea and we all stay and talk. So I meet people...

Justyn's extract reveals that she utilises this resource because it is available when she chooses to attend church. This is not significant as she does not increase her religious participation to avail of this resource. The migrants' narratives reveal that their religious practice is not a mediating factor for referring to the church for its social capital resource. They draw on this resource if it is available when they choose to attend religious services.

Yeah I talk to people when I go [church]. I wouldn't go, you know, just for that. But if something was happening after I would stay if I had nothing else on (Nadia, female, 34).

It can be concluded that for the majority of Polish migrants, religious identity and beliefs was a mediating factor for utilising the church's resources. However, religious participation was not a mediating factor influencing whether or not migrants' employed the church's resources. Tomek's quote sums up the views of some migrants regarding their engagement with the church - "It's there...if I need it, it's there, if not then...I don't" (Tomek, male, 52). Overall, the narratives reveal that religious identities and beliefs are not the only factors influencing whether or not migrants employ the church's resources to support their experiences in Ireland. A recurring narrative among the interviewees is the sense of agency. As explained previously, by 'agency' I refer to their ability to mobilise social networks and transnational ties to support their migration. These resources help migrants negotiate their experiences. Therefore, I argue that non- religious mediating factors such as having social networks and transnational ties are also important for understanding why some migrants refer to the church for support and others do not. First, I examine

whether or not having a point of contact on arrival is a mediating factor when referring to the church for its various kinds of support.

Table 7.16 presents a breakdown of the migrants’ beliefs and practices, whether or not they had a point of contact and how these impact on the ways in which they engage with the church and its properties.

Table 7.16: Breakdown of Polish migrants by beliefs and practices, point of contact in Ireland and the ways in which they refer to the church for various kinds of support

Participants	Church/religion support system				Total
	Religion as system of meaning	Religion as institution	Religion as ethnic identifier	Religion as social capital	
Believe and have a point of contact	2	5	6	2	15
Believe but practice occasionally and have appoint of contact	2	4	10	2	18
No religious beliefs and have a point of contact	0	0	0	0	0
Believe and do not have a point of contact	0	1	3	2	6
Believe but practice occasionally and do not have point of contact	0	1	3	0	4
No religious beliefs and do not have a point of contact	1	0	1	0	2

Table 7.16 illustrates that having a point of contact on arrival does not impact on the ways in which these Polish migrants employ the church’s resources to support their migration experiences. Polish migrants who are religious and have a point of contact in Ireland are more likely than those with no point of contact to refer to the church for support. This finding reveals that having a point of contact is not a factor influencing whether or not these migrants rely on the church for support. This contradicts existing literature (Ugba 2007, 2009; Hirschman 2003) which argues that migrants are more likely to rely on the church for support if they do not have a point of contact/networks in the host country. Interestingly, the migrants’ narratives reveal how social networks and transnational ties provide support during their sojourn. Lidia explains that she is in constant contact with her family and friends in Poland and this network gives her support, she doesn’t “*need anything more*”.

You know it's hard to explain. I have friends here and I've constant contact with family and friends at home, I don't need anything more (Lidia, female, 35).

Some migrants highlight that social networks and transnational ties support their migration experiences more than religion or the church. These transnational networks enable migrants to live “*dual lives*” (Hanna, female, 35). This gives them “*an extra lift*” (Portes 2001:189) which supports their migration experiences. All of the interviewees engage in some form of transnational activity - fifteen engage in political activity (37% of total sample, 15/41), thirty-three engage in economic activity (80% of total sample, 33/41) and forty-one engage in socio-economic activity. (100% of total sample, 41). This is discussed further in Chapter Eight and Table 8.3 presents the breakdown of the migrants' beliefs and transnational practices.

The migrants' networks and transnational ties provide social support. The availability and extent of migrants' networks can determine the extent to which migrants need to rely on the church for resources and support. Although, as the discussion above points out, the migrants refer to the church for various resources, the majority of migrants refer to the church to support their ethnic identification needs opposed to spiritual or social support. The ethnic identification support is achieved through the migrants' religious identities and religious beliefs opposed to religious participation. It appears that the ideology of national and religious identity as synonymous guides the migrants' ethno-religious identity. The fact that these migrants refer to the church more for its ethnic identification support opposed to any other resource reveals that the migrants have other forms of support that they can draw on. The migrants' narratives reveal that social and transnational networks support them during their sojourn.

The support of, well knowing they were here with me [through technological means] all the way, it helps (Doroata, female, 38).

Chapter Eight furthers this discussion and sheds light on Polish migrants, the church and their transnational ties and social networks. The majority of Polish migrants selectively engage in their faith and religious practice and refer to the church for support when ‘*necessary*’ (Alba et al. 2009).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored some of the ways in which migrants employ various resources provided by the church to support their experiences in Ireland. It has considered how churches represent important spaces for responding to migrants needs: spiritually supporting their experiences in Ireland, socially and materially aiding their adaptation in the host society, supporting and maintaining their ethnic identity, providing space for the creation of social networks and social capital. These specific roles of the church guided this analysis as they were commonly referred to within the narratives of the Polish migrants, concurring with much of the existing literature on ethnic religious institutions.

The multiple ways in which Polish migrants engage in religious beliefs and practices and employ the social and sacred properties of ethnic religious institutions can be understood as “*an ever-changing, multifaceted, often messy – even contradictory – amalgam of beliefs and practices*” (McGuire, 2008: 4). The migrants’ narratives reveal a dichotomy between their religious practices and how they draw on Catholicism, the church and religious idioms to support their context and time specific experiences in Ireland (i.e. drawing on church’s resources in a time of need such as seeking employment but may not engage with religion or the church again until they deem it ‘necessary’). This suggests that scholars of immigration and religion must consider some of the multiple and contradictory ways in which religious and non-religious migrants experience religion in the host country; how they ‘opt in or out’ of religion when ‘necessary’ (Alba et al. 2009).

This chapter has identified that out of a sample of forty-one Polish migrants, those who are religious are more likely to utilise the church’s resources than those who are not. However, religion is more important as a marker of ethnic identity and social service resource than spirituality or spiritual connection. Religious identity and beliefs, opposed to religious practice, is a mediating factor impacting on the ways in which migrants employ the church’s resources. Additionally, the migrants’ narratives revealed that transnational ties and social networks are also important for understanding how the migrants engage with the church and its properties. The nature of this migration (short-to-medium term labour migrants) reflects the intensity of their transnational activities and adaptation strategies. This chapter develops the analysis of Polish migrants’ religious experiences and provides significant insights into the ways in which they refer to church for different forms of support. It provides an introduction to the

role that transnationalism has for this migrant cohort. Thus, Chapter Eight will go on to explore Polish migrants transnational networks, activities and identify how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. Transnationalism frames the experiences of these migrants. Therefore, Chapter Eight identifies how transnationalism operates at the institutional level and how these experiences are played out at the individual level to support migrants.

Chapter Eight

Transnationalism From Above

*I think it's what we all do.
It's just our way of life
here! I don't know why,
maybe 'cause it's easy to,
you know, stay in touch, be
two places at once! (Alex,
female, 29)*

Introduction

June 18th 2010 – The Mezz Temple Bar, 8pm

This charity concert had been organised by the Forum Polonia in association with the Polish chaplaincy. I chose this site for observation as it shows the transnational networks of the Polish church, Polish migrant organisations and how the Polish community in Ireland come together to support those who need help back in Poland....I paid the five euro entry fee and noticed posters on the walls outlining the appeal, the sponsors and partners of the appeal. As I entered there was a man on stage talking in Polish – one of the organisers explained to me that he was highlighting the appeal and telling people to have a good night. There was a big crowd that mixed well; some people talked at the bar and then introduced each other to their groups, some people who were there on their own talked to the organisers of the event or to band members. Some people joined other couples at their table and began talking...People walked around selling raffle tickets...According to one of the organisers the event was a great success. Before I left (and the event was still going on), there was eighty or more people in attendance. This was an interesting observation site as I witnessed how the Polish community came together to support people back in their homeland. It showed the transnational capabilities of Polish migrant organisations and moreover how the Polish church supports events with resources such as transnational networks and financial support. This event exemplifies the transnational consciousness of Polish migrants...

This research considers how, if at all, the church or spirituality figure in terms of supporting Polish migrants social and religious experiences in Ireland. Chapter Five provided an insight into the initial stages of the migration process and identified that religion was not a factor considered during the migrants' decision to move to Ireland. Other factors such as the economy and social networks were much more influential. Chapter Six and Seven set out the religious behaviour of these Polish migrants and how they engaged with the church and its properties. These chapters identify that the majority of the forty-one Polish migrants in this

sample possess a) a Catholic identity and b) a set of religious beliefs but there is great variation in the migrants' religious practices. Furthermore, my research reveals that for those who are religious, religion matters more as a marker of ethnic identity and social service resource than spirituality. Chapter Eight moves this analysis from the micro level to explore the migrants' and clergy's experiences and practices at the institutional level. I employ a transnational framework which enables us to see the wider processes of the church and the complex migration experiences of Polish migrants. A transnational framework sets out how the church operates within what is categorised as 'transnationalism from above' and migrants' activities operate 'from below' (Guarnizo and Smith 1998; Chapter Three).

This chapter has three main points which contribute to and challenge existing transnational, immigration and religion literature. First, this chapter provides contextual information outlining the multiple ways in which religious institutions operate transnationally ('from above'), creating hybrid, transnational spaces. This is achieved through religious missions and by supporting contact with migrants' families and parishes in Poland. Religious institutions act transnationally; they shape and are shaped by migrants' lives that cross national borders. The discussion sets out how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. The transnationality of this Polish migrant church indicates that the church operates within a transnational religious space and it engages in transnational processes 'from above' and 'from below'. Second, this chapter sets out the experiences and views of Polish clergy and laity regarding the Polish church and Catholicism in Ireland. Finally, the chapter moves the focus towards the migrants' non-religious activities 'from above'. The migrants' narratives suggest that with the aid of globalisation and infrastructural development, contemporary Polish migrants operate all aspects of their lives transnationally – social, political, economic and religious. This paves the way for an analysis of the transnational activities of Polish migrants outside of the realm of religion. Transnational networks and connections act as support systems for the migrants and their experiences in Ireland.

8.1 Transnationalism From Above: A General Description

Religious institutions function transnationally in different ways and create connections between multiple places. The Catholic Church is a global religious institution with a hierarchical structure, ideology of universality and centralised leadership. It operates within a wider ecclesiastical framework that engages in global missionary work. As a result of the spread of globalisation and the constant flow of immigrants across borders, the profile and social composition of the Catholic Church is changing. This is particularly evident in Ireland. Recent immigration from Eastern Europe, Africa, Britain and Asia are altering the ethnic composition of the Catholic Church. This is similar to other countries such as Britain; Davis et al (2007) reveals that London's Roman Catholic community is undergoing a shift in its ethnic makeup and diversity as many Catholics immigrate to the UK. The flow of religion across borders is an important feature of transnationalism.

The Catholic Church's response to the Polish migrants in present-day Ireland bears resemblance to its response to Irish immigrants in Britain and America. Levitt's study (2001:3) sheds light on how the Catholic Church responded to Irish immigrants in Boston. The ethnic church aims to prevent 'spiritual drift' and encourage immigrants to retain their faith and religious practice within a pan-ethnic context. Levitt distinguishes the 'new' Irish immigrants – immigrants who have arrived to an already established Catholic Church - these immigrants do not have to create a religious landscape, they simply have to adapt. This is similar to the situation in my research as the majority of Polish migrants arrived at a time when Polish religious services formed part of Irish churches and in 2006 the Polish chaplaincy was given to the community. The Polish chaplaincy is situated within the universal umbrella of the transnational Catholic Church which means that Polish migrants can celebrate their ethnic form of Catholicism while receiving the benefits of a transnational religious organisation (Chapter Six and Seven).

The structure of the global Catholic Church, a universal and transnational institution, supports the organisation of local national churches within the universal church (Fitzgerald 2005). The transnationality of the Catholic Church facilitates the growth of migrant churches. In Ireland, the Polish Catholic community has an ethnic chaplaincy which is embedded

within the local and national Catholic Church. Trzebiatowska's study of Polish Catholic migrants in Scotland argues that these migrants "*do not easily fit into the pre-existing context*" (2010: 1057). This is evident in my research as the majority of the thirty-one Polish migrants who are religious in this sample attend the Polish Catholic Church opposed to Irish Catholic Churches (90%, 28/31; Chapter Six). Polish Catholics want to experience their own ethnic form of Catholicism.

Casanova (1994) points out that the Catholic Church has long engaged in transnational activity such as missionary campaigns, operating schools, building pilgrimage shrines, organising international encounters and pastoral care which has ensured its role as a transnational and publicly influential institution. In the case of the Polish Catholic Church in Ireland, the organisational structure sets out the missionary agenda of the Polish clergy and situates the Polish community within the wider global Catholic community.

It's one big community, all Catholics, you understand? We need our own church to help Poles but we are not separate. Even if you look throughout the world, we are everywhere, we are all connected, connected through our religion, that's what matters, we're all Catholics, believing...You know what I'm saying, we're [Catholics] all together (Father Amadej).

The missionary work outlined by Casanova frames the church's response to the Polish community in Ireland. This response can also be seen in studies exploring the church's response to Irish immigrants and other immigrant communities throughout the years in Britain and America (Chapter Two, three). The Catholic Church acts as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. The church has transnational networks which support the development of ethnic churches throughout the world. These churches cater for ethnic forms of Catholicism under the umbrella of the global Catholic Church. This ensures migrants maintain Catholicism. The church adopts spiritual and social support roles to prevent a spiritual drift within the migrant community.

We need to help them (Father Augustn).

8.1 On-the-ground Realities of Religious Transnationalism From Above

In today's postmodern age, religious communities have become vital agents in the creation of transnational civil society (Rudolph 1997:1).

The growing number of Polish Catholics in Ireland has been accompanied by increased visibility of 'ethno-Catholicism' in the Irish religious landscape. The emergence of the Polish chaplaincy, Polish religious services throughout Ireland, Polish clergy and Polish Catholic newsletters situates the Polish Catholic Church within the Irish religious landscape. Such developments suggest that religion and religious institutions have a role for Polish migrants in Ireland. This section focuses on religious institutions and analyses the different ways in which these institutions operate to support their missionary agendas at the institutional level, pastoral care at the ground level and how migrants experience religion. It is necessary to understand religion within the context of globalisation. This identifies the shifting role of religious institutions as they renegotiate their practices and goals in response to local contexts and challenges. Thus, this sheds light on the different ways in which religion travels across borders. The focus of this thesis is on the Catholic Church, thus this chapter outlines how a global church negotiates beyond 'universalism' to organise local ethnic churches alongside national churches. The migrant churches cater and tailor its practices and goals to the socio-spatial context within which it is located.

8.2.1 Transnational religious institution – The Polish Chaplaincy

In 2006 St. Audoen's Church was given to the Polish clergy to set up a chaplaincy for the growing Polish community in Ireland. Up until this time, Polish masses were celebrated in Irish churches. The day was ceremonially marked with a special mass concelebrated by Cardinal Glemp, Archbishop of Warsaw. It was attended by more than one thousand members of the Polish community. The Dublin Diocese published a press release so that the news was publically announced and the media coverage was positive – 'Inauguration of the Polish Chaplaincy in High Street'. The news featured prominently in religious websites and newsletters, for example Christian News published coverage of the event; the tone throughout the article was positive and the content relayed that

this was a positive development for the Catholic Church.

