Disinformation and migrants integration: the case of Poland

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Introduction

In consequence of the crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border and the full-scale Russian military aggression towards Ukraine, Poland is being confronted with severe social and economic challenges. Within a few months (from the outbreak of the war on 24 February to the end of July), more than 4 million refugees arrived in Poland. According to expert estimates, more than one million people are likely to stay in Poland permanently (gazetaprawna.pl 2022; TVN 24 2022). With refugees from Ukraine currently considering Poland their main country of destination, for the first time in its history Poland has become an immigration country within a space of only several months.

Facilitating the integration of migrants and refugees generates vital benefits not only for the migrants themselves but also for the host society. At the same time, despite making several attempts, the Polish state has failed to develop a well-thought-out and comprehensive immigration and integration policy (Bachański et al., 2022; Mikulska-Jolles, 2019; Sześciło, 2022). The most discernible consequences of the lack of developed procedures and the need for a systematic approach to the reception of migrants and refugees included an organisational disorder (OKO.press, 2022; Gazeta Wyborcza, 2022a, 2022b) and, primarily, the evident information chaos. The Polish state and society, as well as migrants and refugees from Ukraine and other countries, are at this moment challenged by the results of the long-standing neglect in creating immigration and integration policies.

With thousands of people continuing to flee from war-torn Ukraine, the topic of migrant integration is currently the focus of public attention. Both migrants and refugees use the information they receive (via traditional and social media, their families, friends, acquaintances, institutions and authorities) to build their picture of reality based on which they make life-defining decisions. For this reason, it is impossible to ignore the information space in which they operate when analysing integration processes. Crises create conditions that increase vulnerability to various types of unverified, unreliable and often false information (Starbird, 2020). Such a crisis situation is certainly the need to leave behind your home country in the face of imminent danger to your life, the loss of your home and the vision of an uncertain future, but also the urgent need to organise assistance and means of integration for refugees.

The focus of this study are Ukrainian citizens who arrived in Poland after the start of the Russian invasion. This report is an attempt to capture the processes and occurrences taking place in the area of information support addressed to refugees in the first four months of the Russian armed attack. The analyses made in this report focus on methods used by refugees to reach the information they need and attain access to information provided by public institutions.

Those fleeing Russian aggression live in a state of great uncertainty in anticipation of the end of the war, and for this reason they rarely plan their future for a period longer than 2 to 3 months in advance. Not all refugees from Ukraine decide to settle in Poland. On the other hand, some of them make attempts to integrate into Polish society. Integration in itself is an exceptionally complex and dynamic process; however, in the case of Poland, a country which

in a very short space of time has received the largest number of refugees from Ukraine of any state, any integration processes are taking place against the background of a refugee crisis that is unprecedented in Polish history. The scale of this refugee crisis has transformed Poland from an emigration country to an immigration country within several months. Until the outbreak of the war, the neglect of immigration and integration policies had negative consequences mainly for very few – on a national scale – refugees and migrants. The mass refugee migration from Ukraine, caused by the Russian invasion, has made past oversights and shortcomings a pressing problem for millions of refugees and for the Polish state and society.

This is a historic moment for both societies – Ukrainian and Polish. Investigating such a profound transformation as it develops is both imperative and extremely challenging. The unique character of this study lies primarily in the possibility of documenting a certain stage of the refugee crisis by taking a deeper look at the experiences of specific individuals at a very difficult moment in their lives when they were forced to seek refuge in another country, as well as observing the relationship between Ukrainian and Polish society. Identifying and describing occurrences against the background of rapidly changing circumstances poses a huge challenge to the researcher, hence the inevitable risk of the results becoming outdated.

The study is **exploratory in nature, and its primary objective** is to gain a better understanding of the role of disinformation in the integration process of migrants in Poland. The following **specific objectives** are assigned to the above-mentioned primary objective:

1. Identifying sources of information used by those fleeing the war in Ukraine.
2. Describing the perception of information support and the methods in which information is verified by war refugees coming from Ukraine.
3. Identifying areas in which refugees are most vulnerable to deliberate misinformation and false (and incomplete) information.
4. Understanding the potential impact of disinformation and misinformation on the integration processes of war refugees.

Qualitative methods and, first and foremost, individual in-depth interviews were used in the study. A detailed description of the research methods used, the period of the study and the people interviewed can be found in the "Research method" chapter on page 9.

A qualitative study does not allow for the generalisation of the observation results in order to create a complete and objective image of the situation. Nonetheless, its important advantage is that, thanks to greater flexibility and the proximity of the researcher to the problem under investigation, elements of reality that are difficult or impossible to quantify (experiences, emotional states, social relationship dynamics) can be explained and understood.

By confronting the subjective experiences of refugees with the opinions of experts and practitioners, it was possible to perform an in-depth diagnosis of the situation and of the various solutions used to provide information support to those fleeing war. This has led to the development of a number of recommendations whose implementation may contribute to improving the integration processes of Ukrainian refugees and their situation in general.

The structure of the report is as follows: the background of the research is presented first, followed by the research methods used in the study and the most significant research results. The final section of the report comprises conclusions and recommendations for improving information support provided to refugees and enhancing communication processes with refugees.

Terms such as "war refugees", "refugees from Ukraine", "Ukrainian refugees" or "people fleeing the war (in Ukraine)" are used interchangeably in this report to refer to the Ukrainian nationals who arrived in Poland as a result of the Russian aggression. The study focuses exclusively on Ukrainian nationals as this is the most numerous group of people seeking refuge in Poland after the start of the invasion.

The study was conducted between April and July 2022 and published in December 2022. The data and information quoted in the report show the most up-to-date and reliable state of knowledge at the time the research was conducted.

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[1] https://geremek.pl/

Background of the study

There has been talk of increased migration movements to Poland for about a decade. In previous years, the growth in the number of foreigners was mostly related to the introduction of solutions facilitating access to the labour market for migrants from some countries, the possibility of visa-free travel, as well as the uncertain social, economic and political situation in Ukraine. The last two years have seen a serious intensification of the migrant and refugee situation as a result of two refugee crises. The first is related to the situation on the Polish-Belarusian border, while the second stems from the ongoing war in Ukraine. The latter situation, in particular, has become a major challenge for Poland, which in a very short time has taken in huge numbers of people forced to leave the territory of Ukraine as a result of the Russian invasion. According to assessments, the sudden increase in the number of migrants has caused Poland's population to exceed 40 million people (Wojdat, Cywiński, 2022).

Since the beginning of March, when it became evident that the invasion of Ukraine would have a long-term character, there has been a surge in the number of people fleeing the consequences of Russian aggression. The peak of refugee migration took place on 6 and 7 March, when almost 300,000 people fled Ukraine. According to UNHCR, as many as 4,627,610 people have crossed the Polish-Ukrainian border since the first day of the war (as of 12 July 2022)[2]. Since that time, some people have chosen to leave Poland, but it is projected that there will be 2,600,000 refugees from Ukraine in the country at the end of December this year (UNHCR, 2022).

