

Photographs of Refugees in Polish Daily Newspapers—Critical Discourse Analysis

Joanna Szytko-Kwas
University of Warsaw, Warsaw, Poland

This paper describes the way in which the European migrant crisis is depicted in the Polish daily press. This topic seems to be important because of the current political situation in Poland, which presents right-wing and anti-immigrant views, and because of the ongoing conflict concerning this matter between the Polish government and European institutions. The analysis includes articles about refugees published in the selected months of 2015 and 2017 in three daily newspapers presenting opposing political sympathies. The paper employs critical discourse analysis and its discourse-historical approach describing strategies of presenting refugees in press photography. The analysis encompasses types of photographs, their functions, the relationship with their captions, and most importantly, topoi which constitute the focal point when addressing the relationship of power, knowledge, and discourse which is significant for critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Keywords: migrant crisis, refugee crisis, critical discourse analysis, press photography, mediatization

The issue of refugees has been present in social and political space for a long time, being often addressed in the media. In the Polish reality, this issue is all the more common since it constitutes an element of the ongoing dispute between the governing party and the opposition, and more importantly—between the Polish government and the European Union. Almost since the very beginning of the refugee crisis and the preliminary ideas of a system of refugee admission quotas voiced in May 2015, this topic has provoked social and political controversy. On Internet sites of editorial offices, along the topic of refugees, one can read a statement: “Because of a great number of posts inciting others to commit a crime, featuring racist and homophobic content, we turn off the option of posting comments under texts about refugees” (all the translations from Polish mine), which confirms that the said posts were highly emotional and exhibited anti-immigrant sentiments.

The level of emotions related to the presented topic periodically increases, especially when there are some new related occurrences, only to drop later, yet it never dies out completely. The media in Poland, similarly to these in Europe, started to present the migrant crisis more comprehensively in mid-2015.¹ It seems that the tendency reached its peak in September 2015, when the world saw a photograph of a drowned three-year-old Syrian boy who was found on a beach in the resort town of Bodrum, south-east Turkey. The power of this

Joanna Szytko-Kwas, Dr., Faculty of Journalism, Information and Book Studies, University of Warsaw.

¹ The term “migrant crisis” has been used in the Polish media since 2015, when after yet another tragedy on the Mediterranean Sea the EU authorities got engaged in activities whose aim was to help refugees coming to the EU member states and to help countries which admitted the greatest number of such refugees. On 23 April 2015 the European Council issued an announcement, and a few days later the European Parliament passed a resolution. In these documents both institutions confirmed their shared position concerning undertaking immediate steps in order to save lives and intensify activity of the EU (Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the Delivery of the European Agenda on Migration, Brussels 13.05.2015. COM (2015) 240 final).

image had been so great that for some time the migrant crisis became one of the main themes covered in the media. In the same month, pursuant to negotiations on refugee quotas and conditions of admitting them, Poland accepted (unlike the remaining states of the Visegrád Group) the decision to relocate refugees.² When the new government was formed after the elections, the anti-immigrant policy strengthened, and the main argument of the Polish authorities—which was expressed against the EU, which attempted to enforce helping refugees—has so far been the claim that help should be provided on the territory of the countries from which people come to Europe (mainly Syria), and that Poland has already been admitting migrants from the east of Europe (mainly from Ukraine). In 2017 the dispute on admitting relocated refugees revived. The European Commission launched the infringement procedures against Poland and a few other countries in June 2017. In July an increased number of migrants were noted, while in September the European Court of Justice dismissed complaints by Slovakia and Hungary against the relocation mechanism, which legally bound our country to fulfil the obligations which had been agreed on two years before. The topic of refugees returned thus to the media. What caught a lot of attention is the cover of *Gazeta Polska* of 26 July 2017, showing people looking and dressed in a way indicative of Arab origins and Islam as their religion, under the sky full of lightning bolts, are taking their sick to the European Union. The photo was accompanied by the title: “Refugees have brought deadly diseases”. This kind of message, in which both the image and the word refer to the fear of illness and death, increases the persuasive potential of the statement and constitutes a factor facilitating employment of manipulation techniques. It is also worth emphasizing that the aforementioned cover was a photomontage of photographs made in a completely different context which had been used without their authors’ permission. Thus it can be clearly seen that the image has become an important element in the discourse concerning refugees. That is why the main aim of this study is to show in what way Polish daily press presents refugees.

This study presents the way of depicting the topic of migrants who come to Europe and—potentially—to Poland. The subject of research encompasses press photographs which show the theme of migrants in the context of the current European migrant crisis. An objective of the study is to understand the themes (topoi) which employ various images in order to build knowledge about migrants and affect readers’ emotions and their attitude towards the newcomers. The undertaken analysis is to consider the following research questions:

- (1) What type of photography is used by daily press to show the theme of the migrant crisis?
- (2) What topoi dominate in visual discourse on refugees?
- (3) In what way do captions under photographs and titles of articles influence the content presented in a photograph?

