

COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Łukasz Jurczyszyn, PhD
Andrzej Stefański

Information on the results of the qualitative survey among the youth entitled: “Being different does not mean hating each other. Less hostility through the knowledge of human rights and dialogue”

I. Methodology of the survey

Our information is based on the sixteen field surveys carried out in the framework of the research programmes of the Commissioner for Human Rights (CHR) Office in senior secondary schools in sixteen voivodships [regions].

The main objective of the survey was the qualitative analysis of opinions, broadly understood social experience and attitudes shown by school pupils during the in-depth discussion on civil rights of importance to them¹. Topical issues were raised, but also those that would affect young people in a few or more years' time. Among others, the following topics were discussed: assessment of the material situation; educational, professional, developmental, housing, emigration and personal prospects/opportunities/objectives of the pupils. What is crucial for young people in their life, who and what is important to them, do they fear anything, and if so, what do they fear most in life, now and in the future? Do young people see/experience discrimination of their rights? What is the youth's engagement in social life? Where do they get information about their town, Poland and the world? What is their attitude to the European Union? What do they think about the reception of refugees and economic migrants?

It should be noted that the qualitative study carried out on such a large scale (sixteen voivodships) is an important supplement to the knowledge (mainly statistical) of the causes and conditions of the prevailing attitudes among young Poles.

The method of in-depth collective discussion is in line with the qualitative methodology of the survey, using a semi-structured scenario of a group interview. During the pilot phase of the survey (first four locations), but also during the following ones, the questions were modified – it was checked which ones were “working” better in the school reality, and new threads were added as the survey progressed. A possibility of pupils' replies being under the influence or even pressure of the group was taken into account in the survey – this is a classical limitation, typical of group interviews. This was undoubtedly compensated for by a dynamic exchange of numerous opinions during the discussion with a large group of pupils.

The survey was organized in the following way: during the first hour the discussion on the issues we proposed was held. The second hour was devoted to the so called Oxford Debate with pupils. The exercise involved the discussion between two (or three – the in-between attitude) groups who defended opposite views on a specific topic. The pupils prepared substantial arguments ad hoc in groups to support the thesis which they defended and then responded actively to the opponents' arguments. Prior to our arrival at the location, we made a request to the headmaster of the selected school to finally specify the “conflict provoking topic” for the Oxford Debate. First, we wanted the school to be engaged in the substantial research process. Second, not knowing well the local reality, we asked our “experts” on a

¹ The detailed scenario of the two research modules can be found in Methodological Annex 3 at the end of the report.

particular town, i.e. the headmasters, teachers, to put forward proposals for discussion. Such a methodological step enabled us to place our topics more in the context of the local milieu's (school, town, region) experience. It is worthwhile to note that in the majority of cases (14 out of 16 locations) the topic of the debate was the pupils' attitude to the reception of refugees and economic migrants. This result by itself proves the importance and the need to hold discussion on the issue at the local level. The remaining two cases were as follows: whether Roma children should go to school together with other residents' children – in Tarnów; and whether to stay in Poland or emigrate – in Łódź.

The selection of schools/locations was deliberate, however we also used our personal contacts. The schools were chosen according to the following selection criteria:

- 1) Breakdown into schools that hold a high position in the ranking of the “Perspektywy” for 2016²: assigning 1 to schools that occupy a high position in the list of schools, including those that were marked with a gold, silver and brown school badge; and 2 – to schools that occupy a low position or are out of the ranking. The proportion: fifty-fifty.
- 2) Types of schools: six secondary schools of general education (GE) (including one with an artistic – fine arts profile in Lublin, six technical colleges (TECH) and four vocational schools (VOC). 1 GE (3) 2 GE (3); 1 TECH (3) 2 TECH (3) 1 VOC (2) 2 VOC (2), the number of schools being in fact proportional to the total number of schools (the biggest number of schools are GE followed by TECH, and then VOC).
- 3) Small and big towns in all 16 voivodships: above/below 100 000 residents. The proportion: fifty-fifty.
- 4) The occurrence in a particular region or town of events, phenomena crucial with the view to the topics.
- 5) In addition, in specific classes the gender variable was taken into account; whether pupils are “locals” or “s” (e.g. they come from other towns or surrounding urban areas);
- 6) The survey is anonymous with respect to the pupils, and the results of the analysis, the quotations, etc. are not assigned to a specific school, and they are treated as extracts from the general pool of schools.
- 7) The key organizational and logistical issues:
 - one class from the school, around 20-30 pupils, took part in the survey;
 - the survey was conducted within two hours, on one working day;
 - the survey was carried out without the participation of teachers and headmasters so that not to influence the pupils and thereby the results of the survey;
 - the pupils were not acquainted with the topics of the two modules so that the results would correspond to their spontaneous statements without earlier preparation;
 - the final report on the survey will be made available to the school.

The survey in figures: 16 voivodships/schools, proportions: 50/50 lower/higher position in the “Perspektywy” ranking, 396 persons of whom 145 girls (37% of specialist technical colleges), pupils commuting to these towns from the surrounding localities: from 25% to 50%, age: 17/18 years on average.

The period when the survey was conducted: from 3 October 2016 to 3 March 2017 (5 months).

II. Survey results

1. The attitude of closure to a different person or a stranger (in terms of culture, ethnicity, religion).

² www.perspektywy.pl

The vast majority of our pupils are closed to refugees, especially Muslims and they are not in favour of their reception in Poland. This attitude is expressed regardless of the gender, location and type or quality of the school.

Thanks to the qualitative methodology, long and in-depth discussions with pupils, this generally accepted attitude of closure to a stranger should not be understood too quickly and too superficially and, above all, incorrectly as the evidence of the Polish youth's racism. Indeed, there were examples of racist attitudes and speech about refugees, in most cases, against Muslims. However, these were individual cases – and there were even several cases where a pupil used a racist category heard from friends, parents or the media. The choice of the qualitative method of the survey permitted us to compare statements made by a student during a few hours' conversation, depending on the subject. For example, at the beginning of the discussion, a pupil could present himself/herself as open-minded and self-thinking while talking about traveling and getting to know other cultures. Then, in the discussion on the reception of refugees, he/she could thoughtlessly use a racist category borrowed from friends or media.

First, the pupils express their attachment to the status quo of the current social, cultural and demographic situation in our country. According to this attitude, the demographic and cultural structure of Poland should not be changed too radically by receiving large numbers of refugees or immigrants. We observe great concern about the mass settlement of Muslims in Polish cities. There is a fear among this part of our interlocutors that, as in other countries (France or Germany), refugees will start to impose on the remaining part of society their rights, different customs, hijabs, etc. – all this will cause unnecessary conflicts within the country. In each location, in the decisive majority of cases the views were exchanged calmly, without ostentatious hatred towards Muslims or Arabs. The discussion was far from being a hate speech or from expressing openly racist/islamophobic views. The fact that there were very few people who presented such views deserves attention. Interestingly, we noted a positive attitude towards mass arrivals in our country of Ukrainians who want to work and study here. At the same time, the 396 or so surveyed persons practically did not mention in the discussions the theme of the “Bandera followers”/Ukrainian nationalism. No reluctance was observed – with some exceptions – to the “mass” settlement of this group of economic migrants. Conclusion: if there is acceptance, it is of the reception of culturally closer populations.