An integral component of migration processes is integration. Not only migrants and refugees but also the host society is actively involved in this long-term process. However, in the case of war refugees, this process is more challenging and requires more time and effort on both sides. As noted by Oduntan and Ruthven (2021): "The complexity of refugee integration has been attributed to an information vacuum for both refugees and host societies". This particular phenomenon results from insufficient information and poor communication. It also provides an excellent breeding ground for instances of *misinformation* and *disinformation.* Both types of information occur when false narratives are conveyed based on which individuals may make decisions or take actions that are not in their best interests (LibertiesEU, 2021).

Disinformation is most commonly assumed to be a form (subset) of misinformation (see Fallis, 2015). A common feature of disinformation and misinformation is that both these types of information mislead the audience. The fundamental difference is the intentionality of the message. Disinformation is employed as one of the tools of propaganda, and false narratives are therefore created and disseminated deliberately. Misinformation, on the other hand, refers to false or out-of-context information, the circulation of which is not deliberate and intentional. In addition to fake news, the

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[2] https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine/location/10781

spreaders of disinformation may use (in part) true information by appropriately distorting, exaggerating or manipulating it (for example, by giving it a false interpretation).

The creators of disinformation apply a variety of psychological mechanisms and phenomena that support the dissemination of disinformative news. False narratives are created in such a way as to arouse and/or intensify the emotions of their potential recipients (fear, disturbed sense of safety, uncertainty), which ultimately leads to the disruption of information verification mechanisms. As a result, it is easier to elicit a specific response from different groups of recipients to the ongoing events or phenomena (see Żoch, 2021). Disinformation may have serious repercussions in the social, economic and political spheres. Disinformation is a tool by means of which its broadcaster "attempts to reinforce the existing social and political divisions and exploit societal needs to make sense of reality in uncertain times" in order to subsequently weaken alliances of hostile states (Boni et al., 2022, p. 121). At the same time, the purpose of providing false information (misinformation) is not the intention to harm someone. Misinformation often comprises unsubstantiated rumours, myths or "urban legends" that spread in society and particularly on social media, which aid in the circulation and dissemination of such content. Nonetheless, in both instances, difficult access to reliable sources of information and a lack of coordinated communication may lead to a series of negative consequences.

Experts agree that the dominant part of disinformation present in Poland is the result of Russian propaganda. As noted by the authors of the report entitled "Hospitable Poland 2022+" (Gościnna Polska 2022+), in the first months of the war, the disinformation narratives were primarily aimed at stirring up the resentment of Polish society towards refugees from Ukraine as well as fuelling "conflicts and divisions between the different nationalities living in Poland" (Boni et al., 2022, p. 123). Russian disinformation may also target refugees and foreigners holding a permanent residence status in Poland by encouraging them to entertain anti-Polish sentiments. As of yet, hateful anti-Ukrainian narratives are not commonplace in Polish social media. The threat of Russian invasion, as well as the geographical and cultural proximity of the two nations, make assistance provided to those fleeing from the war a foregone conclusion for the majority of Polish society, impeding the spread of any odious content. However, there is a high probability that this situation may alter in the future.

As Fallis (2015, p. 402) points out: "Whether it results from an honest mistake, negligence, unconscious bias, or (as in the case of disinformation) intentional deception, inaccurate information (or misinformation) can mislead people. <...> Moreover, in addition to directly causing harm, disinformation can harm people indirectly by eroding trust and thereby inhibiting our ability to effectively share information with one another." In the case of migrants and refugees, the following consequences should be taken into account: enhanced feelings of insecurity in the host country, frustration, depression, social isolation, poor decision-making, increased risk of exploitation and discrimination, unconscious violation of the law and significant deceleration of the integration process (Figure 1). "Disinformation, leading to a sense of doubt, creating fears and inciting

resentment and hatred, may contribute to the exacerbation of relations with the Ukrainian community and thus undermine the effectiveness of and weaken the conditions for the integration process between Ukrainians and Poles" (Boni et al., 2022, p. 123).

Figure 1. Impact of disinformation on integration processes
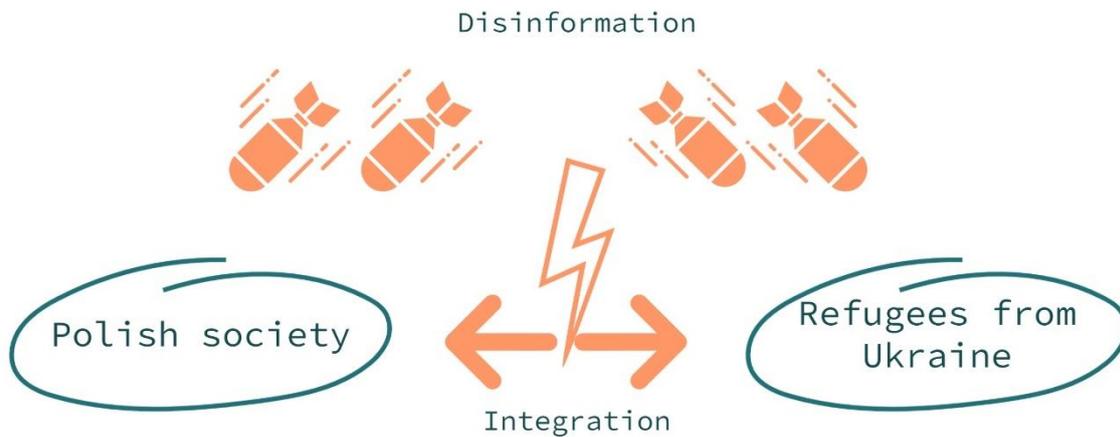
Source: author's own work.

Misinformation may have a similar adverse effect on the integration process. As practice shows, providing refugees with access to information relating to different aspects of life is crucial for their integration into the local community. The information needs of migrants may vary depending on the purpose of their arrival in the host nation or the stage of their settling in. However, for those fleeing war, the greatest need for reliable and complete information occurs just after their arrival in the country of destination and in the first few months. At the same time, additional factors emerge in these circumstances that make it difficult to adequately receive the messages conveyed and to access reliable sources of information: the inability to understand and speak the language of the host country, stress, immense fatigue, as well as psychological trauma caused by intense and unpleasant experiences.

Research method

The results included in the report were based on a qualitative study. The study included male and female nationals of Ukraine who arrived in Poland after 24 February 2022, the individuals who provided them with assistance (practitioners) and experts specialising in migration. Between May and July 2022, twelve interviews were held in total, including seven with male and female refugees, three with practitioners and two interviews with experts.

In the case of war refugees from Ukraine, the individual in-depth interview (IDI) technique was used. The individual interviews were carried out between 14 May 2022 and 2 July 2022. There were seven participants in total (six women and one man), who were between 30 and 63 years old (Table 1). The interviews were conducted in two languages: Ukrainian (four people) and Russian (three people)[3].

The individual in-depth interviews consisted of 18 questions (see Annex 1), which were grouped into the following thematic sections: arrival in Poland, perceptions of information support, sources of information used by male and female refugees, experiences of disinformation and misinformation (including information verification), integration (including opinions on the attitude of the host society towards war refugees). The duration of the interviews ranged from 46 to 55 minutes. The interviews were recorded with the consent of their participants. The transcription of the interviews was carried out using Trint (https://trint.com/) software.