Archbishop Diarmuid Martin's gift to the Polish Catholic community enabled the Polish chaplain, in accordance with the Irish Catholic Church and Polish Catholic Church, to set out the missionary agenda of the Polish clergy in Ireland. It could be argued that the Archbishop supports different transnational forms of Catholicism. By giving St. Audoen's church to the Polish community it sends a clear message that the Irish Catholic Church supports and provides for ethnic forms of Catholicism, particularly when the ethnic community is as large as the Polish. Having their own chaplaincy enables this Catholic community to celebrate their own ethnic forms of Catholicism.

The Chaplaincy was given in 2006. Of course it was my dream and it was decision of the Archbishop because our community was and still is quite big. And we are guests in the parish church, like the other communities. Because of number of people you know, and the activities which was necessary at that time to take...we needed something bigger and more independent. Not to dispatch people (Father Augustyn).

Father Augustyn believes that religion and religious institutions have an important role in supporting the experiences of the migrants in Ireland. His extract highlights that it is important for the Polish community to have their own ethnic 'independent' place of worship, so that migrants don't turn away from religion or as Father Augustyn terms it 'dispatch people'. Every Sunday five masses are celebrated in the Polish chaplaincy, while there is also a daily mass on the other six days of the week. The Polish chaplaincy acts as the central hub of religious and cultural production. It is located close to Dublin city centre and is architecturally similar to churches in Poland.

When I was in Galway there was a Polish mass on every second Sunday at six, so I went to that. It was good to have mass in Polish, you understand it, you know. But I suppose it wasn't the same because, well maybe it's just me, but I noticed I was still in Irish church – not that it's a bad thing but it just wasn't the same. When I moved to Dublin in 2008 I went to the church, the chaplaincy. When I went there I could have been in Poland for all I knew! It had...the, the look, you know, the way it looks, just the feeling, it was like in Poland. For me this is what I want out of church, that feeling. This church organises everything, all the different things and help, you know schooling, jobs, houses, information. I think it all comes from here. The priest's a nice man. I think he organises the whole Polish, you know, community, how do you say...parish is it. He, you know, directs priests all over Ireland and what to do and how to do things, you know what I mean. We're lucky I suppose to have this; do all migrants have their own church? I suppose

you could say it gives us a face, you know more than an identity, you know in public it makes people aware of us here. More than religion having this church and the priests organises from here, it helps us with wider things in Ireland. I suppose this is the good thing about having our church, it gives us a face or maybe a place, you know what I'm saying, in public...as well as when we're at mass giving us... 'Polish feeling' (laugh) (Ilona, female, 28).

Ilona a Polish retail worker aged 28 with a Degree in Psychology outlines the advantages of forming part of a visible religion in Ireland. The chaplaincy advocates on behalf of the wider Polish community on political, social and economic issues. The Polish chaplain explains that they feel it is important to educate migrants on their rights in Ireland, on what support services are available and similarly to speak to support services/legal services and make them aware of the Polish community and their needs (i.e. employment services, welfare offices, ISPCC). Ilona also details the structural environment of the church and explains how this replicates churches in Poland. The environment of the church creates the feeling of belonging and familiarity. This supports and re-enforces their ethnic identity – something that the majority of Polish Catholics in this study rely on the church/religion for (24 out of 28 migrants – clergy not included in this sample; Chapter Seven). The Polish chaplaincy provides the community with a central place of worship. The chaplaincy gives the chaplain a centralised place from which he can direct and tailor practices and goals to cater for the needs of the Polish community. However, as Father Augustyn notes “*because I am here, Archbishop is my bishop...because I am here, I am his priest*” – the Polish chaplaincy is located within the wider structure of the Catholic Church and the Polish chaplain has to negotiate the goals of the local migrant church with the agenda of the Irish Catholic Church and the Polish Catholic Church. The Polish chaplaincy is organised and embodied akin to its sister congregation in Poland. The Catholic Church has a grounded institutional structure that encourages transnational religious practices. Levitt (2001) demonstrates how the Catholic Church operates like a transnational extended family by providing members with a sense of solidarity, community and spiritual comfort. However, Polish migrants profess their own ethnic form of Catholicism opposed to universal Catholicism or pan ethnic identities. Similar to Hirschman’s (2004) hypothesis, some of these migrants use religious institutions to express their historical identity as well as building a local community in the new society. To

fully examine on-the-ground realities of religious transnationalism from above, I explore the organisational structure, institutional pastoral care and missionary agenda of the Polish chaplaincy at the institutional and ground level.

As outlined in Chapter Seven, the Polish chaplaincy has a number of major programmes set up to support migrants in Ireland. These include English classes, Polish weekend school, social outings, social and legal advice centre, Polish counselling services and alcohol and drug addiction services. The chaplain recounts how these services have been reduced significantly over the past number of years. This is due to the fact that the Polish community have become '*better organised*'.

As I said already, they know now. Back at the start they didn't. As I say to you before, they're better organised now. Maybe, maybe over time, they've formed or grouped or maybe internet but they know better now, than at the start (Father Augustyn).

Father Augustyn explains that Polish migrants are better organised and equipped to negotiate their experiences in Ireland. In 2004, at the beginning of this new wave of Polish migrants to Ireland, Polish migrants were less organised and relied on the church for various support. For this reason, as discussed previously, the church set up a number of programmes to support migrants. However, over the past number of years there has been a decline in the demand for these types of support. Although the number of participants in these programmes has declined, there are still migrants using these services. The Polish chaplain explains that as long as migrants need these services they will continue to provide them.

Globally, the chaplaincy is embedded within the Polish Catholic Church. Its missionary agenda and pastoral care programmes are carried out in conjunction with directives from superiors in the Catholic Church in Poland. Both the Irish and Polish church is under the umbrella of the centralised religious institution in Rome which ensures that both churches have similar objectives and aims focused towards spiritually and pastorally caring for Catholics in Ireland. The Polish chaplaincy is also embedded locally. The chaplaincy slots into the organisational structure of the Irish Catholic Church. It is located within the diocese of Dublin. The Polish chaplain and clergy adhere to and work under the archbishop of Dublin and

bishops throughout Ireland – “*we are guests*” (Father Augustyn). The Polish chaplain explains that they have a good relationship and work well with Irish clergy. The chaplaincy also has many links with Polish institutions throughout Ireland, particularly the Polish Embassy. The chaplaincy sets out its missionary agenda (while adhering to the objectives of the Archbishop) for the Polish clergy to follow while administering to the Polish Catholic community throughout Ireland. Father Augustyn explains –

And we are guests in the parish church, like the other communities...because I am here, Archbishop is my bishop (Father Augustyn).

The Polish chaplaincy and Irish churches that administer Polish masses are widely publicised on the internet and in the national and local media. There is a great deal of information websites and centres for Polish migrants that advertise Polish church and masses, their locations throughout Ireland and mass/confession times. The chaplaincy does not compete for attendees. Father Marek explains that the Polish clergy and in particular the Polish chaplain co-operate with other Polish institutions throughout Ireland.

No, no, no. We don't do that. We're all the same; we want the same thing - to help Poles. We direct them to places for help and places, you know, people show Poles where we are (Father Marek).

Polish masses are held in Irish churches throughout Ireland. Every county in Ireland have at least one Irish church that provides masses in Polish. There is great variation in the number of Polish migrants attending Polish masses in the different parishes throughout Ireland. The Polish clergy create a welcoming environment within Irish churches for Polish migrants. The clergy encourage them participate in the mass and as Father Amadej illustrates some migrants organise social meetings for the Polish community after religious services.

We encourage them to be part of the celebration. They organise, you know, tea and juices for kids after, you know social meeting after mass. They do this. We want them to be involved (Father Amadej).

The Polish chaplain revealed that in 2007 there were thirty Polish priests located in Ireland. These priests were administering to different Polish communities throughout Ireland. However, he acknowledged that at the time of

my interview with him he did not know exactly how many Polish priests were currently in Ireland. He admits that a good number of Polish priests left after 2007 but “*they are always going and coming*”. The Polish chaplain explains –

Priests, I am in contact with priests throughout Poland, different parishes, you know. So many say, I want to come for maybe one year, two. I say fine. They come and they go where they are needed. They are always going and coming, like other Poles. So it's never steady, it's...the number changes, it depends... (Father Augustyn)

The Polish priests slot into different parishes throughout Ireland and administer to the Polish congregation within the community. The three Polish priests in this sample all agreed that they have been warmly welcomed into Irish churches. The Irish clergy are accommodating to Polish priests and the community's needs. The Irish clergy provide Polish clergy with the resources necessary to fulfil their missionary agenda and in turn the Polish clergy provide support and assistance in Irish churches.

There has been a great deal of coverage in the national media regarding Polish Catholicism and Polish clergy in Ireland. The national press have been largely positive in their discussion of Polish clergy and the chaplaincy. Headlines such as ‘*Bishop of Cork and Ross says foreign priests will save Irish church*’ (www.irishcentral.com), ‘*Fr. Krzysztof finds a ready-made parish in Sligo's Polish community*’ (www.independent.ie) and ‘*Polish priests fill gap in vocations*’ (www.independent.ie) illustrates how foreign clergy and Polish priests in particular are represented in the Irish media. Such positive publicity enables the Polish Catholic community to become more widely recognized and cements their position within the Irish religious landscape.

The next section sets out the experiences and views of Polish clergy. This discussion establishes the Polish clergy's understanding and opinions regarding their various roles in Ireland. Following this, I explore the experiences and views of Polish migrants and point to the variation in the attitudes between Polish clergy and migrants regarding the Polish Catholic Church in Ireland.

8.3 Transnationalism From Above: The Experiences and Views of Polish Clergy

In this discussion, I address the attitudes of Polish clergy towards religion, ethnic religious institutions and the properties of migrant churches. The next section sets out the Polish migrants experiences and views of the Polish chaplaincy and its roles. The variation in attitudes between the migrants and clergy towards these aspects highlight the different opinions regarding the socio-religious roles adopted by ethnic religious institutions. Shedding light on this provides an insight into how the Polish chaplaincy operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. It also highlights the role that migrant clergy have in negotiating the local religious field, forging links with the Catholic Church in Poland while adapting their practices in response to migrants needs in the host society.

8.3.1 Negotiating the local religious field and missionary agenda

The Polish Catholic Church responded to the flow of Polish migrants to Ireland by sending Polish priests to administer to the migrants' needs. This initially facilitated the transnational religious flow of Polish Catholicism. The Polish chaplaincy had to negotiate its place alongside the national Catholic Church within which it was embedded, while fulfilling the agenda of the Polish Catholic Church – to administer Polish Catholicism and prevent a 'spiritual drift'. This is a similar experience to that of Irish Catholic emigrants across the globe. Irish priests and nuns have played a significant role in the development of Irish Roman Catholicism across the world. They have also played a role in maintaining cultural ties to Ireland (Larkin 1984). Irish Catholic Churches are particularly evident in the US and have integrated into the American religious landscape. The transnationality of the Catholic Church enabled immigrants to maintain their home country practices and identities within an ethnic congregational context. As highlighted in the previous section, Levitt's (2001) study of Irish Catholics in Boston shows us the different institutional responses 'from above'. Similar to the Polish chaplaincy in Ireland, the Irish Catholic Church had to report to its superiors in the US and Ireland. The Polish clergy's missionary agenda comes from the Polish Catholic Church but the chaplaincy is also under the direction of the Irish Catholic

Church. Father Augustyn points out that the Polish chaplaincy and Polish clergy work for the Archbishop of Ireland as they are situated within the Irish Catholic Church.

We are part of Irish church...We contact with Poland too. We are sent here for Polish community. But we attend meetings with Archbishop and priests here; we have our dealings with them (Father Augustyn).

Father Augustyn's extract points out that the Polish church in Ireland works closely with the Irish Catholic Church. When further questioned on the relationship between the Polish chaplaincy and the Irish Catholic Church, Father Augustyn asserts that –

We go to meetings, like all rest. Like I said, I am here, he is my bishop. I have to work for him...yes, yes, yes, we work fine. We want same things, keep religion....I don't understand you, yes we work fine together, he is my bishop. We deal well, we are welcome here (Father Augustyn).

Father Augustyn's extract sheds light on the working relationship between the Irish Catholic Church and the Polish clergy. This quote appears to tell us that the Polish clergy in Ireland maintain a congenial relationship with the Irish clergy. However, during this particular part of the interview the priest seemed to be repeating a 'set narrative', by that I mean he wanted to portray a positive picture of the working relationship between Irish and Polish clergy. When I attempted to probe further he became very agitated and frustrated. This confirmed to me that I was being told a rehearsed narrative and I was unlikely to get any different response. This experience is quite revealing as it shows that some priests and parts of the church remain defiant about opening up to researchers or discussing even the day-to-day operation/relationships within the church – they have a preset narrative that they are willing to present but nothing more. In a final attempt to probe further I asked "*How do the Irish bishops and clergy feel about a separate Polish church and Polish masses, in your opinion? Has this ever been a point of contention?*" The Polish chaplain answered –

No, I told you already. They understand. I explain already. It is easier for us to provide the help. We are Polish Catholic. We need our own, we are so big but yes the bishop, we work together, not, not pull away... (Father Augustyn).

The Polish chaplain maintained that the Irish Catholic Church, bishops and clergy are accommodating of the Polish clergy in Ireland. At the surface, and with the set narrative that I was told, it appears that the Irish church/clergy are supportive and the two national churches work well together. However, I doubt that I would have received any other response from this priest which indicates that the chaplain wanted to ensure that it remained “*our [Polish church] business*” (Father Augustyn).

The ways in which migrant churches operate and reconfigure in the host society provide insights into transnationalism and the broader process of globalisation within the church. Levitt’s conceptualisation of this correctly sums up the situation of migrant churches within the Catholic Church’s structures – the Catholic Church is a ‘transnational religious corporation’ comprising of “discrete units that function independently and as part of the larger operation at the same time” (2007:117). Religious institutions have to adapt and alter their practices and goals in response to the new context, yet the institution still operates ‘from above’ (Levitt 2007). My research findings concur with Levitt’s assertion that migrant churches operate within the wider Catholic Church structure of transnationalism from above. The organisation and missionary work of the Polish chaplaincy exemplifies the top down approach adopted by religious institutions. The Polish clergy’s narratives provide valuable insights into the ways in which religious institutions operate on different scales, from the global to the local and the institutional to the individual (i.e. socio-religious support at local level and fund raising to help flood victims in Poland at the transnational level). ‘Catholicism from above’ enables the migrant church to set out pastoral care initiatives to support the experiences of the wider Polish community. The chaplaincy and clergy take on a public role for the Polish by fostering relations with other ethnic and mainstream institutions. The clergy advocate on behalf of the migrants, particularly regarding social, political, cultural and economic issues. The next discussion sets out the Polish clergy’s experiences of this top down approach and points to their views on the agenda (spiritual and social roles/pastoral care) of the Polish church.

8.3.2 Spiritual and social roles of the church – The views of Polish clergy

We need to help them (Father Augustyn).

Transnational religious organisations act as ‘mediating institutions’ (Mooney 2009), supporting the immigration and adaptation experiences of some immigrants. The Polish Catholic Church has the resources and transnational networks to mediate on behalf of immigrants and migrant institutions. As Mooney (2003:36-37) states “*the ability of religious organisations to mediate for immigrants depends on the particular history of the community and the local and national contexts*”. The Irish religious context further supports the Polish chaplaincy in its public role for migrants – Ireland is also a predominantly Catholic country and, as already stated, the Polish chaplaincy is situated within the umbrella of the Irish Catholic Church.

