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DISSERTATION SUMMARY

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**The politicisation of immigration in Poland**

Doctoral dissertation under  
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## **1. The rationale for the choice of the subject matter**

The Author was inspired to choose the subject of the thesis by a discourse related to the problem of immigration tackled by parties and political groups, intellectual elites, NGOs, and various entities operating within the scope of the present analysis. What is more, the initiated discourse also engaged vox populi, who regularly expanded their interest in the issue of immigration. Taking into account the scale and dynamics of the inflow of immigrants to Poland, and particularly taking into consideration the reasons for immigrations, it should be noted that the *immigration* discourse in Poland was strongly related to the prerequisites distinguished. The focus on immigration, and hence the political discourse revolving around the issue, was characterized by somewhat provisional character. Initiated during an increased inflow of immigrants to Poland, it quickly subsided in view of other matters important for the state and society. What is important, the occasional emphasis on the content was not followed by a real action taken by state institutions addressing Polish immigration policies. Lately, the process of politicisation in Poland was markedly determined by immigration crisis, with its height in 2015. Poland, as a member of the European Union (EU) participated in deciding how it should be overcome. The stance presented by Poland differed from the solutions suggested by the European institutions. The remedies Poland promoted, as well as its criticism of the actions taken by the EU in this respect, were also reflected in the escalated conflict observed in Polish political arena. Standpoints presented in the state discourse by parties and political groups polarised the political arena and public opinion as well, triggering animated discussions on immigration and relevant political decisions in Poland.

The mentioned prerequisites encouraged the Author to have a close look at the problem of politicisation of immigration in Poland and to undertake the task of analysing the factors determining the process, explaining its nature and specifying the moment when the politicising of immigration strengthened and influenced the decision-making process as well as the choice of remedies for the issue of immigration in Poland. Furthermore, the Author made an attempt at clarifying whether the standpoints of parties and political groups differed in respect to immigration, and whether discussions held by the leaders of parties and political groups were subject to political disagreements, as well

as whether public opinion was also polarised in terms of immigration. The process of politicising immigration in Poland involved various actors (immigration policy entities). The Author also analysed the role of the actors of the politicisation of immigration and their impact on the process.

The politicisation of immigration considered herein requires a profound explanation. Hence, the present dissertation constitutes a completion of the issues tackled by researchers in the field of immigration by the research matter of politicising the phenomenon of immigration in Poland, disregarded until now. Heretofore, the issues were mentioned only to a limited extent and were not covered by a comprehensive analysis, which influenced the Author to undertake the task of describing the process, its course, determining factors and implications for political practice.

## **2. Theoretical assumptions**

The subject matter of the present dissertation covers the issues relating to the process of politicisation of immigration in Poland in 2004-2018. The Author depicts the politicising of immigration as a process that involves the interest of political and non-political actors in the phenomenon of immigration. Including immigration as a part of political discourse makes it an element of a dispute/conflict which leads to devising ways to meet challenges connected to immigration, and thus determines it as an issue demanding state intervention or an implementation of certain political actions. Hence, immigration becomes a part of the decision-making process and gains political significance. The politicisation of immigration also involves the shaping of immigration policies, reflected, among others, in modifying binding legal acts, implementing new solutions or governmental strategic documents. Within the process of politicisation, the shaping of immigration policies takes place triggered by political discourse, and the decisions taken by political actors are also goaled at specific political benefits.

### **2.1. The objective**

The core rationale of this dissertation is to explain the process of politicising immigration in Poland after the year 2004 and specify if and how the presence of the issue of immigration in the standpoints and platforms of parties and political groups as

well as political and public debate, was reflected in specific actions and political decisions (legal acts, strategic documents and platforms). The analysis focuses attention on chosen elements of the process of the politicisation of immigration, relevant to the research hypotheses adopted. It is also worth emphasising that the Author concentrates on key aspects of the analysed problem, considering mainly on migration crisis in EU and its repercussions in view of political practice in Poland, as well as on the inflow of immigrants from Ukraine. The remaining aspects, as was proven by the research, were not as significantly influential for the political reality in Poland, hence they constitute only a context for the research conducted.