Personal networks and snowball sampling were used as channels to recruit study participants. Respondents were also sought through institutions that were in direct contact with migrants. In line with the study's assumptions, the interview included Ukrainian male and female nationals who arrived in Poland after 24 February 2022. An additional criterion for the selection of participants was that they had taken specific actions confirming their intention to stay in Poland for a longer period of time (e.g. taking up legal employment, renting a flat for at least one year, sending their child/children to an educational institution, etc.). Such measures ensured that the study participants were war refugees who planned to stay in Poland for a longer period.

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[3] The participants of the individual interviews were free to choose the language of the interview.

Table 1. Information on the in-depth interviews conducted

Identifier	Sex	Age	Date of interview	Place of residence in Poland	Form of interview	Place of residence in Ukraine
U1_M	Male	63	14.05.2022	Poznań	offline	Kyiv
U2_K	Female	33	13.06.2022	Poznań	offline	Kyiv
U3_K	Female	32	19.06.2022	Poznań	offline	Kyiv
U4_K	Female	57	23.06.2022	Sochaczew	online	Kramatorsk
U5_K	Female	35	23.06.2022	Jarocin	online	Kramatorsk
U6_K	Female	49	30.06.2022	Warsaw	online	Kyiv
U7_K	Female	30	02.07.2022	Poznań	online	Chernivtsi

Source: author's own work.

Some refugees fled to Poland because they were able to join their family members (for example, son/daughter, partner/partner) who had settled in Poland before the start of the military aggression against Ukraine. A considerable majority of study participants arrived in Poland with their child/children, siblings, parents and/or other family members (five people). All study subjects had higher education degrees; however, their situation on the labour market was quite dissimilar. At the time of participating in the survey, three individuals were employed, one person was retired, one person had a paid internship, and two individuals had no legal employment. The vast majority of those interviewed (five people) did not speak Polish at the time of crossing the Polish-Ukrainian border. Within the group, one person arrived in Poland travelling across the Romanian border (U7_K), while the remaining individuals came to Poland from the territory of Ukraine.

The second group of interviewees comprised experts dealing with migration issues, as well as practitioners, i.e. people involved in activities supporting Ukrainian refugees. The point of view of these individuals is essential, as it helps to broaden the outlook on the issues discussed in the study. In the case of these particular respondents, five free structured interviews were conducted (two in Polish, one in Ukrainian and two in Russian). Two interviews were carried out with representatives of the research community (experts). These took the form of online meetings on Zoom and Skype. The remaining three interviews were conducted with practitioners who provided information support to people fleeing war as part of their professional or voluntary work. A disposition for unstructured interview with experts and practitioners forms Annexe 2.

Research results

Information chaos and perceptions of information support by those fleeing the war in Ukraine

Individuals taking part in the study were relatively satisfied with the information support system. They particularly appreciated the involvement of volunteers working at reception points and some public institutions linked to the provision of essential information needed in their first few days in Poland (obtaining a PESEL number [*Polish personal identification number*], a one-time allowance of PLN 300, getting a free photo done, etc.).

Assistance was also provided by local and international NGOs; however, information on the support available was not always immediately given in the Ukrainian or Russian language, and this fact would certainly restrict the number of people that could have taken advantage of such assistance. By way of illustration, one of the respondents (U1_M) heard a message about assistance provided by Caritas when visiting a supermarket, but he was unable to understand the message fully as it was delivered in Polish.

One of the study participants stated that the volunteers provide only superficial information and are not prepared well enough to answer more detailed questions because they themselves are not fully informed. He also pointed out the lack of structured information (everything in one place).

It [the information provided – OSS] is not systematised. It's not like I can come and get hold of a complete list. The groups [of people fleeing the war – OSS] are different. For example, let's say there's a woman with a child (...), she can do this, or she can do that. Here are the organisations that she can call. Please use this list. As no such thing exists, you need to extract this type of information with difficulty. (U1_M)

The study participants also referred to the issue of dealing with official matters and the provision of information support by employees of government offices.

I made an appointment to see a lawyer to discuss my status and my daughter's education. My objective was to obtain these items of information. I can tell you that this meeting left me with the same set of unanswered questions. Even with the help of an interpreter, I didn't get the information I was hoping for. (U4_K)

By complete chance, we found out that there is a Polish language course for children aged 14 to 15. No one informed us about it, even though we left a suitable note. (U4_K)

Some study participants described problems with the availability of the latest and up-to-date information. The biggest focus was placed on the highly fragmented nature of the messages relating to the formal and legal conditions defining the stay of refugees within the territory of the Republic of Poland (U4_K, U7_K). However, the situation in relation to this aspect has clearly improved, as was mentioned by two participants of the study.

I was reading Facebook groups... and the information differed on whether the presence of children was necessary at the meeting set up to obtain a PESEL number. Do the children have to be present, what age do they need to be, are the children fingerprinted? This topic was often discussed in various groups because many people arrived with young children and taking children with them was a challenging task. Detailed instructions

for Ukrainians were later posted on poznan.pl. And it said there that the presence of all family members was required. (U2_K)

Now there is a bit more information, but at that time, at the beginning of March, even the Poles themselves knew nothing, even their official institutions had no information. (U6_K)

The key problems related to access to information about the **labour market,** as mentioned by Ukrainian refugees in the interviews, included the lack of information on job offers, the potential for diploma nostrification, the procedure for recognising qualifications, as well as employment opportunities for people of pre-retirement age. One female respondent (U4_K) stated that due to her age (57) and health, she would not be able to undertake physically demanding work (such as in a warehouse or on a production line).

They told me at the Employment Office that there are no posts available for a teaching assistant in Sochaczew; they basically refused. They justified it by saying that I don't speak Polish, although I know of cases ... where [people] work as teaching assistants and their knowledge of the [Polish] language was not the most important thing at all. (U4_K)

On the one hand, there is a problem with the knowledge of basic employee rights and, on the other, there still exists a stereotypical perception of Ukrainians as labour migrants.

A friend visited a café to ask about employment. When she asked: "How much will you be paying me?" the owner answered "11 zlotys". "But such rates no longer apply! Why so little?" To which the owner replied: "There were already three hundred and fifty Ukrainian women asking me for a job. If you don't agree, someone else certainly will." (U5_K)

Several respondents mentioned problems in obtaining information on accessing **healthcare**. Other problems included difficulties with purchasing medicines, while several people were met with refusals to book them a doctor's appointment.

My problem was that I had ran out of my medications for high blood pressure. The government office gave me a list of outpatient clinics which offered help in the event of an emergency. I went to the nearest clinic, but I was told that the doctor could not see me because I did not have health insurance. It was only thanks to the intervention of the host, who was very insistent (...), that the doctor finally agreed to see me and write out a prescription. (U4_K)

The group of research participants included a mother whose child needs rehabilitation and highly specialised care because of physical disability. The mother has major concerns relating to the ambiguity of the procedure confirming the degree of disability.

My daughter is disabled, but this has to be confirmed here. I don't know what will happen to us now. I filled in all the paperwork, delivered it, and they told me: "Now, you'll need to wait". What will happen now? What can I count on? (U5_K)

The same female respondent describes her experience of the healthcare system:

Here in Poland, everything happens slowly. For example, I had to make an appointment to see an orthopaedist. For me, this really came as a shock. If I need to consult an orthopaedist [in Ukraine], I can have an appointment tomorrow. If not tomorrow, then the day after. And that's it. And here the referral says "urgent", but we have to wait a month and a half. I'm going through an internal revolution. But then I understood that you just have to accept it. I needed a lot of time to get used to this. (U5_K)

One of the respondents, who is a nurse by profession (U7_K), also drew attention to the differences in medical terminology and the resulting potential communication problems with medical professionals.