Second, our respondents are opposed to the need for an over-programme financial investment in refugees or immigrants who come to Poland. In the opinion of the overwhelming majority of our interviewees, we should first of all help Poles, young people like them, who need more attention and support from the state. At this point, it should be stressed that the hypothesis of correlation between the declared impoverishment and the attitude against refugees was not confirmed. The vast majority of our pupils declared that their financial situation as well as that of their parents has improved over the last few years. It is conspicuous that, paradoxically, the pupils often repeated in the discussion the logically contradictory categories (usually from media) that “refugees will make their already bad financial situation worse”. The pupils emphasize that refugees need to become independent as soon as possible, i.e. they “should live on their own” by having the possibility to earn their own living. The argument which was made several times was the following: if the Polish government has difficulties with paying out funds from the “500 plus programme” for Poles, then is it really possible to provide systematic financial support to the refugees? One of the pupils from the technical college reacted extremely emotionally when we considered in the discussion the possibility of developing an integration and vocational programme for the disabled refugees from Africa and the Middle East. He quoted the example of his dad, who despite his disability had worked as a taxi driver for 20 years. The pupil was clearly appalled why nobody ever helped his dad, and here strangers should be provided with such assistance. What is more, the overwhelming majority of our interlocutors recognize that it is highly unfair that refugees might be guaranteed jobs, training, accommodation, etc. They think that the whole social assistance system should focus on Poles, because there are no social safeguards for Polish citizens. In our pupils' opinion, even places in the refugee centres should be designated for Polish homeless people. The attitude presented in this way is connected with the importance of the “national priority” for the pupils, but it is linked to the need of the young generation of Poles for social support from the state. Even in the elite secondary school of general education, the pupils who intend to study abroad, avoided

deliberately (with exceptions) the USA in their plans; instead they chose the United Kingdom or Switzerland, where there is “more social security, it will be easier to live and start family”.

Third, to understand the reluctance to refugee reception, the young Poles’ fear of the future and the general attitude which we call “an attitude of closure to Poland” should be taken into account. The decisive majority of our respondents multiply obstacles to going abroad – a significant difference as compared to the generation of those 20 or 30 years old. The young people are aware of the freedom to cross borders, they consider it to be a great advantage, but they rarely benefit from it. The vast majority of them do not leave, nor do they intend leave the country. The youth prefer a peaceful life within the Polish borders, and often in their own home town (an important role of living close to circles of friends and of the regions characterized by strong identity such as Upper Silesia). They treat going abroad as a “contingency plan”, however, it should be noted that they may benefit from the existing favourable infrastructure, i.e. many family members who live mainly in Western Europe. The statements made in one of the renowned secondary schools of general education and in that located in the town bordering Germany stand in a stark contrast to that, as most of the pupils from them plan to leave our country. Based on our discussions, it seems that the time of grasping the opportunities of the “mobile life” enabled by globalisation is over. We saw the need to put down the existential, material, developmental and mental roots in Poland. The attitude of “closing to the inside of your own country” is not favourable to being open to people who are alien in terms of culture: “It is better to go to work normally, come back home tired and lie down not thinking about anything, about any politics or refugees”.

Fourth, the refugees or immigrants from Muslim countries cause among a large part of the pupils the fear of the threat of violence, including terrorism. We were not provided with the descriptions of exaggerated situations of a panic fear of Muslims. However, some anxiety, rarely precisely verbalised, was rather superficially expressed in a stereotypical way, frequently using the categories from the media: “Nobody knows what would happen, if they came here”, “In Islam, men treat women badly, I would feel bad in their company”; “Muslims in the street, right next door, mad ideas may always come into their heads”; “They can throw themselves at a passer-by with a knife” or “blow themselves up”. A statement was made in a technical college in eastern Poland that it was for the sake of refugees’ security not to come to the towns located in eastern Poland: “The people here are quick tempered and the tolerance is 0”. There is general opposition to the use of physical violence against immigrants or refugees. This is a radical border crossing that was approved by only a few students. The interlocutors who criticised the repeated beatings of foreigners in Polish cities, pointed out that Poland would lose out on this, because foreign investors would not want to be engaged in our country, where “boorishness rules in the state”. Even in the context of the tragic events in Elk, one of the pupils said that this was an embarrassing reaction of the “Polish savages”. The attack by these Arabs, but also the racist behaviour of the mob must be condemned.

Lack of contact of our pupils not only with refugees, who are few in Poland, but also in general with foreigners – thus a poor or false knowledge of them – may lead to unrealistic situations and arguments, as was the case of the imaginary fears of a refugee threat expressed by one of the technical college pupils. In order to voice his concern, he used the dual conditional mode: “If of course there were [refugees] in the area, I could certainly be persecuted by them. If they outnumbered us”. On the basis of all the discussions, it must be concluded that during the refugee crisis, and especially since January last year, namely since the sexual assaults on women on the New Year's Eve in Cologne, the mass myth has become established in Polish society that refugees in Europe committed rape on a mass scale. In fact, no rape was found in this German town. Despite this fact, our respondents justified their unwillingness to receive refugees or immigrants from the Middle East and Africa, by giving mainly the example of the events in Cologne. In addition, the arguments also included the negative and mythical image of French suburbs, where the “Sharia law rules” and where “there are riots provoked by Arabs/Muslims”. It was rare, but we noted several cases of cited testimonies of family members who live abroad (mainly in Germany). Mostly negative experiences are cited in order to demonstrate the failure of the policy of Muslims’ reception in the European country territory.

It is largely media which are responsible for such a negative image of refugees or Muslim communities in the absence of physical contact with them in Poland. It should be noted that the pupils repeat the well-established and constantly reinforced “Islamophobic package”, which they primarily take from the web, but also from TV: “Muslims cannot be trusted”; “cultural integration of Muslims into European societies is not possible”; “they are to adopt our culture and not to dominate with their own”; “for the time being, they have become known in the negative way, due to some kind of riots, these various terrorist acts”; “they flood Europe” or even “those from Syria, this is a lower civilisation, people who live in sand cottages cannot integrate into our society”. As a result, callous indifference affects young people, often nice, who talk with confidence about the fact that women are not respected by Muslims, and that the Muslims do not care about the fate of their children.

