

Anna Sugier-Szerega, Katarzyna Pęziół

John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

The Image of Foreigners in Selected Influential Weeklies in 2015

Słowa kluczowe: cudzoziemcy, uchodźcy, migranci, prasa opiniotwórcza

Key words: foreigners, refugees, migrants, influential weeklies

Researches focusing on the image of foreigners in the Polish media do not have a very rich tradition. After Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 and thanks to an intensified cooperation between European universities made possible by the signing of the Bologna Process in 1999, the Poles started to notice the presence of foreigners in their country. Even though migration and the intercultural contact between the Poles and foreigners were a subject of research for sociologists, lecturers and social psychologists (publications by Jerzy Mikułowski-Pomorski, Andrzej Tyszka, Leszek Korporowicz, Alina Kapciak), the image of a foreigner in the media interested few researchers. Over the past few years the interest in this issue has been growing, especially when it comes to press research.¹ Thus, it is worth indicating the cyclically repeated analyses of Maciej Mrozowski (1997, 2003),² Robert Szwed,³ Grażyna Zarzycka,⁴ or the achievements of the Institute of Public Affairs which repeatedly researches the image of foreigners in the Polish press (1996, 2002, 2010).⁵ There is also a more recent publication entitled *Integracja lokalna czy medialna? Badanie wizerunku medialnego Obywateli Państw Trzecich w mediach ogólnopolskich i lokalnych* (*The Local Integration or the Media Integration. The Study of the Image of Third Country Nationals in the Local and National Media*).⁶ The aforementioned researchers agree that the media interest in foreigners has never been significant and has been decreasing lately, although journalists' approach to the subject has changed to a more profound and diverse, yet positive.⁷

¹ J. Szulich-Kałuża, *Wizerunek Obywateli Państw Trzecich w prasie ogólnopolskiej*, in: *Integracja lokalna czy medialna? Badanie wizerunku medialnego Obywateli Państw Trzecich w mediach ogólnopolskich i lokalnych*, ed. W. Wcisł, Lublin 2015, p. 32.

² M. Mrozowski, *Obrazy cudzoziemców i imigrantów w Polsce*, in: *Integracja czy dyskryminacja? Polskie wyzwanie i dylematy u progu wielokulturowości*, ed. K. Iglicka, Warszawa 2010.

³ R. Szwed, *Tożsamość a obcość kulturowa*, Lublin 2003.

⁴ G. Zarzycka, *Dyskurs prasowy o cudzoziemcach. Na podstawie tekstów o Łódzkiej Wieży Babel i osobach czarnoskórych*, Łódź 2006.

⁵ I. Józwiak, J. Konieczna-Sałamatin, M. Tudorowski, *Bez cudzoziemców bylibyśmy ubożsi. Wizerunek obcokrajowców na łamach polskiej prasy*, Warszawa 2010.

⁶ *Integracja lokalna czy medialna? Badanie wizerunku medialnego Obywateli Państw Trzecich w mediach ogólnopolskich i lokalnych*, ed. W. Wcisł, Lublin 2015.

⁷ I. Józwiak, J. Konieczna-Sałamatin, M. Tudorowski, op. cit., p. 4.

The subject of foreigners became present in the media once again in the second half of 2015, when the largest increase in the number of migrants coming to the southern coasts of Europe was recorded. The phenomenon was caused by the political turmoil in the Middle East and the inability to take in more refugees in neighboring countries such as Lebanon, Turkey etc.

However, the analysed articles suggest that the movement was caused by political decisions of the leading EU politicians, including speeches by Chancellor Angela Merkel in which she invited Syrian refugees to come to the Old Continent. News agencies and editorial offices competed in the publications of news and touching photographs of refugees, not only from Syria but from the whole Middle East or Africa. In the media narrative, the word *refugee*, inflected back and forth, has become a synonym for people migrating to Europe, regardless of their current political status, or the social and political situation in their country of origin. That topic had a significant place also in the Polish press, as in the research period, i.e. from 1st June until 31st December 2015, 254 pieces of news concerning foreigners were selected from five weeklies.

1. Methodological Assumptions

The press material was selected from the following titles: “Gość Niedzielny,” “Newsweek Polska,” “Polityka,” “W Sieci” and “Wprost.”⁸ The subsequent issues needed to be solved:

- who the most frequently described foreigners are;
- in what contexts foreigners appear most often;
- what concepts pertaining to foreigners are used by the journalists;
- if and how foreigners are depicted on the covers of selected weeklies;
- which weeklies create a positive or negative image of foreigners.

A content and subject analysis was used for the research.

A classification key was built, covering the formal part (authors, form and volume of the texts, covers of the weeklies, etc.) and the substantive part, referring to specific issues, such as:

- 1) the profile of a foreigner (gender, age, creed, nationality, occupation, legal status);
- 2) terms used to describe foreigners;
- 3) relations among foreigners;
- 4) emotions expressed by foreigners.

The chosen elements will be discussed in the following article.

⁸ The analysed influential weeklies were chosen based on the data made available by Związek Kontroli Dystrybucji Prasy (The Press Distribution Control Association), concerning the distribution of influential weeklies in October 2015. The following titles recorded the highest sales in that period: “Gość Niedzielny,” “Newsweek Polska,” “Polityka” and “W Sieci.” To provide reference to press titles of different character, “Wprost” has also been added to the analysis.

2. Description of the Research Material

For the analysis 254 articles from 102 issues were selected.⁹ In the researched time period there was a total of 151 weeklies issued by the five analyzed press titles, meaning that, throughout the seven months, 67% of all issues touched upon the topic of foreigners. The largest number of articles appeared in “W Sieci” and the smallest in “Newsweek.” Other weeklies reacted with almost equal frequency to the reports on the situation of immigrants in selected European countries. Frequency distribution of press materials, which also takes into account individual months, can be found in Table 1.