Most of the study participants experienced serious difficulties in **finding rental accommodation**. Refugees from Ukraine encountered a series of challenges relating to information on available accommodation and the applicable procedures. They also mentioned open reluctance on part of landlords to rent to foreigners. The process of finding rental accommodation was particularly arduous and stressful for refugee women with children.

All study participants with children present in Poland admitted that they didn't receive sufficient information support in regard to formal and organisational issues related to the functioning of the **Polish education system**. At times, there was insufficient support in such basic matters as children attending kindergartens and schools. This was, for example, the case of a female refugee who did not know how she could purchase dinners for her daughter attending a preparatory class at a school in Poznań. This is how she described her experience:

I experienced a problem when ordering dinners for my daughter: I couldn't find our school on the website [of the catering company supplying the meals] because when I was sorting out the paperwork, [the Deputy Headmaster] didn't tell me how to do it. (U2_K)

The respondent bitterly recounts the difficulties encountered during contacts with the school at later stages:

Access to the school was limited – it was not possible to meet directly with the teacher to discuss my daughter's progress at school or to clarify other issues (for example, [to find out about the] timetable). <...> On several occasions, I wrote directly to the teacher, but I didn't receive a reply. (U2_K)

The situation described may be deemed all the more surprising as this case concerns a school with preparatory classes, which by definition is better prepared to receive foreign children.

Generally, the school does not give you 100% complete access to all the information you need – you either have to call, ask, or find answers in other sources, such as the Viber parent group or on the Internet. (U2_K)

Problems with contacting representatives of educational institutions were also mentioned by another female refugee from eastern Ukraine (U4_K), whose daughter wanted to continue her education in one of Sochaczew's secondary schools.

It was possible for our daughter to receive low grades at the end of the year. I don't know what she could have passed and what she would have been unable to... And then she would have had to submit entrance documents to a secondary school with such grades. But no one informed us about this option. They gave us a list of secondary schools. We approached them, but they refused us. They told us: "You have access to remote learning, so it's best your daughter studies remotely at a Ukrainian school". (U4_K)

I have a friend whose son was entitled to free swimming classes; he has Down syndrome. A friend said the school had arranged this. I approached our school and asked about the possibility of my daughter joining swimming classes. No, that was not possible. Why is this not possible? Both children are from Ukraine and both have unconfirmed disabilities. Why does one child have free activities and another does not? All I hear is: "I don't know". (U5_K)

The accounts of study participants point to the ineffectiveness of methods used to provide new arrivals to Poland with information.

People, when they come [to Poland], they are confused. They don't pay attention to the information in the transport; they may just fail to notice it. (U7_K)

Perhaps the information did not reach us because we lived separately, away from the immigrant community. (U4_K)

I found out about many aspects completely by accident. (U4_K)

In some situations, the lack of information had a negative impact on the respondents' sense of safety, ultimately leading to a sense of helplessness, confusion and lack of control over their life.

It was difficult here in Jarocin after arrival. You then understood you had had everything. Now we had nothing. One suitcase contained my belongings; the other suitcase contained my child's things. It really was very difficult. I didn't know what to do or where to start. (U5_K)

My child needed an orthopaedic corset. I had no clue where to start. (...) I was in despair... It was one step forward, ten steps back. (U5_K)

I have concerns of this type. There will come a point when I'll need to rent a flat. What should be done to avoid falling into the hands of fraudsters? This I don't know... (U4_K)

Although the difficulties reported can significantly disrupt daily life by enforcing the need to find one's way among disjointed and at times incoherent messages, some respondents demonstrated a proactive attitude towards functioning in a new reality.

I know from experience that in order to find something out, you must know what to ask. (U1_M)

Access to information exists, and it all depends on how keen you are. (U7_K)

According to experts, three months after the outbreak of the war, the chaos of information addressed at refugees has lessened. This does not mean, however, that the scope of the needs reported by refugees from Ukraine will diminish.

EXPERT COMMENTARY

"<...> at the start of the war, the information needs of the people who arrived at the station were in effect considerable: starting with relevant documents, accommodation, ways to get around the town, and so on and so forth. There are significantly fewer of these people but those who arrive have very similar information needs. So it seems that a fairly obvious process has not taken place – where it would be possible to prepare better. <...> It's probably a little easier now to prepare for the journey. This is how it looks in theory. <...> People from the station [volunteers], however, don't seem to confirm that <...> information [needs] are much smaller". (E1_N)

Experts also emphasise that in the near future, there is likely to be a shift in emphasis within the area of information needs towards the efficient transfer of up-to-date information on the situation of Ukrainian refugees, including their rights and obligations, legal situation, etc.

Another important area, which at present is completely neglected, is the creation of a system that would reliably inform refugees about the situation in Ukraine.

How can I think about Poland [about plans – OSS] when I don't know what will happen in my own country? (U5_K)

The aforementioned issue was addressed by experts in their comments.

Misinformation and information verification

The first instances of information support were received by the study participants immediately after they crossed the border. Female and male volunteers worked at border points and in information centres operating at railway stations. The information provided by these volunteers focused on meeting the needs linked to accommodation, food, basic medical care, mobile communication, location of information points, etc.

There were always volunteers at the railway station; you were able to ask questions. (U6_K)

Another crucial formal source of information were governmental offices. Despite the majority of positive opinions of the respondents about their contact with employees of governmental offices or other institutions, there were also cases of negative experiences. These were situations where refugees visited these places on their own, but the information they received from the employees was inaccurate and incomplete. This resulted in the need to re-file the documentation and make repeat visits, which exacerbated feelings of frustration. For example, this was the experience of a female refugee who wanted to submit an application for free dinners for her child at the Poznań Benefit Centre [*Poznańskie Centrum Świadczeń*].

I had to travel to the Municipal Family Assistance Centre [Miejski Ośrodek Pomocy Rodzinie] to submit an application for free dinners for my daughter at her kindergarten. When I got there the first time, they said that their specialists only dealt with assigned addresses. The lady responsible for my area wasn't there as her shift was on a different day. They told me (...) when I could come and what documents I needed to bring with me. But it later emerged that this was an incomplete list of documents. A few days later, when I travelled to a different place, an employee at the centre said that I did not have all the necessary documents. I also showed her a statement of my earnings. She said this certificate must be on their form. So I had to make another visit a few days later. But why wasn't I informed straight away that my salary was too high and that I wouldn't get free dinners for my daughter anyway? (U2_K)

Confusing and sometimes contradictory information provided by representatives of official institutions without a doubt exacerbated feelings of bewilderment and frustration. The respondents also mentioned cases of being sent to incorrect addresses or from one institution to another. Below is a description of the situation, which was described by a representative of the Poviat Employment Office in Poznań:

There were also a few people... We found out later that this information came from the PCŚ [Poznań Benefit Centre – OSS] and that in order to receive the one-off financial assistance of PLN 300, you had to be registered at the Poviat Employment Office and have the status of an unemployed person. They called the helpline, and they told them that this was the correct thing to do. (E5_P)

There were also instances where refugees were given access to official sources of information only a while after they crossed the border. This applies to cases where the refugees were immediately taken into the care of their relatives or friends living in Poland (U1_M, U4_K).

