

PAULINA POLKO

SECURITY AS A DETERMINANT OF THE PREPARATION OF MIGRATION POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Abstract. The article aims to analyse the critical determinants of internal security arising from challenges and threats generated by migration movements, along with recommendations for relevant content to be included in the prepared migration policy for the Republic of Poland. The research question addresses the main problem: What examples of solutions used in selected European Union member states can be implemented in the Polish migration policy to ensure the internal security of the Republic of Poland? The study employs the case study method to examine selected migration policies of EU member states created or updated in the third decade of the 21st century, located in various parts of the EU and experiencing a diverse impact (including varying intensity) of migration processes on internal security. The analysis results indicate that in constructing migration policies, the authorities of the Republic of Poland should concentrate on 1) restrictions in the rules clarifying the granting of asylum (international protection); 2) tightening border controls and streamlining the border protection process; 3) streamlining decision-making procedures for pending applications, including return decisions; 4) discouraging permanent residence; 5) directing migration to third countries; and 6) selective policies inspired by labour market needs.

Keywords: migration; security; migration strategy; migration policy; international protection

INTRODUCTION

At a time when migration is becoming one of the leading global challenges for ensuring security, due to various interlocking threats it generates, migration policy is evolving into a vital tool for the state in shaping internal security. Currently (as of December 2024), the Republic of Poland lacks such a strategy. However, in October, the government adopted the Migration Strategy as a foundation for developing a migration policy, which will be systematically turned into acts of law in 2025. The previous migration policy, an official document, was

Dr hab. PAULINA POLKO – Associate Professor of WSB University, Department of Security Studies; correspondence address: ul. Ciepłaka 1c, 41-300 Dąbrowa Górnicza; e-mail: ppolko@wsb.edu.pl; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9770-7373>.

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repealed following a decision by the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration in 2017. *Polityka Migracyjna Polski – stan obecny i postulowane działania* [Polish migration policy – current state and proposed activities] was accepted by the Polish government on 31 July 2012. It focused on migration following Poland's accession to the European Union, mainly addressing emigration issues – such as the status of Polish citizens in destination countries, and return policies. It also highlighted another issue: illegal migration to Poland as a transit country and the shift to a net migration state. Furthermore, it recommended that “Polish migration policy should, at least in the short term, be subordinated to the primacy of the labour market and its needs. It should also become significantly more proactive than before, seeking optimal solutions from the perspective of the country's economic development” (*Polityka Migracyjna Polski*, 2012, p. 11).¹ The ongoing work to create a new policy is taking place amid an intense and emotional public debate about the impact of migration on security. Although the document should consider requirements from other spheres of public life (political, social, or economic), the perspective of state security ought to significantly influence its formation due to the importance of the impact of migration on security.

Poland's migration policy is being developed under specific circumstances. Within the European Union, both at the institutional level and in member states, there is an ongoing discussion regarding the effectiveness of the solutions adopted thus far and potential updates. Simultaneously, member states do not wait for changes at the EU level; they introduce their updates, often prioritising the internal security perspective of the destination state over other aspects. This stance arises from an assessment of the existing community solutions and the need for greater consensus at the EU level regarding the conditions for safe access to the territory of the European Union. Actions undertaken at national levels seek to limit the right to asylum, promote integrationist attitudes among migrants, and enhance control over application processes for residence or international protection. Selectivity is becoming a defining feature of European immigration policies, which focus on welcoming only selected groups of foreigners desired by the labour market. The security of the receiving country becomes the central axis around which individual solutions are constructed.

The research question covers the main research problem addressed in the paper: What examples of solutions used in selected European Union member states can be implemented in the Polish migration policy to ensure the internal security of the Republic of Poland?

¹ All translations by the author.

The following hypothesis is formulated: While constructing a migration policy to address internal security requirements, Poland should adopt European solutions related to combating illegal immigration, especially those generated by external actors, and develop a legal path for the immigration of carefully selected groups of migrants with intense pressure put on integration.