Table 1
Number of issues containing materials on foreigners (from June to December 2015)

Title	“Polityka”	“Newsweek”	“W Sieci”	“Gość Niedzielny”	“Wprost”	Total
Number of issues containing materials on foreigners	20	18	23	23	17	102
June	3	5	4	2	–	14
July	4	1	4	5	7	21
August	1	5	2	7	9	24
September	18	18	30	13	20	99
October	11	4	11	8	5	39
November	5	7	17	11	5	45
December	5	–	4	2	1	12
Total	47	40	72	48	47	254

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

It is worth paying attention to a sudden increase in publications in September, i.e. the month of heated discussions among the politicians of Germany, Hungary and Austria, already affected by the migration crisis, and other countries.

When writing about foreigners, journalists used shorter and more complex forms equally. The most dominant were problem-oriented articles (26.0%), in which the situation of migrants was given a broader context, and commentaries (23.0%) that are a subjective form of expression. The third place was occupied by reports (14.5%) showing the fate of the newcomers, often in a dramatic and emotional way. Then came interviews (11.5%), and news-reports and portraits were used least frequently. Thus, there is a visible tendency to use more extensive and subjective forms of expression (Table 2).

⁹ The content has been selected based on the following criteria: the appearance of keywords (outlander, foreigner, migrant, immigrant, emigrant, refugee); the problem described deals with the influx of migrants to Europe in 2015.

Table 2

Journalistic genres

Genre	"Polityka"	"Newsweek"	"W Sieci"	"Gość Niedzielny"	"Wprost"	Total
Problem-oriented article	14	6	17	15	14	66
Commentary	8	2	32	8	8	58
Report	11	10	2	10	4	37
Interview	1	13	8	6	1	29
Feuilleton	5	2	8	1	7	23
Facts and opinions	–	5	3	5	9	22
Correspondence	3	1	–	1	2	7
News	2	–	–	1	2	5
Portrait	–	1	1	1	–	3
Other	3	–	1	–	–	4
Total	47	40	72	48	47	254

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

Thirty three percent of the 102 weeklies placed a reference to an article on foreigners on their front page, and in nine issues the covers were entirely devoted to that topic. Thus, it was not a topic meant to attract readers. However, it is worth noticing that topics related to migrants appeared on the covers mostly in September, the hottest period for the escalating crisis. Balanced but thought-provoking covers are characteristic for "Polityka," and the controversial ones, with high emotional appeal, were published in "W Sieci" (Figure 1).

"W Sieci" attracted readers with its covers mostly in September 2015. They have a pejorative overtone, both in the visual (cocky, arrogant faces of young Muslims, the use of the Polish national emblem, a rifle in hand) and verbal layer: "Germany forces a suicidal plan – Tusk and Kopacz give in,"¹⁰ "Ewa Kopacz will bring hell on us at Berlin's behest,"¹¹ "Orbán and Kaczyński. They defend Europe against the madness of the left-wing party and the Islamists."¹² It is suggested that the Poles need to defend themselves against a wave of "invaders" from other parts of the world.

"Polityka" refers to the subject of foreigners on nine covers, with an image attached three times. They evoke positive associations: a smiling, exotic couple, dressed in Muslim clothes (a hijab for the woman and a keffiyeh on the man's head), holding a baby in their arms, and a question: "New Poles? What will we do when they come?,"¹³ encourage reflection. Another cover communicates a short verbal message: "Do we care about refugees? The Poles between solidarity and fear." The word *solidarity* is surrounded by a barbed wire.¹⁴ The December, Christmas issue of "Polityka" places on their cover an image of the Holy

¹⁰ "W Sieci" 2015, No. 37.

¹¹ "W Sieci" 2015, No. 38.

¹² "W Sieci" 2015, No. 39.

¹³ "Polityka" 2015, No. 38.

¹⁴ "Polityka" 2015, No. 30.



Figure 1. Covers on the subject of foreigners coming to Europe
Source: own photographs of covers, author: Katarzyna Pęziół.

Family, on a donkey, fleeing with baby Jesus before Herod. The meaningful title refers to refugees: "The history of the Church was created by refugees, exiles and pilgrims."¹⁵

"Newsweek" placed a reference to the articles in the upper bar five times. It did not, however, include any images representing the subject.

"Gość Niedzielny" used the cover to announce a material on foreigners nine times, but devoted it to the subject only once. A crowd of people marches along a street; they are mostly young, swarthy, in T-shirts and caps, but turbans and scarves on their heads appear as well. The photo is captioned in the following manner: "A new migration of nations. Thousands of refugees are heading to Europe. A dispute about boundaries between openness and concern for one's home divide our continent." It shows the problem, but also draws attention to a key social process which dominates and determines the future of the old continent.

The weekly "Wprost" mentioned the subject on its front page seven times. Twice it was a cover with both a visual and a verbal message. The first portrays a black woman in a hijab, holding a child. In the background, the European Union flag is visible, the stars of which form a halo above the woman's head (symbolism pertaining to the Virgin Mary?). The readers are asked: "Immigrants. Martyrs or invaders?"¹⁶ The second cover spurred a lot of discussion, not only among journalists. It was a photo of a dead Syrian child, cast upon the shore of a Turkish beach. The image was overlaid with a title: "The high price of hypocrisy."¹⁷ The picture caused shock all around the world, raising questions about who the dead boy was, and why his family tried to get to Europe.

The nine covers of "Polityka" devoted the subject of migrants attracts with the help of interesting associations. The weekly is neutral towards the subject of migration and raises questions rather than gives answers. "W Sieci" creates a negative image of foreigners and, at the same time, refers to the current politics and the decisions of those in power, accusing them of a policy that is disastrous for Poland. It uses photomontages, aggressive slogans and divides the public into "us" and "them," which can be associated with a tabloidization of the weekly rather than its opinion-influencing role. The message is controversial and explicit, designed to cause antagonisms and hit political opponents. The cover of "Wprost" showing the death of a child breaks the rules of ethical journalism. "Gość Niedzielny" (when taking into account only the front page) remains neutral on the subject, trying to explain the ongoing political and social processes rather than evaluate them.

