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The Narration of Threats and Struggle Against Crises in the Parliamentary Elections Campaign in Poland in 2023 – the Perspective of Social Media

Abstract: The aim of this article is to analyze the narration of threats and struggles against crises in parliamentary election campaign ads in the parliamentary elections in Poland in 2023 in the context of narration based on crisis issues affecting both Poland and the whole world in recent years. The research method used was content analysis enriched with frame analysis.

The research aimed to answer the following research questions: Were political parties eager to exploit the issue of the migration crisis during the election campaign? How were the government's actions to overcome crises presented? What was the individual parties' perception of the greatest threats to Poland and its citizens? What narrative was used in the context of the migration crisis?

The conducted analysis of electoral ads showed that security issues did not constitute dominant themes during the electoral campaign in 2023. The most prevalent threat depicted in the ads was the migration crisis – both in ads of the ruling party and opposition parties. The campaign style primarily used negative campaigning, pointing out the government's mistakes (the visa scandal), as well as the opposition's excessive deference regarding the issue of accepting refugees with the use of frames of conflict and enemy.

Key words: crisis; threat; election ad; parliamentary campaign; framing

Introduction

An electoral campaign is a particular period of political struggle between groups aiming to gain or maintain power in the state (Herbut, 2008, p. 92). It is also the time for evaluation and assessment of the governing party's actions in terms of their effectiveness in managing the state and ensuring the welfare of citizens. The year 2023 and the parliamentary electoral campaign in Poland was, in addition to all the aspects mentioned above, characterized by yet another significant aspect: namely, in the preceding eight-year rule of the United Right Wing (Zjednoczona Prawica), both Europe and the whole world were faced with a migration crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine. Did these crises influence the content presented during the electoral campaign? If so, how were the government's and the opposition's actions presented? An analysis of 202 electoral ads from the main political parties published on the YouTube platform and further distributed on other social media platforms (including TikTok and Facebook) was conducted to address these questions.

Impact of Crises on the Course of Electoral Campaigns and Election Results

During the electoral campaign, political parties aim to persuade voters to support them, thus indirectly enabling the selected political party to gain or maintain power (Her-

but, 2008, p. 92). It is also a period of assessment of the current government's actions and outlining plans for the future – both for the currently ruling party and for parties previously in opposition. According to Chapter 12 of the Electoral Code (Ustawa z dnia 5 stycznia 2011 r.), the electoral campaign begins on the day the date of the elections is announced by the President of the Republic of Poland and ends 24 hours before the elections. However, nowadays, we are experiencing what is known as a permanent electoral campaign, which does not have such clearly defined time frames (Garlicki, 2010). Nevertheless, according to Polish law, the period directly preceding the elections is the most appropriate time to be considered as the electoral campaign.

In Poland, research on electoral ads and voting behavior is conducted extensively by many scientific centers. In recent years, publications edited by Kolczyński (2010; 2017), Borowiec and Tyszkiewicz (2021), articles by Dzwonczyk (2016) or Biskup (2020) should be mentioned as they extensively describe the character and specifics of Polish political campaigns at all possible levels including the local, parliamentary, or presidential campaign. However, few studies focus on using threat narratives or coping with crises in the context of electoral competition, a topic being explored worldwide. For example, Benoit and Henson (2009) analyzed social reactions to George W. Bush's poor crisis management after Hurricane Katrina in 2005, which translated into his lack of re-election in the subsequent elections.

Periods of crises and threats often lead to changes in voting behavior and political upheavals (Alonso, Ruiz-Rufino, 2020; Giuliani, 2023). In the literature on the subject, there are numerous references to the impact of the global economic crisis of 2008 and 2009 on the politics in many countries (O'Malley et al., 2014; Bosco, Verney, 2016). The influence of the economic crisis on political upheaval in Iceland leading to early elections (Thórisdóttir et al., 2021) or on the political scene in Germany (Trein et al., 2017) has been widely described. Navarrete's work (2021) is fascinating, as it analyzed many factors indicating that times of crises (primarily economic) mobilize voters who have been affected by the said crisis in some way and become an opportunity for new or previously less popular parties, which could confirm the earlier described research. In conclusion, it can be acknowledged that turbulent times combined with the ruling party's struggle to cope with various crises may constitute an essential variable during the electoral campaign and provide opportunities to gain an advantage over those who have had to deal with difficult situations and were often forced to make socially unfavorable decisions. Crisis, due to its nature, unpredictability and suddenness attracts significant social interest. There is even talk of "hot-issue publics" when the media provide much information on a particular situation – especially a crisis (Aldoory, Grunig, 2012).

