

Magdalena Zagrocka (s2369370)

Securitization and public opinion formation. What drives the changes in attitudes towards refugees in Poland?

Thesis supervisor: Dr. G. K. Hirschmann

Second reader: Dr. K. M. Pomorska

Master Programme in Political Science

International Organisation

Leiden University

Word count: 9392

I. Introduction

In the course of the 2015 Migration Crisis, Poland was being described by the press as a country having “some of the most pungent views on immigration on the continent” (Leszczyński, 2015). Perhaps unsurprisingly, as such attitudes would correspond with the government’s reluctance to comply with the European Union’s refugee relocation proposal (EURACTIV, 2018). Therefore, it might be somewhat puzzling to consider the results of a public opinion survey carried out in May 2015. At the time, Polish respondents were asked whether foreigners who are persecuted in their homelands for personal or political beliefs should be permitted to live in Poland. Moreover, the same question was posed with respect to persons fleeing conflict zones. In both cases the answers expressed a high level of support, amounting to 76 and 72% respectively (CBOS, 2015, p. 2). What happened with these positive reflexes when just months later Poles became unfavourable towards accepting any refugees and their attitudes seemed to align with the new government’s preference? This thesis aims to tackle this problem, by answering the research question: *How can the change of attitudes towards refugees in Poland be explained?*

Issues of external migration and asylum policy have firmly remained on the European Union’s political agenda, since the crisis’ outbreak. Although the number of non-EU asylum applications has been effectively brought down to pre-crisis volumes (Eurostat, 2019), the success is ambiguous. The current Common European Asylum System, based on the Dublin III Regulation, determines the country of refugee entry as the agent responsible for processing the asylum application. With migrant inflows substantially varying depending on countries’ proximity to particular migration routes, the prescriptions of the prevailing law have resulted in an asymmetrical distribution of the burden (Beirens, 2018; Reform of the Dublin System, 2019). Despite a common acknowledgement of this problem and other structural deficiencies

of the presently employed framework, a lack of consensus regarding their amendment has persistently blocked efficient reform (Beirens, 2018).

An area where the dissensus on the European Agenda for Migration has been particularly apparent and politicized, was the response to the relocation and resettlement schemes proposed by the European Commission in May 2015 (European Commission, 2015). Although the Council adopted the decided ad hoc emergency mechanism of relocating 160,000 Syrian and Eritrean refugees from Italy and Greece, objections from several national parliaments ensued (Reform of the Dublin System, 2019). A number of Central and Eastern European states, particularly the so-called Vysegrad Group, strongly opposed refugee relocation and argued for alternative solutions pushing for a greater focus on stricter border control and third-country engagement to address the root causes of the migration surge (Pachocka, 2016, p. 122; P. Stepper, 2016, p. 63).

Taking Poland as an example of the “reluctant” states, this thesis seeks to investigate the domestic background of the government’s policy and follow the changes in public attitude, which in a short period of time became largely supportive of the governments’ noncooperative posture. Employing the Copenhagen School’s securitization theory (Buzan, Waever & de Wilde, 1998), this thesis will examine the coming together of political elites and public opinion in a process of creating an intersubjective understanding of the refugee question as a security threat. The aim of this thesis is to evaluate how the spread of a discourse of danger, pushed by political actors and furthered by media coverage potentially impacted public attitudes towards refugees. Alike the work of Karyotis and Patrikos (2010) this thesis will analyse public opinion data generated by surveys against a backdrop of securitization discourse analysis (p. 44).

A crucial feature of the context in which Polish public attitudes towards refugees were formed is the low degree of direct exposure to asylum seekers. Therefore, rather than personal

experience, media and public discourse have been the main source of information shaping public opinion (Ratajczak & Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak, 2016). Following this notion, this thesis argues that the increased hostility was caused by the employment and promotion of security frames in public discussions of the Refugee Crisis and proposed EU asylum policy reforms. Such issue frames augmented the perception of threat posed by the welcoming of refugees and enhanced the concerns underpinning the analysed attitudes.

The understanding of this process is highly relevant for the EU to move forward from the asylum policy stalemate. Due to its propensity to affect multiple policy areas and perceptions of norms and values, the refugee crisis, has been raised to the ranks of an existential problem (Beirens, 2018, p. 25). This is because anti-immigration sentiments correlate with euroscepticism, preferences for policy renationalisation and exit movements (Geddes, 2018, p. 125; Bendel, 2018, p. 298). As such attitudes gain popularity, so do the populist political groups that stimulate them (Dempster & Hargrave, 2017, p. 16; Rydgren, 2008). This reinforcement of support may indeed pose a threat to such celebrated achievements of European integration as free movement of goods, services and persons (Bendel, 2018, p. 300). Therefore, the analysis and understanding of the underlying conditions are highly relevant. Furthermore, the importance of this research might be even greater once it is realized that the 'rogue' behaviour of the unwilling states has in a way been sanctioned by the EU's policies of outsourcing immigration control to Turkey and Libya, enhancing coastal guards and dropping the idea of obligatory relocations (Greenhill, 2016).

The findings of this paper shed light on the normative implications of asylum policy securitization. The construction of refugees as threats and enemies and rhetorically representing them as a problem that needs to be managed contributes to the abjection of the persons in question. These dehumanizing practices provide a facilitating environment for an

increase of intergroup violence, popularization of hate speech and ethnic discrimination (Balzacq, 2016, p. 510).

First, this thesis will subsume the dominant theories that have been employed in academic research to explain the drivers of immigration attitudes. Then, an overview of how this phenomenon has been interpreted with regards to the Polish case will be provided. This section will be followed by a discussion of the limitations of the preceding works in answering the research question pertinent to this paper. Subsequently, the assumptions of securitization theory will be introduced succeeded by an explanation of the research design and data collection methods. Finally, the empirical results will be presented closed by a discussion of the results and concluding remarks.

II. Literature review

a. Drivers of public attitudes towards immigration: economic insecurity or cultural difference?

In this part, the dominant scholarship explaining the drivers of public opinion on immigration and asylum will be examined. Secondly, a brief overview of how the Polish case has been analyzed by previous research will be provided.

The 2015 Refugee Crisis in Europe has inspired a surge of interest in asylum policy and public opinion research (see Bonjour, Ripoli & Thielemann, 2018 or Geddes, 2018 for an overview). However, since the refugee problem had not been a mass phenomenon since the end of the Second World War (Bolt & Wetsteijn, 2018, p. 513), the relevant literature and, unavoidably, this thesis have drawn extensively on theories dealing with attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. This linkage is in itself problematic, as the equation of asylum-seekers with

economic immigrants appears to be part of the reason for unfavourable reactions in host societies.

The problem of public attitudes towards immigrants and immigration has mainly been explored through a framework of intergroup beliefs (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010, p. 316). The literature has further focused either on micro-level, individual determinants or macro, contextual predictors of the corresponding views. The former strand of academia argues that unfavourable opinions regarding migrants result from (economic) rivalry for scarce resources: labour, welfare benefits etc. (Mayda, 2006). In this line of argument individuals' perceptions of their own competitive power dictate the attitude to the 'outgroup'. Lower education and economic standing are correlated with a less open attitude towards immigrants. Summing up, it can be said that this approach takes economic self-interest as the underlying motivation of attitudes towards immigrants.