The aim, as I said already, our aim is to support Poles here, religiously, information, whatever they need. We have meetings with bishop here, we all come together and tell what we need, what we should do, we talk, we plan, together (Father Augustyn).

As highlighted in an earlier discussion, the Polish chaplaincy, under the directive of the Irish Catholic Church, sets out its agenda for administering to the Polish community. This involves setting up Polish masses throughout the country, administering to the spiritual needs of the Polish migrants and organising the flow of Polish clergy to Ireland. As previously mentioned, Father Augustyn explains that the chaplaincy’s primary role is to spiritually support Polish migrants in Ireland.

Our aim is religious. We are here because of religion. We are here first of all because of Sacraments. Because people sometimes don’t know English, they don’t speak English. It is easier to practice their religion in Polish. That is our aim of our being here. To help them keep their religion (Father Augustyn).

This extract is interesting as it provides an insight into the thoughts of the Polish chaplain. Father Augustyn’s narrative reveals that he feels the chaplaincy, clergy and masses are needed in Ireland because of the language barrier. He explains that Polish migrants find it easier to practice their religion in their native language. If this option is not available then perhaps Polish

migrants might not practice their faith. To stop a spiritual drift, Father Augustyn believes that it is necessary to facilitate the migrants' religious needs in their native language.

Although the primary aim of the chaplaincy is to support the migrants' religion, the Polish chaplaincy takes on a more public role for the Polish community. The chaplaincy adopts many social roles to support the Polish community's experiences in Ireland. They have established a legal and social centre whereby migrants can get free legal and social advice. They have set up an alcohol anonymous facility to support Polish alcoholics and in severe cases they use their transnational networks to transfer these migrants to a facility in Poland. The church also established a Polish weekend school that teaches children the Polish curriculum, Polish culture and history. The chaplain has set up Polish counselling services to support migrants through difficult situations. It also offers English classes and provides general information that migrants need during their initial stages in Ireland (i.e. housing, employment and general information). The chaplain and priests take on an active role in promoting Polish issues in Ireland. The chaplain, for example, attends meetings at the Polish Embassy with Irish government officials to address migrant issues. He narrated that he advocates on behalf of the Polish community by writing to public officials and the government regarding migrant issues. He also supports migrants in politics. He stated that '*we are member of European Union*' and for this reason are entitled to the same rights as Irish people. The chaplain points to several examples that illustrate the great inlets they have made with regards to the public recognition of Polish migrants in Irish society. He highlights the significant impact that Polish Catholicism has made on the Irish religious landscape, so much so that Father Marek argues Polish Catholicism is one of the most visible religions in Ireland –

You ask anyone and they say Poles and Catholicism together. We're visible, more visible maybe than other religions in...here. Look at chaplaincy, the number of masses, Polish services in Irish church and now, now you see Polish in Irish newspapers, Catholic papers, you know (Father Marek).

The chaplain supports this argument. He provides the example of the Irish general election - Polish migrants stood as candidates in the Irish general election.

They campaign for rights, various rights, political and...the elections a few years ago shows this, the Poles involvement (Father Augustyn).

A recurring narrative among the Polish clergy is the sense that religious institutions need to provide both spiritual and social assistance for the migrants. Most of the Polish clergy agreed that the church plays a crucial role for some migrants in Ireland. Thus the chaplaincy, and the extensive celebration of Polish masses in Irish churches throughout Ireland, was a direct response of the Polish church to address the pastoral needs of this community.

I was sent in 2004. Priests were needed...to say mass in Polish and, you know, help and take care of the community. It was very big. I suppose it was necessary, necessary to keep Poles within Polish not going to Irish church. It's not the same, we need our own here. We are culture different and it is necessary to...respect that. So we began our mission. Father Jaroslaw organises the chaplaincy on High street and he is our chaplain. He organises the running and sets up for needs. He gets his, you know, orders from Poland and works with Irish Bishop here. That's it, mmm, filter down. We all have a part to play in greater good (Father Amadej).

Father Amadej provides an insight into the top-down hierarchical organisational structure of the church. The Polish chaplaincy organises itself within the wider context of the Roman Catholic Church. The chaplaincy adheres to the universal missionary agenda of the church while negotiating its pastoral agenda at the micro level to support the migrants' needs. However, forming part of such a vast transnational religious institution furnishes migrant churches with many resources. This helps the church develop and support the pastoral needs of the community. The transnational networks of the Catholic Church enable the clergy to move around the globe carrying out missionary work. Migrant churches become embedded in such networks and receive the benefits of transnational flows of people, capital and information. Father Augustyn explains this and sheds light on the "two-way" system that is in place – transnational activities and ties flow in both direction and both the Polish church in Ireland and Poland benefit from these transnational flows.

Yes, we are Polish but we are still part of Catholic Church. The church is made up of many cultures, all different. This church is so so big, transnational as you say, we are glad to be part of it...and yes we, as you say, benefit from resources, like example, priests or finance. But it's also important that we are able to send back to Poland, it's not one way, it's a two way connection (Father Augustyn).

There was variation in the Polish clergy’s attitudes regarding the variety of roles that religious institutions adopt to support the migrants experiences. Table 8.1 presents the profile of the Polish clergy in this sample and their attitude towards the spiritual and social roles adopted by the Polish church in Ireland.

Table 8.1: Attitudes of Polish clergy regarding the role of Polish church in Ireland

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Year of arrival	Origin in Poland	Occupation	Role that Polish church should have in Ireland	
					Spiritual	Social
Fr. Marek	53	2006	Krakow	Catholic Priest	Yes	Yes
Fr. Amadej	61	2004	Poznan	Catholic Priest	Yes	No
Fr. Augustyn	-	2004	-	Catholic Priest	Yes	Yes

Table 8.1 shows that the priests agree that the church should provide for the spiritual needs of the Polish community. However, there is variation in the priests’ attitudes towards the social roles adopted by the church.

Father Augustyn states that there is a need to provide ethnic religious services for the growing Polish population in Ireland. According to Father Augustyn, the welcoming and affable relationship between the Irish and Polish clergy facilitated the accommodation of Polish Catholicism under the umbrella of the Irish Catholic Church. The main objective of the Polish chaplaincy is to attend to the spiritual needs of the Polish community - as Father Augustyn posited the church only engages in other activities if it is necessary. The Polish chaplain explains –

I told you already, our aim is religious, support Poles religion here. The others, well that’s secondary...religion is first (Father Augustyn).

Table 8.1 shows that two priests agree that the church should provide socio-religious resources and support, while one priest disagrees with the extent to which the church provides social and material support. Father Marek, a priest who celebrates Polish mass in an Irish church in Co. Dublin every fortnight, believes that the church should serve to socially and spiritually support migrants. Their role is to administer to the pastoral needs

of the community but the church itself offers migrants the space to further support their religious and social needs. This, Father Marek asserts, is an important resource for the migrant community.

You know like I said earlier. You need to know your own, they understand better, what others are going through 'cause they went through it too. So it's not the main role but church provides this, what would you say, place to meet others. For me, that is important to provide Poles. Religious needs and their other needs, whatever they may be, maybe meeting people or maybe something more or different, but yes we should do this (Father Marek).

However, Table 8.1 shows that Father Amadej disagrees with the social roles that the Polish chaplaincy adopts. This demonstrates that the clergy have different priorities. However, similar to Father Marek, he believes that it is important for Polish migrants to know one another and support each other. He explains that the church should not be a social resource for migrants. The church needs to focus on providing spiritual guidance and support the community's religious needs. The chaplaincy should not lose focus of why they are in Ireland - social support should not detract from their spiritual mission.

The Catholic Church is a structure, right. It gives to the needs, you know, the vulnerable and poor. That is correct. It has a history of missionary work and this I agree is correct. Help yes, but not handouts. If we help spiritually, that helps during their week, they're connected to God, they've the sacrament and the Holy Spirit is with them. But if we give them information and say goodbye, that's no good, we are not doing our job. Our job is religion. That's what they need. They need help to find strength you know, strength to do things spiritually and know things here, not us you know... they need guidance, not handouts (Father Amadej).

The Polish chaplain contradicts Father Amadej's view and states that ethnic religious institutions are in a position to support migrants. Therefore, they should help any way that they can. He further states that any assistance migrants need should be provided for by their ethnic community.

Yes. I told you, because people need help and there is a big community, a big community. It is difficult to accommodate them within such a big community, among Irish community. It is easier to provide the help within our dimensions, because there are space, there is room for this. It helps even to integrate Polish people among themselves, 'cause that is also important not only to integrate them

with Irish but also...but we help them within our community and it, as I said yes, it helps them then in Irish community (Father Augustyn).

Within the narratives of the Polish clergy there appears to be a disagreement regarding the primary role of the church. The pastoral and social care that priests provide is a fundamental element of Catholicism. While there is a general consensus that the church should function to serve the spiritual and social needs of the migrants, the degree to which the church should be involved in social care is debated.

The Polish clergy view their role and the role of the Polish Catholic Church as supportive. The primary role of the church is to provide for the migrants spiritual needs. The roles that the church adopt support migrants and enable them to maintain their Polish identity, religious identity, beliefs and practices, while at the same time facilitating their interaction (by providing the necessary skills and information) in the host society.

8.3.3 Migration and religion – The views of Polish clergy

The social, economic and political support that the chaplaincy offers the wider Polish community, Catholics and non-Catholics, is made possible by the clergy, in particular the Polish chaplain, and their management of transnational flows of capital, clergy, support and resources from Poland. The transport of religious ideas and missionary agendas across borders enables the Polish chaplaincy to provide pastoral care to the Polish community in Ireland. It is necessary to show that the work of the chaplaincy at the micro level could not take place without an understanding of the larger globalisation processes that support it. Father Marek explains that the parishes throughout Poland are all linked into one another and these, in turn, are linked to the Polish chaplaincy in Ireland. The Polish priests in Ireland can draw on these resources to support their missionary work in Ireland.

We have links, many many links. Yes....you know parishes in Poland, institutions, all of these, you understand? We use these, when necessary. They make this possible (Father Marek).

Within the Catholic Church's organisation 'Catholicism from below' must be considered as it facilitates a more grounded approach and

understanding to religious transnationalism within the structures of the church itself – ‘from above’ and ‘from below’. The experiences of the clergy show the micro-scale forms of transnational change. The ways in which the clergy adjust and adapt to local contexts reveal new forms of religious practice and show how religion across borders is embodied and practiced. Father Amadej summarises the situation –

We come here with set out plans, you know aims but when you get here it's different. The people, they're going through new things, they're different here and we have to, well I suppose one way we have to adapt and open ourselves and understand, you know, but try and keep them in faith (Father Amadej).

Father Amadej explains that he had to open his mind to the change in some Polish migrants religious behaviours in Ireland. He migrated to Ireland to provide spiritual support and help the Polish community. The Polish Catholic community in Ireland is different to what he perceives as the ‘conservative orthodox’ religious landscape in Poland. Father Marek agrees that some Polish migrants' religious behaviour changes in Ireland. He believes that migration can in some cases negatively impact on migrants' religious behaviour, thus migration can bring about “*serious moral problems*” for migrants. Father Marek had to broaden his understanding of the migration experience to overcome the challenges he faced in Ireland. He had to accept that some migrants lose religious values in Ireland. He had to adapt so that he was able to spiritually support the new forms of religious practices (“*opt in or out*” of religious practice, engagement with church; Chapter Six, Seven). This enabled him to understand how religion is embodied across borders. It reveals the different ways in which migrants practice religion in the new environment and how religion across borders is changed by local and individual experiences (Chapter Six, Seven). The clergy, in response to this, have to adapt their practices and expectation in order to support these new forms of religious behaviour.

The clergy face many challenges in the new environment. They have to negotiate their role in supporting Polish migrants adaptation into multicultural Ireland, while ensuring they maintain their faith. This presents a complex situation; migration enables the Polish to experience new cultures and attitudes, in some cases this leads to them becoming less attached to ethnic religious

institutions and communities. To address this, Father Amadej explained that they encourage the migrants to engage with the Polish community as well as adapting to mainstream Irish society. This ensures that the migrants maintain their connection with their Polish identity and community.

We encourage it as much as possible. To meet, stay connected, it's important not to isolate, so we...well we encourage they stay part of their community, not solely part of it but mix in both communities, Irish and Polish (Father Amadej).

Integration is an issue for the Polish clergy in Ireland. On the one hand, the priests outline that they provide various social services to support Polish migrants' adaptation experiences ('from above') in Ireland. However at the individual level, they feel that it is not necessary for Polish migrants to integrate ('from below') into Irish society.

Remember that also not everybody is interested in integration. Remember we are in EU...we are member of European Union. We are here, legally. We don't have to integrate, we can go and come (Father Augustyn).

Father Augustyn's extract is illuminating and provides a vivid insight into the thoughts of how the church views integration. Father Augustyn feels that there is no pressure for Polish migrants to integrate as they are EU citizens. During the interview, and from the tone emanating from this extract, it is clear that Father Augustyn feels that Polish migrants shouldn't integrate into Irish society, rather they should selectively adapt into different sectors of Irish society and maintain strong links with Poland. I argue that the Polish chaplaincy adopt strategies 'from above' that ensure Polish migrants remain connected to Polish culture and their community. The recurring narrative of the clergy reveals that they view Polish migrants as transnational short-to-medium term labour migrants. Thus, the church and clergy facilitate their navigation of Irish society but ultimately set out agendas that support migrants' connection to Polish Catholicism opposed to universal Catholicism. This is an attempt by Polish clergy to prevent a 'spiritual drift' that can be brought about through migration. The transnationality of the Catholic Church and the transnational strategies of the Polish chaplain ensure that migrants are embedded in transnational networks that support an ethnic and transnational consciousness. This is

evident in the various roles that the chaplaincy provides - for example, providing weekend schools which teach migrant children the Polish curriculum ensures that they can easily slot back into schools in Poland. These roles support migrants' experiences in Ireland but ensure that they maintain their connection to Poland.

The top-down approach of the church sets out the chaplaincy's agenda for supporting Polish migration experiences, 'Catholicism from above', and at the micro level, 'Catholicism from below'. The clergy are constantly negotiating their roles in accordance with the migrants' needs and new forms of religious behaviour. The intersection of 'Catholicism from above' and 'Catholicism from below' are experienced, played out and negotiated constantly. Essentially, the Polish chaplaincy operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care and the Polish clergy come with the agenda to spiritually and socially support migrants in Ireland and ensure they maintain their religion and connection to Poland.

8.4 Transnationalism from above: The Experiences and Views of Polish Migrants

With recourse to the migrants' narratives, this discussion sets out the migrants' experiences and views regarding Polish church in Ireland. A recurring narrative among most of the interviewees is the sense that religious institutions need to provide both spiritual and social assistance for some Polish migrants. Regardless of personal religiosity, most of the interviewees agreed that the church plays a crucial role for some migrants in Ireland. However, this discussion provides an insight into the variation in the Polish clergy and laity's attitudes regarding the variety of roles that religious institutions adopt to support Polish migrants' experiences. Table 8.2 presents the Polish migrants' religious practices, how they personally engage with church and their views regarding the different roles that the church adopts.

