

Michał Wanke · Marzanna Pogorzelska
Editors


Intercultural Encounters in Complex Societies

Connecting People across Super-Diversities

 Springer

Editors

Michał Wanke 
Department of Cultural Studies
University of Opole
Opole, Poland

Marzanna Pogorzelska 
Institute of Linguistics
University of Opole
Opole, Poland

ISSN 2523-7306

ISSN 2523-7314 (electronic)

Culture in Policy Making: The Symbolic Universes of Social Action

ISBN 978-3-032-17706-3

ISBN 978-3-032-17707-0 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-032-17707-0>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2026

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

If disposing of this product, please recycle the paper.

Contents

1	Intercultural Encounters in Complex Societies: Connecting People Across Superdiversities	1
	Michał Wanke and Marzanna Pogorzelska	
Part I Everyday Strategies of Belonging and Becoming		
2	Lost and Found: Migration, Voice, and the Search for Belonging	13
	Chra Rasheed Mahmud	
3	Vocational Education and Integration: A Life Course Perspective on Immigrants in the Swedish Labour Market	35
	Hamid Asghari	
4	Empowerment of Bedouin Women in the Field of Education: The Role of Hebrew Proficiency, Personal Resilience, and Access to and Acquisition of Higher Education	53
	Yehudit Salfati	
Part II Language, Identity and Power		
5	Affiliation and Cultural Identity of English as Second Language Users Among the Urban Youth in Zimbabwe	75
	Yuleth Chigwedere	
6	What Works for Inclusive Education? On the Perceived Effectiveness of the TOOLS Project Training of Pre-service EFL Teacher Trainees	97
	Magdalena Szyszka	
7	Exploring the Experiences of Pre-service Bedouin Teachers in Jewish Schools in Israel: A Case Study	117
	Inna Smirnov-Okanin and Regina Benchetrit	

Part III Living with Uncertainty: Conflict Zones and Resilience

- 8 A Ukrainian Island: The Independence School as an Example of Ukrainian Diversity** 141
Paweł Rudnicki, Kateryna Buchko, and Kristina Kocyba
- 9 Emotional Experiences and Coping Resources Among Arab Teachers in Jewish Schools Following the 2023 Israel–Hamas War—A Salutogenic Perspective** 157
Haled Al-Said
- 10 Intercultural Health in Napo Province, Upper Ecuadorian Amazonia: Paradoxes and Tensions in Policy Implementation** 177
Patricia Bermúdez Arboleda and Patricio Aguirre Arauz
- 11 Symbolic Boundaries in the Polish Far-Right Social World Online in the Presidential Campaign 2025** 189
Marcin Deutschmann and Jędrzej Olejniczak

Chapter 11

Symbolic Boundaries in the Polish Far-Right Social World Online in the Presidential Campaign 2025



Marcin Deutschmann and Jędrzej Olejniczak

Above all, I dream of a Poland that is normal and just. If I could sum it up in two slogans, it would be this: what we see today is the pressure of an ideology that is foreign, that is not ours, yet it is being forced upon us. (Karol Nawrocki in Kanał ZERO, 2025d)

11.1 Introduction

Poland, like other Western countries, has recently witnessed a resurgence of far-right ideologies (Bennett & Kneuer, 2024). Occasionally it can be considered a response to the superdiversity of the contemporary world, the late effect of reflexive modernity (Beck et al., 1994), the passage from certainty to uncertainty (Beck, 1992), or from solid to liquid modernity (Bauman, 2013). Modernity exposes, and thereby amplifies, the visibility of gender troubles and LGBT+ movements (Butler, 1990), shifting patterns of migration (De Haas, 2023), and the liberalization of specific contexts, e.g., marijuana use or abortion rights in particular countries (Wanke et al., 2022). It also brings about secularization and the emergence of alternative forms of religiosity and spirituality, which, precisely because of their heightened visibility, become susceptible to backlash. The established institutions that have long organized people's lives are falling apart, and individuals no longer find the support they need within them (Bauman, 2013). This situation finds a political answer from the far right. Its agenda in this regard is clear and straightforward: contemporary society (especially in the