From another perspective, researchers have inspected how collective feelings may influence attitudes towards migrants. This approach is embedded in the group conflict theory (Blumer, 1958) and its framework allows for a consideration of the socio-political context as a determinant of group attitudes. The theory's fundamental assumptions deal with prejudice as a matter of intergroup relations. Prejudice essentially concerns perceptions of one's own group and how the position of this group is challenged (or in fact threatened) by an outgroup (Blumer, 1958, p. 5). The attitudes towards immigrants would thus be determined by a shared social identity – the group one identifies with and the conditions for belonging to that group (Cox, 2019). Research has demonstrated this relationship by proving the existence of links between preferences for national identity content and public policies on immigration. Where civic forms of national identity are favoured, less restrictive policies are preferred. Contrary, when

nationality is associated with ethnicity and cultural heritage, stricter regulations are supported (Kunovich, 2009; Goździak & Marton, 2018, p. 127).

The premises of ethnic conflict theory have not only been successfully applied in researching antipathies towards immigrants in the European Union (Bohman, 2014), but also in studying the specific context of the 2015 Migration Crisis (Börzel & Risse, 2018; Aradi, 2017). These works have looked at ideological preferences (conservative or liberal, ethno-nationalist or pluralist) and religious convictions and practices as predictors of immigrant hostility. Similarly to the studies on national identity content, where exclusion was a significant feature of group identity, attitudes were likely to be more negative.

Thirdly, contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2008) has sought to prove that positive and meaningful personal contact with members of the outgroup may mitigate and decrease negative sentiments. Bolt and Wetsteijn's (2018) research on attitudes towards asylum policy in the Netherlands showed that the presence of outgroup members in a community may have different effects depending on the scale of measurement (p. 322). Their results indicated that the ethnic competition theory may be more applicable on the national level, where a perception of the immigrant population size matters for the asylum policy preferences. However, at the local, neighbourhood level, exposure to outgroup members seemed to have the effects predicted by contact theory.

b. The importance of perceptions and the role of the media

Recent studies on public opinion have acknowledged the importance of perceptions on the way people respond to immigration. Notions of judgement are inherently linked to the concept of public opinion (Price, 2012, p.12). Public affairs comprise of complex and obscure phenomena, beyond the direct reach of the citizens who are requested to assess them (Lippmann, 1922/1998, p. 21; Zaller, 1992, p. 8, Blinder, 2015, p. 81). What is crucial in determining the relevant

opinions, are the meanings attached to specific attitude objects and not necessarily factual knowledge or personal experience (Blinder, 2015, p. 82). This concept of public opinion is derived from Lippmann's classic work, where he claims that "what each man does is based not on direct and certain knowledge, but on pictures made by himself or given to him" (Lippmann, 1922/1998, p. 25). Guided by this idea, Blinder's research discovered that the opinions of Britons regarding the migrant population in Britain were far from accurate in judging the immigrants' number or occupation (Blinder, 2015). More importantly, Bolt & Wetseijn (2018) found that the perception of refugee population size positively correlated with unfavourable positions towards a generous asylum policy (p. 522). These findings lead to a conclusion that eventual individual attitudes, whether based on economic or cultural considerations, are underpinned by judgements that misrepresent reality.

If "imagined immigration" is so important in directing public opinion, we must understand how these perceptions are formed. Zaller (1992) proposes that "public opinion is a marriage between information and predisposition" (p.7). Namely, the cognitive representations of refugees consist of information to which a person is exposed, permeated by the predisposition to critically evaluate that input. While the evaluative capacity will be affected by individual-level drivers of public attitude discussed in the previous section, the information component will depend on elite discourse spread by the media. Building on Zaller's work (1992), Fucchini and Mayda (2017) have explored the effects of media exposure on attitudes towards illegal immigration to the US, finding that it played a significant role, even after controlling for other economic and noneconomic drivers.

Research on media effects has shown that the public audience's preferences can be manipulated with the use of various strategies. Widely spread coverage of an issue (agenda setting) can increase the problem's salience and focus the public's attention (Facchini, Mayda & Puglisi,

2017, p. 3). Presenting an issue in terms of certain “frames”, defined as “schemata of interpretation”, (Goffman as cited in Benford and Snow, 2000), impacts the associations made with a subject by promoting specific definitions, causal explanations, moral interpretations and recommendations for treatment (Entman as cited in Roessler, 2012, p. 215). . In sum, after Roessler (2012) “media not only tell us what to think about, but they can also tell us how to think about certain issues, and even what to do about it” (p.214). Exploring this idea, Leruth and Taylor-Gooby (2019) have exemplified the impacts of political discourse on immigration policy recommendations proposed by British citizens participating in their focus group. As their study revealed, frames linking immigration to social tension and criminality are very effective in mobilizing voter support (unlike other frames like economic chauvinism) (p. 7). More importantly, the research concluded that UKIP managed to gain ‘ownership’ of the immigration issue and even though the participants did not declare commitment to the party, their policy suggestions reflected those introduced by UKIP and the Vote Leave Campaign (p. 167).

c. The Polish case

Research regarding post-war Poland has observed a two-way dynamic between public policy and attitudes towards ethnic minorities. The communist government is argued to have pursued actions intended to homogenize the ethnic composition of the Polish society as a strategy to legitimize its power and appeal to the negative sentiments against national minorities that resulted from the war (Celińska, 2015, p. 476). Policies that contributed to achieving this purpose included expulsions of German, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Belarussian citizens following an agreement between the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States to shift the Polish borders along the so-called “Curzon line” and “repatriate” the inhabitants accordingly. Besides these examples of structural violence, the idea of ethnic and national

homogeneity was further sustained by the state's abstention from persecuting acts of ethnic (predominantly antisemitic) violence occurring locally. The ruling party had an interest in exacerbating antisemitic sentiments, because tolerating the scapegoating of Jews, enabled the funneling of post-war social grievances into this minority and helped mobilize support for the state. The narrative of nationally homogenous Poland was further strengthened by the Catholic Church, which played an important social and political role (Celińska, 2015).

On a broader regional background, the roots of Poles' attitudes towards refugees are also identified with its belonging to the Eastern Bloc and therefore, being alienated from the development of the concept of refugee protection. The idea of state responsibility to protect political refugees originated in liberal democracy and was largely shaped by the displacements resulting from the Russian Revolution. It was established in the 1951 Refugee Convention as a response to the needs of masses that were forcibly moved during the Second World War (Orchard, 2018, p. 283). By the time the Soviet Union collapsed, the Eastern European countries, who had been influenced by a radically different political regime, had 'missed' four decades of European asylum policy evolution. In the 1990s Poland joined the Geneva Convention, however at this late stage it was only able to accept the elsewhere created norms, with little opportunity to participate in their formation. As a consequence, Poland had practically no refugee traditions (it was much rather a source of political asylum seekers) and its perceptions of refugee policy were not aligned with those of Western liberal democracies (Pachocka, 2016, p. 128; Podgorzanska, 2017, p. 90).

