

Badanie opinii publicznej na temat integracji obywateli państw afrykańskich w Polsce

The public opinion research results
on the integration of citizens
of African countries in Poland





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2015

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Five years later

2015 is a peculiar part of the last decade. Immigrants from Africa and Asia reach the shores of Europe in search for better life within the borders of the European Union. Newcomers from continents that neighbor Europe have become subjects of most, including Polish, media reports and focused public attention on this very issue. As if this was not enough we heard reports of Islamist armed groups kidnapping children and committing terrorist acts in the east and west of the African continent.

In 2010 Africa was stereotyped. Wars, hunger, disease, and shortage of water were the main negative associations we held about individuals of African origin and their native continent. Nature was a positive example, but it also pushed Africa towards wilderness and the end of civilization.

This is how the inhabitants of Poland who participated in the research we commissioned thought. Five years have passed and we decided to repeat this study. Another reason was that Poland suffers from shortage of complex studies of this type that could aid us in becoming acquainted with Polish people's opinions about Africa and its inhabitants. We managed. Again today we know more about our perception of people of African descent. What opinions does the Polish society hold about Africa? Is the word 'Negro' still not considered offensive? Who are Africans to the Polish society?

Answers to these questions can be found in the present report, which is a new and interesting source of information and inspiration for undertaking new activities that do not just monitor public opinion, but may also potentially prevent manifestations against individuals of African descent.

Paweł Średziński

What's the voice out there, on street level?

Will you agree for your daughter to marry a foreigner? "Depends what country he'd be from!" this is how a survey somewhere in Poland could start. No other question will reveal more clearly the native's (Indian, Senegalese, Italian, Panamanian, or Polish) attitude to a guest.

What is your favorite color? If a Martian were to run in your local city elections, would you vote for him or her? Equally as many surveys could be taken with regards to age, education, place of residence, and multiple other criteria. What is it that public opinion polls truly measure: a state of mind, mood in a given moment, preferences, or maybe complexes? Apparently, Napoleon himself used to say that "with all its vagaries, it is more frequently than it seems true, sensible, and just." I, on the other hand, wonder whether this opinion is honest. Do the respondents really share what they think or feel? Will they really openly share their attitudes, for example?

The Mediterranean Sea has become a cemetery with the entire world watching. Overloaded fishing boats adrift from Libya, boats sinking with hundreds of African and Asian migrants on board have all stirred the conscience of many people. How many castaways have we had within the last few weeks? Only satellite cameras can answer this question.

The issue of EU's border security returns like a boomerang prior to elections. It resonates from England to France and all the way to Greece. Newspapers and online portals have all joined the race of who will come up with a more disturbing title for the flood of migrants or tsunami. Media love controversies, death, and cataclysms. I suppose it's OK that they report on and address human drama on the southern maritime borders of the EU. On the other hand, it is media that paint this picture of the indomitable wave of migrants (pure fiction in case of Poland) and give rise to rumors. Then, political extremists base their bizarre argumentation on this and perpetuate stereotypes, prejudices, and distance among people.

What about those immigrants who have already settled in Europe? What about those who have reached Europe in regular ways, who live, pay taxes, started their families, and feel citizens of the cities they live in? It is them who this research is really about. How do native people perceive them?

Apparently, free people do not know embarrassment. When we ask a free person about his or her attitude towards something, we hope for honest responses. Politicians frequently manipulate opinions, and demonize migrants. Election campaigns are hard time for immigrants in many countries on many continents.

In every place, especially in large cities, the street largely influences the mood. This climate may be harsh and this image may be sharp, glaring, unpleasant to see and heavy to hear. Wherever they live, all migrants know this very well. These moods can take the form of ordinary sulks, taking offense, wry glances, smiles, invitations, but also malicious speech or just plain brutality. A famous French philosopher revealed the truth long time ago already: tell me what you think and I will tell you who you are. A guest wants to know that the host thinks about him or her. The quality or comfort of his stay depends on this.

Apparently, it is impossible to step into the same river twice. However, it is possible to return to a selected topic. It is actually worth to revisit and redo deep research on an important theme. This is what our Foundation actually did. After five years we ask similar questions in a few Polish towns. Is the mistrust of the first decade of the 21st century faring well when it comes to immigrants, especially African ones, or has it lost some of its potency? As we know, this characteristic makes interpersonal relations difficult. Does the "African paradox" (talking eagerly about Africa while admitting to having dim knowledge about this continent) still exist among many Poles? This is what we found in 2010. Why such inconsistency? Who will diffuse this bomb of disinformation? Will its shrapnel pieces blow in all directions and possibly "injure" young minds? Such a situation may only reinforce stereotypes and deepen the disparaging looks at otherness.

Attitudes are about how we approach someone. How to name the negative approach to someone for something that this person is not responsible for (descent, appearance or to some extent also religion)? My straight answer is: I call it sprained mind. Is such a way of thinking possible to bring together like a broken bone? It is – after all, thinking is activity, movement, plasticity; it is shapeable.

Back to the latest results, I am curious about what has changed, what has improved in the way majority of the Polish people's views. How do Nowak and Kowalska see an African person? Do they still indifferently call a Black passer-by an African, a Black man, or a Negro? Maybe we will learn more about attitudes, thinking, and most of all neighborhood relations between Poles and Africans.

Mamadou Diouf
"Africa another Way" Foundation

A summary of the results of the research

preparation: Paweł Duński

Introduction

Five years ago, for the first time ever the 'Africa another Way' Foundation commissioned extensive, professional research into the attitudes of Poles towards Africans. The purpose was to reveal how we perceive African immigrants and the conditions on which we are amenable to integrate with these individuals.

We repeated that study again in 2015 and added new elements to it. Aside from surveying a representative group of Poles and conducting qualitative interviews, for the first time we also reached out to Africans living in Poland and asked them for their opinions.

Results from 2010 showed that our attitudes towards Africans were no different from those we hold with regards to immigrants from other parts of the world. To some extent, these attitudes were lined with curiosity, but mostly with lack of trust and fear.

Our respondents claimed repeatedly that we hold the same kinds of feelings for one another. One does not need to be a stranger from Asia or Africa to feel a neighbor's judgmental and unfavorable gaze. We do not feel well in our own country, where every type of otherness, not just racial one, is condemned. Mutual intolerance, ease of criticism, and lack of respect were considered our national characteristics.

Attitudes towards immigrants were also influenced by our lack of knowledge, intercultural experiences, poor command of foreign languages, as well as fear of blunder or ridicule.

Defensive attitude dominated and was frequently externally masked by patronizing tone and a sense of superiority. It was provoked by media information that was considered potentially cautionary. Threats of the flood of immigrants and criminal stories intensified prejudices and provided an easy alibi for openly racist remarks.

As Sławomir Mandes wrote in his short essay that discussed this study, “past experiences as well as this type of studies show that ‘the other’ is an individual who is presumed guilty, until proved innocent.”

However, this study also obtained results that give hope for good mutual integration. Those who have any direct, personal contact with immigrants from Africa were repeatedly more open and showed a more positive attitude. During those interviews, we frequently witnessed how ice melted and stereotypes broke apart under the influence of direct contact. It proved that prejudice and “racism” were of defensive character rooted in the lack of knowledge or ignorance.

Five years is not a lot of time when it comes to social processes. However, the world has changed during this time. Even despite the crisis, Europe is more and more of an oasis of stability and prosperity. (In case of Poland many would likely insert the adjective ‘relative’ before ‘stability and prosperity,’ but from the perspective of refugees, it really does mean prosperity).

Since the beginning of 2015, media have reported on an almost daily basis about boats carrying thousands of refugees from Northern Africa, who were fleeing civil war in Libya, poverty, and terror of Islamist fanatics. This research has also coincided with high profile attacks on the Paris editorial office and executions of Christians. Such was the media background against which we conversed about immigrants.

Has our perception of Africa and Africans changed?

What is our attitude towards immigrants?

How willing are we to help and what is the condition of our faith in the sense and the ability to integrate?

We invite you to become acquainted with the most important findings of our study.

I. Immigrants in Poland

According to the statistical data available from the Office of Foreigners [Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców], at the end of December 2013 the number of foreigners in Poland amounted to **121,000**. (This number should be increased by approximately 60,000 citizens of the European Union countries.)

This means that in comparison with overall population of Poland, the total number of immigrants remains on one of the lowest levels in the entire European Union.

More than a half of them have come from Poland's neighboring countries, namely Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus. Many also came from Vietnam (13,500), followed by immigrants from China (more than 5,000); Turkey (2,700); India (2,600), as well as citizens of the USA (2,500)¹.

Few Africans live in Poland: only slightly more than **5,400**, which is approximately just 5% of all foreigners. Most come from countries of Northern Africa: Egypt (957), Tunisia (837), Algeria (586), Morocco (411) and from Nigeria (899). The number of immigrants from other African countries is not larger than 200. Many countries are represented by single individuals.

Over the course of last 7 years, the number of Africans in Poland has increased by approximately 2,300 individuals².

¹ Konrad Pędziwiatr, Imigranci w Polsce i wyzwania integracyjne. [Immigrants in Poland and integrational challenges]. Biuro Analiz Sejmowych Infos Nr [Infos: Office of Parliamentary Analyses, No.] 1(184), 15/01/2015

² Dane MSWiA, wydane Karty Pobytu, stan na 9.12.2013 z podziałem na kraje [Ministry of the Interior data, Residency Cards issued as of December 9, 2013, per country of origin].

II. Opinions of Africans who live in Poland

For the first time, we managed to conduct the study with the participation of Africans themselves. Although these results cannot be considered representative for all immigrants from Africa (knowledge of the Polish language was mandatory), we did identify the main issues they face on their way towards integrating in our country.

So let's have our neighbors – the Africans – address their issues by themselves.

Who are they?

They usually graduated from Polish colleges and universities, frequently with assistance of the Polish government. A few individuals were still studying, some older ones have already started their families and worked in their professions (computer scientist, engineer, foreign language teacher, computer graphic designer, doctor, etc.). They considered their residence in Poland as an opportunity to gain knowledge and professional experience, one of the stops on their career paths, as well as an opportunity for having good fun.

How do they feel in Poland?