It should be noted that a certain dependence was observed: the greater the travel experience of our interlocutors, the more tolerant they are of the foreigners. A good example of a correlation between a personal knowledge of foreign cultures and the attitude favourable to diversity and cultural exchange is a trip abroad to complete apprenticeship. Not only trips abroad are important in this context. An opportunity to get to know more about an immigrant is also to live with Ukrainian students at the school boarding house. Some of our interlocutors who come from the localities far away from schools (from 25% to 50% of all respondents) had such an opportunity. One of the most interesting illustrations of the important role of an attempt at making contact – in order to adopt an open and tolerant attitude – is an example of the pupil from Podkowa Leśna, where the Refugee Centre is located. In the framework of our discussion the pupil presented his experience. At first, without making contact with a group of young refugees from Chechnya, he felt discomfort in their the presence and he did not have a liking for them. Only when on the train this group invited him to talk, he could see that they were nice and he got courage in contact with them. He appreciated that he felt safe with them even in a situation where they were in the majority.

The results of this survey confirm the conclusions of a number of quantitative studies, which show a strong homophobic tendency in Poland (we have the highest homophobia rate in the EU together with Hungary). During the discussions at the schools, in almost each of the 16 groups there was a pupil who considered homosexuality as a disease to be treated. The pupils who are tolerant of homosexuals belonged to a significant minority. In the discussion about homosexuality the image of conditional tolerance is repeatedly presented many by our groups. In principle, the pupils have nothing against homosexuality as an expression of a free choice, a preference that should be practised “in the privacy of one’s home”. However, homosexual people should not be allowed to show this preference in public spaces. A statement has even been made that homosexuality has become fashionable and is “spreading” as a result of media propaganda. It is an attitude that is “less tolerant” as compared to that more far-reaching, i.e. the recognition of otherness, giving the others the right of equal coexistence in a particular community. We noted strong opposition to the homosexuals’ right to have children. What is more, on several occasions the pupils have even mentioned Russia as a positive example of how to “cope with this disease”, i.e. to legally prohibit homosexuality. Coming back to a significant role of personal experience in Słupsk, where the mayor is Robert Biedroń, a declared homosexual – his sexual orientation is not a problem at all and the pupils are clearly satisfied with his governance. They see in their mayor a “good manager” and his private life is not important to them. They are pleased with the fact that their town is known in Poland and even in the world “as the place of tolerance” thanks to the famous mayor and LGTB activist at the same time. He does not have a good reputation in other towns as he is judged on the basis of his sexual orientation and not the quality of performing his duties. However, there was a comforting moment when during the discussion in one of the of vocational schools the statement was made that everyone could be a Polish patriot regardless of his sexual orientation.

Fourteen schools held the Oxford Debate on whether or not to take refugees or immigrants, on possible programmes for their integration into Polish society. It was not so that all the pupils (100%) adopted the attitude against their reception, but it was prevailing. In two schools there was a situation in which

everyone opposed the reception of refugees. There were also schools, although they were in the minority, where the number of opponents and supporters was more or less equal. There was even a class where most of the pupils were in favour of refugees' reception. There were two situations where the pupils left the camp of opponents (one in one school, and two in another) to join the group of supporters of refugees' reception. We did not note the opposite situation. The group "in between" perceived refugees as the disadvantaged in need of help and decided that because of that they would behave well and work. Since they come from the war region, they would respect their life in Poland. Even the pupils in favour of refugees' reception thought the number of the refugees admitted should be as small as possible. What is more, the refugees should be dispersed throughout the country, rather than being concentrated in a few centres. There was no question of the mass reception of refugees as in the case of Germany. The statements, like the one made by a vocational school pupil, were rare but present in almost every group: "A refugee is a person who escapes from his country because of the war, yes? We, too, used to run away when there was a war here. We used to run away, so we have to pay back. It can't be so that we were running away, they had to take us in, but now someone is running away to us, and we say no". There were some examples of arguments in favour of refugees' reception. It is exceptional when the sight of a destroyed Aleppo makes impression on the pupils. Only one pupil really cared about that: "They are running away from the massacre, they are people like us – you have to help them"; "They leave their country to find a job, it looks like it looks, that they are leaving their families to die, that there is a war there, but they want, for example, to ensure the livelihood for their family, to bring them in. It is not as if they don't care about their families at all and are just having a good time, that's my opinion"; "A few thousand people are not half of Algeria yet".

The overwhelming majority of the youth have a positive perception of Ukrainians, who have lived (they study and work) in growing numbers in Poland for several years now. The main reason given by our interlocutors is first of all the fact that this minority works hard to make a living in our country, as do Poles abroad. Just like in the case of Poles: "nobody helps them", "no one organizes work and accommodation for them". There were even calls to guarantee more rights to Ukrainians, for example, care should be taken about their labour rights, so that they would not be exploited as openly as they are now. Secondly, this community is perceived and described as "culturally close" to Polish people. Moreover, no reluctance was observed, with some exceptions, to the "mass" settlement in our country of this economic group of immigrants. There is a striking contrast in the discussions between the pupils' positive attitude towards Ukrainians and practically exclusively a negative image of refugees, Muslims or the Roma people. It is symptomatic that in the case of the latter, in a single location where a significant number of the Roma people lives, Ukrainians are considered to be culturally closer than the Polish Roma people. The survey shows the dynamics of change in the demographic structure and the labour market of our society in the face of labour immigration of Ukrainians. The descriptions were given that at checkout counters in supermarkets out of ten people seven are Ukrainians. The situation was similar to that of Poles working in Dublin in 2004 (Łukasz Jurczyszyn knows this from his own experience of work in Ireland in 2004).

Many of the respondents believe that minority rights are violated in our country: "For example, such people are oppressed. There is a lack of tolerance and knowledge of how people live in a different culture. We have to look for information on other cultures on the Internet, because we do not talk about this at school". According to the participants in the survey, this gives rise to prejudices. For example, stereotypes are created, for instance, that "Gypsies steal. And if something was lost, it was definitely Gypsies." It is symptomatic that in Tarnów, where Romana culture is being promoted in an exceptional way, where the Roma Culture Museum is located, the pupils are not aware at all that the Roma people can have Polish citizenship. They know very little about the Roma culture and are completely not interested in the Roma people in their town. There was also a positive accent. One of the pupils made friends with the Roma people and said that you could count on them more than on other Poles. However, the pupils who took an active part in the discussion identified (with exceptions) the need to introduce Roma culture lessons for other pupils and vice versa: "If in a given region of the country, let's say, for

example, in Tarnów, a lot of Roma children learn at schools, it seems to me that teachers and parents should take an initiative aimed to strengthen somehow these cultural ties. When they already learn together with us, let them learn about our culture and we will learn about theirs, right? This is some other experience, learning about different nationalities, about other people, right?" Generally the pupils are not against integration of the Roma people by their attending schools together with other pupils, but on condition that they "do not cause problems". "There are some who are really fine, I am not saying that I immediately blame everyone. But some of them think they have more rights than we do. At night, they play ball in the market square or something like that, or they shout. And I've heard that the residents living in the market square often call the police which can do nothing about it as policemen come and leave right away, and afterwards they [the Roma] keep screaming all night anyway"; "I don't respect them. There are exceptions. I met one of those once and now when I'm downtown, he approaches me to say hello, he is polite. I went to primary school with him".