¹⁵ "Polityka" 2015, No. 51–52.

¹⁶ "Wprost" 2015, No. 36.

¹⁷ "Wprost" 2015, No. 37.

3. Gender, Age and Origin of the Described Foreigners

It is not easy to say who the portrayed foreigners are, due to the lack of detailed information or its generality, caused, among other things, by the necessity to protect the privacy of the described individuals. However, it is possible to distinguish 178 characters whose gender can be identified – 108 men and 70 women. Thus, men are dominant (60% of analyzed characters). These proportions are visible in all the analyzed journals apart from “Gość Niedzielny,” which describes women and men with equal interest, maybe due to the fact that its journalists frequently use the example of families rather than individuals (Table 3).

Table 3

The gender of article protagonists

Gender	“Polityka”	“Newsweek”	“W Sieci”	“Gość Niedzielny”	“Wprost”	Total
Female	11	15	12	24	8	70
Male	20	23	25	27	13	108
Total	31	38	37	51	21	178

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

The age of the described foreigners is also an important issue. In a lot of media coverage it has been mentioned that the wave of people coming to Europe consisted mainly of young, strong men who should fight for freedom in their countries. However, the age of migrants is seldom specifically defined; most of the time it can only be guessed based on context. The following data was obtained by selecting meaningful information from the material; age categories are rather approximate (Table 4).

Table 4

The age of the described foreigners

Stage of life	“Polityka”	“Newsweek”	“W Sieci”	“Gość Niedzielny”	“Wprost”	Total
Infants	6	1	1	5	2	15
Children	9	7	2	9	3	30
Teenagers	7	9	1	6	2	25
Young adults	21	12	25	30	6	94
Adults	9	3	3	5	–	20
Elderly people	4	1	1	3	–	9
Total	56	33	33	58	13	193

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

Young people are the predominant group, constituting more than 49.0% of all the presented people. The least numerous group are the elderly, representing 5.0% of the presented foreigners. Infants and children, who make 23.5% of the party, are also an important group, as they are keenly photographed

and described in the weeklies. It is often difficult to determine their gender because they are simply referred to as children, thus, their number was not included when determining the gender of the characters.

4. The Status of Foreigners

Another important descriptive element is the foreigners' legal status. Two aspects of this issue will be discussed in this article. The first applies to the legality of migration (Table 5); the second, to the process of acquiring the status of a refugee (Table 6).

Table 5

Legal status of foreigners according to the legality of migration

Legal status	"Polityka"	"Newsweek"	"W Sieci"	"Gość Niedzielny"	"Wprost"	Total
Legal immigrants	9	–	–	1	2	12
Illegal immigrants	12	4	5	6	8	35

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

There is usually a lack of information on the legality of migration; it appears only in "Polityka," "Wprost" and "Gość Niedzielny." Information about illegal border crossings appears in all the weeklies; most often in "Polityka," and least often in "Newsweek." Information on the process of applying for the status of a refugee or on having one, is equally scarce. Only in 23 of the articles (9%), there is information on people seeking to obtain the refugee status and in five on people having it.

Table 6

Status of foreigners in the view of acquiring a refugee status

Status	"Polityka"	"Newsweek"	"W Sieci"	"Gość Niedzielny"	"Wprost"	Total
People applying for a refugee status	5	4	1	6	7	23
People with a refugee status	2	2	1	–	–	5

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

Table 6 shows that protagonists of the articles are only occasionally actual refugees in the legal sense of the term, or are trying to acquire this status. Journalists use this term regularly, regardless of its precise definition and scope. Thus, they can mislead the reader, as a majority of the presented characters are not, and will never be, refugees in the proper sense of the term.

5. Religion and Creed of the Described Foreigners

Information on religion or creed of foreigners appears in 66% of the materials, making it significant, especially in parallel with the topical discussion in the weeklies about the potential transplantation of Islam onto the European soil and the weakening of Europe's Christian roots. At the same time, the differences between the followers of different religions are often discussed. Four great religions are listed in the articles: Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism. The followers of Yazidis, who are currently a religious minority most persecuted by the Islamic State, are also mentioned several times.

Table 7

The frequency of a given religion professed by foreigners

Religious followers	"Polityka"	"Newsweek"	"W Sieci"	"Gość Niedzielny"	"Wprost"	Total
Muslims	26	21	56	31	23	157
Christians	14	11	13	31	8	77
Yazidis	1	1	3	3	–	8
Jews	2	1	–	–	–	3
Buddhists	–	1	1	–	–	2
Atheists	–	–	–	1	–	1

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

The religion most often professed by the described foreigners was Islam, mentioned 157 times in total. Five fractions are enumerated within this religion: Wahhabism, Alawites, Salafism, Sunnism and Shiism. Clear definitions are rare; the followers of Islam are usually described as Muslims. Thus, the reader is not informed about the significant differences in different versions of this religion.

Christians appear twice less often (31%); several times journalists clarify what type of creed it is: Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant or Coptic. "Gość Niedzielny" also mentions former Muslims who converted to Christianity. The remaining religions are listed merely few times, so the main discussion focuses on the followers of Islam, who are most often regarded as a potential threat to "Europe's Christian roots."

6. Nationality and Occupation of Foreigners

The issue of nationality of the foreigners presented in the analyzed press is complicated. This is mainly due to the fact, that the nationalities of the described people were not always provided – sometimes it was the region or just the continent from which they come (this is very common in the case of Africa).