In recent years, the world, including Poland, has faced numerous crises. A great deal of research has been dedicated to the first significant wave of immigrants from the Middle East, including the immigrants from Syria after the outbreak of the civil war in 2011–2012 (Sasnal, 2016; Renshon, 2016; Grande et al., 2019; Gessler, Hunger, 2022; Bíró-Nagy, 2022; Hutter, Kriesi, 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic has left its mark on all citizens – not only has it resulted in the enforcement of restrictions and economic limitations, but it has also forced politicians to make difficult decisions and maintain constant communication with the public (Boin, McConnell, 2021; Sobera, 2022; Lusińska et al., 2023). The war in Ukraine, although fought between the Russian Federation and

Ukraine, may also be treated as a direct cause for negative evaluations of specific political parties operating outside the conflict, though to a lesser extent. However, proper management of fear of possible escalation of military actions or hybrid threats from Russia may affect citizens' awareness and thus encourage them to support a particular political faction. Previous research has shown that emotions remain a significant variable when deciding one's electoral choices (Sosnowski, Wrześniewski, 1983; Turska-Kawa, 2010).

It can be expected that in synchronization with the electoral cycles, the number of studies analyzing the impact of recent crises on changes (or lack thereof) in political scenes will be growing. There already exists a significant number of studies and considerations on this topic referring to numerous regions of the world and how, for example, the COVID-19 pandemic affected political communication including campaign communication (Lipsy, 2020; Ricard, Medeiros, 2020; Dionne, Turkmen, 2020; Kousser et al., 2021; Chen et al., 2021; Dulani et al., 2021; Bitonti et al., 2023).

Method and Research Procedure

The article aims to analyze electoral ads prepared by parties that registered nationwide committees in the parliamentary elections in Poland in 2023 in the context of narratives based on crises that Poland and the world have experienced in recent years and to present ways of dealing with the said critical issues.

Research Questions:

- RQ1: Was the topic of the migration crisis eagerly used by political parties during the electoral campaign?;
- RQ2: How were the government's actions to overcome crises presented?;
- RQ3: What was perceived by each of the parties as the greatest threat to Poland and its citizens?;
- RQ4: What narrative was used in the context of the migration crisis?

The content analysis method was used to answer the research questions listed above. A categorization key was prepared, which was used to analyze 202 electoral ads that could be found on the main profiles of political parties on the YouTube platform from the 8th of August 2023 (the date of announcement of the parliamentary elections by President A. Duda) to the electoral silence before the elections which began on the 15th of October 2023. Throughout this study, ads have been analyzed based on a total number of 33 questions. However, due to the limited scope of this paper, only the results of the analysis of several selected issues will be presented here. To maintain the representativeness of the study, electoral ads that were no longer than one minute and thirty seconds were selected for analysis. The choice of the YouTube platform was not accidental – many of the ads published there subsequently appeared on other social media platforms, including TikTok and major television stations. The ads selected for the study were analyzed in terms of the presented themes, the imposed narrative related to the government's or the opposition's actions, and technical elements that could influence the reception of the material (framing issues).

In the context of the message framing, we aimed to examine how the campaign affects the depiction of individual figures or issues in the ads. The previously conducted

research indicates that dominant frames in campaign messages include conflict framing, horse-race type of communication (horse-race framing), or strategic framing (Aalberg et al., 2012; Kolczyński, Norstrom, 2022). In particular, the occurrence of horse-race framing as a continuous emphasis on the race between factions and presenting candidates in the context of winners and losers (Jamieson, 1993), or conflict framing (Valentino et al., 2001) constituting a form of strategic framing, may be significant in the context of a crisis. The latter frame entails implications of the frequent dominance of negativity in the analyzed campaign.

A total of 202 ads presented on the channels of the mainstream political parties on YouTube.com have been selected for analysis, all accessible through links placed on the parties’ official websites. Among the selected ads, 101 came from the Citizens Coalition’s (Koalicja Obywatelska) profile (ads were published on the main channel without assignment to a specific category), 31 came from the Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość) profile (playlist marked with the title “Law and Justice ads”), eight from Szymon Hołownia’s Poland 2050 channel (there were also joint ads with the Third Way – the coalition party of the Polish People’s Party), 15 from the Left Wing, 38 from the Confederation, and nine from profile of the Independent Local Activists (Bezpartyjni Samorządowcy). No materials meeting the criteria for analysis were found on the official Polish People’s Party channel.