2. Weak awareness of and relation with the EU

Thanks to the qualitative study, we can verify the pro-EU attitudes that are systematically studied in a quantitative way – the CBOS shows that around 70%, i.e., a decisive majority of Poles support the EU project. In our survey among the young people who, which is important, have never voted, a positive attitude towards the EU prevails, albeit not at the level of 70% but we can risk saying that it is between 60% and 55%. The pro-EU attitude is taken regardless of the gender, location and type or quality of a school. The exception to this are the two renowned secondary schools of general education, where the youth are particularly pro-European and more aware of the non-material dimension of the European integration. Generally, this attitude is rather linked to the appreciation of the material benefits and opportunities created by the EU. An important Eurosceptic group, but not Europhobic, was identified in the survey. A clear distinction must be made between a Europhobic and a Euro-sceptic attitude. Even if the majority is rather sceptical (they see the shortcomings of the EU) or without any stronger emotions towards a common Europe, only four out of 396 pupils are Europhobes and would like Poles to leave the EU, just as the British did. It is striking that one of them approached the interviewers after the survey and put more questions because he admitted that he drew such conclusion from the views expressed by his friends. He was not 100% convinced of this solution. To conclude this strand: along with the growing up of a new generation of Poles or the further deepening of crises in Europe, we should expect the development of a Eurosceptic trend in our country.

The basis for supporting Poland's membership of the EU is that the project is associated by our pupils with its predominantly material dimension, manifested in financing Polish infrastructure projects (motorways, platforms, trains, trams, buildings, parks, playgrounds, additional foreign language courses, etc.), which, what should be underlined, are well recognized in the towns covered by the survey (labels, charts, EU flag, etc.).

There is a paradoxical and, above all, misconceived idea that without the EU the Schengen area, which is perceived positively by almost everyone, might still exist. There were pupils who showed the above-average knowledge and explained to the rest of the group that it was not possible, under the same conditions as today, to stay in the Schengen area and leave the EU. We observe the following correlation: the more trips (apprenticeships, travels), the higher appreciation of the EU, of the opportunity to move and work freely.

The vast majority of our interlocutors, does not associate the EU project with, for instance, a group of culturally, socially or politically diverse countries or societies which are linked by a set of shared values, starting with the democratic ones. We noted very rare cases – depending on the location – of interpreting the EU by the pupils as a set of common values. Admittedly, in nearly every location the responses were given which indicated that the EU is, in fact, a successful an example of the coexistence of different cultures. It is worthwhile to note individual cases of pupils mentioning the fact that, thanks to Poland's membership of the EU, the Union could trigger control mechanisms, if Poland moves too far away from

the systemic or political system standards specific to the member states. This lack of knowledge often results in repeating, in fact, too often given they are senior secondary school pupils, that “without the Union, without the limits it imposes on Poland, we would develop better”; “we pay more into the EU funds than we get from it”.

We also observed a purely instrumental or strategic approach to professional or income-generating opportunities, which are offered by the free movement of EU residents and workers. We had cases of treating such an option of “leaving” Poland for Denmark, Germany or the Netherlands as a “contingency plan” if no “decent” employment is found in the country, mainly using contacts or family infrastructure: “If this possibly doesn’t work out, I also have a brother and father abroad. My brother is in Ireland and my father is in in Canada, so I have a kind of future anyway, I don't know what will happen”.

We came across a blunt category characterizing the modern EU as a “factory of lies”, represented by the current EU leaders, led by the “hero” of the tax affair, LuxLeaks, Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission, or the former President Jose Barroso, who works now at the Goldman Sachs investment bank. Such a negative image of the Community coming from the grassroots is a clear sign of a serious moral deficit of its leadership. However, the most controversial for our interlocutors was an attempt to set up a quota system for EU countries, in order to resolve the refugee crisis: “Generally, I am not saying that the EU is something evil, but I think it is mismanaged, and I think it really deals with unimportant matters, trying to impose its opinion on each country separately, as with those refugees”. (...) Well, attempts were made at imposing on Poland their reception and sanctions were to be introduced. There was such a project, a proposal that if Poland did not accept a certain number of refugees, it would make some penalty payments, which I consider a bit ill, and if a state doesn’t want to receive them, it should not be forced to do so this way, that’s my opinion.”

Our interlocutors often mentioned the stereotype that “the EU gives first, but then it will take it back”. The argument was the bankruptcy of Greece, which got into financial trouble, while repaying the money. The distance to the Union was also visible when the pupils presented its definition, primarily as a “high-ranking collection of politicians from different member states who form a common organisation”. This vision is completely devoid of the society that makes up the EU population of almost 500 million. Furthermore, successive locations confirm that the Union is associated by our pupils predominantly with its material dimension, manifested in financing Polish infrastructure projects which, what should be stressed, are well recognized (labels, charts, the EU flag).

The lack of the fundamental knowledge of the EU budget policy is also noticeable. Some pupils said that the founding states of the Community contributed to the fund, creating, in fact, the EU budget. Subsequently, the countries that successively joined the EU drew money from that original budget. In a dozen or several dozen years' time, they would have to give that money back.

In some vocational schools, young people respect in particular the possibility of taking vocational courses (e.g. to become a forklift operator), which are financed by EU funds. The youth are aware that workers who completed these courses are highly appreciated abroad, which creates a chance of their life almost at the start of their career. In this type of schools, the pupils are aware that specialist equipment (tools, machinery, etc.) was bought by the EU. The pupils who particularly stood out because of their awareness of the complex nature of the Polish-EU relations understood them both at Brussels level and in the context of intergovernmental relations. They said that Poland had achieved a lot thanks to EU support, but now Poland would have to repay, in a sense, its debt in the form of taxes and regular payments to the EU. Therefore, it is so important for it to fight for its own interest in the EU through discussion and by hammering out a consensus with the partners: “Poland would be weaker, if it was not an EU member state”.

Although rarely, a number of statements made in the discussions contributed to a positive and promising picture of the EU and Poland's place in it; at the level of intercultural and interpersonal relations. For

example, that the EU opens the door for young people to familiarizing themselves with something new, such as the above mentioned apprenticeship project in the United Kingdom. The pupils claimed that they could go abroad and learn about English culture, work and learn something new: “We can get to know their culture without any problems and they treat us very well everywhere”.

An interesting illustration of the correlation between a positive personal experience with the EU institutions and support for the EU project was an example of the pupil whose family sued the developer – by its negligence it was not possible to have heating at home. Polish courts were slow and his family won justice in the European Court of Justice. There were positive associations: “One great community, which helps each other”; “The EU solves various disputes between EU member states and between different EU institutions as well. Aid in economic crises”; “Brexit has showed that EU citizens do not know what the EU is, how it functions – this makes it easy to manipulate people”. An interesting answer, in the context of Poland's place in the EU, was given in the elite secondary school of general education to the question about what they fear in life: “That Poland's situation will get worse if we look at the world in such a way that Poland will disconnect a little bit from the European Union and that bad things will start to happen, because everyone wants to go somewhere. I don't really say to study, but to feel a little bit of this world, may be to experience something, to meet people, find love, you don't know what, and in fact it may close before us (...). Too much instability, hesitation in the country, not only in the world”.