Migrants were less likely to take advantage of the information available on official websites and portals (of the city, offices), which may have been due to the delayed reaction of official institutions, which noticed the need to post detailed guidelines addressed to people fleeing war in languages they could understand only after a certain time had passed. The refugees who had

a network of contacts in Poland demonstrated a particularly low awareness of the information available in the Ukrainian language on official websites.

A better flow of official information could be observed in smaller towns, as illustrated by an example given by a female refugee from Kramatorsk, who fled to Poland with her daughter:

Ours is a small town [Sochaczew – OSS]. We were told that tickets would be available in a week's time to arrange a specific day and a specific time for a visit to the governmental office. And so we came, there was no need to queue, no late-night vigils, and we received our PESEL numbers without any problem. But that was later than in Warsaw. (U4_K)

The interviews point to the fact that the offices did not monitor the activity of international organisations in the provision of financial and material assistance to refugees, so that contradictory information was very often published on the Internet, in particular, on social media channels.

A factor that differentiated access to information sources was whether refugees had family or friends in Poland. Moreover, in some cases, the information needs of refugees linked to legal assistance, the payment of social benefits, employment, access to the healthcare system or education were met through acquaintances made after arriving in Poland. For example, women who came to Poland with children found the information provided by work colleagues with children helpful (U2_K). Often, information was provided by the Poles who hosted the refugees and looked after them; sometimes, these were casual acquaintances. In both instances, the representatives of the host nation served as an important source of knowledge in the first weeks of the refugees' stay in Poland, intervening in conflict situations, helping them to become accustomed to their new environment and to understand the basic rules of navigating the Polish official system, the healthcare system or the education system.

We had really great building owners who took us in. They helped us find addresses, look for where to go and where to find information regarding medical assistance, they tried to solve our problems... (U4_K)

When we arrived, my friend's husband was already working here in Poland. People from his company gave us lots of help. (...) They gathered all the information. We came in and filled in the paperwork and got everything done in one day. (U5_K)

I'm very grateful to Ms Halina, who lives here in Jarocin. She is a volunteer and organised meetings especially for Ukrainians, to which she always invited either someone from the governmental office or a representative from the Social Insurance Institution; someone also used to come from the kindergarten. (...) I was getting answers to all my questions. (U5_K)

I can easily telephone Ms Halina to ask her anything. (U5_K)

Local associations working on behalf of immigrant communities also became actively involved in the relief effort.

As soon as I arrived, I found [on Facebook – OSS] a group called "The Ukrainian House in Warsaw" [Ukraiński Dom w Warszawie]. They posted announcements about meetings and were very [active – OSS] from the very beginning, organising a lot of meetings. I went to all these meetings. At one meeting, you were able to ask all sorts of questions. (...) I received a lot of information there. (U6_K)

Refugees who joined their relatives already living in Poland were somewhat more comfortable. Often, the participants of the study asked friends or family members to act as intermediaries

with various institutions, drawing not only on their experience and better understanding of issues related to accessing public services but also on their linguistic skills. This included handling official matters and making medical appointments, contacting educational institutions, renting accommodation, etc.

If it wasn't for the fact that I have a daughter here in Poland who has lived here for a long time, she's older. I got almost all the information from her. And if it weren't for her help, it would have been difficult for me. (U1_M)

About the school. We went with my daughter and my sister, who was helping us as an interpreter, to the school at an agreed time at the beginning of March to submit our documents. (U2_K)

Social media channels and websites were also very popular sources of information for the refugees. Many of the respondents sought information by looking through informal groups operating in social media (Facebook) and instant messaging services such as Viber and Telegram. The support of children, who are more literate in using information and communication technologies, was also very important to some people.

I don't like it [social media]. It's not my thing. My daughter deals with it [looking for information]. She is much better at it. ... She found some people in Łódź, contacted them, and they gave her information about the education system. (U4_K)

EXPERT COMMENTARY

"It seems to me that these older people are in the most difficult situation. (...) For these people, the information has to be presented in very simple words, with simple instructions". (E3_P)

On many occasions, upon their arrival in Poland, the Ukrainian refugees sought information by typing queries or search terms into an Internet search engine (U3_K). Several people also said that they were unlikely to have been directly exposed to misinformation.

I have not come across any such [information – OSS] that has turned out to be, shall we say, untrue. Information could have been inaccurate, it could have been.... or maybe I misunderstood something, but for it to be an obvious lie or a clear intention to confuse me in some way.... Then no. (U1_M)

There were times when someone posted information that was not fully clear or incomplete, but immediately there were comments; people were commenting and asking questions [on social media – OSS]. (U6_K)

The uncertain and unclear situation in which the Ukrainian refugees have found themselves provides fertile ground for all kinds of rumours, as the respondents confirmed in the course of their interviews by providing examples.

Apparently, there is some information that jobs will be created specifically for the migrants arriving in Poland. Perhaps some companies, maybe some subsidiaries, maybe some other entities that I don't know about. (U1_M)

A woman came to us and asked if she could become a volunteer because she needed a place to stay and she had heard that the volunteers were given accommodation. (E3_P)

- A girl came to see us [Poviat Employment Office – OSS], and she said: "I have heard that you can get a PESEL number in return for money. I'm willing to pay, but I want it to be quick because there are very long queues at the moment."

- And where did she get this information?

- She said that her friends told her so. (E5_P)

I just had a situation like this today. A lady from Ukraine came to see us and wanted to register as an unemployed person. We always ask about the reason. She said that this would provide her with a card entitling her to concessionary travel on public transport. She read this information somewhere on Facebook. (E5_P)

The main sources of the circulating rumours were social networks and the refugees themselves.

People were talking to each other. These never-ending queues provided you with lots of varied information. (U6_K)

Someone said on Facebook that they no longer allow anyone [into Poland – OSS] with Ukrainian passports. Panic began to set in (...) Perhaps this was a one-off situation where someone had problems at the border, and the unverified information had already gone out and begun to spread. People started to get scared and panic. (U7_K)

> ### EXPERT COMMENTARY
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> *"Even if a phone number is given, nobody will call, because there is a communication problem (...) For many Ukrainians it is easier to go to the Fair [information point at the Poznań International Fair - OSS] and ask there or ask their friends, maybe search on the internet, only then they go to the official institution". (E3_P)*

There was also a case where information posted on Facebook contained false contact details for individuals allegedly representing the consular unit and providing assistance to refugees from Ukraine (U7_K), with the implication that it was intended to deceive those requesting assistance and gaining benefits (e.g. financial). Similar circumstances may prompt people fleeing the war in Ukraine to take actions that delay or prevent their accessing the help and support they need and consequently exacerbate their feelings of insecurity and fear.

The study participants demonstrated a relatively high awareness of the potentially low credibility of information published online and the need for additional verification of its reliability and completeness.

I would not trust such information. I think I would prefer to check information from such sources first before using it. (U2_K)

- If someone says something on YouTube, you know it is not reliable information and you have to check it out.

- How would you check it out?

