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STILL MORE ABOUT HISTORY THAN ABOUT THE PRESENT – PICTURE OF RUSSIA, GERMANY AND UKRAINE IN THE POLISH MEDIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF 2013

1. INTRODUCTION

This article presents an analysis of the image of Russia (Russians), Germany (Germans) and Ukraine (Ukrainians) in Polish newspapers and periodicals in the second half of 2013[1] and is a direct development of one of the conclusions of a wider analysis of the image of foreigners in the above mentioned media at that time. The following two observations were the most interesting findings from this broad analysis. First of all, what was noticeable was a very big number of references, over 50%, to Russia, Ukraine and Germany (as major and important Polish neighbours) in the total number of references to foreigners in the analysed material. Secondly, statements about these countries and nations concentrated to a high degree on issues related to various historical bygones. In this article an attempt is made to accurately describe this phenomenon and to reflect on its potential consequences.

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Due to the general increase in the amount of information available to an individual recipient, linked to the popularisation of particular media – the press, radio, television and finally the Internet, institution of so-called 'gate-keeper' plays an increasingly important role in shaping the social image of the world. These are social, press, or government institutions that select individual pieces of information and decide which ones and in what form will be delivered to the final recipient. Such a selection of information is not tantamount to censorship, but it is obvious that the choice and proper presentation of particular 'news' and less 'hot' content, whether in writing or a graphic form, is a solution that allows for a specific control of the social reception of reality. It is true that generally in democratic countries such drastic message manipulation is rare, but the publisher must always take into account the tastes of consumers, and thus – advertisers, which affects the process of selection of specific contents, limiting their number, as well as manipulating the scope of presented information. The question of the effects of media coverage can be considered from many perspectives, but for the purposes of this work the political perspective, mentioned by Jensen[2], next to the purely academic one, and the perspective of the general message recipient are the most important.

It can be assumed that the manner in which specific countries and nations are presented in the media may have a specific influence on their perception in the country such content comes from. Consequently, it can influence both the political situation and political decisions made in it (for instance through the institution of elections), and thus the shape of international policy. On the other hand, the appropriate strategy for presenting information on individual countries can also (by influencing the perception of citizens) sanction selected assumptions of already adopted foreign policy. Thus, the analysis of the media image of a given country and nation can provide insights into the present and to some extent future relations between specific countries, both at the level of interpersonal contacts and international relations, and, to a certain extent, influence their future shape.

Many research papers analysing different types of content intended for wider audiences (texts published in the media, television programmes or films) in order to obtain an image of a particular group or phenomenon do not give a specific definition of the term 'image'. Exceptions to this rule are, among others, the works of Polish scientists including Bogdan Zemanek

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[2]   Jensen, K. 2002. *Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*. London: Routledge.

and Andrzej Kapiszewski, quoted by him. Definitions developed by them derive from Lippmann's concept of stereotype, described in his book 'Public opinion', published in 1922, as 'pictures in our heads'[3]. Such pictures, in the form of a ready-made prescription for information overload, are necessary for living in a society based on information. Already in the 1920s, the creator of the concept of stereotype thought schematic images were an intrinsic part of functioning 'in one great, blooming, buzzing' world[4]; this assumption becomes even more true in the present times when the recipient is flooded with information from various sources. Information that both directly affects him/her or have no visible impact on his or her social, political or economic reality.

The first empirical studies on stereotypes concerned, among others, the perception of individual ethnic groups in the United States as homogeneous wholes and features that characterised these groups[5]. Due to the fact that stereotyping-related research is becoming increasingly popular both in academic and media discourse, the very concept of stereotype has begun to gain many new definitions, depending on the research perspective, the reference point, or the type of definition itself[6]. One of the definitions, or rather its part, defines a stereotype as a specific, due to the combination of the cognitive and emotional factor, cognitive structure which, because of this connection, becomes a 'pragmatic structure in which three aspects can be distinguished: cognitive, emotional and pragmatic. The latter includes four functions: integrating, defensive, ideological-creative and political'[7]. This definition, and in particular the perception of a stereotype from the point of view of its ideological and creative function, could serve as a starting point for research carried out in this work. The same authors, however, point earlier to one of the features of stereotyping that has determined the fact that the subject of analysis of this work is the image of foreigners present in the media rather than the stereotype. This is the definition of a stereotype as a mental

3   Lippmann, W. 2012. *Public Opinion*. University of Virginia. Available at: http://xroads. virginia.edu/~Hyper/lippman/contents.html. [Accessed: 17 May 2012].

4   *Ibid*.

5   Lee, Y., Jussim, L.J., McCauley, C.R. 1995. *Stereotype Accuracy: Toward Appreciating Group Differences.* Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

6   Zemanek, B., *op. cit*.

7   Berting. J., Villain-Gandossi, C. 1995, Rola i znaczenie stereotypów narodowych w stosunkach międzynarodowych. Podejście interdyscyplinarne. [The role and significance of national stereotypes in international relations: An interdisciplinary approach.] In: Walas, T. ed. *Narody i stereotypy.* [*Nations and stereotypes*.] Kraków: Wyd. Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, pp. 13–27.

construct 'remaining completely unchanged for a long period of time'[8]. Polish stereotypes about Germans, Ukrainians and Russians have been shaped to a large extent on the basis of historical experiences. However, they might have changed in the last two decades, thanks to increased access to information. Poles not only travel more often but, thanks to almost universal access to Internet resources, they can almost freely choose sources of information about different countries and their inhabitants. Therefore, it is possible to create new social constructs for a rapid classification of representatives of various nations. Not only those present in Poland (although this is important especially in the case of Ukrainians), but also groups 'known' only on the basis of information provided by the media or acquaintances. Hence the decision to focus on the 'image' rather than the stereotype of individual groups.

Study of the image of foreigners in Poland

The study of the image of 'alien' foreigners in the Polish media is not widespread in Poland. In the context of this analysis, several previously conducted analyses should be mentioned.

The first group of such studies is devoted to the image of foreigners in the media. Here Maciej Mrozowski's research from 1996 and 2003 and studies by Jóźwiak, Konieczna-Sałamatin and Tudorowski from 2010, which are a continuation of Mrozowski's research, deserve special attention.

In our opinion, Mrozowski's research of 1996 contains two interesting observations. First, he points to the fact that in the 1,007 analysed articles on foreigners the description of their personal situation is not a keynote of the article[9], the figure of the foreigner usually appears in the context of the described events. Second, the image of a foreigner is generally a negative one; foreigners are the perpetrators of negative phenomena happening in Poland during the period covered by the analysis, such as smuggling, illegal work, unfair trade, etc.[10]. Guests from the widely understood West are an exception

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[9] Mrozowski, M. 2007. Media masowe w społeczeństwie demokratycznym – stosunek do obcych a wolności słowa. [Mass media in democratic society – attitude towards strangers and freedom of speech.] In: Zgliczyński, S. ed. *Media lokalne w przeciwdziałaniu dyskryminacji rasowej i etnicznej.* [*Local media in the fight against racial and ethnic discrimination*.] Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Książka i Prasa, p. 36.

[10] *Ibid.*

as they are presented in a much more positive way. The author also mentions a relatively positive image of the Vietnamese.

In the next research, conducted in 2002, the same author notices a significant decrease in journalists' interest of in the topic of foreigners, while the number of positive references to them has increased[11]. Jóźwik, Konieczna-Sałamatin and Tudorowski also notice a similar process. According to the authors of the study, foreigners are seen much more positively than in 1996 – although this general assessment may be affected by the fact that about 40% of the analysed articles refer to sport. At the same time, in contrast to this generally positive image, there are examples of negative behaviour of foreigners in Poland – often presented in the context of the offenses they commit[12].

Apart from the aforementioned publications, several articles have appeared in Poland related to the topic of the image of foreigners in the Polish media. Some of them, for example by Jedlicki[13], Nijakowski[14], Mrozowski[15], Dyczewski[16] are theoretical and are not based on own research and that is why we are not going to discuss them here.

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[11] Mrozowski, M. 2003. Obrazy cudzoziemców i imigrantów w Polsce. [Images of foreigners and immigrants in Poland.] In: Iglicka, K. ed. *Integracja czy dyskryminacja? Polskie wyzwania i dylematy u progu wielokulturowości.* [*Integration or discrimination? Polish challenges and dilemmas on the threshold of multiculturalism*.] Warszawa: Instytut Spraw Publicznych.

[12] Jóźwiak, I., Konieczna-Sałamatin, J., Tudorowski, M., 2010. *Bez cudzoziemców bylibyśmy ubożsi. Wizerunek obcokrajowców na łamach polskiej prasy.* [*Without foreigners we would be poorer. Image of foreigners in the Polish press*.] Warszawa: Instytut Spraw Publicznych, p. 36.