1. MIGRATION-SECURITY NEXUS

The migration-security nexus emerged in security studies during the 1990s. It developed as a security concern in the geopolitical landscape shaped by the end of the Cold War and the social and political changes associated with globalisation processes. Consequently, the migration-security nexus tends to frame the understanding of migration and migrants as threats to destination or transit countries. However, it gained prominence as a research topic in the 21st century, particularly following 9/11 and the subsequent changes in American immigration policy (Goldstone, 2002; Guild and van Selm, 2005; Huysmans, 2006; Bourbeau, 2011; Sciubba, 2011; Black et al., 2011; Goldstone, Kaufmann, and Toft, 2012; Rodrigues, 2015; Bello, 2017; Hudson and Atak, 2021; Nemeth, 2021; Estevens, 2022; Ullah and Ferdous, 2024; Ullah, 2025; Abbondanza, 2025). The refugee crisis in Europe in 2015, the border crisis from 2021 along the eastern external border of the EU instigated by the Belarusian regime, and ultimately, the war in Ukraine and the influx of war refugees in 2022 have rendered this topic increasingly significant for both research and practice.

Migrations generate multiple challenges in the areas of:

- 1) Law and order: increased activity of criminal groups, especially in the field of human trafficking, forgery of documents, smuggling;
- 2) Political security: acts of terrorism, extremism and the rise of xenophobic sentiments;
- 3) Societal security: closed diasporas unwilling to cooperate with the receiving society, not (or poorly) integrated;
- 4) Economic security: economic burden causing social tensions, especially around the labour market and the distribution of social benefits;
- 5) Environmental security: a strain of natural resources such as wood, water, and land, especially in poor areas.

Since 2016, Poland has been a net migration country, with more people arriving for extended stays than leaving (see Figure 1). This crucial change, compared to the period before 2014, impacts the perception of migration as

a threat, especially in the context of the 2015 migration crisis in Europe, the border crisis generated by the Belarusian regime in 2021, and the influx of Ukrainian refugees after 24 February 2022.

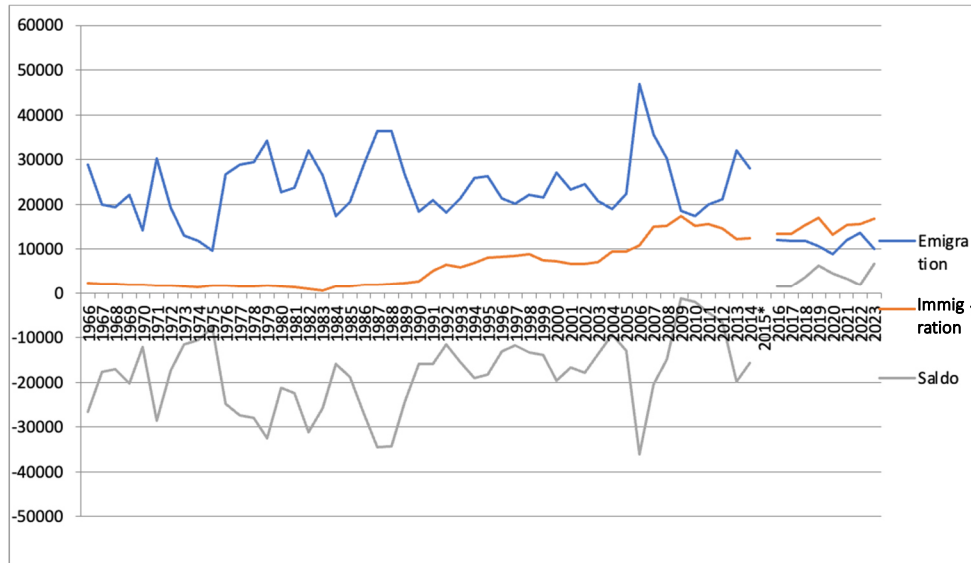


Figure 1. Immigration and emigration to and from Poland

Source: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/migracje-zagraniczne-ludnosci/> [accessed: 20.11.2024]