3. Economic situation, deterioration – improvement, wages

In the decisive majority of cases, the financial situation of both pupils and their families appears to be “stable” in the respondents’ opinion, with no changes for better or for worse, with few exceptions. If there was already a perceptible change, then for the better. Therefore, the hypothesis that impoverishment – which was supposed to be felt to a considerable extent, had impact on the opposition to refugees’ reception, racist attitudes, or an increase in social and political radicalisation, sympathy or support for anti-systemic extreme right-wing organisations – was not confirmed. However, it is possible to identify other sources of radicalisation and support for anti-systemic organisations. This is a highly critical and decisively formulated assessment of democracy and the legal order. The respondents pointed out to the widespread, in their opinion, corruption, cronyism and violations of the democratic rules in force.

It is worthwhile to indicate that the “500 plus programme” had impact on a tangible improvement in living conditions. “(...) They rescued a little bit with this “500 plus”, which is felt a little in families, if someone has (...) two or three children, this is 1 000 or 1 500 [PLN] a month, it improves the budget”. At the same time, we collected evidence of a situation in which women with low qualifications and/or education gave up their jobs, for which they were paid slightly over 1 000 PLN net, to stay at home with two or three children. As a result, the “500 plus” can contribute to the professional deactivation of women. “(...)If you have less than 800 PLN, you also get 500 PLN for your first child, most people do that”. In addition, a large group of pupils make money while still attending school. However, it is worthwhile to emphasize at this point that almost everyone spends the money they earn on their own needs. Therefore, the economic situation of the family does not require them to contribute to the household budget. A group of students who commute to school have fewer opportunities to earn money – they only work during holidays. There is also a group, mainly of boys who make money, playing computer games. “(...) We have our own company here, in the League of Legends, in Counter Strike Global Offensive and various other games.” “(...) And I'm starting to approach it professionally, I'm spending more and more time in front of the computer. Let's assume I come back from school on Friday, I tell my mother that I'm going to work and on Sunday evening I say I've come back from the computer, and my mother says well, how much did you earn there? Sometimes I get 300 euros, sometimes a little less”.

The pupils emphasize the enormous impact of the external situation on their personal lives. The fear of finding a job in the future is strong. The respondents are very critical of the compliance with the rules in the country: "(...) We are trying to get a job, so maybe we would find one. It's just that they shouldn't recruit friends. There is a competition, for example. Recently, a friend of mine applied for a job in the office. There was a competition, interviews, and of course who won? Sister or sister-in-law of the village leader. Corruption, contacts are the most important in this country. We can educate ourselves, but what if we don't have contacts, we don't have friends in law firms, we don't have friends in the municipality, we can't achieve much". Despite these reservations, they have quite clear expectations about wages. They would like to earn between 3 000 and 5 000 PLN net. At the same time, the pupils point out that this is a salary which will allow them to live "in dignity", but they realize that it will not be within their reach, resulting from which they will make a decision to go abroad.

The pupils say that, in principle, they are well prepared for the studies they dream of, and they assess well the quality of the Polish education system. They want to study and work in Poland, unless the situation corrects their plans. Most of the respondents plan to study. Those less confident choose universities close to home, giving as the justification the cost of living. There are also those who think that Poles should study in Poland, because the best universities are here. The dominating cities in which they would look for universities are Wrocław, Gdańsk, Poznań, Cracow and Warsaw.

However, those who already achieved some success because they were admitted to a very good school have no limits to their dreams. "(...) I wanted to take up art studies, to study animation and for me such a school of dreams would be CalArts [California Institute of the Arts in Valencia] in California, but the level there is really very high. Because it is one of the best schools of animation in the world, and after graduation people get a job in these biggest studios, like, say, Pixar." "(...) For me, such a maximum plan would be to study behavioural and cognitive science or marketing and some kind of economic studies at Harvard, because, let's say, it is possible to get there as they really have good social scholarships. (...) All in all, it is feasible, though it is hard to get there, yes it is very hard, but it is not something that is not achievable, after all someone gets there"; "(...) If I'm in a bilingual class now, and the fact that I got here from such an average, actually weak junior secondary school, I won't mention the name, then (...) if I managed to get here, why not try to study. I've just thought of Chicago, Princeton, Massachusetts and indeed Harvard." They choose studies not only in the USA but also in Europe. "(...) In the USA the situation is sort of average, social security is on an average level. So in fact I am aiming for the UK now, and personally I would like study at Oxford most, but in fact whether it is Oxford or Cambridge makes no difference to me. And I thought about SGH [Warsaw School of Economics] as the minimum choice". Many of the respondents stress that it is necessary to look for a job already during studies, because of the need to be independent as well as to gain experience necessary to search for a job after graduation: "(...) I think that while you are still at university, you are already looking for a job, because your parents will not finance your expenditures throughout your studies (...). Simply, I've always managed somehow and I've never asked anyone for help, I don't ask for help too often, even in some everyday matters." "(...) I, for example, think so too, because I am also raised by my parents in such a way that I try to do everything myself, so that I can manage and they should not do everything for me".

Talks about the future – studies, work, implementation of plans and fulfilment of life aspirations – showed a certain regularity which is rarely appreciated today in public discourse. The respondents, on whom great demands are imposed, who learn in good schools (high level), who already put a lot of effort into it, believe in their strength, have a sense of empowerment, are optimistic and have an "open" attitude to the world.

4. The meaning of life and social activity

Almost all the respondents confirmed that it was important for them to be successful, to have a decent, good life. At the same time, it is worthwhile to note the strong awareness of the responsibility for their

fate and a sense of empowerment. The respondents do not expect someone from the outside to satisfy their needs, they plan and believe that they are able to realize their aspirations on their own, and the way to achieve this is hard work: “We don’t want to prey on someone else, but we just want to count on ourselves in some way and pursue life’s goals, and not, I don’t know, I’m missing a word”. “(...) Everyone strives to develop and simply make themselves and the people they love happy, and not just to be passive and, let’s say, to sit at home, play the play station, and I don’t know, not to worry about anything”; “(...) Each of us would like to live a good life, not to worry about anything, about whether we have enough money to make ends meet, whether we can afford something or not, but unfortunately this is not possible in Poland, because politicians think, they simply see everything from their point of view (...) It is important to want to work – whether it is going to be in Poland or, goddammit, because there are worse countries than Poland. It is possible. After all, there are rich people in Poland. And how did they do that? Well, it was work. It is possible, but you must want to work.” (...) “We grew up in capitalism, my parents have always said you’d have as much as you earn yourself.”