[13] Jedlicki, J. 2007. Mowa nienawiści w mediach. [Hate speech in the media.] In: Zgliczyński, S. ed. *Media lokalne w przeciwdziałaniu dyskryminacji rasowej i etnicznej.* [*Local media in the fight against racial and ethnic discrimination*.] Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Książka i Prasa.

[14] Nijakowski, L.M. 2007. Analiza dyskursu na temat mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w polskich mediach. [Analysis of discourse on national and ethnic minorities in Polish media.] In: Zgliczyński, S. ed. *Media lokalne w przeciwdziałaniu dyskryminacji rasowej i etnicznej.* [*Local media in the fight against racial and ethnic discrimination*.] Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Książka i Prasa.

[15] Mrozowski, M. 2007, *op. cit*.

[16] Dyczewski, L. 2013. Obcy w przestrzeni prywatnej i publicznej. [Foreigners in private and public space.] In: Wciseł, W., Wyrostkiewicz, M. eds. *Integracja w globalnej wiosce. Media o cudzoziemcach w Polsce i Unii Europejskiej.* [*Integration in a global village. Media about foreigners in Poland and the European Union*.] Lublin: Stowarzyszenie Solidarności Globalnej.

It is also worth mentioning works that do not directly pertain to the image of foreigners in the media, but they depict their image in some way. A good example may be texts about the phenomenon of so-called 'hate speech', or in other words the appearance of racist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic content in the Polish media. A leading example of such an item can be the book by Sergiusz Kowalski and Magdalena Tulli[17]. It is worth mentioning here, however, that the above publication was focused only on tracking of discriminatory content in a particular group of periodicals, which makes the presented picture of the situation in Poland incomplete and one-sided. Several recent articles attempt to make a slightly more systematic analysis of the image of foreigners in the Polish media. Szegda[18] analyses texts related to foreign cultures published in the civic information portal *Wiadomości24.pl*. The author encodes texts in terms of several criteria, such as country, values, cultural products, holidays and religious rituals, etc., to which they relate. Unfortunately, she differentiated too many codes associated with particular analytical categories. In addition, she had a small database, consisting of only 50 texts, at her disposal.

A text which is a report from monitoring the Polish media as far as their references to Africa and its residents are concerned is of a different nature. The monitoring itself was methodically planed and organised as well as modern from the academic point of view. Unfortunately, the way in which the results are presented is more popular than analytical, perhaps due to such a function of the published text[19].

Another (small) group of research, that should be mentioned, includes analyses directly concerning the image of Russia, Ukraine and Germany in the Polish media. The study of Ukraine's image in the Polish media is mainly contained in the publication „Obraz współczesnej Ukrainy w mediach w Polsce" ['The image of contemporary Ukraine in the media in Poland'], edited by Iwona Hofman and Justyna Maguś, published in 2014 by Maria

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[17] Kowalski, S., Tulli, M. 2013. *Zamiast procesu. Raport o mowie nienawiści*. [*Instead of a trial. Report on hate speech.*] Warszawa: WAB.

[18] Szegda, J. 2013. Obraz kultury „innych" w publikacjach dziennikarzy obywatelskich. Raport z badań. [Image of culture of 'strangers' in citizen journalists' publications. Research report.] In: Wciseł, W., Wyrostkiewicz, M. eds. *Integracja w globalnej wiosce. Media o cudzoziemcach w Polsce i Unii Europejskiej*. [*Integration in a global village. Media about foreigners in Poland and the European Union*.] Lublin: Stowarzyszenie Solidarności Globalnej.

[19] Średziński, P. 2011. *Afryka i jej mieszkańcy w polskich mediach. Raport z monitoringu polskich mediów*. [*Africa and its inhabitants in the Polish media. Report on monitoring of Polish media*.] Warszawa: Fundacja Afryka Inaczej.

Curie Skłodowska University. Unfortunately, the research results published in this book cannot be directly applied to this analysis for the following reasons.

Some articles cover very specific media, for instance the analysis of the image of Ukraine in very niche right-wing periodicals such as *Myśl Polska*, *Nowa Myśl Polska* or *Opoka w Kraju*[20]. Although the conclusions of that analysis correspond to the thesis presented in this article about a large role of the historical context in the image of Ukraine and Ukrainians in Poland, these results cannot be compared directly due to methodological reasons.

Other texts[21] cover a very narrow thematic scope, e.g. the image of Vladimir Klitschko or Femen band. Another group covers the nineties and is focused on analysing specific, mostly niche titles[22]. Moreover, many of the analysed texts adopt a completely different methodological perspective based largely on the reconstruction of the content of the articles. Only two articles have a comparative value for the purposes of this analysis.

The first is the text by Janina Fras and Olga Bierut entitled „Ukraina na tle innych państw ościennych w najpopularniejszych polskich telewizyjnych serwisach informacyjnych" ['Ukraine against the background of other neighbouring countries in the most popular Polish television news services'].

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[20] Maj, E. 2014. Publicystyka polityczna tygodnika „Myśl Polska" i „Nowa Myśl Polska"" wobec Ukrainy i Ukraińców. [Political commentary of the weeklies 'Myśl Polska' and 'Nowa Myśl Polska' on Ukraine and Ukrainians.] In: Hofman, I., Maguś, J. eds. *Obraz współczesnej Ukrainy w mediach w Polsce.* [*Image of contemporary Ukraine in the media in Poland.*] Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej, and Szwed, A. 2014. Obraz Ukrainy i Ukraińców w periodyku „Opoka w Kraju". [Image of Ukraine and Ukrainians in the magazine 'Opoka w Kraju'.] In: Hofman, I., Maguś, J. eds. *Obraz współczesnej Ukrainy w mediach w Polsce.* [*Image of contemporary Ukraine in the media in Poland.*] Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej.

[21] Posyłek, M. 2014. Od boksera do lidera, czyli medialny wizerunek Witalija Kliczki. [From a boxer to a leader, the media image of Vitaly Klitschko.] In: Hofman, I., Maguś, J. eds. *Obraz współczesnej Ukrainy w mediach w Polsce.* [*Image of contemporary Ukraine in the media in Poland.*] Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej, and Pataj, M. 2014. Medialny obraz grupy Femen. Analiza tekstów z portalu TVN.24. [Media image of Femen band. Analysis of texts from TVN.24 portal.] In: Hofman, I., Maguś, J. eds. *Obraz współczesnej Ukrainy w mediach w Polsce.* [*Image of contemporary Ukraine in the media in Poland.*] Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej.

[22] Borowik, B. 2014. Ukraina w publicystyce krakowskiego dwumiesięcznika „Arka" w latach 1991–1995 – konteksty rosyjskie i polskie. [Ukraine in journalism of Krakow's bimonthly 'Arka' in the years 1991–1995 – Polish and Russian contexts.] In: Hofman, I., Maguś, J. eds. *Obraz współczesnej Ukrainy w mediach w Polsce.* [*Image of contemporary Ukraine in the media in Poland.*] Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej.

The authors analyse the content of *Wiadomości TVP* and *Fakty TVN* in the period from 10 April to 10 May 2013 from the perspective of the image of Ukraine. The authors notice that news is strongly focused on domestic issues. It is interesting that news about the USA predominates as far as information about other countries is concerned. Russia and Germany are the countries which are relatively often spoken about, while content pertaining to Ukraine appeared only marginally (in the reporting period, only 6 messages related to Ukraine, which totally took 4 minutes and 46 seconds of air time). We notice here huge discrepancy between those and our study results and unfortunately it is difficult to find a reason for this state of affairs (this may be caused by the analysis of different types of the media or the fact that Ukraine has become a subject of greater interest only since the second half of 2013 – that is since the anniversary of the events in Volhynia and shortly after that – the protests in Maidan in Kiev.

Unlike the conclusions of this analysis, the image of Germany was positively reflected in the television news, and Robert Lewandowski, a soccer player, had a big impact on this (sports events were excluded from our database). The image of Russia was more neutral than positive, though references to the past appeared, that is to the Smolensk disaster.

In contrast, the article by Ewa Jurga-Wosik[23] presents an interesting context of the analysis of the image of Ukraine in the regional and local press. The author concludes that unlike in the national press, political and historical issues are not significant here, and most of the news is focused on sports and regional cooperation, for example in the context of partner cities.

Systematic, up-to-date research on the image of Germany in the Polish media is limited to a few items.