Table 1

Links to YouTube channels used in the study

Political party	Link to YouTube channel
Law and Justice	https://www.youtube.com/@pisorgpl
The Civic Coalition	https://www.youtube.com/@PlatformaRP
The Confederation	https://www.youtube.com/@Konfederacja_Oficjalny
The Left Wing	https://www.youtube.com/@Lewicaa
Poland 2050 of Szymon Hołownia	https://www.youtube.com/@Polska2050Oficjalny
Polish People’s Party	https://www.youtube.com/@nowePSL
Independent Local Activists	https://www.youtube.com/@bezpartyjni.samorzadowcy

Source: Own research.

Results of Electoral Ads Analysis

Taking into account both the previous elections and the increasing party polarization in recent years occurring along the lines of the ruling parties (the United Right) and the opposition, as well as the dominant negative campaigning style in Polish electoral campaigns, similar patterns were to be expected in the analyzed electoral campaign. Mainly during times of crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine, members of opposition parties focused on emphasizing the mistakes of the ruling party, while the media and politicians never ceased to reveal new scandals (e.g., importing face masks without certificates or purchasing respirators from a weapons dealer). The performed analysis of the ads partially confirmed these predictions. Among the 202 analyzed campaign ads, attacks aimed at discrediting the

opposing party were noticed in 94, including 81 negatively targeting specific politicians. Among the analyzed parties, this strategy was most commonly employed by the Civic Coalition (51 ads – 50.5% of all ads prepared by this party), Law and Justice (21 ads – 68% of all ads prepared by this party), and the Confederation (17 ads – 45% of all their ads). The Left Wing published five such ads – 33% of all ads of this party, and Szymon Hołownia's Poland 2050 published two ads – 25% of all their ads. The most significant polarization was observed between the two main parties – the ads of the Civic Coalition focused on politicians from Law and Justice and vice versa. The Confederation attacked both parties in their ads, pointing out their similar ways of operating and portraying them negatively. The Left Wing mainly focused on promoting their politicians, and the Poland 2050 party presented a positive image of the changes that the Republic would experience as the result of the hypothetical victory of the Third Way coalition in the elections (Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz from the Polish People's Party often appeared in ads with Szymon Hołownia). Although, as shown by the previous results, the negative campaigning strategy was popular during the electoral campaign, it was much less associated with the crises that Poland and the world have experienced in recent years. As part of the research, efforts were made to determine how often narratives of the migration crisis (mainly in the context of border security with Belarus and countering hybrid threats), the energy crisis, threats related to the ongoing armed conflict in Ukraine, and dealing with the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic appeared in the ads. Surprisingly, parties rarely referred to the events above in their messages. In total, crises were addressed in 56 ads (28% of all ads). It should also be noted that some ads addressed more than one crisis-related issue (table 2).

Table 2

Occurrence of Crisis and Threat Themes in Electoral Ads (in numbers)

The presented issue	Ads of the Civic Coalition	Ads of Law and Justice	Ads of the Left Wing	Ads of Poland 2050	Ads of the Confederation	Ads of Independent Local Activists	Total
Migration crisis	11	17	0	2	4	0	34
The threat of war/ war in Ukraine	3	6	0	0	4	0	13
Energy crisis	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
COVID-19 pandemic	1	0	0	0	2	0	3
Inflation crisis	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Security of Poland	19	20	1	0	5	0	45

Source: Own research.

Political parties most often refer to the topic of the refugee and migration crisis. This theme was noticeable in 34 ads, mainly those prepared by PiS – the Law and Justice party (17 – 55%) and KO – the Civic Coalition (11–11%). Only four ads on this topic were published by the Confederation (11%) and two by Poland 2050 (25%). The framing of the refugee and migration crisis issue was necessary in this aspect. The way refugees were portrayed is presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Framing of refugees in ads

Framing of refugees in ads	Numbers	Percentage
Refugees as a security threat	25	74%
Refugees as young men	12	35%
Refugees as the tool of hybrid war	6	18%
Refugees as families with young children	2	6%
Refugees as lack of threat	2	6%

N=34*.