Life of Africans in Poland is not easy and it is also often dangerous. The main issues are:

- They frequently encounter verbal and often even physical violence;
- Constant attention to skin color perceived as lack of acceptance (*People look at you in the street, on the bus, point fingers at you*);
- Language barrier (*Poles often escape, avoid contact, thinking that we would not understand each other*);
- Living in fear and under stress caused by the lack of security, and expectation of being attacked:

I am constantly ready to fight.

I could never be sure whether I will come back home beaten up or not.

It's worth to practice karate or judo before coming here.

They identify the following as reasons for aggression:

- Ignorance, lack of knowledge;
- Influence of the group, ill-conceived patriotism, nationalism, racism;
- Lack of respect for others;
- Jealousy of women;
- Jumping at judgment, judging others on the basis of stereotypes.

Understanding is impeded by Polish people's negative, stereotypical perception of Africa as a wild continent that lacks civilizational achievements:

Polish people often imply (often jokingly) that I have come from the jungle, that I lived on trees, with animals.

How do they perceive our country?

In the eyes of Africans, Poland has some advantages and a few drawbacks. They mainly appreciate:

- Possibility to gain education and work experience;
- Hospitality, assistance, help of close friends – Poles;
- The country's beauty and good organization;
- Economic development (on a macro scale);
- Polish cuisine (soups, vegetables, its overall health aspects).

Aside from the aforementioned personal security issues, they list the following as drawbacks:

- Low income, no possibility for professional opportunities and advancement;
- High prices, similar to the ones in the West;
- Weather (gloomy fall).

What do Africans think about Polish people?

Africans do notice our virtues and faults. Those respondents who have been living in Poland for a longer period of time have Polish friends. Family visits and spending holidays together do happen. They share with the Poles their attachment to traditions, strong family ties, and passion for good fun.

The following is a list of cultural differences that divide us:

- Tendency to complain (*You will always find someone here who is discontented*);
- Distance and cool attitude towards others that transforms into cordiality upon closer acquaintance;
- Attitude towards alcohol (*Here drinking releases aggression and where we come from it is about fun and jokes*);
- Invidiousness and lack of tolerance (*When someone is better in something or richer they react with aggression and try to give you hard time*);
- Sincerity (*Poles are straight-forward. They will look you in the eye and say – I am a racist. Hypocrisy is the domain of France, for example*);
- A different function of a woman in the family. Africans appreciate the beauty of Polish women, but they added with humor: *Very beautiful, but I can't imagine them as wives. They want to control the man too much. Polish women want to have more to say than men, they like to rule.*

How do they see their prospects in Poland?

Due to personal insecurity and for economic reasons, some are planning to leave Poland sooner or later. However, this will depend on how things go in Poland:

I already feel Polish, but my family's and my own security is a key issue.

If I felt bad I would have left long time ago.

Manifestations of racism

Africans in Poland do not experience institutional racism. At work and in offices they are treated in the same way as other residents. The street-level is a different story, though. Almost each of them personally experienced racist aggression:

I was beaten up at college and someone spat at me on the bus.

A friend of mine has lost his/her eye and the other one got stabbed in the stomach.

When I am abroad everything is normal, but when I return with LOT airlines, issues arise on the plane already. I suppose that they think they can offend me there already, because we are on our way to Poland.

Whenever I think that all in all everything is OK, someone will come across and remind me – this is not your country.

Polish people's indifference towards aggression is also a source of sorrow: looking away, lack of reaction, no assistance in cases of personal assault. This situation was considered particularly bad in Wrocław. It is less prevalent in Warsaw, where the situation has improved in the last few years.

The government should battle this issue, just like it does with anti-Semitism.

Finally, it is worth to mention the atmosphere that prevailed in the groups. African respondents proved to have been very open and serene individuals. They tried to be realistic about their painful experiences and avoid generalizations.

III. A tough issue of vocabulary

Africans who live in Poland appeal for not using the word “Negro” [“Murzyn”] and for replacing it with the neutral “African.”³ These appeals have so far been ignored; media monitoring from 2010 and 2011 has shown that. Both “African” and “Negro” have appeared in media with more or less the same frequency.⁴

The following is a list of arguments against using the word “Negro”:

- It is not precise and refers solely to skin color rather than to place of residence or origin;
- Currently, it functions in a purely negative context and is used to describe someone worse, exploited, and backward. Africans provide numerous vernacular examples of this;
- It is stigmatizing and frequently used to ridicule opponents during public debate;
- Those with regards to whom this word is used consider it offensive;
- There is no need to use it, because better and more neutral alternatives do exist (African).⁵

Some journalists do not agree with this argumentation. According to them, the following are arguments in favor of using the word “Negro”:

- Defense of the freedom of speech;
- Not being subjected to the pressure of political correctness;
- Tradition and literature references;
- The fact that they themselves consider it neutral.

³ *Nie mów do mnie Murzyn*, w: *Afryka i jej mieszkańcy w polskich mediach*, publikacja Fundacji Afryka Inaczej 2011 [*Don't call me 'Negro.'* In: *Africa and its inhabitants in Polish media. Paper by the Africa another Way Foundation, 2011*].

⁴ *Aneks: wyniki monitoringu mediów*, s. 31-105 w: *Afryka i jej mieszkańcy w polskich mediach*, Afryka Inaczej 2011 [*Annex: Media monitoring results, pp. 31-105. In: Africa and its inhabitants in Polish media. Africa another Way Foundation, 2011*].

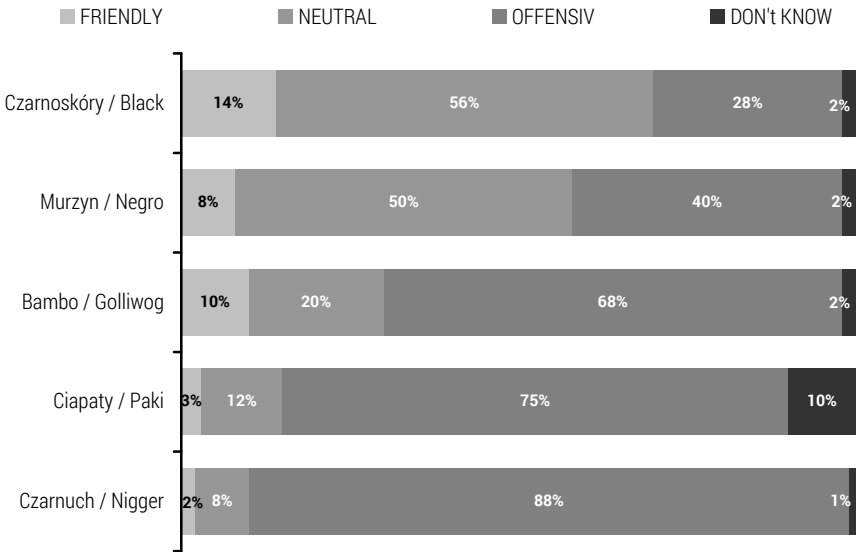
⁵ Detailed argumentation of both sides can be found in: *Jak mówić i pisać o Afryce*, Fundacja Afryka Inaczej 2011, str. 5-25 [*How to speak and write about Africa, by Africa another Way Foundation, 2011, pp. 5-25*].

The top two arguments refer to values and it is hard to argue with them. One may only ask whether defense of the “freedom of speech” must in actuality take place at the expense of the dignity of the most vulnerable social groups that are in minority...

During quantitative research we asked about “neutrality and friendliness” of various descriptors that are used with regards to immigrants.

Figure 1.

I will now read a few definitions that are used with reference to individuals of different skin color. In case of each of them, please say whether you think they are offensive, neutral, or friendly?



Note from translator: The Figure uses the words in their closest-matching definitions per the translator’s best judgment, starting with the main word in Polish, followed by its closest English translation in italics. Translations originate from the translator’s US experience and do not contain any preferences for selecting particular definitions, whose choice comes directly from research rather than personal opinion.

Four out of 10 Polish respondents consider the word *Murzyn* offensive. Half think it is neutral, and one of 12 claim it is friendly.

Interestingly, most of those who think this word is friendly were in the group of the youngest respondents – under the age of 20. Might this be the effect of the jaunty image from the poem by Tuwim?

Results show that nowadays many Polish people construe the negative context of the word *Murzyn* in the same way as Africans do. Is it therefore fair to continue considering the word that 40% of Poles regard as offensive to be neutral?

Maybe in case of uncertainty, it is better to apply a commonsense definition brought up in one of Dariusz Rosiak's papers devoted to Africa: "Why should one put someone else in distress when it is relatively easy not to do so."⁶

And what did Africans say about this issue?

The word *Murzyn* may not necessarily be offensive, but it is unkind, to say the least. Africans think that common use of any terms that refer to skin color is unnecessary. It only emphasizes differences and contributes to distance. They want to be treated in the same way as other people.

Africans did attempt to understand and get at the heart of those Poles who do use this word.

That's how they were taught and they can't change it; their intentions may actually be good.

The context is key. It is in that sense that I feel whether someone is offending me or not.

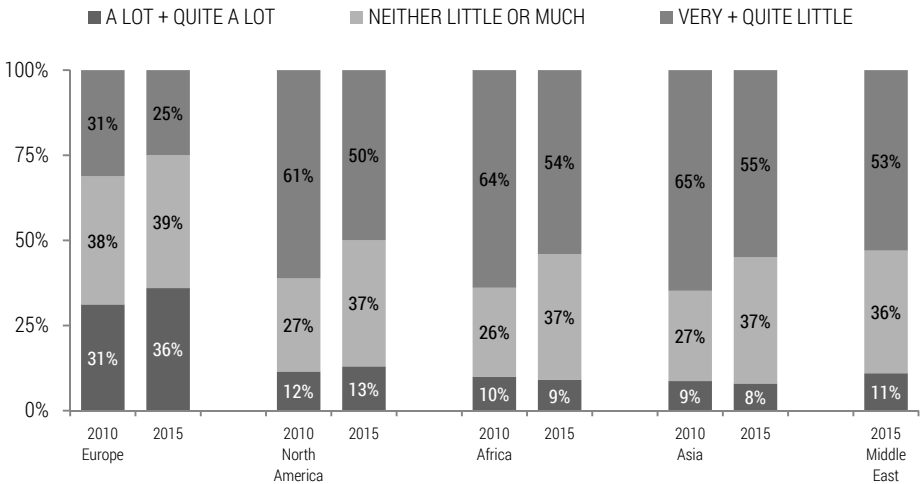
⁶ Dariusz Rosiak, Jak się obrażamy, Rzeczpospolita 20.01.2011 [*Dariusz Rosiak, How we take offense, Rzeczpospolita daily, January 20, 2011*].

