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The Attitude to Refugees in Poland and its Socio-Political Determinants



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Introduction

The aim of the presentation is to attempt to answer some questions like:

- ✓ What is the attitude of Polish society towards refugees?
- ✓ What are the socio-political determinants of this attitude?
- ✓ What factors influence the way Polish society looks at refugees?
- ✓ What image does the average Pole have of refugees?

The presentation will have three parts:

- I. Information regarding the attitude of Polish society towards refugees
- II. Social conditions of this attitude
- III. Political reasons for this attitude

PART ONE

Information regarding the attitude of Polish society towards refugees

- ❑ the attitude of Poles towards refugees (including in particular Muslims) – current results of opinion polls
- ❑ the attitude of Poles towards refugees in comparison to other nationals

Czy Polska powinna odmówić przyjęcia uchodźców z krajów muzułmańskich nawet gdyby z tego powodu:



Groziłaby jej utrata funduszy unijnych?
(proc.)

56,5 tak

zdecydowanie
raczej

40,4 nie

zdecydowanie
raczej



Wiązało się to z koniecznością opuszczenia Unii Europejskiej?
(proc.)

51,2 tak

zdecydowanie
raczej

37,6 nie

zdecydowanie
raczej



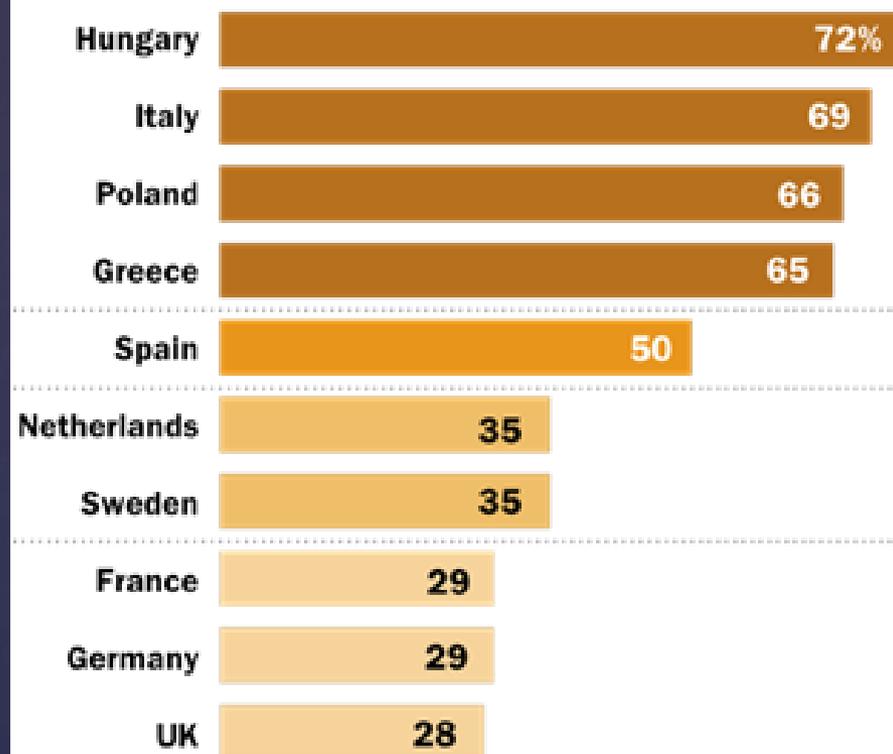
Źródło IBRIS. Badanie przeprowadzono w czerwcu 2017 r., 1000-osobowa próba, metoda CATI

Should Poland refuse to accept refugees from Muslim countries even if it caused the following:

- loss of EU funds? – Yes: 56.5%; No: 40.4%; Difficult to say: 3.1%.
- need to leave the European Union? - Yes: 51.2 %; No: 37.6 %; Difficult to say: 11.2%.