* Some ads included several different methods of refugee framing.

Source: Own research.

In nearly three-quarters of all ads, refugees were depicted as individuals posing a threat to the national security of Poland – a fact often linked to the hybrid war conducted by the Russian Federation. To reinforce the message, the image of refugees was mainly portrayed as young men in their prime – 35% of all studied ads contained such imagery. This can be related to the infrequent use of victimization (Galtung, 2006). However, in the narrative of conservative parties such as the Law and Justice party, the image of refugees as a severe threat to security and European culture often appears. Images depicting refugees as women with children were much rarer – they appeared in only two ads. Law and Justice stressed the fact that after coming to power, the government of Donald Tusk would agree to the forced relocation of immigrants (e.g., ads entitled “STOP forced relocation of illegal immigrants” dated 19.09.23 or “These elections are about whether Poland’s border will be protected. Whether Poland will be safe” of 11.10.23). The Civic Coalition, in its materials, most often referred to the visa scandal, which entailed corrupt trading in visas by individuals associated with the PiS government (“Visa scandal: Everyone at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs knew. PiS smugglers’ mafia” released on 15.09.23 or “Referendum is a PiS lie! The Border Guard report confirms – PiS lost control of the border!” dated 11.10.23). The titles themselves suggest that Law and Justice ads regarding the issue of refugees negatively portrayed the actions of opposition parties, while the Civic Coalition ads targeted the ruling party. References to the migration policy implemented by the Polish government were found in 15 (7% of all) ads (12 opposition parties, three ruling parties). Opposition parties (Civic Coalition and Confederation) negatively assessed the government’s actions in the context of migration policy (mainly emphasizing the visa scandal). Law and Justice positively evaluated their actions and tried to indicate that the accession of opposition parties to power would have a negative impact on Polish national security in the context of uncontrolled migration (quote from the ad “Poland is facing a great danger” released on 4.10.23: “Today, the party of Tusk is pushing a migration pact, i.e., forced relocation of immigrants through the European Parliament. The effect of the plan of Donald Tusk’s European party will be to bring danger to Poles, leading to the forced relocation of thousands of immigrants. [...]”. Prime Minister M. Morawiecki spoke these words. In this case, the ads contained archival materials depicting migrants as young men causing riots or fighting with authorities. This narrative utilizes the enemy frame (Galtung, 2006) – both regarding the dangerous migrants and Donald Tusk as the opposition leader, whose actions increase the threat. Previous results

have shown that as many as 81 ads negatively portray specific politicians, which also confirms the use of this frame in the context of personalization.

The context of the threat of war from the east was much less explored by the parties in their ads. It appeared in 13 (6% of all) ads – 6 prepared by the Law and Justice, three by the Civic Coalition, and four by the Confederation. The ruling party focused on the revealed contingency plan assuming the defense of the Republic of Poland along the Vistula line, which was in effect during the previous governments of the Civic Platform. In the ad titled “Minister Mariusz Błaszczak: 4 referendum questions” issues of war were combined with refugees and hybrid warfare with statements from Janina Ochojska and Tomasz Siemoniak (in the office of Minister of National Defence in that period). To reinforce the message, the ad includes a visual map illustrating which areas could fall under the Russian Federation’s occupation if there was a conflict with Poland during the Civic Platform’s rule.

One should also consider the problem of the threat from the east (not only direct warfare) but also the general context of the war in Ukraine. In this case, special attention should be paid to the ads of the Confederation as this party chose to prepare 4 out of a total of 9 ads with the theme of the war in Ukraine, all of which addressed the mistakes of the United Right in the context of the conflict-related policy. It was emphasized that the ruling party was too compliant with the Ukrainian authorities (e.g., the ad “Confederation warns: Policy on its knees always ends the same way!” dated 9.10.23) or mismanaged agricultural policy resulting in an uncontrolled influx of Ukrainian grain into the Polish market (“The executioners of Polish agriculture!” released on 14.09.23). The ad of the Civic Coalition dating from 29.09.23, “And they want to talk about betraying the nation? See for yourself #PiSDanger 🇺🇦” deserves attention since it portrays the actions of M. Morawiecki in a negative light, meeting with “Putin’s friends” i.e. politicians pursuing a lenient policy towards the aggressor who attacked Ukraine (e.g., Viktor Orban, Prime Minister of Hungary), seeing more significant threat in the European Union than from the eastern directions. This can be seen as a response to a series of Law and Justice ads in which the policy of Donald Tusk’s government was considered pro-Russian (e.g., ads “German orders of Donald...” of 26.09.23 or “Minister Mariusz Błaszczak 4 referendum questions” released on 14.08.2023). There was a trend of solid personalization of Donald Tusk as the chairman of the Civic Coalition throughout the entire election campaign, with a significant focus on his readiness to work towards the goals of German politicians.