Table 8.2: Attitudes of Polish migrants regarding the roles of Polish church in Ireland

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Religiosity	Engagement with church's resources	Views on role of church	
				Should have spiritual role	Should have social role
Beata	28	Believe, O.P	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Alex	29	Believe, O.P	S.O.M R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Barbara	54	No	S.O.M	Yes	Yes
Borys	31	Believe, O.P	R.A.I R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Hanna	35	Believe, O.P	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Tomasz	31	No		Yes	No
Roman	48	No		Yes	No
Dariusz	25	Yes	R.A.I R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Leon	33	No		Yes	Yes
Justyn	26	Yes	R.S.C R.A.I R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Adrianna	26	Believe, O.P	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Nadia	34	Believe, O.P	R.E.I R.S.C	Yes	Yes
Karol	26	No	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Albin	28	Yes	R.A.I R.E.I R.S.C.	Yes	Yes
Tomek	52	Believe, O.P (Irish church)		Yes	No
Lidia	35	Yes		Yes	Yes
Katia	26	Yes	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Gosiasta	28	Yes	R.A.I R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Gosia	27	Believe, O.P	R.E.I R.S.C	Yes	Yes
Karolina	26	Yes (Irish church)		Yes	Yes
Asia	28	No		Yes	No
Marek	33	No		Yes	Yes
Luckasz	27	Yes	S.O.M R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Aine	28	Yes (Irish church)		Yes	Yes
Martin	32	No		Yes	Yes
Zofia	27	Believe, O.P	R.A.I R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Dorota	38	Yes	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Aga	33	Yes	S.O.M R.A.I R.E.I R.S.C	Yes	Yes
Anna	28	Believe, O.P	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Klaudia	26	Yes	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Martyna	28	Believe, O.P	R.A.I	Yes	Yes

Ilona	28	Believe, O.P	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Izabella	28	No		Yes	Yes
Julianna	25	No		Yes	No
Patryja	26	Believe, O.P	S.O.M	Yes	Yes
Kat	26	Believe, O.P	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Alexandra	29	Believe, O.P	R.E.I	Yes	Yes
Max	28	Believe, O.P	R.A.I	Yes	Yes

*Religiosity denotes religious beliefs and practices; Believe, O.P denotes believe but occasionally practice; S.O.M denotes religion as system of meaning; R.A.I denotes religion as institution; R.E.I denotes religion as ethnic identifier; R.S.C denotes religion as social capital.

8.4.1 The spiritual and social roles of Polish church – The views of Polish migrants

Although the social role of the church has been reduced, the Polish chaplaincy still provides practical assistance to migrants. The missionary structure and doctrine of the Catholic Church means that the church and clergy provide spiritual and social support for migrants. Table 8.2 shows that out of the thirty-eight interviewees (excluding Polish clergy) all of the migrants’ agree that the church should offer spiritual support and guidance. Thirty-three interviewees agree that the church should adopt a social role to support migrants that need such help. Some migrants feel that ethnic religious institutions need to negotiate the new socio-spatial context within which it and the migrants are situated. These interviewees believe that it is for this reason that the church adapts and functions to serve the social and spiritual needs of Polish migrants.

Yeah I think it’s actually doing a good job. Church is the first place we’ll find and go to in Ireland, well not me but I am an exception! Well as church is the first place you know and church is important for us, it should help. From what I hear, it does. It does some good work, helping with, you know, job and house and families and stuff. It’s important for any type of migrant here. It’s open to everyone but I think the people with no or little English probably goes for help more (Alexandra, female, 29).

Alexandra asserts that the church is helping the Polish community and is “*doing a good job*”. However, she speculates that migrants with “*little English*” are more likely to rely on the church. However, the narratives of a number of interviewees express concern at the dual role adopted by the church. Five interviewees believe that the church should not adopt social roles to support migrants. These migrants feel that the church’s social roles hinder Polish

migrants' integration into Irish society.

I do confirm that this Polish priest doesn't even speak English. So their role here, helping Polish integrate is certainly minimal. On the other side, I would say having them here will actually alienate Polish people more from Irish society...because if the Polish people didn't have them here they would have to go to Irish church, mass in Irish church. And they would have to listen in English, speaking language is very important in integrating. I mean how can you integrate with a culture when you don't speak English, when you can't communicate, there's no way you can do that (Roman, male, 48).

Roman explains that one Polish priest he met with didn't speak English. This, in addition to the Polish chaplaincy providing services (spiritual and social) in Polish, hinders migrants' integration. The migrants don't have to speak English and this "alienate[s]" them from the wider community. If the Polish chaplaincy didn't exist Polish migrants would have to engage in Irish church and learn to speak English which would facilitate integration. Similarly, Asia aged 28 who works in a hotel with a Degree in Arts, feels that migrants should be self sufficient and not rely on religious institutions to support their migration experiences.

Church is religion, not...you know...the church shouldn't be doing that, helping people with things outside of religion. Yes with religion but people should do things they shouldn't run to church, they need to rely on their own person (Asia, female, 28).

Interestingly, four out of the five migrants who share this view are not religious. The one migrant that is religious explains that he believes the church should only be involved in addressing migrants' spiritual needs. Tomek states that the chaplaincy is here to spiritually support migrants during their sojourn in Ireland and should not interfere in other aspects. All five migrants with this view have not referred to the church for any form of support. However, six interviewees that are non-religious feel that the church should adopt a spiritual and social role for migrants who need it. Karol aged 26, a Polish business man with a Degree in Business explains the importance of the Polish chaplaincy –

So the chaplaincy, it's important. You know the priests do and set up things, everything, for the community. I think I would describe it as...for some of them, not always religious, remember that, their point here, their contact to home...no, no...Their window to Poland (Karol, male, 26).

Karol's idea that the chaplaincy is a "*window to Poland*" is illuminating and provides an insight into how important it is to have ethnic churches set up in a host society. In this case, Karol points out that the Polish chaplaincy provides migrants with a connection to Poland; it acts as their "*contact to home*".

Overall, the majority of interviewees view the church as having an important role supporting some Polish migrants' socio-religious experiences in Ireland. The next section points to some of the reasons given by the interviewees as to why some migrants refer to the church for support and others do not.

8.4.2 Reasons for referring to the church – The views of Polish migrants

There was a general consensus within the narratives of the interviewees that Polish migrants with low levels of English, or those that have no support system, are more likely to rely on the church for spiritual and social assistance. The interviewees explained that migrants with low levels of English are not able to engage with other sectors of society for support. Thus, they can speak their native language in the church and get various types of support there. Furthermore, they posit that some migrants with no social networks are more likely to go to the church for support as it is familiar.

It's obvious. I didn't need help, my friends didn't need help but they are people who come that need help. That's fine. I don't have a problem with that. These people, it's not everyone and that's important to say, it's mainly people who don't know anyone here or who don't speak English, they're the types of people who go to the church for help (Izabella, female, 28).

Izabella explains that migrants with very little English are more likely to go to church for support. She further speculates that migrants with no networks in Ireland are likely to rely on the church as they have no one else to turn to for help. However, Aga explains her experience and states that the church helped her; without this support she doesn't know who she would have turned to. Thus, the church's social and sacred roles are crucial for some Polish migrants.

Some people, they weren't able to go on without the support from priest or church. For some of us, it's...without it I don't know what we would do.... (Aga, female, 33).

Similar to Roman's extract above, some Polish migrants expressed concern that the church may interfere with migrants' adaptation in Ireland. Julianna believes that the church keeps migrants within their own ethnic community and this negatively impacts on the migrants' experiences in Ireland - in her opinion this is "wrong" and migrants need to "mix" in the wider community.

If you go to church, socialise with these people, only Polish, then you stay within this community. The church, I think that's what they want. But that's wrong. We need to mix, meet new people, cultures, experiences. But staying within church, its negative (Julianna, female, 25).

Ethnic religious institutions tailor and adapt their goals and practices to respond to local contexts and the needs of migrants. The diverse ways in which the Polish chaplaincy negotiates this process, and the migrants' narratives regarding this, are illuminating. It shows the shifting role (sacred-to-social) of religion for migrants and how migrants view these roles.

8.4.3 Experiences of the Church – Polish migrants

The migrants referred to a number of different experiences with the church. One such experience that was mentioned by many of the interviewees was the pastoral care that the Polish chaplaincy provided subsequent to the Polish President's death (a plane carrying the Polish President and dozens of the country's top political and military leaders to the site of the Soviet massacre of Polish officers in World War II crashed in western Russia, everyone on board was killed). The chaplaincy organised a memorial service to mark the President's death and to coincide with his funeral in Poland (Appendix 3, 4). The memorial was attended by the President of Ireland and other political dignitaries. Hundreds of Polish and Irish citizens attended the service. The chaplaincy provided the transnational space for Polish migrants to come together to mourn the loss of their President. The memorial service was transnational as it connected Polish migrants in Ireland with their fellow

citizens in Poland who were experiencing the same loss.

We were there, I know we weren't there, but it felt like we were. It gave us the outlet, we didn't feel alone. We were able to share in it (Doroata, female, 38).

Doroata's narrative relays how the church provided Polish migrants with an 'outlet' for their grief. It enabled them to share the experience with their family back in Poland. Interestingly, non-religious migrants also attended the memorial service. Marek explains that he went out of respect for his President and country -

I went to it as a mark of respect. It was my President. The church, it did well with this, it really did. I only had space outside, it was full, inside and out. This was good to have for our community, to attend something like this (Marek, male, 33).

One priest narrated that the memorial service demonstrated the transnationality of the Polish chaplaincy and shows the different ways in which religious institutions provide Catholic and non-Catholic migrants with a link to Poland.

Hundreds attended, big crowd. Not all religious, not all Catholic and some not Polish. But the church, it gives to all. This, this service, it crossed over – you know, politics and religion – it connected with Poland. This is important part of church, people at these times feel sad, alone. The church gave memorial and gave them connection so they're not alone (Father Amadej).

The service provided the Polish community with the opportunity to come together and share an experience across borders. This is an important aspect of migrant churches. It also relates to Father Augustyn's assertion (discussed in the previous section) that the Polish community should be able to cater for the wider needs of its own community in Ireland.

I told you already, it's necessary. We are able, so we should. We know them, what they need, as I said then we can do it, provide...(Father Augustyn).

Another experience which was common within the narratives of the interviewees related to the concert that was organised to raise funds for flood victims in

Poland. One parish in Poland suffered from a major flood and the chaplaincy organised various fundraisers to gather money to transfer back to help the victims of the flood. One interviewee narrated that the Polish chaplaincy's multiple links with Poland enables migrants to connect and support people in their home country, to feel like their "giving back" –

It just, it gave a feeling, like we were giving back. We were able to help even though we weren't there (Gosiasta, female, 28).

Another aspect highlighted in the interviews pointed to the influence of the church on secular institutions. One interviewee recounts how he witnessed the strong relationship between the Polish Embassy and Polish church/clergy.

And...so I think the last time I went there [the Embassy] we had a kind of a clash with them. I went to the Ambassador and I said 'look you know I don't understand why I've to pray to holy Mary and that in a public place like this it's a government building and why to I've to listen to this priest preaching about some issues and I'm not Catholic and there's people here with different religion as well'. Imposing a mass is a kind of Catholicism by this priest, it is just not acceptable (Roman, male, 48).

Roman's account provides an insight into the reverence given to the religious organisation and clergy by some institutions in Poland. As discussed in Chapter One, church-state relations throughout Polish history have been turbulent but after 1989 a stronger church influence in public life began. Currently, there still exists the concordat between the state and Church which allows the teaching of religious education in schools (part subsidised by the government). This has left a legacy whereby some people still believe that the church is an important institution in society and reverence is shown to the church and clergy. Roman's extract suggests that this trend is continued by some ethnic institutions in Ireland. The Catholic Church is a powerful global institution; it may be the case that other ethnic institutions maintain relations with the church for the benefits that it could provide.

Well I'm not religious, I was Catholic you know how the story goes, but I have a business and I've to think of that. The church helps, sending people over you know referring, it's like this – you keep in with people that help, with the business I have too! (Leon, male, 33)

The majority of the interviewees have a positive attitude towards the Polish chaplaincy and resources it provides. The migrants' opinions are not based on their personal religious identity or the ways in which they engage with the church. Six interviewees that have no religious beliefs view the church's spiritual and social roles positively. One interviewee that is religious has a negative view of the church's dual role. Seven of the interviewees that view the church's roles positively have never referred to the church for any form of support. For the most part, the migrants' narratives express positive experiences with the Polish church in Ireland. However, it must be noted that five migrants do not believe that the church should adopt social roles - four out of these five participants are not religious. This discussion sets out the migrants' views and experiences regarding the Polish chaplaincy in Ireland. Next, I move the focus towards the migrants' non-religious activities 'from above'. Polish migrants are profoundly transnational. The migrants' narratives reveal that these activities are important as they support their migration experiences in Ireland.

8.5 Non-Religious Varieties of Transnationalism

Following the discussion on the experiences and views of Polish clergy and laity regarding religious institutions in Ireland, I set out the non-religious varieties of transnationalism experienced by Polish migrants. The objective of this discussion is to address first, to what extent are Polish migrants involved in transnational activities and secondly, what is the impact of these transnational activities on their migration experiences in Ireland? This sheds light on the role of transnationalism in Polish migration. All of the interviewees engage in some form of transnational activity. This discussion sets out one of the empirical findings of this research – transnational ties and activities are important factors that support the migration experiences of these forty-one contemporary Polish migrants.

Scholars of transnational studies have predominantly distinguished between three types of transnationalism – economic, political and socio-cultural activities (Snel, Engbersen and Leekes 2006; Portes 2001). This research

draws on these three categories to analyse the transnational activities of this cohort of migrants. Chronicling the rapid growth of Polish media, retail outlets and cultural events in Ireland, in addition to the infrastructural development between Poland and Ireland, enabled the development of transnational ties or as Krings et al (2012:98) term it “*transnational mobility*”. Table 8.3 presents the profile of these migrants, their religiosity and their transnational activities (other details are included in the table to provide an insight into each participant). This table illustrates how important transnational networks and ties are to these migrants – all of the participants engage in some form of transnational activity.