Views of Muslims more negative in eastern and southern Europe

Unfavorable view of Muslims in our country



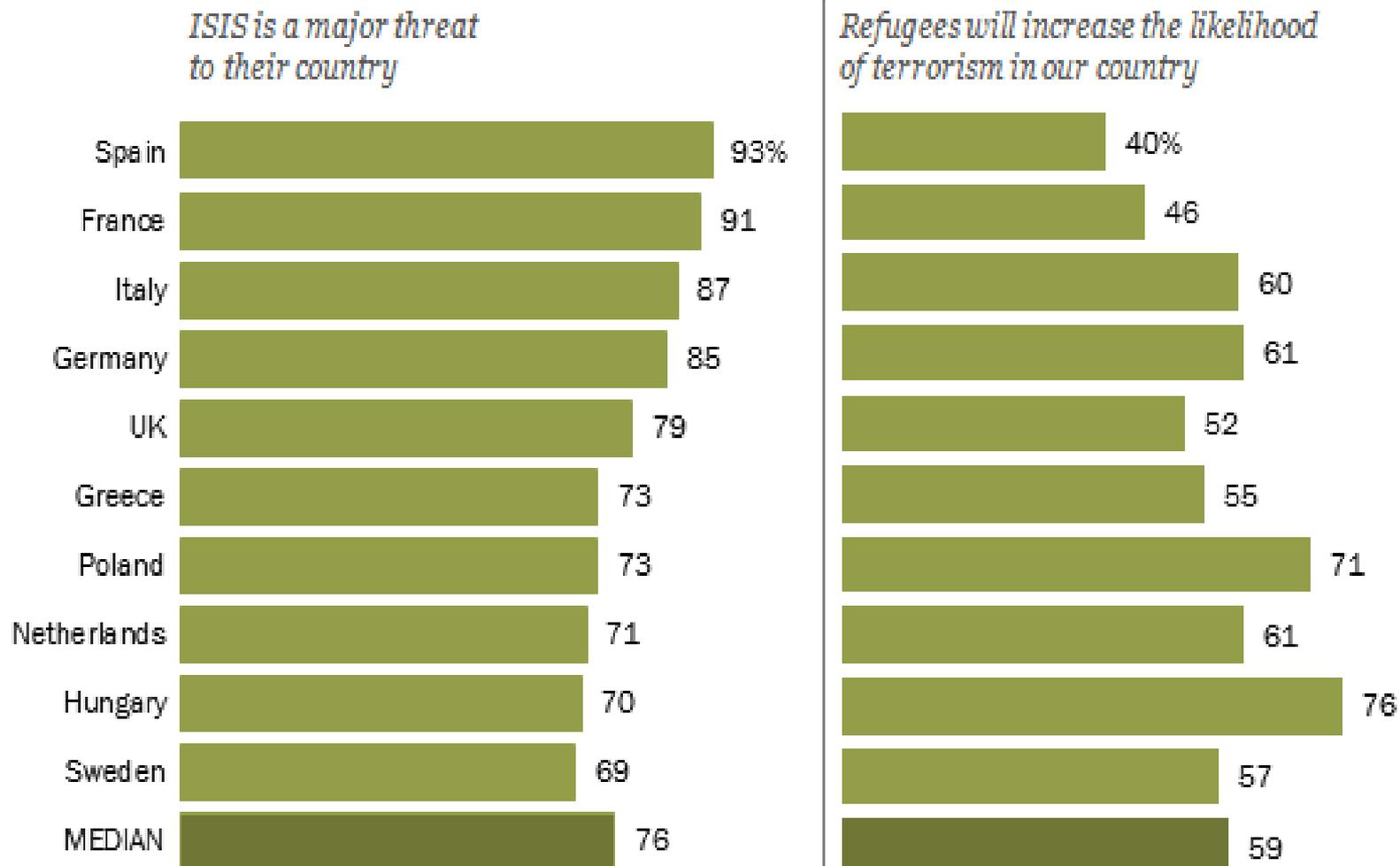
Note: In Poland, question was asked of a subsample of 686 respondents.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q36c.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/19/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>