The first of them is a book by Marcin Miodek[24], discussing the image of Germany in the Lower Silesian daily *Pionier* and its immediate successor *Słowo Polskie* in 1945–89. This work is a very broad, competent qualitative analysis of a philological nature, but with interesting references placing it close to publications in the field of public discourse analysis. Although

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23 Jurga-Wosik, E. 2014. Relacje polsko-ukraińskie na łamach regionalnej i lokalnej prasy Wielkopolski. [Polish-Ukrainian relations in the regional and local press of Wielkopolska.] In: Hofman, I., Maguś, J. eds. *Obraz współczesnej Ukrainy w mediach w Polsce.* [*Image of contemporary Ukraine in the media in Poland*.] Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej.

24 Miodek, M. 2008. *Niemcy: publicystyczny obraz w „Pionierze"/„Słowie Polskim" 1945–1989.* [*Germany: publicist images in 'Pionier'/'Słowo Polskie' 1945–1989.*] Wrocław: ATUT Oficyna Wydawnicza – Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe.

the work is of a historic nature it is worthwhile to refer to several of its conclusions. In general, the image of Germans in the analysed dailies was negative. A particularly negative image, evidently referring to the Second World War (including direct invectives), was presented in 1945–55. Such a way of presenting Germans predominated till the 1970s (with the exception of positive references to German communists and the GDR). In the next decade the image of Germany, so far clearly negative, improved somewhat due to the Polish-German reconciliation and the seizure of power in this country by left-liberal parties. In the 1980s the image of our western neighbour deteriorated again when power in the RFG was taken by the Christian Democrats and due to the internal conflicts in the eastern camp.

The second volume is a post-conference publication entitled 'Cross-border interactions: Polish-German stereotype: media image and change', edited by Anna Rzym i Joanna Lutostańska[25]. Unfortunately, most of the articles present conclusions from the analysis conducted on a very limited data base, or the results of studies with an extremely narrow scope of interest, which makes them useless for this analysis. Some attention should be devoted to the article (although the study also concerns a very narrow subject matter) by Julia Preidel[26] referring to the reception in the Polish press of the article 'Der Dunkle Kontinent', which appeared in 2009 in the newspaper *Der Spiegel*. This article was widely commented on in the Polish press, and in most of the analysed newspapers it was received in a negative way, as an attempt to relativize history and to whitewash German Nazi faults (one exception was *Gazeta Wyborcza* which presented a slightly softer position). The conclusions of this study may therefore indicate that historical events still play a very important role in the Polish-German discourse.

The last volume is „Pomost medialny. Rola mediów w międzynarodowej komunikacji politycznej na przykładzie relacji polsko niemieckich"[27] ['Media

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[25] Rzym, A., Lutostańska, J. 2010. *Cross-border interactions Polish-German stereotype: media image and change*. Wrocław: ATUT Oficyna Wydawnicza – Wrocławskie Wydaw-nictwo Oświatowe.

[26] Preidel, J. 2010. Images of Commemoration: The Discussion on the Article 'The Dark Continent' in Polish and German Print Media. In: Rzym, A., Lutostańska, J. eds. *Cross-border interactions: Polish-German stereotype: media image and change*. Wrocław: ATUT Oficyna Wydawnicza – Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe.

[27] Hess, A., Szymańska, A. 2009. *Pomost medialny. Rola mediów w międzynarodowej komunikacji politycznej na przykładzie relacji polsko-niemieckich*. ['Media bridge. The role of the media in international political communication on the example of Polish-German relations'.] Kraków: WUJ.

bridge. The role of the media in international political communication on the example of Polish-German relations'] by Agnieszka Hess and Agnieszka Szymańska. The conclusions of the authors' empirical research on the image of Germany in four Polish newspapers (*Nasz Dziennik*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Fakt* and *Dziennik. Polska-Europa-Świat*) are noteworthy here. The study covers three one-week periods, from March to May 2008. In their analysis, the authors point to the relatively significant role of historical references, mainly to the Second World War (especially in the case of *Nasz Dziennik*) and to a very negative perception of Germany in the same daily[28]. Unfortunately, due to the short studied period, relatively small amount of the analysed material and a questionable methodology (especially in the context of data categorisation), it is difficult to regard the results of this study as reliable.

Even a smaller number of works refer to the image of Russia in the media. Although two books devoted to this topic have been published in recent years (one of them in the form of a monograph), the method of the data description applied in them is a review and not an analysis, so it is difficult to relate to them to a greater extent. It is sufficient to conclude that according to Agata Krzywdzińska[29] the image of Russia is definitely more negative than that of the US in Polish opinion weeklies. Marcin Bugajski also highlights the negative image of Russia, focused on history, communism, the authoritarianism of Russian rule and imperialist aggressiveness[30].

Methodology

For the purposes of the research, we selected the content of articles collected from the internet archives of the following newspapers, periodicals and information portals: *Fakt*, *Super Ekspres*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Gazeta Polska Codziennie*, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Nasz Dziennik*, *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna*, *Gość Niedzielny*, *Newsweek Polska*, *Polityka*, *Tygodnik Do Rzeczy*, *Wprost*, *Gazeta*

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[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 143–149.

[29] Krzywdzińska, A. 2012. *Wizerunek Rosji i Stanów Zjednoczonych w polskich tygodnikach opinii po 1991 roku.* [*The image of Russia and the United States in Polish opinion weeklies after 1991.*] Kraków: WUJ.

[30] Bugajski, M. *Rosja i Rosjanie w polskiej prasie.* [*Russia and the Russians in the Polish press.*] (Full text of the paper delivered in Łódz at the conference 'Get to know. Create. Communicate'), p. 10. Available at: http://www.uz.zgora.pl/~mbugajsk/wp-content/plugins/downloads-manager/upload/Rosja%20i%20Rosjanie%20w%20polskiej%20prasie.pdf

Polska, *Onet.pl*, *Interia.pl*, *Gazeta.pl*, *Wirtualna Polska*. This selection was made on the basis of two criteria: the popularity of these newspapers, periodicals and portals, as well as the broadness of the political spectrum of the analysed sources.

The data base is composed of articles published on the Internet in the second half of 2013, containing references to predetermined keywords[31]. The original database, intended for import into CAQDA software, consisted of 8096 articles; however, during the initial analysis for the occurrence of keywords and phrases, the number of the analysed texts and cases was limited; sports articles are not included in the article, as well as those in which keywords appear only in links to other articles, etc.

The text database was loaded into Provalis QDA Miner v. 3.2.6 (hereinafter QDA), which, together with QDA Wordstat v. 6.1.1 (hereinafter referred to as Wordstat), were used for a qualitative and quantitative analysis. Thanks to the automated data analysis, there was no need to reduce the size of the database at the quantitative analysis stage, which allowed us to analyse the entire population of articles related to the selected keywords chosen from the selected sources.

The use of the text analysis software enabled the creation of an extensive dictionary, which in turn was used as a codesbook ascribed to individual sentences of the analysed texts. This dictionary has a structure of a tree of main categories and subcategories to which phrases and words related to the topic being analysed are assigned. In the further part of the work, both the phrases and the words will be collectively referred to as 'keywords'. The dictionary used in this study was created from scratch, but was inspired by a dictionary created by authors for English, Portuguese, and Spanish, used in other studies based on a similar methodology.

The dictionary was constructed in several stages. The first was to predefine basic categories, particularly interesting from the point of view of the study. In the case of this study, the main focus was placed on analysing the way in which ethnic groups are presented, using the basic division into positive and negative categories. In addition, for the needs of the analysis, the main

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[31] The following groups of key words were taken into account: general terms such as foreigner, stranger, immigrant, etc.; neutral terms concerning particular nationalities, and pejorative/slang terms.

categories of keywords were identified, to which specific positive or negative keywords referred, that is in this case different ethnic groups and nations[32].

The articles database was then analysed in terms of the frequency of occurrence of all words (excluding Polish conjunctions, etc. predefined in the programme) and phrases appearing there. In the process of categorisation of the most frequently occurring words (with a frequency higher than 50), the predefined main categories were expanded and developed into a multi-level category tree. In the same way, the most common phrases were categorised (assuming 10 occurrences of a given phrase as the minimum number to be considered). The next step was the intersubjective verification of the original version of the dictionary. All categories, subcategories and keywords appearing in them were analysed and verified for their logical and semantic coherence. In the case of words that could have many meanings it was checked in what context they occurred in the data base. If there was no clear (above 80%) advantage of a given context, such words were eliminated from the dictionary.

The last stage of the creation of the dictionary was its final verification – all categories and keywords were analysed once again and in case of doubts the categories and keywords assigned to them were verified once more, assigned to a different category or changed.