IV. Polish people's awareness of Africa

Our subjective assessment of what we know about the other regions of the world is limited. We know as little about Africa as we do about Asia or the Middle East. More than a half of all respondents claim to know very little about Africa, and less than 10% think they know a lot or quite a lot about this continent.

Figure 2.

Please, rate your awareness of individual continents / regions and their inhabitants. How much do you know about... ?



North America is just a little better in this respect and only our knowledge of Europe is broader. One of three respondents claim to be well-informed and only one of four know little about it.

After a few more years in united Europe knowledge of this continent has improved and it is the only improvement we noted. In comparison with results from 2010 we can see that although our knowledge about the world is not improving, we are less eager to admit to lacking it.

Also during the qualitative phase of this study we asked about the themes we had identified. Although we do not assume that they carry the value of being representative, they do reveal our thinking, comprehension, emotions, and motivations. As a result, we are able to better understand the results of the survey (quantitative) research.

Our qualitative research confirms the observation that **awareness of African culture** is low and most frequently limited to stereotypical drum-playing and tribal dances.

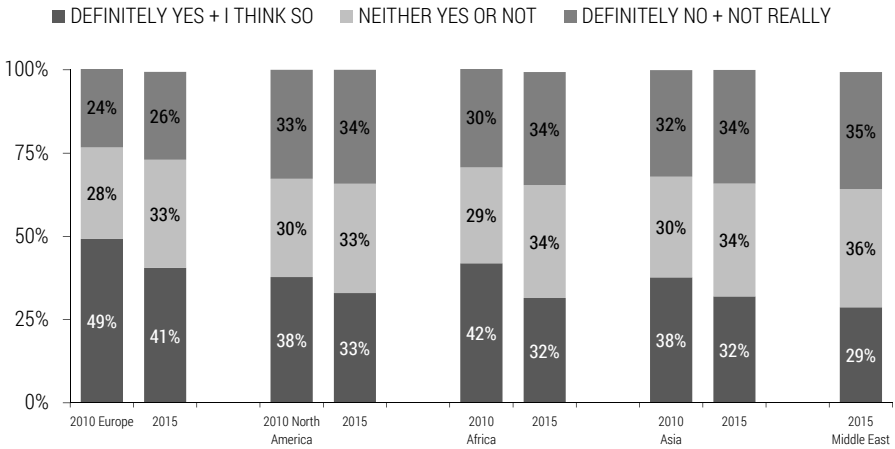
However, we did note slight improvement in this regard. Generally, younger people and older individuals characterized by higher level of education possess broader knowledge and exhibit greater interest in Africa. Students did have some expertise of Africa when it was related to the focus of their studies (geology, hydrology, biology, etc.). We actually came across younger respondents' having had contact with African culture (music, books).

Still, these were exceptions; most did not know names of artists, musicians, books, or films. Despite the growing number of popularizing events (such as the AfryKamera film festival), this continent's culture is still waiting to be discovered by a wider audience.

Over the course of the last five years our interest in the world has **decreased** significantly. And it is not about a surfeit of bad news. North America inspires equally as low curiosity.

Figure 3.

When you think about Africa, what kinds of associations come to your mind?



Currently, only one of three respondents would like to learn more about Africa. One-third are not interested as all, and equally as few have no opinion about it. The remaining continents share the same level of interest.

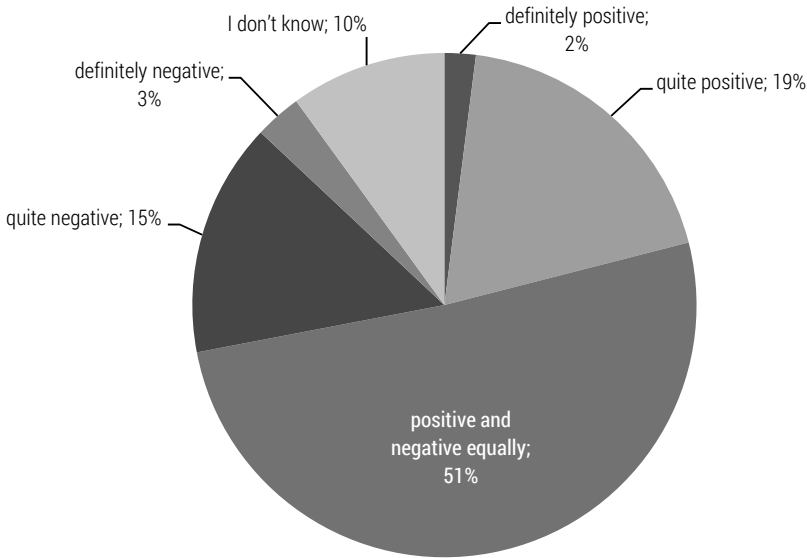
We are still most strongly interested in Europe, although this interest has also decreased.

People with post-secondary education from the largest cities (500k+), and most frequently men aged 20-29 are most interested in Africa (and the world in general). We noted no interest at all among the less educated people and men aged 60 and more.

What does Africa associate with?

Figure 4.

When you think about Africa, what kinds of associations come to your mind?



Half of Poles have both positive and negative associations with Africa. Not many more people think of Africa positively (21%) than negatively (18%).

Positive associations dominate among individuals from the largest cities (500k+) and with the highest household incomes.

Bad associations dominate among those respondents who think their material situation is bad, and among men aged 60+.

It is important to note that the character of these associations is strongly dependent on the available sources of information about Africa. Negative associations dominate among those who gain their information from acquaintances who visited Africa (one should assume that it was a short, tourist visit), but also among those who obtain their information from Internet forums and Facebook.

Those who derive their information from **direct sources** have positive associations with Africa: these sources are personal contact with Africans who live in Poland and their own observations during trips abroad (in Africa and other countries).

Additionally, associations with Africa strongly correlate with opinions about immigrants. Those who claim that it is a good thing that emigrants arrive in Poland have better associations with Africa. Those who do not accept immigrants (independently from countries of their origin) definitely exhibit strong negative associations.

During qualitative research typical associations with regards to Africa fell into four thematic areas:

1. Difficult living conditions

- Poverty, hunger, lack of water;
- Disease and lack of hygiene;
- General backwardness, poorly developed education and healthcare systems, etc.

2. Threats and dangers

- Tribal warfare, violence ("law of the jungle");
- Refugees, humanitarian aid;
- Terrorism – Islamic fanaticism. This element intensified strongly in the last wave.

3. Beautiful wildlife

- Intact nature;
- Beautiful landscapes, natural spaces;
- Wild animals, safari.

4. Original and diverse culture

- Attachment to tradition and traditional values;
- Strong family ties – cooperation, loyalty, benevolence;
- Not suffering from such defects of the western world as haste and pursuit of material gain.

It is important to emphasize that especially in the current study young respondents were aware of the stereotypes associated with Africa, and avoided reaffirming them. What was indeed highlighted was diversity of the entire continent and **differences between individual countries** (with regards to religion, quality of life, economy, availability of natural resources).

Clear distinctions were made between traditional village life and city life, where: "Young and educated people like us go online and begin to Facebook."

Currently, **religious fanaticism** fits in with the perception of the entire continent. It clicks with the usual stereotype of Africa as a dangerous continent that is torn apart by wars. It currently deters potential middle and older generation tourists.

They performed beheadings yesterday or the day before. They were Coptic Christians from Egypt. Their religion is so intolerant and so expansive. They say openly that they will be the masters of their women.

I think that recent events show that Arab fundamentalism and religious persecutions make this place horrible. People go there less and less often.

Although fear dominated among older people, younger individuals pointed out that this does not apply to the whole of Africa, and that Islam is different in the north of the continent.

Islam there is more moderate. These people live off of our European cash, so they cannot really expose themselves to something like that they will now be spreading their faith.

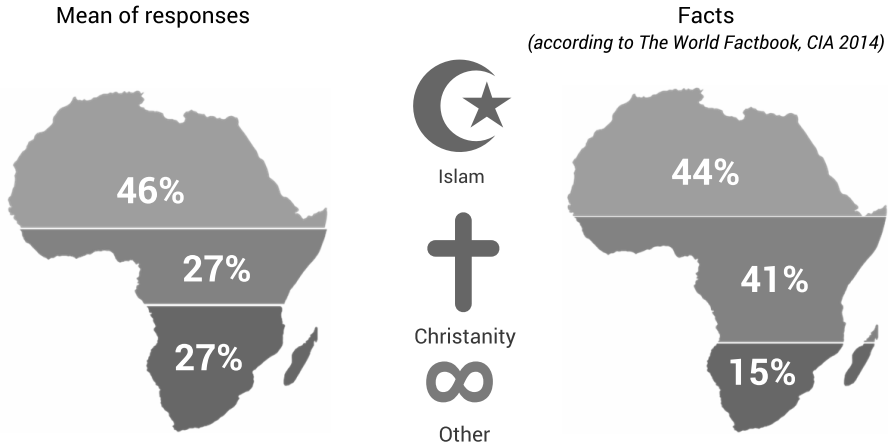
Islam in Africa

Africa is a multicultural and multi-religious continent. However, media attention focuses on the geographically (and touristically) most proximate Muslim north. Hence, we frequently encounter the opinion that Islam is the religion that dominates the entire continent.

In relation to facts, we clearly do not appreciate the number of Christians whose majority inhabit central and southern Africa. On the other hand, we slightly overestimate the number of Muslims and traditional religions (e.g. animism).

Figure 5.

What do you think are the main religions in Africa? Please, try to assess what percentage of the inhabitants of Africa adhere to the following religions?



In case of Islam, although the mean number seems to be close to factual percentage, concluding that Polish people are well informed about African religions would actually be misleading. High standard deviation proves just that. The answers are 'all over the place' and their mean is a result of numerous extreme indications. 1/3 of all respondents think that there are few Muslims in Africa (no more than 30%), but on the other hand, one of four Poles claim that Muslims dominate there and that there is more than 70% of them in Africa.