- In Google. I type it into Google and see what sources are cited. If it is gov.pl or something similar, that means the information comes from the government and I can believe it. (U3_K)

There are always doubts. I, for one, do not have 100% confidence in such information. (U6_K)

I am very sceptical about information posted on Facebook. (...) It is better to know nothing and wait until official information is published than to trust rumours that someone heard somewhere and repeats to others as a given. (U7_K)

Several people admitted that they were unaware of the potential danger of using unverified sources of information. This may be due in part to focusing on meeting more urgent needs during the first period of adaptation or a belief that other people who find themselves in the same situation (refugees) are incapable of intentionally spreading unreliable information.

I haven't really been thinking about the credibility [of the information found – OSS]. (U_M63)

Once I had crossed the border and entered Polish territory, I was no longer afraid of anything. (U_M63)

Ruokolainen and Widén (2020) argue that when misinformation gives hope, it can be perceived as misleading and accurate at the same time. It also seems that the perception of the published news as true and credible by the respondents is related to the fact that the Poles have shown great solidarity with Ukrainians by engaging in various forms of support and assistance, often organised spontaneously.

Disinformation and the situation of the war refugees

Despite the almost unanimously favourable attitude of the Polish public to welcoming refugees from Ukraine and its strong involvement in providing various forms of assistance (CBOS, 2022; Wiosna Association, 2022; Kantar, 2022), a new wave of false narratives targeting refugees from Ukraine has become noticeable in Polish social media (Konkret24, 2022; Tymińska, 2022). Most of the false reports – which aim to arouse resentment towards war refugees – focus on several topics[4] (Polska gościnna 2022+, 2022; Frontstory.pl, 2022; Konkret24, 2022; Tymińska, 2022; Wirtualnemedia.pl, 2022):

- hostile attitude of Ukrainian nationals (alleged anti-Polish nationalism), their aggressive behaviour and an increase in crime (as a result of large numbers of refugees arriving in Poland),

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EXPERT COMMENTARY

"<…> the biggest item of disinformation we have been dealing with in recent months was given very quickly: the suspicion that the killers in Warsaw's Nowy Świat were from Ukraine. <…> it wasn't disinformation, i.e. pure disinformation, but giving information with a malicious intent. However, it often happens that someone reads this type of information, encodes it in their brain, and later it's difficult to eradicate it. Now, the police is publishing information that it was two Poles and so on. But here you have to be entirely responsible for the information you pass on without due verification and confirmation." (E1_N)

- the negative impact of war refugees on the social and economic situation (taking jobs away from Poles, weakening the competitive position of Polish workers in the labour market, overburdening the social security system and the budget),

- privileged status (in particular, in regards to the alleged priority access that Ukrainian women and men have to public services (healthcare, education), cultural institutions and free housing originally intended for Poles),

- the entitled attitude of those fleeing the war in Ukraine,

- giving the Ukrainians a PESEL number as a means of acquiring new Polish citizens and voters,

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[4] It should be emphasized that some of these narratives circulated in the media long before the outbreak of the war in Ukraine in February 2022.

- the crossing of the Polish border mainly by people from the Middle East and Africa,

- transmission of infectious diseases by Ukrainians,

- the undermining of Russian military aggression against Ukraine.

Experts point out that sometimes disinformation can result from exaggerating, distorting individual events and transferring them onto other areas of life (see the comments in boxes).

Both deliberate disinformation efforts and the unconscious dissemination of false or partly false information provide a powerful impetus for numerous anti-refugee statements containing elements of hate speech. Hate speech and misinformation, in turn, can have a direct impact on specific social behaviour (Boni et al., 2022; Tymińska, 2022; Winiewski et al., 2017).

As stated in the interviews conducted with the Ukrainian refugees, the majority of the respondents (six people) experienced at least one case of ill-treatment and explicit hostility from Poles. Participants most frequently indicated that they were treated unkindly (e.g. during a doctor's appointment, at the employment office) or they themselves or their relatives received insulting comments.

When walking in the park, we stopped for a while because my daughter wanted a drink of water. At that moment, a young boy on a bicycle rode past us, turned to us and shouted "Fucking Ukrainians!". (U2_K)

I have heard of a situation where the landlord mistreated the people he took in. There were threats, insults. A very unpleasant situation... (U7_K)

Some interviewees also encountered reluctance and lack of support from medical staff. For example, one refugee woman was referred for medical examinations to a medical centre where doctors allegedly speak English. During her visit to the ophthalmologist all examinations were conducted in Polish. As the woman does not speak Polish, the doctor could not understand what she was reading and behaved in an unfriendly manner, so the assistance of the receptionist was necessary.

There were no problems with the telephone registration process. We agreed that I needed a facility where doctors spoke English. (...) I came at the appointed time. Nothing suggested problems. I went into the office and said to the doctor: "Hello," and there was a woman in her 60s who looked at me and said she didn't understand me. (U3_K)

The study participants also described situations that took place at their workplaces, even during visits to governmental institutions.

There are unbearable things [happening – OSS] at my husband's work. There are three Poles there, and one of them says to my husband: "Why did you come? What have you come for? Bandera, neo-Nazi ... (...) Why am I feeding you?" (...) People can't stop thinking about these 300 zlotys. (...) Then he started making threats: "I'll start a fight, and then I'll call the police. It will be me that will deport you!" (U5_K)

There are some people who visit a governmental office; they find something that is not to their taste and start shouting that it's all because of the Ukrainians, that it's because we came here. They say we take their places in the queues, where only Poles should be. (U7_K)

Expressions of clear dislike on the part of the Poles took the form of malicious or clearly insulting comments and physical violence. A female refugee from the city of Kramatorsk described a situation when, while waiting in the checkout queue at a store, another customer pushed her daughter with a trolley.

- I was standing with my daughter in the checkout queue in Biedronka [food retailer]. There was a couple behind us, about 40 years old … we can understand a little of what the Poles say, the content of their conversation … the man was trying to stop her, it was more the woman [who said] that we had come here (…) and that we were being a nuisance. The man said that in the current situation people were looking for [a place] that is better and safer. (…) That woman kept pushing my daughter with her shopping trolley.

- Did other customers react in any way to what was happening?

- No, no one reacted. We just moved away to a safe distance. (U4_K)

Cases of discrimination in the housing rental market were commonplace. My respondents often met with frequent refusals to rent flats to refugee families, and this fact was sometimes mentioned outright in the ads. One female refugee stated that some landlords were unhappy about renting a flat to a Ukrainian family with two young children (U2_K).

Some study participants tried to put themselves in the shoes of the Poles by referring to the large numbers of people arriving in Poland, poor Polish-Ukrainian relations in the past or the worsening economic situation.

I try to approach it with understanding. Prices of everything are going up. It is hard for all of us right now, both Ukrainians and Poles. (U4_K)

This can happen in any country. This is a human factor rather than a tendency. (U6_K)

I get it; these are our shared moments in history. (U7_K)

Another respondent tried to justify Polish landlords who refused to rent flats to foreigners. In his opinion:

The Poles should not be blamed for not wanting to rent flats to foreigners arriving in the country. (U1_M)

Among both female and male refugees taking part in the study, only one person did not experience reluctance or hostility on the part of the Poles. A male refugee from Donetsk, who had been living with his family in Kyiv for the past few years, said that in Ukraine, the

resentment towards displaced persons from Donbas was much greater from his compatriots than Poland's attitude towards war refugees:

It was more commonplace in Ukraine for someone to make a malicious comment that we [people displaced from Donbas – OSS] had arrived and there were too many of us. (U1_M)

There is a relatively high level of trust in Polish society among the study participants, and there are no major concerns about the possibility of fraud or deliberate deception.