IMAGE OF GERMANY, RUSSIA, UKRAINE AND INHABITANTS OF THESE COUNTRIES IN THE POLISH MEDIA

The choice of these three countries (nations) as a subject of analysis was dictated by two factors. Firstly, all these countries are direct neighbours of Poland, hence their role in the international relations of our country is important, not only at the political level, somewhat abstract for the average Pole, but also in the sphere of direct interests of 'ordinary people'. Secondly, the greatest interest of the Polish media in the period under consideration was focused on these countries. This is perfectly illustrated in the table below:

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[32] It is worth mentioning that the whole research, apart from specifying general research problems, is essentially based on assumptions of the grounded theory. This concerns the issue of not departing from predefined assumptions and hypotheses, a specific procedure of categorisation and data verifiability, etc.

Frequency of references to selected ethnic groups and countries
(15 most common references)

	Frequency of occurrence	Number of cases	% of cases
Russia	8755	1608	21,70
Germany	6677	1716	23,20
Ukraine	5067	775	10,50
USA	3367	1104	14,90
France	1806	708	9,60
Hungary	1389	412	5,60
Czech Republic	1114	439	5,90
Great Britain	1058	503	6,80
Spain	972	412	5,60
Egypt	860	200	2,70
Syria	637	181	2,40
Italy	518	346	4,70
China	500	220	3,00
Bulgaria	494	233	3,10
Norway	486	234	3,20

In the above table we can see a clear dominance of references to Poland's neighbours, namely Russia, Ukraine and Germany. There are relatively many references to the United States which is followed by France and Great Britain and two other countries geographically close to us, i.e. Hungary and the Czech Republic. As it is easy to see, the presence of neighbouring countries is the strongest in the Polish media; in addition to them, international powers – the United States and China, as well as Syria and Egypt are often mentioned (due to ongoing fighting there). In the whole surveyed population references to Russia, Germany and Ukraine appeared most often; articles on this topic accounted for more than 50% of the analysed base.

The predominance of this particular content is even more evident in the case of conservative and Catholic periodicals such as *Gość Niedzielny* and *Nasz Dziennik*. They are characterised by a very high degree of concentration on the context of the immediate surroundings – Russia, Germany and Ukraine,

while at the same time reduced interest in more remote geographical areas and their inhabitants (including the USA).

Russia (Russians), Ukraine (Ukrainians) and Germany and categories with positive and negative emotional connotations – co-occurrence

As mentioned in the methodological section, the main purpose of the analysis is to try to show the image of the countries we are interested in in the context of its positive or negative emotional tinge. For this purpose, the co-occurrence (within the same sentence) of the selected categories was assessed, on the basis of the value of the Jaccard's similarity coefficient[33]. The results of this analysis are presented in the form of proximity plot diagrams, showing the degree of proximity of selected national categories to categories of positive or negative emotional connotations (based on the above-mentioned Jaccard's index – values on the x axis). We assume here that the co-occurrence of the category referring to the category of a given country and its inhabitants with the category triggering positive or negative associations will in most cases build up a positive or a negative image of a particular category.

Of course, this assumption is not and cannot be regarded as a determinant of perfect accuracy; for example, frequent co-occurrence of *China's* category with the *corruption* category does not necessarily mean that the Chinese are corrupt or that their presence leads to such a phenomenon; it may also mean that the Chinese are implementing anti-corruption programmes.

The basic disadvantage of the meters we use is the fact that they are deprived of their context. *De facto*, to be sure, whether a piece of the text (sentence, paragraph, etc.), or the entire article presents a positive or negative image of a given category, it would be necessary to encode individually each fragment (article) in which reference is made to this category. It is, however, an extremely time consuming method and, when working on large data sets, impossible to do (due to the amount of data and analytical categories).

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[33] Jaccard's similarity coefficient measures the similarity between sets and is defined as the quotient between the intersection and the union of the pairwise compared variables among two sets. It takes values from 0 to 1. If the values is 0, these sets are disjoint, and in the value is 1 they are contained in each other. The greater the value of the index, the greater the degree of similarity between the examined sets (categories).

It seems, however, that in the case of the analysis of large amounts of data the foregoing drawbacks of the measures applied in this way will not have a significant impact on the study results. Firstly, referring to the above example, even if China occurs mainly in the role of an opponent of corruption, the very fact that there is a large number of references to corruption in many articles, passages, sentences, etc. will probably create a vision of a tension, anxiety and China's association with corruption. Furthermore, due to the above reservations, the quantitative analysis of co-occurrence coefficients was supplemented with a qualitative analysis of six categories with the highest co-occurrence coefficients for each of the analysed countries.

Russia

Chart 1

Russia – diagram of co-occurrence (proximity plot)
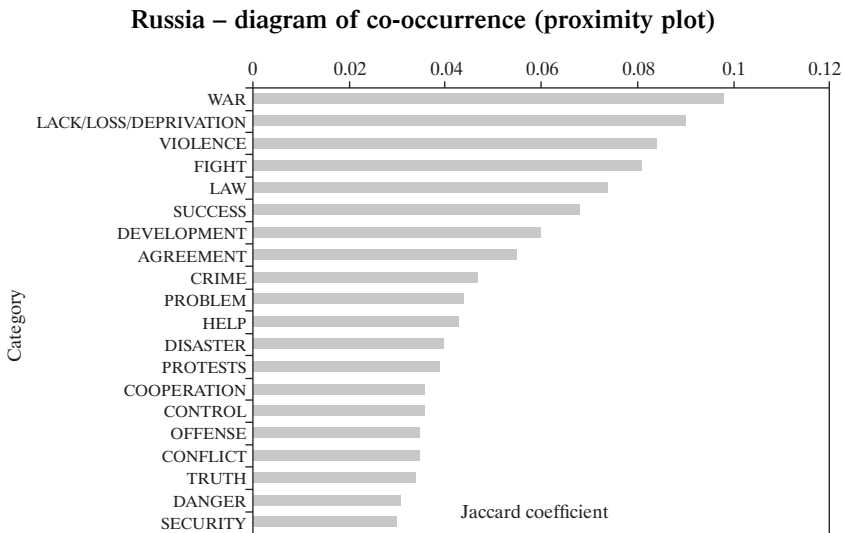
The above graph clearly shows that keywords referring to the category of Russia most frequently co-occur within a single sentence with categories that are unequivocally negative, associated with war, violence, combat and deprivation.

In the case of the category of *war*, it is quite evident that reference is made to historical situations (with the exception of reference to the commercial war, the Syrian conflict or the Russian-Ukrainian conflict), and they belong to different contexts. Most often the Second World War, the war in Afghanistan,

the war in Georgia and Chechnya are referred to. It should be added that in most of these references Russia is presented negatively, e.g.:

'After the WAR this place was treacherously used for the falsification of history, putting the monument of Brotherhood in Arms of THE RED ARMY and THE POLISH PEOPLE'S ARMY on the pre-war pedestal. Due to the construction of the underground the monument has disappeared from the landscape of Warsaw, but it seems that not for long'. (*Gazeta Polska Codziennie*, 05.10.2013).

'This battle was the victory of Poles, who just after regaining their independence, and, in fact, the Polish state after 123 years of partition, faced and stopped the overwhelming forces of the onslaught of barbarism of communist savages from RUSSIA. If not the victory of Poles in the decisive battle of the Polish-Bolshevik WAR near Ossowo and Radzymin, we would be another Soviet republic today, with Poles displaced to the depths of Russia, hunger and extreme civilizational misery'. (*Nasz Dziennik*, 26.08.2013)

Of course, not all references to Russia in the context of the category of *war* were so unequivocally negative, but what is worth emphasising is the fact that in the analysed material (271 sentences) there was not even one in which Russia would be positively referred to.