*2015 – lack of official data

Regarding the challenges and risks of migration, aside from those typical of all European Union countries, Poland presents a distinct set of risks stemming from its transit nature. This includes the dangers posed by criminal groups engaged in the smuggling of illegal migrants, such as human trafficking, drug trafficking, theft, armed aggression, or even acts of terrorism. Transit crime emerged as a significant issue following the border crisis instigated by Alexander Lukashenko's regime in 2021 and continues to persist. According to the data from the Border Guard, in the period between August 2021 and the end of September 2024, there were at least 110,000 attempts to illegally cross Poland's eastern border, with over 30,000 ones occurring in 2024 alone. The integration of Ukrainian migrants also remains a pressing challenge, encompassing not only war refugees arriving after 24 February 2022 but also those who have long been in Poland. These issues are especially pertinent given the forecasted risk by services of an increase in migration from Ukraine following Russian attacks

on critical infrastructure in the Western region, or the establishment of some form of truce or cessation of hostilities.

2. MIGRATION STRATEGY AND POLICY

Migration policy is a broad instrument encompassing state policy towards 1) immigration, which indicates the actions taken by state institutions towards newcomers, 2) emigration, referring to actions directed at the Polish diaspora (Polonia), such as encouraging its members to return to the country and assisting those making decisions to leave; and finally, 3) the integration of migrants into the receiving society (Duszczyk, 2012, p. 32). It represents the government's problem-solving efforts to achieve a desired state of affairs regarding migration through comprehensive and coherent interventions anchored in regulation and legal frameworks and delivered through active programmes (Kay, 2006; Bjerre et al., 2015; Cairney, Heikkila, and Wood, 2019; Ruhs, Tamas, and Palme, 2019). In this paper, we will define migration policy as encompassing all the state's rules and actions concerning emigration and immigration, which can be described as "the actions of the authorities that determine what population resides in a given territory at a given time" (Kaczmarczyk and Okólski, 2008, p. 13). The state's migration policy is thus understood as all its activities (both political and legislative-administrative) regarding the regulation and control of entry, stay, and departure, the conditions for the settlement of foreigners in a given country and their acquisition of citizenship, including those seeking (temporary) employment or protection for political or humanitarian reasons (refugee issues), as well as the rules on going abroad and the return and reintegration of its citizens (de Haas, Natter and Vezzoli, 2015; Cairney, Heikkila, and Wood, 2019; Bonjour and Chauvin, 2018). It should also encompass the state's efforts to support individuals bound to the country by ties of nationality or origin (Łodziński and Szonert, 2016). Finally, it should balance the needs of the labour market with security requirements (Adamczyk, 2023).

Poland does not have a migration policy (understood as a specific document presented by the government), although a Migration Strategy was adopted in October 2024 (*Odzyskać kontrolę*, 2024). As declared by policymakers, the strategy is a general document outlining directions for action, the development of which is to take place precisely in the migration policy. Their preparation and implementation are to follow successively in 2025. Figure 2 presents the stages of the preparation of legislation related to migration.

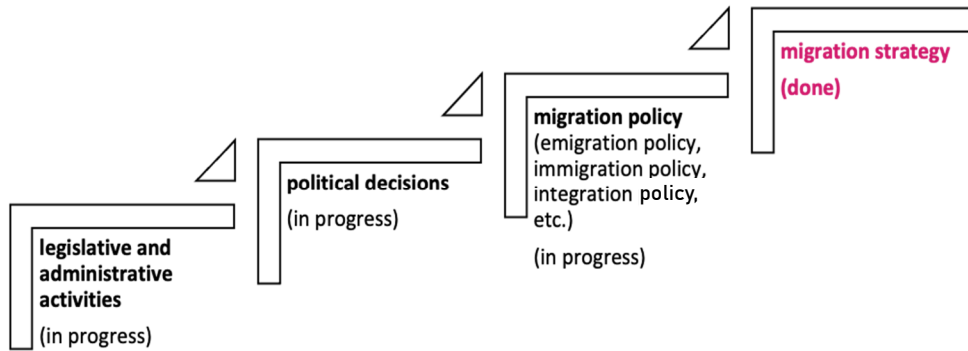


Figure 2. Stages of the preparation and implementation of migration policy

Source: own study

Entitled *Odzyskać kontrolę. Zapewnić bezpieczeństwo. Kompleksowa i odpowiedzialna strategia migracyjna Polski na lata 2025-2030* [Take back control, ensure security: Poland's comprehensive and responsible migration strategy for 2025-2030], the strategy identifies security as the overriding priority for its proposed guidelines for migration policy, as stated in the first paragraph of the document:

Migration processes must not increase the level of insecurity in the daily lives of Polish residents. Therefore, the Migration Strategy of Poland for 2025-2030 adopts an overriding priority of security understood as a commitment to the state's actions at all levels, so that the migration processes taking place are regulated in detail and remain under control both in terms of the purpose of arrival, the scale of the influx, and the countries of origin of foreigners (*Odzyskać kontrolę*, 2024, p. 3).

It goes on to point out the need to precisely define the rules of access to Polish territory, the purpose of which should be “not to allow undesirable persons to enter and stay in Poland” (*Odzyskać kontrolę*, 2024, p. 3). In third place in terms of importance, as another “priority for state action in the area of security,” was the issue of “protecting the border and preventing illegal immigration,” including “the smuggling of people through the territory of Poland,” with only a slight indication that at the same time measures should be implemented “to protect migrants whose life or health could be endangered and to counter

human trafficking” (*Odzyskać kontrolę*, 2024, p. 3). The Strategy also signals the need to change “the current approach to granting asylum” (*Odzyskać kontrolę*, 2024, p. 3), so that applications for international protection cannot be used by regimes such as the one in Belarus to create border crises. Only in the following pages does the Strategy refer to the needs of the labour market in times of demographic crisis (and here proposes a selective policy of issuing residence permits to “desirable” groups of immigrants), to principles of integration, or relations with the Polish community. Security is thus the primary determinant indicated at the strategic level and as a recommendation for migration policy and legislative-administrative solutions.

3. MIGRATION POLICIES IN SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNAL SECURITY

The migration policies of selected European Union member states were examined. The case study method was applied to the analysis conducted in six areas of action enshrined in migration policies and resulting from the need to ensure the internal security of migrant-receiving countries:

- restrictions in the rules clarifying the granting of asylum (international protection),
- tightening border controls and streamlining the border protection process,
- streamlining decision-making procedures for pending applications, including return decisions,
- discouraging permanent residence,
- directing migration to third countries,
- selective policies inspired by labour market needs.

Four countries have been selected for further analysis. The reason for choosing Germany was the country’s experience during the 2015 migration crisis, when Poland’s neighbour received Europe’s largest group of migrants arriving illegally via the southern land route. Italy was chosen for its position as a country that, like Poland, has an external sea border of the European Union and, for many migrants, is the first country in the EU that they reach. Finland was selected since it implemented legislation restricting the right to apply for asylum, a move also considered in the Polish debate on migration policy. Sweden was chosen due to its extensive package of legal changes regarding application procedures and asylum, family reunification, and permanent residence. Additionally, it should be noted that all the countries mentioned have been actively changing their

migration policies in recent times, particularly after 2020, influenced by internal security considerations. The analysis was based on official documents such as policies, acts of law and official recommendations prepared by governments or ministries.²

One should note that all the policies analysed about immigration indicate the need to limit it conditioned by security considerations. Thus, the introduction to migration policy issues on the German Federal Ministry of Interior and Community website suggests that “The migration policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is intended to manage, control and limit the immigration of foreigners to our country. It pays attention to the ability of our society to take in and integrate new arrivals and to our economic and labour market interests. Migration policy also serves to meet our humanitarian obligations.”³ On the inter-ministerial page dedicated to its migration policy, the Swedish government admits that Sweden’s migration policy is undergoing a paradigm shift. The Government is intensifying its efforts to reduce, in full compliance with Sweden’s international commitments, the number of migrants coming irregularly to Sweden. Labour immigration fraud and abuses must be stopped and the “shadow society” combated. Sweden will continue to have dignified reception standards, and those with no grounds for protection or other legal right to stay in Sweden must be expelled.