The Author formed the following specific objectives following this shape of the main rationale of the dissertation:

1. To specify the factors which initiated and determined the interest of parties and political groups as well as public opinion in immigration in Poland.
2. To determine the importance of the issue of immigration in the platforms of parties and political groups.
3. To name the grounds considered by political actors in tackling the issue of immigration.
4. To explain the process of the politicisation of immigration, including the determination of the moment when the issue of immigration became addressed by political actions.
5. To present the actions of political and non-political actors and their impact on the shaping of the state immigration policies.
6. To recognise the implications for the process of the politicisation of immigration in Poland.
7. To indicate the key moments in the process of politicising immigration in Poland.

## **2.2. The thesis and research hypotheses**

Within the analysed period, immigration to Poland was to no particular interest of parties and political groups. Nevertheless, the issues relating to immigration were discussed upon implementing legal remedies relating to the inflow and stay of immigrants, as well as in state strategic documents. Few parties and political groups

considered immigration in their program documents and platforms. Only the emergence of immigration crisis in the European Union in 2015 triggered relevant interest. Thus, it is assumed that the phenomenon of immigration was undergoing the process of politicisation after the year 2004, which was strengthened at the time of immigration crisis in Europe and parliamentary electoral campaign in 2015.

The thesis was advanced following a context analysis, i.e. taking into consideration the situation of Poland after 2004, conditions which influenced the scale and dynamics of immigration, and factors determining the standpoints of parties and political groups, and the activity of non-governmental organisations in this respect. Moreover, political decisions reached by the ruling parties were also taken into account in view of the need for Poland to implement the remedies against immigration crisis agreed by the EU member states and their grounds.

The present dissertation forms and verifies the following hypotheses, basing on the exploration and politological explanation of relevant sources:

1. *The process of politicising immigration in Poland involved both political (parties and political groups) and non-political (immigration policy subjects) actors.*
2. *The shape of immigration policies is influenced by different actors of the politicisation process.*
3. *The actors of the process of politicisation influence the shape of immigration policies in a diverse manner.*
4. *Non all parties and political groups addressed the issue of immigration in their program documents and platforms.*
5. *The matters of immigration were subject to conflict, political dispute, and polarisation of political standpoints.*
6. *Immigration in Poland was no subject to political debate since the problem was seen as irrelevant by parties and political groups, with only the immigration crisis triggering interest in the issue.*
7. *The problem of immigration was included within the scope of interest of political parties for the sake of elections and temporary political goals.*
8. *The process of politicising the phenomenon of immigration engaged NGOs as one of the non-political actors of the politicisation.*

9. *The issues of immigration were subject to conflict, dispute and polarisation of standpoints for NGOs.*
10. *Public opinion interest in immigration was related to the coverage of the problem of immigration by political discussion and ongoing public debate.*
11. *Polish are more well-disposed to the presence of immigrants from Ukraine than other cultures.*
12. *The process of politicisation resulted in modifying state immigration policy, its assumptions and directions.*

Upon verifying the above hypotheses, the Author was able to establish whether the issues on immigration underwent politicisation, and when the process was strengthened.

### **2.3. Research questions**

The Author formulated a few research questions to enable the verification of research hypotheses.