M. Deutschmann (✉) · J. Olejniczak
Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Sibiu, Romania
e-mail: marcin.deutschmann@uni.opole.pl

University of Opole, Opole, Poland

J. Olejniczak
e-mail: jedrzej.olejniczak@uni.opole.pl

West) has lost its bearings, and people are delving deep into nihilism. There is a need for the reconstruction of values and norms, as well as the reestablishment of what we conceptualize as symbolic boundaries: the socially recognized distinctions that separate “us” from “them” (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Our case study investigates Poland because, despite similarities with other cases in some far-right characteristics, such as nativism, authoritarian tendencies, and populist rhetoric, these are always contextualized and require local analyses and solutions (Mudde, 2024).

This chapter focuses on resistance to superdiversity and intercultural encounters, showing how far-right communication mobilizes a symbolic repertoire that preempts interaction across differences. What appears here is not simply the ideological disagreement, but a systematic rhetorical effort to negate the world’s complexity. The far-right discourse constructs symbolic boundaries that prevent intercultural connections, defining identity through exclusion. This paper aims to demonstrate how far-right candidates in the 2025 Polish presidential election reinforce the symbolic boundaries of their social world, understood in the Chicago School tradition as shared universes of meaning, practice, and interaction that organize collective life (Strauss, 1978; Unruh, 1979, 1980). The chapter illuminates how the Polish far-right reinterprets the very conditions of superdiversity as moral, existential, and epistemic threats, transforming potential intercultural interactions into symbolic closure.

The primary research question of this chapter is: How do far-right candidates construct symbolic boundaries that define their social world? Bringing these two notions together allows us to see how processes of world-making and boundary-making are mutually constitutive: symbolic boundaries stabilize the social world by defining its limits of inclusion and exclusion, while social worlds provide the context in which such boundaries acquire meaning and durability. The recent success of the far-right is nonetheless symptomatic of broader tendencies observable across the Western world (Stanley, 2024). In the Polish case, the far-right agenda revolves around Polish ethnicity, national identity, Catholic religion, and traditional, conservative moral values. All of which are presented as threatened by the European Union, changing gender and sexuality norms, LGBTQ+ movements, and migrants allegedly supported by ‘traitors’ to national interests, such as leftists, progressive politicians, and celebrities (e.g., Deutschmann & Olejniczak, 2025a, 2025b; Duffin, 2022; Zubrzycki, 2006; Żuk & Żuk, 2019). These symbolic references situate the Polish far-right within a wider transnational pattern of discursive boundary-making, yet its local articulations remain deeply rooted in Poland’s religious and historical imaginaries.