Perception of Islam as a dominating religion **influences attitudes** towards immigrants from Africa. Those who think that Islam dominates in Africa are much more frequently against immigrants from there (37% think that it is bad when they arrive in Poland). Among those who do not think that Islam dominates in Africa (less than 30% adherents), the percentage of respondents who reject immigrants from Africa is significantly lower (25%).

What are our sources of information about Africa?

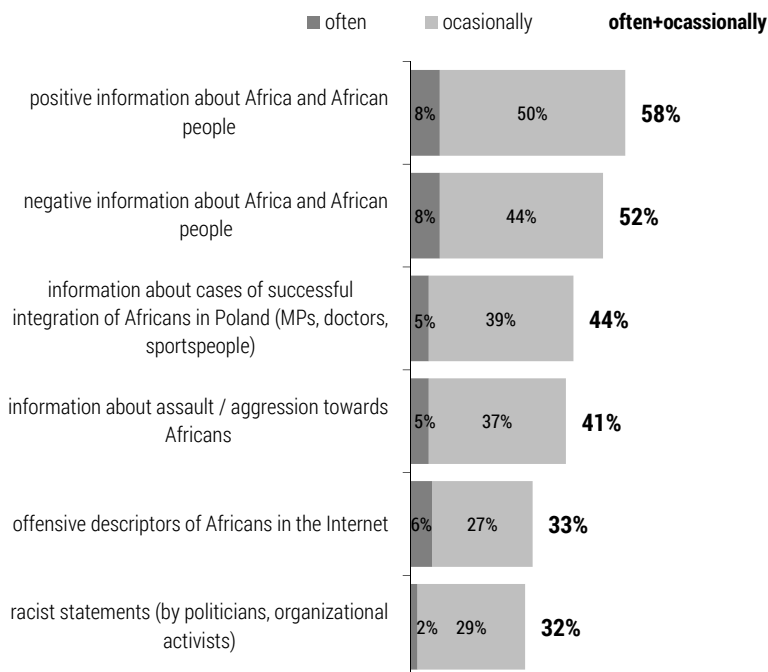
Media (press, radio, TV: 77%) are the most important (and often sole) source of information about Africa. 23% read articles about Africa online. 4% got their information about Africa from acquaintances who visited the continent, and 3% have direct encounters with Africans in Poland (most frequently they are young people, under the age of 30). 2% of Poles claim to have their own observations from their personal visits in Africa.

In sum, 5% of all respondents have direct knowledge about Africa on the basis of their own experiences in Africa or their contacts with Africans. Most frequently these are individuals aged 15-24 (9%), as well as those in good financial situation (8%).

And what information from Africa reaches us?

Figure 6.

Over the course of the last year, have you come across any of the following in Polish media (press, radio, TV)?



Interestingly, a slight majority of respondents came across positive (58%) rather than negative (52%) information. Although positive information appears sporadically, this result is still noteworthy.

Information about examples of good integration of Africans who live in Poland reached 44% of all respondents, which indicates that much still needs to be done in this respect. Most frequently, examples of good integration reach younger and better educated individuals.

Information about assault on and aggression towards Africans had a similar reach.

It is alarming that media are a tube for those who preach xenophobia and racism. 1/3 came across offensive descriptors of Africans online. Equally as many were exposed to racist statements by public figures (politicians, activists from various organizations). They do not happen too frequently, yet this result is alarming, to say the least.

Qualitative research shows that Poles manifest **little** interest in Africa; they do not actively search for information about it. Knowledge about this continent reaches us 'on occasion' of sensational media information about natural and humanitarian disasters, wars, or attacks. This way of presenting Africa perpetuates the negative image in accordance with the 3D approach (**D**isease, **D**eath, **D**isaster).

According to the respondents, the following information is presented:

- **bad living conditions** (hunger, disease, AIDS, Ebola);
- **wars** (internal conflicts, Somali pirates);
- **terrorism**;
- **humanitarian aid** (appeals, fundraising).

Press and media in general broadcast various programs. Provide just about anything to Africa, football players or singers for Africa. For poor children. Recently, a well-known footballer made himself a tattoo to raise money for children.

On various types of funny entertainment websites this imagery is very offensive for Black people; they host some images of starving children with various comments underneath, sometimes very offensive ones. This does happen often.

Travel shows (e.g. those with W. Cejrowski or M. Wojciechowska) are another category and the only source of positive information. However, they also focus on exposing hardships Africans live under, or on wildlife (savannah, wild animals).

Poles' personal interactions with Africans

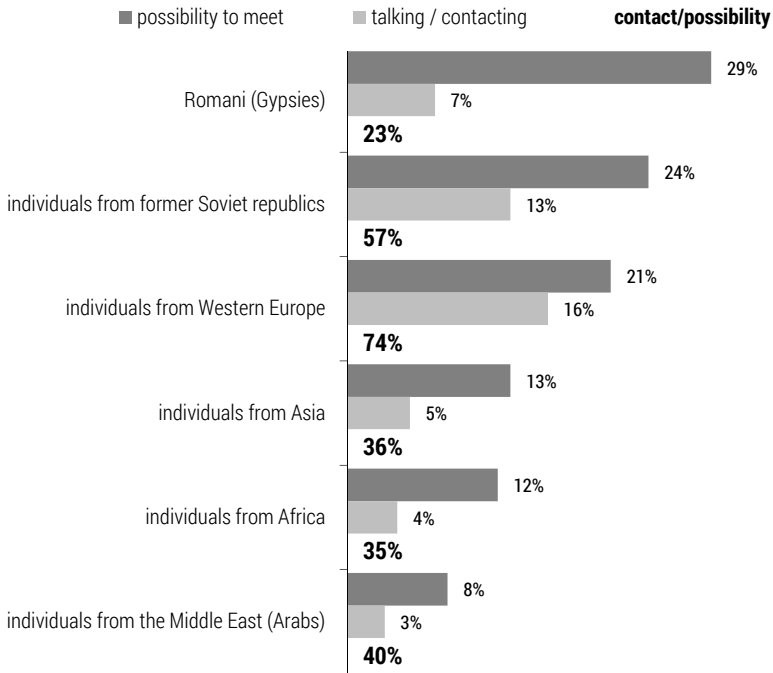
We experience few direct encounters with individuals of other nationalities and cultures. Most frequently we come across the Romani, individuals from former Soviet republics, as well as people from Western Europe. We are in touch with the latter most often. One of 6 respondents (16%) communicated with them directly. The second group is individuals from former Soviet republics (13%). Even though the largest number of Poles have opportunities to communicate with the Romani people, we take this opportunity relatively least often (7%).

Personal experiences with interaction with Africans are rare. Only 12% of all Poles encounter them in their place of residence, and 4% are in personal touch.

Inhabitants of cities with populations of over 500k have the greatest chance for personal encounters with people from Africa (33%). The number of personal contacts with foreigners has decreased in comparison with 2010.

Figure 7.

Where you live and work, is it possible to come across people coming from...? / Do you personally talk or come into contact, at least fleetingly, with individuals who come from...? (% of positive responses)



Only **some individuals** who participated in qualitative interviews had direct contact with Africans. These were experiences with college professors, doctors, or other students. We heard examples of positive and negative experiences. The contacts were frequently loose and lacked closer acquaintance.

I had this professor in my university who was Black and when he walked around the halls he was always smiling, this energy was emanating from him, and he had this enormous distance to himself – a very cool man.

Some Africans have recently visited Siemiatycze, learning farming from us.

Positive examples of contacts (e.g. an effective doctor, a respected gynecologist, but also an ordinary, friendly gesture) influenced good opinions of Africans:

There is this family that lives two houses next to mine. They are no burden to anyone – very nicely put-together people. My own neighbor will not say 'hello' to me – a Pole to a Pole, and this lady who barely speaks Polish will greet me and say 'good morning.' This is precisely why I am open to such people. If they don't want to convert us or introduce who knows what kinds of rituals, I'm OK with them living here.

Middle-aged respondents frequently had negative perceptions of African people. Those negative examples (such as wrong veterinary diagnosis, a brawl in a pub, issues in the office) easily translated onto negative attitudes towards all Africans.

I had a Negro boss. Why is he after me in my own country?

V. Do Poles like Africans?

Lack of knowledge and direct experience with Africans makes most respondents describe their emotions as neutral (57%). One of four declare liking them (sum of 'I like them' and 'I quite like them' responses); and one of seven feel antipathy.

The degree of affinity towards Africans is similar to that of the inhabitants of former Soviet republics, i.e. it is slightly higher than towards Asians, and definitely higher than towards those who come from the Middle East or towards the Romani people.

Generally, we like people from Western Europe most. the degree of affinity also exceeds antipathy towards: individuals from former Soviet republics, Asians, and Africans.

Over the course of last five years, our affinity for individuals from Western Europe has increased. The number of people who dislike Africans has also increased.

Men more frequently dislike Africans (17%, in comparison with 10% women), and so do individuals who are dissatisfied with their financial situation (27%), and singles (19%).

Individuals with higher levels of education (34%) and those who enjoy financial stability (31%) like Africans more frequently.

Possession of knowledge about the given region, as well as **personal interactions** with the given group exert a strong and positive influence on the degree of affinity.

Affinity towards Africans among those who know something about Africa (a lot or quite a lot) amounts to 56%, and among those who have direct contact with Africans it reaches 57%, which is almost two-and-a-half times above mean.

The level of affinity among those (few) individuals who visited Africa amounts to 73%, with 0% antipathy.

Figure 8.

What are your feelings towards individual ethnic groups? To what extent do you like or dislike... ?