Key conclusions from the study

Based on the study results, the following conclusions were made:

1. For war refugees from Ukraine, the primary sources of information about their stay in Poland were informal sources (relatives living in Poland, acquaintances made after their arrival in Poland, social media and the internet). Although they were aware of the plentiful information of low credibility on social media, the respondents were often unaware of the official channels available for obtaining information.

2. Ukrainian refugees also acquired information from formal sources, such as reception points and official institutions. Positive opinions predominated among the individuals recounting their experiences of obtaining information from public institutions. At the same time, the information provided by officials was not always consistent and understandable to the study participants – some stated that they did not receive clear and exhaustive guidance from governmental employees.

3. The inefficiency of the information system addressed to those fleeing the war in Ukraine caused a lot of misunderstanding, especially during the first few months. The principal problems reported by the respondents in regards to accessing information concerned both the difficulty of accessing content in a language they could understand, the overly general nature of the information provided, as well as the opacity of information on the applicable rules and procedures or the reluctance of representatives of some public institutions to provide comprehensive and understandable information.

4. Due to the fact that various forms of refugee support and assistance were being developed and implemented at an accelerated pace in the first months after the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, considerable dispersion of information sources was a characteristic factor. By comparison, the presence of unverified and erroneous information was a problem that was less noticeable by the refugees.

5. The respondents had the most concerns about the scope of the information available. The most important areas of information support that need improving include:

- access to temporary housing, entering into tenancy agreements,

- access to the healthcare system, disability certificates,

- access to social benefits,

- access to the labour market (in particular, the potential for highly qualified people to find suitable posts, matching previous professional experience and qualifications with the needs of the Polish labour market),

- nostrification of diplomas and other documents issued in Ukraine (e.g. driving licences),

- access to the education system, rules for recruitment to institutions,

- language courses (for children, but also for adults, e.g. specialised courses),

- legal changes, the legal situation of refugees (rights, obligations),

- travelling within the Schengen Area and the possibility of returning to Ukraine, the situation in Ukraine.

6. As a result of the high popularity of instant messaging services and social media, the low awareness of the ability to obtain information from official sources, as well as the low level of trust placed in the content published on official websites, it can be assumed that the war refugees from Ukraine are the group that is most vulnerable to false information published and disseminated online.

7. The refugees who took part in the interviews did not notice disinformation directed against Poland or the Poles. This can be explained by the fact that in the case of the Ukrainian community, which has received considerable support from the Polish public, the effectiveness of disinformation efforts is currently very low.

8. The participants in the study did not seem to have had much direct contact with disinformation or messages containing elements of hate speech, and any such experiences were incidental. At the same time, it is worth emphasising that the majority of the respondents have experienced expressions of dislike, hostility or examples of unfavourable treatment from representatives of the host society at least once since their arrival in Poland. According to expert estimates, the public's emotional attitude towards refugees will inevitably deteriorate, which could result in increased conflicts and clashes in the future.

9. On the basis of the observations made, it should be concluded that disinformation targeting the war refugees is more likely to affect integration processes of other groups of foreigners. On the other hand, the increasing percentage of citizens with personal experience with immigrants means that Poles' knowledge of representatives of other countries or cultures is becoming better. This should be seen as an opportunity.

Recommendations

The proposed recommendations are divided into three areas. The first includes measures to better address the current and future needs of those who arrived in Poland because of the war. The second area includes recommendations for improved outreach to refugees from Ukraine. The third area contains recommendations for reducing the negative impact of disinformation. Moreover, entities that may be responsible for implementing the individual recommendations were identified (Table 2).

EXPERT COMMENTARY

"<...> The Polish government is equipped with the necessary tool because it has a so-called central information system intended for emergencies <...> For example, it is very easy to identify the language that is used on the phone and then send text messages in that language. You can send push messages and in this way, for example, distribute an information package or inform Ukrainian citizens of important changes. <...> it seems to me that these are simple things. If you can pass on information that a storm is approaching, then you might as well pass on information that some important legal change is taking place, or that if you visit this website, you will get all the information you need, information that is reliable, verified and confirmed by the authority of the Polish government. This is what I would expect..." (E2_N)

Table 2. Division of responsibility for implementing recommendations

Recommendations	Central administration	Local authority administration	Labour market institutions	Other public institutions (e.g. educational establishments)	Non-profit organisations
Information needs of refugees					
Monitoring the information needs of refugees		■			■
Providing reliable information on the situation of refugees on an ongoing basis (in particular, to officials and employees of public institutions)	■	■	■	■	
Preparation of an information package for the newly arrived refugees (a handbook with essential information related to law, procedures, and support) in paper and electronic form		■			■
Preparation and distribution of detailed information material (practical handbooks dedicated to particular topics in various languages)			■	■	■
Development of a system for the continued monitoring of legislative changes regarding the formal and legal situation of refugees	■				
Information provision (reaching out to refugee groups)					

Improved promotion of official websites and other official information channels		■			
Use of instant messaging services popular among Ukrainian refugees (e.g. Telegram)		■			
Enhanced digital accessibility (e.g. preparation of information material adapted to various audience groups (the ability to receive information differs with age, ability to use digital devices, etc.))		■	■	■	
Better preparation of volunteers and people working with refugees		■			■
Development of a coordinated system for informing refugees and the host society about implemented changes and new forms of support (text messages, information campaigns)	■	■			
Provision of information in appropriate chunks, combating information overload and information chaos		■			
Reducing the negative impact of disinformation					
Information and education activities aimed at refugees and other migrant groups (what is hate speech, the rights of hate speech victims, people and entities they can contact for help, etc.)		■		■	■
More effective monitoring and prosecution of prejudice and hate crimes	■	■			■
Information and education activities aimed at raising awareness of disinformation within the host society.		■			■

Source: author's own work.

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Annexes

Annexe 1. The script of an individual in-depth interview with people fleeing the war in Ukraine

Dzień dobry! Nazywam się Olena Shelest-Szumilas. Jestem pracowniczką Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego w Poznaniu i obecnie we współpracy z Fundacją Geremka oraz Kolegium Europejskim w Natolinie realizuję projekt badawczy pt. *„Dezinformacja a integracja migrantów: przypadek Polski"*.

Wszystkie Pani/Pana wypowiedzi będą całkowicie poufne oraz będą prezentowane w zbiorczych zestawieniach analitycznych, co wyklucza możliwość powiązania ich z konkretną osobą. Chciałabym również poinformować, że wywiad będzie nagrywany. Nagranie posłuży jedynie do celów transkrypcji. Czy wyraża Pan/Pani zgodę na nagrywanie wywiadu?