Table 8.3: Profile of Polish migrants and their transnational activities

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Religiosity	Length of time in Ireland	Contact on arrival	Marital status	Employment status	Education Qualifications	Engagement with the church's resources	Transnational activity
Beata	28	Believe O.P	2006	Yes	Boyfriend	Secretary	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Alex	29	Believe O.P	2007	Yes	Married	Retail	No	S.O.M R.E.I	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Barbara	54	No	1994	No	Married	Unemployed/ migrant organisation	No	S.O.M	Socio-cultural
Borys	31	Believe, O.P	2006	No	Single	Unemployed	No	R.A.I R.E.I	Socio-cultural
Hanna	35	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Single	Secretary	Degree in Photography	R.E.I	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Tomasz	31	No	2004	Yes	Married	Businessman	Degree in Business		Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Roman	48	No	1998	Yes	Married	Owns real estate business/ Migrant organisation	Yes (Seminary)		Political, Socio-cultural
Dariusz	25	Yes	2004	Yes	Single	Works in security	Degree in Business	R.A.I R.E.I	Socio-cultural
Leon	33	No	2004	Yes	Married	Business man	No		Economic, Socio-cultural
Justyn	26	Yes	2006	No	Single	Child minder	Teaching Degree	R.S.C R.A.I R.E.I	Economic, Socio-cultural
Adrianna	26	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Single	Hotelier	Degree in Accountancy	R.E.I	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Nadia	34	Believe O.P	2005	No	Married	Child minder	Degree in Psychology	R.E.I R.S.C	Economic, Socio-cultural
Karol	26	No	2004	Yes	Single	Business man	Master's in Business	R.E.I	Economic, Socio-cultural

Albin	28	Yes	2004	Yes	Single	Works in security	Degree in Arts	R.A.I R.E.I R.S.C.	Socio-cultural
Tomek	52	Believe O.P (Irish church)	2008	No	Married	Doctor	Medicine		Economic, Socio-cultural
Lidia	35	Yes	2004	No	Married	Retail	Master's in Psychology		Economic, Socio-cultural
Katia	26	Yes	2004	Yes	Single	Psychologist	Master's in Psychology	R.E.I	Economic, Socio-cultural
Gosiasta	28	Yes	2008	Yes	Married	Retail	Master's in Psychology	R.A.I R.E.I	Economic, Socio-cultural
Gosia	27	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Single	Secretary	Degree in Law	R.E.I R.S.C	Economic, Socio-cultural
Karolina	26	Yes (Irish church)	2006	Yes	Single	Retail	Degree in Accountancy		Economic, Socio-cultural
Asia	28	No	2004	Yes	Single	Hotelier	Degree in Arts		Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Marek	33	No	2004	Yes	Married	Migrant organisation	Master's in Business		Economic, Socio-cultural
Lukasz	27	Yes	2005	Yes	Married	Works in security	No	S.O.M R.E.I	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Aine	28	Yes (Irish church)	2004	No	Single	Retail	Teaching Degree		Economic, Socio-cultural
Martin	32	No	2004	No	Single	Works in construction	Degree in Engineering		Economic, Socio-cultural
Zofia	27	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Single	Hotelier	Diploma in Child Care	R.A.I R.E.I	Economic, Socio-cultural
Dorota	38	Yes	2006	No	Married	Secretary	Diploma in Secretarial Studies	R.E.I	Economic, Socio-cultural
Aga	33	Yes	2004	Yes	Single	Unemployed	Degree in Arts	S.O.M R.A.I R.E.I	Socio-cultural
Anna	28	Believe O.P	2004	Yes	Single	Journalist	Degree in Journalism	R.E.I	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Klaudia	26	Yes	2006	Yes	Boyfriend	Child minder	Degree in Psychology	R.E.I	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Martyna	28	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Boyfriend	Retail	Degree in Psychology	R.A.I	Economic, Socio-cultural
Iiona	28	Believe O.P	2008	Yes	Boyfriend	Retail	Masters in Psychology	R.E.I	Economic, Socio-cultural
Izabella	28	No	2004	Yes	Boyfriend	Retail	Degree in Arts		Economic, Socio-cultural
Julianna	25	No	2004	Yes	Boyfriend	Hotelier	No		Socio-cultural
Patryja	26	Believe O.P	2005	Yes	Single	Retail	Master's in Sociology	S.O.M R.E.I R.S.C.	Economic, Socio-cultural
Kat	26	Believe O.P	2004	No	Married	Secretary	No	R.E.I	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Alexandra	29	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Married	Retail	No	R.E.I	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Max	28	Believe, O.P	2004	Yes	Single	Businessman	Master's in Business	R.A.I R.E.I	Economic, Socio-cultural

Polish clergy									
Fr. Marek	53	Yes	2006	Yes	Krakow	Catholic Priest	Seminary	-	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Fr. Amadej	61	Yes	2004	Yes	Poznan	Catholic Priest	Seminary	-	Political, Economic, Socio-cultural
Fr. Augustyn	-	Yes	2004	Yes	-	Catholic Priest	Seminary		Political, Economic, Socio-cultural

*Religiosity denotes religious beliefs and practices; Economic transnational activity, Political transnational activity, Socio-cultural transnational activity

8.5.1 Economic transnational activities

Portes (2003:877) argues that transnational economic ties are of great importance for the development of the home country. Examples of economic transnational activities include monetary remittances, entrepreneurship or the transfer of resources or products to the local community (Guarnizo 2003). The development of modern information and communication technologies have made such economic ties easier (Vertovec 2003). Eighty percent (33/41 interviewees) of the migrants in this sample engage in economic transnational activities. The migrants actively engage in monetary remittances. There was a sense within the migrants' narratives that economic remittances is "*normal*" (Hanna) or their "*duty*" (Marek). The narratives reveal that their motivation for migrating was economic, thus they actively engage in economic remittances – "*that's the plan, why we're here!*" (Katia, female, 26).

Polish migrants engage in monetary remittances for two reasons. First, migrants regularly send money to their personal bank accounts in Poland. Second, they send money to family members back in Poland. Sending money to their personal bank accounts in Poland was a common theme among the interviewees.

I send it monthly. I need savings so when I go back I can buy apartment or house, I can't do this in Poland, save, it's not possible (Tomek, male, 52).

Tomek explains that his goal is to save enough money so that he can buy property in Poland. Interestingly, he points out that this would not be possible in Poland given the economic climate. In a similar vein, Luckasz aged 27 who works in security and has no educational qualifications outlines the reasons why migrants transfer their money to a bank account in Poland opposed to saving money in a local Irish.

I don't know, I just do! I suppose, maybe...well that's my home, where I'll be going back, this is just a stop-off (laugh), you know. Maybe, it's funny I never thought before, you know, of this, I just did it. Everyone does. I have an account here but I transfer money to Poland, maybe so I won't spend it! No, I do 'cause the one here is just temporary while I'm here, if that makes sense! (Luckasz, male, 27)

Luckasz describes his time in Ireland as a “*stop-off*”, therefore he needs to keep his bank account in Poland active and his bank account in Ireland is just “*temporary*”. Recurring narratives suggest that migrants who view their time in Ireland as temporary want to keep their Polish bank accounts active. Such economic remittances support cross border activities and ensure migrants stay economically active in Poland. Interestingly, such economic remittances are not only carried out by temporary short term migrants. Max a Polish business man aged 28 with a Degree in Business highlights that he plans to stay in Ireland for a number of years, yet he still transfers money to his bank account in Poland.

I do, for when I visit. I know I have money there. I don't need to take money, I have savings there. It's easier. I put in money when I can. Two bank accounts, one for each country (Max, male, 28).

Max's extract shows the transnational lifestyle and consciousness of some Polish migrants – “*two bank accounts, one for each country*”. The migrants' narratives reveal that they are economically involved in two countries. This reveals the Polish migrants ability to negotiate activities in two countries. The second categorisation, sending money to family members back in Poland, was not a common theme among the interviewees. The narratives reveal that only a small number of migrants regularly send money to family members. A number of reasons were given to explain this –

I don't have enough myself. I'm able to put small savings aside and pay bills and live but I don't have enough to send to my family (Dariusz, male, 25).

Dariusz explains that he is not financially able to support his family. This was common within the narratives. Similarly, Borys who is unemployed aged 31 states that “*if my family needed, I'd help*” which shows that migrants do not engage in this type of activity unless it is necessary. Some migrants reveal that they help their family financially when they are in Poland but do not

engage in sending money back to them. The narratives reveal that the migrants actively engage in economic remittances in the form of transferring money regularly to their personal Polish bank accounts.

The transfer of entrepreneurship, skills or resources was also mentioned in the narratives. Tomasz a Polish business man aged 31 with a Degree in Business explains how migrants develop skills in Ireland that will help their economic position when they return to Poland.

I set up a Polish organisation here...I ran the whole thing. I had no experience but I learned...The organisation was a success, it helped many Poles. Now I have so much experience...I plan to use this. I plan to go back to Poland and set up something like this. I'm excited. This is something I could never, you know, do in Poland if I didn't do this here (Tomasz, male, 31).

Tomasz's experience is a good example of how skills and ideas transfer across borders. The Polish migrants engage in different forms of economic transnational activities and on different scales. However, these activities offer migrants an economic "safety net" (Anna, female, 28) and maintain their connection with Poland.

8.5.2 Political transnational activities

Guarnizo (2003) argues that immigrants are depicted as agents of change, particularly as active political participants. Political transnational activities include electoral activities and political affiliation (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 2003). The important question is - do Polish migrants avail of the opportunities for political action? The narratives detail several ways in which Polish migrants remain politically active in Poland. It was revealed that some migrants remain part of their country's electorate. The migrants believe that this is the most significant transnational political activity.

So it was very important to mobilise people, to get them to stand up and say no more. That's why so many people who haven't voted for years went and took part in the election. It was a wonderful time. It's one of the best strongest pictures in my head seeing thousands together queuing to vote, I was queuing for four hours. It was like a revolution, it was a great time. Fortunately we did change the government, it's more open minded and wanted to cooperate with Europe and our neighbours (Anna, female, 28).

Anna vividly explains the environment and feelings surrounding the Polish general election. Polish migrants were able to vote in the Polish election (vote in Ireland and have it transferred to Poland). Anna points out the number of migrants that availed of the opportunity to change their country's political landscape. Immigrants have a vision for their country's future. This is influenced by their immigration experiences (i.e. experiencing new cultures, political systems). Asia explains that Polish migrants can positively shape and change Poland's future through political participation; in fact she views it as their "duty".

It's our duty, everyone should vote. You can't complain about something if you don't take opportunity to change it...that's the way, always – complain, complain, complain and do nothing (Asia, female, 28).

Political transnationalism offers migrants a way to stay connected with Poland and their local communities. A number of Polish migrants participated in the election but it must be highlighted that some migrants have no political interests.

I didn't vote, no. It wouldn't make a difference, they're all the same! (Justyn, female, 26)

Justyn's extract relates to Asia's account in which she states that Polish migrants are more likely to complain about the political situation rather than do something to change it (in this case vote). Although some migrants in this sample were politically active (37%, 15/41 interviewees), over half were not. Therefore, Justyn and Asia's accounts can relate to this sample. The migrants that were not politically active pointed to a lack of interest in politics or the belief that their vote wouldn't matter or change politics in Poland. A number of the migrants welcomed the opportunity to have their 'voices' (Alex, female, 29) heard in Poland and hoped that they could 'make Poland better' (Beata, female, 28) for when they return.

Snel et al. (2006:293) considers reading newspapers from the home country a transnational political activity. All of the interviewees read Polish newspapers daily or at least weekly. The development in technology supports this transnational activity as migrants can read newspapers online, in addition

to purchasing Polish newspapers in shops. Interestingly, migrants did not have a political motivation for reading newspapers, rather they ‘*want to know what’s going on*’ (Alexandra, female, 29) in Poland. The migrants believe that reading local and national Polish newspapers is an important transnational activity.

Every morning, it’s the first thing I do. I want to know what’s going on. I know everything, then when I talk to my friends or family I can say ‘Oh what do you think of such and such that is happening!’ (Alexandra, female, 29)

Alexandra who works in retail aged 29 with no education qualifications explains how reading Polish newspapers is a way of staying connected to Poland and Polish current affairs. It offers migrants a way of connecting with family and friends back home as they are able to discuss issues that are taking place in Poland.

Political transnationalism manifests itself in many ways through various migrant activities. Polish migrants felt that it was their ‘*right*’ (Tomasz, male, 31) to be politically involved in Poland. It connected them to their homeland and enabled them to shape the future of their country.

I’d say we felt it was quite normal, we were entitled to vote. We are still Polish, we hold Polish passports so...and even though we are here, what happens down there affects us (Anna, female, 28).

8.5.3 Socio-cultural transnational activities

By far socio-cultural activities are the most effective way to maintain transnational links to the home country. The majority of the Polish migrants’ transnational activities have a social-cultural character. All of the migrants engage in this form of transnational activity (100%). There are numerous examples of the migrants’ socio-cultural transnational activities - visiting and maintaining contact with family and friends in the home country, joining organisations in the host country, participation in cultural activities and watching home country television (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002). Krings et al (2013:98) detailed similar findings in their research on Polish migrants in Dublin. They point to the “*two-way traffic*” between Poland and

Ireland and the migrants' awareness and engagement in “*transnational mobility*”. Similar to the Polish migrants in my research, Krings et al. refer to the migrants as EU free-movers who engage in circular mobility for everyday things such as medical care or hairdressing. This vividly illustrates the “*European mobility space*” (Krings et al. 2013:88) within which these migrants are located.

All of the interviewees visit and maintain contact with family and friends in Poland. The most common way includes bi-annual visits to Poland. All of the migrants return home at least twice a year but some migrants return more frequently. The infrastructural development and cheap air fares enable migrants to return home often. The interviewees stressed the importance of regularly visiting family and friends in Poland. One key feature that highlights the transnationality of this migrant cohort is exemplified by Martyna –

I go at Christmas and one or two other times. I want to see family and my friends. I need other things when I'm there, you know, do other things...I go to, go to doctors, it's too expensive here so I go when I'm in Poland...I go to hairdressers when I'm in Poland too, and dentist. I do this in Poland, it's too expensive here (Martyna, female, 28).

Significantly, a number of interviewees travel to Poland to attend doctors, dentists and hairdressers opposed to using Irish services. The migrants refer to financial reasons as motivating these particular transnational activities.

Even going over to Poland, the flight, it's still cheaper to do these things in Poland than here! (Ilona, female, 28)

This is a significant insight into Polish migrants' transnational consciousness. They live in Ireland, yet some migrants use Polish services in Poland. Polish migrants, aided with infrastructural development, are able to live dual lives in Poland and Ireland – live in Ireland but travel to Poland for services such as health, dental care and hairdressing.

Polish migrants stay connected to their friends and family via the internet. The most common method is Skype. This research supports Vertovec's (2004) argument that communication technologies are the ‘social glues’ facilitating migrants transnational actions. Global communications enable migrants to converse, interact and even synchronise significant

elements of their social and cultural lives (Gilroy 2000:129).

I Skype and email every day. When Anna was born last year my mam could see her on Skype and all my family. They were so happy, first grandchild. They had party and we could be there by Skype and be part of it, everyone got to meet Anna! (Nadia, female, 34)

Nadia's narrative illustrates the important role that communication technologies have in facilitating transnationalism. All of the interviewees use the internet to contact family and friends. The migrants engage in daily or weekly contact via informal methods such as Skype, email and Facebook. The narratives reveal that this is one of the most important ways that migrants maintain their links to Poland. These methods enable migrants to be a part of life in Poland.

Polish migrants also take part in cultural events in Ireland and some migrants are part of ethnic organisations. However, some migrants engage in cultural events '*every now and again*' (Hanna, female, 35). Others take part in Polish events or organisations to introduce their partner to Polish culture. One migrant explained that during the initial influx of Polish migrants to Ireland in 2004, there were a number of Polish organisations opened; however, in recent years these have been greatly reduced. This supports Father Augustyn's assertion that Polish migrants are now better organised and equipped to negotiate their experiences in Irish society. It was revealed that very few Polish migrants watch Polish television stations – very few have TV's, they only use laptops and the internet.