Similarly, the negative image of Russia is built by texts in which the category of *Russia* co-occurred with the categories of keywords related to *fighting* and *violence*. It is interesting that relatively frequently, especially in the conservative and Catholic press, there appeared statements related to Russian aggression on Poland and its inhabitants:

'ARMY RED soldiers sexually ABUSED not only German women but also tens of thousands of women in Poland'. (*Do Rzeczy*, 3.11.2013)

'It was at the behest of Stalin, among other things, that the Katyn massacre was committed – the NKVD murdered Polish prisoners taken captive after the USSR INVADED Poland in September 1939'. (3.05.2013)

Aggressive actions of Russia and Russians appeared, of course, not only in the context of relations with our country:

'Of course, they are young. The Moscow Shield, founded by Chudiakov – for six years a member of the Prokremlin youth organisation Young Russia – has carried out over 50 "RAIDS", that is unexpected inspections of basements and ground floor lodgings. Some of them are occupied by illegal immigrants, about 2 million of them in live MOSCOW. "They think we are Nazis", Anton Zarkov says, a butch-cut, blue-eyed 20 year old student who takes part in the RAIDS with his girlfriend'. (*Onet*, 13.09.2013)

It is worth pointing out, however, that, despite the clear majority of comments negatively presenting Russia and/or Russians, in the analysed material there were also statements in which Russia was presented as an object of attacks, in particular of a terrorist nature (yet still affecting the negative image of Russia as a country which cannot be described as safe or stable):

'810 people were injured. Shamil Basayev, a radical Chechen field commander, who is considered the most wanted terrorist in RUSSIA, confessed to organising the ATTACK'. (*Nasz Dziennik*, 31.08.2013)

In addition, in connection with the celebrations of the Independence Day in Warsaw, a group of statements related to the attack on the Russian embassy in Warsaw appeared:

'The city has estimated the losses caused by the riots at 120,000 PLN. Due to the ATTACK on the embassy, the RUSSIAN FEDERATION demands official apologies from the Polish authorities, as well as ensuring that the perpetrators will be punished and that in the future security will be ensured to diplomatic missions of the RUSSIAN Federation'. (*Wprost*, 13.11.2013)

Nevertheless, once again, references building the negative image of Russia predominate, often with reference to events from more or less recent history such as the Polish-Bolshevik war, the Second World War or the Smolensk disaster.

Interestingly, even in the case of Russia's co-occurrence with positive categories such as *law*, *success* or *development*, the meaning of these statements (when analysed in the context and interpreted) was not always positive.

For example, in the case of the category of *law* the statements often did not refer to the fact that Russia was a law-abiding country, but rather to the fact that human rights were not respected, law was violated, etc.

'Moscow and European civilisation, even sick and in crisis, but after all having the huge potential of freedom, tradition of respecting law and civic subjectivity, which under the Kremlin rule can be searched for in vain'. (*Gazeta Polska Codziennie*, 26.11.2013)

The situation was similar in the case of statements referring to Russia and the category of *success*; in most cases they could not be interpreted as a compliment on Russian achievements:

'In April he already commanded 500 insurgents who were part of a 2,000 insurgent group and EFFECTIVELY beat the Russians and slipped out of the round-ups organised to catch him'. (*Polityka*, 06.11.2013)

'In a mature democracy there should be no place for it but when we look at other countries, it turns out that not only in the former USSR, oligarchs can EFFECTIVELY create similar organizations'. (*Wprost*, 14.11.2013)

In contrast, although the juxtaposition of Russia with the *development* category reveals a number of slightly more positive references to the modernisation and strengthening of the Russian army, they do not have to be positively interpreted by a Polish reader:

'This was to be the KREMLIN's response to the planned deployment of NATO missile defence elements across Europe. The equipment of the RUSSIAN army in the KALININGRAD OBLAST with new generation weapons results also from the general assumptions of the MODERNISATION OF the RUSSIAN armed forces by 2020'. (*Gazeta Polska Codziennie*, 16.12.2013)

The results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis show that the image of Russia and Russians in the Polish media in the second half of 2103 can be considered as unequivocally negative. Moreover, Russia often appears in the context of historical problems and conflicts; it seems that this context is much more important than present issues, or references to the future (which do not actually occur in the analysed material). This tendency is particularly noticeable in the case of Polish conservative and Catholic newspapers and magazines, such as: *Gazeta Polska Codziennie*, *Do Rzeczy*, or *Nasz Dziennik*.

UKRAINE

Chart 2

Ukraine – diagram of co-occurrence (proximity plot)
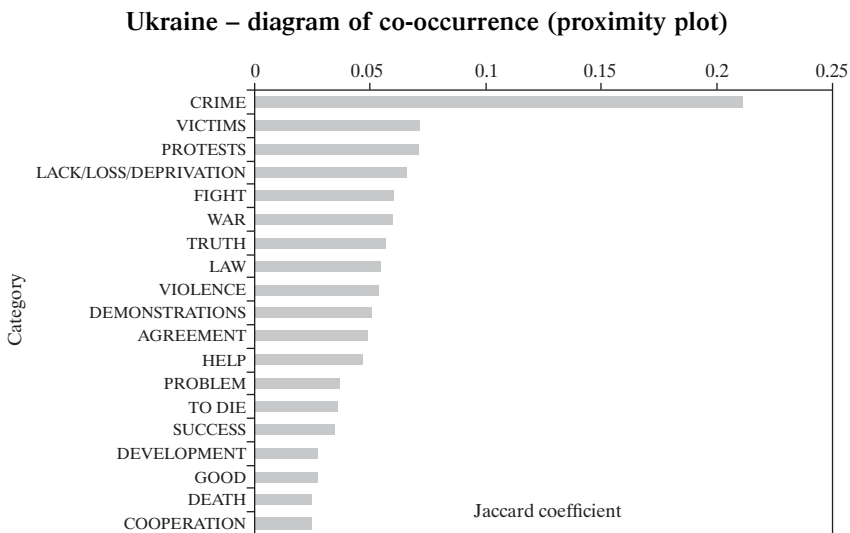
The above graph shows even more clearly that Ukraine co-occurs mainly with categories that are clearly negative. The category of *crime* definitely predominates here (Ukraine co-occurred with this category in the case of more than 400 sentences), and such categories as *victims*, *protests*, *fighting*, *war* are prevalent. Undoubtedly, it is the effect of the 70th anniversary of the events in Volhynia in the second half of 2013, and the events on Kiev's Maidan in the case of the category of *protests*. Hence most of the references in this category are related to historical references to Ukrainian nationalism, the Volhynia massacre and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

'Tens of thousands of people were MURDERED by UKRAINIAN nationalists'. (*Nasz Dziennik*, 12.07.2013)

'Many died from wounds and mental shock some time after the CRIMES, there were also victims among those who escaped from KILLINGS and died from hunger, disease, poor sanitation and lack of a roof over their head – these are also victims of the OUN-UPA, mostly unrecognised'. (*Gość Niedzielny*, 11.07.2013).

It is worth mentioning that while in more conservative papers (especially in *Nasz Dziennik*) clearly negative attitudes towards Ukraine and Ukrainians predominated, in more liberal newspapers and periodicals, such as *Polityka* and *Gazeta Wyborcza*, it was often emphasised that the Volhynia crime concerned both nations, and that Ukrainian nationalists killed also Ukrainians.

'In addition, the celebrations commemorating the GENOCIDE were attended not only by Polish pilgrims, but also local UKRAINIANS, including Orthodox choirs and delegations of Orthodox parishioners. ... During this pilgrimage an important and even symbolic moment was the unveiling in the Orthodox Church in the neighbouring village of Buteyko of a plate in honour of Petr Bazeluk, a Ukrainian, who risking his own life, saved a Polish family from certain death'. (*Polityka,* 08.07.2013)

'The UKRAINIANS who, risking their life, saved Poles during the Volhynia SLAUGHTER are to be commemorated during the ceremony'. (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 02.07.2013)

For the sake of accuracy it should be added that similar remarks appeared in more conservative titles, such as *Gość Niedzielny* (in fact, only in *Nasz Dziennik* it was not mentioned at all). On the other hand, almost all newspapers and periodicals underline the scale and importance of the crimes of Ukrainian nationalists, and criticise attempts at glorification of people like Stepan Bandera by Ukrainians.

'Relatives of the victims: It is very important: UKRAINIANS must admit that these crimes were heinous. Relatives of the VOLHYNIA

CRIME VICTIMS stressed that a condition for the Polish-UKRAINIAN reconciliation is UKRAINIANS' recognition of CRIMES committed by the OUN-UPA'. (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 11.07.2013).

The category of *victims*, second in terms of the co-occurrence coefficient, generally covers the same theme, that is, the issues related to the Volhynia crime, and is characterised by a similar emotional approach and thematic context.

'The size of the mentioned losses for individual pre-war provinces are given in the table, and it refers only to the VICTIMS of murders committed by the OUN-UPA, the UKRAINIAN peasants who have been dragged into the crimes and other nationalist formations of lesser importance and size'. (*Gość Niedzielny*, 11.07.2013)

'Therefore, while honouring Polish VICTIMS today, let us also remember about the extermination of Jews in these areas, let us also remember about the death of UKRAINIANS and the death of all other inhabitants of these lands, the president said'. (*Gazeta Wyborcza* 11.07.2013)

It should be also stressed that in the case of the two categories described above co-occurring with the category of *Ukraine*, there are (and almost regardless of the source) remarks about certain reluctance of some Ukrainians to take responsibility for these crimes (which probably does not create a positive image of Ukraine and Ukrainians among Poles).