Our interlocutors seem to be not very expansive while responding directly the question about what is important to them in life. They answer stereotypically that family and friends are important, which is confirmed by a number of surveys on what is important in the lives of Poles. We can find it in the “Social Diagnoses”³ carried out repeatedly. Then, it is money or health. The actual cognitive value is to be found in the analysis of answers and discussions about other thematic blocks, such as aspirations and life plans in the future, the set of values of European societies, or one of the key questions about what they fear in life. As far as the latter is concerned, young people in Poland are above all afraid of whether they will have employment and decent pay.

We can definitely treat our interlocutors as convinced and practising individualists, for whom, after all, family or friends are important. There appears a strong need and call for freedom in many strands, even in the context of “freedom to die”, as in the opinion of some of our respondents refugees have full freedom, but they should choose fight and death on the spot instead of coming to Europe. Another example of a person supporting such Darwinist freedom is the pupil from the secondary school of general education who, being a supporter of Janusz Korwin-Mikke, is not against the arrival of refugees or immigrants in Poland, but “they should not receive any money and either they will make a living on their own or leave or die in Poland”.

The majority of the young people are socially or politically passive – they do not engage in social organisations, they rarely take part in demonstrations, except for the Independence March and, recently, the Black Protests of women. There was one pupil, with a critical attitude who, although a faithful and conscious supporter of the KORWIN (now Wolność [Liberty]) Party, does not take into account this party activity. The other two politically involved, one in the Razem [Together] Party, the other in the Nowoczesna [Modern] Party, emphasized their distance from these groups. We had an impression that this was a “half-hearted” engagement, according to the Bauman’s vision of “flowing engagement”, when the big role of easy withdrawal is underlined.

If they participate in public events, they do not organize them, they are not initiators or creators of social actions. The young people, for example, take part in voluntary activities organized by the school. They help the elderly, give tutoring to younger pupils, prepare the Noble Parcel together, participate in fundraising. In one of the schools surveyed there was an interesting case of involvement of several boys in the Voluntary Fire Service. During the conversation it was clear that this was a very serious matter for them. A few of them were doing a rescue course, and if they completed it successfully, they would be able to participate in rescue operations. A large proportion of the young people commute to school, so maybe the lack of time has influence on such insignificant social engagement.

³ www.diagnoza.com

5. Modern patriotism: an important, though not a key subject for most of the pupils

The pupils are aware of what modern patriotism is, which plays a rather important role in their lives, but it is not a key value for them. Our interlocutors observe a real fashion for patriotism. In our groups only a few – out of an average of 30 pupils in class – declared themselves as “patriots” or “Polish patriots”. There was one school where almost half of the students considered themselves to be patriots. In contrast, there was also one school where only one person declared himself to be a patriot. The analysis of the empirical material allows to make a clear division between “true patriotism” and “pseudo-patriotism”. The pupils are able to accurately distinguish between these two different forms of contemporary patriotism. This is a subject close to them, raised in their reference milieus – in contrast to the EU, for example.

On the one hand, the former means the positive value of being committed to your country, taking responsibility for it, loving it: “Poland is the best country in the world”. A true patriot remembers a national holiday, cultivates tradition, does not stand out in appearance, does not walk and shout that Poland is most important. He tries to learn something about his country, about its history, he gets involved in the political life of the country, pays taxes and takes part in elections. This is the value which refers positively to other nations or ethnic groups. Our interlocutors appreciate that foreigners want to stay in such country: “A patriot should also appreciate the fact that someone wanted to come to this country, that e.g. someone else in the world, not only him, likes this country, that he thinks it is cool, that it is worth living here”; “I would like to add that I believe that patriotism is the attitude of a human being who feels a bond with his country, and that this bond must be based on a person's love for his country, and not on hatred against other countries.”

On the other hand, pseudo-patriotism – here, the following terms were used: “stereotypical” or “for appearances’ sake” or “for 30 PLN” or “post-patriotism” – is negative, closer to nationalism and violence. The destructive neo-Nazi football fans who praise Hitler's work, forgetting about the Polish tragedy in World War II, were also called pseudo-patriots.

We can also note the lack of support for the Polish nationalist movement (ONR [National-Radical Movement], Młodzież Wszechpolska [All-Polish Youth]). In almost every location there is a group that is particularly sensitive to patriotic issues or even persons who sympathize with the nationalist movement in Poland, or its members (or former members). However, we can observe a clear opposition to the appropriation of certain “poses”, national or patriotic symbols by people unsuitable for this. According to the words of our respondents, they are “stereotypical patriots”, i.e. aggressive supporters, nationalists who unreflectively repeat clichés and act to the detriment of Poland and do not want to take responsibility for it. The headmasters or teachers in most cases told us that there was a pupil holding “radical” views. Then, in the classroom it turned out each time that he was a “true” not a “pseudo-patriot”.

There were three interesting cases of the pupils, boys who, after some time of active sympathizing with or even being involved in the activity of extreme right-wing organizations such as All-Polish Youth, the paramilitary and patriotic Riflemen's Union or KORWIN, distanced themselves from these parties. After a longer or shorter period of time, these young boys decided that they did not really like the structure. As we can see, it is not necessary to immediately eliminate the FB account of extreme right-wing organizations in order to reduce their influence on young citizens. We met in our groups individuals who themselves are able to become disheartened by this type of organization, which promises young people that they will be empowered, become new, more valuable, patriotic members of the nation, but, in fact, they often try to treat maturing young people as objects. We observed a similar situation in Łódź, where patrols organized in Piotrkowska Street by the local ONR brigade in connection with the “threat of violence by refugees” meet with our interlocutors’ strong opposition. In the case of the supporter of the KORWIN party (now Liberty), this young man will vote for Liberty, however, he distances himself from many of the views of its leader, Janusz Korwin-Mikke.

Interesting, in terms of keeping their distance from nationalist circles, is the reaction to the theme that appeared in the survey at the secondary school of general education in Podkowa Leśna, where the Refugee Centre is located. In January 2016, the ONR demonstration “Podkowa Leśna against immigrants” took place there. At first, one of the pupils pretended that there was no such demonstration in the town, but after determining that there was one, he claimed it was a marginal event. During the discussion on that topic, however, the rest of the pupils admitted that for Podkowa Leśna, a demonstration with a turnout of more than 120 people was something exceptional in the town’s history. One pupil boasted that he took part in an Internet forum opposing the idea of this demonstration: “Even on FB (Facebook) sites were created indicating that it was not true that we were afraid of refugees in Podkowa. Everything was explained there, that the situation was different, that the march was not necessary, that they behaved like rednecks and simply left. That’s how it looked for me”. “(...) I discussed it for a moment, but then I withdrew, blocked everything, because I was not sure if FB, because I reported a certain website that showed such completely idiotic views, such that were dangerously extreme. I think it was also a branch of ONR, I discussed it with them, but I wasn’t sure if they had my name and access to my profile. That is why, after some time, I got disconnected, because I was simply afraid that such a gang of thugs would come and it would be a little bit bad for me to get explanation from them”.