The first research question related to the coverage of immigration issues in political discourse as well as the programs and actions of the Council of Ministers, and to when and why the matter of immigration became subject to political discourse in Poland, also considering which factors determined the interest of parties and political groups and immigration. The interest in the process of politicisation presented by parties and political groups is a meaningful determiner for specifying if a given phenomenon is being politicised. Hence, the following question referred to the coverage of immigration matters by the campaigns and platforms of parties and political groups, as well as to indicating which parties and political groups tackled the issue in their platforms and which remedies they suggested as to immigration. What were the motives of political parties showing interest in immigration? The analysis considered political and non-political actors of the process of politicising immigration. The Author framed the second question on the actors who participated in the process of politicising immigration, their impact and engagement in shaping immigration policies. The proceeding research question that the Author attempted at answering referred to the relation between the way of holding political debate and public opinion. It also needed to be established whether via the presence of immigration in political debate, Polish changed their attitude towards immigrants and if the way Polish perceive immigrants differs depending on their countries of origin. Is the

presence of immigration matters in political discourse reflected in legal regulations and political practice? Subsequently, the Author tackled the questions of the involvement of NGOs as a non-political actor of the process in politicisation. Which non-governmental organisations participated in the process of politicising immigration and did their actions influence the shaping of immigration policies? The analysis focused on immigration from Ukraine, and in this context the Author posed a question whether the issue of Ukrainian immigrants could be found within the scope of interest of parties and political groups and whether it was present in political discourse. Was immigration from Ukraine used by parties and political groups in politicising immigration in Poland?

### **3. Methodological assumptions**

#### **3.1. The chronological scope of the dissertation**

The accession of Poland to the EU in 2004 was the starting point to the analysis of politicising immigration in the country. At the time, immigration policies were subject to Europeanisation and further efforts were made to develop the institutional and legal system in terms of immigration policies<sup>1</sup>. The year 2004 was significant in view of the shaping of immigration policies because the accession was followed by opening up the borders. Simultaneously, it was necessary to devise and modify procedures and solutions related to the inflow of immigrants. Research was focused on politicisation trouble spot events that constituted the centre of the stands taken by parties and political groups. Due to the fact that politicisation impacts the shaping of immigration policies, which after 2004 constituted merely a fragment of the migration policies implemented by the state, it was requisite to outline its internal and external factors. The year 2007, when Poland became part of the Schengen area, was special for the process of politicisation. It was related to the elimination of Poland's internal borders, which triggered a need for adjusting both legal and institutional solutions connected to Polish immigration policies. The research period involved situations significant in terms of the process of

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<sup>1</sup>Faza europeizacji obejmowała okres 2001-2004, w tym czasie dostosowywano do wymogów unijnych w związku z przystąpieniem do UE system prawno – polityczny w zakresie kontroli granic, polityki wizowej i admisji został dostosowany do wymogów unijnych w związku z planowanym przystąpieniem do UE, A. Górny, I. Grabowska - Lusińska, M. Lesińska, M. Okólski, (red.), *Transformacja nieoczywista. Polska jako kraj imigracji*, Studia Migracyjnej, Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2010, s. 262-264.



politicisation. Within that time Poland held four parliamentary elections (2005, 2007, 2011 and 2015) as well as electoral campaigns. The year 2015 was important to the process of politicisation as it saw a debate on immigration crisis running concurrently with parliamentary electoral campaign. The closing date for the research process falls on the year 2018, when the EU member states devised a compromise on relocation issues (compulsory relocations were abandoned), guidelines for immigration policies in Poland were presented, and Marrakesh Political Declaration was signed, from which Poland eventually quit, not signing the UN pact on the rights of refugees and migrants (Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration - GCM)<sup>2</sup>, and local elections were held, with immigration used as a means to achieve electoral objectives.

### **3.2. Research methods and techniques**

Date analysis and decision analysis were employed as leading methods to study the objectives and hypotheses formulated in the present dissertation. Furthermore, the Author used institutional and legal analysis, comparative analysis, and statistical analysis were utilised as supplementary methods.

The analysis of existing data allowed for exploration of the content of sources and documents. Qualitative analysis of the content was used for the interpretation of written documents, i.e. the programs and standpoints of parties and political groups, governmental strategic documents, and decisions taken. For the present dissertation, the analysis of political claims refers to the presence of immigration in Polish political debate within the period in question. The analysis of existing data enabled the study of the process of politicising immigration in Poland. The distinction of processes taking place upon the shaping of the standpoints of parties and political groups as relevant actors of the process of politicisation for the phenomenon of immigration in Poland. This approach also allowed for specifying the moment when the matters of immigration became subject to political debate.

