

FATIGUE

Comparative Analysis Workshop

11 June 2020

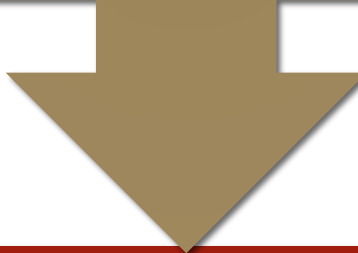
OLENA YERMAKOVA – ESR 12

“ESCAPE FROM LIBERALISM. THE RIGHT-WING TURN IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE (CEE) AND THE PROBLEM OF ‘OTHERNESS’”



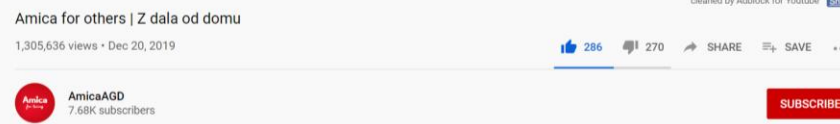
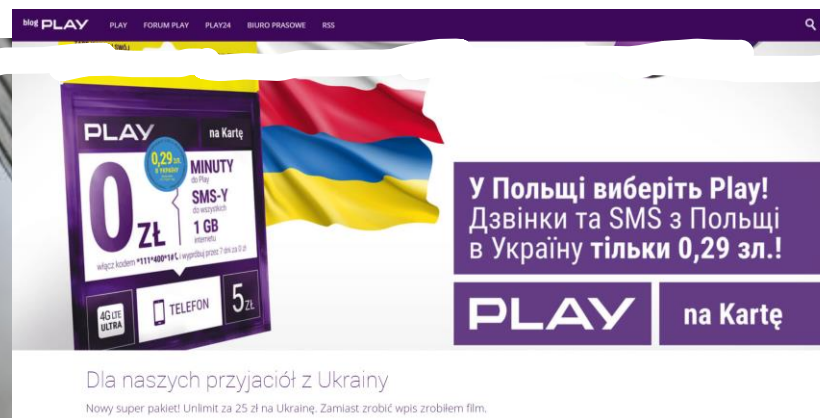
Research Project

Tentative PhD title: “Perceptions of ‘othering’ in a right-wing populist political context and identity of the ‘Other’: the case of urban Ukrainian immigrants in Poland”



My project examines how and why populist radical right parties use discursive legitimisation strategies to construct an enemy Other. To enable it, I narrowed down my project to a *particular* other (Ukrainian immigrants) in a *particular* CEE country (Poland). Poland has been selected as the case study as the issue of ‘otherness’ is used frequently and in a variety of ways in political discourse. The process of ‘othering’ Ukrainian immigrants in Poland is analysed in the context of the Polish ethnic, culture-based national identity and nationalist ideology which uses cultural boundaries (language, religion, mythologised history) to define and exclude ethnic and cultural Others – in this case Ukrainian immigrants. As such, my PhD responds to the advertised ESR12 themes of political culture in Central and Eastern Europe as well as attitudes towards the Other, with a particular focus on anti-migrant sentiment in nationalist and populist politics.

Research project: the puzzle



Billboard campaigns welcome Ukrainian immigrants to Polish cities

DEC 6, 2019 | SOCIETY | 0 COMMENTS





TVP INFO Polska Świat Wideo Opinie Oglądaj na żywo Pogoda Nasze programy TWOJE INFO Więcej

„Powrót Polaków uzupełni zasoby pracy; przy całym szacunku dla Ukraińców”

BG, KF 11.09.2019, 07:46 | aktualizacja: 08:56

Udostępnij:




NAJNOWSZE

- drzwi i pobiciem
- 13:41 Ruszyły prace nad kontynuacją nagrodzonej Oscarem animacji
- 13:39 Po akcie wandalizmu i hejcie na Szumowskiego „GW” wypiera się swojego człowieka
- 13:33 Kosiniak-Kamysz: Nie pozwolę, żeby Jarosław Kaczyński szantażował wyborców
- 13:13 Kto przegra prezydenckie wybory?
- 13:06 Defender-Europe 20. Wojskowe manewry w Drawsku Pomorskim
- 12:49 Reporter pyta prezydenta o „sędziów komuchów”. Konkretna odpowiedź
- 12:38 „Niedasizm”. Radny o niekompetencji i

‘Pure people’ enough?