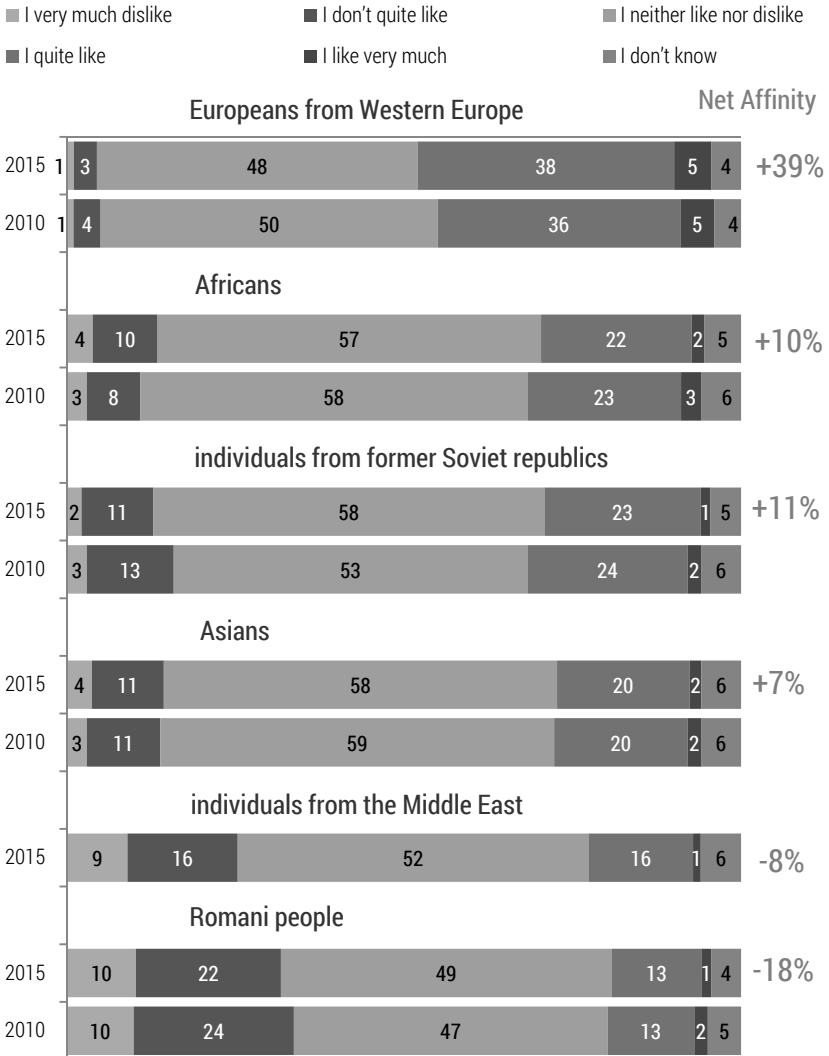


Image of Africans according to Poles

During the qualitative research phase, we asked Poles about how they perceive Africans and their world. **Emotionally**, the world of Africans brings the following associations:

- Living in harmony with nature, happily and peacefully;
- Community, togetherness, strong bonds with other individuals;
- Having fun and being carefree;
- Danger and fears.

It's peaceful, free from concerns, but it results from the fact that they are not in such haste as we – the Europeans – are. We do everything on schedule, hurry everywhere. They enjoy living in the now.

They also have more values – specifically the family, love, things like that, but here we are slowly losing all this.

The image of Africans is **not clear**. We encountered positive as well as negative elements. The negative ones dominated among groups made up of middle-aged and older individuals (50-65 y.o.) with secondary education. Positive ones – among younger people and older individuals with higher education who tried to avoid generalizations. They emphasized that the inhabitants of Africa differ one from another and they also frequently live in extremely diverse conditions (e.g. rich South Africa, poor Ethiopia).

We shouldn't assume right away that all Black people who live there are backward. Some may indeed be such, some less so, because Africa is quite a large continent after all.

Positive characteristics:

- Ability to enjoy life, sunny optimism;
- Positive attitude towards other people;
- Resilience and endurance of hardships;
- Physical strength and agility (marathon runners);
- Religiosity, spirituality;

- Ability to maintain traditions and passing them on from generation to generation;
- Strong interpersonal bonds (they look after one another and care for each other);
- They appreciate freedom (they battled colonialism).

Negative characteristics:

- Lack of aspirations, ambitions, and willingness to grow;
- Laziness;
- They find it hard to acclimate as emigrants, they do not want to change (as opposed to Polish people);
- Bad treatment of women – e.g. using violence, rituals of mutilations.

Social distance, or whether Poles want to befriend Africans

Two of three Poles would not mind it if an African settled in Poland. Half would accept an African as a close friend, a family physician, or a child's teacher. One of three agree for an African to marry her or his child and become a member of the family.

Percentage of individuals who accept all of the listed situations is generally lower than in 2010; the closer the relation, the greater the decrease in the level of acceptance.

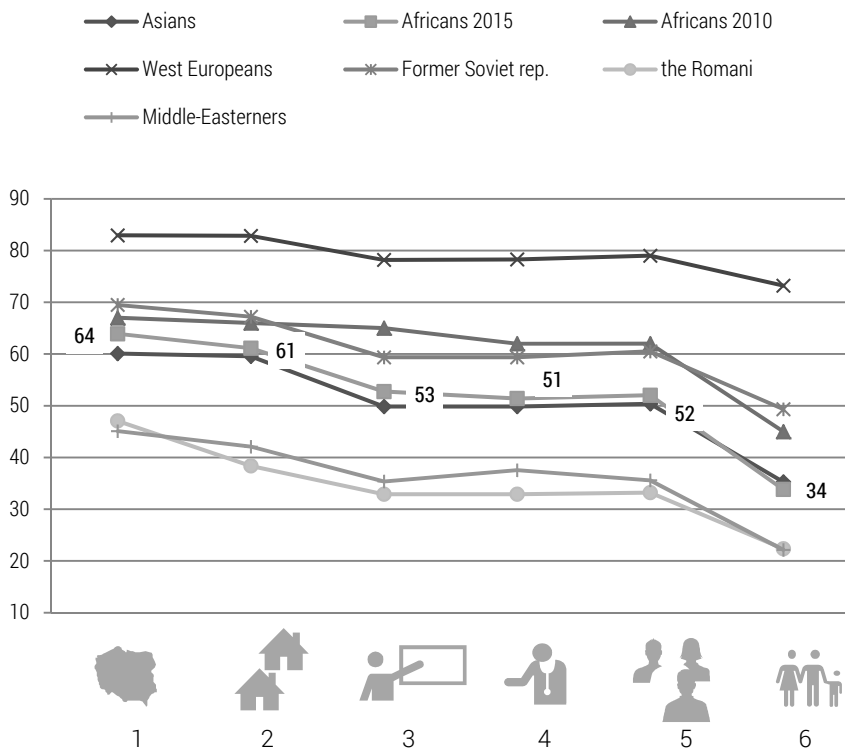
The situation is similar with regards to distance towards Asians. Both of these groups are more or less in the middle of the scale.

We feel clearly the lowest distance towards individuals from Western Europe. 3 of 4 Poles would accept their child marrying a West European. It is also the only group that experienced a significant decrease in distance. Individuals from former Soviet republics have come second.

We manifest the greatest distance towards individuals from the Middle East and the Romani people.

Figure 9.

Level of social distance towards individual groups. Would you be willing to accept the fact that... want...



1. to live in Poland permanently
2. to be your close neighbor
3. to be a teacher in the class your child attends
4. to be your family physician
5. to become one of your close friends
6. to become a member of your family by marrying your child

We show the greatest resistance when encountering a possibility that our own child (especially daughter) might enter into a close relationship with a person from a different continent or culture (Africa, Asia, Middle East, Romani people). The main fear is that of the child leaving and us losing contact with the child as well as that of the child's fate in an alien environment that is perceived as threatening.

VI. Attitudes towards immigrants



Almost a half of all respondents look favorably into Polish nationals arriving in Poland from former Soviet republics as well as students from Africa. Arrival of students from other parts of the world also enjoys high level of support.

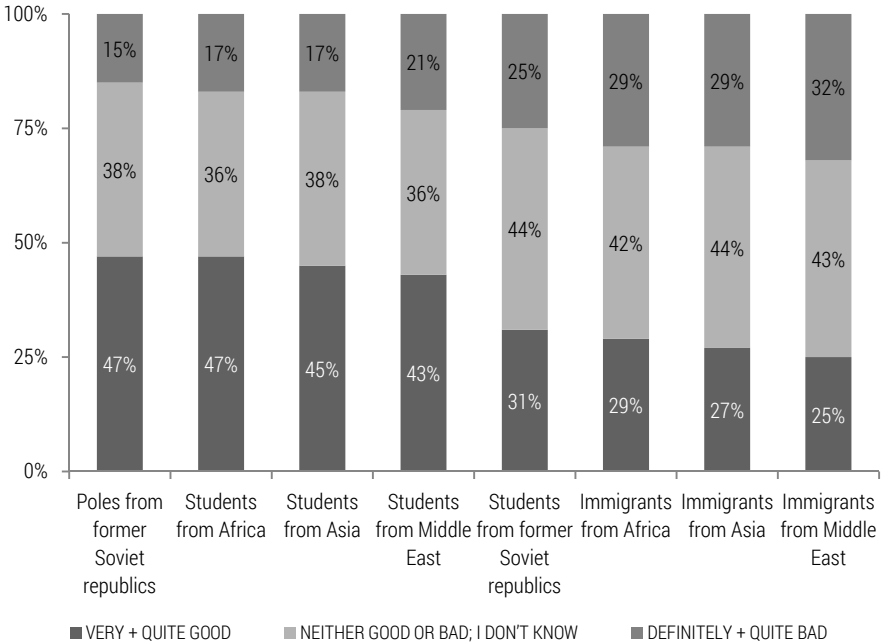
We are less favorable towards immigrants. 29% of all respondents accept immigrants from Africa and equally as many are against. Many do not have an opinion about this issue.

Men over 60 years of age are most frequently against immigrants from Africa. Those who have knowledge of this continent, those who are in direct contact with Africans, as well as women aged 30-39 are in favor of immigrants from Africa. The same is the level of acceptance of immigrants from Asia, but immigrants from the Middle East are less eagerly accepted (1/3 are against and 1/4 are in favor).

The level of acceptance of foreigners has not changed significantly since 2010. Our attitude is still mostly influenced by the purpose of their visit rather than the place they come from, yet the tendency of paying greater attention to the country of origin is becoming more apparent. We are more eager to accept individuals from countries located closer to Poland and less so when they come from other places (especially the Middle East).

Figure 10.