The decision analysis made the Author capable of analysing the process of taking and implementing political decisions on immigration in Poland, their repercussions, and the circumstances in which they were made, as well as which actors participated in the

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<sup>2</sup>United Nations, *Zgromadzenie Ogólne popiera pierwszy w historii Global Compact dotyczący migracji, wzywając do współpracy między państwami członkowskimi w zakresie ochrony migrantów*, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2018/ga12113.doc.htm> (dostęp: 01.05.2019).

decision-making process. It was utilised to capture the moment when political debate related to immigration to Poland and standpoints presented by parties, political groups and governments were reflected in political decisions referring to immigration. The decision analysis also enabled naming the factors which determined political decisions on immigration.

The institutional and legal analysis led to recognising how far the issues of immigration were to the interest of governments and which remedies were devised, as well studying which political decision on immigration or immigration policies found reference in the normative solutions undertaken.

Platforms and standpoints of parties and political groups were examined via comparative analysis in terms of the occurrence of immigration issues, which made it possible to judge whether the stands of parties and political groups differed in reference to immigration issues. The use of this method was followed by determining if trends on perceiving immigration and immigrants in Poland were changing.

Statistical analysis was exploited to study migration trends, the scale and nature of immigration in Poland. Due to the quantitative approach included in the studies of institutions responsible for reporting on immigration situation in Poland, it was possible to conduct an analysis of changes in immigration trends throughout the years 2004 – 2017<sup>3</sup>. The statistical analysis also covered the demographic situation in Poland as well as forecasts relevant in the context of immigration.

### **3.3. The state of research**

It needs emphasising that the range of problems of politicising immigration in Poland remains outside mainstream research. There are numerous studies on immigration policies in Poland but they do not refer to its politicisation. Researchers dealing with migration attempt at defining the politicisation of migration to a minor extent. The subject of politicising immigration in Poland is signalled in papers on immigration in its broad terms, which confirms that, as immigration policies was to no particular interest of political scientists, the process of the politicisation of immigration did not constitute a key category either.

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<sup>3</sup>Dane statystyczne opracowane zostały do 2017 roku, ponieważ opracowania statystyczne za rok 2018 ukazały się dopiero w 2019 roku.

The main sources of explanation covered in the present dissertation come from documents written by the actors of the process of politicising immigration in Poland – parties and political groups, the Sejm and the Senate, government, Polish nationwide non-governmental organisation executing their tasks in terms of immigration, and local governmental units. In the course of preparatory work for the dissertation, the Author used local and national media coverage. The explanatory process was mainly based on scientific papers by Polish researchers dealing with migration processes and migration policies, as well as other sector policies published after the year 1989. The analysis also covered, among others: programs and standpoints of parties and political groups accompanying legal and organisational remedies in implementation (legal acts, ordinances, programs, and projects) connected to regulating the issues of immigration, the exposes of Prime Ministers for respective governments, the stands of NGOs relating to the matters of immigration, statistical data, including Eurostat, Statistics Poland, the Ministry of the Internal Affairs and Administration, the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, press materials, and opinion polls on immigration in Poland, held by Public Opinion Research Centre.

The studies used in the present dissertation covered issues relating to the analytical category of the concept of politicising and immigration policies. The questions relating to the politicisation of social phenomena allowed for organising and directing the exegesis of this analytical category. Among studies on politicisation, it worth mentioning, among others: Zbigniew Blok, Mirosław Karwat, Maciej Duszczyk, Magdalena Lesińska, Kamil Matuszczyk, Waldemar Paruch, Renata Podgórska, and Franciszek Ryszka<sup>4</sup>. For a

