Perceptions and Lived Realities of Ukrainian Migrants in Warsaw: Unveiling Stereotypes, Paternalism, and Acculturation Strategies

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Author's declaration

I, the undersigned, **Dawid Czeczelewski**, candidate for the MA degree in Nationalism Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

This thesis delves into the intriguing disparities between Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees in the perceptions of Poles, exploring both representations and lived experiences of the two groups. It investigates the interconnection between these perspectives, complemented by an examination of the post-colonial attitudes of Poles towards Ukraine, shedding light on the prevalence of paternalistic views towards war refugees. The research employs a comprehensive range of methods, including the Stereotype Content Model (SCM), a questionnaire, and semi-structured interviews, to capture intricate details and nuanced accounts. Theoretical foundations are laid upon acculturation, orientalism, and colonisation of space and time, enriching the analytical framework. The findings unveil distinct portrayals of the two migrant categories, with war refugees evoking more paternalistic attitudes which are also noticeable in their lived experiences. Moreover, war refugees tend to adopt a separation strategy, while economic migrants lean towards assimilation or integration strategies. However, it is crucial to approach the results cautiously, considering Brubaker's concept of groupism, and future studies should delve into the gender dynamics that could have influenced the outcomes.

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1. Introduction

"…do you see that building over there, the one with a shop on the ground floor? My Ukrainian home looks the same, everything, I'm not joking. If they ruin my home I would like to live in this one there. But it's not gonna be the same anyway. But for my children… that would be THE home." ~Natalia

In recent years, Poland has experienced a significant influx of migrants from Ukraine, comprising both economic migrants seeking better opportunities and war refugees fleeing conflict and instability. This migration phenomenon has sparked socio-cultural changes and given rise to questions about the formation of identities, narratives, and stereotypes about these two distinct groups within Polish society. This thesis aims to delve into these complex dynamics, shedding light on the differential construction of these aspects among Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees in Poland. By employing a post-colonial approach, I seek to uncover the underlying power dynamics and historical legacies that influence the mutual relationship between Poles and Ukrainians living in Warsaw.

In the realm of migration to Poland, I decided to use the term "economic migrants" (pl. "migranci zarobkowi") to encapsulate a diverse group of Ukrainians who moved to Poland prior to February 2022. This category predominantly encompasses individuals in pursuit of improved economic prospects and students seeking educational opportunities. Conversely, "war refugees" (pl. "uchodźcy wojenni") denotes Ukrainians who arrived in Poland after the fateful day of February 23, 2022, compelled by the harrowing ramifications of Russian aggression. It is crucial to acknowledge that this classification presents a broad and generalised perspective, which will be further examined in subsequent chapters through the lens of Brubaker's concept of groupism (2002). Nevertheless, in this categorisation I acknowledge the prevailing narratives within Polish society, fuelled by media discourse. In this context, the term "refugees" (uchodźcy) is typically

applied exclusively to Ukrainian individuals displaced during the years 2022 and 2023 (Zawadzka-paluektau 2023). That differentiation furnishes a panoramic view of the primary factors underpinning the migratory flow into Poland and helps me to unravel the multifaceted dimensions of lived experiences of these two groups and their perceptions.

In the first research section, I inquire about the disparities in the way representations of Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees are shaped in the minds of Poles through the lens of stereotypes. More precisely I seek to unravel how particular groups are positioned within the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) designed by Fiske et al. (2002) with a particular interest in paternalistic views. Understanding these differences will offer valuable insights into the nuanced perceptions and categorisations that contribute to the formation of distinct migrant identities and attitudes in the minds of Poles.

In my second research section, I look at the perspective of migrants and delve into the rich tapestry of lived experiences in Warsaw, exploring whether a notable contrast exists between economic migrants and war refugees. Consequently, these disparities hypothetically predispose different acculturation strategies employed by the migrants. To this end, the study aims to gather detailed accounts of the economic migrants' and war refugees' stories and narratives. In answering this research question, I will use semi-structured interviews with war refugees and economic migrants as well as utilise acculturation theory by Berry (1997). This theoretical framework will dictate the way I structure findings and analysis of this study.

Finally, in the third research section, I evaluate the explanatory power of the post-colonial approach in understanding the mutual relationship between Poles and Ukrainians. It is explored both through qualitative and quantitative methods and it draws on existing research primarily from the fields of history (Sywenky 2015), sociology (Mayblin, Piekut, and Valentine 2016), and cultural studies (Bakuła and Warso 2014; Wierzejska 2017) to examine a link between the historical, cultural, and power dynamics that shape intergroup dynamics and influence the

formation of paternalistic behaviours towards the migrants. In this section, I study topics such as orientalism, hybridity, and colonisation of space and time. By examining the alignment between the post-colonial approach and the lived experiences of Ukrainian migrants, I seek to deepen my understanding of the underlying mechanisms that perpetuate or challenge stereotypes and biases as well as explain some findings of the previous two studies, such as the reasoning behind paternalistic behaviours and emotions exhibited by the Polish society.

Lastly, the discussion chapter provides a room for interconnecting these three studies to depict that the lived experiences of two separate categories of the Ukrainian migrants correspond to the perceptions of these two groups by the Polish society. Hypothetically, all presented dynamics are interconnected through historical underpinnings of the Polish rule over the Ukrainian lands which might explain to some extend paternalistic behaviours expressed towards war refugees and more envious behaviours towards economic migrants.

I believe that this study holds a significant importance given the pressing social issues surrounding migration and the need to address prejudice against migrants. By specifically focusing on the distinctive experiences of Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees, I aim to shed light on the complex interplay between identity construction, narratives, and emotions within the Polish context. This research contributes to the existing body of knowledge by offering a comprehensive exploration of the unique challenges faced by these two migrant groups and their implications for social cohesion and integration.

The organisation of this thesis follows a well-defined structure. It begins with a theory chapter that serves as a foundational exploration of ideas that underpin the analysis of my findings. The thesis then proceeds to discuss three separate research sections conducted as parts of this study. In each section, I present the employed methodology, findings, and an in-depth analysis of the respective study. The subsequent chapter serves as a crucial discussion section, interconnecting all three studies to construct a cohesive overview of the findings. Additionally, it addresses the

general limitations of the study, acknowledging the constraints and potential areas for further research and explores potential avenues for future exploration. Finally, the conclusion provides a concise summary of the key findings and their implications.

The findings of this study regarding the primary research questions reveal a clear distinction between Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees in terms of the warmth versus competence axis, which aligns with their respective experiences in Warsaw. Notably, paternalistic attitudes are prominent in the perception of war refugees by the Polish population. However, this paternalism can also be observed in the post-colonial attitudes of Poles towards Ukrainian society, suggesting that these warm attitudes may be rooted in historical hierarchies between the two countries. Furthermore, this study provides valuable insights into the differing processes of acculturation between war refugees and economic migrants, highlighting the adoption of a separation strategy by war refugees on one hand, and integration and assimilation by economic migrants. This research not only contributes to the existing literature on the application of the SCM for studying war refugees and economic migrants (Kotzur et al. 2019; Kotzur et al. 2017) and on Ukrainian migrants in Poland (Brzozowska 2023; Brunarska et al. 2016) but also seeks to foster greater understanding and empathy towards migrants, ultimately promoting social cohesion and inclusivity in a diverse society.

2. Context of the study

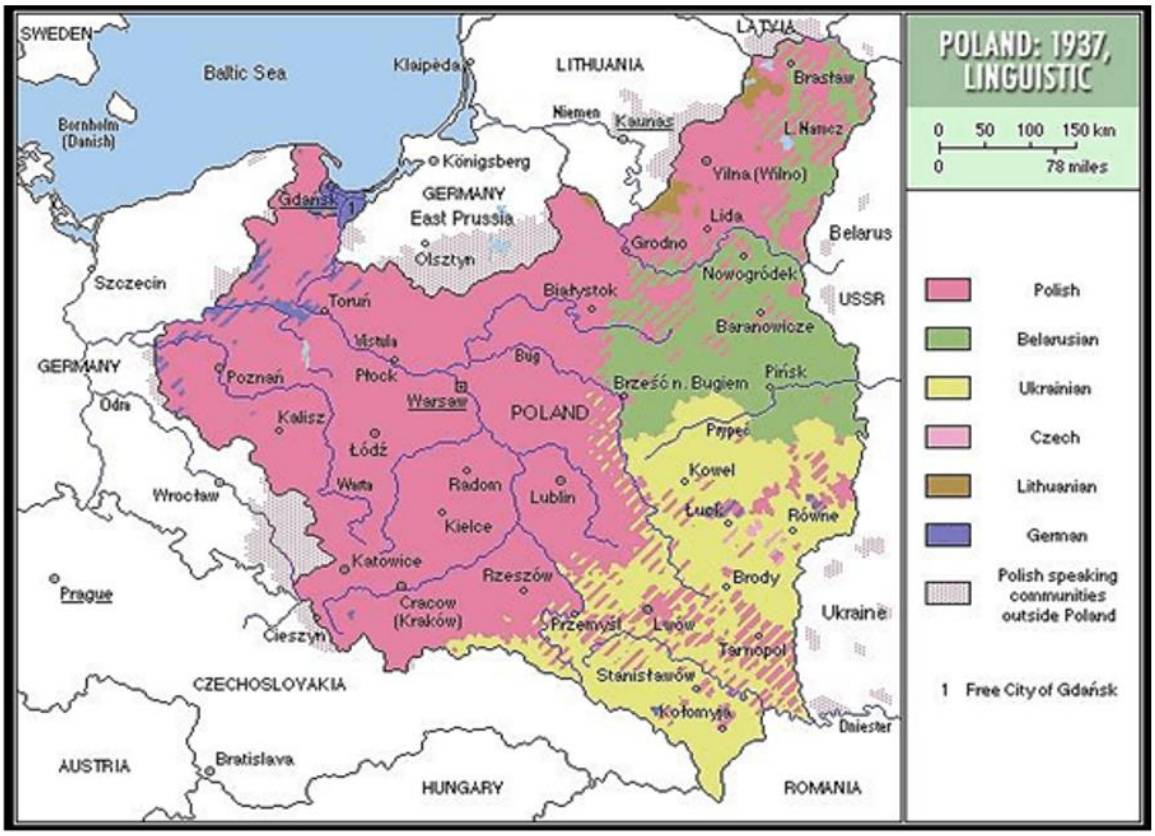

Figure 1 Ethno-linguistic map of Poland from 1937. Source: ATLAS HISTORYCZNY POLSKI, PPWK Warszawa-Wrocław 1998

To embark upon the exploration of Polish-Ukrainian relations, it is imperative to delve into the intricate socio-linguistic dynamics that characterized Poland between 1918 and 1939 (Figure 1). As revealed by the 1921 census (Romer, 1923), the Polish population comprised of nearly four million individuals who spoke Ukrainian as their primary language, constituting approximately 14% of the country's total population. However, in the South-Eastern regions of Poland, the Ukrainian presence varied significantly, ranging from 35% to a staggering 75% of the entire population. The distribution of these demographics further accentuated the power dynamics between the two groups, with Poles predominantly inhabiting urban centres while Ukrainians

predominantly resided in rural areas. This uneven dispersion laid the groundwork for a complex interplay of influence and control.

The demographic composition of the region posed a considerable predicament for the Polish state, as expounded upon by Buhudowycz (1983). In his article, the author argues that Poland's policies towards Ukraine during this era were shaped by its aspirations to fortify its borders, preserve its territorial integrity, and assert its dominance over the Ukrainian population within its jurisdiction. Fears of potential Ukrainian separatism fuelled a drive within the Polish establishment to integrate Ukrainian territories into the fabric of the nation-state, oftentimes resorting to assimilationist measures (ibid. p.495-498).

The contentious issue of the Eastern Galicia and Volhynia territories, referred to in this context as the "Kresy" or Borderlands, ultimately fell under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union. However, the resolution of this dispute came at a heavy cost, as Snyder elucidates, with the Soviet Union implementing ethnic cleansing campaigns targeting both the Polish and Ukrainian populations in the contested regions (Snyder 1999, p.86) and portraying events which joined two nations in the common "Russian Other". As explored in the following chapters, these historical underpinnings have nowadays a significant impact on the perceptions of and experiences of Ukrainian migrants in Warsaw.

It was only in the early 2000s, following Ukraine's independence in 1991 and the subsequent economic and political transformations when the history of Polish-Ukrainian migration again reappeared. Poland emerged as an attractive destination for Ukrainian economic migrants. The promise of higher wages, improved job prospects, and closer cultural and historical ties drew a considerable number of Ukrainians to Poland. The accession of Poland to the European Union in 2004 further facilitated the migration process, allowing Ukrainians to benefit from the EU's freedom of movement provisions (Vakhitova and Fihel 2020).

Over the past years, the population of Ukrainian migrants in Poland has experienced a notable and continuous growth, particularly since the years 2012-14 (Appendix 1). Official statistics indicate that by the end of 2019, the total number of Ukrainian residents who migrated to Poland since 2014 had reached around 2 million, establishing them as the largest foreign-born community in the country (Eurostat, 2019). The Ukrainian minority has become an integral part of Poland's demographic landscape, bringing about significant socio-economic changes.

In addition to economic migrants, Poland has also emerged as a refuge for Ukrainian war refugees seeking to escape the ongoing conflict in eastern Ukraine. Since the outbreak of the conflict in 2014, a substantial number of Ukrainians has sought safety in Poland due to concerns about security and the well-being of their families amidst the ravages of the war. However, it was not until February 23, 2022, that Poland experienced the largest wave of refugees in its history (UNHCR, 2021). Estimates of the number of Ukrainian refugees vary, but key statistics indicate that since February 2022, over 12 million Ukrainians crossed the border into Poland, with 10 million returning to Ukraine from Poland; additionally, 1 million Ukrainians are currently under temporary protection as displaced persons within the European Union (European Council 2023). By the end of 2022, approximately 1.4 million refugees had applied for a Polish identification number (Żółciak and Osiecki 2022).

The geographical distribution of migrants moving to Poland however challenges the categorisation I established in this thesis. The data reveals a clear distinction between Ukrainian migrants prior to 2014, who predominantly originated from Western Ukraine (constituting 81.3% of Ukrainians in the Warsaw agglomeration), and those from 2014 onwards, where nearly 50% hailed from central Ukraine (Agata Górny et al. 2019). This stark increase in the number of migrants from central Ukraine after year 2014 might suggest that the Russian aggression on Ukraine could highly influence their decision of migrating to Warsaw. However, they did not

receive any help in Poland which resulted in only 3000 refugees settling in Poland by the end of 2015 (Ojewska 2015).

Furthermore, this study holds significant potential for comparative research that explores in-group perceptions of other national groups. Of particular interest is the examination of how specific events impact the fluctuations in these attitudes. Conducting regular surveys on a yearly basis could provide an additional layer of understanding regarding in-group and out-group dynamics. Referring to the graph (Appendix 2), it is evident that just a mere 11 years ago, Ukrainians were viewed with the most antipathy among neighbouring countries by Poles. Since then, attitudes towards Ukrainians and Russians have experienced the most substantial changes. Notably, there has been a noticeable decrease in sympathy towards Russians around the year 2014, coinciding with the annexation of Crimea. Nevertheless, it is the recent year that has truly reshaped the chart, highlighting the dynamic nature of these attitudes[1]. Sympathy towards Ukrainians increased from 0.39 to 0.64 in one year, marking the biggest increase in sympathy among all nations indicated (Figure 2). Meanwhile. Sympathy towards Russia slumped from -0.22 to -2.05. These statistics might be useful not only for setting a general socio-geographical context of my thesis but also for building on my arguments pertaining to importance of a common "other" in the minds of Poles and Ukrainians and its impact on attitudes of Poles towards Ukrainians.

Regrettably, this thesis does not delve into a crucial aspect that could have greatly impacted the exploration of the lived experiences of Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees—the gender composition within these two groups. The implementation of Order of the President of Ukraine №69/2022 on 24 February 2022 imposed travel restrictions on men aged 18 to 60, effectively preventing them from leaving the country. Consequently, the majority of war refugees seeking asylum in Poland are predominantly female. This significant decision has significantly

[1] Data by CBOS for the year 2023 has been collected between January 2022 and January 2023.

influenced the demographic makeup of migrants arriving in Poland, leading to a noticeable presence of exclusively women and children among the refugee population.