The energy crisis, even despite the fact that it constituted one of the significant issues in the years preceding the campaign that Polish residents had to deal with (such as becoming independent from gas and oil imports from Russia, rising prices of alternative fuels, coal shortages, or increasing electricity prices), was a rarely exploited topic during the campaign. Only four ads addressed this issue during the analyzed period, all prepared by the Civic Coalition. In 3 cases, energy policy was linked to clean air (a metaphor for breathing clean air in Poland after the opposition’s election victory). One ad directly pointed out “mistakes” made by the ruling party regarding the sale of fuel stations to Hungary and the Lotos company to unspecified “Putin’s colleagues” (the ad “PiS government referendum is a scam” released on 11.10.23). These were the comments related to the merger of Lotos and PKN Orlen companies, which involved selling part of the Gdańsk Refinery to Saudi Aramco and the acquisition of 417 petrol stations of the Lotos Group by the Hungarian complex MOL (*Fuzja Orlenu z Lotosem...*).

The categorization key also included questions about the European Union and NATO to see how parties relate to the two leading international organizations Poland is a member of and which may play a role in economic (EU) and military (NATO) security. The topic of the European Union appeared in a total of 18 (9% of all) ads prepared by different parties. The Civic Coalition referred to the unlocking of National Recovery Plan funds for Poland after coming to power (the ad “We will unlock EU funds!” dated 3.10.23; “After eight years, they remembered that they have to take care of everyone, not just their own. #PiSDanger” released on 6.09.23) or general cooperation with the European Union, as Law and Justice often treated the EU as a threat. This can also be seen in Law and Justice ads where attention is drawn to Brussels’ decisions unfavorable to Poland (“For us, the most important thing is #StrongPolishCountryside” of 12.09.23) or the aforementioned compulsory relocation of immigrants. Regarding security, the EU appeared in this context only six times – once in the Civic Coalition ad (the only positive context), once in the Confederation ad (“The executioners of Polish agriculture!” dated 14.09.23 – negatively), and in four Law and Justice ads (negative framing).

Interestingly, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) topic did not appear in 202 analyzed ads. This is probably due to the reasonably uniform stance of all political parties, which consider participation in the Alliance as a guarantee of national security. Even in revealing the contingency plans created during the earlier governments of the Civic Platform and defense along the Vistula line, there were no references to NATO.

How were the security and foreign policies of the government presented in the ads of various parties, and how often was this particular theme mentioned? The security policy was discussed in 45 (22% of all) campaign ads, with 19 ads from the Civic Coalition, 20 from Law and Justice, five prepared by the Confederation, and one by the Left Wing. Unsurprisingly, only the ruling party evaluated its security policy positively. All other parties assessed the security policy of the United Right negatively. Using controversial language and expressions, the Confederation appealed most explicitly, using archival media materials to suggest that the ruling party was pursuing Ukraine’s security policy rather than Poland’s. Similar narratives were present in other Confederation ads expressing clear opposition to excessive aid provided to Ukraine in its conflict with Russia. In another context regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, the Confederation also called for the ruling party to be held accountable in its spot entitled “These scoundrels must be held accountable!” on the 12th of September 2023. Interestingly, during the entire research period, only three ads addressed the issue of pandemic management in Poland were noted. One of the Confederation’s two ads and the Civic Coalition’s spot entitled “PiS’s incompetence in the pandemic led to a catastrophe! Shocking Supreme Audit Chamber report! #TheyStoleFromTheSick” of the 12th of September 2023 highlighted scandals related to the government’s actions during the pandemic, based on the Supreme Audit Chamber report. However, it also emphasized that: “[...] PiS stumbled in the pandemic like a child in the fog.” On the one hand, it may be surprising that the pandemic topic was not more extensively exploited in the electoral campaign, considering the numerous scandals or unfavorable decisions by the ruling party, which were also negatively perceived by the public. In an adverse campaign context, opposition parties could have explored this issue further. On the other hand, the pandemic period involved events with a longer time horizon, and it can be assumed that current problems were more pressing

and of greater interest to the public, including voters. Foreign policy was evaluated in only eleven ads – often overlapping with ads addressing security issues. Similarly to security policy, opposition parties assessed the government's foreign policy negatively, while the ruling party assessed it positively.