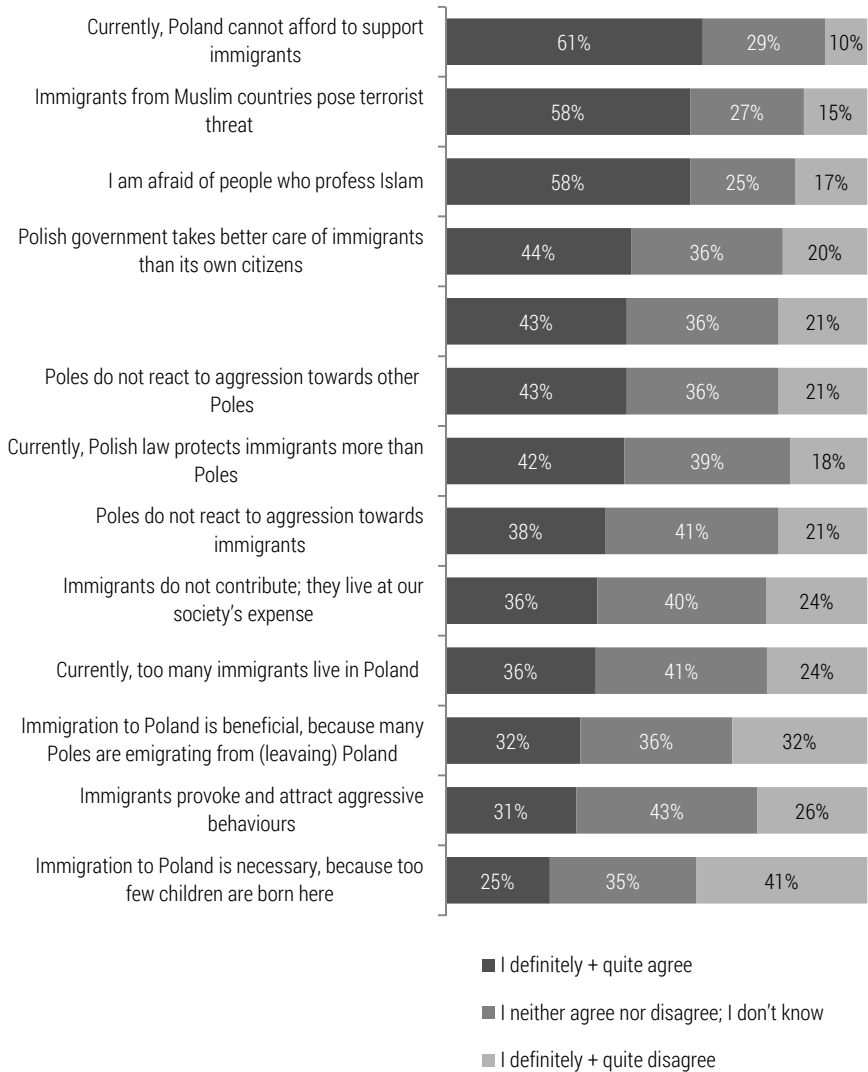
Is it good or bad that the following individuals come to Poland? (results from 2015)



General opinions about immigrants

Conviction that Poland cannot afford accepting a larger number of immigrants stands in the way of more eager acceptance of immigrants by Poles. Our openness is also largely influenced by fear that “immigrants from Muslim countries pose a terrorist threat.” 58% of Poles agree with this, and those who live in the largest cities and individuals aged 60+ fear it especially strongly.

Figure 11.
Opinions about immigrants



Lined by the feeling of grievance, the next barrier is a conviction that “the government treats immigrants better than its own citizens” (44%). We heard such voices during qualitative interviews in the town of Białystok and other like places. Respondents referred to amounts of money seemingly paid out to individuals from refugee centers. These sums were 2-3 times higher than in reality.

Respondents often (38%) agreed with the statement that Poles do not react when faced with aggression towards immigrants. However, an even larger number of individuals pointed out that we are also passive in face of aggression towards Poles themselves (43%).

Arguments about the benefits of immigration appeal to respondents less strongly than do arguments against it. One of three respondents agreed with the statement that “immigration to Poland is beneficial, because many Poles have left the country,” and equally as many had an opposing view. Generally, respondents agreed least (25%) with the statement that “immigration is necessary, because few children are born in Poland.” 41% were of an opposing opinion.

In comparison with 2010, statements against immigrants have been uttered slightly more frequently (on average by 3-4%).

Qualitative research shows that the feeling of economic competition and the perceived cultural distance exert the main influence on our attitudes towards immigrants.

1. Immigrants who are moderately **acceptable** are similar to us in a cultural sense – Byelorussians and Ukrainians. (*“They work well, are similar to us, and we can help them in need”*). This acceptance is greater than in 2010.
2. The second group of **tolerated** immigrants are individuals who are different from us, but do not pose a threat, are useful, and fulfill our expectations, meaning work (preferably in scarce specialist professions), perception of law, paying taxes, not causing trouble, and not culturally imposing. This group will include Asians and strangers from Africa. It was emphasized that there were few Africans and most are not here to stay. They do not pose a threat to Polish people (*“Unless they are Islamist fanatics”* – as it was emphasized).
3. People who adhere to Islam are a **rejected** group. This is because we fear that they would “impose” their culture on us, would not assimilate, and may potentially pose terrorist threat.

4. Another group that provokes **aggression** are unemployed immigrants, those who collect social benefits, as well as panhandlers, etc.

Depending on the character of the group of immigrants, views were expressed about immigration as having advantages or disadvantages. The following are **positive** elements:

- Cultural enrichment;
- Economic growth (positive competition, new ideas, cheap labor force);
- Filling of the generational gap;
- Education for tolerance and openness;
- Improvement of the country's image abroad (we are improving and are becoming more tolerant).

The following are **negative** elements:

- Taking away jobs that are scarce in the first place;
- Posing threats: Islamist fanaticism, crime, drugs;
- Immigrants from alien cultures pose a threat to our traditions;
- Immigrants' demanding approach, extorting benefits.

The level of emotions and general attitudes towards immigrants were strongly diversified by **age**. Labor-related immigration was rated very negatively by working adults aged 30–45 (Wrocław, Białystok). To them, immigrants are a threat and competition because they work for less and hence lower the wages. Pensioners and students do not consider this a threat.

Young people were characterized by generally greater openness to immigration – due to personal experiences of student exchange programs, greater willingness to become acquainted with other cultures, more frequent travels, and better acquaintance with foreign languages.

Opinions about immigrants from Africa

Strong conviction exists about **very wide differences** in culture and lifestyle that exist between Africans and Poles (63%). Similarly to 2010, this was the most frequently indicated statement, and its popularity has grown even more.

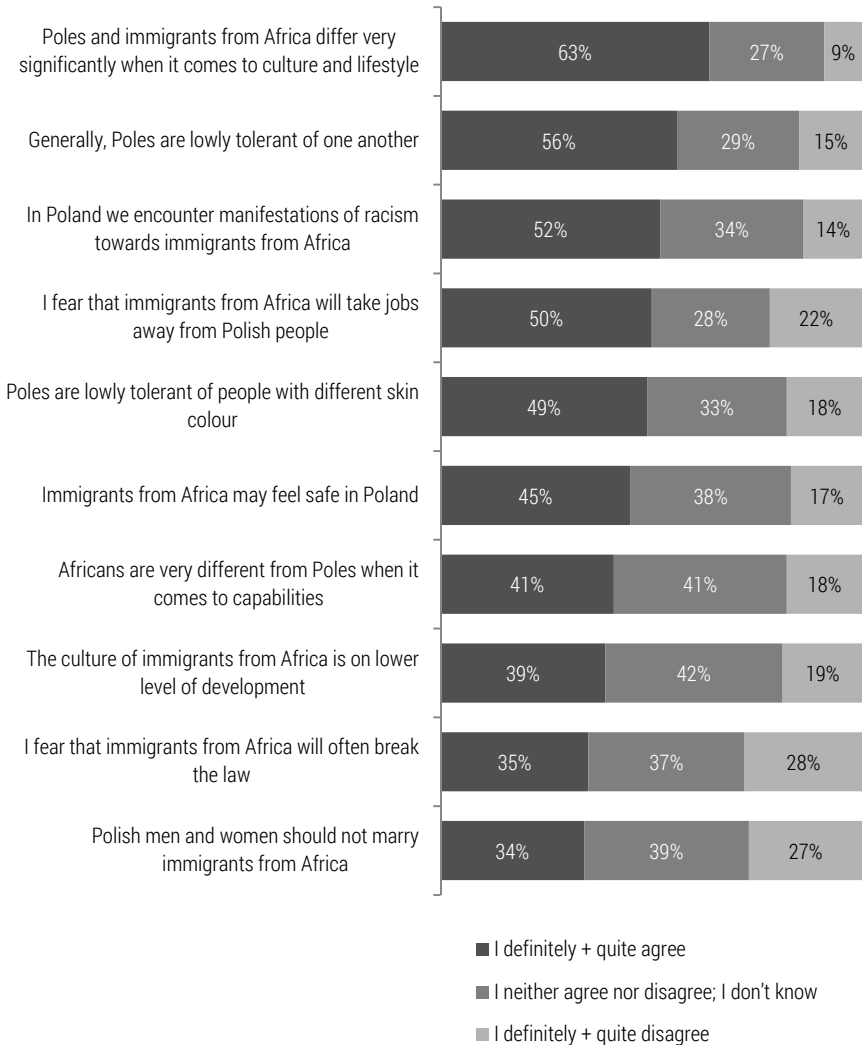
We still consider ourselves as a lowly tolerant nation. A greater percentage of all respondents agreed with the statement that *"Poles are lowly tolerant to one another"* (56%), than *"Poles are lowly tolerant of individuals of different skin color"* (49%). Slow changes may gradually be occurring, though, as both statements have been indicated less frequently than 5 years ago. It still shows that prejudices are within us and that they result from the way we perceive other people.

Similarly to the previous research, more than a half of all respondents agreed that manifestations of racism do occur in Poland. In spite of that, only 17% protested when we asked whether Africans may feel safe in Poland. This may result from a peculiar lack of affinity as well as a conviction that acts of aggression are exceptionally sporadic.

Still, strong concern prevails about Africans taking jobs away from Poles (50%). This feeling is especially pronounced among individuals aged 60+ as well as those with elementary education.

Irritation that borders cultural racism ("immigrant culture is on lower stage of development") was supported by almost 39% of all respondents (increase by 6 percentage points). Lack of acceptance for mixed marriages is expressed by 34% of all respondents (increase by 3%).