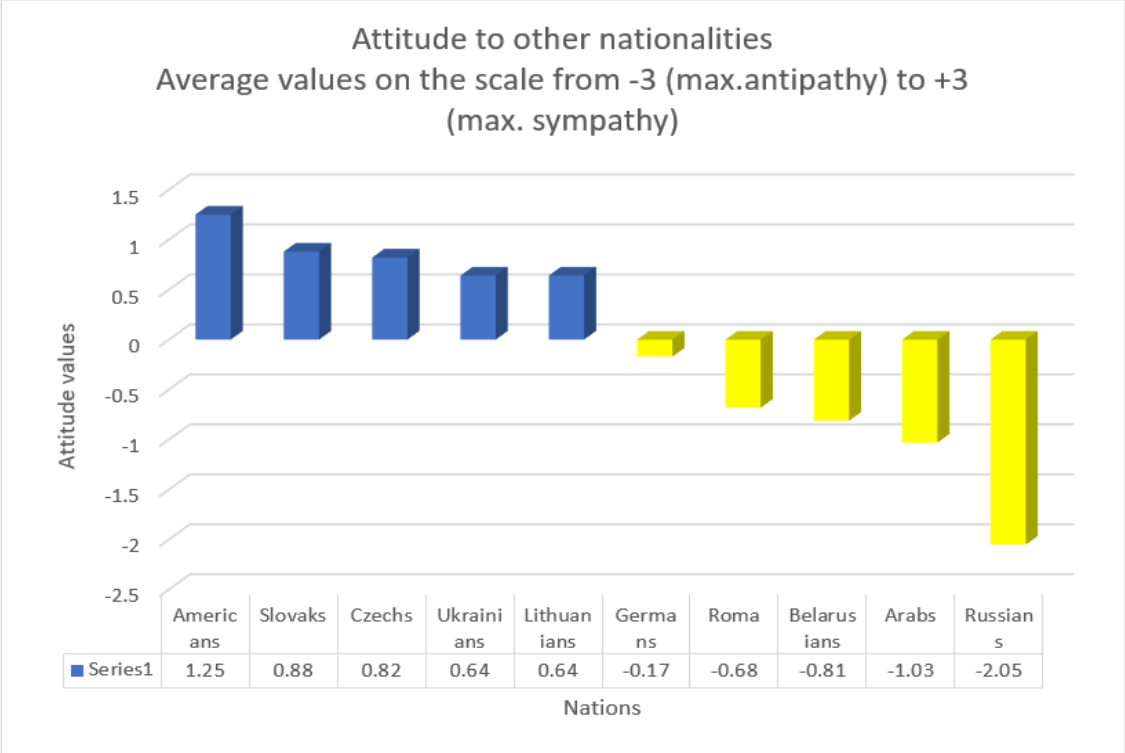

Figure 2 Attitude to other nationalities. Source: CBOS. 2023. "Attitude to Nationalities One Year after the Outbreak of War.", Available at: https://www.cbos.pl/PL/publikacje/public_opinion/2023/03_2023.pdf

3. Theory chapter

In this chapter I discuss concepts and theories which helped me design the whole research study as well as were crucial for analysing the collected data and findings. Firstly, I focus on the general concept of migration and creation of outgroups as it is focal point of this study. I investigated this topic more in-depth to portray along what lines further categorisation of the concept of migrants happen and what impact it has for the hosting nation and migrant groups. Secondly, I elaborate on the concept of prejudice and discuss its theoretical underpinnings. In particular, I explain the main ideas behind the SCM to provide better understanding of how I applied it in this study. Moreover, I construct a definition of the opposite of prejudice which is necessary for conceptualisation of the design of semi-structured interviews with Ukrainian migrants in Poland. Next, I move to the topic of post-colonialism which assumingly will be a suitable tool for explaining the dynamics of power dynamics between Poles and Ukrainians which might be central for development of prejudice. Lastly, I elaborate on acculturation theory to provide a useful lens for looking at the experiences of migration from the perspective of Ukrainian migrants.

3.1 Migration and creation of outgroups

De Conick (2020)suggests that due to growing uncertainties surrounding migration, there has been a need to categorise migrants. These categories have been created based on the legality or illegality of migration and have had various implications on how we understand them. Importantly for this research they also are a ground of creating outgroups by the hosting society. Although acknowledging the complexity and intersectionality of these categories (Crawley and Skleparis 2018), they have been used analytically in academia, prompting the question of the alignment between the category of analysis and category of practice, as identified by Brubaker (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). It is important to note that these categories may not always align,

where individuals may exhibit certain behaviours or practices associated with a particular category, but may not identify with that category, and as explained by Brubaker researchers take such "essentialist connotations" for granted (ibid. p.2). In this study, I aim to examine whether the category of analysis and category of practice align in the case of Ukrainian war refugees and economic migrants in Poland. While legal practice provides a clear differentiation between the two groups[2], it is considered as a category of analysis. The study aims to investigate whether this differentiation is reflected in everyday experiences and practices, thus translating into a category of practice.

The category of refugee has been also coined in the legal studies. The Refugee Convention, signed in 1951, provides a legal definition of a refugee as "a person who is forced to flee their country due to persecution, war, or violence and has a well-founded fear of persecution based on certain characteristics such as race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group" (UNHCR 1951, p.14). In contrast, a migrants "is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status" (United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (UNDEPA) 2023). Nevertheless, despite its embeddedness in law, when analysing these definitions, it is important to understand them through the prism of constructivist thought as purely social constructs. These definitions are arbitrary and frequently fail to capture the complex realities of migrant motivations and movements across cultures and time. For instance, not taking into account their belonging to additional groups on the basis of religious affiliation, class, economic hinders or enjoyed privileges.

Despite the limitations of these migrant categorisations, they have significant legal and social implications for the newcomers and can shape public attitudes towards these groups. Once again

[2] Category of economic migrants is not well-defined legally. According to UNHCR, an economic migrant is „a person who leaves their country of origin purely for economic reasons that are not in any way related to the refugee definition, in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood" (2006, p.14).

bringing Brubaker's idea of category of analysis and practice, these assumption serve as a ground for considering these differences also by the lens of category of practice. This is particularly important in this study which takes also a perspective of the migrants. Depending on their category, some newcomers are entitled to protection, rights, and resources, while others are excluded (Sajjad 2018). In the context of Poland, this topic has been throughoutly studied by Klaus, who looks at the paradox of "welcoming Ukrainian workers" while "closing door for Syrian refugees" (Klaus 2020, p.74-75). As the label of 'refugee' is highly dependent on the context and intertwined with citizenship, state, and self-other understanding, it is highly changeable (Gauci et al. 2015; Sajjad 2018, p.46). In the context of this research, such changeability of these categories has been compounded by socio-political events which distinguished the past years, such as the European migrant crisis in 2015 and the migrant crisis on the Poland-Belarus border in 2021.

Such events and constructed categories of migrants are also inherently politicised (Carvalho 2018; Adamson 2011). Consequently, they are subjects of debate in media and politics which heavily shapes public opinion towards newcomers and can have significant social implications (De Coninck 2019). Lynn and Lea (2003) also talk about the power of media and public discourse on the ideas about how the migrants of particular categories should be treated. This is achieved through the process of framing. According to Lyengar (1987) this process involves emphasising or omitting certain aspects of a particular issue, which has an impact on public attitudes towards various issues, including migration (Matthes and Kohring 2008; Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008; De Coninck, d'Haenens, and Joris 2019). Similarly, Wodak argues that political elites and media outlets often use framing to create negative stereotypes and stigmatise migrants, particularly refugees (2022). Wodak's argument was furthered by Augoustinos et al. (2001)who argues that framing can be particularly effective in shaping public opinion towards migrants when it taps into existing cultural beliefs and stereotypes. This can create a 'cognitive fit' between the message being promoted and the audience's pre-existing beliefs, making the

message more persuasive. Nevertheless, in the context of this research the most important part of this is that that is where also prejudice based on these stereotypes starts.

All the abovementioned aspects are also part of the way in which the outgroups, namely Ukrainian war refugees and economic migrants are created in the minds of Poles. I believe that the two groups are perceived in a different way. My argument matches the study of Hargrave et al. (Hargrave et al. 2022), who showed that Polish participants were found to perceive Ukrainian economic as more culturally distant and less similar to themselves than war refugees, leading to greater outgroup derogation and negative attitudes towards economic migrants. In the further exploration of literature on how migrants are presented by the public discourse, I identified five main differences between war refugees and economic migrants. Such differences in perceptions can have important implications for intergroup relations and the acculturation experiences of immigrants and refugees and will be used in the analysis part of this research to help answering the first research question.

1. Perceptions of Choice

One of the most significant differences between economic migrants and war refugees is the perception of choice. Economic migrants are often perceived as voluntarily leaving their home country in search of better economic opportunities, while war refugees are seen as having no choice but to flee due to circumstances beyond their control. This perception of choice can have a significant impact on attitudes towards these two groups. Research has shown that individuals are more likely to have negative attitudes towards economic migrants than refugees, as they may view them as taking jobs away from local workers or exploiting the welfare state (Czymara and Schmidt-Catran 2021). By contrast, war refugees are often viewed as deserving of compassion and assistance due to their forced displacement.

2. Vulnerability

Another important factor that shapes attitudes towards economic migrants and war refugees is the perception of vulnerability. War refugees are often seen as more vulnerable and in need of protection than economic migrants, as they have been forced to flee their homes due to conflict or persecution (Metcalfe-Hough 2015). This perception of vulnerability can create sympathy and support for their resettlement in the host country. On the other hand, economic migrants are often viewed as healthy and able-bodied, and therefore less deserving of assistance than refugees (Rivera et al. 2016).

3. Legal Status

The legal status of economic migrants and war refugees can also have a significant impact on attitudes towards them. War refugees are often recognised as having a legal right to seek asylum and protection under international law, which can create a more favourable perception of their migration. Economic migrants, on the other hand, may be viewed as undocumented or illegal, leading to negative attitudes towards their migration (Koulish and Woude 2020). This negative perception of economic migrants can be reinforced by political discourse, which often portrays them as a threat to national security or cultural identity (Karyotis et al. 2021).

4. Cultural Differences

Cultural differences, such as differences in language, religion, or values, can also contribute to negative attitudes towards economic migrants and war refugees. Economic migrants may be seen as disrupting the cultural norms and traditions of the host country, leading to feelings of resentment and resistance to their integration. War refugees may also be viewed as culturally different, particularly if they come from countries with different religious or political beliefs. Research has shown that these cultural differences can contribute to negative attitudes towards

refugees, particularly in contexts where there is a high level of social and political polarisation (Ceobanu and Escandell 2010).

5. Intersectionality

It is worth noting that the differences in prejudice towards economic migrants and war refugees are not fixed or static, but can vary depending on the intersectionality of individual identities and experiences. For example, a war refugee who is also a member of a minority ethnic or religious group may face greater discrimination and exclusion than a war refugee who is not. Similarly, an economic migrant who is also a woman or a member of a marginalised community may experience greater prejudice and hostility than a male economic migrant) (Diekman and Eagly 2000).

3.2 Prejudice and the SCM

Prejudice is a pervasive social phenomenon that has been studied extensively in social psychology, sociology, anthropology, and related disciplines. Prejudice refers to negative attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours toward members of a particular social group, often based on stereotypes, myths, and misinformation (Crandall et al. 2005). Prejudice has been defined and conceptualised in various ways throughout the literature. One of the most influential definitions was proposed by Gordon Allport et al., who claims that "'[e]thnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation" (1954, p.9). It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (ibid.).

Another definition of prejudice emphasises the role of power and dominance in shaping attitudes and behaviours toward marginalised groups. Feagin and Vera (2008) defined prejudice as "a negative attitude toward a socially defined group and toward any person perceived to be a member of that group" (p.3), that is based on the social, economic, and political power differentials between groups. Even though that these two definitions are putting emphasis on prejudice being a negative phenomenon, in the next paragraphs I will also try to explore the

opposition of prejudice. However, before that I will supplement this chapter with theoretical insights on prejudice to better understand the crux of this phenomenon.

Stereotype Content Model

Before delving into the SCM, I would like to draw a clear differentiation between prejudice and stereotypes. Unlike prejudice, stereotypes are simplified and generalised beliefs or perceptions about a particular social group (Hamilton and Sherman 1987). Stereotypes are cognitive frameworks that categorise individuals into groups based on shared characteristics or attributes (Fiske and Neuberg 1990). These beliefs often rely on social, cultural, or personal schemas and can be either positive or negative. Stereotypes can lead to assumptions, expectations, and judgments about individuals based solely on their group membership, without considering their unique qualities or individual differences (Stangor and Schaller 2000). The ease with which human create stereotypes about the outgroups and their impact on the attitudes about these outgroups inspired me to utilise this concept in investigating the Polish attitudes on Ukrainian migrants in Poland.

Therefore, the main part of the survey is based on the Stereotype Content Model (SCM), a theoretical framework aimed at explaining the psychological underpinnings of social stereotypes. Prior to delving into its significance for my research problem and elucidating the rationale behind my methodological choice, I shall furnish a concise theoretical backdrop encompassing the fundamental tenets of the SCM. Previous definitions of stereotypes have argued that they are exclusively negative and consensually shared (Katz and Braly 1933) and imply that there is uniform antipathy towards particular ethnic groups (Crosby et al. 1980; Sigall and Page 1971). However, the SCM challenges this notion by assuming that stereotypes are not unidimensional, but rather characterised by ambivalence. Don Operario and Fiske have identified three primary principles that are common among stereotype content, including: "(a) stereotypes contain ambivalent beliefs reflecting relationships between groups, (b) stereotypes augment perceptions

of negative and extreme behaviour, and (c) stereotypes maintain division between ingroups ('us') and outgroups ('them')" (2004, p.24).

According to the SCM, social groups can be classified into four categories based on their levels of warmth and competence (Figure 3). Warmth refers to whether a group is perceived as friendly, trustworthy, and well-intentioned, while competence refers to whether a group is seen as capable, skilled, and effective in achieving its goals (Fiske et al. 2002). The first category is the high warmth, high competence group, which includes groups that are highly respected and admired, such as the middle class. The second category is the high warmth, low competence group, which includes groups that are viewed as well-intentioned but ineffective, such as the elderly. The third category is the low warmth, high competence group, which includes groups that are seen as competent but not trustworthy, such as wealthy businesspeople. Finally, the low warmth, low competence group is composed of groups that are perceived as both untrustworthy and ineffective, such as the homeless (Fiske et al. 2002).

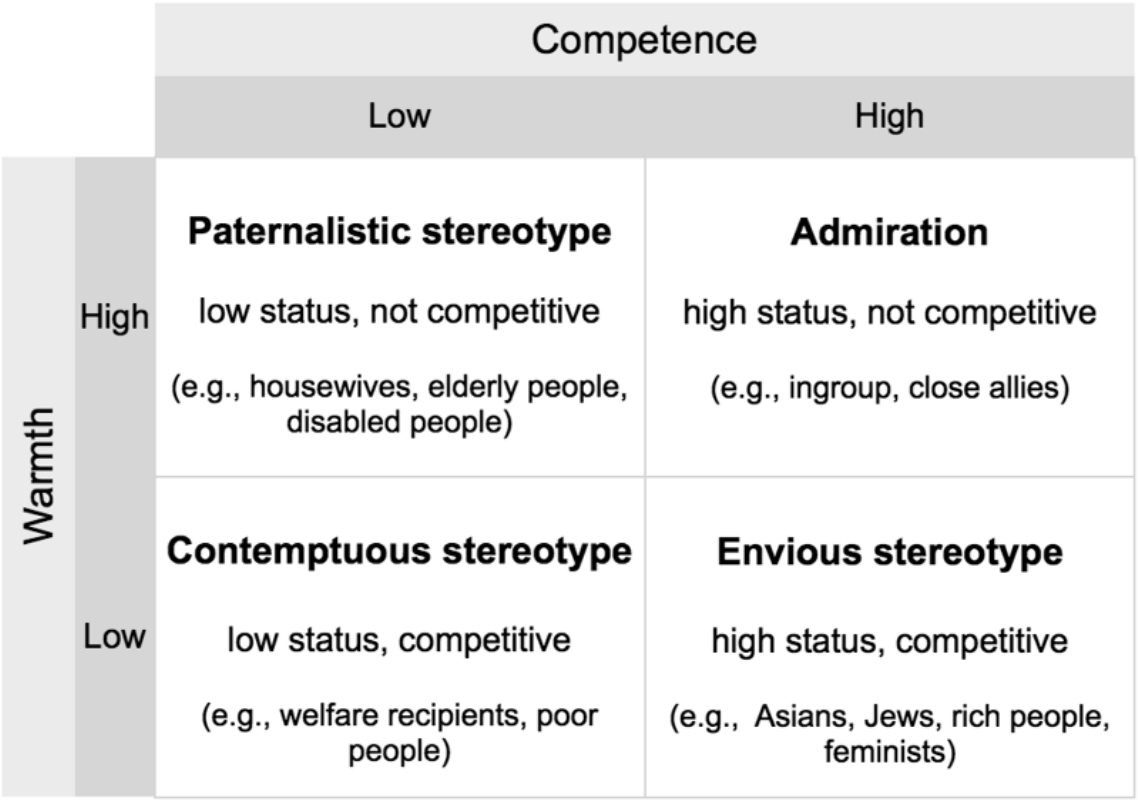

Figure 3 Stereotype Content Model study (Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2008)

Multiple studies used the SCM to explore the patterns and characteristics of prejudice between ethnic groups. For instance, a study by Cuddy et al. (2009) found that immigrants are often perceived as low on both warmth and competence dimensions, which leads to negative stereotypes and discrimination. Similarly, a study by Wyszynski et al. (2020) found that refugees are often perceived as low on competence, which leads to negative attitudes and discrimination. Figure 4 presents application of the SCM in a study portraying how particular outgroups are placed on the SCM scale clearly associating them with emotions of admiration, paternalism, envy, and contemptuousness.

The SCM is relevant for my research problem because it presents how the outgroups are perceived by the ingroups. I believe that through this method I will be able to assess whether the categories of Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees are perceived differently in relation to the warmth and competence. The previous studies (Kotzur et al. 2017; Kotzur et al. 2019),

showed that war refugees are usually seen through more paternalistic attitudes while economic migrants are associated with more envious behaviours.

