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Rozprawa doktorska

**Aktywność wyborcza polskich emigrantów w Wielkiej Brytanii
wobec wyborów w Polsce**

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Summary

The dissertation *Election activity of Polish emigrants in Great Britain towards elections in Poland* is devoted to electoral behaviours of Polish people living in the United Kingdom after 2004, especially these one participating in the presidential election in the country of origin in 2010 and 2015. It presents characteristics of the socio-economic profile of Polish emigrants, the author undertakes to present the Polish minority in the UK in terms of size, place of residence, gender and age structure, level of education as well as the employment sector. The differences between individual migratory waves (2004 - 2008 – 2015) are analyzed and it points to common elements as well as trends, distinguishing in individual years of outgoing Poles in terms of numerical structure and growing expectations regarding living standards of emigrants in Great Britain.

It highlights the transition from the masculinized migration of Poles (2004) by the feminized (2008) to the current wave (2015), when almost the same number of women and men decide to live outside the country of origin, which is associated with the massive departure of Polish families to the islands, which the peak took place in 2012. In the work, the author shows a change in the age structure of outgoing Poles, from people of working age (2004 - 2008) to a definite surplus of people in the educational age (2012-2015) and a small inflow of people in retirement age, this trend is particularly noticeable in the current migration wave (2012 - 2015). It marks a clear change in the level of education of incoming people. In the first wave of migration, people from Poland traveled mainly with vocational education, not knowing the foreign language and de facto realities of life in exile. After 2008, this trend has turned significantly.

Electoral behaviors of Polish emigrants in the United Kingdom during the presidential elections of 2015 are explored in terms of turnout, the degree of electoral participation of Poles staying on the Isles in various periods of time. The author then tries to answer the question, what is the degree of interest in participating in elections taking place in the country of origin? and what factor has the greatest impact on voter activity in voting. Engagement in the election, analyzed based on the place of residence, age structure, sex, education and place of employment. It shows the analysis of comparative electoral behavior of Poles in Great Britain during the presidential election of 2010 and 2015 in the country of origin.

The data from the national and international sources were used for this purpose and they were compared with the obtained results of empirical research. In order to obtain the most detailed examination result, the obtained data from individual electoral districts were analyzed separately, which also allowed their reference to the specificity of the inhabited territory. Attention was paid to voter turnout among migrants in the particular years. Districts and territories have been separated, in

which Poles most willingly and least willingly participate in elections taking place in the country of origin. A change was also shown in the degree of interest in electoral participation between particular years and constituencies. Differences were noted and attempts were made to explain their source.

The qualitative and quantitative approach was taken into account. Methods of data analysis and processing are presented. Particularly a lot of space was devoted to the methods of relationship analysis, used in the empirical part of the work for data analysis, collected through a questionnaire study. At that time, the subject of the electoral questionnaire was taken as an effective method of examining geographically dispersed migrants, unwilling to give interviews and share opinions.

The author points out the existence of relations between voters and individual electoral parties as an overarching research subject. It points out and explains the aspect of electoral rivalry and highlights the definitions of electoral behavior at the aggregate and individual level, the structured and unstructured nature of the electorate. It analyzes the degree of electoral attachment of voters to individual political parties, as well as indicates the change in electoral loyalty, the aspect of shifting the electoral support given to parties, between subsequent elections and the turnout. He points to the existence of an election culture and its intensity.

The author proves that Polish migrants living in Great Britain do not show a high degree of interest in political matters of the country of origin, and the degree of electoral participation is dependent on gender, age of gross monthly income, length of stay, as well as the level of education. On the other hand, the educational factor has the highest impact on electoral participation. It shows that variables such as: geographical factor, religion and workplace do not affect the degree of participation, voter turnout of Polish migrants. However, the geographical factor, religion, age, gender, duration of stay and education affect the political orientation of migrants. Among the Polish migrant communities in Great Britain, there are no strong and categorized socio-political divisions.

It also presents the migrations as the movement of an individual, an individual or groups that are an inherent element of human life in the history of mankind. Movement of individuals or groups between regions, states and continents can take on a different character, which is closely related to the reasons for travel. There were distinguished forced and voluntary migrations, legal and illegal, permanent and temporary (short and long-term) migration. Due to the reason for leaving the country of origin, there are indications of economic migrations, so-called employee migrations (in order to seek better wage conditions), educational (especially young people are interested in studying at foreign universities) and being a guarantor of security (in search of, for example, political asylum). "Pushing" factors include a low standard of living and a lack of economic development opportunities, as well as an increase in the population in a given territory and political repression.

Factors that influence the rate of population inflow to the host country include demand for labor, and hence good economic prospects as well as political freedoms and availability of land.

The author points to the contemporary problems of migration research, among which she lists definitional problems related to the phenomenon of migration and participating units, i.e. "migrant" - "emigrant" - "immigrant" or "migratory resources". Moreover, it points to problems in specifying particular types of migration in the subject literature; ie "legal migration", "illegal migration", "long-term migration" or "temporary migration". In addition, there are limitations related to the collection of statistical data used for subsequent analyzes.

It is presented the Britain's migration policy from a historical and contemporary perspective. It points to the liberalization of the United Kingdom's migration policy at the beginning of the 21st century, dictated by the lack of a sufficiently large amount of labor force in the branches of the economy, considered as basic and necessary for the proper development of the state. It draws attention to the possibilities and conditions that were then created for newcomers from other countries of the Old Constitution, mainly from Poland (high earnings compared to Polish ones) and social allowances, which were de facto to encourage a large number of potential employees to arrival to the islands.