² Germany: Act on the Residence, Economic Activity and Integration of Foreigners in the Federal Territory (Residence Act – AufenthG), 8 May 2024 (BGBl. 2024 I Nr. 152); Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2025, January 16), *REAG/GARP*. <https://www.bamf.de/DE/Themen/Rueckkehr/FoerderprogrammREAGGARP/reaggarp-node.html>;

Finland: Act on Temporary Measures to Combat Instrumentalised Migration (2024, July 25), 482/2024; Laki kansainvälistä suojelua hakevan vastaanotosta sekä ihmiskaupan uhrin tunnistamisesta ja auttamisesta (2011, June 17), 746/2011; Laki kotoutumisen edistämisestä (2023, April 14), 681/2023; Laki ulkomaalaislain muuttamisesta (2023, March 23), 389/2023; Ministry of Interior, Finland (n.d.), *Migration and Asylum Policy*;

Sweden: *Swedish Citizenship (Summary) SOU 2013:29* (2013, April 29); *New Strategy for Sweden’s Global Development Cooperation on Migration, Returns and Voluntary Repatriation 2024–2028* (2024, October 24); Government Offices of Sweden (2024), *Sweden’s Migration and Asylum Policy*;

Italy: Ministero dell’Interno (n.d.), *Politiche migratorie*; LEGGE 7 aprile 2017, n. 47. *Disposizioni in materia di misure di protezione dei minori stranieri non accompagnati*. (17G00062) (GU Serie Generale n.93 del 21-04-2017); DECRETO LEGISLATIVO 25 luglio 1998, n. 286. *Testo unico delle disposizioni concernenti la disciplina dell’immigrazione e norme sulla condizione dello straniero* (1998, July 25, as amended: 2025, April 16); Circolare 43347 del 3.10.2024: *Riconoscimento della cittadinanza italiana iure sanguinis – Nuove linee interpretative dettate da recenti decisioni della Corte di Cassazione* (2024, October 3).

³ <https://www.bmi.bund.de/EN/topics/migration/migration-node.html>.

The principles of migration policy reforms aimed at curbing migration, especially the illegal one, are also not hidden by the Finnish authorities, writing explicitly that

The Government Programme's objective is to reform Finland's migration policy so that it offers assistance to the most vulnerable people and prevents abuse of the system.

Finland's asylum policy will be tightened to match that of the other Nordic countries. The asylum system will be developed and processes streamlined so that applicants receive a decision on their international protection status or its denial as quickly as possible. As part of streamlining processes, measures will be taken to ensure that rejected asylum applicants return or are returned as soon as possible. The effectiveness of return counselling will also be improved. The goal is to encourage the voluntary return of rejected applicants to their home countries (Ministry of Interior, Finland, n.d.).

Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni announced that "Italy has become a 'model to follow' when it comes to dealing with illegal migration"⁴ on the day the first migrants detained in the Mediterranean were taken to a facility in Albania.

Table 1 summarises the solutions in the migration policies of selected countries in the indicated areas of study.

Table 1. Migration policies key points in selected European countries

Area of action	Finland	Italy	Germany	Sweden
restrictions in the rules clarifying the granting of asylum	stricter rules regarding obtainment of a Finnish residence permit: an application for the first residence permit must usually be submitted outside Finland; applicants who broke the law will not be granted with the residence permit. This refusal concerns those who: 1. have given the authorities false information about their identity or nationality or the true purpose of their stay in Finland, for example; 2. have presented forged documents; 3. have	stricter rules for residence permit correlated with the willingness to work, integrate and comply with the local law and order requirements; previous crimes committed by the applicant and related to migration, such as illegal stay, work, use of false documents, etc. automatically result in rejecting the application	linking the acceptance of asylum applications to such migrant attitudes as willingness to take jobs, including those imposed by the authorities, willingness to integrate, including learning the language and educating children; linking the acceptance of asylum applications to the absolute requirement that applicants for international protection comply with the law and have not break it in the past	tightening the rules for granting asylum and linking them to applicants' compliance with the law and their willingness to integrate and work; tightening the rules on family reunification

⁴ <https://www.politico.eu/article/giorgia-meloni-italy-model-illegal-migration-policy/>.