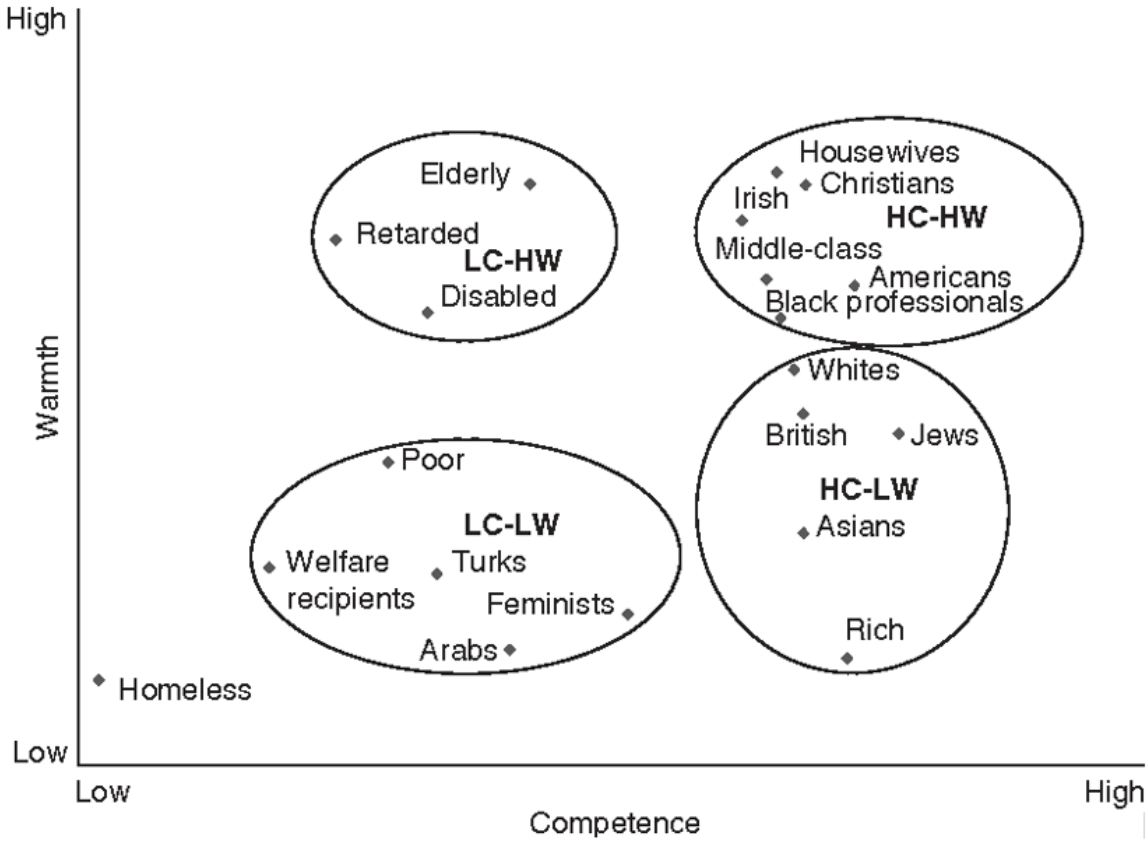

Figure 4 Conceptualisation of Stereotype Content Model: Four types of stereotypes resulting from combinations of perceived warmth and competence. (Fiske et al. 2002)

Opposition of prejudice

Nevertheless, in order to look at the research questions from the perspective of the Ukrainian migrants and capture such sentiments in the interviews, I also need to define the opposition of the prejudice as this allows me to go beyond testing only negative experiences of Ukrainians in Warsaw. I have deliberated whether not to use the concept of positive prejudice instead, According to a study by Fiske et al. (2002), individuals who hold positive prejudices often view members of the out-group as kind, warm, and trustworthy, and as deserving of special treatment

or protection. However, these were not attitudes which I expected to appear in the interviews., hence my decision of defining the opposition of prejudice.

In my definition of the opposite of prejudice, I would like to refer to the emotional aspect which is underlined in Allport's definition of prejudice, hidden behind the word "antipathy".

'[e]thnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group"

(1954,p.9)

Before moving to the crux of my argument in which I explore the emotional dimension of the three-dimensional model of the prejudiced attitude, I find it useful to look at the Greek roots of the word antipathy, namely anti- ("against") and pathos ("feeling") as reflecting the true meaning of prejudice. When we dissect the word empathy, pathos is accompanied by em- ("in"). Hence the most straightforward translation of the word empathy is "in feeling". It clearly indicates some sort of understanding towards the feelings encountered by others, the ability to take a perspective far from yours, and attempting to go "*in the feelings"* of others. This reasoning matches the fact that emotions are fundamental to the affective dimension of prejudice. As explained by Taylor (1981) emotions can arise from negative or positive beliefs and stereotypes associated with the targeted group. These emotions may intensify prejudice and contribute to acts of exclusion or inclusion.

In my attempt to explore possible definitions for the opposite of prejudice I have been also highly inspired by the work on xenosophia. Xenosophia "is the wisdom that might emerge from the encounter with the strange and the wisdom of adequately responding to the strange" (Streib and Klein 2018, ix). Research conducted by Streib (ibid. p.3-12) reveals that this mode of thinking is particularly prevalent when it comes to war refugees. Human beings demonstrate a remarkable ability to diverge from their established beliefs and respond in a manner that may not align with their preconceived notions about refugees. This deviation can be attributed to the

sway of empathetic emotions and the powerful influence of public opinion. In the face of humanitarian crises, individuals go to great lengths to adjust their responses, driven by a deep wellspring of empathy and the desire to align with prevailing societal sentiments. Therefore, building on the concept of empathy and xenosophia, I would like to conclude that the opposite of prejudice is a set of empathetic behaviours activated while encountering some kind of unknown which allow humans to react to these new stimuli with open-mindedness and positive curiosity. I believe that such understanding of the opposite of prejudice is a notion which might be easily translated into behaviours experienced by the out-group.

3.3 Postcolonialism

Post-colonial thought is said to describe the power relations between the East and the West and involves the study of the effects of colonialism and imperialism on the colonised society. It investigates how arbitrary boundaries between these two spheres have been created and maintained through history, politics, economic supremacy of the West and cultural interactions which are often one-sided. In my research on post-colonialism I identified five main concepts which I find useful for analysing the sociological relations between Poland and Ukraine which might unveil the roots of prejudice against the Ukrainian migrants. These concepts are orientalism (Said 1985), hybridity (Bakuła and Warso 2014), colonisation of space and time (Mayblin et al. 2016), and contesting the project of modernity.

Orientalism

According to Said (1985), orientalism involves a way of representing the East (Asia, Africa, and the Middle East) in Western culture that reinforces Western power and superiority. The East is constructed as exotic, mysterious, and inferior to the West. As explored by Mayblin et al. (2016), in the context of Poland and Ukraine, this might be influenced by a complex history of political and cultural interaction, with Ukraine having been under Polish rule at various times throughout

history. This history has contributed to the construction of Ukraine as the "Other" in the Polish imagination, with Ukraine being seen as culturally and politically inferior to Poland.

The dichotomy between the two groups aroused mostly around linguistic differences. Ukrainian population under the Polish rule was not scattered evenly throughout the Polish territory. But the difference which was the most prevalent was geographical spread of Ukrainian speaking population among the rural areas while Polish language prevailed in the cities. This construction of Ukraine as the Others from villages is an example of orientalising these lands, as Ukraine was seen as exotic and different from Poland. The whole phenomenon was compounded by the epoch of the so-called "chłopomania" which translates as a fascination about the peasant culture and customs during the late 19th and early 20th century. At the time, Poland was partitioned and controlled by three neighbouring powers: Russia, Prussia, and Austria-Hungary.

In this context, the Polish intelligentsia sought to create a sense of national identity and unity by emphasising the virtues of the Polish peasant. They saw the peasant as a symbol of the authentic and pure Polish identity, uncorrupted by foreign influences and modernity (Krasiwski 2020). Even though it was a concept which aimed at reinforcing nationalistic Polish discourses, it also took into account peasants from Galicia who spoke Ukrainian. While discovering peasant life in this region the language differences were considered to be dialectical differences, adding uniqueness and oriental flavour to the people there. An example of such actions were holiday trips to villages inhabited by Ukrainians. During the so-called "ethnographic journeys", Poles were helping Ukrainian peasants in everyday works and immersing themselves in Ukrainian culture (Podhorodecki 2022). All these stories created a sense of Ukrainianess being a "phenomenon" which is oriental, entertaining, and different.

Hybridity

Hybridity is a postcolonial concept that refers to the mixing of cultures and identities resulting from the interactions between the colonised and colonising cultures (Bakuła and Warso 2014). It

highlights the idea that cultural boundaries are not fixed and immutable, but are constantly shifting and evolving. Hybridity challenges the idea of cultural purity and authenticity by showing that cultures are not fixed or static, but are always in a state of flux and transformation (Yazdiha 2010, p.31-32). It also highlights the agency of colonised peoples in shaping their own cultural identities through their interactions with other cultures. The concept has been embraced by many postcolonial scholars as a means of resisting dominant cultural norms and asserting agency for marginalised cultures (Yazdiha 2010; Kuortti and Nyman 2007).

Nevertheless, the usage of this concept in this work comes down to the reasons it is critiqued for. For example, some scholars argue that it obscures the ways in which dominant cultural forces appropriate and commodify aspects of subordinate cultures for their own purposes, reinforcing existing power structures and obscure the persistence of power imbalances and inequalities (Canclini 1995). Additionally, Acheraïou (2011) suggests that hybridity can sometimes be co-opted by dominant cultural forces to reinforce existing power structures. It can be also observed in the context of putative supremacy of Polish culture over the Ukrainian. The general topic of hybridity and Polish culture has been explored by Bakuła and Warso (2014) who argue that Poland's history of foreign rule and cultural interaction has led to a unique form of hybridity in Polish culture, which they refer to as "borderland discourse". These intersections and historical merging of both might result in conflicting cultural identities scattered through periods of cooperation and conflict (Kuzio 2001), as well as attempts to assimilate or marginalise minority groups. As a result, there are complex and overlapping cultural identities in both countries, which can lead to tensions and misunderstandings (Snyder 2003). For example, the use of the Ukrainian language in Poland can be a contentious issue, as it is seen by some Poles as a threat to Polish cultural identity. This can lead to discrimination against Ukrainian speakers and a reluctance to acknowledge the cultural contributions of Ukraine to Polish society.

Colonisation of space and time

This idea has been one of the core arguments of Mayblin (2016) in depicting Poland through post-colonial lens. It revolves around "modernity" as a notion related to modernism and different dynamics in economic and societal development. In doing so, she uses a quote from Mignolo (2011, p.6) saying that the hierarchy is empowered by geographical "social positioning" and "the past Poland (…) more immature". In other words, the narrative on the Borderlands is built around the particular area which covers significant area of current territory of Ukraine and encapsulates it with the backward imaginations of being less modern than Poland. As noted by Mayblin, this attitudes are further reflected "in the feeling of responsibility, emotional attachments ('lost homeland') and, in turn, a paternalistic approach towards these regions" (2016, p.68). Moreover, Bakuła (2007) elaborates more on this observation and argues that this notion obliges Poland to be a master teaching the East Europe how to become European.

3.4 Acculturation

John Berry's acculturation theory "refers to the general processes and outcomes (both cultural and psychological) of intercultural contact" (1997, p.8) and is concerned with the psychological and cultural changes that occur when people from different cultures come into contact with one another, and the factors that influence the degree and nature of these changes. The model posits that the acculturation process involves two main dimensions: acculturation attitudes and acculturation behaviours. I decided to utilise this notion in this research because the theory provides a useful perspective of looking at the problem of migration from the perspective of migrants. This lens overlaps with the main objective of the second research question of this research, hence might be helpful in its exploration. It explores their "acculturation attitudes" which refer to the individual's preference for maintaining their own culture versus adopting the dominant culture as well as "acculturation behaviours" which focus on the individual's actual adaptation and interaction with the dominant culture.

Moreover, Berry's model also includes four acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation. In the context of this research, I will explore separation and integration. Differences between all strategies has been visualised by Berry on a graph (Figure 4). The former involves maintaining one's original culture while also adopting aspects of the dominant culture, resulting in a hybrid cultural identity. The latter, describes a situation when an individual or a group maintains their original culture and avoids contact and interaction with the dominant culture. This can be seen as a way of preserving their cultural identity and avoiding assimilation into the host culture. This strategy can be seen as a way of achieving a balance between maintaining cultural identity and adapting to the new culture, leading to successful acculturation outcomes. As literature showed that these two strategies are central for the topic of refugees and economic migrants (Sheikh and Anderson 2018; Phillimore 2011).

Furthermore, Berry has presented a comprehensive framework for acculturation research that highlights key variables influencing the process. These variables are categorised into group-level and individual-level factors, forming the foundation for understanding acculturation dynamics. The graph below (Figure 5) visually depicts the main aspects of the framework. Recognising its practical applicability, I decided to incorporate specific variables from Berry's framework into my research design. Consequently, in the construction of my interview questions, I intentionally included the following variables: the societal context of origin, the societal context of settlement, and various moderating factors that impact acculturation. These moderating factors encompassed elements such as the length of stay, coping strategies and available resources, social support networks, and societal attitudes. By integrating these variables into my research, I sought to capture the multifaceted experiences of Ukrainian migrants and provide valuable insights into their acculturation process. Arranging my interview findings in accordance with these variables allowed for a systematic analysis of the data collected from the Ukrainian migrant participants. This analysis will enable a compelling juxtaposition when comparing the outcomes with those

from interviews conducted with economic migrants and war refugees. By drawing these comparisons, a deeper understanding of the diverse acculturation experiences within the Ukrainian migrant population can be achieved. Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge, as Berry himself emphasises, that no single study has encompassed or validated all aspects of the framework (1997, p.16). Rather, the framework serves as a comprehensive set of variables that should be considered and applied when conducting acculturation research. Its utilisation allows for a more holistic examination of the acculturation process and provides a solid foundation for future investigations in this field.

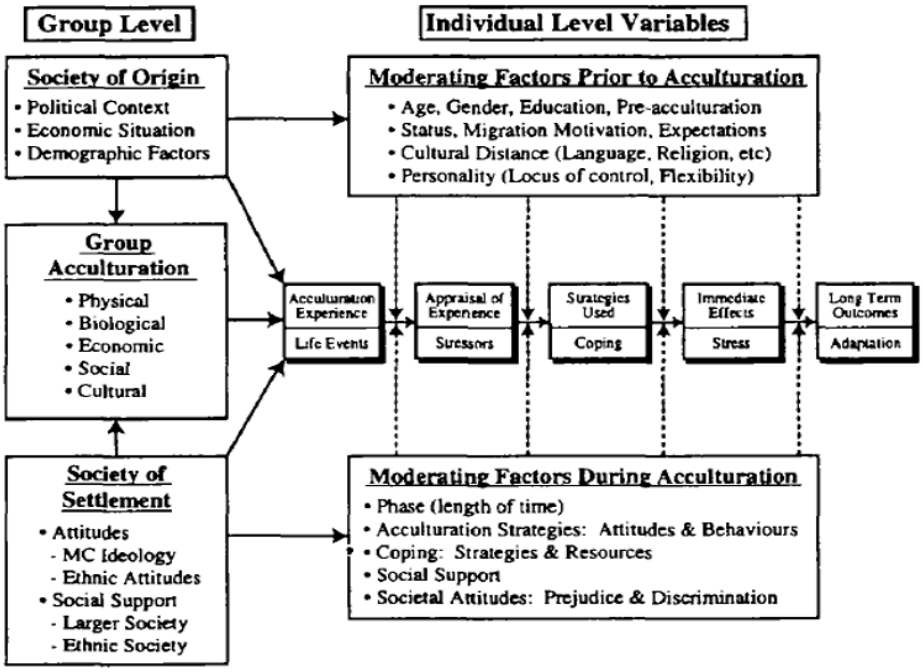

Figure 5 A framework for acculturation research. Source: (Berry 1997, p.15).

When examining differences between economic migrants and war refugees in terms of acculturation, some scholars argue that the acculturation experiences of these two groups differ significantly. For example, Hormozi et al. (2018) argue that refugees are often forced to flee their home countries due to persecution or violence, and therefore may experience more significant disruptions to their cultural identities than economic migrants who may be motivated to move by economic opportunities. As a result, refugees may be more likely to exhibit a "culture shock"

response to their new cultural environment, and may have a more difficult time adapting to their new host culture.

Other scholars have noted that the acculturation experiences of economic migrants and refugees may differ based on the level of cultural distance between their home culture and the host culture. For example, Ward (2011) argues that immigrants from culturally similar countries may have an easier time adapting to their new host culture, while those from more culturally distant countries may experience more difficulty.

In terms of acculturation strategies, it has been suggested that refugees may be more likely to adopt a "separation" strategy, as they may have experienced significant trauma and may want to maintain a sense of connection to their home culture (ibid.). On the other hand, economic migrants may be more likely to adopt an "integration" strategy, as they may be motivated to succeed in their new cultural environment and may view integration as necessary for achieving economic success (Berry, 1997).

Therefore, by the use of this theory I will compare whether the behaviours and attitudes of war refugees and migrants differ and whether they can be contextualised within the separation and integration strategies. This analysis might form a useful tool for future research and might be necessary for right policy strategies related to migration in Poland.