'"How to compare 100 thousand killed by Polish occupiers against the annihilation of tens of millions of UKRAINIANS by bloodthirsty Muscovites", Ivan Sirko writes'. (*Gazeta Wyborcza* 12.07.2013)

'Researchers from UKRAINE think that the crime was a consequence of the war of the Home Army with the UPA, in which civilians took part. UKRAINIANS emphasise that during the Second World War both parties committed war crimes, because Polish guerrillas undertook retaliatory actions. The UKRAINIAN party assesses its losses at 10-12 thousand or even 20 thousand VICTIMS, but part of the VICTIMS were killed by the UPA for helping Poles or refusing to join the slaughter perpetrators'. (*Onet*, 05.07.2013)

Among the categories of the highest co-occurrence rate with the *Ukraine* category, the most positive message can be noted in the *protests* category. In the majority they refer to the protests on Maidan in Kiev, and despite the fact that the protests themselves of course arouse some sense of unease or instability, the demonstrations of Ukrainians in general meet with a positive attitude.

'"This is the beginning of a revolution", a woman in her thirties, who in the future may rule UKRAINE, says about the PROTESTS on MAIDAN

– Jacek Przybylski writes in the latest *Do Rzeczy*. A 33-year-old slim, elegant blonde could have lived a prosperous life in Britain or the United States'. (*Do Rzeczy*, 18.12.2013)

'During the last three PROTESTS Polish politicians representing both coalition and opposition appeared repeatedly on MAIDAN. On Sunday, at the Independence Square in KIEV, a Polish tent was set up, in which Małgorzata Gosiewska, a Law and Justice MP, and her associates distributed hot drinks and Polish bigos. UKRAINIANS are fighting for their future and we have a duty to support them. (*Dziennik,* 15.12.2013)

'"The political boundaries are changing, it is normal, we are together', she said. Young UKRAINIANS with whom she spoke emphasised that they had come at the embassy to express their solidarity with the PROTESTING residents of KIEV and other Ukrainian cities". (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 08.12.2013)

However, even in this group of relatively positive statements, some of the statements concern once again issues related to historical Polish-Ukrainian bygones.

'UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST announce PROTESTS. Representatives of the NATIONALIST PARTY SVOBODA are opposed to Bronisław Komorowski's visit to LUTSK. (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14.07.2013)

Statements in which the categories of fighting and Ukraine co-occur are dominated by two contexts. The first one refers again to the above-mentioned protests against the government of Yanukovych:

'The solution is a peaceful, but definite FIGHT with the rulers and taking over the power by UKRAINIANS'. (*Dziennik. Gazeta Prawna*, 05.12.2013)

The other one once again referred to the Polish-Ukrainian conflict and the Volhynia massacre.

'In western Ukraine UPA soldiers are treated as heroes today, who during the Second World War fought against Germany and the USSR for independence'. (*Onet*, 19.07.2013)

Consequently, statements in which the categories of *war* and *Ukraine* co-occur concern the events of the Second World War, with particular emphasis on the problems of the situation in Volhynia. Interestingly, even in the case of the only category with a relatively high coefficient of co-occurrence, which we defined as positive (*truth*), there is mainly content focused on historical issues, presenting Ukraine in both positive and negative light:

'Russian series about the noble Red Army, UKRAINIAN ones about great Stepan Bandera, etc., etc. are waiting in a queue. Or maybe the REAL reason is different'. (*Do Rzeczy*, 09.06.2013)

'"The historical truth is not only that Poles were murdered but also that many Belarusians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Russians helped Poles", said Adam Lipiński (Law and Justice) who directs the work of the committees of communication with Poles abroad'. (*Gość Niedzielny*, 11.07.2013)

In the analysed period, Ukraine was presented basically mainly through the prism of historical events, specifically events in Volhynia. In the majority of the analysed articles, the image of Ukrainians is definitely negative, although one has to admit that more balanced and subdued voices also appear. The only slightly more positive context that appeared at the end of the analysed period are the events connected with the protests on Maidan in Kiev. It is difficult to regarded them as having unequivocally positive connotations (these are violent events), but in many cases support for these protests is clearly emphasised. Once again, as in the case of Russia, the prevalence of texts on historical subject is noticeable; moreover, a more negative image of Ukraine is created by strongly conservative sources.

GERMANY

Chart 3

Germany – diagram of co-occurrence (proximity plot)
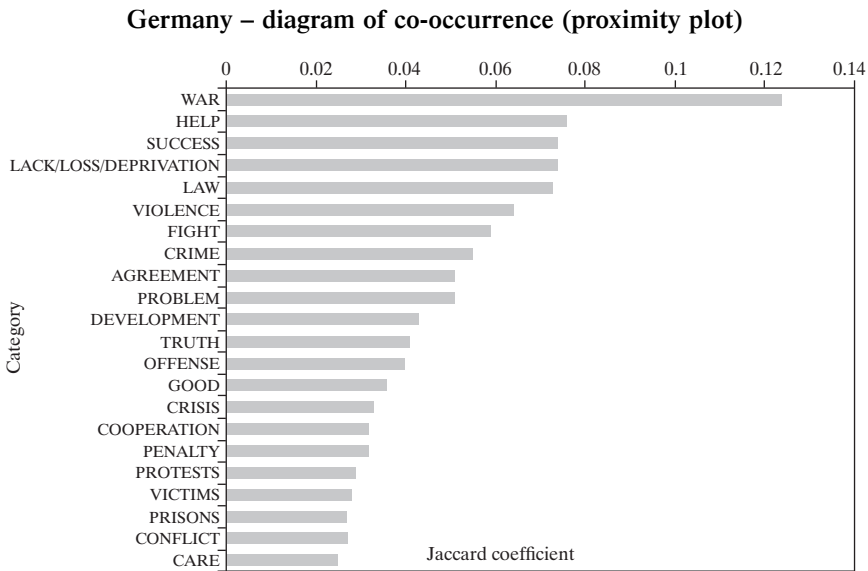
The last of the countries presented in this text, Germany, also very often occurs in a very historical context, as can be seen in the chart. Moreover,

also this neighbour of Poland is presented rather negatively in the analysed articles. The category of *Germany* co-occurs with the category of *war* in 319 sentences and a vast majority of them refer to events connected with the Second World War.

'They know its course know only from stories. In the consciousness of many GERMANS the whole WAR can be limited to almost one event – the Holocaust'. (*Do Rzeczy*, 20.04.2013)

'According to experts from the Greek Ministry of Finance, Greece has never received reparation for the damage suffered during the SECOND WORLD WAR and for the loans it gave to Nazi GERMANY under duress'. (*Fakt*, 09.04.2013)

Once again a regularity can be noticed that historical issues and negative actions of Germans during the Second World War are often emphasised by conservative sources such as *Nasz Dziennik* and *Do Rzeczy*, while they are much less important for titles with a more liberal profile. In *Gazeta Wyborcza* this context appeared sporadically and in most of the statements there is no strong emotional attitudes to the actions of Germans.

'Out of the 1700 exhibits shown, almost one third comes from GERMAN museums, which were taken by the Red Army after the end of the Second World WAR to the USSR'. (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 21.06.2013)

The remaining two of the selected 6 categories, classified as having negative emotional associations, are *loss/deprivation* and *violence*. In the category of *loss/deprivation* we can observe a relatively big number of references which do not affect the emergence or strengthening of the negative image of Germany. However, here too, a significant part of the text refers, of course, in a negative way to Germany in context of the Second World War.

'At that time, the Nazi governor of Poland, Hans Frank, said that Poles were supposed to be so poor that they would voluntarily go to work in GERMANY without a round-up'. (*Polityka* 31.12.2013)

'GERMANS and Russians should apologize for Jedwabne. They broke Polish border guards, surrounded and defeated the Polish army, destroyed and murdered Polish officers, police officers, prosecutors, judges and priests, they broke Polish prisons and released thousands of criminals, they rushed millions of innocent Poles to the camps, concentration camps, to the hunger bunkers, to the gallows, to the gas chambers and the pits of death. These were GERMANS and Russians who ordered and allowed Jewish criminals to kill innocent Poles and Polish criminals to murder innocent Jews'. (*Nasz Dziennik*, 21.09.2013)

The last quotation is interesting because it shows the element of martyrology of the Polish nation often present in the right-wing media and is an obvious element of constructing a black and white vision of the world: we Poles – good; others – bad.

The category of *violence*, as one might expect, often refers also to the Second World War, though there are also numerous more contemporary references, which do not necessarily represent the Germans in a negative way.