The most common narrative among the interviewees reveals that transnational activities are perceived to be '*the norm*' (Katia, female, 26). The migrants' transnational activities - economic (80%), political (37%) and socio-cultural (100%) – enable migrants to stay connected to Poland. Their transnational ties provide a support system which they can draw on during their sojourn in Ireland.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that transnationalism frames the religious and social experiences of Polish migrants and provides important insights into the

role of religion for contemporary migrants. Religion is portable, adaptable and experienced within and across borders. The Polish chaplaincy is a transnational religious institution which forges links worldwide. The discussion provided in this chapter outlines how religion operates within the context of globalisation. Adopting a transnational framework illustrates the wider processes of the church and the complex migration experiences of Polish migrants. This framework enabled us to see the interplay between migrants, the Polish clergy and the Polish church at the institutional level. Moreover, this furthers the analysis from Chapter Six and Seven to provide insights into the experiences and views of Polish clergy and migrants regarding the Polish church and Catholicism in Ireland. The chaplaincy operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. The chaplaincy operates within the ‘transnationalism from above’ sphere and sets out agendas to administer to the Polish migrants’ needs at the micro level.

The Polish migrants spoke of the support derived from their transnational connections and networks. I found that the migrants’ transnational activities and networks are significant in supporting their experiences in Ireland. I argue that these migrants’ transnational consciousness, enabled and developed by the global expansion of infrastructure and technology, has established new forms of staying connected to the homeland. This has changed the experience of Polish migration within Europe. These developments offer migrants additional support systems to religion and the church. However, the fact that for the majority of forty-one migrants in this sample religion matters more as a marker of ethnic identity and social service resource opposed to spirituality is significant and shows religions place within their migration experiences. These migrants undertake a self-selection process with regards to religion and transnational activity. As Max states *“it’s just another resource, doesn’t matter who provides it”*, thus migrants draw on a number of different ways to support their experiences. They are able to selectively engage with religion and transnational activities to suit their time and context specific situation – *“this is just a stop off”* (Luckasz, male, 27). Transnational ties enable migrants to live in Ireland and partake in different aspects of Polish society. Father Augustyn’s assertion appropriately sums up the Polish migration experiences – *“we can come and go”*.

It is true that transnational ties and activities provide these migrants with “*an extra lift*” (Portes 2001:189) in terms of supporting their experiences. This chapter argues that attention needs to be given to the new forms of migration that EU citizens are engaged in, the receiving context and the new forms of support that are derived from extensive transnational networks and activities. Having “*one foot in Ireland and one foot in Poland*” (Hanna, female, 35) gives migrants “*an extra lift*” (Portes 2001:189). Understanding the experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland requires recognising the role of transnationalism as a support system that operates in multiple ways across geographical scales and the nuanced ways in which religion is relied upon.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

We are like commuters (Father Augustyn)

The central focus of this thesis explores the experience of Polish migrants in Ireland and how, if at all, spirituality or the church figure in terms of social and spiritual support. Despite the available evidence from the literature, much remains unknown about why some migrants seek help from the church and others do not. As a result, little is known about the relationship between aspects of religion including the church's social and spiritual assistance and the socio-migration experiences of contemporary Polish migrants. In this thesis, through in-depth interviews and participant observation, the ways in which the migrants' experience and refer to religion and the church are analysed. The study consists of three Polish clergy and thirty-eight Polish migrants with varying levels of religious beliefs, ranging from migrants who strongly identify with Catholicism to migrants who dis-identify with Catholicism. This study embarked on a journey to recognise and value the complexities of religion, the church and the migrants' socio-religious experiences in order to enhance the existing empirical and theoretical evidence.

The importance of this research is that it focuses on ways in which contemporary Polish migrants interact with religion, rely on the church and how the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care. What is clear is that beyond the differences and similarities of individual narratives, it is apparent that individuals play a substantial role in self-selection when it comes to how they negotiate their religious experiences (beliefs, practices and employing church's resources). The narratives in the analysis chapters present individuals who have the capacity to negotiate their migration experiences but who selectively refer to religion and view the church's resources as *'just another resource, it doesn't matter who provides it'* (Max, male, 28).

Echoed by many of the participants is the idea of being sojourners or as Father Augustyn's quote above states *'we are like commuters'*. The participants, although profoundly transnational, do not want to be defined as

“*the new Irish*” (Anna, female, 28), they view this time in Ireland as “*just a stop off*” (Luckasz, male, 27). This type of transnational migration enabled the migrants to “*feel like [they] belong in two places*” (Hanna, female, 35) and the transnational networks and activities provide “*the support of, well knowing they were here with me [through technological means] all the way, it helps*” (Doroata, female, 38). However, within this type of migration the church has a role to play. Exploring the church as a transnational organisation of pastoral care provides an understanding of how the church supports migrants. Although the narratives reveal that the migrants' religious experiences are highly personalised (Max, male, 28) and “*it's just us, you know, the type of people that moved over here, you know. We're young and we have to work, that's more important than having the time, you know, to go to mass*” (Martin, male, 32), 92% (out of total out of total number of participants who referred to church for some form of support, 24/26 interviewees) refer to the church for ethnic identification. This was significant in terms of developing our understanding of the role of religion in contemporary migration. For these migrants, the church and religion matter more as an ethnic identification marker and social service resource opposed to any spiritual connection. Furthermore, 75% of this sample has some form of religious beliefs and practice while 25% have no religious beliefs.

These two empirical findings reveal that these Polish migrants have a set of religious beliefs and identity; moreover they employ religion to maintain ethnic identification and cultural connection to the homeland. For some migrants, this religious affiliation or set of beliefs does not translate into religious practice. If we apply these findings to understand religion in modern society, it is possible to argue that within the wider context religion provides people with an overarching umbrella of cultural identity (Gans 1994; Sommers 1991). However, at the micro level religion is positioned in the private sphere whereby individuals are situated in a context of ‘*religious choice*’ (Davie 2006) and possess religious identities and beliefs but do not engage in active religious participation – ‘*believe without belonging*’ (Davie 1994).

9.1 Methodology

In terms of methodology, this research provides a relatively unique approach. A large proportion of research on socio-religious migration experiences in Ireland is based predominantly on non-EU migrants. Previous evidence suggests that religion, particularly the church and the social and spiritual support it offers, is important for marginalised migrant groups (non-EU migrants, racially and religiously different to host society). Quantitative reports regarding immigrants' religion such as CSO data cannot accurately reflect how and why/not these migrants employ their faith or church to support their migration experience. To understand experiences of religion, the church and migration requires listening and hearing the narrations of the migrants. Therefore, exploring the experiences of modern Polish migrants through their narratives provide an invaluable insight into their religion and migration experiences. The qualitative evidence provides a comprehensive view of the value that Polish migrants place on religion, both beliefs and practices. In addition, the qualitative approach captures the meaning and factors that contribute or hinder the migrants' engagement with religion and the church. Also, this approach enabled me to explore how the clergy operate and negotiate pastoral care within a religious transnational organisation. The methodological literature suggests that talking to individuals about their migration experiences can be upsetting, for some it can be a distressing time in their life. The majority of interviewees acknowledged that the interview provided in many ways a reflexive experience – before this they hadn't taken much time to think deeply about their socio-religious experiences and what factors shaped these experiences.

In addition to these valuable interviews, participant observation was also used to collect information on the migrants' religious behaviour and the church. This approach captured Polish migrants in religious and social settings. It enabled me to get an insight into the wider community's religious behaviour and the different ways in which the church operates to serve the individual and transnational needs of such a large community. The research was carried out over an eighteen month period (2009- 2011). This enabled me to gather a wide range of participants for interview and also to capture the variation in religious behaviour at different times of the year. The key contribution of this

research will be set out in the following sections.

9.2 Migration and Religion

In Chapter Two and Three I explored the literature which located the role of religion within the experience of immigration, and how religion and the church feature in terms of social and spiritual support (Levitt 2011, 2007, 2001; Trzebiatowska 2010; Alba et al. 2009; Coakley and Mac Éinrí 2009; Ugba 2008, 2009; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Warner and Wittner 1998). In Chapter Five, I argued that religion was not a significant factor motivating the migration of Polish migrants to Ireland and instead economic and social factors predominate. The present findings argue that although this migration represents a move from a context of majority-to-majority opposed to majority-to-minority religious status, religion was still not an influential factor in motivating this migration. As a result, the focus of this study is on the socio-religious experiences of Polish migrants and how the majority-majority case provides an interesting test of the Roman Catholicism notion.

Arising from the interviewees' narratives given in Chapter Five, a number of key aspects which set out why religion is not a consequential factor for this migration were identified. Contrary to Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) idea that cultural similarities, in particular religious similarities ease migration and adaptation experiences in the host country, I argue that these Polish migrants do not view their religion as universal. These migrants have a distinct form of ethnic Catholicism. They view Irish and Polish Catholicism as distinctly different. For this reason, religion is not considered during their decision to migrate to Ireland. Polish migrants form '*parallel congregations*' in Ireland and as such do not view their religion as 'compatible' with Irish Catholics. For those that are religious, twenty-eight attend Polish church (28/31 Catholic migrants in this sample). The empirical findings argue for the continued importance of understanding ethnic forms of Catholicism and the impact that these national forms of Catholicism can have for migrants and the religious landscape of the host society. I argue that we can take what we know about the Polish migration decision making process and their ethno-Catholic forms of religion in Ireland to understand the wider relationship

between religion and society. The experiences of migration and religion, in this instance the decision-making process, show that religion is not consequential in motivating this migration. However, after migration religion and the church can come to the forefront as some migrants want to experience and celebrate Polish Catholicism, opposed to Irish Catholicism. It can be argued that although Catholic Churches around the world operate under the umbrella of a 'universal church', at the ground level ethnic parishes are created that are much more important for some migrants than universal forms of Catholicism. The current case study presents this - a separate Polish Catholic Church and Polish masses are widespread in a society where Catholicism is the majority religion.

Chapter Five provides the background to this research and sets out the factors consequential for motivating this migration. The following three empirical chapters analyse the role of religion within the migration experience of forty-one Polish migrants at the individual level (migrants' religious behaviour) and subsequently the institutional level (the church). At the individual level, this research explored these Polish migrants personal attachment to religion, the ways in which they believe and practice religion and, furthermore, how we can understand the experiences of migrants in relation to religion. Chapter Six and Seven identified that there is a great variation between personal attachments to religion, the ways in which they belong/practice and as a sense of collective identity, both religious and national.

Chapter Six draws attention to the Polish migrants' relationship with religion, their faith and their religious practices during their sojourn in Ireland. This analysis is significant as it sheds light on the religious experiences of a migrant group who shares the same religion as the host society. This majority-majority status, in religious terms, has not been explored in any great way (Cesari 2013) so this research provides empirical findings that address this gap in the literature. Empirically, thirty-one Polish migrants have some form of religious beliefs compared to ten Polish migrants that have none. This reveals that these migrants are more likely to have some form of personal attachment to religion opposed to no religious beliefs at all. This relates to the fact that the majority of these migrants' view their religious identity and national identity as synonymous, regardless of their religious practices. It appears that the migrants' religious beliefs informs and strengthens their understanding of identity –

twenty-three migrants out of twenty-four that referred to the church to support their ethnic identification have religious beliefs. This is outlined in Chapter Seven which identified that twenty-four participants employ religion and the church to support their ethnic identification. This is a significant empirical finding. For the majority of migrants in this study, religion forms part of their national identity. These migrants do not want to experience their religion cross-nationally. They share an understanding of Irish Catholicism but they are unable to divide their religion from their identity. Three migrants that are religious do not view their identity in religious terms, while four migrants that are religious did not draw on the church for any form of support. However, as highlighted above, one migrant that is not religious views his identity in religious terms (Polish-Catholic identity). This is interesting as it shows that for some migrants religion provides a cultural marker which can be used as a means of identification with a country and ethnic community. Religion provides 'ethnic markers' (Gans 1994) which supports some individuals' cultural identification.

Chapter Six discusses how the migrants' religious beliefs do not translate into active religious practice. Similar to the migrants' religious beliefs, there is a great variation in the ways in which Polish migrants practice their religion. I argue that three responses characterise the religious experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland: 1) no longer believing or practicing a religion, 2) believing but practicing occasionally/not practicing religion in Ireland, 3) believing and choosing to continue to practice religion within the Catholic Church (Dunlop and Ward's categorisation 2012). The data reveals that for the ten Polish migrants that are not religious (25%), education appears to be a mediating factor influencing their belief system (lack thereof). I argue that education leads to doubts about rationality of religious practice and secular liberal outlooks. However, education cannot adequately explain why some migrants are religious and others are not. For the sixteen migrants that have religious beliefs and practice occasionally (39%), the data argues that those whom are single and educated are more likely to be religious (in terms of religious practice). While for the fifteen migrants who have religious beliefs and practice regularly (37%), the data reveals that those whom are single and educated are more likely to believe and practice Catholicism in

Ireland. I argue that self-selection is more appropriate for understanding the different levels of attachment to Catholicism (identification, beliefs and practices) among this sample of Polish migrants. The majority of the sample are young adults whom are educated (as stated above education can lead to secular liberal outlooks) and have engaged in a labour migration (Profile of Polish migrants, Chapter Four, Table 4.3). These context-specific factors and their current life situation (i.e. labour migrants) contribute to their varying levels of religious beliefs and practices – some of these migrants are more likely to selectively engage in religious practice in accordance with their life experiences in Ireland (i.e. work commitments). They identify with Catholicism (religion-national identity) but place different values on the institutional practice of religion.

These empirical findings provide lessons for understanding the experience of migrants in relation to religious attachment, beliefs and practices. Polish migrants are moving to a context whereby religious beliefs and practices are a “*choice*” opposed to the case in Poland where many migrants felt it was an “*obligation*” (Davie 2006). In this context migrants feel less pressure to practice their faith, whereas in Poland it was a “*family tradition*” (Max, male, 28). The majority of these migrants are labour migrants and have to prioritise their time. Economic advancement takes precedence over religious commitment (Finke and Stark 1999). This furthers the aforementioned argument which highlights that some migrants have personal attachment to religion without any regular belonging (Davie 1994). For some of these migrants, religion is embedded within national identity and as such they have an overarching cultural attachment to Catholicism. If we look at the empirical findings of Chapter Seven, we see that there is great variation in the ways in which these migrants believe, belong and employ the church for support.

From the analysis in Chapter Seven, the main empirical finding is that the Polish migrants whom are religious (to some degree have beliefs and practices) are more likely to rely on the church for some form of support than those who are not. Religious identification and beliefs were factors mediating whether or not these migrants referred to the church for support – all of these migrants, with the exception of two, possess some form of religious

beliefs and practice. Five interviewees (19%, 5/26) narrated that they relied on the on the church for spiritual support, nine interviewees (35%, 9/26) narrated that they referred to the church for social and material support, twenty-four participants employ religion and the church to support their ethnic identification (92%, 24/26) and six migrants refer to the church for its social capital resources (23%, 6/26). It was revealed that their religious identification and beliefs enabled them access to these resources. Religious participation was not a factor mediating whether or not migrants relied on the church for support. The main empirical finding is that for the majority of migrants in this sample religion matters more as a marker of ethnic identification and as a social service resource opposed to any spiritual connection.

One significant question that this research sets out to address is why do some migrants rely on the church for support and others do not? I questioned the migrants for their thoughts on this topic. They believed that Polish migrants with low levels of English or those that have no social networks/support system are more likely to rely on the church for support. However, to test one of these hypotheses I explored if having a point of contact on arrival impacted on whether Polish migrants rely on the church for support or not. Significantly, Polish migrants whom are religious and have a point of contact in Ireland are more likely to employ the church's resources to support their migration. Polish migrants that do not have a point of contact are less likely to refer to the church for its various kinds of support. This finding reveals that an immediate point of contact in Ireland is not a factor mediating whether or not some migrants rely on the church. I argue that some migrants' hold the idea that "*it doesn't matter that it was church. I needed help so I went where it was free!*" (Martyna, female, 28) - they rely on the church if it suits their situation at that time. This idea of self selection explains why some migrants rely on the church and others do not.