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<sup>4</sup>Z. Blok, *O polityczności, polityce i politologii*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WNPiD UAM, Poznań 2009; Z. Blok, M. Kołodziejczak, *O statusie i znaczeniu kategorii polityki i polityczności w nauce o polityce*, „Studia Politologiczne”, 2015, z. 37, Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA, Warszawa 2015; M. Duszczyk, M. Lesińska, K. Matuszczyk, *Upolitycznienie kwestii demograficznej (starzenia się ludności) w Polsce*, „Studia i Materiały”, 2015, z. 5, Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2015; M. Karwat, *Polityczność i upolitycznienie. Metodologiczne ramy analizy*, „Studia Politologiczne”, 2010, z. 17; M. Lesińska, *Inkluzja polityczna imigrantów we współczesnej Europie*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR, Warszawa 2013; W. Paruch, *Konsekwencje definiowania myśli politycznej dla kwestionariusza badań politologicznych*, „Humanities and Socjal Sciences”, 2015; R. Podgórska, *Problem polityzacji zjawiska migracji w powojennej Polsce*, [w:] B. Kromolicka, H. Wlczak (red.), *Bezdomna Europa. Migracje po II wojnie światowej we współczesnych badaniach humanistów*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego US Minerwa, Szczecin 2015; F. Ryszka, *O pojęciu polityki*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1992.

profound exegesis of the concept of politicisation, the papers by Chantal Mouffe and Carl Schmitt<sup>5</sup> were of particular importance.

Literary texts on immigration policies in Poland are of utmost interest and value. The researchers of immigration policies in Poland analysed its shaping process, including numerous factors influencing its final form. The present dissertation, among others, involves references to the papers by Anita Adamczyk, Krzysztof Cebul, Maciej Duszczyk, Włodzimierz Fehler, Agata Górny, Izabela Grabowska – Lusińska, Katarzyna Głąbicka, Agnieszka Kulesa, Magdalena Lesińska, Sławomir Łodziński, Patrycja Matusz – Protasiewicz, Rafał Matyja, Marek Okólski, Mikołaj Pawlak, Konrad Pędziwiatr, Alina Potrykowska, Renata Podgórska, Anna Siewierska – Chmaj, Dariusz Stoła, Marek Szonert, Monika Trojanowska – Strzęboszewska, and Agnieszka Weiner<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Ch. Mouffe, Carl Schmitt, *wyzwanie polityczności*, Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warszawa 2011; Ch. Mouffe, *Polityczność*, Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warszawa 2008; C. Schmitt, *Pojęcie polityczności*, Wydawnictwo Znak i Fundacja im. Stefana Batorego, Kraków – Warszawa 2000.