'German Chancellor Angela MERKEL and French President Francois Hollande have called on the Egyptian parties to quell violence'. (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 16.08.2013)

Unlike Russia, and especially Ukraine, in the case of Germany, positive emotional categories such as *success*, *help*, and *law* also occupy relatively high positions on the co-occurrence chart.

The category of *help* relatively often refers to German economic aid, both in the context of international aid and social policy (benefits):

'"Bild" demanded from the Greeks their islands in return for billions of euros of GERMAN aid, and other newspapers savage the "lazybones from the south"'. (*Do Rze*czy, 15.05.2013)

'Politicians in BERLIN are occupied with care allowance, parity for women, minimum wage and "no" for fracking'. (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, 29.05.2013)

However, here again, there is often a historical context showing Germans in a negative light.

'There will be also documentation showing hostile policy of Nazi Germany towards Poles and Jews, among others, posters and announcements informing about death penalty for giving AID to the Jewish population'. (*Nasz Dziennik*, 10.10.2013).

The observation related to the next category is surprising. Even in the case of statements referring to the category of *success*, which seems to have obvious positive associations, the context of the Second World War and reference to success, e.g. of Nazis after coming to power, play an important role:

'The point is to absolve the world brand called GERMANY, which is more and MORE EFFECTIVE in its economic and cultural expansion, from responsibility for the crimes of their fathers, people who still live and work today, many fortunes of whom were built on the blood of the victims'. (*Fakt*, 07.10.2013)

'HITLER's listeners got carried away with his speeches thanks to, among others, this overexpression, which is weird or ridiculous to us today. Were

rhetorical skills a key to HITLER's SUCCESS? Yes, the ability to speak was very important'. (*Do Rzeczy*, 20.11.2013)

Although Germany can be considered a country of economic success, this topic did not appear in the analysed material at all. If anything was written about success in the context of Germany, it was most frequently about Angela Merkel's election success or the success of Polish companies in Germany.

'German Chancellor Angela MERKEL WINS the Sunday election to the Bundestag – her CDU/CSU won 41.5 percent of votes'. (*Wirtualna Polska*, 24.09.2013)

'"This was possible thanks to the 7-year collaboration between Cracow's EC Engineering and GERMAN company Bombardier Transportation. Participation in this project is a big SUCCESS for us, especially since we have been dealing with the most difficult engineering issues", Ireneusz Łuczak, CEO of EC Engineering, emphasises. Polish engineers designed the aluminium body of the vehicle and simulated the strength of the structure'. (*Onet*, 07.09.2013)

The only emphasised success of Germany was *de facto* the disappearance of poliomyelitis in the country, but even this topic was presented in the context of certain anxiety about the future.

'Burger has stressed that the most important thing now is to check the immunisation status of every person arriving from Syria and, if necessary, they should be vaccinated. The World Health Organization (WHO) has identified ten cases of polio in the north of Syria and twelve suspected infections with this disease. Poliomyelitis has almost disappeared from public consciousness in Germany, which is a great success and a curse, Reinhard Burger said. People think that they do not need any protection'. (*Onet*, 02.11.2013)

During the analysis of the context of the co-occurrence of the categories of law and Germany it turns out that statements that present Germany as the rule of law can be looked for in vain. In the analysed material, *de facto* only one such statement was found, in addition it was a quotation from Angela Merkel:

'"GERMANY is not a country of supervision, GERMANY is a country of freedom", the chancellor stressed, adding that in GERMANY and the whole of Europe "Club LAW is not binding but the power of LAW". MERKEL said that the issue of possible breach of the GERMAN LAW by the US service was being explained in discussions with US authorities. "The government of GERMANY has sent a list of questions that have not been answered yet to the authorities in Washington", the head of government said in Washington'. (*Wirtualna Polska*, 19.07.2013)

It should be stressed that a considerable part of statements was emotionally neutral. Still a lot of them created a negative image of Germany (even in this, at first glance, positive category).

Thus, the Second World War was referred to once again:

'During the Third Reich HITLER and his followers used the LAW to limit the activity of the democratic parties, opposed to the Nazis'. (*Wirtualna Polska*, 25.03.2013)

'HITLER obtained votes of women, just like Saddam Hussein, who previously gave women the right to vote'. (*Onet*, 30.08.2013)

In other cases, curious, according to the authors, legal regulations in Germany were emphasised:

'A German family will fight for the rights to their daughter from Poland. From here, the German Schandorff family is going to continue the fight for the right to the 13-year-old daughter Antonia, who has been taken away by the court and has spent 7 months in a Jugendamt shelter'. (*Onet*, 25.09.2013)

'In 2006 the GERMAN supreme court ruled that the government could take away the right of custody over children from such parents. Polish public opinion was most shocked with the case of the Romeike family, who escaped from Germany to the USA with five children when they were threatened with losing their parental rights because of home education. They were also punished with a horrendously high fine, their children were escorted to school by the police'. (*Nasz Dziennik*, 19.10.2013)

'A pimp can be punished only for fraud, for example, if he takes more than half of the income of a prostitute, but that is virtually impossible to prove. Sex business is the only branch in GERMANY where in all the years of the law validity there has been no single lawsuit where the subordinate would dare to pursue her "employer" for unfair remuneration. The position of pimps has increased as never before, talking about "RIGHT OF EMPLOYEES" has lost its sense. Women in the trash. Prostitution has become so banal that RTL television broadcasts a programme where different professionals advise how to furnish and run a brothel and attract customers, just as it is done to improve the image of a deteriorated restaurant'. (*Nasz Dziennik*, 21.11.2013)

In another case, the proposed amendment to the right to benefit was referred to:

'Increasingly, the parliamentary faction is wondering whether it should cut benefits for Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants. According to journalists, the CSU Christian-Democratic Party would like the immigrants to have no

RIGHT to benefits and social aid during the first months of their stay in GERMANY'. (*Wprost*, 28.12.2013)

Moreover, problems connected with the German police were presented: 'He was tortured by GERMAN law enforcement officers'. (*Fakt*, 11.07.2013)

The case of Germany, just like the case of Russia and Ukraine, was dominated by historical references, mainly in the context of war events, building a negative image of Germans an Germany. There are, however, more cases in which the category of *Germany* co-occurs with categories interpreted as having a positive emotional context, which influences the emergence of a slightly more positive image of Germans in the Polish media. It is worth stressing, though, that when these positive statements are placed in the context, a large part of them really presents a negative image of Germany and Germans. Due to this although at first glance the image of Germany is more positive than that of Russia and Ukraine, in reality the difference is negligent.

CONCLUSION

The summary of the results of the analysis of the image of Germany, Ukraine and Russia in the Polish media in the second half of 2013 leads to four main conclusions.

First of all, we should notice a very high degree of concentration of content referring to foreign countries and nations on our immediate neighbours, in particular on bigger and more important ones, that is Russia, Germany and Ukraine (references to them constituted over 50% of all references to foreigners in the analysed material). This tendency was even stronger in the case of more conservative and Catholic newspapers and periodicals. This conclusion can be treated as an indication that the Polish textual media are quite strongly oriented towards regional content, while the global aspect is not a priority for them.

Secondly, attention is drawn to the fact that 'the rest of the world' is primarily presented in a negative context, as indicated by the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the collection of the media content. Primarily sources that are clearly conservative and Catholic excel in the creation of the negative image of other countries. In the whole analysed population for Russia, Ukraine and Germany there was a significant predominance of negative references (respectively 64% for Russia and Ukraine and 62% for Germany). This fact can be interpreted in many ways, but the following explanations

seem most appropriate. First of all, the Polish (but not only) media tend to present primarily negative information, which is more interesting to the audience, which is the result of so-called 'sensationalism'. It seems that this is not a universal trend, as the results of studies focusing on the image of China in Zambia and Angola[34] as well as in Argentina and Chile[35] showed a noticeably lower percentage of negative references. Also our previous studies on China's image in the Polish media[36] have shown that although China is one of the most positively presented countries, 57% of references could be classified as creating a negative image of this country.

Another conclusion from the analysis is the discovery of a very strong presence of the historical context in the content on Poland's neighbours; most often, these were references to the Second World War events. It can be said that in the analysed materials issues connected with historical bygones predominated, which strongly influenced the final negative image of the analysed categories. The qualitative analysis of the content strengthened even the power of this conclusion, because it turned out that the contextualisation of statements in which the analysed key words (Germany, Russia, Ukraine) co-occurred with categories (e.g., *help*, *success*, etc.) which have a positive emotional context led to the discovery of the occurrence of historical references, presenting the neighbours of Poland in a negative light. This observation was especially valid for conservative titles such as: *Do Rzeczy*, *Nasz Dziennik* or *Gość Niedzielny*.