The second aspect of this analysis explores religion at the institutional level. This research addresses the role of the church as a transnational organisation of pastoral care and how the church operates in relation to the state. Chapter Eight discusses the ways in which the Polish chaplaincy organises its missionary agenda in terms of pastoral care. Also, it identifies how this transnational organisation negotiates its role in relation to

the state. At the institutional level, there are three significant findings which characterise the Polish chaplaincy and how it operates in a new context, a context whereby it shares the majority religion with the host society. First, the evidence points out that Polish clergy and migrants in this sample do not view Catholicism as universal, their religious habitus clashes with different forms of Catholicism. This relates to a significant question that this research set out to address – how and why does the church develop institutions to respond to migrants needs in a context in which migrants share the majority religion of the local society? Polish Catholics, as identified in Chapter Six and Seven, primarily employ their religious identity to support their national identity. This research supports Trzebiatowska’s study of Polish Catholics in Scotland (2010) and argues that Polish Catholics are not willing to overcome religio-national identity; they expect Polish Catholicism. In 2006 St. Audoen’s Church was transferred to the Polish community to be used as their chaplaincy by the Archbishop of Dublin. This is significant as it also shows that the Irish Catholic Church is willing to cater for ethnic forms of Catholicism and support the creation of ‘*parallel congregations*’ (Trzebiatowska 2010). The chaplaincy reinforces the migrants ‘Polishness’ through the use of native language, ethnic rituals and cultural holidays. Interestingly, although migrants share the same religion with members of the local society, they do not share the same language. Thus, the chaplaincy provides for the migrants in their native language which enables them to practice their religion in comfort and familiarity.

At the institutional level, the Polish chaplaincy has two main aims. Primarily, Father Augustyn narrated that the church and clergy’s role was to counteract a spiritual drift – Father Marek states that migration can negatively impact on Polish migrants’ religion and without the Polish church the migrants would be more likely to move away from religious practice. Secondly, Father Augustyn explains that the church needs to provide a social role to support migrants. The chaplaincy provides social, political and economic support. The main reason for adopting a socio-religious role was that the Polish chaplain felt it was ‘*necessary*’ (Father Augustyn), some migrants were not equipped to navigate their experiences in Ireland. Although other institutions were set up to support migrants in Ireland, the chaplaincy felt that it was better able to support their own community. The variation in the clergy and migrants’ attitude towards the socio-religious roles adopted by

the chaplaincy is significant. Regardless of the migrants' religious attachment, the majority agree that the church can provide support for some migrants, specifically migrants with low levels of English and no social networks. However, some migrants view the church's dual role negatively and state that the church could hinder adaptation opposed to facilitating it. The Polish clergy vary in how they view the church's role and how much social support they should offer. The Polish chaplain argues that the social roles of the chaplaincy are dependent on the migrants' need for them – as Father Augustyn's narration explains, the roles have been significantly reduced as the migrants are better able to navigate Irish society and their experiences. The analysis of the socio-religious roles adopted by the chaplaincy provides us with empirical insights into how the church operates in relation to the state.

Second, this research's findings provide us with significant insight into the operation of the state in relation to migrant religion and religious institutions in general. Similar to the findings in the *'Religion and Diasporas: Challenges of the Emigration Countries'* (2013) by Jocelyne Cesari, I argue that the state does not have any great role in mediating migrant churches or migrant religion. My study is important as it sheds light on how the state operates in relation to one particular migrant church and migrant group – a church and group that share the majority religion with the host society. I argue that this is a significant factor influencing the way in which the state operates in supporting migrant religion in Ireland, not only in terms of financial support but recognition, policy and legislation. This research found that the Polish chaplain independently organises and sets out the pastoral agenda of the migrant church. The Polish church liaises with the Irish church and Polish church in Poland. The chaplain interacts with state bodies for the purpose of funding but not in regards to any regulatory purposes. The Polish Embassy is the only institution which requests direct meetings with the chaplain. The chaplain stated that the only time he is in contact with any state body is to make applications for funding, which has been considerably reduced over the past five years due to the public spending cutback in the course of the economic crisis. The narratives of the Polish chaplain and the other Polish clergy in this study reveal that the state does not have any significant role (or even co-operative role liaising with the Polish chaplaincy) in shaping the church's response to Polish migrants or how they organise their pastoral agenda.

Regarding majority-majority religious status in the host society and how the state responds to each of these groups, Cesari's report (2013) asks the question - *'if the majority condition is the major cause for this difference in treatment of migrants'*? Based on my research, and acknowledging a lack of comparative data between different migrant religious groups, I argue that Polish Catholicism is perceived as familiar and *"closer to the dominant culture and therefore need less control"* (*ibid*: 21). The state has minimal involvement with the Polish chaplaincy. As such, the Polish chaplaincy is left with no option but to adopt a transnational pastoral care initiative (both social and spiritual roles) to support migrants.

Cesari points out that this leads to the development of ethno-catholic parishes. This is evident in my research – the Polish chaplain has the scope to develop different social and spiritual initiatives to prevent a 'spiritual drift' while also ensuring that Polish migrants remain connected to Polish Catholicism and Poland. Father Augustyn notes that this is what Polish migrants want, so there is no need for outside influence from the state – although he does acknowledge that they relied on funding from state bodies so that they could provide pastoral care initiatives, but points out that they are now able to manage without this funding. The state's response towards the chaplaincy and Polish Catholicism indicates that it agrees with the sentiments of Father Augustyn – Catholic Polish migrants and the Polish chaplaincy are situated within the Irish Catholic Church structure (universal structure), can belong to parallel congregations and avail of the transnational resources and networks of a global church to support their ethnic community.

This point relates to the third empirical finding which helps us understand the institutional organisation of the Polish chaplaincy and its pastoral care initiatives. The church is a transnational organisation with many resources. It yields political and social influence. The chaplaincy's political capabilities are bolstered by the state enabling it to operate *'as a sort of state in itself'* (Cesari 2013:21). The chaplaincy engages in numerous transnational activities and stays connected with the church in Poland. Initially the chaplaincy and Polish masses throughout Ireland would not have been possible without the movement back and forth of Polish priests. These priests are situated within the transnational religious organisation, thus are able

to move to Ireland to cater for the Polish community's religious needs. My interview with the chaplain revealed that Polish priests only stay in Ireland for a short time before returning to their parishes in Poland. The priests are constantly coming and going and slot in wherever they are needed. My observations revealed the extent to which the Polish chaplaincy is able to draw on resources to support their activities in Ireland. This shows the chaplaincy's transnational capabilities – for example, the church transfer migrants with serious alcohol addictions to an Alcohol Anonymous facility in Poland, the chaplaincy organised various fundraisers to support a parish in Poland which had been affected by severe floods. The Polish chaplaincy is a transnational political actor – the chaplain advocates on behalf of the migrants and their rights. The chaplain's role in advocating for the migrants' right to vote in the general election in Poland is an example of its political power – *“yes we do, we are part of church in Poland, my priests...in Poland...we, they push attention to matters and this is one of the things...here, then, we encourage, you know, Poles here to take part [voting in Polish general election] because it is important, we all, my priests and politicians, we push for this”* (Father Augustyn). The Polish were permitted to vote and the chaplaincy encouraged and supported migrants to take part. As previously mentioned, the chaplaincy liaises with the Polish Embassy in Dublin and campaigns on Polish migrant issues in Ireland and Poland. Moreover, the chaplaincy has established itself as a significant political actor in Ireland - many migrant and non-migrant institutions approach the church for support on various projects. The chaplaincy's political significance was further obvious during my observation of the Polish President's memorial service. The Irish President and other Irish political figures were in attendance. This was a show of solidarity between both communities but it also highlighted the political respect that the chaplaincy yields. The Polish chaplaincy, under the umbrella of the global Catholic Church, operates as a transnational organisation which adopts spiritual, social, economic, cultural and political roles to support migrants in Ireland and ensure they stay connected to Poland.

To summarise, analysing the individual and institutional level of migrant religion and church provides in-depth empirical findings regarding

migrants' religion in terms of belief, identification and behaviour and the church in terms of how it operates, negotiates its agendas and supports migrants. At the individual level, the significant empirical findings of Chapter Six point out that there is a great variation in the ways in which these migrants believe, belong and practice. Moreover, Chapter Seven highlights that this pattern of variation is continued in the ways in which these migrants refer to the church for support. For the majority of the forty-one Polish migrants in this sample, religion matters more for its ethnic identification resources than spirituality, spiritual support or social service resources. Chapter Six and Seven identified that there is great variation between personal attachments to religion, the ways in which they engage in religious practice and as a sense of collective identity, both religious and national. This research provides empirical insights into how the church responds to migrants' needs in a new context. It shows how the church is organised as a transnational organisation of pastoral care to support the various ways in which migrants refer to the church for support. The empirical findings of Chapter Eight highlight that the Polish chaplaincy is set up to spiritually and socially support Polish migrants in Ireland. The church operates at the transnational level, engaging in religious missions, supporting contact with migrants' families and parishes in Poland and establishing what Trzebiatowska (2010) terms the "*Easy-jet Polish priest*" i.e. Catholic Polish priests are flown into Ireland to provide pastoral care to migrants. The aim of the Polish chaplaincy and Polish clergy throughout Ireland is, first, to counteract a spiritual drift among Polish Catholic migrants and second, engage in socio-religious roles to support the migrants experiences in Ireland. Significantly, the Polish chaplaincy views Polish migration to Ireland as temporary; thus organises the church and its agenda in accordance with this. The church's transnational networks, ties and resources ensure migrants maintain their connection to Poland. The chaplaincy provide the necessary tools that migrants need to negotiate their migration experience (i.e. English classes, information) but also provide resources to equip migrants with seamless entry back into Polish society (i.e. weekend school for Polish children which teaches the Polish curriculum). Another empirical finding highlights that these Polish migrants operate all aspects of their lives transnationally – social, political, economic and religious. Thus the chaplaincy is correct in tailoring their agenda (i.e. its transnational approach to pastorally caring for this

migrant group) to support the migrants specific needs. The final empirical finding points out that the chaplaincy operates independent of the state in terms of organisation and regulation but engages with the state for funding (up until the economic crisis), referring mostly to the Irish and Polish Catholic Church.

9.3 The Migration Journey – Transnationalism

Polish migration experiences are profoundly transnational. These transnational networks and activities emphasise the fluidity of space and time and contributes to our understanding of how contemporary Polish migrants' practices are transferred, exchanged and shared across borders. The European Union enlargement in May 2004 impacted on the migratory strategies and experiences of these migrants to Ireland. EU citizenship, increased mobility and infrastructural development enabled cross border living. Studies of transnationalism point to the material exchanges of people and goods across borders. However, I argue that transnationalism has a much greater role for contemporary EU citizens migrating within Europe. The political and legal status of Polish migrants in Ireland has transformed their migration strategies and the ways in which they live their lives transnationally – *“I can do anything here that I can do in Poland”* (Adrianna, female, 26). White (2011) argues that post-2004 Polish migrants have experienced new patterns of increased mobility that must be given attention. Thus, this research responds to this and reveals the transnational consciousness of this migrant cohort.

The empirical findings lead me to argue that the migrants' transnational networks are support mechanisms, or as Anna stated *“safety net[s]”*. This draws on, and responds to, Granovetter's (1973) suggestion that emotional support provided by social networks may occur outside of the immigrants' immediate physical environment. The current research reveals that Polish migrants maintain a diverse range of transnational social relations. Their networks vary in commitment and feelings of trust, solidarity and reciprocity, depending on the individual and context. Transnational ties act as emotional, informational and practical support systems which shape, and are shaped by, migration. Constant contact and support enables the migrants to be

a part of Poland and Ireland – “*well like I said earlier, you know, we belong to both, we’re in both so it’s like dual lives, being a part of the two*” (Hanna, female, 35). This research reveals that these networks are instrumental in constructing social capital that is then used to facilitate their experiences in Irish society. Going beyond this, transnational scholars point out that a wide range of social networks can help immigrants access other forms of capital such as cultural and economic (Bourdieu 1986). My study argues that social networks influence the migration trajectory and experience of Polish migrants in Ireland.

You don’t leave your own, you help. It might be accommodation, maybe work, maybe just knowing someone, but you help. Otherwise, God knows what would happen to us when we come, you have to be a unit and help. It gets people set up and they can go on their way [laugh] and they’ll do it for someone else then (Gosiasta, female, 28).

The role of technology and communications in facilitating transnational activities and networks has emerged as an important theme in this research. Similar to Vertovec (2004), this research argues that communication technologies are the ‘*social glues*’ that contributes and maintains trans-border actions. The Polish migrants’ transnational social relations are maintained through frequent calls, emails, Skype, and text messages. Social networking technologies are an important means of transnational communication. Infrastructural development enables Polish migrants to travel back and forth to Poland regularly, so much so that some migrants travel to Poland to avail of health services, dentists and hairdressing. These developments have enabled migrants to share and exchange their experiences, while also facilitating migrants to live their lives across borders. I argue that these technologies are crucial mechanisms facilitating the transnationality of Polish migrants. Moreover, such mechanisms enable the fluidity of transnational Polish migrants and their networks.

Polish migration to Ireland characterises a unique movement which must be given attention - Polish migrants are EU citizens, face no legal restrictions in Ireland and development in global infrastructural and technological communications enables migrants to be part of both societies - “*we are in EU...we are the same, not underneath...we live side by side...be part of what we want...*” (Anna, female, 28). Contemporary Polish migrants

undertake new forms of migration patterns - they are supported and empowered by transnational networks and ties, their legal position within Irish society and the environment enables them to be ‘circular migrants’ and partake in different sectors while maintaining strong transnational networks, ties and activities with Poland – living in “*two places at once*” (Alex, female, 29).

9.4 Limitations of the study

The aim of this research was to explore and understand the experience of Polish migrants in Ireland and how, if at all, spirituality or the church figure in terms of social and spiritual support. This research had some methodological shortcomings. First, as a result of the small sample size the result cannot be representative of all Polish migrants socio-religious experiences. However, qualitative research methods were purposively chosen. The aim of this research was not to generalise but to identify Polish migrants religious identities, beliefs and practices in Ireland, how they employ and rely on the church, what factors mediate this experience, and how the church negotiates and operates to support transnational migrants. The selection of the study’s sample may have skewed the results in that information gathered from other migrants may have been quite different. Second, the principle methodology was in-depth interviews and the findings rely heavily on the narratives of interviewees. The first time I met the interviewees was at the time of conducting the interview. On the one hand this could promote free expression of views, but it could also be intimidating for the interviewees to reveal their experiences and thoughts to a stranger. I overcame this potential barrier by being friendly and encouraging while asking questions which gave room to share personal experiences. Third, a limitation in this study was that it involved a specific group of migrants. The interviewees were recruited from on-line website ‘*Activelink*’, Polish institutions and other institutions that migrants approach, and principally a ‘snowballing’ technique. As a result, the migrants interviewed were those who were in contact with other Polish. The study could have different results if the recruitment of interviewees were of those who stay outside the Polish community/have no contact with co-ethnics.