Despite the lagging, Polish attitudes towards immigration and ethnic minorities again seemed to follow legal and political developments. In the pursuit of EU membership, Poland had to harmonize its asylum and minority laws to fulfil accession requirements. Positive trends were observed as Poland was described as "socializing into tolerance" while successfully

transforming into a democratic state (Celińska, 2015, p. 488). Ceobanu & Escandell, 2008, p. 1164). Support for accepting refugees remained consistent in public opinion polls between 2004 and 2015, which is demonstrated by the table below:

Do you think that foreigners that are being persecuted in their country for beliefs and political activities should they have the right to live in Poland?	Respondents' answers			
	2004		2015	
	In percentages			
Yes, they should be allowed to come and settle	27%	75%	22%	76%
Yes, they should be able to come and stay until it is safe for them to return	48%		54%	
No	14%		15%	
Difficult to say	11%		9%	

(CBOS, 81/2015, 2015)

III. Theoretical framework

The existing literature has mostly explored the Polish case in the context of a broader historical and political process and seems to have taken the societal impacts for granted. This thesis wants to make a contribution by exploring in what way the grander political strategies of the elites actually interact with and drive public opinion on immigration. Therefore, a framework is proposed which explains how political discourse may affect perceptions of migrations and thus stimulate cultural or economic concerns.

Having noted the above, the observed shift in public opinion in Poland is best interpreted as an effect of securitization. Securitization theory provides a framework for analysing the process by which particular problems are constructed as security concerns. Through means of discourse a common understanding is negotiated between a securitizing actor and their audience. The constructivist ontology of security in this approach allows to broaden the scope of analysis

beyond realist notions of military and political threats (Buzan, Waever & de Wilde, 1998, p. 28). Subsequently, securitization theory has engaged in explaining the presence of migration, environmental and public health matters on the international security agenda.

Securitization is considered to be a speech act meaning that the invocation of security has a performative power (Buzan, Waever & de Wilde, 1998, p. 26). Herewith, an issue becomes elevated beyond routine politics and emergency measures are justified. Whether in the international or domestic sphere, security is inherently linked with survival. According to the Copenhagen School's definition: "security is when an issue is presented as an existential threat to a designated referent object" (Buzan, Waever & de Wilde, 1998, p. 21). Such an argumentation is called a "securitizing move" and the agent making it is the "securitizing actor".

Moreover, a key assumption of securitization is that it is intersubjective and socially constructed. Its success rests not within the securitizing actor but depends on the audience's acceptance that a value is being existentially threatened (p. 31; Balzacq, p. 499).

Therefore, although the referent object would traditionally refer to the state (its government, territory or people), in securitization theory its meaning is not fixed nor universal. The referent object in question, as well as the corresponding threat are relative. Their essential qualities depend on the sector and level of analysis and they are constricted by time and space (Buzan, Waever & de Wilde, 1998, p. 22).

Securitization theory sees migration as one of the dominant issues on the societal security agenda (Buzan, Waever & de Wilde, 1998p. 121). This sector of security is organized by the concept of collective identity (Buzan, Waever & de Wilde, 1998p. 119). Therefore, discourse that securitizes migration will frame the question of the political community's survival as equivalent to that of opening or closing borders (Huysmans, 2000, p. 758). Foreign populations

generate insecurity as their influx dilutes the composition of the local inhabitants. This is feared to lead to identity change.

In practise securitization has proven to have significant political and institutional impacts. In the context of political power struggles, securitization may be used as a “premeditated, elite-driven strategy” to delegitimize a political opponent (often the governing camp) by undermining their capacity to protect a threatened value (Messina, 2014, p. 533). Furthermore, securitization has the potential to mobilize political support, loyalty and feelings of patriotism by consolidating a given community in the face of a collective threat (Huysmans, 2000, p. 758; Messina, 2014, p. 537).

It must be noted that securitization does not result from a single speech (Balzacq, 2016). Although certain actors will play a leading role in instigating the thematic change of problematizing a given issue, a broader array of agents participates in the process. These may include security professionals, members of civil society groups and the media. Media play a role in shaping perceptions of threat by providing coverage that illustrates the securitizing discourse frames. For example, extensive media coverage provides the grounds for reifying dangers with images of migrants involved in riots that depict them as an uncivil political class (Huysmans, 2000, p. 763).

The danger discourse employed in Poland with regards to the refugee problem bears clear traits of securitization. Securitization frames are assumed to have influenced the public attitudes of Poles towards refugees due to their appeal to feelings of group belonging and identity, which drive such attitudes. Moreover, the receptiveness of the anti-refugee rhetoric was augmented by broad political support enjoyed by the actors involved (Bohman, 2011), the political endorsement of the church (Balzacq, 2016, p. 515), a unification of frames promoted across

various media outlets and finally the limited experiential knowledge allowing the audience to reject the securitization frames (Huang, 1995, p. 29)

The evolvement of the Refugee Crisis was accompanied by an unprecedented amount of news items covering issues of migration and asylum (Krzyżanowska & Krzyżanowski, 2018, p. 614). This in itself focused the public's attention on the event. However, the problem became increasingly pertinent to the domestic debate, as the crisis exposed the inefficiencies of EU migration and asylum policies and discussions of responsibility sharing among EU members ensued. (Reform of the Dublin System, 2019; Krzyżanowska & Krzyżanowski, 2018, p. 615). Ethnic conflict theory carries the notion that prejudice becomes pronounced 'as a consequence of grave disorganizing events', the meaning of which is determined by the elites participating in the public discourse (Blumer, 1958, p. 7). Consequently, this thesis argues that discursive links made by the elites between the problem of accepting refugees and national security (Stepper, 2016; Goździak & Marton, 2018) created an interpretive pattern among the public. The attribution of threat to refugees was promoted by and such information was difficult to resist as alternative frames were scarce (Ratajczak i Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak, 2016) and resorting to personal experience was not possible (Stein, 2013, p. 87). The threats brought to the public's attention "activated" its pre-existing concerns resulting in a shift towards refugee rejection.

Against this backdrop, I hypothesize that the more people will be exposed to elite rhetoric framing the problem as a threat, the more they will be expressing concerns about accepting refugees. Specifically, a decrease of support for accepting refugees is expected pursuant to the diffusion of securitizing frames. Secondly, I expect that the opinions shared in surveys will reflect the discourse frames by invoking overlapping associations.

IV. Research design and data collection methods

The purpose of this analysis is to explain what might cause a change in public attitudes towards refugees and how such a process might happen. In order to answer the research question and look into what influences public opinion formation on this topic, a single case study will be carried out.

The case selected for the analysis is Poland in the years 2014 until 2016. The chosen period will capture the public opinion trends prior to the occurrence of the Refugee Crisis as well as the attitudes that persisted after the mediatisation of the crisis decreased. Intolerant and xenophobic attitudes coincide with the values of liberal democracy which consist in guaranteeing social pluralism as well as protecting the rights of minorities (Łabędź, 2015, p. 150). Therefore, the Polish findings may be relevant for other transitioning democracies that are experiencing a dangerous shift toward a more authoritarian, nonplural rule.