Figure 12.
Opinions about immigrants from Africa

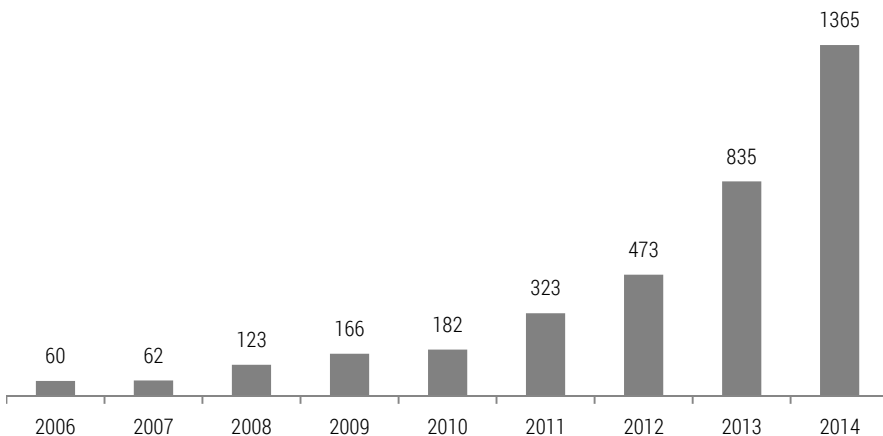


Manifestations of xenophobia and racism – statistics

The latest report by Attorney General shows the scale of this issue. In 2014 there were 1,365 cases against xenophobia and racism in Polish courts.⁷ It is by as many as 63% more than in 2013.

Figure 13.

Number of proceedings conducted by the public prosecutor with reference to racist offenses (data from Attorney General's report)



Such a significant increase results from a surge in the number of cases with the use of the Internet; at this point, there are 46% of all such cases. There are also more cases of direct violence (**battery, injury, assault, arson**): 211 (15%). 14% of cases were about racist inscriptions on walls.

According to the Attorney General's office, awareness of the criminal character of this type of behaviors has increased, which is manifested by an increased number of notices of offense.

On the other hand, effectiveness of law enforcement remains low. W 2014, 596 cases were closed due to failure to identify the offenders, and in 299 cases the court

⁷ Prokuratorzy w walce z rasizmem i ksenofobią – raport za 2014 r. [*Attorneys battling racism and xenophobia – report for year 2014*]. In: <http://www.pg.gov.pl/aktualnosci-prokuratury-generalnej/prokuratorzy-w-walce-z-rasizmem-i-ksenofobia-raport-za-2014-r.html#.VUtayfAgcVk>

refused to initiate proceedings. However, the office adds that only one case was closed in 2014 due to low level of wrongfulness. This proves a change in the approach and willingness to counteract racism. 107 cases ended with convictions.

Interviews with those who declare xenophobic views

In order to complete the picture, we conducted a number of interviews with individuals who express xenophobic and racist views (nationalist and football fan circles in Białystok, Poznań, and Wrocław). Their arguments have not changed in comparison with the previous wave. They were discussed more extensively in 2010 and in the qualitative research report. Here, we will only point out the new elements.

1. Africans and individuals of different races are no longer enemy number one. Xenophobes acknowledge that the number of Africans residing in Poland is decreasing; they leave and do not pose a problem. We can even learn a few things from some of them. In accordance with the stereotype of Africa as a wild continent they meant innate survival skills in difficult conditions. However, this does not mean that racists will stop manifesting their hostility. They plan to continue doing this (in streets and stadium stands) so that foreigners do not feel too well in Poland and do not decide to stay for good. They consider this stance as a kind of a societal mission. Racist attacks are not accidental excesses of hooliganism. *Strangers cannot feel safe here, because they will eventually bring their families and get our social services.*

2. Currently, Muslims are the main threat and subject of the strongest hatred. Fear of them is strong and takes an irrational form. They think Muslims plan to impose their religion and customs on us. Whereas some individuals of other races may be tolerated to some extent (few and on condition that they work and obey the law), Muslims are a lethal threat.

3. Awareness of the threat of legal consequences of open proclamations of racism and aggression towards immigrants was a brand new element. It was recognized that the state began to prosecute manifestations of racism that were previously exempt from punishment.

As a result, respondents from xenophobic groups were clearly minced up, attentive to words, and avoided open expression of racial hatred. Occasionally, in order not to say too much they stopped in the middle of a sentence, and showed meaningful smiles on their faces.

We have to look for synonyms so they don't try us for racism.

They referred to examples of their peers who are serving sentences for racism. These activities were defined as a “legal dome” – an alleged legal protection of immigrants at the expense of Poles.

Strangers are protected by law. The state protects them more than it protects us.

Our state protects citizens of other countries; you get 2-5 years of prison time for a racist attack.

Apparently, there are initial positive results of more decisive law enforcement when it comes to racist acts. Threat of penalty influenced the decrease in expressing extremist views, and potentially even lower inclination for direct aggression.

We came across manifestations of racist views not just during interviews with individuals especially selected for xenophobia. Unfortunately, these views were expressed also in groups with the so-called “ordinary citizens.”

There were more of them and their statements were more aggressive than in 2010. During group interviews more individuals would join the initially timid expressions of racism. In front of our eyes, in laboratory conditions, “decent citizens” bowed to the pressure of the confident and loud xenophobic minority. Luckily, the group was also composed of individuals of clearly antiracist views who did not give in to stereotypes and group pressure.

In 2010, the subject of immigrants did not raise such polarized opinions.

The ‘dry’ result of the survey is not able to render the temperature of emotions that surfaced during qualitative interviews. It is worth to remember this when analyzing these data.

Awareness of xenophobia and racism in respondents’ places of residence

Our awareness of racist acts is very low. $\frac{3}{4}$ of Poles claim that where they live the following incidents **never** take place: provocations, hostile comments about Africans, discrimination per skin color or religion.

More than 80% are certain that assaults or battery of Africans do not take place, nor that organizations that incite racial hatred in fact exist.

Jokes about different skin color (31% – sum of 'often' and 'occasionally' responses) and racist inscriptions on walls (25% notice them) are the examples of manifestations of ill-treatment of Africans.

Awareness of the occurrence of all acts decreased significantly in comparison with 2010.

The results we obtained are differentiated per place of inhabitation. All manifestations of discrimination were much more frequently observed in cities of over 500k inhabitants (inscriptions: 59%, jokes: 50%, provocations: 38%, racial discrimination: 37%, organizations: 24%, assaults: 21%).

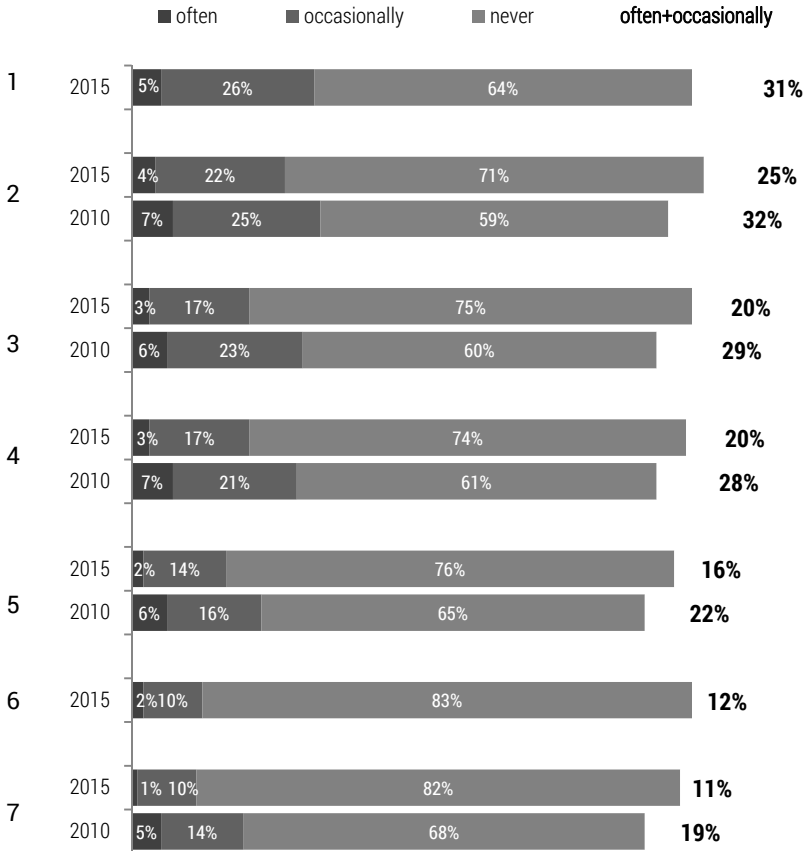
During qualitative research, the definition of **racism** was fluid. Among other reasons, sensitivity threshold depended on the level of empathy as well as age. Older respondents considered practically only physical aggression as racism. They believed that these behaviors are exhibited by bandits who represent the margins of society. Older people knew of racist acts only from media, and they did not consider them frequent.

This issue was different among young people. Especially in Wrocław they frequently witness racist behaviors, which results from their greater activity and moving about the city by means of public transport.

Figure 14.

Do the following situations take place in your place of inhabitation?

Base: entire sample, villages and towns



1. Jokes about individuals of different skin color; 2. Racist inscriptions on walls; 3. Discrimination against people based on religion; 4. Discrimination against individuals of different skin color; 5. Provocations or hostile comments against Africans; 6. Organizations that incite racial hatred; 7. Assaults or battery of Africans

They also considered jokes, offensive gestures, finger-pointing, and verbal insults as racism. Young people were afraid of reacting in person – yet what is characteristic is the feeling of shame and discomfort with the fact that such situations do take place in their city.

I'm sure all of us have come across the attitudes of those 'blockheads' from section A of the block of flats who will pretend to be a monkey or will throw a banana at him on a public bus.

In the street I saw this band of guys making some monkey gestures towards a Black man. This didn't speak well of us. It's hard for such a stranger to respect us when he or she is treated in this way. In such situations, I am just ashamed.

The young woman was studying here, she came here to study and was beaten up in a shopping mall by some guys. And the security guy did not react to it.

We point our fingers and show it. This is also like racism. A delicate one. Relatively safe one.

Aggressive behaviors were condemned by all participants in interviews. Young “hooligans,” “pseudo-fans,” and “skinheads” were accused of that. Their main motivator was the need to discharge aggression that threatens both Poles and individuals of other nationalities. The following were listed as some of the reasons that may incite one to attack: anger, frustration, general hatred of people, envy at other people's material situation, stupidity, or boredom.