What is more, it was often not individuals that were described, but collective groups, such as the Arabs, without specifying what country they come from. Therefore, a decision was made to indicate the frequency with which certain regions of origin appear in the press. These are: the Middle East and the Caucasus, Africa, Europe, South Asia, America, and "other." The Middle East and the Caucasus include the states of Western Asia, as well as Pakistan and Afghanistan. South Asia includes the Indian subcontinent and South-East Asia. Table 8 shows the frequency with which given regions were indicated.

Table 8

The frequency of indicating a given region of origin

Region	"Polityka"	"Newsweek"	"W Sieci"	"Gość Niedzielny"	"Wprost"	Total
The Middle East and the Caucasus	85	78	99	75	64	401
Africa	53	34	36	41	50	212
Europe	52	21	13	10	31	128
South Asia	17	10	4	3	7	42
America	8	–	–	–	3	11
Other	5	1	6	4	8	24

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

Foreigners come mostly from the Middle East and the Caucasus (listed 401 times). The following countries were ascribed to this region: Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkey, Chechnya, Kurdistan, Palestine, Lebanon, Georgia, Iran, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Israel, Yemen and Jordan; also included were terms such as "Arab countries" or "Arabs." In this group, the Syrians were most frequently mentioned (139 times), probably due to the ongoing debate about receiving Syrian Christians to Poland. Thus, Syria has become a symbol of a place from which one escapes at all costs to save one's life. Other, much less frequently mentioned countries from this region, are Iraq and Afghanistan, listed 45 times each.

Foreigners came to Europe also from Africa, listed 212 times in the press materials. Journalists mentioned 22 countries from this continent, but their economic and political situation was not analyzed. Readers learned most frequently about fugitives from Eritrea (28 times) and Libya (16 times).

The European continent appeared in the context of migrations taking place both currently and in the past. Migrations of the Germans, the Greeks, the French, or other countries belonging to the current European Union, were shown in a historical context.

Foreigners from the Balkan countries generally applied for a refugee status in Germany, and the Ukrainians residing in Poland were most frequently mentioned (27 times) as an example of Polish openness towards those in need.

When it comes to South Asia, newcomers from Vietnam appeared most often, but there were also other countries such as Bangladesh, India, China

and South Korea, depicted as places where one could search for a better place than in the mother country.

America is the final region, used as a point of reference for foreigners from South American countries trying to enter the United States.

Table 9

Occupation of the described foreigners

Weekly	Occupation
"Polityka"	imam (three times), manual worker (twice), farmer (twice), football player (twice), salesman, hairdresser, pastor, bar owner, IT specialist, bakery worker, accountant, architect, presenter, football coach, electro-technician, businessman, engineer, music teacher, entrepreneur, advisor, soldier, cook, bellhop, dancer, factory worker, receptionist, seasonal worker, barman
"Newsweek"	doctor (three times), writer (three times), minister (twice), soldier or ex-soldier (twice), engineer, embassy worker, translator and poet, social activist, model, firm owner, president of the Warsaw Muslim Commune, professor, publisher, blogger, football player, senior salesman, owner of seven restaurants, kebab seller, accountant in the Ministry of Finance, teacher, hairdresser, bank employee, hospital employee, secular school employee, musician, photographer, ambassador, politician, chef, muezzin, architect, member of the elite, IT specialist, policewoman, shipyard worker, gardener, welder, greenhouse worker, imam, sociologist
"W Sieci"	professor, soldier, bodybuilder and gym owner, refinery worker, businessman, doctor, owner of a network of kebab selling points
"Gość Niedzielny"	cleaning lady (twice), pastor, builder, sound technician in a TV station, therapist, tailor, jeweler, caregiver of disabled children, imam, doctor, caretaker, seasonal worker, electrician, IT specialist, corporation employee, house help, priest
"Wprost"	worker, doctor, drug dealer, senator

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

Table 9 presents categories of activities and occupations performed by the described foreigners.¹⁸ Listed in the press materials are representatives of professions ranked high in the social hierarchy: doctors, businessmen, lawyers, philanthropists; but also foreigners with a low social status: seasonal workers, manual workers, people living on social benefits.

"Polityka" and "Newsweek" readily give examples of well-educated people, specialists in different fields and freelancers, such as poets, translators, bloggers, musicians, architects. Interviews with people who can be classified as intellectuals and artists dominate in "Newsweek." There are also people employed in the public administration or professional politicians. They form an elite group against the background of the described foreigners. Conservative weeklies give fewer details about the practiced profession or social status and they much more frequently describe foreigners in general terms as people involved in terrorist organizations and performing specific functions within them.

¹⁸ Pupils and students were not included in the Table, only adults.

7. Contexts in Which Foreigners Are Described

Different contexts in which foreigners are described can be distinguished from the analyzed material (Table 10).

Table 10

The context in which foreigners are presented

Context	“Polityka”	“Newsweek”	“W Sieci”	“Gość Niedzielny”	“Wprost”	Total
Political	19	14	49	15	38	135
Cultural	14	19	14	22	4	73
Social	7	7	5	8	5	32
Historical	3	–	1	1	–	5
Religious	1	–	1	2	–	4
Economic	3	–	–	–	–	3
Military	–	–	1	–	–	1
Legal	–	–	1	–	–	1
Total	47	40	72	48	47	254

Source: authors’ compilation based on conducted research.

Subject analysis revealed that foreigners were most frequently mentioned in a political context – over 53% of the materials referred to the manner in which policy towards them is conducted, predominantly in “Wprost” (81% of the articles) and “W Sieci” (68% of the articles). For example: “I am a supporter of a brutal immigration policy, devoid of sentiments, based on the Anglo-Saxon model.”¹⁹ The political context pertained to EU’s plans for the migration policy and the allocation of refugees, whose maintenance, care and assistance will have to be ensured by individual countries. In the political context, often linked to the social one (28% of the materials), foreigners appear as an undefined crowd towards whose fate prompt decisions must be made, organizing its presence in Europe. This aspect was used least frequently by the journalists of “Gość Niedzielny” (31% of the articles).