Szczegółowe zagadnienia	Pytania	Uwagi
Przybycie do Polski	Kiedy Pan/Pani przyjechał/a do Polski? Proszę podać konkretną datę. Czy przyjechał/a Pan/Pani z rodziną? Jeżeli TAK → dopytać o skład rodziny W jakim stopniu Pan/Pani posługuje się językiem polskim? angielskim?	Ewentualnie miesiąc
Postrzeganie wsparcia informacyjnego	Czy po przekroczeniu granicy uzyskał/a Pan/Pani informacje dotyczące pobytu w Polsce i uzyskania pomocy (rzeczowej, finansowej, prawnej)? Jakie to były informacje? Skąd Pan/Pani o tym się dowiedział/a? Czy te informacje były dokładne/zrozumiałe/prawdziwe? Czy były pomocne?	Dopytać: *Z jakich mediów społecznościowych korzystano?*

	Jeżeli NIE → Dlaczego Pan/Pani tak uważa? W jaki sposób Pan/Pani to sprawdził/a? Jeżeli TAK → Dlaczego Pan/Pani tak uważa?	
Dezinformacja oraz błędna informacja	Czy bała się Pani, że zostanie Pani wprowadzona w błąd? Czy podejmowała Pani jakieś kroki, by się przed tym zabezpieczyć (weryfikowanie informacji)? Czy zdarzyło się Panu/Pani znaleźć się w sytuacji, kiedy podawane informacje były fałszywe, niedokładne lub wprowadzające w błąd? • Jeżeli TAK → dopytać: Kiedy? W jakich okolicznościach? Czego dotyczyły informacje? Jaki to miało wpływ na podjęte decyzje/dokonane wybory?	
Stosunek społeczeństwa przyjmującego	Co Pani słyszała o Polakach? Jaki mają stosunek do uciekających przed wojną, czego się Pani spodziewała? Czy spotkał/a się Pan/Pani z przejawami nieżyczliwości/wrogości ze strony obywateli Polski?	Dopytać o konkretne przykłady/sytuacje! *Jakie narracje docierają?*

	Jeżeli TAK → dopytać: w jakich sytuacjach? co się wydarzyło?	
Źródła informacji	Jak się Pan/Pani „ogarnął"/„ogarnęła" w mieście/Polsce? Jak się teraz żyje? Co Pan/Pani wiedział/a przed przyjazdem (jeśli chodzi o kwestie związane z formalnościami, pracą, zdrowiem, życiem)? Gdzie Pan/Pani szukał/szukała informacji o kwestiach dotyczących: • otrzymania numeru PESEL • podjęcia zatrudnienia w Polsce • opieki zdrowotnej (w tym uzyskania pomocy w sytuacjach nagłych) • spraw codziennych (np. wynajem mieszkania, robienie zakupów) • życiem w mieście (np. transport publiczny, życie kulturalne) • otrzymania jednorazowej pomocy finansowej od państwa • ogólnej sytuacji osób uciekających przed wojną • inne?	• Strony internetowe (jakie?) • Grupy w mediach społecznościowych (jakie?) • Osobisty kontakt z instytucją (telefoniczny lub mailowy) • Telewizja • Radio • Rodzina/przyjaciele z Polski • Rodzina/przyjaciele z Ukrainy mieszkający w Polsce • Koledzy w pracy/znajomi • Lokalne gazety • Kościół/cerkiew • Inne?
Weryfikowanie informacji	Gdzie według Pana/Pani można znaleźć najrzetelniejsze informacje na temat sytuacji obcokrajowców w Polsce? Dlaczego właśnie tam? Gdzie Pan/Pani szukałby/łaby informacji najbardziej praktycznych? Dlaczego właśnie tam?	a. Wątpliwości dot. wiarygodności informacji. Czy bała się Pani (celowego) oszustwa? Czy obawiała się Pani, że podejmuje Pani decyzje na informacje na podstawie niewiarygodnych/niesprawdzonych informacji? b. Czy próbowała Pani weryfikować źródła (jak?), czy im ufała? c. Czy zdarzyło się Pani natrafić na niewiarygodne (wprowadzające w błąd) informacje? Jakie? Gdzie?
Dodatkowe informacje o respondencie	Jakie ma Pan/Pani wykształcenie? Zawód? Czy planuje Pan/Pani podjąć w Polsce zatrudnienie?	Ewentualnie dopytać:

	Jeżeli już pracuje → dopytać o warunki zatrudnienia	*Zatrudnienie w Ukrainie przed przyjazdem do Polski?*
	Jak długo zamierza Pan/Pani pozostać w Polsce?	

Dziękuję bardzo za udział w wywiadzie!

Annexe 2. Disposition for an unstructured interview with experts and practitioners

Dzień dobry! Nazywam się Olena Shelest-Szumilas. Jestem pracowniczką Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego w Poznaniu i obecnie we współpracy z Fundacją Geremka oraz Kolegium Europejskim w Natolinie realizuję projekt badawczy pt. *„Dezinformacja a integracja migrantów: przypadek Polski"*.

Wszystkie Pani/Pana wypowiedzi będą całkowicie poufne oraz będą prezentowane w zbiorczych zestawieniach analitycznych, co wyklucza możliwość powiązania ich z konkretną osobą. Chciałabym również poinformować, że wywiad będzie nagrywany. Nagranie posłuży jedynie do celów transkrypcji. Czy wyraża Pan/Pani zgodę na nagrywanie wywiadu?

1. Jakie Pana/Pani zdaniem potrzeby informacyjne mają osoby uciekające przed wojną w Ukrainie?

2. Jak Pan/Pani ocenia informowanie uchodźców o sytuacji w Polsce? Co jest największym problemem/wyzwaniem jeśli chodzi o informowanie uchodźców? Czego najbardziej brakuje?

3. Kto (UE, rząd (instytucje, które?), samorząd (instytucje, które?), społeczeństwo obywatelskie) powinien za co odpowiadać?

4. Czy spotkał się Pan/Pani z dezinformacją/błędną informacją na temat uchodźców z Ukrainy (lub skierowaną do osób uciekających przed wojną)? Jaka? Gdzie została opublikowana?

5. Jaki wpływ Pana/Pani zdaniem może mieć dezinformacja na postrzeganie uchodźców w Polsce? Jakie zagrożenia to przynosi w kontekście integracji migrantów z polskim społeczeństwem?

6. Jaki jest Pana/Pani zdaniem stan świadomości uchodźców w tej kwestii?

7. W których obszarach uchodźcy są szczególnie narażeni na dezinformację / błędne informacje?

8. Co należałoby zmienić? W jakiej kolejności? Co jest najważniejsze teraz, co będzie ważne za kilka tygodni, co będzie kluczowe za kilka miesięcy, a co za rok? Kto za co powinien odpowiadać? Jak najskuteczniej przeciwdziałać rozprzestrzeniania się dezinformacji oraz błędnych informacji?

Dziękuję bardzo za udział w wywiadzie!

About the Author

Olena Shelest-Szumilas, PhD – economist, researcher, immigrant. She holds two Master's degrees from the Donetsk University of Technology (Ukraine): one in human resource management and labour economics (2010) and one in enterprise management (2011). In 2017 she obtained a doctoral degree in economics from the Poznań University of Economics and Business. Since 2017 Olena has been working as an assistant professor at the Department of Education and Personnel Development at PUEB. Her current research interests focus on migration and integration, labour market and economics of education. She is an author and co-author of publications and research reports on the risk of investing in human capital, young people's competences of the future, the situation of migrants on the labour market. Olena cooperates with many labour market institutions and local government. In the years 2021-2022 she was a member of the Team for Immigrants Integration Policy in Poznań appointed by the Mayor of the City of Poznań.