Symbolic racism lacks unanimous condemnation, as it is frequently overlooked and unrecognized as offensive. It is permanently present in the language of sayings, jokes, comparisons with wild and backward Africa, etc. It is our everyday “soft racism” that is delicate, not perceived, passed from generation to generation.

We need to pay attention to it, because, as an expert said: *“It is this Polish symbolic racism that may slowly become a reality version.”*

“I was in Warsaw with my 10-year-old son. A Black man walks in opposite direction, and I say to my son – Oh, look, a Negro! Dad, this is not a Negro, but an African-American, you can't say 'Negro' ”.

A friend explains to his son: “Listen. I didn't offend him in any way, I didn't say that Negro is something bad.” “No, dad, because at school they told us that you can't say a 'Negro' to anyone, because it is bad.” So I don't know; to me it is not a bad descriptor, but maybe it is a bit out of time nowadays.

Is integration possible?

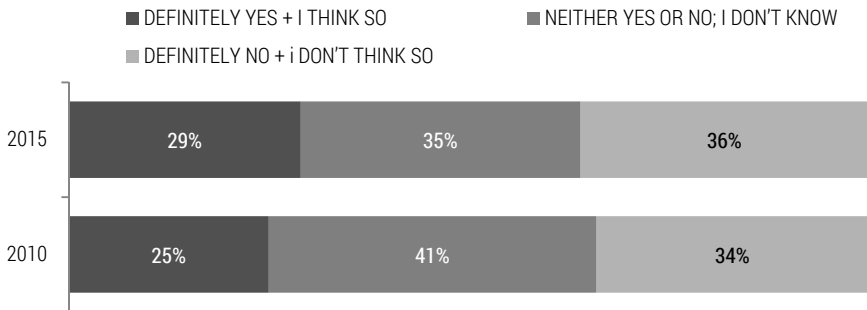
Although still most Poles do not believe full integration is possible, change has begun to take place. The number of individuals who do think it is possible has increased. At this point, this number is 29%. (Most optimistic were those aged 20-29 as well as inhabitants of towns under 100k).

Is it influenced by individuals of African descent who appear in public life and on television more and more frequently? For the first time we have two Black Members of Parliament (John Godson since 2010, Killion Munyama since 2011). Black celebrities appear on TV shows.

We are much more easily able to accept individuals (this is what the question was about) than a nameless mass of immigrants. Frequent appearance of particular individuals, faces, and names on television will surely help with becoming accustomed to the fact that not all Poles have to look the same.

Figure 15.

Do you think full integration of an African person is possible in the Polish society?



What may help Africans integrate?

38% of all respondents indicate the need to take care of the issues Africans who live in Poland face. 22% are against. The result is similar to the one obtained in the previous wave. Women, individuals with higher education, and inhabitants of larger towns more frequently see the need to take up the issue of Africans' integration.

Figure 16.

Do you think it is necessary to deal with issues of integration that African people who live in Poland face?

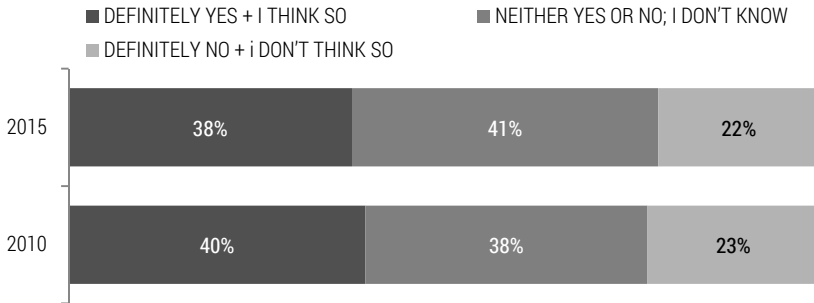
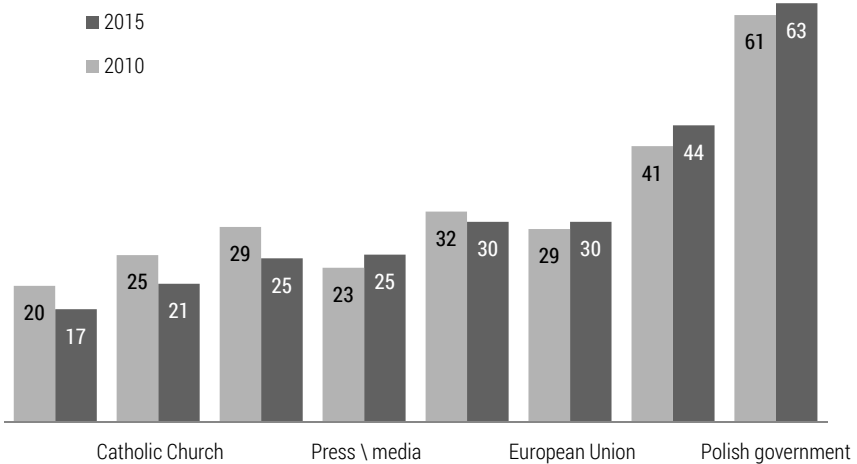


Figure 17.

Who should deal with the problems with the integration of Africans who live in Poland? Multiple indications allowed



The government and local authorities should be the first in line for solving the issues of integration. Schools, the Catholic Church, and the police were less frequently indicated than in the previous wave.

Qualitative studies revealed low awareness of activities in support of integration. The following were indicated as activities possible to be undertaken:

- Mutual acquaintance with cultures, cuisines, and customs by means of: workshops (such as cooking together), festivals, cultural events, concerts;
- Education from an early age (meetings in elementary schools and kindergartens);
- Campaigns that aim at deepening the knowledge of Africa and showing its diversity;
- Presenting the culture of Africa;
- Pressure on media that solidify stereotypes and the negative image of Africa by means of incitement to present positive images of people and places;
- Activities of foundations, non-governmental organizations, and interest groups;
- Showing positive examples of the integration of Africans who live in Poland.

Conclusion

Conclusions that stem from this research seem less optimistic than those from the 2010 wave. The level of interest in other cultures decreased, and declared distance and reservations towards foreigners increased. We place more emphasis on the differences in culture and lifestyle that divide us. Xenophobic views are more prevalent. These changes are not dramatic, but they do show a tendency.

Integration of foreigners is a long-term process that is difficult for both sides. Uncertain international and economic situation as well as strong sense of external threat are not conducive to opening on others. These are frequently additionally fuelled by tabloid media (threats of war, terrorism, Islamic fanaticism, etc.).

Instrumental treatment of anti-immigrant topics begins to also appear in the programs of radical right-wing parties. However, these are niche opinions, and they do not find wider support.

We ourselves are still the main hurdle in the process of good integration. The key issue lies in the lack of empathy towards other individuals. We are used to having “thick skin” and rarely react to behaviors that could harm others, even when the cost is insignificant or null. Our “soft racism” is made up of small, “innocent” gestures, sayings, and jokes that hurt others and build mutual distance. Lack of sensitivity is a product of low respect we have for one another.

Our country is also characterized by a strong norm of tolerating the lack of tolerance. It also refers to all sorts of prejudices and “racist” attitudes. Breaking it requires courage and is a challenge for all those who want to counteract xenophobia.

Reference to such terms as “political correctness” or “hate-speech” will not suffice. They are incomprehensible in the first place, to say the least. To some, they are only part of the “imposed, alien, European ideology.”

Attitudes of young people, ever-growing local activity, as well as decisive law enforcement by the state give a chance for change.

Young people are complex-free, they easily navigate international groups of people, know foreign languages, and have foreign friends, not just on social media. Behaviors that are sometimes a brutal norm among older individuals are unacceptable to them. They are ashamed and feel embarrassed when they encounter racism in the streets. This already gives hope.

Civic Poland as an attitude that is slowly taking shape cannot be underestimated; its potential is growing. Local, opinion-making media, numerous associations, groups of active and involved people form part of this growing potential. It is these people who condemn local manifestations of racism, who keep authorities under careful observation, and force the police and the justice system to act coherently. It is thanks to these people that attitudes may change not just towards immigrants, but also in our attitudes towards one another.

Annex: Methodology

This research project was made up of two stages: qualitative and quantitative. Both were conducted in form of fieldwork by the TNS Polska Institute.

Timing: qualitative stage – February 5-24, 2015; quantitative stage – March 13-18, 2015.

Qualitative stage

15 qualitative interviews, including:

- 1) 6 Focused Group Interviews (FGIs) in 3 cities. Locations selected for the research:
 - a) Białystok (a mid-size town with ongoing issues with integration);
 - b) Wrocław (a large town with many Africans and a growing problem of xenophobia);
 - c) Poznań (a town with a small number of Africans).

The groups were homogeneous and selected per stage of life (age + family and professional status), as well as education:

- a) young people who study or work and study (20-25 y.o.);
 - b) individuals who work, have families and children (30-45 y.o.);
 - c) older people (50-65 y.o.).
- 2) 2 small-scale Focused Group Interviews (miniFGI) with individuals of African origin who live in Poland. Locations: Warsaw and Wrocław.
 - 3) 4 interviews in pairs (dyads) with individuals who openly manifest xenophobic views (representatives of nationalist and fan groups). Respondents were men aged 18-25. Locations: Białystok, Wrocław, Poznań.
 - 4) 3 individual expert interviews (an academic expert, a non-governmental organization expert, and a journalist expert).

Quantitative stage

The research was conducted on an all-Poland, representative group of Poles. The sample size was 1,000 individuals aged 15-75 and was stratified per age, gender, locality size, and region of inhabitance.

Direct interviews were conducted in respondents' homes with the use of the – CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing) methodology.

Reports

Complete reports from qualitative and quantitative research may be downloaded from the website of the "Afryka Inaczej" ["Africa another Way"] Foundation": www.afryka.org.

Team and authors

Preparation and summary of results:

Paweł Duński

Preparation and coordination by the "Afryka Inaczej" Foundation:

Paweł Duński, Paweł Średzinski, Mamadou Diouf.

Coordination and realization by TNS Polska, analysis of results

and preparation of partial reports:

Robert Bajek, Piotr Medyński, Sylwia Kujawa (qualitative), Sylwia Bąba, Anna Trząsalska, Urszula Krassowska (quantitative).

Translation:

Wojciech Włoch.