6. Sources of information on events in Poland and Europe

The respondents give clear, precise opinions and judgments about the situation both in Poland and in Europe, but very often these opinions are borrowed from adults and the media. The proof of that was both the language and the difficulties in justifying these opinions. The interlocutors spoke in a completely different way – language, body language, gestures – about their passions, personal experiences, things close and familiar to them. This was a strong pattern in the case of statements about Islam and Muslims. Obviously, there were among the respondents those who met representatives of other cultures while living abroad. Their opinions and reactions are different from those of their colleagues who do not have this kind of experience. This does not mean that everyone is open to the Other/Alien. All the respondents show a lack of trust in politicians, representatives of both national and local authorities, and they perceive the police as hostile to young people. They mention parents, grandparents and their peers as their authorities – the people they count on. They take into account teachers’ opinions, but at the same time they sometimes express their disappointment with some, claiming that they do not live up to their hopes.

Dislike to and a lack of trust in traditional media prevail. Their views are based on flash information, from the “TV news strip”. Although they want to be independent in their choice of sources, most of them follow the trends popular in their milieu. They often limit the verification of the truthfulness of information to reading another link received according to the same FB algorithm or received from another medium, mainly from social media. Most respondents simply point out to the “Internet” as the source of knowledge. They are not able to provide a specific site/source. They are quite uncritical about the content shown on the web, mainly images. They know and use perfectly well photo retouching programmes, but they do not always link that with the images they find on the web. (...) “If I want to find information on a given subject, I enter it in Google or YT and the material pops up.”

Among the respondents we also met people who are critical of FB. (...) “There's too much crap in there, if I showed you, you'd clutch your head in disbelief. (...)” “Different fanpages make different things available, it's not necessarily true, these are not necessarily cool things, because they slander other people, there are things that present people in such a bad light (...)” “I think that FB is a kind of impulse. Because if I see a slogan, let's say, tomatoes have become green, I wonder if it's possible. I enter the slogan in the search engine and then I read various opinions on it, and thanks to this, it's possible to draw some conclusions, or at least, let's say, some true information”. “(...) FB only as a platform for communication with certain people (...) but never as a source of information.”

At the same time, they are convinced that they carefully select their sources of information and form their own opinions about the world around them: “(...) I try to draw information from a certain source, so as not to be monothematic, not to read only one portal. I do not want to be blindly focused on one piece of information, I read on the same subject in numerous sources”.

The pupils often watch videos on the Youtube channel. In this context it is worthwhile to note the significant popularity of Max Kolonko and Zbigniew Stonoga, promoted through social portals. The pupils practically do not watch traditional television, unless in passing, when their parents watch selected programmes: “Television has generally become less objective now. (...) TVP – it is the government that rules it and TVN - Germany. Public television is now actually governed by one political party and they tell the people what they want to say, not what the facts are. And the Germans are also lying. 90% of the media is German". (*TVN is in fact American*).

Another key thread which appears in the whole group of respondents is a very critical assessment of the media and journalists in Poland and the conviction that there are no free media in our country. All the mainstream media seem to be greatly politicized and extremely manipulative. At the same time, the respondents appreciate the diversity of the types of media (TV, newspapers, radio, portals) and, in particular, the diversity of the Internet. “(...) I think that this being at each other's throats is related to this kind of petty party politics, that we do not think about what the public really wants, what is good for them, but we preach rigidly, the views of our party and we are not able to reach that compromise which would simply reconcile these two extremes.”

The respondents were not able to identify the names of journalists they trust. Despite hints of the names of famous journalists and columnists, the pupils do not know these persons. They have their own methods of getting to the truth. “(...) At least I have such a patent that I take five different sources and compare all the information and see what is common and what could fit”.

“(...) I'd say you should have the broadest range possible, I mean you could make observations based on many various media, and well, let's say I'd trust those in which you can see no blatant manipulation of facts”; “(...) All in all, I rely on the Internet and I look at information from every political side, from right to left, and so I jump slowly because (...), in my opinion, it makes it easier to grasp the political and social situation. (...) I want to draw on a broad spectrum, for example, I listen to the public radio, but I read on the Internet the “Gazeta” which has left-wing views, then I somehow balance this out and form my view on that basis”.

Not only do the respondents not trust the traditional media, but they also perceive them as strongly committed to one of the two sides of the political dispute. In their opinion, there is no place/medium that shows a fairly balanced picture of reality. In contrast, politics is exclusively a game of party interests.

7. Little religious involvement and minor importance of the Church

The lack of involvement in extracurricular activities as well as in those not related to family or friends also applies to religious communities and organizations. God, the Absolute – this is what they look for, this is important for them, and at the same time they expressed dislike to the institution of Church. The statements made by the respondents reveal the tone of the people heavily experienced. They say: “priests, you know what they are like”, “I am disappointed with (the Church, priests)”, “it's a waste of time to talk about it”.

Individual cases of strong religious commitment were represented by a follower of the Pentecostal Church and a nationalist, who was a lector in his Church. We often encountered expressions of distrust in priests and in the Church as an institution. The respondents often separated faith – something important to them – from the Church as a “business institution”. One of the girls says: “(...) I really liked going to church, when I was in primary school, it was fun, and the priests who invited us were nice. But over time, the new ones who came completely put us off, and in the junior secondary school, I won't say

a word about it. Because the priest showed that only money counts, and so on. And that's what most priests are like now, it's only money, money, money. A frequent argument is: "(...) Because I won't say it any other way, because I don't have a vocation to go to church, because I don't feel it, I prefer to pray myself, I prefer to talk to God alone, I don't need the church to do that."

One of the survey participants admitted that he saw the difference between religious involvement "for show" and a deeper experience of faith. He gave the example that there are people in his church who "almost get onto the altar", but who are despicable in relations with their fellow men: (...) "Because I can believe in what I want and I believe in something there, and I believe that there is something there, but, for example, the church is a purely business institution for me and I don't go to church and I don't intend to, because this isn't the place for me.

III. Recommendations

One of the key results of the survey, apart from the final report sent to the schools, is the development of a number of recommendations for public institutions. Below is a list of the first ones that seem to respond to the social reality of relevance in schools, observed during the pilot project.

1. More discussions should be held with pupils about their plans for life and professional career as well as about current socio-economic and political issues in Poland and abroad.

The pupils stressed practically every time that no one stimulated such discussions at school, but this is something useful. They have a clear need to exchange views – and they are able to do so in a spirit of dialogue, unlike so many of the participants in public debate in our country – which is encouraging. The respondents were surprised to hear for the first time the views of their classmates because they do not discuss such topics every day. It is worthwhile to emphasize that they felt they were treated seriously because someone took into account their opinion and, what is more, it was a state institution (CHR), which seemed a quite unusual, non-standard situation. The discussions should not be stimulated by schools only. It is important, interesting and necessary for pupils to meet with people from outside. Representatives of the authorities at all levels/public life of all options, helped by NGOs, could regularly hold meetings in schools and discuss hot current issues.