Many Europeans concerned about ISIS and security repercussions of refugee crisis

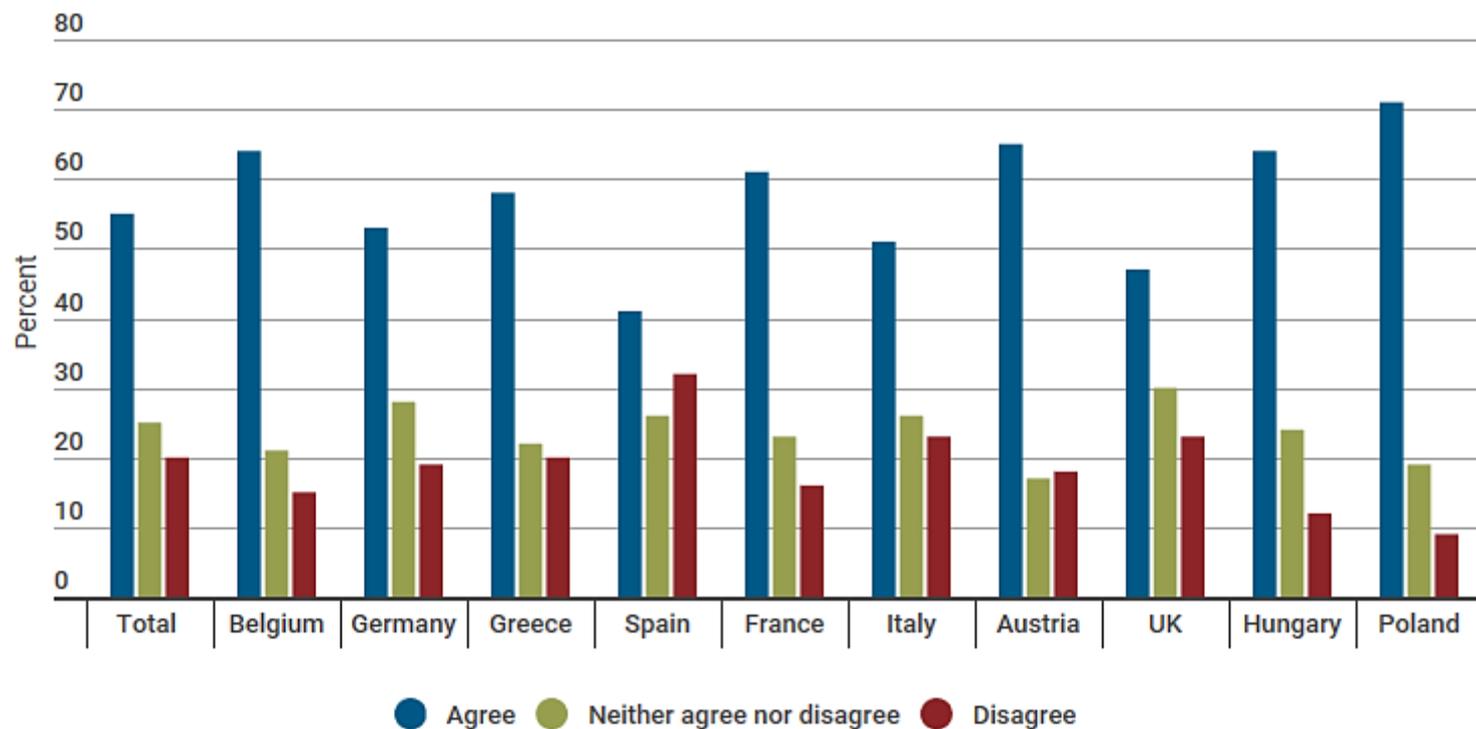


Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

'All further migration from mainly Muslim countries should be stopped'

Source: Chatham House, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/what-do-europeans-think-about-muslim-immigration>



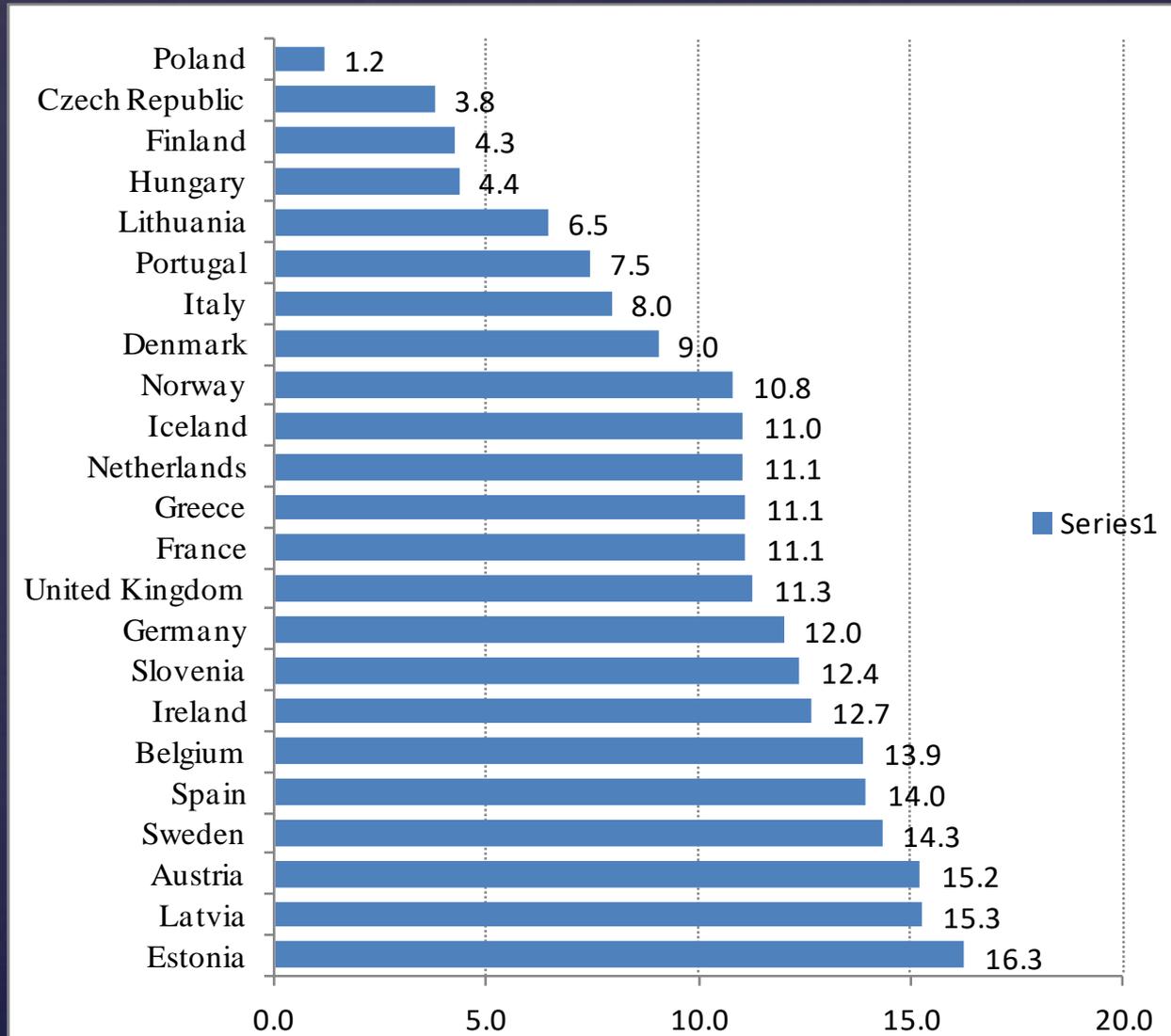
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PART TWO

Social reasons for Poles' attitude towards refugees:

- ✓ Homogeneous society
- ✓ Natural fear of something unknown
- ✓ Experiences from Polish history
- ✓ Right-wing media

Selected European populations, percent of residents born abroad, 2010. Source: Eurostat



Torches and Hate on the March in Poland

NOVEMBER 11. 2017



Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [Facebook](#) and [Twitter \(@NYTOpinion\)](#), and sign up for the [Opinion Today newsletter](#)

ALJAZEERA TV:

Warsaw, Poland - After some 60,000 people, including nationalists and fascists, gathered in the Polish capital for an "Independence March".