A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods will be used to establish the links between Poles' individual attitudes towards refugees and securitization. Primary and secondary sources will be analysed to establish how the refugee problem was framed in public debate. To this aim, I will use existing research on press coverage of the matter and public statements made by politicians and Church representatives. The methods used are inspired by the ideas of frame analysis and a constructivist approach to analysing discourse with regards to public opinion impacts (Ruzza, 2006; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Survey data will provide for the analysis of the determinants of the expressed opinions and an assessment of how they reflect the discourse frames.

Dependent variable

In this thesis the dependent variable is the attitude towards refugees. It is operationalized as the expression of support (or lack thereof) for the acceptance of refugees in Poland. The

measurement of this variable will be made on the basis of public opinion surveys and will include several dimensions: how the attitude correlated with political party preferences (measured by self-reported election choice); demographics (measured by age), socio-economic status measured by income and education and reported contact with refugees. The analysis will also be concerned with data on associations made with the word “refugee” and preferences for policies recommended to solve the problem.

The data for this analysis will be collected from public opinion surveys carried out by (a) CBOS – the Public Opinion Research Centre. CBOS is a public funded institute that regularly conducts research on social and political issues in Poland (CBOS About us, 2019). CBOS’ analyses gather data on attitudes towards political elites, domestic and international politics, assessments of the economic situation, intergroup relations, etc. (b) Centre for Research on Prejudice - an interdisciplinary research unit at the Faculty of Psychology of the University of Warsaw. The core activity of this unit is conducting the annual Polish Prejudice Survey which looks into matters of intergroup violence, stereotyping, discrimination and racism (Centrum Badań Nad Uprzedzeniami [Center for Research on Prejudice], 2019).

Independent Variable

The independent variable will consist of the securitization discourse frames employed by elites regarding refugees and the “Migration Crisis”. These frames will be analysed in terms of their content, the actors that put them forward and their potential spread. The receptivity of the securitization move will be assessed on the basis of an evaluation of the actors’ positional power, the competitiveness of the frames and their potential appeal to pre-existing beliefs.

Limitations

The proposed research design is limited in terms of its capacity to robustly determine the causal relationship between exposure to particular discourse frames and changes in attitudes towards refugees. Ideally, such influences could be proven with an experimental study, however due to significantly restricted resources such an analysis is not possible. Nevertheless, since this is a single case study, in-depth analysis should allow to draw convincing conclusions.

Moreover, questions may be raised as to the generalizability of the findings. By definition securitization is not a universal process and it is pertinent only to a particular context and time. As Guzzini (2011) put it “security is never ‘given’ by geopolitical realities: it is the effect of (national) securitization processes and their aggregation – that is, the ways in which national security discourses, intersubjectively shared and with a repertoire of common historical lessons, make sense of geopolitical realities.” (p. 331). Consequently, the results of this study will not apply to a different context, however the approach could provide a useful framework for the analysis of similar cases.

The surveys used in this research use random representative samples, which reduces sample selection bias. However, some relevant questions are only asked in a single survey, which affects the ability to compare certain results over time.

V. Empirical Findings

a. The “securitization move”

The discussion of the Migration Crisis introduced new thematic links in Polish public discourse (Kotras, 2016, p. 65; Krzyżanowska & Krzyżanowski, 2018, p. 413). Prior to this point, discussions of crises related mostly to the economic or military sector and notions of mobility carried in the collective imagination were mostly concerned with emigration (ibidem, p. 416). Although since 2012 an increasing number of persons were immigrating to Poland from

Ukraine and Russia, (these numbers were still relatively low compared to the whole population, not exceeding 16 000 (Podgorzanska, 2017, p. 95) these movements were managed by routine procedures and did not arouse much controversy in the public debate.

The ‘refugee crisis’ on the other hand, became a much more salient issue (Narkowicz, 2018, p. 358). Agenda-setting literature would classify the crisis as a focusing event, which has a greater scope for drawing political and public attention when humanitarian consideration and large death tolls are involved (Alexandrova, 2015). The problems of the crisis became embedded in ethno-centric and anti-pluralistic narratives and were instrumentally exploited by political parties in order to gain electoral support (Narkowicz, 2018, p. 366; Krzyżanowska & Krzyżanowski, 2018, p. 614).

Clearly Islamophobic texts were forwarded by right-wing media outlets depicting the migrants as terrorists and invaders (Kotras, 2016, p. 68). Other nominalizations that contributed to creating a negative image of refugees included representing them as culturally incompatible, economic migrants pretending to be refugees and strong men avoiding military service. The notion of danger was amplified by dehumanizing metaphors such as “flood” and unprecise numbers like “mass” (Ibidem, p. 69). Moreover, asylum policy was framed as the islamization of Poland, a policy imposed by foreign elites or a leftist attack on traditional christian values (Ibidem, p. 75).

In the mainstream press the labelling and discursive practises were aimed at engendering compassion (Kotras, 2016, p. 70). The human dimension of the problem was emphasized and refugees were represented as “desperate people” and “asylum-seekers” (as opposed to economic migrants). As positive persuasive strategies the mainstream coverages underlined Poland’s economic need for immigrant labour and presenting positive examples of integration (Kotras, 2016, p. 71). Despite efforts to provide more neutral coverage and expose the

xenophobic manipulations of the right-wing rhetoric, mainstream sources were also involved in conveying disconcerting images of an “uncontrollable mass” and approaching wave of migrants (Ratajczak & Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak, 2016).

As can be inferred from the brief summary above, media discourse propagated certain imagery that facilitated (and participated in) the construction of refugees as a security threat. Moving further, in this section the focus will be placed on the securitizing speeches made by political actors. The analysis concentrated mostly on an extraordinary parliamentary sitting that took place on 16 September 2015. The sitting was organized shortly before the EU summit where the question of the refugee relocation scheme was to be decided. The aim of the gathering was to present the position of the government and the stances all the political parties. As a consequence, the speeches made during this sitting are considered to be representative of the respective groupings.

The discourse will be examined with attention to three dimensions as applied by Wodak (2009): (1) the content, (2) the strategies used in the discursive construction of refugees and (3) the forms of linguistic realisation (p. 188).

Even though the political parties were arguing for different approaches to answering the refugee question, in fact in all cases the discourse was marked by stronger or weaker features of securitization. Members of the Civic Platform (governing party) were on the one hand framing the policy as a matter of solidarity with the European Union and the “right thing to do” in terms of international politics (PM Ewa Kopacz’s speech, (Stenographic Report, 2015, p. 4)). Putting the current question in a future perspective, arguments were made that Poland may also need support, should the immigration through the eastern border become problematic (Ibidem). In an attempt to present the issue as beyond regular politics, the PM called for setting aside the campaigning. To minimize the perceptions of threat she referred to positive historical

examples (the 90s and the influx of Chechens) when Poland accepted many more refugees than would be the case in the present situation. On a somewhat contradictory note, assurances were made that Poles' security is priority and measures will be taken to carefully separate economic migrants and dangerous people from refugees. Together with a very technical account of all the preventive security measures prepared by the Minister of Interior, the speeches contributed to a construction of the potentially incoming refugees as threats against which Poland must be defended. Elements of blaming were also present in the discourse, where the opposition PiS party was accused of fear-mongering and driving Poland to turn its back on Europe and human values (speech of Grzegorz Schetyna, Minister of Foreign Affairs, (Stenographic Report, 2015, p. 5).