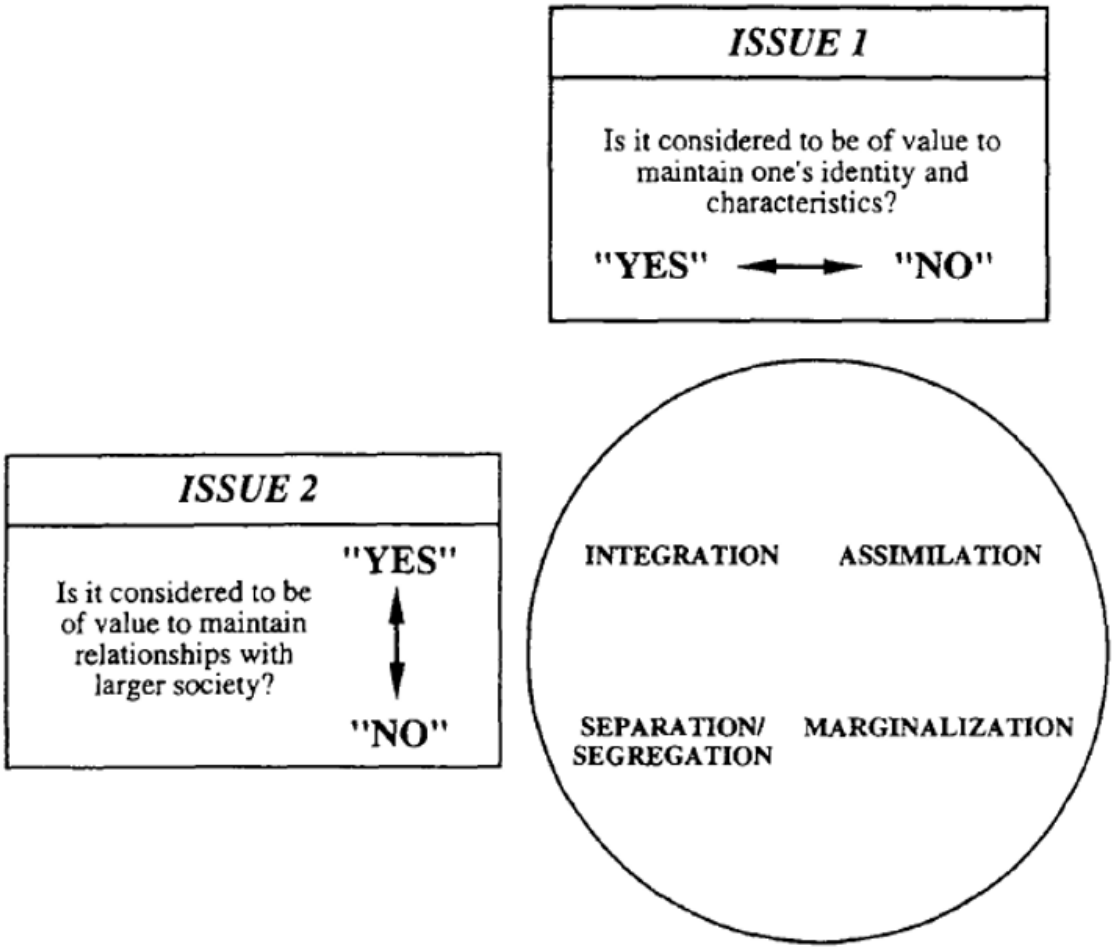

Figure 6. Acculturation strategies. Source: (Berry 1997, p.10).

4. Stereotype Content Model Study

The primary objective of this section is to assess intergroup perceptions by examining the stereotypical beliefs surrounding Ukrainian war refugees and economic migrants, while also exploring potential variations in the construction of these identities among the Polish population. More precisely, I investigate research question looking at whether there are disparities in the way representations of Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees are shaped in the minds of Poles through the lens of stereotypes. The analysis shows that the construction of identities for Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees in the minds of Poles is characterised by sharp differences in stereotypes. Notably, Ukrainian war refugees are perceived much more warmly and associated with emotions of empathy but also pity, which position them in the category of paternalistic attitudes, while Ukrainian economic migrants are rather seen as envious. While the latter are often grouped together with the broader category of economic migrants, the former elicit a perception of greater warmth and competence compared to war refugees in general.

4.1 Methodology

This study focuses primarily on social network surveys, which leverage the opportunities provided by social media networks. This type of survey is highly accessible to a wide range of individuals, and data can be collected quickly, efficiently, and flexibly in terms of survey design (Hoonakker and Carayon 2009). The decision to use this method was primarily due to time constraints and limited research budget, as well as the prevalence of similar studies utilising the SCM survey and sharing them through internet networks. However, this method is also associated with some issues, such as sampling error and nonresponse error (Denscombe 2014).

In order to address these methodological considerations, a pre-testing of the questionnaire was conducted to identify any potential issues related to question wording, response options, and

cultural biases (Fisher 1993). The questionnaire design drew upon the study by Fiske et al. (2002) and the research by Cuddy et al. (2009), which provided a replicable framework that could be applied across different settings, enabling comparisons between studies.

To assess stereotype content, the survey incorporated two universal dimensions of social cognition, namely competence and warmth, using the SCM scales, to test how in-group members evaluate the out-group members. I used both the group-centred understanding of stereotypes - "beliefs about the predominant cultural view of a group" (Krueger 1996, p.536), as well as the participants' own individual perspective. This method was employed by numerous previous studies (Kotzur et al. 2019; Findor et al. 2020). This decision was taken bearing in mind issues deriving from group norm theory (Sherif and Sherif 1953) and the perceived social consensus and its impact on individual decisions (Wittenbrink and Henly 1996; Haslam et al. 1996). Moreover, previous research has also highlighted the need to systematically evaluate the influence of response instructions on the SCM and its implications for the measure's properties. Studies have shown that response instructions can influence reported stereotypes, with participants expressing more negative stereotypes when instructed to answer from the viewpoint of the majority rather than their own perspective (Popper and Kollárová 2018; Kotzur et al. 2019).

Therefore, the survey commenced with socio-demographic questions encompassing gender, age, occupation, duration of residency in Warsaw, and migration background. In contrast to the original version, participants were required to respond only to questions within the 1x2 factorial design, which consisted of the individual perspective vs. shared cultural perspective. The translated version of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 3. A great care was taken to formulate the questions in a manner that avoided ambiguity. For instance, questions "In the general opinion of Poles, how [competent, friendly, good-natured, capable, independent, warm] are the listed groups?" and "In your opinion, how [competent, friendly, good-natured, capable, independent, warm] are the listed groups?" were designed at the separate pages to of the survey

to make it easier for respondents to navigate through the questionnaire. I have encountered challenges during the translation of Fiske's questionnaire into Polish. Despite the fact that Polish surveys implementing the SCM exist and are translated in Polish (Winiewski 2009), I decided not to copy their translation. Main reasons behind this decision relate to their focus on only individual perception of outgroups formed as "Do people like you believe that [group] is [adjective]?". Also, a pilot study revealed that such questions could have caused misunderstanding among the participants who could not really conceptualise who is meant by "people like you". Additionally, in order to ensure a more focused and manageable survey, I omitted items related to social structure, behaviour, and emotion. This choice was made to allow for a more comprehensive exploration of the specific area of stereotype content within the survey.

When it comes to sampling, I chose participants from Polish citizens living in Warsaw or who used to live in Warsaw. The choice of Warsaw is justified by the biggest proportion of Ukrainians living in this hence the biggest chance of close interconnections between Poles and Ukrainians. Ideally, the age of participants should vary between 18 and 65 as it is working age thus the biggest probability with everyday interactions with the Ukrainian migrants among this group. The questionnaire was shared through Facebook groups which gather people from Warsaw as well as through contacts with people and the so-called snowballing sampling method (Handcock and Gile 2011). I thought about three advantages of this solution which influenced this choice. Firstly, they allow for anonymity, which can encourage participants to provide more honest and accurate responses (Manfreda et al. 2008). This is particularly important in case of my study were shared opinions about migrants could differ from the real feelings as participants would be afraid to be ostracised. Furthermore, the use of social media is cost-effective compared to traditional methods of data collection, such as mail or phone surveys. Social media platforms can also provide real-time data collection, reducing the lag time between data collection and analysis.

The survey was open from March 5th until May 5th. In the period of two months I have collected 163 responses. Out of these 112 were valid. However, not all questions were answered by all 112 persons. Nevertheless, all of them were answered by enough number of participants to create a statistical analysis and do a cross-comparison. Demographically, there were 87 women, 21 men, and 5 nonbinary persons taking part in the study. Importantly, significant majority of participants were between the age of 18 and 30 which might constitute the biggest limitation as attitudes towards migrants tend to significantly differ between age groups as shown in the 2009 Eurobarometer survey (Eurobarometer 2009). 87 respondents were of age 18-30, 14 of age 31-45, and 11 of age 14-65. Moreover, 61 were students and 50 were working, only 1 person was on retirement.

To minimise potential respondent's suspicion regarding the survey's topic, additional groups were included in the survey design. Eight groups were described along the economic migrant vs. war refugee axis, while two groups, "economic migrants" and "war refugees," were presented without any ethnic affiliation to test neutrality. All responses were collected using a 1-7 scale, and participants utilised a slider mechanism to indicate their responses. To ensure participants' attentiveness, a question was included in the middle of the survey to assess whether participants were paying attention. Incorrect answers to this attention check question led to disqualification from further participation and the nullification of previously submitted responses.

The collected data was analysed using R software. First, the data was checked for missing values and cleaned as necessary. The data analysis involved creating a SCM map using the ggplot2 package. The map was created by plotting the dimensions of competence and warmth for each group. The average score for each dimension was used to plot the group on the graph. The ggplot2 package was used to create the scatter plot and annotate the labels for each group.

4.2 Findings

The findings derived from the study employing the SCM reveal notable disparities in the warmth and competence stereotypes associated with Ukrainian war refugees and economic migrants. Specifically, participants in this investigation attributed higher warmth but lower competence to Ukrainian war refugees compared to economic migrants, both in terms of public perception and personal beliefs (Figure 7 and 8)[3].

It is intriguing to note that participants in the study perceived Ukrainian war refugees, along with economic migrants and other groups, as warmer and more competent in their personal assessments than what they believed to be the prevailing public opinion. This implies that individual experiences and interactions with these groups may significantly influence people's perceptions, rather than relying solely on preconceived stereotypes. This finding confirms observations of Kotzur et al. (2019) and Popper and Kollárová (2018).

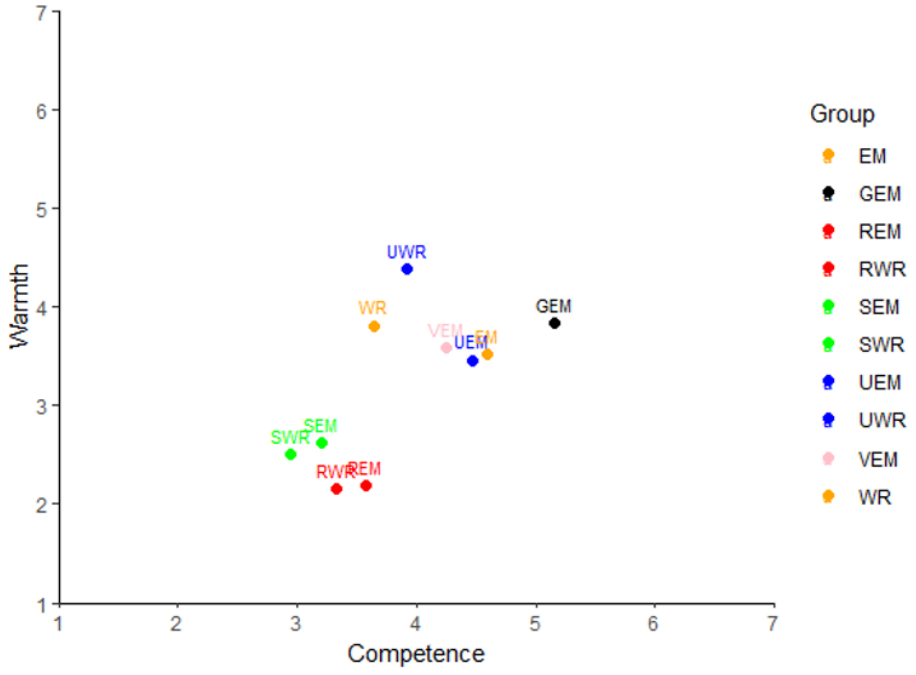

Figure 7. Results of the SCM study – Perception of public attitudes.

[3] Meaning of the acronyms: WR – war refugees, EM – economic migrants, GEM – German economic migrants, REM – Russian economic migrants, RWR – Russian war refugees, SEM – Syrian economic migrants, SWR – Syrian war refugees, UEM – Ukrainian economic migrants, UWR – Ukrainian war refugees, VEM – Vietnamese economic migrants

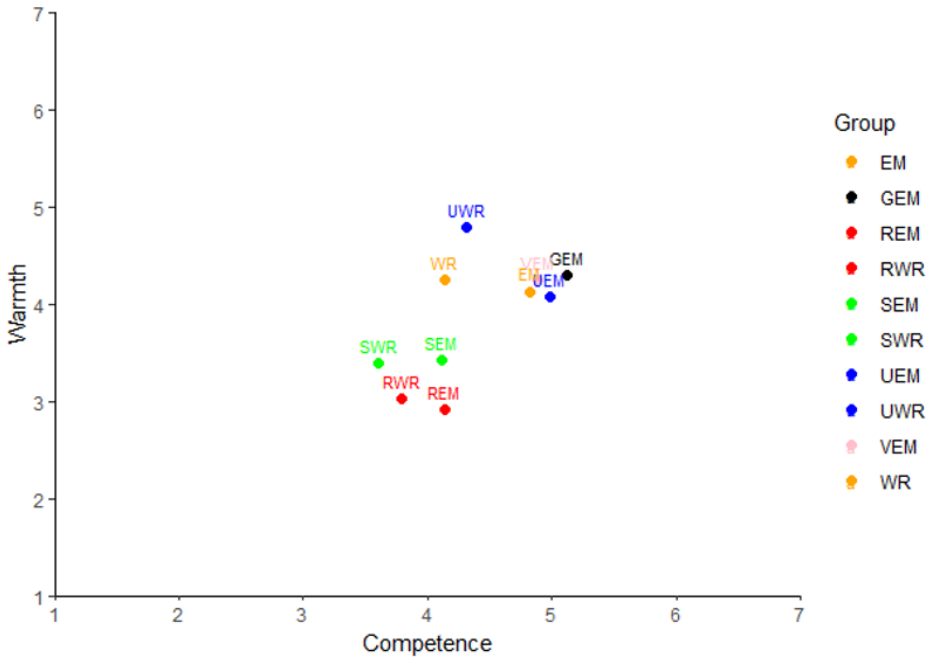

Figure 8. Results of the SCM study – Individual attitudes.

Furthermore, the study's findings indicate that both individual and public attitudes towards Ukrainian economic migrants align closely with those towards economic migrants in general (Figure 9). It can be presented by the results of the group-centred attitudes evidenced by the similar average response values of 4.37 and 4.59 for competence, and 4.98 and 4.82 for warmth respectively. However, Ukrainian war refugees were perceived as significantly more competent and warm compared to war refugees in general. The values ranged between 4.02 and 3.64 for competence and 4.38 and 3.81 for warmth. This disparity may be attributed to the perception that Ukrainian war refugees have encountered particularly challenging circumstances and hardships compared to other groups of war refugees.

It is also important to present the findings pertaining to the remaining groups included in the survey. Notably, Ukrainian war refugees emerged as the group with the highest perceived warmth on both the individual and public levels. Conversely, German economic migrants were identified as the most competent group based on the gathered data. In contrast, the categories encompassing Russian and Syrian migrants exhibited considerably lower levels of warmth and

competence compared to the other groups. In terms of public perception, a significant difference in warmth was observed between Ukrainian economic migrants and Syrian war migrants, with a substantial margin of 1.63. This disparity was also reflected at the individual level, with a difference of 1.29, aligning with a generally reduced divergence among the groups in the category of individual perception.

Another noteworthy observation pertains to the larger standard deviation of responses for Ukrainian war refugees and economic migrants in comparison to the broader categories of war refugees and economic migrants. For the competence dimension, the difference in standard deviation is 1.59 compared to 1.44 between Ukrainian war refugees and war refugees in general, and 1.53 compared to 1.39 between Ukrainian economic migrants and economic migrants in general. In terms of warmth variables, the discrepancy is even more significant, with standard deviations ranging from 1.60 to 1.45 for Ukrainian economic migrants and economic migrants in general, and from 1.43 to 1.20 for Ukrainian war refugees and war refugees in general. These observations suggest a greater variability in people's beliefs and attitudes towards these specific groups. This variability could be attributed to various factors, including differences in personal experiences or exposure to information about these groups.

Public attitudes - competence	Mean	SD		Public attitudes - warmth	Mean	SD
Ukrainscy migranci zarobkowi	4.37	1.35		Ukrainscy migranci zarobkowi	3.66	1.43
Ukrainscy uchodzcy wojenni	4.02	1.50		Ukrainscy uchodzcy wojenni	4.38	1.61
Uchodzcy wojenni	3.64	1.42		Uchodzcy wojenni	3.81	1.45
Migranci zarobkowi	4.59	1.25		Migranci zarobkowi	3.52	1.20
Individual attitudes - competence	Mean	SD		**Individual attitudes - warmth**	Mean	SD
Ukrainscy migranci zarobkowi	4.98	1.66		Ukrainscy migranci zarobkowi	4.07	1.61
Ukrainscy uchodzcy wojenni	4.31	1.46		Ukrainscy uchodzcy wojenni	4.79	1.7
Uchodzcy wojenni	4.14	1.28		Uchodzcy wojenni	4.25	1.55
Migranci zarobkowi	4.82	1.39		Migranci zarobkowi	4.17	1.45

Figure 9. Results of the SCM study – Mean and Standard Deviation results.

4.3 Analysis

The study's findings indicate significant variations in the stereotypes held by Poles regarding Ukrainian war refugees and economic migrants in terms of warmth and competence. To better comprehend these findings, it is pertinent to examine the key disparities between war refugees and economic migrants as elucidated in the literature on public discourse surrounding migrants, including the perception of choice, vulnerability, legal status, cultural differences, and intersectionality. Thus, I will apply these factors in the subsequent analysis.