*Typical chants included: "The whole Poland sings with us: f*** off with the refugees", "God, honour, homeland", "Not red, not rainbow but national Poland", "One nation across the borders".*

Some reports said that amid banners, messages included: "Clean Blood" and "Europe Will Be White".

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/60000-nationalists-fascists-joined-warsaw-march-171112140646393.html>



*And as a human being before all and as Muslims we decided to reply to that abuse by reminding them that one day they were War refugees (just like the actual ones) and they were well treated by Muslim people in middle East and Persia, you may forget that but history won't forget how you were welcomed without any racial discrimination in a Muslim lands. Our message is clear **we are all Humans we are all the same!!!***

[WAKE UP We Are All Humans](https://www.facebook.com/Ultras.Arab/photos/a.344306882311821.77796.118611661548012/1509000095842488/?type=3.htm)

<https://www.facebook.com/Ultras.Arab/photos/a.344306882311821.77796.118611661548012/1509000095842488/?type=3.htm>

MEDITERRANEAN DEVELOPMENTS

TOTAL ARRIVALS BY SEA AND DEATHS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN 2016-2017

	1 JANUARY – 1 NOVEMBER 2017		1 JANUARY – 1 NOVEMBER 2016	
Country of Arrival	Arrivals	Deaths	Arrivals	Deaths
Italy	111,552	2,639 (Central Med. route)	159,467	3,615 (Central Med. route)
Greece	23,826 (as of 31 October)	46 (Eastern Med. route)	169,901	415 (Eastern Med. route)
Cyprus	851		345	
Spain	14,753 (as of 31 October)	154 (Western Med. route)	5,445 (as of 30/09/16)	120 (Western Med. route)
Estimated Total	150,982	2,839	335,158	4,150

Data on deaths of migrants compiled by IOM's Global Migration Data Analysis Centre.

All numbers are minimum estimates.

Arrivals based on data from respective governments and IOM field offices.

wp. 26.11.2017

Sharks tearing up migrants on their way to Italy:

Libyan sailors found the debris torn off people in the Mediterranean Sea.

At least 30 people died, including three children, and 40 people are missing. Victims are migrants who have tried to reach Italy, the Italian media reported.

COMMENTS IN THE POLISH INTERNET REGARDING THE NEWS:

Darek

“If the Services did not cope with the migrants, then the sharks have taken matters into their own hands”.

Max2000

“I'm sorry, because the sharks could be poisoned by the Muslim invaders. The fish will be stuffed with Muslims”.

Zdzich

"Sharks tearing up migrants on their way to Italy." The forces of nature in the service of man”.

AZT “Even sharks recognise they are Islamists”.

Janki musician “Hurrah! Finally some good news! Have a nice day.”

Son of the Slytherin

“Absolutely perfect message. Hello and welcome to the sharks. Too bad that only a few died”.

allan

“They should pierce all boats and pontoons, let the sharks enjoy”.

Shark “The only way to stop immigrants”.

Andre USA

“They are afraid that these poor sharks will now be accused of racism, making them fascists and enemies of the European Union”.

Pos (bravo) applause sharks!

Guest “Sharks are very useful fish”.



Jerzy Targalski, *Strategia – II Grunwald*, „Gazeta Polska”, nr 22 z 31 maja
2017

Admitting Muslims to Poland under the pressure of the EU will mean the end of our society and culture. (...) we need well-organized resistance (...) We need to make people aware that if we want sovereignty, including economic prosperity, we will have a huge battle with the European Union (mainly Germany).

[http://www.gazetapolska.pl/numer/nr-22-z-31-maja-2017;](http://www.gazetapolska.pl/numer/nr-22-z-31-maja-2017)

[http://niezalezna.pl/100068-strategia-ii-grunwald.](http://niezalezna.pl/100068-strategia-ii-grunwald)

„Gazeta Polska” :

(...) In order to win this battle, we have to (...) present the EU as an aggressor who wants to destroy us, through immigration, with the help of Muslims (...).

The goal is to create a sense of threat and change of attitude towards the EU. (...)

And finally to create in the public consciousness a connection:

Muslims – POLITICAL OPPOSITION – Germany.

PRESENT GOVERNMENT - defense against the disaster of a Muslim invasion headed from Berlin.

Fr. Ryszard Halwa SAC, „Moja Rodzina” nr 7, Lipiec 2017

(...) We live during the invasion of Muslim hordes into European countries. (...) These “refugees” are raping, robbing and at the same time introducing Shariah law which in the name of tolerance is accepted by the West and operates in specially designated zones, to which even the police are not allowed.