During his speech in the parliamentary debate, Kaczyński, speaking on behalf of the Law and Justice party, designated the refugee question as a security threat in two categories: political and societal. In the former sense, the policy was framed as a "breach of the principle of nation sovereignty" forced by the government under external, foreign pressure. References to sovereignty and foreign influences transfer the problem of asylum into a realist, state-centric discussion of international security. This way, the government itself is constructed as an existential threat to the survival of an independent, self-determining state and its legitimacy is undermined with accusations of acting without the consent of the nation. In his view, Poland does not need to share the refugee burden as it was not responsible for the destabilization of the Middle East (this is justified by a lack of colonial past), nor have they promised refuge to anyone (as has been done by chancellor Angela Merkel) (Stenographic Report, 2015, pp. 14-15).

In societal terms, the acceptance of refugees is constructed as a threat to the survival of the Polish society with its present laws and customs. A liberal asylum policy, would set in motion

a process in the course of which a “rapidly growing” number of migrants would eventually impose their preferences in various spheres of public life. To make this vision convincing, Kaczyński referred to “factual” knowledge claiming that there are areas in Western Europe, namely France and Sweden, where the Sharia law prevails and state police has lost control (Stenographic Report, 2015, pp. 14-15).

b. The audience

With just 0,4% of non-national population, Poland is one of the most ethnically homogenous states in the European Union (Łaciak & Seges Frelak, 2018, p. 4). Moreover, only since 2016 has the number of immigrations exceeded the number of emigrations (idem). In general, Poland has never faced mass migrant flows and it has not experienced any major increase in asylum requests from outside the EU in the course of the 2015 Migration Crisis (in fact, the number of asylum requests in Poland dropped relative to the 2013 increased volume of Ukrainian immigration (Pachocka, 2016, p. 106).

Therefore, the opportunity to forge meaningful social contacts with members of (ethnic) minority groups is extremely limited for the vast majority of Poles. The groups with which the least personal contact had been reported were notably Muslims and refugees (PPS 3, 2017, p.6). 93,5% of the respondents in the most recent Polish Prejudice Survey (2017) did not know a single refugee personally (ibidem). These findings support the assumption that the attitudes expressed by Poles towards this group are not driven by experiential knowledge.

Starting in May 2015 the Polish Centre for Public Opinion Research carried out monthly public opinion surveys in order to monitor the unravelling attitudes towards refugees. These surveys provide insight into how the public attitudes towards refugees changed over time. Each survey was conducted on a representative random sample of respondents, which allows for a generalization of the observation to the broader Polish population at that time. However,

different population samples participated in the studies and certain editions of the surveys employed extended questionnaires, which were used only once. Therefore, caution must be applied when making comparisons.

In this section, survey data will be used to highlight the main indicators of public attitudes towards refugees and assess the components of these opinions as “audience frames”. The goal is to establish to what extent the qualitative changes (positive or negative) and the contents of the perceptions reflect the security frames furthered by the political elites.

The survey data reveals that the attitudes towards refugees are complex and different dimensions of them are brought to the fore depending on the phrasing of particular questions. When asked abstractly about Poland’s duty to accept refugees escaping conflict zones the majority of respondents initially expressed support (CBOS, 81/2015, 2015). However, when this question was contextualized by either referring to the victims of the Migration Crisis or the conflict in Ukraine, divergent positions were indicated (CBOS, 122/2015, 2015). With regards to the group originating from the Middle East and Africa, the dispositions were predominantly unfavourable, whereas Ukrainian refugees were mostly accepted (CBOS, 133/2015, 2015, p. 15).

The negative disposition towards the acceptance of refugees from Africa and the Middle East correlated with political preference, economic status and age. The electorate of PiS was much more likely unfavourable just as persons who deemed themselves to be in an economically disadvantaged situation (CBOS, 122/2015, 2015). Furthermore, despite the fact that young people are usually considered to be more progressive, young Poles (especially in the age group 18-24) turned out to be the most apprehensive part of the population. They were also the ones who expressed Islamophobic concerns the most (CBOS, 149/2015, 2015, p. 4).

Linked to age and negative attitudes towards refugees was also another problem, namely that of the rise of discriminatory hate speech. In the years 2014 and 2016, the Center for Research on Prejudice carried out two public opinion surveys tracing the changes that occurred in the frequency and place of encounter, levels of acceptance and impacts of hate speech on attitudes towards ethnic and sexual minority groups in Poland. These studies showed that the number of reported encounters of hate speech increased across all types of media. What is more, previously dominant on more informal platforms (mostly the Internet), “contempt language” became growingly present in traditional outlets, such as television and the press (Winiewski et al., 2017, p. 6).

The composition of groups targeted by offensive language changed between the two tested periods and new categories were introduced accordingly. The group of sexual minorities was divided into subcategories to reflect the diversification of attitudes and two new categories of feminists and refugees were added. The trends concerning comparable categories (those measured both in 2014 and 2016) appear to be following political events, as hate speech against Ukrainians and Muslims noted the highest rises, while the hate speech directed at other minorities remained at similar levels or even diminished slightly. Interestingly, while hate speech generally appeared more frequently in various sorts of media, its reported use in private conversations decreased regarding all but one category: Muslims (Winiewski et al., 2017, p. 54). Furthermore, Muslims were the group towards which hate speech was the most common within the measured time frame. The greatest increases concerned television and the Internet. The number of adults who declared having come across hateful expressions towards Muslims on television in 2016 was 24,1% higher than the corresponding number in 2014 (Winiewski et al., 2017, p. 46). A similar gain (24,5%) was observed with regards to youth reporting seeing hate speech directed at Muslims on the Internet (Winiewski et al., 2017, p. 51). The authors of the study link this phenomenon with the connotations made between refugees and Muslims in

the public debate (Winiewski et al., 2017, p. 54). The recorded accruals are represented on the graph below:

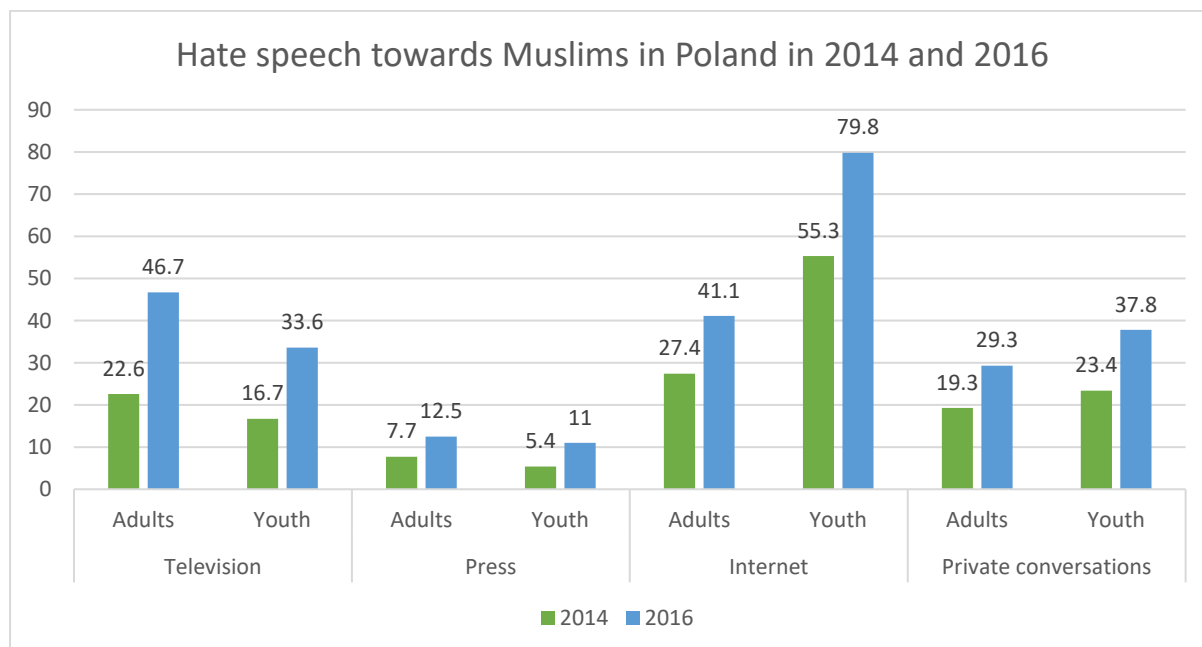


Figure 1. Percentage of Poles (adult and youth) declaring contact with hate speech towards Muslims in the listed media. Based on (Winiewski i inni, 2017, p. 54).

Justifications

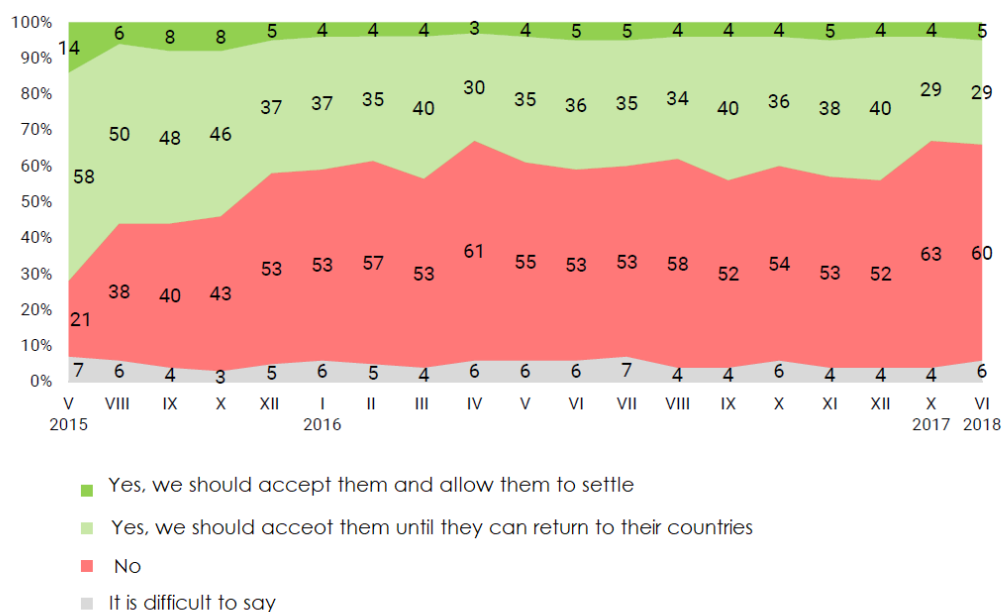
The perceptions of the subject refugees and the justifications provided for opposing the refugees from the Middle East and Africa offer some insights on how these opinions may be linked to the public discourse frames. First of all, most respondents shared a conviction that there are economic migrants among the refugees (39% expressed the view that the majority of the newcomers were economic migrants (CBOS, 133/2015, 2015, p. 3). Moreover, one of the major reasons for opposing the acceptance of refugees in Poland was “fear of the consequences”. Under this general term the respondents were indicating concerns for public security, Siamization and terrorist attacks (CBOS, 133/2015, 2015, p. 8); shortly: the cultural threats promoted by the securitization discourse. Additionally, in December 2015 78% the

surveyed Poles were of the opinion that the presence of refugees would lower the level of security in Poland (this information must be taken cautiously, since the question was only included in the surveys incidentally, after the November terrorist attacks in Paris) (CBOS, 172/2015, 2015, p. 5).

Fluctuations

The fluctuations in the support or opposition for the refugees implicated in the EU Migration Crisis appear to be corresponding with the public debate in a pattern argued by Zaller (1993). The more one sided the elite discourse, the more unified the Polish public seems to have been in their conviction that Poland should not accept refugees from the Middle East and Africa. A temporary increase in support for this policy occurred around the time of the extraordinary parliamentary debate and the following EU summit, during which time more competition was present in the framing of the issue. After the victorious elections, the incumbent government's position on refugees became firmer and dominated the debate (Narkowicz, 2018, p. 358). Correspondingly, the support for accepting refugees (in all three categories) decreased and a negative attitude became prevalent again among the Polish public. The pattern of responses to the general question of Poland's responsibility to accept refugees from conflict zones can be seen below.

Figure 2. Do you think Poland should receive refugees from countries affected by armed conflict?



(CBOS, 87/2018, 2018)

c. Facilitating conditions

The audience’s assent and support of the securitizing move is considered as the mark of a successful securitization (Buzan, Waever & de Wilde, 1998, p. 31). The likelihood of such success is boosted by facilitating conditions concerning the content of the security speech and the social capital of the actors “pushing” a specific discourse frame (Guzzini, 2011, p. 336). The former requirements refer to the way that security narrative is able to tap into existing discourse and identities embedded in the collective memory. The latter condition relates to the authority of the securitizing actor (Bourbeau, 2011, p. 41). The following section aims to evaluate the presence of the aforementioned points.

An assessment of actor authority can be advanced through a consideration of trends in attitudes and trust expressed towards particular political actors. 2015 was a year of both presidential and parliamentary elections in Poland. After their second term in power, the Civic Platform party

was clearly on the decline, which ultimately resulted their losses to the Law and Justice party in both campaigns. Surveyed in October 2015, more respondents were critical of the prior government's activities (46%) than content (37%). What is worth mentioning, young people aged 18-24 (57%) and people judging their material conditions as unfavourable constituted the least satisfied groups (56%) (CBOS, 145/2015, 2015, p. 4).

However, dissatisfaction with the outgoing government was not the only factor motivating constituents to vote for the right wing. Genuine trust in PiS' capacity to govern better and implement positive changes prevailed (CBOS, 179/2015, p. 2). Furthermore, an examination of monthly rankings of most trusted politicians shows that gradually, since May 2015, the position of Civic Platform politicians had been dwindling and eventually PiS' president and prime minister topped the list in December.

Finally, two more aspects are connected with an increase of the positional power of the Law and Justice party thus enhancing the potential effectiveness of their security discourse. First of all, the growing popularity of right-wing ideology and secondly, the party's allegiances with the Catholic church. According to the Public Opinion Research Centre's analyses, except for brief peak moments after the transformation and again around the year 2001, a right-wing disposition has been the dominating self-reported political preference in Poland showing an increasing tendency since 2013 (CBOS, 135/2015, 2015, p. 6). What is more, the number of people declaring themselves to have radical right-wing views has also grown in the last two years (CBOS, 135/2015, 2015, p. 7). An interesting pattern could be observed among the youth aged 18-24. People from this age group have generally reported a lower interest in politics altogether and they are much less radical in their views. However, since 2014 a rapid increase in right-wing preferences has been noted (CBOS, 135/2015, 2015, p. 9).