<sup>6</sup> A. Adamczyk, *Spoleczno-polityczne implikacje imigracji do Polski w latach 1989 – 2007*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WNPiD UAM, Poznań 2012; W. Fehler, K. Cebul, R. Podgórska, *Migracje jako wyzwanie dla Unii Europejskiej i wybranych państw członkowskich*, Wydawnictwo DIFIN, Warszawa 2017; M. Duszczyk, *Polska polityka migracyjna a rynek pracy*, Oficyna wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, Warszawa 2012; M. Duszczyk, *Polityka migracyjna*, [w:] M. Lesińska, M. Okólski, *25 wykładów o migracjach*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR, Warszawa 2018; K. Głąbicka, M. Okólski, D. Stoła, *Polityka migracyjna Polski*, „Prace Migracyjne” 1998, z. 18, Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami, Warszawa 1998; A. Górny, I. Grabowska - Lusińska, M. Lesińska, M. Okólski, *Transformacja nieoczywista. Polska jako kraj migracji*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2010; A. Kulesa, *W stronę konceptualizacji polityki migracyjnej jako szczegółowej polityki państwa: definicja i pole badawcze*, „Studia z Polityki Publicznej”, Szkoła Główna Handlowa, 2017, z. 4; M., Lesińska, *Migracje we współczesnej analizie politologicznej – niewykorzystany potencjał*, Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami, „CMR Working Papers”, 47/105; M. Lesińska, M. Okólski (red.), *25 wykładów o migracjach*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR, Warszawa 2018; S. Łodziński, *Przymus dziejowy i poczucie ciągłości. Społeczno-kulturowy kontekst kształtowania się polityki migracyjnej w Polsce w latach 1918-2004*, [w:] H. P. Müller, M. Zielińska (red.), *Transgraniczność w perspektywie socjologicznej. Migracje przymusowe w Europie*, Zielona Góra 2012; S. Łodziński, M. Szonert, „*Niepolityczna polityka*”? *Kształtowanie się polityki migracyjnej w Polsce w latach 1989 – 2016 (kwiecień)*, CMR Working Papers, 90/148, Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami, Warszawa 2016; P. Matusz-Protasiewicz, *Model wielopoziomowego zarządzania w tworzeniu polityki integracji imigrantów w Unii Europejskiej. Rola Europejskiego Funduszu na rzecz Integracji Obywateli Państw Trzecich w kształtowaniu polityki integracyjnej w Polsce*. Prawnicza i Ekonomiczna Biblioteka Cyfrowa, Wrocław 2014; R. Matyja, A. Siewierska-Chmaj, K. Pędziwiatr, *Polska polityka migracyjna. W poszukiwaniu nowego modelu*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2015; M. Pawlak, *Imitacja w tworzeniu polskiej polityki integracji cudzoziemców*, „Studia Migracyjne - Przegląd Polonijny”, 2013, z. 3; M. Pawlak, *Polityki publiczne wobec migracji*, [w:] J. Kwaśniewski, *Nauki o polityce publicznej. Monografia dyscypliny*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2018; A. Potrykowska, *Określenie zasad i kierunków polityki migracyjnej Polski w dobie integracji europejskiej*, [w:] Rządowa Rada, *Ludnościowa Rekomendacje Rządowej Rady Ludnościowej w zakresie polityki ludnościowej Polski*, Warszawa 2014; M. Trojanowska – Strzęboszewska, *Kształtowanie się stanowisk politycznych na temat imigracji i imigrantów w Polsce w latach 2001 – 2005*, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa 2010; *Stosunek do imigracji i imigrantów parlamentarnych partii politycznych w Polsce. Analizy wybranych debat parlamentarnych*, Instytut Spraw

The analysis of the state of research enables the statement that presently there is no scientific study on the politicisation of the phenomenon of immigration in Poland. Although there are publications on politicising migration, none of them refers comprehensively to the issues of the politicisation of immigration in Poland. Therefore, the present dissertation addresses the subject not heretofore investigated within the domain of Polish political science research, namely the politicisation of immigration in Poland.

#### **4. The structure of the dissertation**

The present dissertation has a problem structure. Its separate chapters were devoted to specific issues. The thesis comprises an introduction, five chapters and an ending. The first chapter is of theoretical and descriptive nature, whereas the following four constitute the research part of the paper. Their order and merits result from the research objective and the complexity of the research questions.

The first chapter, i.e. 'Theoretical aspects of the research in politicisation' presents theoretical considerations on the matters connected to politicisation and immigration. It mainly focused on the theories of politicisation, its determiners, mechanisms, and implications for the process of politicisation. It also covers theoretical aspects of immigration and discusses the aspects of depoliticisation. In this chapter, the Author explains the definition of the politicisation of immigration. The problems discussed in this part of the thesis form theoretical grounds for further substantive considerations on the exegesis of the phenomenon of immigration on Poland.

Chapter two, named 'Immigration situation in Poland', covers the determiners and assumptions of immigration policy, its legal grounds, the scale and nature of immigration to Poland, as well as the instruments for managing immigration. This chapter discusses the process of the evolution of the shaping of Polish immigration policy influenced by legal, social, cultural, and economic determiners. What is more, the Author analysed the legal grounds of Polish immigration policy, as well as the changes taking place in Polish legislation relating to immigration over the period in question. State program documents dealing with the issues of immigration and immigration policies were also raised.