While Christian churches are closed, destroyed or turned into nightclubs, mosques are built on power. Catholicism is in defensiveness. (...). Nobody can feel safe ...

(...) I pay attention to the special need to pray to save Poland from the Islamist storm and become the light of Jesus Christ in the world, that we will free the world from the Muslims.

prof. Piotr Jaroszyński, *Zatrzymać islamizację. Obsesyjne antychrześcijaństwo,*

„Nasz Dziennik” 5-6.08.2017.

The whole history of relations between the Muslim world and its neighbours - bloody wars, conquests and persecutions of the "unfaithful", served as a model to imitate, the example of the life of Mohammed.

He probably violated all the points in any catalogue of human rights. He personally took part in murder, robberies, thefts and rapes (including children). If, therefore, we consider Islam as a religion with all its consequences, then we will have to accept attacks against Christians and churches (...)

Piotr Tomczyk, Szaleńcy z Brukseli,

„Nasz Dziennik” 20-21.05.2017.

(...) the European Parliament adopted a resolution calling on EU countries to relocate refugees more quickly. Is it possible that the ‘Great Masters’ of European democracy are unaware of the consequences of their actions - infiltration of bombers, attacks using truck drivers?

They do not know about the prevailing fear in European cities - the emerging wave of migrants from the Middle East and North Africa - before the next terrorist attacks? (...) In this situation, it is difficult to have any doubts. The EU officials “are able to understand” the arguments of those who are trying to defend Christian Europe, but ... nothing has any significance for them, because orders - even the most senseless - must be done!

Anna Zechenter, Christmas Eve in the Europa Fortress. Navigators of the European Union have lost their course and sail where the wave brings them,

“Nasz Dziennik”, 30.12.2017-1.01.2018,

(...) Poland does not want to let into its borders a terrorist plague from the West, although they would like to share this problem with someone else.

The more firmly Poland articulates its interests, the louder the chorus of accusations of “violation of democracy”, flowing from the native traitors, and from the bowels of the Brussels monster”.

óžno?

RAPEFUGEES



!STAY AWAY!

NOT WELCOME

W Aleksandrii Pa...
skim w Bejrucie, zaleca stosowanie kary
śmierci wobec niemuzułmanów poślu-

Fot. PAP/EPA

**Fr. Maciej Zięba, *Shameful Wound*,
„Rzeczpospolita”, 15.01.2018**

It must also reflect on how quickly Christians in Poland allowed themselves to adopt the language of politics, sociology and ideology when describing the problem of refugees, thus rejecting the religious description of the reality.

The attitude to this issue very quickly ceased to be measured by fidelity or infidelity to the Gospel, and became a declaration of "right-wing" or "left-wing". These categories have nothing to do with Gospel values".

DECLARATION ON THE RELATION
OF THE CHURCH TO
NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS
NOSTRA AETATE

PROCLAIMED BY HIS HOLINESS POPE PAUL VI
ON OCTOBER 28, 1965

Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions

The Church has also a high regard for the Muslims. They worship God, who is one, living and subsistent, merciful and almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth, who has also spoken to men.

They strive to submit themselves without reserve to the bidden decrees of God, just as Abraham submitted himself to God's plan, to whose faith Muslims eagerly link their own.