These findings align with prior research presented in the theoretical framework, which highlights that refugees are often viewed more positively when they are perceived as having no alternative

but to flee their country due to conflict or persecution, contrasting with those who migrate for economic motives (Fiske et al. 2002; Esses 2021). This might be applicable in the Polish context, where a shared fear of conflict with Russia could evoke empathy among Poles who might see themselves in similar situation in future. This explanation becomes even more valid when juxtaposing my data with the results of CBOS survey (2023) which show that percentage of Poles having positive attitudes towards Ukrainians significantly increased in the past year, while the negative attitudes towards Russia plummeted (Figure 9).

Another plausible explanation for the disparity in warmth ratings between Ukrainian war refugees and economic migrants could be attributed to the perception that war refugees are in need of compassion and empathy due to their traumatic experiences, while economic migrants are seen as responsible for their own situation and are consequently subjected to harsher judgments (Esses 2021). Media portrayals also contribute to the perception of vulnerability, depicting Ukrainian war refugees as individuals in need of assistance. In terms of competence ratings, it has been suggested that refugees are often viewed as less competent due to their potential lack of skills and resources required for adaptation in a new environment, which underscores their vulnerable side (Fiske et al., 2002). However, it is essential to acknowledge that this may not hold true for all refugees and could depend on individual factors such as education, language proficiency, and previous work experience (Lindert et al. 2009).

Conversely, economic migrants are perceived as far from vulnerable. The study's results are consistent with the arguments put forth by (Czymara and Schmidt-Catran (2021), who contend that the low warmth and high competence attributed to economic migrants may stem from the fears of the dominant society regarding increased competition on the job market. Furthermore, public discourse surrounding Ukrainian war refugees often emphasises the temporality of their stay in Poland, which mitigates fears of job competition with Poles in the long run.

The observation of greater variability in people's beliefs and attitudes towards Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees compared to the broader categories of economic migrants and refugees is also noteworthy. This variability could stem from a multitude of factors, such as diverse personal experiences and exposure to information about these specific groups, or as suggested by the difference in gender composition of the Ukrainian war refugees who consist of women and kids. Moreover, previous research has demonstrated that contact with members of stigmatised groups can reduce prejudice towards those groups (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006), suggesting that personal experiences and interactions play a crucial role in shaping attitudes towards Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees. Additionally, it is important to underscore the influence of intersectionality on the perceptions of these identities formed by Poles. The ethnic core adds an additional dimension to the perceptions of war refugees and economic migrants. This example underscores the significance of recognising the social construction of group differences and avoiding the tendency to essentialise or homogenise group members, as highlighted by Brubaker (2004).

An important implication of this study is that the outgroups comprising Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees are constructed differently within the minds and realm of Poles. As demonstrated by the study of Fiske and Neuberg (1990), mental processes like stereotyping play a pivotal role in shaping prejudice. Hence, this study underscores the necessity of separately investigating these two groups to allow for more effective actions pertaining to accommodating the needs of these two groups in Warsaw and managing rapid societal changes in Poland. The differences in the way how the identities of Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees are created in the minds of Poles through stereotypes are distinguished by much warmer perception of the Ukrainian war refugees than economic migrants. While Ukrainian economic migrants are regarded similarly to the general category of economic migrants, Ukrainian war refugees are perceived as much more warm and competent than war refugees generally which suggest much stronger paternalistic attitudes. The theoretical underpinnings of the SCM discussed in the

theory chapter are reflected in the findings of this study with war refugees being associated more closely with emotions of sympathy but also pity while economic migrants are contrasted by emotions closer to envy and jealousy.

5. Lived experiences of Ukrainian migrants

This chapter attempts to answer my second research question which revolves around lived experiences of migrants in Warsaw, exploring whether a notable contrast exists between economic migrants and war refugees. Consequently, these disparities are analysed through the prism of different acculturation strategies employed by the migrants.

5.1 Methodology

Conducting interviews is a widely utilised qualitative research approach that offers researchers in-depth insights into individuals' experiences, attitudes, and beliefs (Brinkmann 2016). Unlike other research methods, interviews offer the advantage of tailoring questions to specific research inquiries, facilitating a more personalised approach to data collection. This observation is consistent with the position taken by Warfa et al. (2006), who argue that qualitative methods are well-suited for investigating social experiences and exploring the perspectives of participants. Additionally, interviews provide access to the lived experiences of participants which has yet to be thoroughly explored, placing them at the focal point of the investigation and uncovering new perspectives that may have been overlooked or undervalued in prior research (Gubrium and Holstein 2009, p.5; Kvale 1996).

To enhance the validity and reliability of the interviews, I conducted a pilot study to assess the effectiveness of various interview questions with participants. Employing a pilot study is a recommended practice for refining research questions, data collection methods, and assessing the feasibility of data analysis (Creswell 2009). The pilot study involved two Ukrainian migrants residing in Vienna, and the findings and feedback obtained informed the final selection of interview questions for the participants in Warsaw.

For interviews I recruited two Ukrainian economic migrants (people who lived in Poland for at least a year before February 2022) and two war refugees (people who escaped to Poland after February 23, 2022). The participants lived in Warsaw as the city is the biggest settling of Ukrainian migrants in Poland. Ideally, the age of participants should vary between 18 and 65 as it is working age hence they interact with Poles. Choosing the participants happened through a Facebook group "Ukraińcy w Polsce". I also contacted a foundation Ukraiński Dom in Warsaw (Ukrainian house), yet none of the participants was recruited through this agency. These two sources assured that the participants are not coming from the same background, hence creating more representative sample. Nevertheless, interview sampling did not aim to provide representative sample but rather focus on individual histories and narratives depicted by the participants.

In total, I conducted interviews with four Ukrainian economic migrants and three Ukrainian war refugees, all of which were conducted in Polish. The individual interviews were conducted with economic migrants. As they were either students or have spent in Poland at least 7 years, their language fluency was sufficient for conducting interviews in Polish. Regrettably, specific data regarding the number of Ukrainian migrants in Poland who are proficient in Polish could not be found. However, the remarkable linguistic affinity between the two languages, stemming from their shared Slavic origins, facilitates a rapid acquisition of Polish by Ukrainians. This linguistic kinship is readily apparent on the streets of Warsaw, where the ease with which Ukrainians communicate in Polish serves as a tangible proof to their swift language assimilation. The interview with war refugees took the form of a group session, with one participant assisting in translating questions and answers for the other two individuals.

It is worth to note that all war refugees were female as according to the Order of the President of Ukraine №69/2022 of 24 February 2022 (Zelensky 2022) men between the ages of 18 and 60 cannot leave the country. The duration of the individual interviews ranged from 35 to 45

minutes, while the group interview with war refugees lasted for 65 minutes. Another difference between the individual and group interviews came down to the observed trust issues of war refugees. In the individual interviews, participants exhibited a remarkable eagerness to share their experiences, providing elaborate responses from the very start. Their narratives delved into the nuances of their journeys, including the initial sense of alienation they experienced upon arriving in Poland. Conversely, the group interview encountered some initial hurdles, potentially due to language barriers and a lack of intimacy between the interviewees and myself as the interviewer. Nevertheless, it is a common problem in a research with refugees (Jeanne et al. 1996).

To foster trust and establish a more comfortable atmosphere, I decided to disclose my own migration experience to the participants. This act of vulnerability prompted them to relate their own stories to mine, facilitating a deeper level of trust and encouraging open comparisons of experiences. As Bryman and Bell (2019) illuminate, the presence of others in a group setting can introduce self-censorship and conformity, thereby influencing the level of trust established between the participants and the researcher. Therefore, I underscore the fact that such dynamics possibly might have had an impact on the validity of the data collected. Nevertheless, I made sure to carefully navigate group dynamics to maintain the integrity of the research process and succeeded in creating comparable study environment. All interviews took place between May 8th and May 14th in Warsaw, except for one online interview conducted with an economic migrant. Detailed participant information is presented in the anonymised table below.

Name	Age	When came to Warsaw	Polish language fluency	Sex	Occupation
Vitali	33	2014	Fluent	Male	employed
Olena	27	2019	Fluent	Female	student
Max	25	2019	Fluent	Male	student
Elena	35	2016	Very good	Female	employed
Natalia	30	February 2022	Beginner	Female	unemployed
Nastia	22	June 2022	Communicative	Female	employed
Ana	44	March 2022	None	Female	Employed part-time

Figure 10. Participants of the interviews

The interview structure encompassed five main topics, each designed to explore different aspects of the migrants' experiences. The first topic centred on their pre-migration background and the journey leading them to Warsaw. This served as a demographic inquiry to compare the primary motivations behind the two groups' decision to come to the city. Moving forward, the discussion shifted to their initial impressions of Warsaw and how they adapted to their new environment. I was particularly intrigued by the initial challenges they encountered, aiming to investigate whether their experiences aligned with themes explored in my previous studies, such as perceptions of warmth and empathy towards migrants. The subsequent sections delve deeper into specific experiences related to paternalism and empathy, building upon the preceding discussions. I seek to gain insights into their emotional responses and gauge their feelings towards these experiences. Through targeted questions, such as inquiring about their coping mechanisms, I also aimed to shed light on their interactions within their respective social circles,

thus exploring the dynamics of in-group relationships. Finally, I posed questions regarding the migrants' perspectives on whether their migration experiences and life in Warsaw differed from those of other migrants. This inquiry aimed to discern whether a distinction existed between the category of Ukrainian migrants who settled in Poland prior to the Russian aggression and those who sought refuge since February 2022. The collected data was further analysed according to the acculturation research framework proposed by Berry in 1997, which is explained in the next paragraphs.

Working with war refugees and migrants who are closely associated with the state of war in Ukraine brought several challenges related to the researcher's positionality and the issue of engagement versus exploitation (Pacheco-Vega and Parizeau 2018). As a Pole, I must avoid bringing my positionality to the forefront of the research. Additionally, being an outsider can bring both disadvantages, such as difficulties in communication and sharing information, but also advantages, such as recognising particular social dynamics, which insiders may assume as given (Pacheco-Vega and Parizeau, 2018). It is also noteworthy that recalling traumatic experiences is another potential challenge associated with conducting interviews in this context. It is essential to acknowledge the sensitive nature of the topic and ensure that participants feel safe and comfortable during the interview process.

Moreover, conducting research inherently builds on power differentials between the researcher and study participants and consequently can be exploitative in nature (Wolf 2018). To develop trust between the researcher and participants, I decided to remunerate the participants by donating money to an organisation helping Ukrainian civilians of their choice. By doing so, I ensured that me and participants share a common stance towards the conflict, thereby altering my positionality. To ensure my actions comply with ethical issues related to conducting a research with refugees and migrants, I followed informed consent procedures (Birman 2005, p.165-167) and put attention to confidentiality issues (ibid. p.169).

5.2 Findings

In the forthcoming passages, I present a compilation of data obtained from conducted interviews. Given the fundamental role of acculturation theory in comprehending the intricate dynamics of Ukrainian experiences in Warsaw, I have organised the findings chapter in accordance with the acculturation research framework proposed by Berry in 1997. In the first paragraphs I direct attention towards contextual variables operating at the group level, encompassing distinctive attributes of the society of origin, economic circumstances, and demographic factors that differentiate these two migrant cohorts, and the disparities in the transformation of the host society for these successive waves of migration. This part was created as a merge of information collected through interviews as well as literature and journalism. In the second part of findings section, I present main findings of the interviews which I categorised accordingly to 5 main threads which I found in the interviews, namely attitudes and behaviours, available resources, situations related to feeling of prejudice or sympathy, and emotions related to being a migrant. In sum, the employment of the acculturation theory will facilitate a comparative analysis between Ukrainian Economic Migrants and War Refugees from Ukraine.

5.2.1 Contextual findings

a. Society of Origin:

The reasons of migrating to Poland were different between the participants. Max and Olena came to Poland to study, while Elena and Vitali came to Warsaw seeking for jobs. Only Vlad and Olena have children. Among the war refugees, Ana and Nastia came to escape from the danger zone while Natalia escaped to Poland to further migrate to the US to her relatives living there. In the following paragraphs I explain the main features of the Ukrainian state and society at the

moment of departure of the migrants as I believe it is crucial for further analysis of their experiences in Warsaw and constitutes additional layer of comparison of the two groups.

Political Factors: Political circumstances in Ukraine are pivotal in comprehending the motivations and encounters of both economic migrants and war refugees in Poland. The enduring conflict in eastern Ukraine, which commenced in 2014, has exerted a significant influence on the nation's political landscape. The clash between Ukrainian armed forces and separatist factions backed by Russia has engendered political instability, displacement, and a prevailing sense of insecurity within the populace.

For economic migrants, the political backdrop can sway their decision to depart from Ukraine. As disclosed by the interviewees, corruption and the yearning for enhanced political liberties assume paramount significance in shaping their political inclinations to migrate. Conversely, war refugees found themselves directly impacted by the conflict and its ramifications. They were compelled to abandon their homes due to the imminent threat of violence, the erosion of livelihoods, and the devastation of infrastructure. The political environment enveloping Ukraine's conflict has moulded the experiences and challenges encountered by war refugees, as they grapple with issues like displacement, the loss of property, and constrained access to fundamental services.

Economic Context: The economic circumstances in Ukraine exhibit notable distinctions between economic migrants and war refugees. Economic migrants who were interviewed expressed their departure from Ukraine as driven by the pursuit of improved employment prospects and economic stability. Ukraine has encountered economic hurdles, encompassing elevated poverty rates, and unemployment levels. Vitali and Nastia highlighted the presence of educated Ukrainians, such as veterinarians or teachers, who would temporarily migrate to Poland for seasonal work during the summer months. Conversely, war refugees confront economic hardships resulting from the disruption of their lives and livelihoods caused by the conflict. The

interviewees experienced property loss, unemployment, and constrained access to essential services, including healthcare and education. Nevertheless, economic factors were not prominent and were infrequently mentioned by the interviewees. Natalia described her financial situation in Ukraine as highly favourable, being employed in an office role, while Nastia and Ana, who worked as a teacher and a cashier respectively, described it as "okay". When recounting their lives in Ukraine prior to arriving in Warsaw, war refugees more frequently employed adjectives like "calm" and "peaceful", while economic migrants often described their experiences as "difficult" and "struggling".

Demographic Factors: Notably, the two studied groups differ substantially in this regard. Economic migrants comprise a diverse cohort without distinct age groups, gender differentiations, or specific geographical origins. In contrast, war refugees predominantly consist of women, children, and elderly individuals who have been directly impacted by the conflict. As learnt from the interviews, their travel to Poland often occurs in family groups (Ana and Nastia), unlike economic migrants who typically travel individually (all of the interviewed). Additionally, war refugees may encounter additional challenges associated with trauma, loss, and the necessity for specialised support, particularly for vulnerable segments such as unaccompanied minors, pregnant women, and individuals with disabilities.

b. Society of Settlement

As showed by the Figure 5, society of settlement is also a vital point in the analysis of acculturation. I elaborate on this part to show how crucial it is to acknowledge that Polish society underwent changes between the migration of economic migrants and the arrival of war refugees. Firstly, the Ukrainian interviewees migrated to Poland during or shortly after the European migration crisis. During this period, anti-immigrant sentiments prevailed within Polish society. Poland resisted the EU-proposed quotas for hosting refugees, instead propagating narratives that depicted these groups as threats to the safety and cultural homogeneity of the Polish state. In

response, the Polish government initiated programs aimed at repatriating the Polish diaspora from Eastern countries, including Ukraine, whose ancestors had emigrated during World War II from former Soviet Union republics. Consequently, many young Ukrainians, like Olena and Max, were afforded the opportunity to study in Poland tuition-free.

In contrast, Ukrainians who arrived in Poland after February 2022 encountered an entirely different societal attitude. Firstly, the context for this wave of migration was the migration crisis on the Poland-Belarus border in 2020-2021[4]. Similar to the events in 2015, these migrants were portrayed as threats to Polish security and Christian values. Against this backdrop, Ukrainian war refugees served as symbols of Poland's compassion for those in need and played a significant role in legitimising actions taken by the Polish government. Secondly, Russian aggression on Ukrainian territory heightened insecurities among Poles, as they could empathise with the Ukrainians' experiences. Consequently, Polish society exhibited greater empathy. Thirdly, migrants who arrived in Poland after February 2022 did so due to the perceived threat of the "common Other" - Russia. This argument, also supported by Kossowska et al. (2023), is referred to as "anticipatory fears of Russian invasion." The histories of both Poland and Ukraine have been heavily influenced by their relationships with Russia, as both countries have experienced oppression under Russian rule. Thus, a common denominator exists in their shared national consciousness.

5.2.2 Main interview findings

Attitudes and behaviours

To begin with attitudes and behaviours related to the process of acculturation, two of the war refugees indicated that mastering the Polish language is at the moment not within their main priorities. Instead they aim to acquire enough communication skills to find employment during their stay in Warsaw.

[4] During this crisis, migrants primarily from Iraq attempted to enter Polish territory through forests. These attempts were met with pushbacks facilitated by Polish authorities, resulting in human rights violations.

"I tried to learn Polish but I could not focus on learning. I should try to use Polish social media but when your family in Ukraine is in danger it is really difficult to focus on not checking the news from Ukraine all the time"

Conversely, most of the economic migrants, apart from work-related reasons, stated that they learned Polish to avoid negative attention and blending in. One interviewee even mentioned spending considerable time eliminating their "eastern" accent to prevent Polish people from recognising their origin.

"now it changed a bit but 10 years ago I really felt like with Ukrainian accent you will never find "the good" job. But I have a Polish girlfriend too, we speak Polish on everyday basis, that helped a lot for sure."

Additionally, for one economic migrant, cuisine served as a source of familiarity and a means of feeling at home due to the presence of "familiar tastes". Contrarily, Ana, the war refugee, said that moving in to Warsaw was a bit of a "cultural shock".