Answer questions

 **UKRAJŃCY W POLSCE / УКРАЇНЦІ У ПОЛЬЩІ**
Private group · 73409 members

Your membership is pending approval. Answer these questions from the group admins to help them review your membership. Only the admins and moderators will see your answers.

Чий Крим? ...
You can choose multiple options

☐ України

☐ Росії

☐ Не знаю

З якою метою ви додаєтесь до цієї групи? ...

Write your answer...

Продовжіть, будь ласка, речення: «Ще не вмерла України...» ...

Write your answer...

Group rules from the admins

☐ I agree to the group rules

- Мати проукраїнські погляди
- Бути приязно наставленим до учасників групи
- Не додавати пропозицій праці

Submit

Research Design

Research aims:

To deconstruct the discourse of 'othering' employed by populist radical right parties (PRRP), based on the case study of Ukrainian immigrants in Poland. This case study is entrenched within a broader theoretical attempt to build a model of 'othering' that could help further understand the reasons, causes and rhetorical instruments behind right-wing populists' successes.

Research questions (RQ) and sub-questions:

1) What 'othering' strategies do Polish PRRP use towards Ukrainian immigrants – how is the exclusion justified?

- How are Ukrainians framed as 'others' (which nomination and predication strategies (Wodak and Reisigl, 2003) are deployed) in PRRP discourse?
- What legitimisation strategies (Wodak and Reisigl, 2003) are used by PRRP to exclude Ukrainian immigrants?

2) How do Ukrainian immigrants in Poland perceive being 'othered', and how does it influence their self-identifications?

- What 'othering' strategies (Coupland, 2010) have Ukrainian immigrants in Warsaw and Krakow experienced?
- How are the perceptions of social boundaries between groups affected by 'othering' experiences?
- How experiences of 'othering' differ by gender, age, class, education, qualifications, language proficiency?
- How did the experience of migration influence the self-identification of Ukrainians in Poland?

3) Why did 'othering' become a common feature of populist right-wing politics?

Research Design

The research consists of two clusters. The first one explores the supply side of populist 'othering'. The second one, using the mirror approach, investigates perceptions of being 'othered'. The empirical research results from the two clusters will then be grounded within the final theoretical reflection, framed within the broader FATIGUE research agenda. The provided input based on the case of Ukrainians in Poland is expected to shed light on the tools and reasons of the success of populist radical right parties, their deployment of nationalist narratives and how it can help us anticipate future political developments in the region and the EU.

As for my **conceptual framework**, this research understands 'othering' as a form of identity construction, and therefore is mainly guided by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner). It sees identity as both, a product and a process. When it comes to populism, I take the ideational approach (Mudde and Kaltwasser), and analyse 'othering' as one of the 'thickening' elements of right-wing populism.

For this study, I choose an **interpretative research framework**, using qualitative methods. As for the 1st RQ, I collect publicly available data from speeches, interviews, statements etc by the representatives of Polish PRRP, and analyse it using Critical Discourse Analysis. Data generation for the second cluster consists primarily of semi-structured interviews, which will then be analysed using Thematic Analysis, supplemented by Narrative Analysis.

Preliminary results: discourse analysis

1) “The Mythology of Law and Justice’s migration discourse” (Published in Politeja, 2020)

Conclusions:

- no mention of either Chechens or Ukrainians, all focus on Syrians
- focus on security
- us vs them antagonism
- demonising the EU
- a threat to sovereignty
- Poland as Messiah
- constructing political opponents as the enemy of the people
- the promise of salvation
- alternative solidarity

2) “‘Othering’ of LGBT movement as an Element of Contemporary Populist Discourse in Poland” (Submitted for publication)

Conclusion:

- the enemy is not so much LGBT persons, but how they call it “LGBT ideology”, thus different value systems, even modernity and progressiveness as such, everything that goes against the traditional norm

Preliminary results: discourse analysis

**“The Mythology
of Law and Justice’s
migration discourse”**

Myth in PiS migration discourse: conclusions

- ▶ An overwhelming appeal to emotion, and very little appeal to rationality
- ▶ The central conflict: US (Poland) vs them (EU)
- ▶ PiS and Poland are heroes, protagonists
- ▶ Refugees are a security threat, antagonists
- ▶ EU is an usurper, antagonist
- ▶ Migration policy – a zero-sum game, realist approach
- ▶ PO and Tusk – enemies of the people
- ▶ Alternative solidarity
and the promise of salvation to Poland, and Europe, and refugees

Preliminary results: discourse analysis



“‘Othering’ of LGBT movement as an Element of Contemporary Populist Discourse in Poland”

“The [European] elections will decide whether we want a strong or submissive Poland.