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Publicznych, Warszawa 2010; A. Weinar, *Europeizacja polskiej polityki wobec cudzoziemców: 1990-2003*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR, Warszawa 2006.

The third chapter, 'The actors of the process of politicising immigration in Poland', revolved around both political and non-political actors of the process and characterised them as well as their role in the politicisation. It analysed the standpoints of parties and political groups presented in party programs, platforms and political debate on immigration and immigration policies. The Author also discussed NGOs implementing tasks within immigration policies and the role they played in the process of politicising this phenomenon. Moreover, the chapter analysed the evolution of public opinion towards immigrants in Poland.

Chapter four, 'Immigration crisis in Europe and its repercussions for Polish immigration policy', was dedicated to EU policies towards immigration crisis and their implications for Poland, as well as to how the Polish stand to EU concepts for solving immigration crisis evolved, to the actions taken by Poland within the Visegrad Group (V4) and the cooperation of V4 states in terms of devising their own solutions and presenting them to EU member states as an alternative to the remedies devised previously. The chapter also analysed the evolution of how the public perceived refugees and immigrants through immigration crisis and the following repercussions for the process of the politicisation of immigration in Poland.

The fifth chapter, 'Immigrants from Ukraine in Polish political discourse' analyses the problems relating to the immigration from Ukraine, with particular emphasis on the presence of the issue of Ukrainian immigrants in political discourse. It explains the external and internal determiners of the inflow of immigrants from Ukraine to Poland, their social and economic position, as well as public opinion towards this group of immigrants. Explanations also refer to the standpoints of political parties towards the inflow of immigrants from Ukraine to Poland, and the instruments of managing immigration from Ukraine.

## **5. Conclusions**

The exegesis of the process of the politicisation of immigration in Poland allowed for capturing the moment when the issue of immigration in Poland was to particular interest of the actors of the process and for recognising the factor which determined the process. The analysis conducted in the present dissertation let the Author establish the

influence exerted by the actor of politicisation on immigration policies. Having answered the research questions, the Author managed to confirm the formulated research hypotheses.

Firstly, immigration policies had not remained in the scope of interest for parties and political groups. Due to minor involvement of political parties in the issue of immigration, no political or social debate over the assumptions of migration policies had been held. By the same token, there had been no polarising of the political arena. Immigration policies had been developed by administration. Only the emergence of immigration crisis in the EU since 2015, triggered the actors of the process of politicisation to show interest in the issue of immigration. Despite the lack of particular involvement presented by parties and political groups, immigration was reflected not only in relevant legal regulations but also in strategic documents or sector program policies.

Secondly, the majority of program documents and electoral campaigns devised by parties and political groups over the years 2004-2015 offered no reference to the issue of immigration. Only few parties raised the problem of immigration in their platforms. The Democratic Left Alliance was the party which included immigration matters in their electoral manifesto, with their suggestion for solving the problem of immigration, in their campaign in 2011. The analysis of electoral campaigns with the period in question allows for stating that the problem of immigration became subject to the interest of political parties in 2015, and was used predominantly to meet immediate electoral needs and political objectives. The issues of immigration constituted the keynote topic of 2015 electoral campaign. The debate relating to the campaign addressed the matters of refugees and immigrants and its rhetoric was aimed at political objectives of the parties aspiring for parliament and adjusted to social expectations.

Thirdly, the interest of the public in immigration resulted from the ongoing political debate in the years 2015-2018. The narrative of some parties and political groups since 2015 led the dispute over the inflow of immigrants to Poland spread also to social arena.

Fourthly, non-governmental organisations participated in the public debate, also taking part in the dispute over immigration issues, and were polarised. Furthermore, the decisions on immigration issues taken by the parliament or government since 2015 were often justified with social expectations.