"yeah, for me it was a bit of a shock but not because it is much different there. It was all just so unexpected, and suddenly people speaking different language, different people, behaviours like I don't know, the cashiers are friendlier here! Haha"

Unlike two of the war refugees, the economic migrants described their migration to Poland as rather as a smooth experience.

"as far as I remember it was all good in this aspect. Before coming here I learnt some phrases in Polish too so from the very first day I tried to use them, it helped to quickly blend inn and yeah feel like at home"

Furthermore, one war refugee mentioned frequent visits to Ukrainian shops as a way to feel more at home. Vitali mentioned also that Warsaw reminds them Kiev bringing another aspect of familiarity between both states.

"you have these blocks of flats, and old socialist streets, greenery, I feel like it helped me at the beginning to 'acclimatise'"

The interviewed individuals displayed differences in their duration of stay in Warsaw and their intended length of stay. While all three war refugees expressed their plans to either return to Ukraine once it is safe or use Warsaw as a transitional stop before moving to other countries, such as the US, three out of four economic migrants expressed their desire to remain in Poland. One economic migrant specifically mentioned their goal of earning enough money to purchase a house in Ukraine.

Available resources

Moving on, I would like to discuss the available resources and the closely related aspect of social support. Economic migrants who arrived in Warsaw emphasised the initial financial difficulties they encountered. Common themes that arose were the need for career rebranding[5] and the necessity of learning the language.

"even as an Uber driver, I had to speak Polish"

The interviewees described their social interactions as neutral, acknowledging that people could be harsh but also acknowledging the presence of individuals willing to help. While war refugees did not directly mention this aspect, they expressed appreciation for the assistance and resources provided by humanitarian aid and the Polish government, such as communication tickets, job opportunities, and social benefits. Moreover, one of the interviewed refugees emphasised the importance of support from the host family.

"I can't describe how grateful I am for them. They treat my children like their own children. God bless them because there's not many people like them"

However, one refugee did feel that at times, Polish people helped out of obligation rather than genuine willingness.

[5] The interviewees meant working in occupations different from those in Ukraine

"I feel like at one moment it started being like okey, whatever, you're in need so we help you. I mean, It's not like I don't appreciate it, it is more about that sometimes I felt bad that some people "need" to help me"

All war refugees agreed that Warsaw was well-prepared for hosting the migrants.

Discrimination experiences

Lastly, the interviews revealed themes related to societal attitudes, particularly in terms of prejudice and discrimination. Both groups generally expressed that they did not feel discriminated against.

"No, I don't think I can say I was discriminated. Maybe sometimes I see some bad comments written on the walls or in internet. But I feel like it's "patology" who writes stuff like this"

Nevertheless, both Elena and Vitali mentioned that at the beginning of their stay in Warsaw they experienced much more hatred language than nowadays.

"maybe I got used to it haha, but no, I remember situations when people where writing or talking about Wolyn and calling Ukrainians murderers, or I remember drunk people on the bus once, they asked me for a cigarette, I responded to them in Polish but then they started laughing and asking weird questions about my origin. I got off the bus because it was awkward for me"

However, prejudice was mostly observed in the online sphere, where the interviewees encountered hate speech directed towards Ukrainians. All economic migrants agreed that they saw such comments. War refugees agreed that they do not use Polish social media thus they cannot really say it. Interestingly, one war refugee originating from the area occupied by Russia, who did not speak Ukrainian fluently, felt ostracised for using the Russian language among other Ukrainians.

"I spoke Russian all my life, I am 42, it is not that easy to start speaking another language"

Two economic migrants also mentioned receiving derogatory comments from customers at work, although such incidents were reported to have occurred at least two years ago.

*"Yeah, I don't know why but the most common one was "Ukraińska szmata" [Ukrainian b*tch]. I heard that my fellow Ukrainians could also relate to it. But once again, it was not something what has been happening everyday. It was rare"*

They acknowledged that this could be attributed to their improved fluency in the Polish language which results in not recognising their Ukrainian origin so easily by Poles or to the waning of such comments due to the ongoing war in Ukraine.

Also, when it comes to copying with such situations, all three war refugees agreed that they were just trying to ignore any kinds of hatred or nasty behaviours towards them

"there's no point of thinking about it, I have bigger problems, you know"

Economic migrants said that such situations used to have either a bad impact on their mental health, it developed bad emotions towards the Poles, or it made them stick more with other Ukrainians.

"yeah, you hold this grudge and then it somewhere accumulates"

"I realised that I subconsciously start avoiding situations where people could see I am Ukrainian, like not turning on Ukrainian translations in the ticket automats"

Nevertheless, as mentioned by Max,

"…once you speak well [Polish] you don't need care that much".

Emotions

The interviewed war refugees described their arrival in Warsaw, stating that despite initial fears of the unknown, everything proceeded smoothly. Nastia though expressed a sense of dissociation:

"I was feeling like I was in a movie where the plot had been written by a screenwriter (…) I was merely an actress that you know, has nothing to do with all these things happening".

Among the economic migrants, they mentioned that at first they rather felt a bit lost than scared, particularly for Vitali, who remarked,

"I didn't know the language or anything. I was supposed to meet a friend of a friend who worked there as a builder, and he was supposed to help me with accommodation and work."

Nevertheless, they were also motivated to come here.

"It was tough but I knew why I am doing it, at the end of the day I could have stayed in Ukraine and study there but I just didn't want to"

"I didn't have much time to have like deeper considerations about all of this, on the next day from my arrival I started my job so you know, initially I was here just to earn money"

While Olena and Max, the students, had positive experiences overall, they expressed feelings of alienation from institutions, such as the university, with Olena recalling encounters with a stern lady at the student office who made comments like,

"Maybe it is the final time to learn Polish."

Nevertheless, they said that other students were very supportive and it was difficult to feel much of an alienation there. Also, when asked about any instances where people showed understanding, support, or kindness towards them, most of the responses focused on the situations from the past year and a half since the escalation of the conflict.

"on the 23rd I got so many messages if everything is ok with my family, then lots of kind words in person, professors reassured me that if need some more time to finish my assignments it's more than fine. I felt like I am not alone in all that (…)"

Also other economic migrants agreed that in the past year the relationship with the polish society changed.

"I think that yeah, since the outbreak of the war I feel like I got closer to the Polish society. It is weird because on one hand I feel more proud to be Ukrainian but at the same time I've got this feeling that I can be Ukrainian in Warsaw and I am good about it"

I also asked whether migrants think their experiences and attachment to Warsaw differ from the experiences of the other migrants. In the answers, I got a feeling that all Ukrainians rather unify in the experiences as they all are impacted by the situation in Ukraine:

"We all have families in danger so what's the difference"

War refugees said that it is difficult to say if their experience of accommodating in Warsaw was easier or harder than the one of the other migrants:

"we got so much help, more than the others. But also it was so chaotic, I would never want it to happen to anyone else"

5.3 Analysis

In my analysis, I want to present my arguments which are also inspired by Berry's acculturation theory. I argue that the acculturation process of the Ukrainian war refugees goes quite uniformly in line with the separation strategy while when it comes to economic migrants, there is a bigger variability which revolves around the ideas of integration and assimilation strategies.

5.3.1 Separation Strategy - Ukrainian War Refugees in Poland

Firstly, adopting a strategy that prioritises the preservation of cultural traditions, language, and values among Ukrainian war refugees in Warsaw is crucial for maintaining their distinct identity within the host country. According to Berry (1997), this approach reflects a desire to maintain social distance from the dominant culture. The interviews highlight the temporary nature of

their settlement in Poland, which facilitates such attitudes towards acculturation with Polish society. According to UNHCR report (2023) 77% of refugees is planning to go back home to Ukraine. The refugees, however, have very ambivalent attitudes towards the idea of coming back. The quote from Ana perfectly describes this stance:

"I cannot even think much about future because it is pointless, I have no idea how long it is going to last. What counts is now and here, just to stay alive".

For some war refugees, particularly those in a more favourable financial situation, close integration with Polish society is deemed unnecessary. This sentiment is particularly prevalent among individuals from Kiev, where higher living standards allow them to afford living in Poland. Furthermore, the presence of Ukrainian language on the streets contributes to the exclusive use of Ukrainian. Additionally, religious practices, especially among older refugees, play a significant role. Oviedo et al. (2022) suggest that many Ukrainian war refugees actively participate in religious communities, primarily Orthodox ones in Warsaw, providing opportunities for interaction with fellow Ukrainians. This engagement serves not only as a coping mechanism but also as a means to maintain strong connections with their homeland.

Secondly, limited interaction with the Polish society emerges as a recurring theme in the interviews, supporting the argument for a separation strategy. As Berry (1997) explains, this strategy involves minimising contact with the host culture, while establishing independent social networks and institutions within their own community. The pre-existing Ukrainian community in Warsaw prior to the war has contributed to the existence of establishments, such as Ukrainian hair salons, where Ukrainians can be served in their native language. Such phenomena are common in migrant societies (McGhee et al. 2015). Rabikowska and Burrell (2009) highlight the significance of material spaces of consumption, like grocery stores, which act as "ethnic markers" that foster a sense of belonging for displaced individuals, including migrants. This notion aligns with Brah's (1996) observation that migrants often express a feeling of being at

home through narratives closely tied to specific places and locality. The interviews also indicate the significance of "Ukrainian hairdressers" or "Ukrainian cashiers" as elements that contribute to their sense of belonging.

Finally, while not explicitly mentioned by the interviewees, the psychological well-being of war refugees is a critical aspect related to the argument for maintaining separation. Berry (1997) suggests that for refugees who have experienced significant trauma and displacement due to war, maintaining a strong connection to their home culture can provide psychological well-being and a sense of belonging. The psychopathology perspective on migration, as highlighted by Berry and Kim (1988) and Jayasuriya et al. (1992), underscores that the rapid changes in societal and cultural contexts experienced by refugees can lead to clinical depression and severe anxiety. These researches on refugee populations supports the idea that maintaining cultural identity and connections to the home country can contribute to their well-being. Therefore, maintaining close ties to their homeland can serve as a coping mechanism for addressing the trauma caused by displacement.

5.3.2 Economic migrants: integration strategy/assimilation

During the interviews conducted with Ukrainian economic migrants, a range of attitudes towards the process of acculturation became evident. However, there were variations among them, making it challenging to categorise the entire group uniformly as either integrated or assimilated. Some of the interviewees emphasised the significance of maintaining their Ukrainian identity while residing in Poland, while others did not. In the following discussion, I will present arguments that support both integration and assimilation, followed by distinct observations and arguments in favour of each approach.

Common for both:

Both assimilation and integration are frequently associated with long-term settlement in the host country, where individuals establish permanent residence and cultivate a sense of belonging

(Berry, 1997). All the Ukrainian economic migrants interviewed, who had settled in Poland prior to the war, described their stay as an enduring period. Only one of them explicitly set a limit, indicating that they would return to Ukraine once they had accumulated sufficient funds to purchase a house. The remaining migrants expressed their intention to forge a new life and establish roots in Poland, as evidenced by statements such as "our children went to Polish school" and "we want to be able to live a decent life in Ukraine," underscoring their commitment to assimilating into Polish society (Górny and Kindler 2016).

Furthermore, the process of assimilation or integration with the dominant culture is closely intertwined with economic and social integration, as individuals strive to secure employment, access education, and establish social connections in the host country (Berry, 1997). The economic migrants who arrived in Poland before the war consistently aimed to improve their financial circumstances and actively engaged in the labour market (Górny et al., 2016). The interviews prominently featured the theme of employment, highlighting its significance to the migrants. Working not only provided them with a means of livelihood but also facilitated interaction with Polish individuals, enhanced their language proficiency, and fostered the formation of friendships.

Assimilation Strategy - Ukrainian Economic Migrants in Poland:

My arguments supporting the suitability of the assimilation strategy to describe the situation of Ukrainian economic migrants in Poland are based on several observations. Firstly, assimilation entails a significant degree of cultural adaptation, where individuals adopt the customs, language, and behaviours of the host culture while relinquishing their own cultural practices (Berry, 1997). Ukrainian economic migrants who arrived in Poland before the war actively engaged in assimilation by acquiring Polish language skills, embracing Polish traditions, and adjusting to the local way of life, as evident in both research studies (Biegańska, 2020) and the interviews. For

instance, some migrants mentioned consciously acquiring a Polish accent to better blend in with Polish society.

Secondly, assimilation is characterised by a strong desire to integrate socially and economically into the host society (Berry, 1997). Ukrainian economic migrants in Poland actively sought employment, education, and social connections within Polish communities, indicating their commitment to becoming an integral part of Polish society (Górny et al., 2016). The interviewees, for example, mentioned sending their children to Polish schools and participating in leisure activities with Polish individuals, such as yoga classes. By engaging in these activities, they actively participate in the same social and economic systems as the local population, further contributing to their integration.

Lastly, a more speculative argument, not prominent in the interviews but worth considering, pertains to the potential erosion of Ukrainian cultural attachment and identity. Research suggests that Ukrainian economic migrants who assimilate into Polish society may undergo a transformation of their cultural identity, with a diminishing emphasis on their Ukrainian heritage and an increasing identification with Polish culture (Biegańska, 2020). While such a transformation was not explicitly observed in the interviews, it is important to acknowledge that during periods of conflict, national attachments may become more prominent, potentially influencing the expression of cultural identity among the migrants.

Integration:- Ukrainian Economic Migrants in Poland

The attitudes of Ukrainian economic migrants in Poland towards the acculturation processes exhibited a diverse range of behaviours and narratives, reflecting a combination of assimilation and integration strategies. Assimilation involves a high level of cultural adaptation, where individuals adopt the customs, language, and behaviours of the host culture while relinquishing their own cultural practices (Berry, 1997). Several Ukrainian economic migrants who settled in Poland before the war actively sought to assimilate by acquiring Polish language skills, embracing

Polish traditions, and adapting to the local way of life (Biegańska, 2020). Their efforts to acquire a Polish accent and blend in with the local society demonstrate a strong desire to assimilate.

On the other hand, integration is characterised by active participation in the host culture while retaining elements of one's own cultural identity (Berry, 1997). Ukrainian economic migrants in Poland displayed narratives that involved both active engagement in Polish culture and the preservation of their Ukrainian cultural heritage (Berry, 1997). Despite their efforts to integrate into Polish society by learning the language, engaging in social activities, and building connections within the Polish community (Biegańska, 2020), they also maintained their Ukrainianness through the use of symbols and the Ukrainian language at home. This dual approach suggests a preference for integration, where they strive to be a part of the host culture while preserving their own cultural practices.

The experiences of Ukrainian economic migrants during the war period played a significant role in shaping their acculturation strategies. The turbulent times and appeals to national identity and unity heightened their sense of attachment to their Ukrainian heritage (Bligh et al. 2004). This further reinforced their inclination to preserve their cultural identity while simultaneously engaging with Polish culture. The presence of strong narratives in the Polish media, combined with the shared physical appearance, religion, and language between Poles and Ukrainians, may have contributed to the reinforcement of their national attachments (CBOS 2023).

Cultural hybridity also emerged as an important aspect of the acculturation process. Cultural blending, where migrants incorporate elements of the host culture while maintaining their own cultural practices, was evident among Ukrainian economic migrants who integrated into Polish society (Berry, 1997; Górny et al., 2016). This blending allowed them to develop a unique identity that combined Polish customs and values with their Ukrainian heritage. The availability of opportunities to celebrate Ukrainian culture within the Polish setting, such as Ukrainian movies, concerts, and cultural events, further facilitated this cultural hybridity.

However, it is essential to acknowledge that the success of integration strategies is influenced by societal factors. Berry (1997) highlights that the integration strategy can only be pursued in explicitly multicultural societies with specific psychological preconditions. These preconditions include a positive belief in multiculturalism, minimal prejudice, positive intergroup attitudes, and a sense of connection or identification with the larger society (Berry and Kalin 1995). In the case of Ukrainian migrants in Poland, acceptance and attitudes towards migrants vary depending on their origin, religious beliefs, and physical appearance. While there may be a level of acceptance and integration between Poles and Ukrainians due to shared physical features, religion, and language, the attitudes towards migrants from other regions differ significantly (CBOS 2023).

In conclusion, the experiences and attitudes of Ukrainian economic migrants in Poland towards acculturation demonstrate a combination of assimilation and integration strategies. While some migrants actively strive to assimilate into Polish society, adopting Polish customs and language, others exhibit a preference for integration, engaging with Polish culture while retaining their Ukrainian identity. The war period and appeals to national identity have influenced their attachment to their Ukrainian heritage, and cultural hybridity has emerged as a significant aspect of their acculturation process. However, the success of integration strategies depends on societal factors, and attitudes towards migrants vary based on their origin and physical appearance. It is important to note that these findings are derived from interviews conducted in Warsaw and may not be generalisable to the entire Ukrainian migrant population in Poland. Further research is needed to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the acculturation experiences among Ukrainian economic migrants.

6. Post-colonial attitudes

This chapter explores how prominent are the post-colonial ideas within the Polish society, such as orientalism, colonisation of space and time, and hybridisation. In particular, I will try to assess what is explanatory power of these concepts in explaining the relationships between Poles and Ukrainian migrants and differences in the lived experiences of the two distinct migrant groups in Warsaw. Paternalism related to the concept of colonisation of space and time stands out to be one of the crucial aspects to explore.