All the weeklies took up the subject of foreigners in the cultural context, although it was the main topic in just 29% of the materials. It was most frequent in “Gość Niedzielny” and showed the shared experiences of foreigners – the hardships of adapting to a life outside of their own county, of learning new traditions, of overcoming barriers in communication, language and integration:

One part of the hotel is a shelter for juvenile refugees who found themselves in Austria without their parents. The other, is a boutique hotel run by asylum seekers. Most of them have no professional education, have never worked in the hotel industry or had a job. They also do not speak German very well. But they speak Swahili, Persian, Portuguese, Russian, French, Arabic... Dinis (29 years old), a political refugee from Guinea-Bissau, who, smuggled onboard a container

¹⁹ C. Kaźmierczak, *Imigranci na wagę złota*, “Wprost” 2015, No. 48, p. 41.

ship, wandered around Europe to finally end up in Austria, knows seven languages. He is, thus, the best receptionist that the hotel could have wished for.²⁰

The other contexts are used sporadically: "Polityka" described foreigners in a historical context three times, showing that migrations of people and the mixing of cultures was just as frequent in the past. Such references were also made by "W Sieci" and "Gość Niedzielny."

Interestingly, foreigners were rarely presented in a strictly religious context: twice in "Gość Niedzielny" and once in "Polityka" and "W Sieci." This is not the main context even in the Catholic-oriented "Gość Niedzielny," albeit, due to its specification, the dramatic situation of Christians in the Middle East and the adaptation of refugees in Poland is often described. Adnan Saad, a Christian refugee from Syria who, together with his wife and daughters, settled with a Polish family near Warsaw, recalls:

Practically every place in and around Damascus has been bombed. [...] I often passed by the district of Jobar, on the suburbs of Damascus, and saw people with covered faces. I do not know who they were but I saw they had guns. I was afraid, but they did not speak to us – he says. He confirms that Christians are the most heavily attacked community in Syria. – In the so-called Old Damascus, in a Christian district where there were many churches of different denominations and many schools, missiles fell almost all the time – he adds.²¹

In the texts highlighting the religious aspect, the principles of the teachings of the Catholic Church towards refugees, like Mary and Joseph fleeing to Egypt with Jesus, are also stressed. "Polityka" and "Wprost" note that, together with the influx of foreigners, the economy of the host country also benefits. It is, therefore, emphasized that proper procedures for the admission of immigrants who will be able to adapt to the Polish reality and find their place in the Polish culture and on the job market need to be set.

The contexts in which foreigners are mentioned are closely connected and merge with each other. The dominant tendency is to show foreigners through the prism of the current policy of the EU and individual European countries.

8. Terms Used to Describe Foreigners

During public debate, when discussing people coming to Europe in 2015, there is usually talk of refugees or immigrants. However, other possible terms used to describe migrant people were looked for in the analyzed press. Table 11 indicates the frequency with which terms that are not evaluative towards foreigners are used.²²

²⁰ A. Rodowicz, *Tu witają uchodźcy*, "Polityka" 2015, No. 51–52, p. 150–152.

²¹ J. Dziedzina, *Dla wszystkich starczy miejsc*, "Gość Niedzielny" 2015, No. 30, [online] <<http://gosc.pl/doc/2599631.Dla-wszystkich-starczy-miejsc/2>>, accessed 17 January 2016.

²² The neutral character of these terms may raise concerns. The authors are aware of the ambiguous connotations with certain terms, i.e. "émigrés," "exiles." However, they are not as clearly marked with negative overtones as those in Table 11.

Table 11

Neutral terms used to describe foreigners

Neutral terms	“Polityka”	“Newsweek”	“W Sieci”	“Gość Niedzielny”	“Wprost”	Total
Refugees	362	369	227	287	194	1439
Immigrants	139	103	238	148	213	841
Newcomers	18	16	51	22	87	194
Migrants	71	4	18	35	46	174
Fugitives	32	15	35	16	12	110
Emigrants	21	4	21	11	15	72
Others	16	22	15	–	11	64
Foreign nationals	29	8	3	9	14	63
Asylum seekers	11	11	2	4	19	47
Foreigners	6	4	–	2	12	24
Exiles	7	1	2	–	–	10
Repatriates	3	–	1	–	4	8
Castaways	2	–	–	–	2	4
Wanderers, nomads	1	–	2	–	–	3
Exotics, from exotic countries	2	–	–	–	1	3
Third World inhabitants	1	–	1	–	1	3
Russian refugees	2	–	–	–	–	2

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

A total of 17 groups of terms was specified. The most popular term is “refugee,” which appeared 1439 times. It was most commonly used by the editorial board of “Polityka,” “Newsweek” and “Gość Niedzielny.” This is followed by the term “immigrants” – used 841 times, “newcomers” – 188 times, “migrants” – 174 times, and “fugitives” – 110 times.