References

- Awad, S., Doerr, N., & Nissen, A. (2022). Far-right boundary construction towards the “other”: Visual communication of Danish People’s Party on social media. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 73(5), 985–1005. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12975>
- Bauman, Z. (2013). *Liquid modernity*. Wiley.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. SAGE.
- Beck, U., Giddens, A., & Lash, S. (1994). *Reflexive modernization: Politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order*. Stanford University Press.
- Bennett, W. L., & Kneuer, M. (2024). Communication and democratic erosion: The rise of illiberal public spheres. *European Journal of Communication*, 39(2), 177–196. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02673231231217378>
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.
- CBOS. (2024). *Ukrainians in Poland and the war in Ukraine* (No. 10). CBOS.
- CBOS. (2025). *Stosunek Polaków do innych narodów* (No. 13). CBOS.
- Chrostowski, M. (2023). “Unholy Alliance”: Identification and prevention of ideological and religious frames between right-wing populism and Christianity in Poland. *Zeitschrift Für Religion, Gesellschaft und Politik*, 7(1), 321–348. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41682-023-00146-3>
- Cichosz, M., Szyszlak, E., & Podgórzńska, R. (2024). ‘It’s not our war’. Social movements against state involvement in aid to Ukraine. In J. Itrich-Drabarek, M. Cichosz, D. Plecka, & A. Jach (Eds.), *For security and for peace. States and societies of the Baltic Sea basin and the Russian-Ukrainian war* (1st ed., pp. 154–167). Routledge India. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003558040-13>
- Dębicki, M. (2024). Immigrant unwelcome in Poland? Facts, figures and their broader sociocultural contexts. In M. Zagor (Ed.), *From borders to pathways: Innovations and regressions in the movement of people into Europe*. ANU Press. https://books.google.pl/books?id=nowoEQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- De Haas, H. (2023). *How migration really works: A factful guide to the most divisive issue in politics*. Viking (Penguin Books).
- Deutschmann, M. (2017). Rasizm w Polsce w kontekście problemów migracyjnych. Próba Diagnozy. *Studia Krytyczne*, 4, 71–85.
- Deutschmann, M., & Olejniczak, J. (2025a). Between sociology and linguistics: An analysis of online discourses on apostasy. *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, 74(4):9–33.
- Deutschmann, M., & Olejniczak, J. (2025b). Unwanted encounters: Anti-Ukrainian rhetoric in the social media reception of migrants by the Polish far-right. *Res Rhetorica*, 12(2), 73–94. <https://doi.org/10.29107/rr2025.2.4>
- Długosz, P., & Izdebska-Długosz, D. (2023). Polskie społeczeństwo wobec uchodźców wojennych z Ukrainy. *Studia Migracyjne—Przegląd Polonijny*, 50(2 (192)), 15–32. <https://doi.org/10.4467/25444972SMPP.23.023.18935>
- Duffin, M. (2022). Poland’s evolving violent far-right landscape. *CTC Sentinel*, 15(9), 19–28.
- European Commission. (2024, December 11). *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on countering hybrid threats from the weaponisation of migration and strengthening security at the EU’s external borders*.
- Jaskulowski, K. (2019). *The everyday politics of migration crisis in Poland: Between nationalism*. Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-10457-3>
- KhosraviNik, M., Krzyżanowski, M., & Wodak, R. (2012). Dynamics of representation in discourse: Immigrants in the British press. In M. Messer, R. Schroeder, & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Migrations: Interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 283–295). Springer Vienna. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-7091-0950-2_26
- Klaus, W., & Szulecka, M. (2023). Departing or being deported? Poland’s approach towards humanitarian migrants. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 36(3), 467–488. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feac063>
- Klein, E. (2021). *Why we’re polarized* (Paperback edition). Profile Books.

- Krzyżanowski, M. (2018). Discursive shifts in ethno-nationalist politics: On politicization and mediatization of the “refugee crisis” in Poland. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 16(1–2), 76–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2017.1317897>
- Kubiciel-Lodzińska, S., & Kownacka, K. (2023). Migranci wojenni z Ukrainy. Opinie Polaków na temat ich pobytu oraz zakresu udzielanej im pomocy. *Studia Politologiczne*, 2/2023(68), 231–250. <https://doi.org/10.33896/SPolit.2023.68.13>
- Lamont, M., & Molnár, V. (2002). The study of boundaries in the social sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28(1), 167–195. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.28.110601.141107>
- Laurent, C., & Thevenin, E. (2024). Discursive approaches to the reception of non-EU migrants in Polish official political discourse. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 13(1), 69–88. <https://doi.org/10.54667/ceemr.2024.03>
- Łuczaj, K. (2024). “Nie przenoście nam stolicy do Kijowa”: Analiza internetowego dyskursu antyukraińskiego po 2022 roku. *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 68(2), 105–141. <https://doi.org/10.35757/KiS.2024.68.2.5>
- Mudde, C. (2019). *The far right today*. Polity Press.
- Mudde, C. (2024). From the margins to the mainstream: A personal reflection on three decades of studying and teaching far-right politics. *Journal of Right-Wing Studies*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.5070/RW3.25030>
- Pelliconi, A. M. (2024). Self-defence as remedial self-determination: Continuity in Russian narratives to justify imperialism and the use of force. *Netherlands International Law Review*, 71(2), 233–260. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40802-024-00260-w>
- Pirro, A. L. P. (2023). Far right: The significance of an umbrella concept. *Nations and Nationalism*, 29(1), 101–112. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12860>
- Polko, P. (2025). Just and unjust securitization of migration: A comparative analysis of migration to Poland from MENA countries and Ukraine. *Frontiers in Political Science*, 7, 1464288. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2025.1464288>
- Ramet, S. P. (2017). Controversies in the social and political engagement of the Catholic Church in Poland since 1988. In S. P. Ramet & I. Borowik (Eds.), *Religion, politics, and values in Poland: Continuity and change since 1989* (pp. 19–40). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-43751-8_2
- Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*. Routledge.
- Stanley, J. (2024). *Erasing history: How fascists rewrite the past to control the future* (First One Signal Publishers/Atria Books hardcover edition). One Signal Publishers/Atria.
- Strauss, A. (1978). A social world perspective. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, 1(1), 119–128.
- Troszyński, M., & El-Ghamari, M. (2022). A great divide: Polish media discourse on migration 2015–2018. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-021-01027-x>
- Tymińska, A., Korpala, P., & Sęk, M. (2023). *Przyjdą i zabiorą: Antyukraińska mowa nienawiści na polskim Twitterze* (p. 70). Helsińska Fundacja Praw Człowieka.
- Unruh, D. R. (1979). Characteristics and types of participation in social worlds. *Symbolic Interaction*, 2(2), 115–130. <https://doi.org/10.1525/si.1979.2.2.115>
- Unruh, D. R. (1980). The nature of social worlds. *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 23(3), 271–269.
- Vieten, U. M. (2018). The new year’s 2015/2016 public sexual violence debate in Germany: Media discourse, gendered anti-muslim racism and criminal law. In M. Bhatia, S. Poynting, & W. Tufail (Eds.), *Media, crime and racism* (pp. 73–92). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71776-0_5
- Wanke, M. (2023). Refugee hierarchies in Poland. *ET-Studies*, 1, 65–83. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETS.14.1.3291627>
- Wanke, M., Piejko-Płonka, M., & Deutschmann, M. (2022). Social worlds and symbolic boundaries of cannabis users in Poland. *Drugs: Education Prevention and Policy*, 29(4), 334–344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687637.2022.2046706>