2. There is a need to focus more in school curricula on multi-culturalism, the knowledge of the globalized, regional or even local world.

The data collected confirm previous studies by the author of the report, according to which representatives of the public order (teachers, officials, police, and families as well) often stressed in interviews that "we have forgotten about our youth, we have left them alone". This type of "forgetting" is manifested both in the shaping of knowledge and attitudes in a multicultural world and in the context of Poland. Our contemporary wealth is made up of various regions, ethnic languages (Kashubians, Silesians, Germans, Belarusians, Russians, Tatars, etc.) and religious minorities (Jews, Protestants, Orthodox). Recent globalisation processes have brought new residents to our country: Asians, Ukrainians, Chechens, Arabs, Africans). A significant theme in this context may be learning about the experiences of Poles, who are still an emigrant nation, of the people who went abroad to the UK (the current anti-Polish context after Brexit). One of the ideas to support a multicultural knowledge and experience may be launching an additional programme for the mobility of pupils/residents in Polish towns and villages within the territory of our country which, after all, borders many states/cultures. Such an additional programme of thematic excursions, including refugee centres or organizations of national communities of minorities, would not be as expensive as trips abroad and at the same time would deepen attitudes favourable to sightseeing and patriotism. An even wider exchange of schools between foreign partners is also to be considered, even if it would mainly involve foreign students coming to Poland at their own expense.

3. There is an urgent need of an information campaign for Poland's membership of the EU (and aimed at spreading knowledge of the EU) at times of its major post-Brexit crisis.

Additional hours or even workshops with various types of specialists: teachers, clerks, academics, practitioners/entrepreneurs, social activists, artists, Poles who have benefited from Poland's membership of the EU), should be assigned to the topics of the foundations, values and practical, everyday functioning of the EU. It can be seen, already at this stage of the survey, that if we do not make an additional effort to raise awareness of what the EU is at present and what challenges it faces, quite soon we will face the threat of a change in our society's attitude to the EU from definitely positive to negative. The situation is so serious (to be confirmed in the further work under this project) that it would be appropriate to carry out actions on a similar scale as in 2003 during the pre-referendum campaign [for EU membership].

4. In public discourse we should change the language used to describe the problem of xenophobia, hate speech, Internet hate.

Let us look for the words and language comprehensible to the youth. We are convinced that the respondents expressed the opinions of their parents' generation, maybe they also carried their emotions. Their parents' generation might have been greatly disappointed. The transformations that took place 30 years ago were supposed to bring us all a sense of success/recovery of dignity/feeling as somebody in our own country. In the case of many people this did not happen: the collapse of the industry, job losses, the necessity to emigrate to find work. And perhaps most importantly, resulting from rapid social, political, technological changes, we have all lost a sense of security and predictability. These can be sources of frustration, shattered hopes and anger that has been passed on to the younger generation. Let us seek a way to reach out to the emotions of the young. Many of the participants in the survey asked us during the session about our views, our attitude to refugees, what we thought of the EU. The young people want to talk: "Well, it would be nice to invite a person from the world of politics, or a well-known feature writer, even Mr Michnik; let us be extreme here, so that it would be a debate held in a calm atmosphere, so that they would teach us such debate". Even if you do not know the answers to some questions, you must ask them and look for replies together. You cannot explain the behaviour of others by your own experience. Often the hate speech stems from the fear for the safety of one's loved ones, a lack of knowledge and the assumption that the best defence is attack, depreciation of the other. Showing one's superiority, covering up one's own fears and lack of skills give rise to social fears.

Only once in the history of Poland the intelligentsia and workers acted together, and it was then that the Solidarity movement was established. Nowadays, the intelligentsia, having no answers to the questions about the future, is limited to the right, necessary but not effective criticism of populism.

5. It is necessary to take care of foreign cooperation not only within the framework of the EU

There is a need to stimulate and support the availability of internships and professional and cultural exchange for Polish young people, both with EU and with the neighbouring countries (e.g. Ukraine). The greater the knowledge of other societies and cultures, derived from personal life, educational or professional experience, the more often we observe a more open attitude and behaviour towards foreigners and their culture.

6. It is necessary to introduce the subject: analysis of media content

Due to a lack of relevant experience and knowledge, young people are particularly exposed to the manipulation of information. They are less able to separate false information from the true one. In view of the increase in fake news, especially on the web, it is necessary to organize workshops or even to introduce a separate subject to prepare schoolchildren so that they know how to use media sources in the contemporary world. It is mainly necessary to instruct young people where to look for and check reliable information, and then how to protect themselves against the manipulation of information.

IV. Methodological Annex

1. Survey scenario according to two modules

Module no 1 – Lesson One (45 minutes)

Group discussion according to the topic of the survey

1. Evaluation of the material situation, prospects. Educational, professional (internships) and personal plans

- Questions about CHR and his tasks.
- What do they preferably do in their spare time, if they do not have to study?
- Do they think that they and their families' financial situation has improved or deteriorated within the last five years?
- How do they see their educational, professional, developmental, housing and personal opportunities/possibilities/objectives?
- What do they fear most in life now and in the future?

2. Democracy, state institutions and human rights

- What is democracy? Evaluation of its quality in Poland.
- How do they assess the Polish state, what (institutions) functions well and what malfunctions in it? What do they most dislike in Poland?
- Which civic rights are important to them? Do they see/experience discrimination of their rights in Poland?

3. National identity and patriotism

- Who is a Polish patriot today? How should a patriot behave?
- Which event/process was the most important for the development of the Polish national community?
- Are minorities discriminated in Poland?/ What rights do minorities have in Poland?

4. National security

- Is Poland a country?
- Who/what/which state is the greatest threat to us Poles?
- Does the respect for human rights by the state increase citizens' security?

5. Poland in the European Union and in the world

- What is the EU for them? Is it investment in infrastructure, the set of values, which ones, cooperation with EU society? What is it for them in their every day life, examples? Do we need it? Does it need us?
- Does the EU need change? If so, what kind?
- Should the EU deal with human rights?

6. Migration

- Why do young people emigrate? Do they emigrate to find another place to live, "as long as it is not Poland"? Do they plan to emigrate and where to? What will they make it dependent on?
- Should we receive refugees in Poland, Europe? Would they like to have a refugee, an economic migrant (e.g. from Ukraine) as a neighbour, to learn with them at school, work with them, have a relationship?

Module no 2 – Lesson two (45 minutes)
Oxford Debate

The so called Oxford Debate: the researchers divide the class into teams composed of five persons. They ask the teams to prepare a common topic within 10 minutes, and the pupils get acquainted with it at the beginning of the second lesson. Then, the general discussion is held until the end of the lesson. We would like to ask the headmasters and teachers to suggest to the researchers one “conflict provoking” topic for the discussion, of importance from the viewpoint of the region, town and school – such that it would make it possible to divide pupils in the general discussion into two parts, i.e. supporters and opponents of a particular cause.