	resided in Finland illegally, 4. have knowingly worked in Finland illegally (without having work permits), 5. have submitted a manifestly unfounded application so that they would not have to leave the country, 6. have tried to mislead the authorities in some other way.			
tightening border controls and streamlining the border protection process	the wall on the border with Russia; a possibility to close the border in case of “migration emergency,” including the suspension of accepting asylum applications	the call for more cooperation on the Mediterranean Sea to stop illegal migration	the reintroduction of border controls at Germany’s borders with other European Union countries	not applicable
streamlining decision-making procedures for pending applications, including return decisions	not applicable	new measures aimed at expanding the use of migration-related detention – shorter and easier procedures; detention centres for immigrants in third countries where they are to stay during the application process	facilitation for the services in their operations against those suspected of Islamic extremism and illegal presence in Germany (including biometric data collection and social media surveillance); speeding up the processing of asylum applications – the procedure is to take place in centres close to the border, which will make it easier to monitor the whereabouts of those awaiting a decision, and it is expected to ensure that migrants are returned more efficiently	simplification of procedures for the refusal of asylum or residence; simplification of deportation procedures for illegal migrants; willingness to pay migrants voluntarily leaving Sweden
discouraging permanent residence	permanent residence is not possible to be obtained by the first application	permanent residence is not possible to be obtained by the first application	permanent residence is not possible to be obtained by the first application	permanent residence is not possible to be obtained by the first application

directing migration to third countries	not applicable	two migration camps in Albania for migrants stopped at the Mediterranean Sea by the Italian border guard	not applicable	not applicable
selective policies inspired by labour market needs	migration policy indicates precisely the list of occupations needed for the national labour market; a fast-track system for specialists, start-up entrepreneurs, and their families	migration policy indicates precisely the list of occupations needed for the national labour market	migration policy indicates precisely the list of occupations needed for the national labour market	migration policy indicates precisely the list of occupations needed for the national labour market; high-skilled migrants only

Source: own study based on migration policies of selected countries

4. SELECTED SOLUTIONS RECOMMENDED TO POLISH MIGRATION POLICY

Despite the differences in the proposed specific solutions, the changes in the migration policies of the analysed countries are moving in one direction – the adoption of the perspective of national interests (including security) in forming legislation and the principles of its implementation. Thus, we are observing a shift from the human security perspective present during the 2015 crisis, focusing on the needs of people fleeing dangerous regions, to a national security perspective explicitly prioritising the need to ensure internal security. Demands and practices of restricting migration are replacing the openness to newcomers observed at the beginning of the 21st century, manifested in tightening asylum procedures and imposing precise conditions for the admission of migrants (including refugees), related to factors such as education, willingness to integrate and take up work even below qualifications, lack of criminal history (including illegal migration), acceptance of the temporary state of residence permits, and willingness to leave the country of migration in the event of a change in regulations.

The solutions implemented relate in particular to stopping illegal migration and residence without the authorisation for those denied. To this end, priority is given to applying from outside the territory of the destination country or from detention centres often located in third countries. This solution, adopted at least from the previous American experience (camps in Mexico for migrants

from other parts of Latin America or South America), is intended to protect EU border countries, such as Italy, most vulnerable to the influx of migrants from large groups of people who have not been issued a residence permit, but who cannot be sent back to their country of origin. Special territory protection also applies to countries without an external border that is also an EU border, to which illegal migration flows through the free movement of people within the community: Germany's resumption of border controls on the internal borders of the Union and sending back captured illegal migrants to the country of first crossing the border is a kind of suspension of the Schengen area – one of the primary mechanisms constituting the Union, its calling card and symbol.

The apparent primacy of national decisions over EU ones in the proposed solutions, resulting from disbelief in finding solutions at the Union level that are satisfactory to all member countries with divergent interests and problems in this area, is a dangerous symptom of the Union's weakness in the area of the ability to solve critical problems. The example of Italy, which stopped calling for a fair "distribution" of migrants across all EU countries and implemented its solution based on an agreement with Albania on the placement of detention centres on its territory, shows the course of action embraced by the countries most affected by migration.