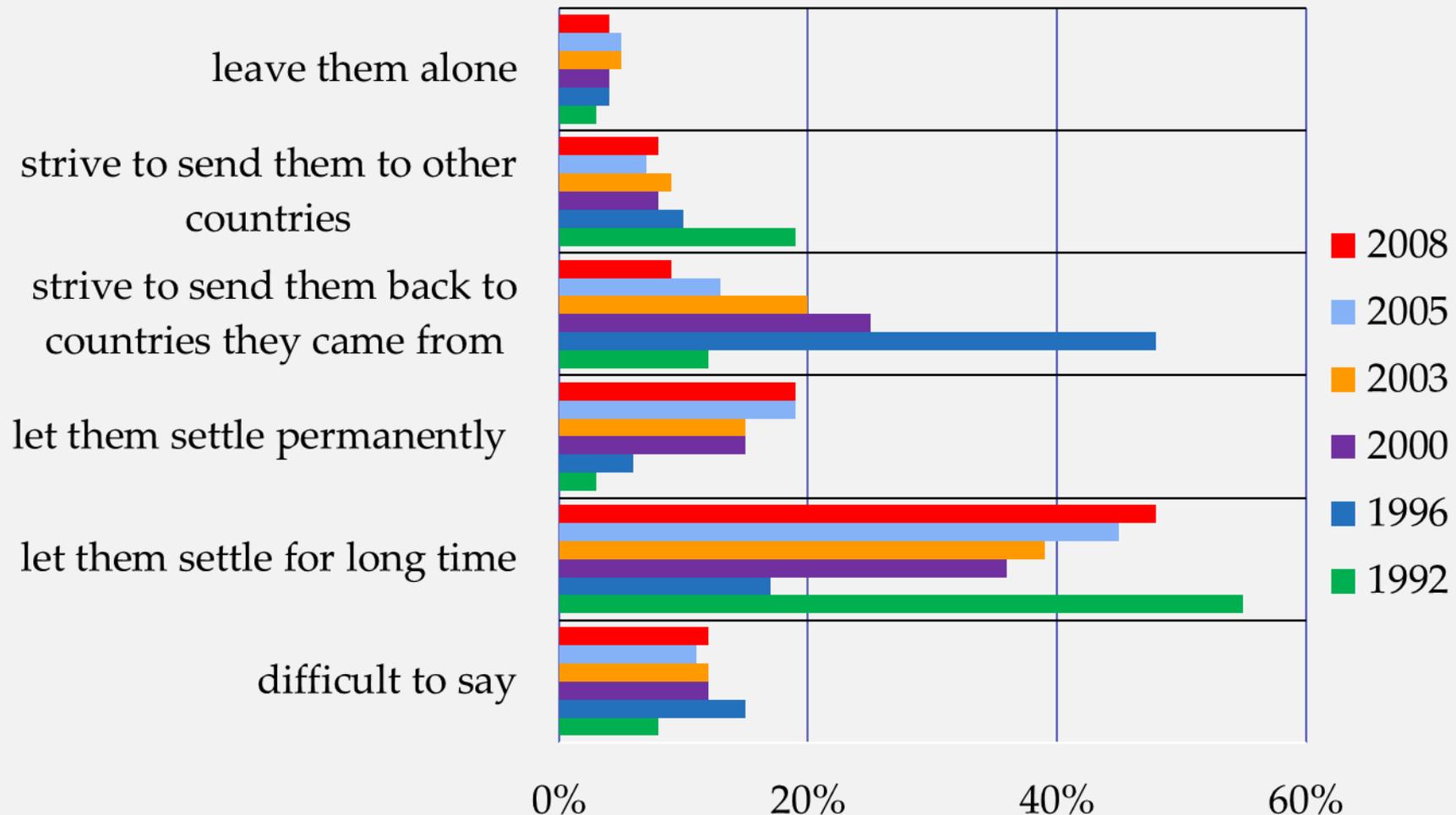
(Vatican II Council, October 28 1965)

Your experience of pain and hope reminds us that we are all strangers and pilgrims on this Earth, welcomed by someone with generosity and without any merit. Whosoever has fled his own land due to oppression, war, nature defaced by pollution and by desertification, or the unjust distribution of the planet's resources, as you have, is a brother with whom we share bread, homes and life.

Too many times you have not been welcomed: forgive the closure and indifference of our society that fears the change in lifestyle and mentality that your presence asks for. Treated as a burden, a problem, a cost, instead you are a gift (...) each one of you can be a bridge that unites distant peoples, which makes the meeting of different cultures and religions

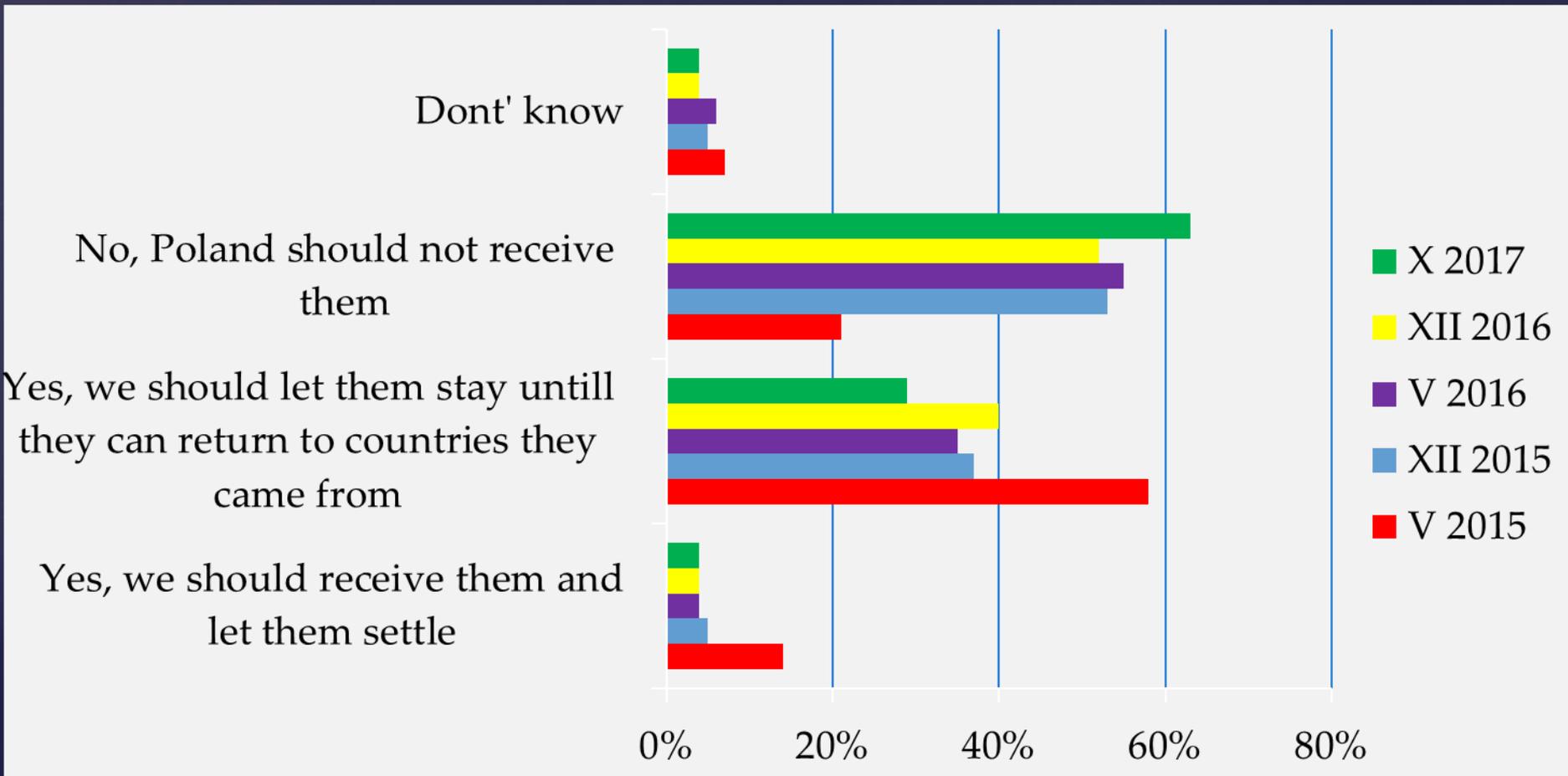
[Pope Francis to Centro Astalli – 2016]