These terms are used in diverse contexts, for example “Polityka” writes about “climate refugees,” whereas “Wprost” and “Gość Niedzielny” about “illegal refugees.” While one can talk about illegal border crossings, a man cannot be described as an “illegal refugee” because to gain a refugee status one must go through a long and restrictive procedure. Each of the analyzed weeklies writes about “illegal immigrants,” “illegal newcomers,” “illegal migrants and immigrants,” “illegal economic immigrants” or “illegal individuals,” heaving in mind the people who illegally crossed the border of a given country. According to the weeklies, those “refugees” are, thus, usually migrants trying to get to the richer countries of the EU, mostly to Germany. The obtention of the refugee status is a long and selective process, so the use of the word “refugee” to describe the migrants is abusive. “Newsweek” uses the terms: “political refugees,” “refugees from the death zone,” or “our refugees.” The terms which appear in “Gość

Niedzielný” are: “war refugees,” “Islamic and Christian refugees,” the already mentioned “illegal refugees,” and “an army of refugees.” “Wprost” lists: “Muslim refugees,” “illegal refugees,” “unwanted refugees,” “economic refugees,” “factual refugees,” “an invasion of refugees,” and even “hordes of Islamic refugees.” “W Sieci” states ironically: “the poor, persecuted refugees,” “people pretending to be refugees,” “genuine refugees,” “new refugees,” “real refugees.” At the same time, none of the weeklies explains these nuances to the reader. In the analyzed weeklies, there is an evident tendency to overuse the term “refugee” in different contexts and combinations. The fact that journalists are interchangeably using the terms “migrant,” “emigrant” and “immigrant,” and the mixing of the words “immigrant” and “refugee,” adds to the chaos. Migrants are people on the move; immigrants are people coming to another country, whereas emigrants are those who leave their country of residence. These terms are often combined with adjectives such as “legal,” “illegal,” “profit-earning,” “economical,” “unwanted,” “forced,” “swarthy,” “Islamic,” “Muslim,” “new” or “dead.” Therefore, journalists make semantically incorrect connections, searching for more and more inventive terms and disregarding the scope of these concepts.

In the press materials, there are also terms which evaluate the newcomers negatively (Table 12).

Table 12

The frequency of using negative terms to describe foreigners

Negative term	“Polityka”	“Newsweek”	“W Sieci”	“Gość Niedzielný”	“Wprost”	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>assassins; terrorists; the Taliban; Jihadist; fighters; saboteurs; civilian army; foreign intelligence agents; Muhammad’s warriors; messengers of the Islamic State; Arab-terrorist-Islamist</i>	8	6	24	2	1	41
<i>the unfortunate; the poor; poor people; the oppressed; poor souls; Christian orphan; a procession of beggars; vagabonds</i>	5	2	4	4	7	22
<i>Islamic hordes; hordes of wild barbarians; hordes with swollen balls; hordes of young, healthy men</i>	2	13	4	–	1	20
<i>Islamists; Islamic fundamentalists; Muslims; Allah’s followers; fanatics; Muslim infidel; blasphemers</i>	1	1	9	1	–	12
<i>Arabs; Arabians (used in a pejorative context)</i>	–	8	1	–	–	9

cont. table 12

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>flea carriers; unwashed people; shithheads; disease carriers; infectious injection; filth; dirty rag; human trash</i>	–	8	–	–	–	8
<i>Wildling; savages</i>	–	7	–	–	–	7
<i>boars in their prime; robust men in their prime; fine, virile males; goat-fuckers; bulls; testosterone bombs</i>	2	3	1	–	–	6
<i>brownie; brown; brown filth</i>	2	–	4	–	–	6
<i>benefit swindlers; parasites; do-nothings; weeds; parvenus</i>	–	5	–	1	–	6
<i>Islamic battering ram; Islamic Pandora's Box; Islamic, Wahhabi ulcer; external enemy; Islamic plague</i>	–	–	4	–	1	5
<i>invaders; onslaught</i>	–	3	2	–	–	5
<i>those blacks; bamboos; asphalt; Negro; Nigger</i>	–	5	–	–	–	5
<i>pure evil; evil is coming; Satans in a human skin; throat slitters</i>	–	4	–	–	–	4
<i>new Huns; Huns</i>	–	2	1	–	–	3
<i>barbarians (modern version)</i>	–	–	1	1	1	3
<i>daredevils; happiness seekers</i>	–	–	–	1	1	2
<i>dark scum; cattle</i>	–	2	–	–	–	2
<i>pseudo-immigrants; people pretending to be refugees</i>	–	–	2	–	–	2
<i>Syrian candidates for Polish citizens; Islamic candidates for Poles</i>	–	–	2	–	–	2
<i>zoophiles; Islamic necrophiliacs</i>	–	2	–	–	–	2
Total	20	71	59	10	12	172

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

Most frequent are terms referring to the Islamic roots of foreigners, which are directly linked to terrorism, aggression against other religions and terror of the Islamic State. However, journalists from "Polityka," "Gość Niedzielny" and "Wprost" try not to generalize and distinguish religion from its extreme variations, for example: "With all certainty, an overwhelming majority of immigrants are not Islamists. Islamism is a criminal ideology that has grown on the grounds of Islam, but is not synonymous to it."²³

²³ A. Romaszewska-Guzy, *Migranci jak Smoleńsk*, "Wprost" 2015, No. 39, p. 22.

Next comes a group of expressions stressing the poverty, the misery and the tragic position of foreigners, but they are most commonly used in an ironic, mocking context. Then there is a group of terms that describe the barbaric behaviors of the newcomers, the cultural differences in the sexual sphere. Further on, there was talk about the religious fanaticism of foreigners.

To conclude, it is worth stressing that journalists use pejorative terms much less often than neutral ones; they are most common in the weeklies "W Sieci" and "Newsweek." These press titles dispute with one another, though "Newsweek" often recalls the extreme opinions of its opponents, accusing the conservatives of fascism, racism and hypocrisy. It is an ideological and political discussion rather than a factual one.