Although immigration to the European Union, including illegal immigration, is declining, there is no indication that tightening entry and residence procedures trends are about to change. Public disapproval of previous migration policies, ineffective integration of newcomers into host societies, abuse of procedures, growing social tensions and labour market problems affect people who are already on the territory of host countries, both legally and illegally. Hence, there are calls for streamlining deportation procedures, especially for migrants who break the law, or limiting the availability of family reunification. Securitisation of the migration issue, making it one of the triggers of European election campaigns and fuel for the momentum of extreme parties – nationalist and populist – will make the containment of mass migration and its replacement by a system of selective residence permits a home-grown strategy of European migration policies for the long term. And security will be their primary determinant.

CONCLUSIONS

While shaping its migration policy, Poland must be open to the solutions introduced in other EU countries. The border location of the country, the neigh-

bourhood of the Belarusian regime, which uses illegal migration to destabilise eastern EU countries, and the role of a transit country on migration routes leading primarily to Germany mean that the planned migration policy must take into account the actions of other European countries.

First of all, the Republic of Poland should implement the described restrictive procedures for granting asylum or, more broadly, the right of residence, also to non-refugees who commit “migration crimes”: they try to enter Polish territory illegally or are already here illegally, use false documents or have committed such acts in the past on other migration routes to Europe. To this end, it is necessary to develop not only border protection systems but also systems for exchanging information about people committing “migration crimes” to effectively detect them and stop them from reaching the territory of Poland. The Border Guard should be strengthened financially, in terms of personnel and equipment, so that it is ready to respond to the scale of this challenge.

Secondly, the procedures for verifying applications and, consequently, issuing residence decisions should be accelerated to prevent overcrowding of refugee centres and to effectively fish out and extend protection to those who need it.

Thirdly, the needs of the Polish labour market should be precisely defined and successively verified. Currently, Poland needs both highly skilled and low-skilled workers, but, as Sweden’s example shows, these needs may change over time. Updating the list of “desirable” professions or skills should be permanent, and adapting the so-called “fast track” procedures to them should happen immediately. This task goes beyond the authority of institutions and formations established to provide security; it is directly related to it.

Fourthly, national procedures and decisions on issuing residence permits should be subject to special oversight regarding system abuse by its various users – both representatives of the state administration and migrants interested in facilitated entry into the European Union.

Furthermore, a special bilateral agreement with Germany, a transit country for Poland, is needed to ensure that the internal security of the western neighbour does not affect intra-EU border traffic and does not result in migrants’ pushback to Poland.

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BEZPIECZEŃSTWO JAKO DETERMINANTA KSZTAŁTOWANIA POLITYKI MIGRACYJNEJ RP

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest analiza kluczowych determinant bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego powodowanych przez wyzwania i zagrożenia generowane przez ruchy migracyjne wraz z rekomendacjami dotyczącymi treści istotnych do ujęcia w przygotowanej polityce migracyjnej dla Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Główny problem badawczy zawiera się w pytaniu: jakie przykłady rozwiązań stosowanych w wybranych krajach członkowskich Unii Europejskiej można wdrożyć do polskiej polityki migracyjnej w kontekście zapewniania bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego RP? W badaniu zastosowano metodę studium przypadku wybranych polityk migracyjnych państw członkowskich UE powstałych bądź aktualizowanych w trzeciej dekadzie XXI wieku, położonych w różnych jej częściach i doświadczających różnorodnego wpływu (w tym jego zróżnicowanej intensywności) procesów migracyjnych na bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne. Wyniki przeprowadzonej analizy pokazują, że konstruując politykę migracyjną, władze RP powinny się skupiać na: 1) precyzyjnych zasadach określających przyznawanie azylu (ochrony międzynarodowej); 2) zaostrzeniu kontroli granicznych i usprawnieniu procesu ochrony granic; 3) usprawnieniu procedur decyzyjnych w przypadku rozpatrywanych wniosków, w tym decyzji powrotowych; 4) promowaniu pobytu tymczasowego; 5) kierowaniu migracji do krajów trzecich oraz 6) selektywnej polityce inspirowanej potrzebami rynku pracy.

Słowa kluczowe: migracje; bezpieczeństwo; strategia migracyjna; polityka migracyjna; ochrona międzynarodowa