VI. Discussion

The findings of the empirical analysis indicate that the change of attitudes towards accepting refugees in Poland can be linked to a turn of young and financially dissatisfied members of the population towards the right end of the political spectrum. It was not only the securitizing discourse itself or underlying xenophobic convictions, but rather a frustration with the former government's (particularly economic) policies and a demand for national confidence to which PiS offered a response (Wodak, 2009, p. 202). The turn of young people towards conservative and exclusionist views begs further research.

The gathered data suggests that the Internet, and especially the social media, has become a significant forum for the spreading and sharing of (mis)information and opinion about refugees. This was also the communication platform where the highest number of hate speech incidents were noted. Taking into account young people's reported reliance on the Internet as an information source, future research should inspect this medium's role in public opinion formation.

Bibliography

- Alexandrova, P. (2015). Upsetting the agenda: the clout of external focusing events in the European Council. *Journal of Public Policy*, 35(3), 505-530.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, M.A.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Aradi, E. (2017, July). Attitudes towards Immigration in Hungary in light of the Migration and Refugee Crisis in 2015 (Unpublished Master Thesis). Utrecht University. Retrieved from <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/bitstream/handle/1874/373800/Aradi%20%20Eszter%20-%20MasterThesis.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>
- Bale, T. (2008). Turning the telescope. Centre-right parties and immigration and integration policy in Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15(3), 315-330.
- Balzacq, T. (2016). 'Securitization' revisited: theory and cases. *International Relations*, 30(4), 494-531.
- Beirens, H. (2018). *Cracked Foundations, Uncertain Future: Structural Weaknesses in the Common European Asylum System*. Brussels: Migration Policy Institute Europe. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Magda/Downloads/CEAS-StructuralWeaknesses_Final.pdf
- Bendel, P. (2018). Contemporary politics of international protection in Europe. From protection to prevention. In A. Weiner, S. Bonjour, & L. Zhyznomirska, *The Routledge handbook of the politics of migration in Europe* (pp. 293-303). Routledge.
- Blinder, S. (2015). Imagined Immigration: The Impact of Different Meanings of 'Immigrants' in Public Opinion and Policy Debates in Britain. *Political Studies*, 63, 80-100.
- Blumer, H. (1958). Racial prejudice as a sense of group position. *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 1(1), 3-7.
- Bohman, A. (2011). Articulated antipathies: Political influence on anti-immigrant attitudes. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 52(6), 457-477.
- Bohman, A. (2014). Anti-immigrant attitudes in context: the role of rhetoric, religion and political representation. Akademiska avhandlingar vid Sociologiska institutionen, Umeå universitet. Retrieved from <http://umu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:714517/FULLTEXT03.pdf>
- Bohman, A., & Hjerm, M. (2014). How the religious context affects the relationship between religiosity and attitudes towards immigration. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(6), 937-957.
- Bolt, G., & Wetsteijn, E. (2018). What drives public opinion on asylum policy in the Netherlands. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 109(4), 513-524.

- Bonjour, S., Ripoli, A., & Thielemann, E. (2018). Beyond venue shopping and liberal constraint: a new research agenda for EU migration policies and politics. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25(3), 409-421.
- Börzel, T., & Risse, T. (2018). From the euro to the Schengen crises: European integration theories, politicization, and identity politics. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25(1), 83-108.
- Brzezicki, Ł. (2016, January 16). *Polacy najczęściej czerpią informacje z telewizji, z internetu korzystają młodzi i wykształceni. [Poles most often receive information from television, young and educated use the Internet.]*. Retrieved from Wirtualne Media: https://www.wirtualnemedia.pl/artykul/polacy-najczesciej-czerpia-informacje-z-telewizji-z-internetu-korzystaja-mlodzi-i-wyksztalcenteni_2
- Buzan, B., Waeber, O., & de Wilde, J. (1998). *Security. A new framework for analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.
- CBOS. (2015). *O uchodźcach w przededniu unijnego szczytu poświęconego kryzysowi imigracyjnemu. [On refugees on the eve of the EU immigration crisis summit]*. Warszawa: CBOS.
- CBOS. (2015, June). *Polacy wobec uchodźstwa*. Warsaw: CBOS. Retrieved from https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2015/K_081_15.PDF
- CBOS. (2015). *Stosunek do rządu w październiku. Komunikat z badań 145/2015 [Attitude towards the government in October. Research report 145/2015]*. Warsaw: CBOS.
- CBOS. (2015). *Stosunek do uchodźców po atakach terrorystycznych w Paryżu. [Attitudes towards refugees after the terrorist attacks in Paris]*. Warsaw: CBOS.
- CBOS. (2015). *Stosunek do uchodźców w kontekście kryzysu imigracyjnego w Europie. [Attitude towards refugees in the context of the immigration crisis in Europe]*. Warsaw: CBOS.
- CBOS. (2015). *Zainteresowanie polityką i poglądy polityczne w latach 1989-2015. Deklaracje ludzi młodych na tle ogółu badanych. [Political views in the years 1989-2015. Opinions of the youth against the background of the society as a whole.]*. Warszawa: CBOS.
- CBOS About us. (2019, December 4). Retrieved December 3, 2019, from CBOS Public Opinion Research Center: https://www.cbos.pl/EN/about_us/about_us.php
- Celińska, K. (2015). Attitudes towards Minorities in Post-communist and Democratic Poland. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 15(3), 474-491.
- Centrum Badań Nad Uprzedzeniami [Center for Research on Prejudice]. (2019, December 4). Retrieved from <http://cbu.psychologia.pl/en/about-us>
- Ceobanu, A. M., & Escandell, X. (2008). East is West? National feelings and anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe. *Social Science Research*, 37, 1147-1170.

- Ceobanu, A. M., & Escandell, X. (2010). Comparative Analyses of Attitudes Towards Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36, 309-328.
- Chayes, A., & Chayes, A. H. (1995). A Theory of Compliance. In A. Chayes, & A. H. Chayes, *The new sovereignty: compliance with international regularotyagreements* (pp. 1-28). Harvard University Press.
- Chong, D., & Druckman, N. J. (2007). A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 99-118.
- Cox, J. (2019). *Social Identity, Economic Interest, and the Formation of Host Attitudes toward Refugees.*. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
- Dempster, H., & Hargrave, K. (2017). *Understanding Public Attitudes Towards Refugees and Migrants*. London Overseas DevelopmentInstitute.
- Downs, G. W., Rocke, D. M., & Barsoom, P. N. (1996). Is the good news about compliance good news about cooperation? *International Organization*, 3, 379-406.
- EURACTIV. (2018, July 23). *Visegrad nations united against mandatory relocation quotas*. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from Euractiv:
<https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/visegrad-nations-united-against-mandatory-relocation-quotas/>
- European Commission. (2015, September 2015). *European Commission Statement following the decision at the Extraordinary Justice and Home Affairs Council to relocate 120,000 refugees*. Retrieved from European Commission Press Release Database:
https://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-15-5697_en.htm
- European Social Survey*. (2019, December 4). Retrieved December 3, 2019, from
<http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/about/index.html>
- Eurostat. (2019, April24). *Asylum applications (non-EU) in the EU-28 Member States*, . Retrieved from Eurostat Statistics Explained: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics
- Friedberg, R. M.; Hunt, J. (1995). The Impact of Immigrants on Host Country Wages, Employment and Growth. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 9(2), 23-44.
- Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: a Constructivist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95, 1-37.
- Geddes, A. (2018). The Politics of European Union Migration Governance. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(S1), 120-130. doi:10.1111/jcms.12763
- Greenhill, K. M. (2016). Open Arms Behind Closed Dors: Fear, Hypocrisy and Policy Schizophrenia in the European Migration Crisis. *European Law Journal*, 22(3), 317-332.
- Guzzini, S. (2011). Securitization as a causal mechanism. *Security Dialogue*, 42(4-5), 329-341.