Conclusion

Once again, the dominant style of the electoral campaign in Poland was negative campaigning – a fact confirming the previously conducted research on this topic (Peszyński, 2018). The most popular frames were conflict frames (Valentino et al., 2001) – mainly based on the rivalry between the Civic Coalition and Law and Justice, as well as enemy frames (to a lesser extent illegal immigrants, but also specific politicians – Donald Tusk or Mateusz Morawiecki). Negative campaigning was most heavily exploited by the two main parties competing for the ultimate victory – the Civic Coalition and Law and Justice (the United Right), as well as the Confederation. Crises (migration, COVID-19 pandemic, war in Ukraine, energy crisis) were not the central theme of the electoral campaign. However, evaluations of the government's or opposition's actions regarding security issues (especially the migration crisis) were more common. In total, crisis-related topics appeared in 56 ads. The most frequently addressed theme was the new phase of the migration crisis (the issue appeared in 34 materials – about 17% of all analyzed ads), which included, among others, the construction of a wall on the border with Belarus as part of the hybrid threat. Migrants were mainly portrayed as young men. The Civic Coalition pointed to the corruption scandal related to visa trading, while Law and Justice accused opponents of too much compliance with EU rules on refugee relocation. The war in Ukraine was much less frequently portrayed. The Confederation was critical of this topic, emphasizing the government's excessive compliance with Ukraine. Overall, opposition parties negatively assessed the government's actions in ensuring security for Poland – the visa scandal was mainly explored by the Civic Coalition in this aspect. On the other hand, Law and Justice emphasized its achievements in ensuring security, as well as the shortcomings of opposition parties in this regard (the defense line on the Vistula). Parties agreed that the biggest threat to Poland is the Russian Federation and the uncontrolled influx of migrants. Both narratives were combined in ads with hybrid threats on the eastern border.

Author Contributions

Conceptualization (Konceptualizacja): Waldemar Sobera

Data curation (Zestawienie danych): Waldemar Sobera

Formal analysis (Analiza formalna): Waldemar Sobera

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Writing – review & editing (Piśmiennictwo – sprawdzenie i edytowanie): Waldemar Sobera

Competing interests: The author have declared that no competing interests exist (Sprzeczne interesy: Autor oświadczył, że nie istnieją żadne sprzeczne interesy)

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Narracja zagrożeń i walki z kryzysami w kampanii wyborczej do parlamentu w Polsce w 2023 roku – perspektywa mediów społecznościowych

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest przeanalizowanie narracji o zagrożeniach i walki z kryzysami w spotach wyborczych w wyborach do parlamentu w Polsce w 2023 roku, w kontekście narracji bazującej na kwestiach kryzysów, które doświadczyły Polskę i świat w ostatnich latach. Metodą użytą do badań była analiza zawartości wzbogacona o analizę ramową,

Badania miały na celu znalezienie odpowiedzi na pytania badawcze: Czy temat kryzysu migracyjnego był chętnie wykorzystywany przez partie polityczne w czasie kampanii wyborczej? Jak przedstawiano działania rządu w celu przezwyciężenia kryzysów? W czym partie dostrzegały największe zagrożenie dla Polski i jej obywateli? Jaką narrację stosowano w kontekście kryzysu migracyjnego?

Analiza spotów wyborczych pokazała, że kwestie bezpieczeństwa nie były dominującymi tematami w czasie kampanii wyborczej w 2023 roku. Najpopularniejszym zagrożeniem ukazywanym w spotach był kryzys migracyjny – zarówno w spotach partii rządzącej, jak i partii opozycyjnych. Stosowano głównie styl kampanii negatywnej, wskazując na błędy rządu (afery wizowa), jak i zbyt dużą ustępliwość opozycji w kwestii przyjmowania uchodźców, posługując się przy tym ramami konfliktu i wroga.

Słowa kluczowe: kryzys, zagrożenie, spot wyborczy, kampania parlamentarna, ramowanie