Fourthly, one cannot fail to mention that a very limited number of statements presented an unequivocally positive image of our neighbours. Probably the most positive references were made to protests on Maidan in Kiev, but it should be remembered that this 'fondness' occurred in the context of events related to the use of violence, so it cannot be reasonably assumed on this basis that the media image of Ukraine in the Polish media is positive. Nearly complete lack of references to the economic success of our western neighbour was surprising. In the aforementioned analysis of China's image in the African media one of the dominant themes was China's economic

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[34] Jura, J. Kałużyńska, K., de Carvalho, P. 2015. *Events over Endeavours Image of the Chinese in Zambia and Angola*, Kraków: WUJ.

[35] *Perception of China and Chinese in Chilean and Argentinian media* – unpublished paper delivered on 10 Conference of European Sociological Association, Geneva, 7–10 September 2011.

[36] Jura, J., Kałużyńska, K., 2016. Transformation of the Dragon – China's Image in the Polish Media. In: *China – Central and Eastern Europe Cross-Cultural Dialogue. Society, Business and Education in Transition* (working title). Kraków: WUJ (in press).

success, its investment and modernisation of its economy; on the basis of these results, it was possible to expect similar (though less frequent, due to the lower degree of economic relations) content in the case of Germany, but such regularity was not observed.

Therefore, it can be said that in the analysed period the Polish media were focused on the nearest neighbours, but mainly presented their negative image, especially in the context of historical bygones. Few statements related to the present, and references to the future – especially in the context of cooperation – were omitted.

Of course, the material we have at our disposal does not allow for far-reaching generalisations. The analysed data come from a relatively short period (second half of 2013), and we do not have enough data from other countries to relativise the results of the analysis. However, it seems that given the large number of the analysed articles, the diversity of their sources and the general observation of the Polish media reality, we can put forward a hypothesis that the conclusions of the analysis largely reflect the tendencies occurring in the Polish media.

Of course, the question arises to what extent such a, and not another, image of other countries in the media can affect the shape of international relations, or real political decisions. We must emphasise that the results of this particular analysis do not allow us to draw far reaching conclusions based on purely scientific premises[37]. However, the comparison of the analysis results with some political decisions taken in Poland in the context of international relations allows us to note some convergences that may be the basis for the formulation and further verification of the research hypotheses.

For example, the question arises as to how much the image of other countries in the media in 2013 could express social sentiments and be a kind of indicator enabling the prediction of election results. Or, looking at it from another perspective, to what extent was it created consciously to affect the audience and influence their political choices.

Another question is how the media image can be used in the short term to predict some political decisions and to define the framework for international policy and public diplomacy. It is evident that currently in the foreign policy of Poland we can see aversion to our neighbours – especially to Germany

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[37] Although in subsequent research projects the authors of the article intend to attempt to model the relationship between the image in the media and the shape of political or economic relations between certain countries.

and Russia. Foreign Minister Witold Waszczykowski's statement that Polish public diplomacy should be built on the basis of emphasising traditional and historical values is very interesting in the context of the analysis results as it seems to correlate to a considerable extent with the conclusions of the analysis.

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STILL MORE ABOUT HISTORY THAN ABOUT THE PRESENT – PICTURE OF RUSSIA, GERMANY AND UKRAINE IN THE POLISH MEDIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF 2013

Summary

The paper aims to present the image of Poland's neighbours, namely: Russia, Ukraine and Germany, presented in the Polish media between July and December 2013. To obtain a possibly complete final image, a database of textual news articles was created, and its content was gathered from many various on-line sources, chosen due to their popularity and wide spectrum of political views. The preliminary dataset consisted of 8096 articles. The analysis of the final dataset was conducted by applying a mixed-method methodology, employing CAQDAS (QDA Data Miner and Wordstat). The results of the analysis showed that all the Polish media were focused mainly on neighbouring countries and tended to depict them in rather dark colours; moreover, a surprisingly large share of statements mentioning Germany, Russia and Ukraine were focused on historical issues, mainly of the Second World War period. The results of the research lead to emergence of new research hypotheses: to what extent the image of foreign countries was a reflection of social moods in 2013 and an indicator of the upcoming

parliamentary and presidential election results? Was it mainly a product of the publishers aiming to influence the readers' political choices? Regardless of which of the above hypotheses is true, it can be assumed that the media image could be applied in the prediction and analysis of international relations strategies employed in particular countries. Evidence for the reasonableness of this hypothesis is provided by the analysis of the current priorities of public diplomacy in Poland.

WCIĄŻ WIĘCEJ O HISTORII NIŻ O TERAŹNIEJSZOŚCI
– OBRAZ ROSJI, NIEMIEC I UKRAINY W POLSKICH MEDIACH
W DRUGIEJ POŁOWIE 2013 ROKU

Streszczenie

Niniejsza praca ma na celu przedstawienie obrazu sąsiadów Polski – Rosji, Niemiec i Ukrainy, prezentowanego w polskich mediach w okresie od lipca do grudnia 2013. Analizie poddany został szereg artykułów (początkowo 8096), zebranych z różnych źródeł dostępnych on-line (z portali informacyjnych oraz stron internetowych popularnych dzienników i tygodników). Wyboru źródeł dokonano na podstawie ich popularności oraz w celu uzyskania możliwe szerokiego spektrum prezentowanych w nich poglądów politycznych. Analiza została przeprowadzona zarówno przy użyciu metod jakościowych i ilościowych z wykorzystaniem oprogramowania CAQDAS (QDA Data Miner oraz Wordstat). Wyniki badania pokazują, iż polskie media skoncentrowane są przede wszystkim na sąsiednich krajach, co więcej, przedstawiają je w raczej ciemnych barwach. Ponadto duża część artykułów, w których opisywane były Niemcy, Rosja i Ukraina, zawierało nawiązania historyczne, przede wszystkim dotyczące okresu II Wojny Światowej. Powyższe spostrzeżenia nasuwają kolejne pytania badawcze. Po pierwsze, na ile obraz innych krajów w mediach w 2013 roku mógł oddawać nastroje społeczne i być wskaźnikiem mogącym pozwalać na przewidywanie wyników wyborów. Albo też, na ile mógł być kreowany przez wydawców, dążących do uzyskania wpływu na odbiorców i ich wybory polityczne. Niezależnie od tego, która z powyższych hipotez jest prawdziwa, można domniemywać, iż obraz w mediach może służyć predykcji decyzji politycznych i nakreślaniu ram polityki międzynarodowej i dyplomacji publicznej. Dowodów na sensowność tej hipotezy dostarcza choćby analiza obecnych priorytetów dyplomacji publicznej w Polsce.

ПО-ПРЕЖНЕМУ БОЛЬШЕ ОБ ИСТОРИИ, ЧЕМ О СОВРЕМЕННОСТИ
– КАРТИНА РОССИИ, ГЕРМАНИИ И УКРАИНЫ В ПОЛЬСКИХ СМИ
ВО ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ 2013 ГОДА

Резюме

Целью настоящего исследования является презентация образа сосе-
дей Польши – России, Германии и Украины, представленного в польских
средствах массовой информации в период от июля до декабря 2013 года.
Проанализирован ряд статей (первоначально 8096), собранных из различ-
ных источников, доступных в режиме онлайн (информационных порталов
и веб-сайтов популярных газет и журналов). Выбор источников определялся
степенью их популярности, а также целью ознакомления с наиболее широким
спектром представленных в них политических взглядов. Кроме того, исследо-
вательский анализ был произведён путём качественных и количественных
методов с использованием программного обеспечения CAQDAS (QDA Data
Miner и Wordstat). Как показывают результаты исследования, польские масс-
медиа сконцентрированы прежде всего на соседних государствах, более того,
изображают их в довольно тёмных тонах. Кроме того, значительная часть
статей, содержащих информацию о Германии, России и Украине, вклю-
чала в себя замечания исторического характера, прежде всего связанные
с периодом Второй мировой войны. Данные наблюдения вызывают появ-
ление дополнительных исследовательских вопросов. Во-первых, насколько
картина других стран в СМИ в 2013 году могла передавать общественные
настроения и стать показателем, позволяющим прогнозировать результа-
ты выборов? И в какой степени эта картина могла создаваться издателями,
стремящимися оказывать влияние на адресатов и их политический выбор?
Независимо от того, какая из упомянутых выше гипотез является правдивой,
можно предполагать, что картина в масс-медиа может служить прогнозирова-
нию политических решений и определению рамок международной политики
и общественной дипломатии. Доказательства целесообразности данной гипо-
тезы предоставляет в определённой степени анализ современных приоритетов
публичной дипломатии в Польше.