The Poles' attitude to the assistance of refugees in years 1992-2008 (in %), CBOS



The year 2015 as a breaking point of Poles' attitude towards refugees

Poles' attitude to receiving refugees in 2015-2017 (in %; CBOS)



The election campaign and its impact on political discourse

- ❑ In Poland, the process of the politicization of migration and asylum took place in the conditions of election campaigns in mid-2015.
- ❑ The discussion on the admittance and the assistance of refugees became a central issue for political parties and, a matter of political game.
- ❑ Instrumentalisation of refugees in political games did not stop with the end of the election campaigns. Its still going on to convince and strengthen the electorate.

The political rhetoric about refugees

the problematizing of refugees in black and white

simplifying the problem, using generalizations, drawing incorrect conclusions from individual situations, and even using false information

referring to emotions as an element of clarity to the campaign

Examples of the political rhetoric about refugees

- ⌘ Grzegorz Schetyna (Citizen's Platform) referred to the image of *a dead three-year-old child – a refugee from Kobane – who was found on the beach in Bodrum in Turkey.*
- ⌘ Zbigniew Gizynski (Law and Justice) replied - *You refer to the picture of a poor child, who had drowned somewhere, why do you not also show a photo of a 10-year-old Islamist who cuts someone's throat? He is also a child. Do you want to bring such children here to us?*

Source: All examples of the political rhetoric used in presentation came from the parliamentary debates which took place in Sejm on 16th September 2015 and 8th November 2015

Combining the debate on refugees with the problem of cultural and religious identity

- ⌘ *In German refugee camps, Muslims persecute Christians. They beat us, spit in our faces, threaten us with death, treat us like animals. In the small town of Hemer, Islamists seriously beat a young couple. For what? For the fact that the man had a wooden cross around his neck. They did not spare even his wife, a woman in advanced pregnancy. [Maciej Małecki, Law and Justice]*
- ⌘ *There is a serious danger [...] that first, the number of foreigners increases rapidly, then ... declare that they will not obey our laws, our customs ... and later, either and simultaneously, impose their sensitivity and customs in the public space in various areas of life, and in a very aggressive and violent manner. [Jarosław Kaczyński, Law and Justice]*

Source: All examples of the political rhetoric used in presentation came from the parliamentary debates which took place in Sejm on 16th September 2015 and 8th November 2015

Effects of the political rhetoric about refugees

In right-wing rhetoric, including the one used by the government party, refugees are portrayed as **Muslim terrorists or illegal economic immigrants.**

- *Refugees are people murdered, persecuted in the war zone. Illegal immigrants are people who illegally crossed the border to improve their lives, improve their fate. (Armand Kamil Ryfiński)*
- *Helping men, most of whom are strong, who have come here, is not the same as helping those who stay in their home countries. Who are, most often, women and children, more exposed to rape, robbery and torture. [Łukasz Gibała]*

In left-wing rhetoric, referring mainly to non-parliamentary political parties, but also to liberal political parties, **refugees are women and children, victims of wars, we should help for humanitarian or moral reasons**

- *Refugees are unfortunates who run away from death and torture (Wanda Nowicka)*

By giving a voice to people? – instrumentalization and opinion polls

Politicians try to convince people that they do not influence their opinions and ideas about refugees and their attitudes referring to helping them or not, but they try to convince us that their positions and political actions are a response to our views and expectation.

“Do you want it [referring to migration crisis] to appear in Poland too, so that we would stop being hosts in our own country? Do you want it? Well, I want to make it clear: Poles do not want this and do not want it.”

[Jarosław Kaczyński, Law and Justice]

Instrumentalization and opinion polls

By asking in a different way about Poles' attitude towards refugees, we receive different results of the survey.

73%
against

Do you think that Poland should receive refugees and Islamic immigrants?