6.1 Methodology

In this part of the study, I tried to examine what is explanatory power of the post-colonial approach in regard to the mutual relationship between Poles and Ukrainians. Six questions were administered to participants, aiming to capture their post-colonial attitudes. Careful attention was given to the construction of this section to ensure that the response options comprehensively covered the range of attitudes and opinions of interest. The inclusion of a pilot study and pre-testing of the survey bolstered its validity and clarity. The questions were thoughtfully crafted to investigate three pivotal concepts in the realm of post-colonial studies: orientalism, hybridity, and the hybridity of space and time. Specifically, participants were asked for their views on whether Borderlands are perceived as less "civilised" than Poland, the cultural belonging of Borderlands to Poland, and whether Poland should provide economic, cultural, and political support to the Borderlands due to their historical significance. Participants could choose to what extent they agree with these statements on the 1-7 scale (1 – I do not agree, 7 – I fully agree). I chose the 1-7 scale to reflect the values of the SCM study and hence make it easier to conduct correlation analysis between both studies.

To assess the distribution of the data for each question (variable), the Shapiro-Wilk test for normality was conducted. This statistical test was executed using the shapiro.test() function in the R programming language. Subsequently, histograms were generated to visually represent the distribution patterns of the data for all variables. The hist() function in R was employed to create these histograms, with the number of breaks set to 7 to ensure clarity.

Lastly, a correlation analysis was performed using the cor.test() function in R. This analysis explored the relationships between the variables derived from the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) survey and the questions investigating post-colonial attitudes. The correlation method employed was Pearson's correlation coefficient, which measures the strength and direction of linear relationships between variables. To assure that the statistical analysis is correct, I have consulted the calculations with another student who has expertise in data analysis.

6.2 Findings

The findings from the first question (Figure 11) concerning the perceived level of civilisation in lands to the east of Poland indicate that the majority of respondents assigned a value of 4, while the fewest respondents selected a value of 7. Notably, this question exhibited the highest standard deviation of 1.77, suggesting a greater variability in responses, with a mean value of 3.88.

Regarding the second question (Figure 12) addressing whether Poland should extend support to the Kresy region, most respondents indicated a value of 4 as being closest to their beliefs, while the fewest respondents opted for a value of 1. This question exhibited a standard deviation of 1.69 and had the highest mean value of 4.04, indicating a relatively strong consensus among respondents regarding the need for support towards Kresy.

Analysis of the graph representing responses to the question pertaining to the cultural belonging of Kresy to Poland (Figure 13) reveals a departure from the normal distribution observed in the previous two questions. The largest number of respondents selected a value of 2 to express their agreement with the statement, while the lowest number of persons fully agreed with the statement, assigning a value of 7. Notably, this question displayed the lowest mean value of 3.04 and the lowest standard deviation of 1.62, suggesting a higher level of agreement among respondents regarding the cultural autonomy of Kresy.

The results of the correlation analysis of these three questions and the SCM study revealed that none of the variable pairs exhibited a statistically significant correlation ($p > 0.05$).

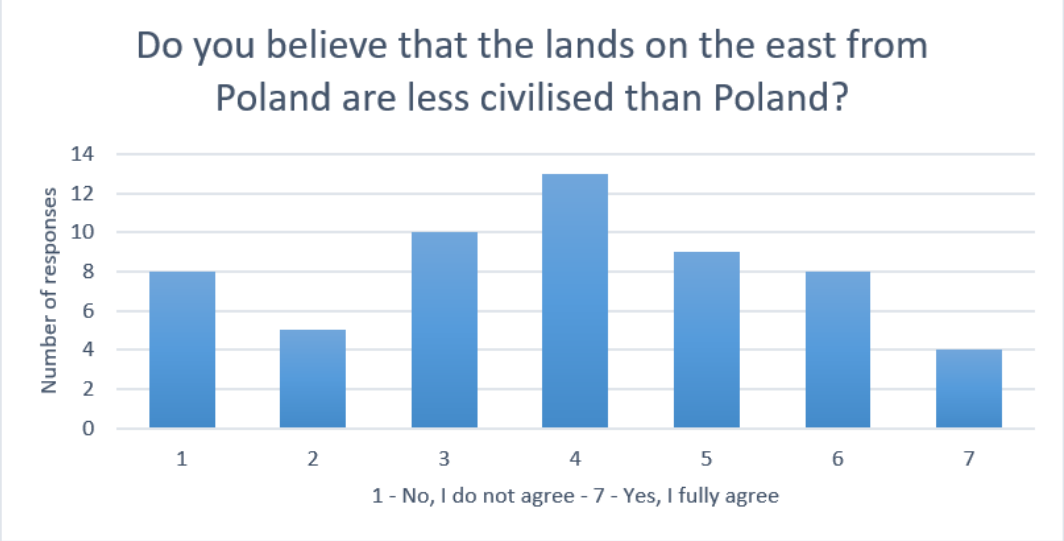

Figure 10. Responses to the question "Do you believe that the lands on the east from Poland are less civilised than Poland?".

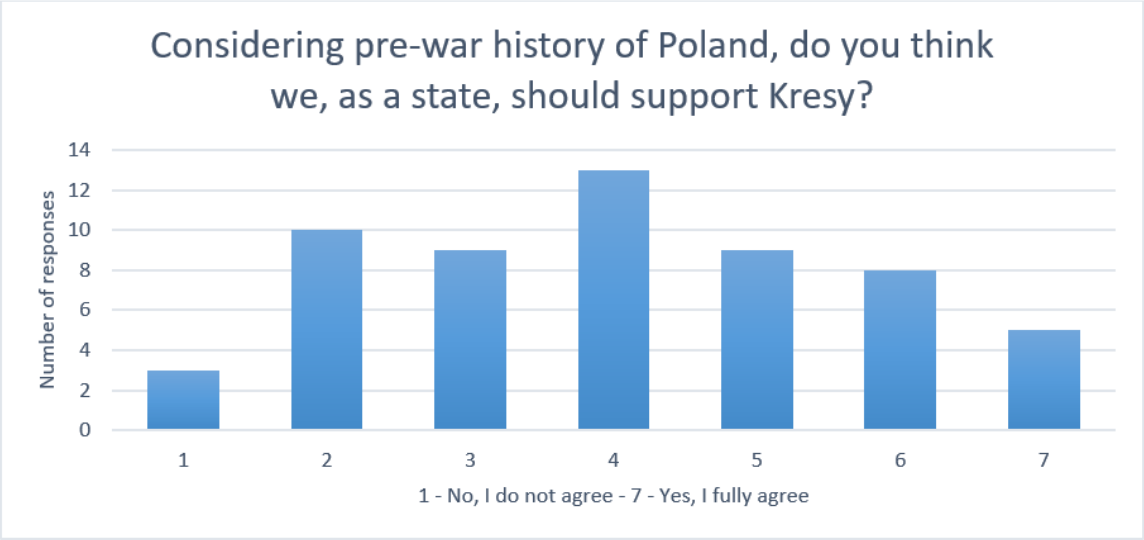

Figure 11. Responses to the question "Considering pre-war history of Poland, do you think we, as a state, should support Kresy?

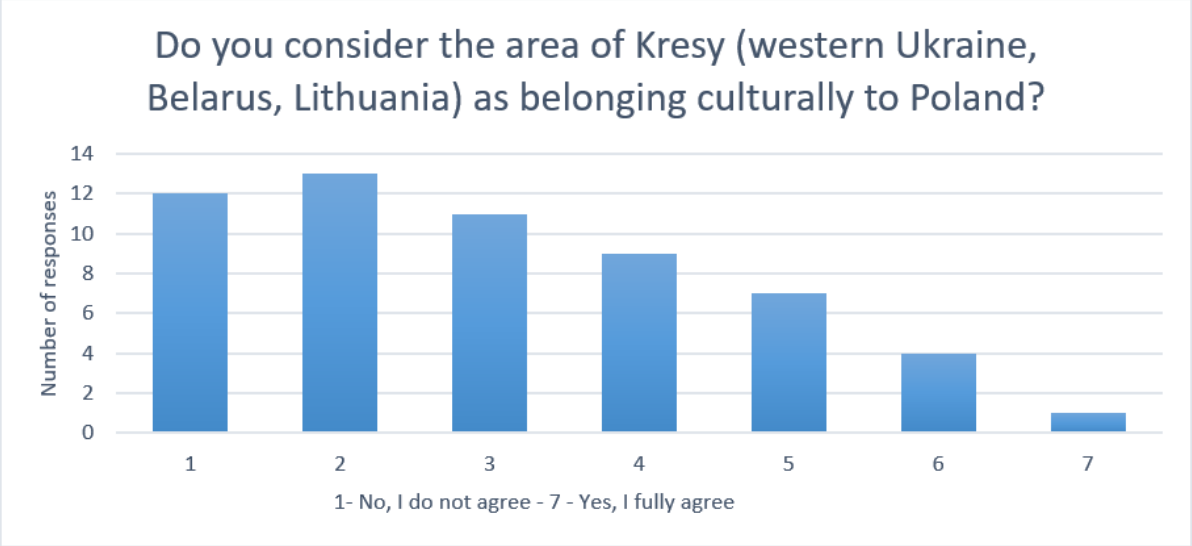

Figure 12. Responses to the question "Do you consider the area of Kresy (western Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania) as belonging culturally to Poland?".

6.2.1 Orientalism

The findings derived from the question exploring whether Kresy (borderlands) are perceived as less civilised than Poland aimed to unveil the presence of orientalist notions about Ukraine within the consciousness of Poles. As posited by Said (1985), orientalism represents a way of portraying the East in a manner that reinforces Western dominance and a sense of superiority. The East is fashioned as an exotic, enigmatic realm, positioned as inferior to the West. This portrayal does not stem from an objective understanding of the East, but rather emerges as a consequence of the West's own cultural and political identity.

Within the context of Poland and Ukraine, this construction of the East as inferior to the West may be influenced by a complex historical backdrop of political and cultural interactions, whereby Ukraine has been under Polish dominion at various points throughout history. This historical trajectory has played a role in shaping the perception of Ukraine as the "Other" within the Polish imagination, with Ukraine being regarded as culturally and politically beneath Poland. The term "cywilizowany" utilised in the survey carries significant implications in terms of power dynamics between specific temporal and spatial locations, suggesting that those deemed "uncivilised" exist outside the realms of "civilised" lands.

The usage of the term "uncivilised" within academia is problematic due to its post-colonial connotations, perpetuating Eurocentric and colonialist attitudes towards non-European societies. It often characterises societies that do not conform to European norms of civilisation and development. However, the term "uncivilised" is deeply subjective, rooted in European norms and standards of civilisation that may not apply to non-European societies (Chakrabarty 2000). This eurocentric bias overlooks the vast cultural and economic diversity and complexity of non-European societies, reducing them to oversimplified and homogenous categories.

Furthermore, the employment of the term "uncivilised" poses challenges as it obscures the historical, economic, and political contexts in which non-European societies exist. Many non-European societies have endured centuries of colonialism, exploitation, and violence, which have contributed to their present social and economic conditions (Quijano 2000). In the context of Poland, the term has been employed to describe corruption, lack of democracy, and poor governance and economy in Eastern European countries (Tava, 2017).

However, to illustrate that the dichotomy between the civilised and uncivilised worlds is not solely contingent upon economic backwardness and inequalities between Poland and Ukraine, it is important to consider data from the late 1980s and early 1990s when economic measurements such as GDP and GDP per capita were higher in Ukraine than in Poland (Reinis Fischer 2023). Thus, assuming that Ukraine is inherently less developed and affluent than Poland should not be taken for granted. This observation suggests that the concept of being "civilised," which is central to the notion of orientalism, must be culturally and historically embedded. Merely considering disparities in wealth is insufficient to comprehensively describe this phenomenon.

Hence, it can be concluded that power relations, which serve as the driving force behind the orientalisation of specific regions, persist over time. The network of cultural, economic, and political interconnectedness proves to be stronger than short-term fluctuations in individual variables.

6.2.2 Colonisation of space and time

Another noteworthy and deserving finding to highlight and examine is the significant number of responses indicating that, considering the pre-war history of Poland and Ukraine, Poland as a nation should extend cultural, political, and economic support to the Kresy region. These attitudes can potentially be elucidated by the prevalent paternalistic mindset deeply rooted within Polish society towards the eastern lands. The concept of colonisation of space and time revolves

around the perception of modernity, wherein the spatial dimension is contextualised within the past and envisioned as unchanged since Poland lost control over this territory. The notion of a "lost homeland" is tied to the collective memory of what was relinquished during a particular historical period. I posit that the modernisation of the image of Kresy has not kept pace with the physical modernisation of the region. Consequently, it can be inferred that in the minds of Poles, there persists a belief that Kresy necessitates support as if it were still a part of Poland. It is important to acknowledge that such attitudes must be analysed in the context of the prevailing public narrative urging support for Ukraine in light of the ongoing war. This support encompasses not only financial and military aspects but also the preservation of cultural heritage believed to be inherently Polish.

The concept of colonisation, deeply entrenched in power dynamics, finds itself intertwined with notions of support. Within this paradigm, Poland, as a modern nation, assumes a dominant stance, wielding the ability to dictate the terms of engagement, patronising regions deemed weaker. It is through this lens that the stark disparity in Poland's perception of Ukrainian war refugees and economic migrants can be partly understood. The act of welcoming refugees has become a source of national pride for the Polish people (Sengupta 2023, p.17). Hosting tens of thousands of refugees, Poles may perceive themselves as catalysts for this endeavour, thus cultivating positive sentiments towards the group. However, it remains essential to question the origin of such perceptions—is it a result of a paternalistic form of behaviour or a manifestation of genuine solidarity?

6.2.3 Hybridity

However, it appears that the notion of Kresy belonging culturally to Poland is not as pronounced as the previous two ideas. This finding suggests that the concept of hybridity between Polish and Ukrainian cultures may not be widely prevalent. Consequently, we can

interpret this as an indication that Poles acknowledge and respect the distinctiveness of Ukrainian culture.

Nevertheless, these findings could be influenced by the understanding that Ukraine, as an autonomous state, also has the right to its own culture. However, even though such an attitude may prevail within the nation, it does not negate the fact that certain objects or aspects may still be perceived as being distinctly Polish. In my brief survey, it was not feasible to detect such subconscious postcolonial attitudes deeply ingrained in people's minds. Individuals may not openly express or even believe in these postcolonial attitudes, but the broader cultural discourse inherited from the colonial past may subconsciously persist within society. Thus, the dominance of certain ideas may be rooted even deeper in the psyche of Poles.

While considering this aspect, I found out that these "invisible" marks which might suggest that hybridity of Poles and Ukrainians is present nowadays might be found in the Polish language used every day. The best example are prepositions used when talking about countries which lands used to be ruled by Poland. These are Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Slovakia, and Hungary. When referring to these countries, Poles use the form "na" instead of the form "w". The form "na" is widely used to refer to territories within Poland and Polish regions. Therefore, it might suggest that post-colonial attitudes are sub-consciously well-embedded within the Polish mindset as also noted by Bakula and Warsao (2014, p.100). However, since the escalation of the Russian aggression on Ukraine in 2022, some notable changes happened marking the process of de-colonisation of Polish language. In March 2022, the Council for the Polish Language published an official statement in which they encourage everyone of changing the abovementioned prepositions not only in relation to Ukraine but also other countries. As portrayed by the graph (Figure 13), there was a rapid significant change in the public narrative and language used. After a year, majority of journalists in Poland use the preposition "w" instead of "na" which I believe underscores not only Polish solidarity with the Ukrainian state but also

constitutes a symbol of breaking the chains of history and altering also sub-conscious sphere of thinking about Ukraine as the Polish post-colony.

Figure 13. Frequency of appearance of "W Ukrainie" and "do Ukrainy" – forms recommended by the Polish Language Council. Source: Okopress 2022.

These three concepts, namely orientalism, hybridity, and colonisation of space and time represent distinct ideas and issues that warrant separate discussion and analysis. However, during my analysis, I identified a common underlying theme that could serve as an umbrella term for all these aspects. This term is "internalised colonialism," a concept that explores how the ideologies, attitudes, and power structures of colonialism become deeply embedded in the psyche of the colonised population, shaping their thoughts, behaviours, and social interactions. This phenomenon is often unconscious or subconscious, implying that individuals may not consciously recognise the ways in which they have internalised colonial patterns of thinking.

Frantz Fanon, a prominent postcolonial theorist, extensively examined the notion of internalised colonialism in his seminal work "The Wretched of the Earth" (1961). Fanon contended that the psychological ramifications of colonialism extended beyond mere physical and economic subjugation. He emphasised how the colonised assimilate the imposed inferiority by the colonisers, resulting in a profound self-negation and cultural estrangement. This internalisation perpetuates the power dynamics of colonialism even after the formal cessation of colonial rule.

I posit that this concept offers insights into the inquiries that arose during my exploration of these topics, including the appropriate approach for studying people's attitudes within the broader framework of prejudice and how to account for the disparities between public surveys on attitudes towards different national groups and observed behaviours and prevailing discourses.

Altogether, the results of this study provide a robust foundation for further investigations into intricate dynamics and the concepts utilised. The responses suggest that the ideas of orientalism and colonisation of space and time might be consciously or subconsciously present in the wider national belief and mindset. Therefore, these results align with the existing literature concerning relationship between Poland and Ukraine in respect of post-colonial scholarship. Moreover, they shed light on the ways in which post-colonial attitudes and attachments towards Ukraine intersect with the notions of Polishness. However, the study does not bring many new arguments why war refugees and economic migrants are perceived differently. A hint which we might further utilise is an observation that paternalistic behaviours towards refugees come from a post-colonial belief that as a former nation Poland must help the Ukrainians. The whole project of welcoming refugees was a source of national pride yet the question must be asked how to differentiate paternalistic behaviours from pure solidarity. These findings are pivotal in comprehending the formation of stereotypes, as discussed earlier.