- Wodak, R. (2021). *The politics of fear: The shameless normalization of far-right discourse* (2nd ed.). SAGE.
- Wylegała, A. (2019). *Displaced memories: Remembering and forgetting in post-war Poland and Ukraine*. Peter Lang.
- Yurdakul, G., & Korteweg, A. C. (2021). Boundary regimes and the gendered racialized production of Muslim masculinities: Cases from Canada and Germany. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 19(1), 39–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2020.1833271>
- Zarycki, T. (2014). *Ideologies of eastness in Central and Eastern Europe*. Routledge.
- Żaryn, S. (2019, November 1). *Belarusian hybrid attack on the EU - Special Services—Gov.pl website*. Website of the Republic of Poland. <https://www.gov.pl/web/special-services/belarusian-hybrid-attack-on-the-eu>
- Zubrzycki, G. (2006). *The crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and religion in post-communist Poland*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Żuk, P., & Żuk, P. (2019). Dangerous liaisons between the Catholic Church and State: The religious and political alliance of the nationalist right with the conservative Church in Poland. *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 27(2–3), 191–212. <https://doi.org/10.1080/25739638.2019.1692519>

Research Material

- Kanał ZERO. (2025a, March). *GODZINA ZERO #86: Krzysztof Stanowski i Sławomir Mentzen—rozmowa kandydatów na prezydenta* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J3bLfx9uA74>
- Kanał ZERO. (2025b, March). *GODZINA ZERO #87: Krzysztof Stanowski i Artur Bartoszewicz—rozmowa kandydatów na prezydenta* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XV6a9PIb3qU>
- Kanał ZERO. (2025c, April). *GODZINA ZERO #89: Krzysztof Stanowski i Grzegorz Braun—rozmowa kandydatów na prezydenta* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5nXuRzzGGII>
- Kanał ZERO. (2025d, April). *GODZINA ZERO #92: Krzysztof Stanowski i Karol Nawrocki—rozmowa kandydatów na prezydenta* [Video]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JVPOJINq0MU>
- Kanał ZERO. (2025e, April). *GODZINA ZERO #95: Krzysztof Stanowski i Marek Jakubiak—rozmowa kandydatów na prezydenta* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i3rPpPnxNwk>