Another limitation is that the recruitment process included migrants

who possessed the necessary skills to carry out an interview in English. A number of the interviewees had very little English but sufficient English skills were a requirement to take part in the interview. The findings could have been different if I had included non-English speaking migrants. I could have included non-English speaking Polish migrants but this would have required involving a Polish interpreter or researcher. However, involving a Polish person may have influenced the interviewees' responses and provoked them to be more careful about what they said. This research provided the migrants with the opportunity to tell their stories with the knowledge of English that they had. Finally, due to financial and time constraints this study is based in the Greater Dublin Area. Since EU accession on May 1st 2004, the Polish community has spread all over Ireland. Further studies may provide a deeper understanding of their socio-religious experiences, for example, also including the impact of rural life on Polish migrants' religious experiences in Ireland.

9.5 Future Research

There is great potential for the study of immigration and religion from a transnational perspective. My research constituted a specific case study regarding the role of religion in supporting the social and spiritual migration experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland. It provides some important insights for the study of immigration, transnationalism and religion and illuminates a number of potential areas for research in a wider context. I outline below some of the ways in which the insights of my study could be taken further with implications for both academic researchers and policy makers.

Firstly, future studies could examine in more depth the role that religious institutions adopt for immigrants in order to fill gaps left open by the state. According to Boucher (2008), Ireland has failed to create a systematic integration policy to support the provision of welfare for immigrants. Such research could consider the extent to which the government or state-led organisations foster forms of inclusion or exclusion for immigrants. Considering the nature of the services provided by migrant churches would be important for policy makers who need to take note of the role of religious

institutions in the welfare of immigrants. At the same time, however, it would shed light on the role, or lack thereof, of the Irish state in addressing the needs of immigrants, particularly at a time when EU mobility has significantly increased. There are gaps in the provision of services for immigrants and attention must be given to this issue.

Second, my study focused on the Polish chaplaincy and two Irish churches where Polish religious services are celebrated; these represent only one part of a vast number of ethnic religious institutions that have emerged in Ireland in recent years. Future research could take a wider, comparative approach, to the multiple migrant churches of worship in Ireland. Such studies could explore, for example, the different relationships between immigrant groups and ethnic religious institutions and examine how, and if, the members can be differentiated along lines such as gender, race and class. A comparative approach which examines the role of migrant churches in supporting immigration experiences in relation to other immigrant groups in Ireland would also be a fruitful direction for future research.

Third, future studies of transnationalism and religion could explore the impact of religious behaviour on the sending context. Transnational religious space enables the transfer of religious remittances back to the home country. A significant insight would consider how the religious behaviour and faith of people who stay in the home country are affected by such remittances. In this thesis, I argue that the Polish migrants' religious behaviour and the ways in which they think about their faith is altered in Ireland. Drawing on these insights, further inquiry could consider the positive or negative impact that these changes have on family and friends' religion in the home country.

A final significant avenue for future research into immigration and transnationalism would be to explore in more depth the development of transnational social networks as support mechanisms. This research argues that transnational social networks form a major part of the migrants' 'community'. As such, these support networks provide Polish migrants with social, economic and human capital to support their strategic adaptation trajectories in Ireland. Further research could consider if other immigrant groups experience similar transnational experiences, or does this conceptual insight simply frame the experiences of contemporary East-to-West migrants?

Concluding Remarks

The intent of this study is to provide an understanding of Polish migration and their socio-religious experiences. It has been argued in the previous chapters that the relationship between contemporary migrants and religion, including beliefs and practices, are not well understood. A key finding from the empirical chapters was that there is great variation in the ways in which these migrants believe, practice and refer to religion and the church. The significant contribution from the empirical chapters is that the church operates as a transnational organisation of pastoral care, while religion appears to matter more as an ethnic identification marker and social service resource opposed to any spiritual connection. Typically, these migrants undertake self selection with regards to religion and ‘*opt in or out*’ (Gosia, female, 27) when ‘*necessary*’ (Alba et al. 2009). These migrants possess a transnational consciousness which enables them to draw support from their transnational activities and networks. Such activities support their ability to live dual lives – “*be two places at once*” (Alex, female, 29). As Father Augustyn points out – “*we are commuters*”.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Polish Embassy – 10th April 2010



Appendix 2 - Polish Embassy – 10TH April 2010



Appendix 3 - St. Audoen's Church – 11th April 2010



Appendix 4 - St. Audoen's Church – 11th April 2010



Appendix 5 – Activelink advertisement

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, MAYNOOTH

MAYNOOTH, CO. KILDARE, IRELAND



NUI MAYNOOTH

Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

Ollscoil na hÉireann, Má Nuad
Má Nuad, Co. Chill Dara, Éire

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUNTEERS REQUIRED

PhD student at NUI Maynooth seeks Polish volunteers to participate in interviews.

What is the research?

I am conducting research on the Polish community in Ireland. My aim is to gain an understanding of the socio-religious experiences of Polish migrants in Irish society.

What do you need to do?

This is an informal interview. Questions that will be asked are not of a sensitive nature but all questions will be shown to you prior to the interview (a small amount of English is required).

If you are interested please email me at -

researchpolski@gmail.com

Appendix 6 – Activelink advertisement (Polish version)

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, MAYNOOTH

MAYNOOTH, CO. KILDARE, IRELAND



OLLSCOIL NA HÉIREANN, MÁ NUAD
MÁ NUAD, CO. CHILL DARA,

NUI MAYNOOTH
Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

ÉIRE DEPARTMENT OF

SOCIOLOGY

Szukam osób do udziału w badaniach do pracy doktorskiej

Studentka socjologii National University of Ireland w Maynooth poszukuje Polaków chętnych do wzięcia udziału w badaniach.

Na czym polegają badania?

Prowadzę badania nad polską społecznością w Irlandii. Interesuje mnie doświadczenie migracji, adaptacji i integracji ze społecznością irlandzką z perspektywy polskich imigrantów.

Jak możesz pomóc?

Szukam osób chętnych do udzielenia nieformalnego wywiadu. Wszystkie pytania zostaną zaprezentowane przed rozpoczęciem wywiadu. Wymagana jest niewielka znajomość języka angielskiego.

Jeśli jesteś zainteresowany/zainteresowana proszę wyślij email pod adres: researchpolski@gmail.com

Appendix 7 – Metro Éireann advertisement

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, MAYNOOTH

MAYNOOTH, CO. KILDARE, IRELAND



OLLSCOIL NA HÉIREANN, MÁ NUAD
MÁ NUAD, CO. CHILL DARA,

NUI MAYNOOTH
Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

ÉIRE DEPARTMENT OF

SOCIOLOGY

VOLUNTEERS REQUIRED

I am a PhD student at NUI Maynooth. I am carrying out research on the Polish community in Ireland, specifically the social and religious experiences of Polish migrants in the Greater Dublin area. This will establish the level of assistance available to the Polish community both from religious and social institutions, thus highlighting the role played by each institution, if any. I am seeking Polish volunteers to partake in an informal interview lasting 60 minutes or so. Neither gender nor status is important but English (to some level) is essential. Interviews will be conducted at a time and place that is of convenience to each volunteer.

If you are interested please contact me at - researchpolski@gmail.com

THANK YOU

Appendix 8 - Interview Questions

Part A

Background information –

What age are you?

What part of Poland are you from? What religion are you?

What is your marital status? Do you have children?

If so, do they live with you in Ireland or did they stay In Poland?

Decision to migrate to Ireland –

When did you migrate to Ireland?

Did you migrate to Ireland with anyone else?

Before you arrived, did you have an expected length of time that you would stay in Ireland?

What factors influenced your decision to migrate to Ireland?

Why did you choose to migrate specifically to Ireland? (e.g. religious, economic reasons?)

What fears or apprehensions, if any, did you have before moving to

Ireland? What was your perception of Ireland prior to migration?

Did these perceptions influence your decision to migrate?

Initial experience in Ireland –

If applicable – describe your entry into Ireland, from application to collection of documentation

Was this process difficult?

Did you know anyone in Ireland before you arrived (point of contact/social networks etc)?

Had you made contact with this person before you arrived? Did they help you in any way when you arrived in Ireland?

What sort of help did they give you (accommodation, information)? Was this help useful to you?

Did you find your initial experiences in Ireland difficult?

Was it difficult setting up bank accounts and acquiring PPS numbers?

Had you researched Polish facilities in Dublin before leaving Poland?

If so, where did you research? What did you find? Were these findings useful? Did you make contact with these facilities before you left Poland?

Did you research or contact any Polish facilities that are set up in Dublin when you arrived? Why did you contact them? Were they useful?

Did they help you in anyway?

What is your opinion of the facilities available for the Polish community in Ireland?

Are you familiar with the location of Polish facilities such as Polish shops, Polish pubs, Polish chaplaincy, and so on?

Do you use any of the Polish facilities? Why/why not? How often would you use these facilities?

Since moving to Ireland, have you experienced any racism or negativity towards you because of your nationality?

Do you have experience of being part of an ethnic minority group in Ireland?

Employment experiences in Ireland –

Are you currently employed? Where are you employed?

Are you satisfied with your salary (reasons for this)? How long have you worked there?

What were your previous employment positions in Ireland?

Skills and education prior to migrating to Ireland –

What are your educational qualifications? What was your occupation in Poland?

Are you satisfied with your current occupation in Ireland given your qualifications and experience?

(Reasons for this)

Involvement with networks/community –

Are you involved in any groups within your community? Are you involved in any ethnic or Irish organisations?

Reasons for decisions

Contact with Poland –

Do you contact your family and friends in Poland? How do you contact them?
How often do you contact

them? Do they contact you?

If so, how? And how often?

Would you consider yourself a transnational migrant?

If so, why? (their understanding of what it means to be transnational)

Do you participate in transnational activity? E.g. transferring money, taking part in your local community in Poland through i.e. politics (voting)?

Why are you transnational, engage in transnational activities? Is it important to be transnational?

Why?

What support do you get? (networks/capital)

How has this helped your experiences in Ireland?

Have you helped any member of your family or any of your friends move to Ireland since your migration?

If so, how did you help them?

Do you think it is important to help Polish migrants when they initially migrate to Ireland?

Idea of home –

Do you return to Poland?

How often?

Do you have a strong connection with Poland since migrating to Ireland?

Do you view Ireland as your home or Poland or both?

Why do you feel this way?

Future plans –

Do you plan in settling in Ireland long term?

Or, do you plan on returning to Poland?

What are the factors that are influencing your choice?

Part B

Religious observance of Polish migrants in Ireland –

Are you religious?

Why do you think

this?

What factors are important for maintaining your faith and religiosity in Ireland?

Do you attend mass?

How often?

Which church do you attend? (Irish or Polish)

Why do you choose to attend this church?

(If applicable) Is it important to attend a Polish ethnic church?

Why is it important?

Is it important to attend mass celebrated in the Polish

language? Why is it important?

Why do you attend mass? (Feelings they get from attending mass and so on)

Do you attend confessions?

How often?

Which church do you go to attend confessions?

(If applicable) Is it important to confess in Polish opposed to English?

Why is it important?

How often do you pray?

Is it important to you to pray?

Why is it important?

Are you involved in any parish groups?

Are these groups set up in Polish church or Irish church?

Is it important to be part of parish groups?

Why is it important?

Do you believe in God?

Do you have a connection to God?

Is religion important to you?

Does religion have an active role in your life? Why/why not?

Is it important to have religion in your life? (Feelings and so on that they get from being religious, believing in God etc)

Catholic identity of Polish migrants in Ireland –

Has your religion changed in any way since migrating to Ireland?

(Increased/decreased) Why has this changed? (How religious were you in Poland?)

Are you content about this change?

Do you plan on changing the situation that is impacting on your faith/religiosity?

Since migrating to Ireland do you have a stronger sense of your religious identity? Do you view your identity in terms of your religion?

Attending mass and so on, does that reinforce your sense of religious identity?

Do you feel that your Catholic identity supports or helps you during the migration and adaptation in Ireland?

Do you feel that you have a different way of being Catholic than that of Irish Catholics? (If participant attends Irish church, any difference you may have noticed through attending Irish church)

Since migrating to Ireland do you have a stronger sense of your Polish identity?

Why/why not?

How do you view your identity?

Role of the Catholic Church in Polish migrants' adaptation experiences in Ireland -

Before migrating to Ireland or subsequent to the migration did you make contact with the Polish chaplaincy or any other Polish church/priest?

Why did you make contact?

Was it important for you to establish this contact?

Did you get the assistance/information that you required? Have you received any assistance from Irish/Polish church? Why did you go to the church for assistance?

Was the assistance/information helpful or beneficial to you?

(If applicable) Why did you not get assistance/information from the church? Was it important for you not to receive assistance from the church?

Did you consider going to other Polish facilities for help/assistance?

What does the term 'integration' mean to you?

Do you think that you are 'integrated' into Irish society? Why do you think this?

What elements contribute to the feeling of 'integration'?

Do you think it is important to 'integrate' into Irish society?

Do you think that the Polish migrant community in Ireland are 'integrating'? Why/why not?

What institutions do you think facilitate or assist Polish migrants with their 'integration' experience in Ireland?

Has the church/priest helped you to 'integrate' into Irish society?

In what sort of ways has the church helped you? (Spiritually/socially)

Has the church helped you with social aspects of 'integrating' into Irish society?
(Such as assisting with finding employment, providing English classes, general information and so on)

Has this help benefited your 'integration' process?

Does the church provide you with a sense of ethnic identity?

Does the church engage in transnational activities that help you feel more connected to Poland?

Does the church provide a sense of community?

Was the church an important sight for meeting new people in Ireland?

What is the Polish priest in your parish like? Was he helpful?

How did he help you?

Did he facilitate or mediate your 'integration' into Irish society? How did he do this?

Was this an important aspect of your 'integration' process? Did this help ensure 'integration' into Irish society?

Are there any other aspects of your religion or experiences in Ireland that you would like to discuss?

Appendix 9 – Consent form

Consent form

The title of the study:

‘Mediating Catholicism – Religious Identities, Polish Migrants and the Catholic Church in Ireland’

Researcher:

Kerry Gallagher

Auxilia House,

Office 4,

NUI Maynooth,

Maynooth,

Co.Kildare.

085-1030257

Supervisor:

Dr. Brian Conway

Auxilia House,

NUI Maynooth,

Maynooth,

Co.Kildare.

017084789

Purpose of the study and what will be required of the participant.

The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of Polish migrants in Ireland and how, if at all, spirituality or the church figure in terms of social and spiritual support. The only requirement of the participant is to answer the questions fully, where applicable to them.

Confidentiality of data

The data collected from the interviews will be stored in a locked cabinet in the Sociology department at NUI Maynooth.

The transcripts of each interview will be made available to the participant if they would like to read it or have any queries regarding any information recorded. These will be available to the participant at all times.

All transcripts will be anonymised. Information that could identify participants will be stored separately to the anonymised transcripts.

What will happen to the study results?

Firstly, the data will be analysed and theories/arguments will be drawn from this analysis. The data will then be used as supporting material for the argument of my PhD. The data will form part of the research process and will be used accordingly. It is important to note that the data could be used as part of a publication. The data will be stored for up to five years.

Withdrawal

Participants may withdraw from the study at any time. They may, also, withdraw their data up until the work is published.

If during your participation in this study you feel the information and guidelines that you were given have been neglected or disregarded in any way, or if you are unhappy about the process please contact the Secretary of the National University of Ireland Maynooth Ethics Committee at pgdean@nuim.ie of 01 708 6018. Please be assured that your concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.

Participant's signature –

Date -