Fifthly, the attitudes of Polish society started differentiating between immigrants coming from various regions of the world. The analysis of public opinion leads to a statements that Polish were more and more often declaring negative attitude to immigrants from Africa and the countries of the Middle East, regardless of the reasons for their immigration. The emotions concurrent with discussions of political arena reflected onto social arena. Polish showed positive bias towards Ukrainian immigrants. The research analysis indicates that the change in Polish attitudes to immigrants from the Middle East and Africa correlates in time with the public debate on immigration crisis and the claims that ruling parties supported in terms of the remedies adopted by the EU.

The problem analysis proved that the dispute over immigration issues engaged different actors of the process of politicisation, among others, parties and political groups as well as NGOs. The influence of the actors of the politicising process on decision-making for immigration issues depended on the type of actors involved in taking the decisions. A minor impact on the decisions referring to immigration was exerted by non-political actors. Their role was greatly limited to pronouncing opinions on the suggestions for remedies proposed by political actors. Parties and political groups had more impact on decisions made over the period in question regarding immigration issues, which became noticeable in 2015, when decisions on immigration to Poland were taken by parties representing both the outgoing administration (the coalition of Civic Platform and Polish Peasant Party) and the one taking office, i.e. the United Right (Law and Justice, United Poland, and Agreement). Via their core parties, the administrations presented clearly divergent standpoints. Civic Platform favoured admitting immigrants within relocation, whereas Law and Justice and its coalition opposed to it, using the argument of the peril to safety. The issue of immigration was purposefully introduced to political debate, to achieve specific political objectives in the particular electoral case. The pertinence triggered strengthening of the politicisation of immigration. The political debate on immigration also involved the issue of Ukrainian immigration. Parties opposing the acceptance of immigrants within relocation justified their position with the increasing number of Ukrainian immigrants. International forum discussions involved numbers which were not always realistic. The use of immigration from Ukraine was aimed at maintaining the heretofore position of the Polish government of not accepting refugees



from the countries of Africa and the Middle East and was compliant with the expectations of the public, who were more in favour of the presence of Ukrainian immigrants in Poland.

Even if less enhanced, the discussion on immigrants was maintained within the following years. Although it was not as stormy and engaging as during the electoral campaign, it was still noticeable over the period immediately following the parliamentary elections. The debate intensified in periods of terrorist attacks in 2015-2016 and eventually influenced the decisions taken by the government on withdrawing from the implementation of the migration policies assumed thus far and starting to devise new documents.

The presented research results on the politicisation of immigration in Poland allow for the following conclusions:

- Parties and political groups did not perceive immigration as a phenomenon requiring major social interest of politicians. Thus, although opinions on immigration were divided, relevant discussions were not held in the atmosphere of fear, and did not lead to the polarisation of political arena triggering negative bias towards immigrants.
- Immigration crisis of 2015 in Europe provoked parties and political groups to enter into discussion on immigration.
- The strengthening of the process of politicising immigration took place in 2015 during parliamentary electoral campaign.
- The process of politicising immigration in Poland was strengthened in 2015 and the following years.
- The issue of immigration was included in electoral campaign of 2015 and led to polarising political arena.
- The issue of immigration was used to achieve the particular profit of recruiting a bigger group of voters and the seizure of power.
- The process of politicising immigration engaged NGOs, but their impact on the shaping of immigration policies was of limited nature, due to their consultative activity.

To summarise, immigration after the year 2004 was to no particular interest of the political actors of the process of politicisation. Few parties and political groups addressed

the issue of immigration in their platforms. The subject matter of immigration was present upon the implementation of legal or strategic solutions related to the inflow and stay of immigrants in Poland. However, the actors of the process of immigration showed special interest in immigration in 2015, when immigration crisis emerged in the EU. The immigration crisis triggered polarising political and social arena. The exegesis of the process of politicisation lead to the assumption that the phenomenon of immigration in Poland after 2004 was subject to the process of politicising, and the process was strengthened at the time of the emergence of immigration crisis in the EU and parliamentary electoral campaign.

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