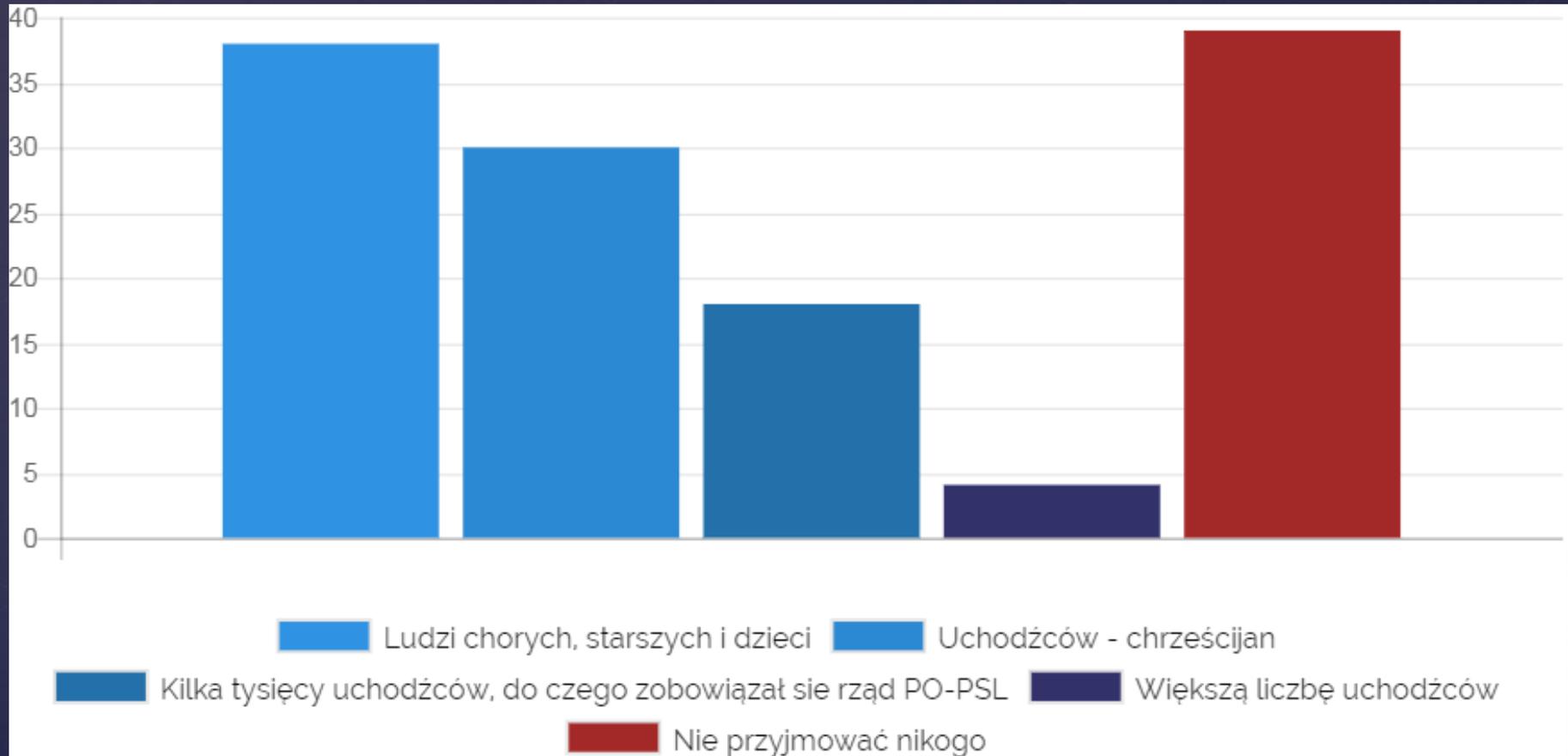
IPSOS for „Gazeta Wyborcza”
(September 2015)

Should we accept immigrants and refugees from the Middle East and Africa because it is a moral obligation?

IPSOS for TVP info (May 2017)

53%
for

There are disputes over whether Poland should accept refugees. Do you think Poland should accept... :



<https://oko.press/polacy-sa-az-niechetni-uchodzcom-wystarczy-zapytac-konkretnie-przelomowy-sondaz-oko-press/.htm>

1. column – ill people, elderly people, and children; 2. column – Christian refugees ; 3. column – several thousand of refugees, to which the PO-PSL government obliged us ; 4. column – a larger number of refugees; 5. column – should not accept anyone

The exaggerating of the refugees issue

- ✓ As shown by the oko.press' survey, conducted in June 2017, Poles have different opinions about various categories of refugees.
- ✓ The exaggeration of the refugee issue, regardless of the political opinion, also means giving this phenomenon a social meaning that is inaccurate.
- ✓ In Poland, the percentage of immigrants in Polish society still does not exceed 1%, and the share of refugees themselves in this population is marginal. In 2017, Poland granted refugee status to 150 persons and complementary care to 340 (The Office for Foreigners: <http://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-specjalne/top-5-ochrona-miedzynarodowa/.htm>). Most of the refugees were Ukrainians, but some of them also came from Syria, Iraq, Russia or Egypt.



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