The dispute at stake is the dispute over the world of values...a dispute whether to build modernity on the foundation of tradition, family warmth, or build on shocking moral revolutions, where a traditional family is ridiculed, and children subjected to aggressive indoctrination against the will of their parents. Tradition and modernity can not just be reconciled. And modernization does not have to be at the expense of respect for the past, our history and traditional values”

- Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki

Preliminary results: discourse analysis



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Comparative perspective

*"Sovereign states must have
the ability to decide"*

*"Parents have the right to
decide"*

- Us vs them
- An overwhelming appeal to emotion, and little appeal to rationality
- Refugees/LGBT are a threat, antagonists
- EU is an ideological opponent and a usurper, antagonist
- Political opposition is the enemy of the people
- Law and Justice and Poland are heroes, protagonists, Messiahs

*"The policy of pressure from the European Union is being applied.
We can not give in to it."*

Preliminary results: background chapter+

SUBSTANTIVE CHAPTER
UKRAINIAN MIGRANTS IN POLAND:
STATUS QUO, HISTORY, CAUSES AND CONTEXT

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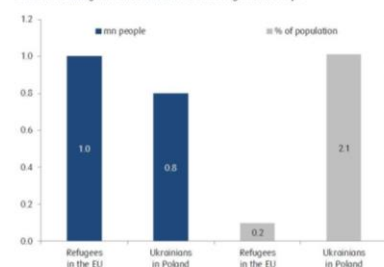
"According to Eurostat (2011, 2014) Ukrainian nationals currently represent the fifth-largest migrant group in the EU (after Turks, Moroccans, Chinese and Indians). Eurostat (2014) puts the total number of Ukrainian residents currently living in the EU as high as 634 851 persons."

- Yana Leontiyeva, Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

Almost as many Ukrainians in Poland as refugees in Europe ...



Ukrainian immigrants in Poland vs. 2015 refugees in Europe



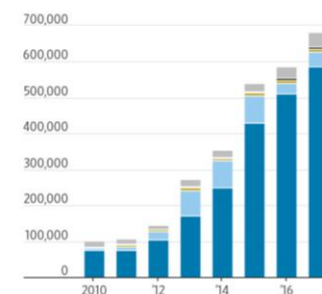
* The number of Ukrainian immigrants in Poland is estimated at 800'000. This is close to the inflow of refugees to Europe in 2015, implying 10x higher immigrants-to-population ratio.

Moving In

Since 2014, some two million Ukrainians have moved to Poland, a country of 38 million.

First-residence permits issued in Poland by citizenship

■ Ukraine ■ Belarus ■ Moldova
■ Turkey ■ Other



Sources: Eurostat (annual figures); Polish government estimates (total)

Fieldwork preparations

Data collection:

Semi-structured interviews (2nd cluster)

Sampling:

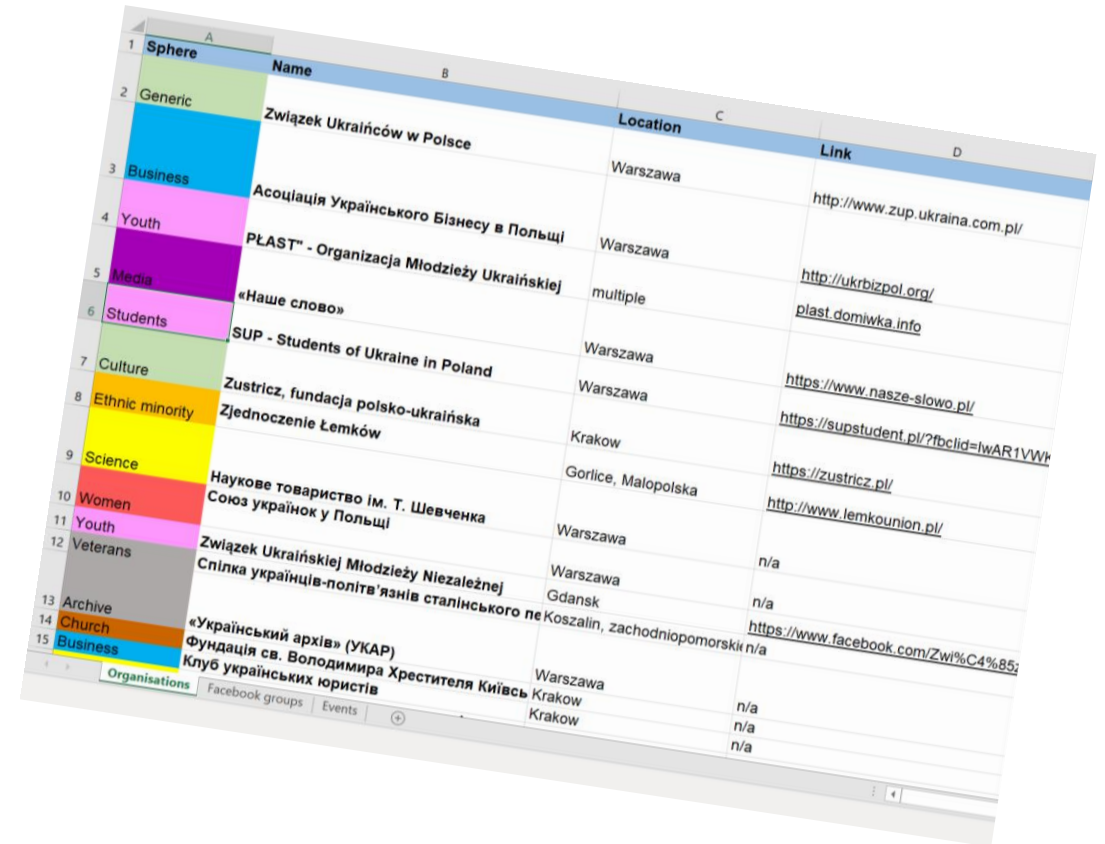
- every avenue
- purposive

Additional:

- snowball
- gatekeepers

Target audience:

- citizens of Ukraine residing in Poland
- 18 years old+
- an equal number of women and men, various age and education levels
- Skilled, semi-skilled, untrained; self-employed, seasonal workers, students, family migrants, etc.
- Focus on those who moved to Poland before 2015



Sphere	Name	Location	Link
Generic	Związek Ukraińców w Polsce	Warszawa	
Business	Asocjacja Ukraińskiego Biznesu w Polsce	Warszawa	http://www.zup.ukraina.com.pl/
Youth	PLAST - Organizacja Młodzieży Ukraińskiej	Warszawa	http://ukrbizpol.org/
Media	«Наше слово»	multiple	plast.domiwa.info
Students	SUP - Students of Ukraine in Poland	Warszawa	https://www.nasze-slowo.pl/
Culture	Zustricz, fundacja polsko-ukraińska	Warszawa	https://supstudent.pl/?fbclid=IwAR1VWt
Ethnic minority	Zjednoczenie Łemków	Krakow	https://zustricz.pl/
Science	Наукове товариство ім. Т. Шевченка	Gorlice, Malopolska	http://www.lemkounion.pl/
Women	Союз українок у Польщі	Warszawa	n/a
Youth	Związek Ukraińskiej Młodzieży Niezależnej	Warszawa	n/a
Veterans	Спілка українців-політ'янів сталінського не	Gdansk	https://www.facebook.com/Zwi%C4%85
Archive	«Український архів» (УКАР)	Koszalin, zachodniopomorski	n/a
Church	Фундація св. Володимира Хрестителя Київсь	Warszawa	n/a
Business	Клуб українських юристів	Krakow	n/a

Fieldwork preparations

Completed:

- Preparatory desk research done, background chapter on the status quo of Ukrainian immigration into Poland written
- Ethical clearance obtained
- Information sheet for participants written and translated into their two native languages
- Consent form for participants written and translated into their two native languages
- Interview scenario (guide) for conducting interviews prepared
- Gate keepers researched, identified and preliminary contact established

Thank you for your attention!

