Selective humanitarianism in Polish asylum policy and its impact on the activities of international humanitarian organizations in the context of migration crises in Poland from 2021 to 2023

The dissertation analyzes the research problem within Polish asylum policy and the state's response to migration crises in the years 2021-2023. The research aim is to clarify the causes and manifestations of dual standards in access to procedures related to granting international protection in Poland, and empirically determine their impact on the activities of INGOs in the context of migration crises on Poland's borders with Belarus and Ukraine. The concept of selective humanitarianism is introduced in the study, referring to the differentiated access to procedures for seeking international protection and humanitarian assistance.

The research focuses on substantive, spatial, and temporal criteria, limiting the scope to migration crises on Poland's eastern border between 2021 and 2023. The key research problem is defining the concept of *selective humanitarianism*, exploring its causes and manifestations, and examining how dual standards in access to international protection affected INGOs' activities. The research hypotheses suggest that changes in Polish asylum policy introduced dual standards, negatively impacting INGOs. The study focuses on the legal and practical analysis of the asylum system in Poland, considering national and international law. Research questions address the legal basis of the Polish international protection system, its application to different migrant groups, and the consequences of selective humanitarianism for asylum policy and humanitarian activities.

The research problem requires the use of methods typical for political science and public administration while incorporating legal and international relations methodologies. In the first part of the dissertation, focused on Polish asylum policy, secondary sources and legal acts are analyzed. In the empirical section, quantitative and qualitative methods are applied.

The analysis reveals that legislative and executive actions by the Polish authorities varied depending on the specific circumstances of each crisis. By identifying four key factors influencing asylum policy (i.e., bureaucratic decisions, international relations, local absorption capacity, and security threats), the study shows that security threats were dominant in the case of the Poland-Belarus border crisis, while international alliances and Poland's capacity to quickly integrate Ukrainian refugees were critical in the Ukrainian refugee crisis.

The strategies adopted by the Polish government created two distinct humanitarian spaces where aid organizations, including INGOs, could operate. Quantitative and qualitative research results confirm that maintaining neutrality, a fundamental principle of humanitarian organizations, was challenging in the highly politicized migration context. The politicization of migration affected not only the process of delivering aid but also fundraising efforts, and in extreme cases, it entirely prevented humanitarian actions.