Photography as a Discourse Element

Considering theoretical reflections of a number of scholars, such as Małgorzata Lisowska-Magdżarz, Piotr Sztompka, Stanisław Gajda, and perhaps primarily Teun A. van Dijk and Ruth Wodak, it can be assumed that press photography constitutes a significant element of media discourse. The latter is understood as “supertextual/metatextual category connecting the world of texts with the world of communication participants” (Piekot, 2006, p. 31), or, to put it differently, as acts “in which the meanings of messages in communication are determined independently of the medium through which they are ‘mediated’ and independently of whether feedback is part of their nature or not (Kawka, 2014, p. 166). Discourse can also be described as

² A meeting of EU member states’ ministers of internal affairs during which refugee admission quotas were decided on took place on 22 September 2015.

transmitting ideas and influencing people by means of language which is strongly conditioned by the social position of senders and addressees, aims and needs, level of knowledge, set and hierarchy of values as well as social context of communicating and specificity of communication through the mass media. (Lisowska-Magdziarz, 2006, p. 9)

The abovementioned authors underline that this influence can be exercised through language as well as images. Gajda (2012, p. 21) proposes a more far-reaching thesis that images “supersede writing and verbal language as basic means of building discourse”, which is called by Sztompka (2012, p. 92) visual discourse. Both van Dijk (2001b, p. 359) as well as Wodak (2008, p. 4) remark that the traditional understanding of this broad term needs to be extended to include images, also photographs, which carry content significant for analysis.

Referring to the mass media, it is worth emphasizing that media discourse, which is omnipresent and deeply rooted in everyday life of each human (Talbot, 2007, p. 5), is distinguished as one of the categories of discourse. Media discourse may be defined as a produced and recorded public form of institutional interaction which is addressed at the collective addressee (O’Keeffe, 2011, p. 441), or in other words, “a type of one-direction communication through the mass media, whose sender is institutionalized and (...) which is characterized by progressing iconization. The aim of the sender is to direct social attention and shape views of the audience” (Loewe, 2014, p. 14). The above definitions are, however, only a fragment of the ongoing debate on the limits of the term “discourse”. The only aspect which is certain is that discourse is “a category which is inevitably blurred”, as stressed by van Dijk (2001a, p. 9).

Critical Discourse Analysis

The way refugees are spoken about and presented in the Polish media builds the way in which immigrants are perceived by the Polish society.³ It is one of the most important voices in the discourse on this theme. That is why it is worth focusing on the manner in which senders depict refugees and, as a consequence, what image is presented to addressees. For this purpose it seems advisable to apply critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a research tool. CDA places discourse in its social communication function in the centre of activity (Lisowska-Magdziarz, 2006, p. 22). The main assumption of CDA is that it should be applied in describing content which is significant politically and socially, with special focus on discrimination, racism, inequalities, and prejudice (van Dijk, 1993, p. 253).

CDA, following its main representatives,⁴ needs to be understood as an interdisciplinary and methodologically diverse approach to analysis of messages, both explicit as well as hidden, present in discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10). CDA is not a typical research method encompassing a set number of tools, on the contrary—it requires employing various strategies, descriptions, and techniques of analysis. CDA as a field of research comprises different positions, among which the most characteristic ones are: the Vienna school with its discourse-historical approach (represented by Ruth Wodak, Martin Reisigl, Michał Krzyżnaowski), the

³ A refugee and a migrant are used in this paper interchangeably, although the author is aware that their exact denotation is not identical. A refugee should be understood to mean a person who in fear of discrimination (e.g., religious or political) left their country (*Konwencja dotycząca statusu uchodźców*, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19911190515/O/D19910515.pdf> [access: 21.02.2018]), while a migrant is any person who has moved away from their country, regardless of what the causes for the movement are (<https://www.iom.int/who-is-a-migrant> [access: 21.02.2018]). Interchangeability of the terms results from the fact that they partly overlap, but mainly from the similar way of employing both names in the analysed media.