7. Discussion

In this discussion chapter, I will synthesise and integrate the key findings from the previous sections to gain a comprehensive understanding of my research questions. My goal is to establish connections between the research inquiries and gain insights into the dynamics of the perception of Poles about the Ukrainians and the lived experiences of Ukrainians in Warsaw. Both the study utilising the SCM and the interviews revealed that the conceptual distinctions between war refugees and economic migrants, as defined within the legal framework and public narratives, carry different implications for Ukrainians in Poland. While my research findings do not establish a direct equivalence between these interconnected elements, they do propose a hypothesis that warrants further exploration.

The findings suggest that Ukrainian war refugees are generally perceived with greater warmth and are seen as less competitive compared to economic migrants, resulting in different emotional responses towards them. These differences, as illustrated by the SCM, can be attributed to the varying emotions of paternalism and envy. Similarly, the interview data revealed that war refugees more frequently recounted instances highlighting the support and empathy they experienced in Warsaw. In contrast, economic migrants predominantly shared accounts of prejudice and discrimination they encountered.

Overall, these findings shed light on the distinctive experiences and perceptions of war refugees and economic migrants, highlighting the role of emotions and social categorisations in shaping these dynamics. However, further research is needed to deepen our understanding of these interconnected aspects and to explore additional factors that contribute to the complexities of prejudice and everyday experiences among Ukrainians in Warsaw.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the interviews revolved around discussions of discriminatory situations. Initially, the economic migrants indicated a lack of everyday

discrimination and only recalled individual incidents. However, with more detailed questions about the specifics of these situations, they revealed a higher number of such behaviours. Moreover, even when acknowledging the presence of discriminatory situations, the interviewees began justifying the actions of the oppressors. As revealed in the findings, these incidents could be seen as "an unfortunate event," "pathology," or the interviewees were uncertain if it constituted discrimination. These findings demonstrate that economic migrants could downplay perceived discrimination. In line with Kaiser and Miller's arguments, it suggests that "stigmatised people may avoid claims of discrimination because such attributions are costly in terms of perceived control over outcomes," and "negative social costs accompany attributions to discrimination" (2001, p.254). This tendency was more prominent among economic migrants than war refugees, which correlates with their greater exposure to discriminatory behaviours over time spent in Warsaw and not that paternalistic behaviours towards that group.

Furthermore, in this study, I sought to incorporate a historical perspective by applying post-colonial concepts to examine the experiences of Ukrainian migrants in Poland. The initial findings indicated that ideas of orientalism and the colonisation of space and time were present in intergroup dynamics, as evidenced by sentiments regarding Ukrainian lands belonging to Poland and the need for support for these lands. This particular finding is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of the interrelations discussed in the SCM study and the interviews, particularly regarding paternalistic attitudes. As stated by the participants, this finding signifies the importance of considering the post-colonial idea and its potential impact on differentiating the two migrant identities. While these findings shed light on the dynamics at play, it is important to acknowledge that they represent just one possible explanation among many. However, in this study, they serve as a gateway to future research, inviting further exploration of how the post-colonial perspective influences the differentiation of the two studied migrant identities.

Additionally, apart from answering my research questions my thesis provided also data on perception of other nationalities studied through the SCM. This allows us to also do a cross-comparison with other similar measurements and studies and follow the patterns of change. Obviously, such comparisons must be undertaken with cautiousness as the methods of analysis and data collection differ, yet despite that we could see some patterns anyway. The interviews constitute an important addition to the existing data on experiences of migrants in Warsaw. They are documentations of lived experiences of seven people who migrated to Poland and can be used for further research.

Moreover, the study might be also crucial for a comparative research which tests in-group perceptions about other national groups. Especially, what I was mostly intrigued is impact of particular events on fluctuations of such attitudes. A regular year-to-year surveys might bring an additional layer for understanding in-group and out-group dynamics. As depicted on the graph (Appendix 2) only 11 years ago Ukrainians were still the group towards which Poles felt most antipathy among the neighbouring countries. Since then the attitudes towards Ukrainians and Russians have been the graph values which underwent the biggest changes. We can easily see the decrease of sympathy towards Russian around the year 2014 which marks annexation of Crimea. Yet it is the past year which really changed the chart[6]. Sympathy towards Ukrainians increased from 0.39 to 0.64 in one year, marking the biggest increase in sympathy among all nations indicated (Figure X). Meanwhile. Sympathy towards Russia slumped from -0.22 to -2.05. These statistics might be useful not only for setting a general socio-geographical context of my thesis but also for building on my arguments pertaining to importance of a common "other" in the minds of Poles and Ukrainians and its impact on attitudes of Poles towards Ukrainians.

The above-mentioned dynamics describe also my main research objectives which I set before the start of the research. I showed that there is a strong argument that there are two separate

[6] Data by CBOS for the year 2023 has been collected between January 2022 and January 2023.

migrant identities in Warsaw which have experienced different migrant experienced and are perceived in the different way. The main objective which has not been achieved is finding a correlation between individual answers in the SCM study and the questions pertaining to seek post-colonial attitudes among Poles, including a question which tested how close the Polish identity was to them. My expectation of this part of the study was to find a correlation between the more anti-Ukrainian attitudes in general and the closer connection to Polishness. Moreover, perhaps it could show us also another dimension of a difference in perception of Ukrainian war refugees and Ukrainian economic migrants.

Finding parallels between my research findings and previous studies proves challenging, given the unique geopolitical context and the untested nature of examining these two specific groups. Nonetheless, my findings align with the research conducted by Kotzur (2017, 2019), who also explored perceptions of migrants using the SCM framework, albeit using the term "economic refugees" instead of "economic migrants." Additionally, a comparison with a similar study conducted in 2009 by Winiewski offers intriguing insights into how perceptions of Poles have evolved over time. The differences observed, particularly in relation to Russians and Belarusians being perceived as warmer than Ukrainians in the past, are striking.

Regrettably, this research did not delve into the role of gender in shaping perceptions of outgroups and the processes of stereotyping. However, extensive literature indicates that gender plays a significant role in group perceptions. Eagly and Kite (1987) demonstrated that stereotypes about nationalities are more closely associated with men than women. Incorporating a broader discussion on femininity and masculinity (Spence et al. 1979) and gender stereotypes (Eagly and Steffen 1984) would open up new avenues for exploration in this study. This perspective has the potential to yield valuable insights into the paternalistic attitudes uncovered in my research, aligning with Cuddy et al.'s observation that such attitudes are "most prominent in gender stereotypes" (2008, p.77). Understanding the significance of gender in shaping

perceptions of war refugees is illuminated by Eckes' study (2002), which revealed a tendency for people to hold more paternalistic attitudes towards women compared to men. These attitudes may also be influenced by media narratives that portray female refugees as vulnerable mothers in need (Sue et al. 2003, p.161; Canales 2000), while male refugees are often depicted as a security threat to nations (Grey and Frank, 2019). As discussed in the theory chapter, media narratives play a crucial role in shaping attitudes towards outgroups, making the exploration of paternalistic attitudes towards male and female war refugees an important aspect to additionally consider in this thesis. Considering that nearly all Ukrainian war refugees are women and children, attitudes towards particular gender could provide additional explanation of the appearance of paternalistic attitudes for the war refugees in my findings.

These observations and arguments forward also on Brubaker's idea of groupism. Any findings which aim at exploration of groups must be analysed with scrutiny to avoid faulty causations. The findings of this study showed how categories of war refugees and economic migrants transform depending on the ethnic origin of the migrants. Additional layer of gender could have brought even more interesting findings. The difference in the SCM study for the categories of war refugees and Ukrainian war refugees might be actually attributed to this hypothesis. Therefore, academic essentialisation can have negative implications and undermine the issues associated with specific groups and must be considered in the future research to "embrace the complexity of all groups", as argued by Birman (2005, p.175).

Main limitations of this study relate to time constraints. Moreover, I have experienced difficulties in creating representative sample for the survey. There is a disproportionately larger number of women taking part in the survey as well as students. Survey dissemination strategy relying on social media and snowballing method might have led to the sampling bias (Clyde et al. 1983). Clyde identified five main problems related to sampling bias, namely limited generalisability, inaccurate estimates, biased conclusions, inefficient estimates, and threat to internal validity. In

case of this research I believe that the certain emphasis should be laid on the aspect of inefficient estimates as analysis of data in relation to demographic questions brings significant differences between particular groups. Consequently, participants might not be representative of the larger population of Warsaw inhabitants.

8. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have illuminated the distinct portrayals of Ukrainian economic migrants and war refugees that are shaped within the minds of the Polish population, guided by different stereotypes. These stereotypes not only reveal evident paternalistic attitudes towards war refugees and envious attitudes towards economic migrants, but also manifest in the actual experiences of these migrant groups. Through insightful interviews, distinct emotional patterns emerged among the two groups, leading to the adoption of different acculturation strategies. While war refugees tended to adopt a separation strategy, economic migrants exhibited attitudes more aligned with assimilation or integration strategies.

One notable contribution of this thesis is the exploration of the underlying reasons for these paternalistic attitudes, particularly through the lens of post-colonial attitudes held by the Polish population towards Ukraine. This novel perspective sheds light on the intricate dynamics at play. Furthermore, the thesis highlights the interconnectedness between in-group attitudes and perceptions of the out-group. However, to provide a comprehensive and accurate assessment of these findings, future research should also consider the gender dynamics within these two migrant groups. This is especially important given that war refugees are predominantly female, to ensure a nuanced understanding and to avoid the potential pitfalls of groupism.

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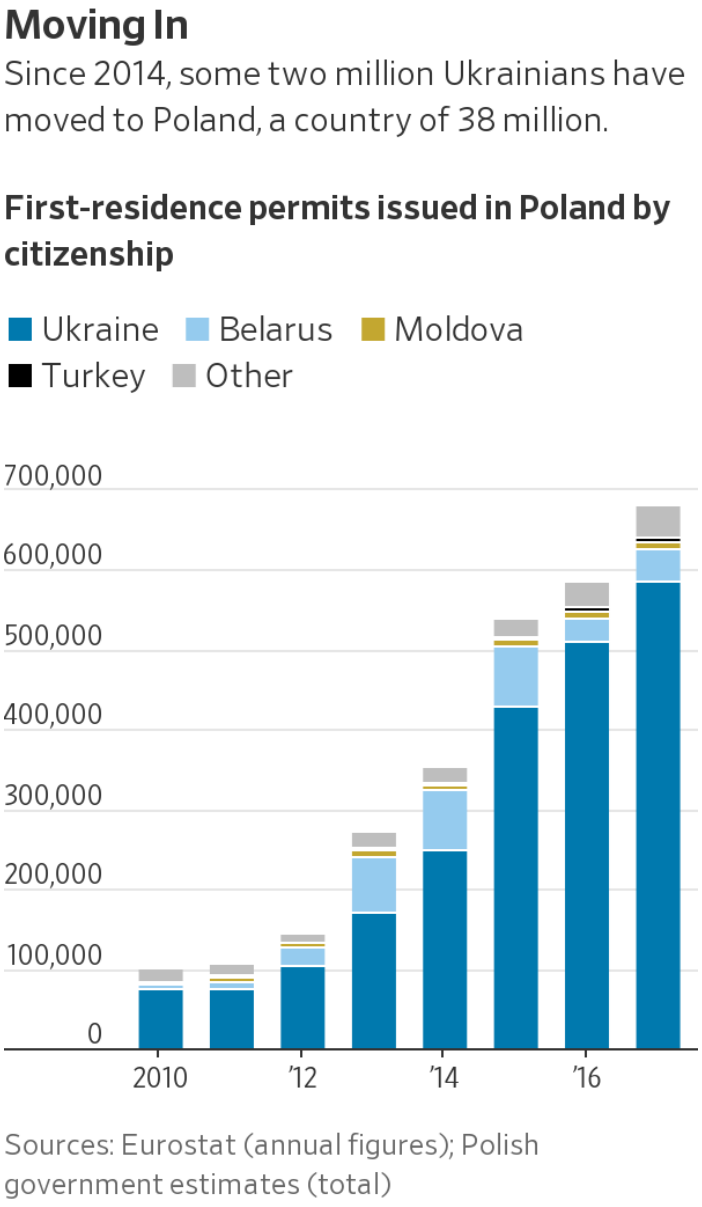
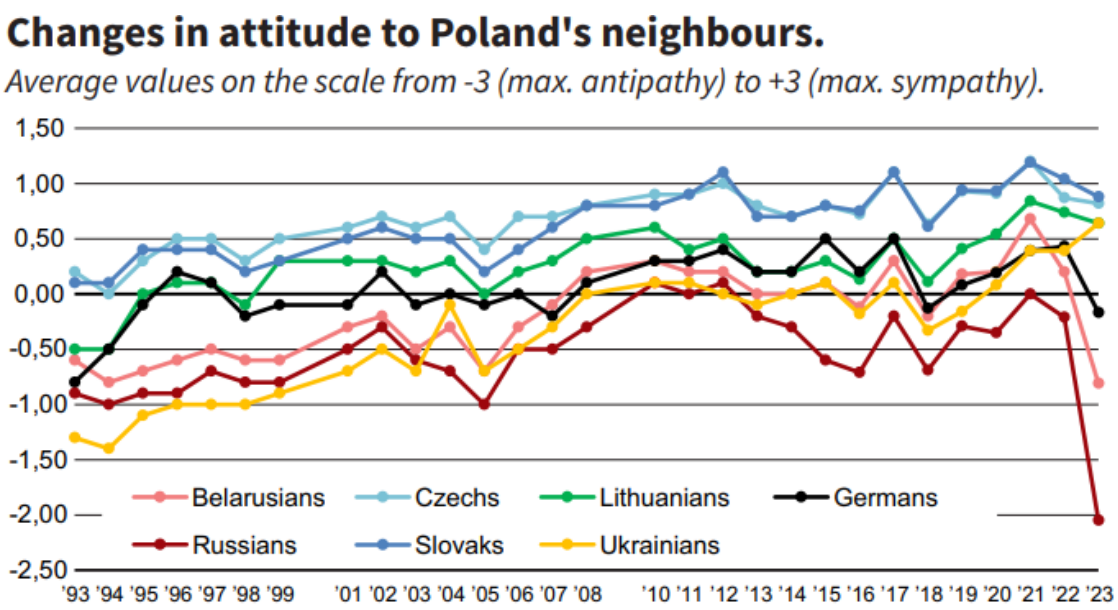
Appendixes

Appendix 1 – Data on first-residence permits issues in Poland by citizenship. Source: (Trofimov 2019).



Appendix 2 – Changes in attitude to Poland's neighbours. Source: CBOS (2023)



Appendix 3 - Translation of the survey questions

Block 1 – demographic questions (question type: single choice)

- What's your gender?

- What's your age?

- What's your occupation?

- Do you come or live in Warsaw?

    - If yes, for how long have you been living here?

    - If not, the survey ends.

- Have you ever lived abroad for more than 6 months?

    - If yes, would you consider yourself an economic migrant?

- In your family (siblings, parents, grandparents, aunts and brothers) is there a person who emigrated for jobs?

Blocks 2-8 *(question type: slider)*

- In the general opinion of Poles, how [competent, friendly, good-natured, capable, independent, warm] are the listed groups?

- In your opinion, how [competent, friendly, good-natured, capable, independent, warm] are the listed groups?

    - The groups: Ukrainian economic migrants, Ukrainian war refugees, Syrian economic migrants, Syrian war refugees, Vietnamese economic migrants, Russian war refugees, Russian economic migrants (unsure about that group), war refugee, economic migrant, German economic migrant

- In the middle of the survey I also ask the respondents to indicate the current year to check whether they're paying attention

Block 9 – some additional questions which might help answering my last research question about postcolonial attitudes *(question type: slider)*

- Do you consider the area of Kresy (the western Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania) as belonging culturally to Poland?

- Do you believe that the land on the east from Poland are less civilised than Poland? (I feel like that question is too broad? What does it mean civilised?)

- Considering pre-war history of Poland, do you think we, as a state, should support Kresy?

- Do you believe that Ukrainians are more prejudiced towards other nationalities than Poles?

Appendix 4 - Translation of the survey questions

Interview Script 1: Ukrainian Economic Migrants

Interviewee Profile:

- Name:
- Age:
- Occupation:
- Years lived in Warsaw:
- Reason for migrating to Warsaw before the war in Ukraine:

Introduction: Thank the interviewee for participating and explain the purpose of the interview, which is to explore their experiences as Ukrainian economic migrants living in Warsaw. Assure them of the confidentiality of their responses and their right to withdraw at any time.

1. Pre-migration Experience
    - Can you briefly describe your life in Ukraine before you migrated to Warsaw?
2. Migration Journey
    - Can you describe your journey and the process of moving to Warsaw?
3. Settlement in Warsaw
    - What were your initial impressions of Warsaw upon arrival?
    - Did you face any specific challenges in terms of finding accommodation, employment, or social integration?
    - How did the local population in Warsaw perceive and treat you as an economic migrant from Ukraine?
4. Experienced Prejudice
    - Tell me about the experience you have encountered in Warsaw which made you upset?
    - Can you provide examples of such experiences and how they made you feel?
    - How did you cope with or respond to these instances of prejudice?
5. Empathy and Positive Prejudice
    - Tell me about the experience you have encountered in Warsaw which made you feel like you are at home.
    - Can you share any instances where people showed understanding, support, or kindness towards you?
6. Comparison to War Refugees
    - Based on your interactions with other Ukrainian migrants, do you think their experiences of prejudice and empathy differ from yours? If yes, how?

7. Closing Remarks

    - Is there anything else you would like to share regarding your experiences as a Ukrainian economic migrant living in Warsaw?
    - Any final thoughts on the research question or suggestions for further exploration?