9. Mutual Relations and Emotions of Foreigners

Not much attention is paid to the mutual relations between foreigners, and if so, their family situation is usually mentioned. Family members who fled together, or a longing for the loved ones who remained in the country of origin, are mentioned in 31% of the articles. Predominant in the press materials are difficult relations related to, for example, a long separation or the death of a family member. Contact with relatives is dependent primarily on the possession of mobile phones, used for sending e-mails and talking through Skype. Families are diverse: there is talk of both dysfunctional families with a division of roles strictly defined by the patriarchal model and hurtful towards women, as well as families in which there is a strong bond and family members help and trust each other. The Catholic weekly "Gość Niedzielny" and "Polityka" present examples of healthy family relations more often:

My family sold a house so I could flee the country. My mother and brothers moved to our relatives. I escaped with my wife, but we got separated while being smuggled. Fortunately, she managed to get to Italy. I am waiting for her here [...], a 24-year-old Jimi from Syria tells me. He got to Italy with his mother and a 5-year-old niece, Assi.²⁴

Emotions of foreigners are an important element in the description of relations. They are communicated through stories of people who experience suffering and misery. An atmosphere of fear, fatigue and uncertainty is predominant:

It is not easy to enter the crowd of immigrants camping at the railway station in Belgrade. It is not about the garbage or the stench. People produce an aura. The aura in this group is filled with fear. Faces are tense and eyes are restless, looking for a way to escape. You have to get a grip and remind yourself that

²⁴ T. Rożek, *Podróż do lepszego świata*, "Gość Niedzielny" 2015, No. 26, [online] <<http://gosc.pl/doc/2557999.Podroz-do-lepszego-swiate/2>>, accessed 17 January 2016.

these are, after all, normal people, just like us, tailors, electricians, clerks, craftsmen, only in abnormal conditions [...]. A conversation restores their individuality.²⁵

Due to the difficulties experienced by foreigners, both on the road and in the countries to which they come, negative emotions are predominant in the analyzed content. The weekly in which positive emotions offset negative ones is "Gość Niedzielny." Journalists find and show fates of families fleeing from dangerous regions and arranging a happy life for themselves abroad (Table 13).

Table 13

Emotions of foreigners presented in the press materials

Title	Positive emotions	Negative emotions
"Polityka"	gratitude, trust, determination, a smile, will to act, mobility	fear (six times), helplessness, crying (twice), depression (twice), frustration, bitterness, disappointment, indignation, anger (twice), dread (twice), tension, boredom, idleness, uncertainty (twice), hysteria, aggression (twice), resentment, tiredness (twice), pain, loneliness, alienation, withdrawal, dejection, trauma, shame, apprehension
"Newsweek"	a smile, emotionality, happiness, admiration	a sense of danger, worrying, distress, fear (twice), grief, helplessness, crying, a breaking voice, anguish, hysteria, panic, exhaustion, dread, confusion, tiredness (twice), disappointment
"W Sieci"	a smile (three times)	tears (twice)
"Gość Niedzielny"	a smile (eight times), emotionality (twice), crying (twice), gratitude, happiness (twice), hope and determination, laughter, singing	fear (eight times), a breaking voice, pain (twice), mistrust, concern, tension, trauma, resignation, lack of will to live
"Wprost"	happiness	desperation, bitterness, fear, mistrust, aggression

Source: authors' compilation based on conducted research.

The emotional sphere is shown in a fragmentary way due to various barriers, language and cultural among others, as well as the inability to understand non-verbal communication in the event of a intercultural encounter. Through emotions, journalists show human dramas, arouse readers' sympathy and convince them to the presented arguments.

²⁵ G. Myślińska, *Co zrobić z falą migrantów?*, "Gość Niedzielny" 2015, No. 36, [online] <<http://gosc.pl/doc/2677760.Co-zrobic-z-fala-imigrantow>>, accessed 17 January 2016.

Conclusion

The image of foreigners in influential press is diverse and multidimensional, but specific characteristics of the newcomers can be distinguished on the basis of the analyzed press titles. They are usually young people, men and women, often with small children, going through a long and dangerous journey across the Mediterranean Sea. For the most part, they are Muslims, but also Christians coming from the Middle East and Africa. Journalists usually call them refugees or immigrants, often with no clear distinction between the two terms. Their influx, uncontrolled at first, caused the so-called European migrant crisis, for which, according to the center-rightist press, the leading German and French politicians are to blame. In "Newsweek," "Polityka," "Wprost" and "W Sieci" the subject of refugees and migrants is predominantly politicized. Their journey, which ends up with them camping at national borders that are being closed in front of them, is regarded as a burning political issue, causing conflict between individual European countries and the political parties in Poland. Foreigners are much less frequently mentioned in cultural and religious context, but one should remember that they intertwine.

The weekly "Gość Niedzielny" adopted a wider, yet more individualistic perspective, focusing on the description of the problems of specific Christian refugee families, depicting their traumatic experiences, analyzing the situation in their countries of origin, different stages of their adaptation in Poland and showing examples of hospitality in the Polish families. The image of foreigners in "Gość Niedzielny" is positive, encouraging readers to reflect on the complex situation of people fleeing to Europe for different reasons.

When describing foreigners, journalists reach out for those journalistic genres which allow them to examine the situation of migrants more deeply, to look at their influx from different perspectives: political, economic, socio-cultural (problem-oriented articles), or to express one's views on their presence in Europe (comments, reports, feuilletons). The dispute over a proportionate distribution of refugees between EU countries and the very presence of Muslim immigrants (comments, reports, feuilletons) is a recurring issue in the articles. Expressive, but very different opinions on this issue appeared in "Newsweek" and "W Sieci." The former reaches for statements of foreigners belonging to the intellectual elite; thus, their image is related to success and a high position in the social hierarchy. They show the benefits of their presence in the host societies. "W Sieci" adopts a different viewpoint, treating immigrants merely as people seeking to obtain social benefits in rich EU countries, particularly Germany. The dominant narrative focuses on the danger posed by a crowd in which potential terrorists might be hiding; their otherness is accentuated, together with cultural foreignness and ideological and religious differences, which will raise and escalate conflicts and strengthen intercultural barriers. "W Sieci" concentrates on negative, drastic cases of antisocial behavior of Muslims, reaffirming skeptical attitudes towards the admission of Islamic immigrants. One

can say that each of the editorial offices has its point of view and strengthens its readers' beliefs in its own "correct" position on this matter.