- Haegel, F. M. (2012). *Bureaucrats as Law-makers. Committee decision-making in the EU Council of Ministers*. New York: Routledge.
- Huysmans, J. (2000). The European Union and the Securitization of Migration. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), 751-771.
- Kotras, M. (2016). The discourse about immigrants. Argumentation strategies in Polish weekly magazines. *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Sociologica*, (59), 59-80.
- Krzyżanowska, N., & Krzyżanowski, M. (2018). 'Crisis' and Migration in Poland: Discursive Shifts, Anti-Pluralism and the Politicisation of Exclusion. *Sociology*, 52(3), 612-618.
- Leruth, B., & Taylor-Gooby, P. (2019). Does Political Discourse Matter? Comparing Party Politics and Public Attitudes on Immigration in England. *Politics*, 39(2), 154-169.
- Leszczyński, A. (2015, July 2). 'Poles don't want immigrants. They don't understand them, don't like them'. Retrieved November 3, 2019, from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/02/pires-dont-want-immigrants-they-dont-understand-them-dont-like-them>
- Łabędź, K. (2015). Polacy wobec innych narodów, mniejszości narodowych i uchodźców [Polish Attitudes towards Other Nations, Ethnic Minorities and Refugees]. *Chorzowskie Studia Polityczne*(10), 149-163.
- Łaciak, B., & Seges Frelak, J. (2018). *Wages of Fear: Attitudes Towards Refugees and Migrants in Poland*. Warsaw: Foundation Institute of Public Affairs.
- Mayda, A. (2006). Who Is Against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes toward Immigrants. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 88(3), 510-530.
- Messina, A. M. (2014). Securitizing Immigration in the Age of Terror. *World Politics*, 530-559.
- Moravcsik, A. (1993). Preferences and Power in the European Community: A liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31(4), 473-524.
- Narkowicz, K. (2018). 'Refugees Not Welcome Here': State, Church and Civil Society Responses to the Refugee Crisis in Poland. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 31, 357-373.
- National Broadcasting Council. (2016). *Najpopularniejsze audycje w 2015 roku. Dobbowa oglądalność programów - raport. [Most popular programs in 2015. Daily viewing of programs - report.]*. Warszawa: Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji.
- Orchard, P. (2018). The historical development of refugee protection in Europe. In A. Weinar, S. Bonjour, & L. Zhyznomirska, *The Routledge handbook of politics of migration in Europe* (pp. 283-293). Routledge.
- Pachocka, M. (2016). Understanding the Visegrad Group States Response to the Migrant and Refugee Crisis 2014 in the European Union. *Yearbook of Polish European Studies*, 19, 101-132.

- Pettigrew, T. F. (2008). Future Directions for Intergroup Contact Theory and Research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32, 187-199.
- Podgorzanska, R. (2017). The Migration Crisis from the East Central European Perspective: Challenges for Regional Security. *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, 46(2), 87-104.
- Poland. Freedom of Press 2016*. (n.d.). Retrieved from Freedom House:
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2016/poland>
- Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwości 2014 [Law and Justice Program 2014]. (2014). Prawo i Sprawiedliwość.
- Ratajczak, M., & Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak, K. (2016). Muslims and Refugees in the Media in Poland. *Global Media Journal: German Edition*, 6(1), 1-17.
- Reform of the Dublin System*. (2019). Retrieved October 7, 2019, from European Parliament:
https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/586639/EPRS_BRI%282016%29586639_EN.pdf
- Reisner, J. (2016). *Rynek Telewizyjny w 2015 roku [Television Market in 2015]*. Warszawa: Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji.
- Rios, B. (2019, May 21). *EU Elections 2019: Where do parties stand on migration?* Retrieved October 10, 2019, from EURACTIV:
<https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/eu-elections-2019-where-do-parties-stand-on-migration/>
- Ruzza, C. (2006). Frame Analysis. In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (pp. 607-610).
- Rydgren, J. (2008). Immigration sceptics, xenophobes or racists? Radical right-wing voting in six West European countries. *European Journal of Political Research*, 47, 737-765.
- Sadeh, T., Raskin, Y., & Rubinson, E. (2019). Compensating for European Integration in the age of euroscepticism.
- Schneider, G., & Cederman, L. (1994). The change of tide in political cooperation. A limited information model of European Integration. *International Organization*, 48(4), 633-662.
- Stein, E. A. (2013). The Unraveling of Support for Authoritarianism: The Dynamic Relationship of Media, Elites, and Public Opinion in Brazil, 1972–82. *The International Journal of Press/ Politics*, 18(1), 85-107.
- Stepper, P. (2016). The Visegrad Group and the EU agenda on migration. A coalition of the unwilling? *Corvinus Journal of International Affairs*, 1(1), 62-82.
- Thomson, R., & Hosli, M. O. (2006). Explaining legislative decision-making in the European Union. In *The European Union Decides* (pp. 1-24). Cambridge University Press.
- Trimikliniotis, N. (2019). *Migration and the refugee dissensus in Europe. Borders, security and austerity*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

- Winiewski, M., Hansen, K., Bilewicz, M., Soral, W., Świdorska, A., & Bulska, D. (2017). *Mowa Nienawiści, Mowa Pogardy. Raport z badania przemocy werbalnej [Hate speech, contempt speech. Report on verbal abuse research towards minority groups]*. Warsaw: Center for Research on Prejudice. Retrieved from http://www.batory.org.pl/upload/files/pdf/MOWA_NIENAWISCI_MOWA_POGAR DY_INTERNET.pdf
- Wybory do Sejmu i Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2015 [Polish Elections for the Senate and Parliament 2015]*. (2015). Retrieved from Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza: https://parlament2015.pkw.gov.pl/349_Wyniki_Sejm
- Zaller, J. (1993). The converse-McGuire model of attitude change and the gulf war opinion rally. *Political Communication*, 10(4), 369-388.
- Zaller, J. R. (1992). *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge [England]; New York [N.Y.]: Cambridge University Press.
- Zaun, N. (2018). A Common European Asylum System? How variation in Member States' administrative capacity undermines EU asylum harmonisation. In A. Weinar, S. Bonjour, & L. Zhyznomirska, *The Routledge handbook of the politics of migration in Europe* (pp. 315-330). Routledge.