Teams of journalists writing about the problems of foreigners are faithful to the political viewpoint expressed by the newspapers that they are linked to. This is because the editorial policy does not determine the manner of writing about a specific topic, as much as it imposes a specific way of dealing with the socio-political problems. This tendency is especially visible with themes that are medially and politically popular, such as the controversial problem of the inflow of foreigners, especially refugees for Central-Eastern Europe, analysed above.

Trans. Natalia Misztal

Reference list

- Integracja czy dyskryminacja? Polskie wyzwania i dylematy u progu wielokulturowości*, ed. K. Iglicka, Warszawa 2010.
- Integracja lokalna czy medialna? Badanie wizerunku medialnego Obywateli Państw Trzecich w mediach ogólnopolskich i lokalnych*, ed. W. Wcisł, Lublin 2015.
- Jóźwiak I., Konieczna-Sałamatin J., Tudorowski M., *Bez cudzoziemców bylibyśmy ubożsi. Wizerunek obcokrajowców na łamach polskiej prasy*, Warszawa 2010.
- Mrozowski M., *Obrazy cudzoziemców i imigrantów w Polsce*, in: *Integracja czy dyskryminacja? Polskie wyzwania i dylematy u progu wielokulturowości*, ed. K. Iglicka, Warszawa 2010.
- Szulich-Kałuża J., *Wizerunek Obywateli Państw Trzecich w prasie ogólnopolskiej*, in: *Integracja lokalna czy medialna? Badanie wizerunku medialnego Obywateli Państw Trzecich w mediach ogólnopolskich i lokalnych*, ed. W. Wcisł, Lublin 2015.
- Szwed R., *Tożsamość a obcość kulturowa*, Lublin 2003.
- Zarzycka G., *Dyskurs prasowy o cudzoziemcach. Na podstawie tekstów o Łódzkiej Wieży Babel i osobach czarnoskórych*, Łódź 2006.

Press citation

- Dziedzina J., *Dla wszystkich starczy miejsca*, "Gość Niedzielny" 2015, No. 30, [online] <<http://gosc.pl/doc/2599631.Dla-wszystkich-starczy-miejsca/2>>, accessed 17 January 2016.
- Każmierczak C., *Imigranci na wagę złota*, "Wprost" 2015, No. 48.
- Myślińska G., *Co zrobić z falą migrantów?*, "Gość Niedzielny" 2015, No. 36, [online] <<http://gosc.pl/doc/2677760.Co-zrobic-z-fala-imigrantow/>>, accessed 17 January 2016.
- Rodowicz A., *Tu witają uchodźcy*, "Polityka" 2015, No. 51–52.
- Romaszewska-Guzy A., *Migranci jak Smoleńsk*, "Wprost" 2015, No. 39.
- Rożek T., *Podróż do lepszego świata*, "Gość Niedzielny" 2015, No. 26, [online] <<http://gosc.pl/doc/2557999.Podroz-do-lepszego-swiate/2>>, accessed 17 January 2016.

Obraz cudzoziemców w wybranych tygodnikach opiniotwórczych w 2015 roku

Streszczenie

Celem autorek artykułu jest przeanalizowanie, jaki obraz cudzoziemców kreuje się w tygodnikach opiniotwórczych w kontekście narastającego w 2015 roku kryzysu migracyjnego na kontynencie europejskim. Metodą analizy zawartości i treści przebadano

wydania pięciu tygodników o odmiennych profilach światopoglądowych (wśród nich znalazły się periodyki: „Gość Niedzielny”, „Newsweek Polska”, „Polityka”, „W Sieci” oraz „Wprost”), ukazujące się między 1 czerwca a 31 grudnia 2015 roku, a więc w okresie narastania niepokojów społecznych w Europie, spowodowanych masowym napływem cudzoziemców z Bliskiego Wschodu i Afryki. W dyskursie medialnym używano na ich określenie pojęcia „uchodźcy”. Autorki celowo zastosowały termin „cudzoziemcy”, by nie zawężać pola badania jedynie do osób uciekających z powodu prześladowań politycznych czy religijnych. Analiza ilościowa z elementami jakościowej wykazała, że konserwatywne tygodniki prawicowe upowszechniają raczej negatywny, a zarazem dosyć płytki obraz cudzoziemców, pokazując ich na ogół jako tłum („W Sieci”) aniżeli poszczególne przypadki dramatycznych losów ludzi czy rodzin („Gość Niedzielny”). Prasa lewicowa koncentruje się na prezentowaniu cudzoziemców należących do elity (pisarzy, artystów, malarzy). Tygodnik katolicki „Gość Niedzielny” przedstawia częściej obraz cudzoziemców przez pryzmat problemów rodzin próbujących adaptować się do nowej rzeczywistości.

S u m m a r y

The aim of the authors of this article is to analyze the image of foreigners as created by influential weeklies in the context of the growing migration crisis in Europe in 2015. The method of content analysis was used to test five weeklies with diverse ideological profiles (“Gość Niedzielny,” “Newsweek Polska,” “Polityka,” “W Sieci” and “Wprost”), published between 1st June and 31st December 2015 – a period of rising social unrest in Europe, caused by a massive influx of foreigners from the Middle East and Africa, described in the media discourse as *refugees*. The authors have deliberately used the term *foreigners* not to narrow the field of research only to victims of political or religious persecutions. A quantitative and, partially, qualitative analysis indicates that conservative rightist weeklies promote a rather negative and quite shallow image of foreigners, portraying them more as a crowd (“W Sieci”), instead of highlighting individual cases of dramatic fates of people and families (“Gość Niedzielny”). The leftist press focuses on foreigners who belong to the elite (writers, artists, painters). A Catholic weekly, “Gość Niedzielny,” often presents problems of families trying to adapt to a new reality.