⁴ It is believed that the main representatives of CDA are: Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Gunter Kress, and Theo van Leeuwen. At the beginning of the 1990s they started working on the methodology of this research approach, combining various backgrounds and research disciplines they had come from (R. Wodak, M. Meyer, “Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology”, in *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*, Eds. R. Wodak and M. Meyer, London, 2009, pp. 3-4).

socio-cognitive approach (Teun A. van Dijk), the British systemic functional school referring to the theory of Norman Fairclough, as well as the social semiotic approach (Teun van Leeuwen, Siegfried Jäger) (Lisowska-Magdziarz, 2006, p. 23; Krzyżanowska, 2013, p. 64; Kopińska, 2016, p. 320). All these approaches are recalled only briefly, they are not going to be discussed in detail here as this would exceed the scope and aim of the present paper. One needs to point out, however, that the present analysis refers to the discourse-historical approach, which propounds an interdisciplinary selection of methods and analysis of the context of the message. This choice of method is justified all the more that its main representative—Ruth Wodak—conducted research on racism and refugees (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, pp. 576-596; see also “Racism...”, 2000; Wodak, 1996, pp. 107-128; Wodak, 1997b, pp. 275-296; Rheindorf & Wodak, 2017).

With reference to the title of the article, it is worth emphasizing that, in line with the assumptions of the creators of the method, critical discourse analysis deals with social problems. Going further, among the main assumptions of CDA, one should focus on the fact that discourse is a reflection of social activities and as such it is ideologically inclined and set in time and space, while discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 274).

Methodology

The undertaken analysis encompassed articles published in three national general-interest daily newspapers *Gazeta Wyborcza* (GW), *Dziennik. Gazeta Prawna* (DGP), and *Gazeta Polska Codziennie* (GPC). The choice of newspapers was based on two premises. First of all, each of the presented newspapers has a different editorial outlook and, as a consequence, a different strategy to present the theme in question. Secondly, in relation to the first premise, the proposed dailies are the most willingly purchased titles when it comes to both their paper (Kurdupski, 2018a) as well as electronic form (Kurdupski, 2018b). Naturally, two opposing camps came into focus in the presented material: supporters of admitting refugees to Poland, who are represented by the political opposition; and the opponents of this idea, who are especially visible in the governing camp, that is PiS party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, Law and Justice).

The discourse-historical approach means that research is carried out at two levels (Krzyżanowska, 2013, pp. 72-73). The entry-level analysis consists in thematic analysis of content, and its aim is to outline a general theoretical framework of discourse. At this level it is necessary to distinguish discourse topics, which in a way summarize the analysed content or its particular parts. The second level of analysis—in-depth analysis—enforces the researcher to distinguish pragmatic features of the analysed discourse. Here, one needs to emphasise and describe such aspects of discursive representation which were used in order to present the image of social reality that the authors had assumed.

At the entry-level, the analysis included all issues of the aforementioned dailies from September 2015 and July 2017, apart from weekend issues of GW and DGP, which could be considered weekly magazines of opinion. As mentioned above, the first of the enumerated months coincides with the beginning of the discussion about the migrant crisis in the Polish media. It was then that the recalled photo of three-year-old Aylan, whose body was washed ashore on the beach of Turkish Bodrum, was published, which caused an increase in the number of media publications concerning refugees. In July 2017, the interest of the media rose again, triggered by two factors—the infringement procedures launched against Poland by the European Commission, and a growing number of refugees coming to Europe. In the first of the indicated periods, 66 issues were published, with 133 articles about migrants. In the second period this was 64 issues, with only 17 articles (see Table 1).

Table 1
Number of Press Publications Concerning the Migrant Crisis

	09.2015		07.2017	
	No. of articles	No. of articles with a photograph	No. of articles	No. of articles with a photograph
GW	55	31	8	5
DGP	26	13	3	2
GPC	52	44	6	3
	133	88	17	10

Note. Source: The Author's Own Research.

It appears that the indicated circumstances and the infringement procedures launched against Poland by the European Commission as well as a threat of financial consequences did not awake a very high interest in the issue of refugees. Articles addressing this issue appeared in the press, yet their frequency indicated that this topic became ordinary. The presented data point out that in September 2015, 66% of the articles were illustrated with press photographs, while in July 2017 it was 59%. Considering the type of the analysed press titles, the majority of analysed publications belonged to informative genres (Table 2). The latter are required to pass knowledge about facts and events in a clear and succinct manner, yet at the same time they must be detailed and precise but most importantly—reliable. The publications assumed predominantly the form of notes, which in an extended way described a given aspect concerning refugees, yet they did not feature an expanded heading and did not refer to many complementary motifs. News, as full information published on the first page or printed inside a daily yet proceeded with a mention on the first page, occupied the second place as a journalist genre. It is worth noting that the theme of refugees appeared on the cover page of the analysed dailies 27 times (18%), out of which 13 cases constituted mentions in the form of a photograph and a title (text) announcing the material inside the issue.

Table 2
Information and Opinion Genres

	09.2015		07.2017	
	Information	Opinion	Information	Opinion
GW	24	31	5	3
DGP	19	7	1	2
GPC	40	12	5	1
	83	50	11	6

Note. Source: The Author's Own Research.

The remaining journalist materials comprise the genre of opinion writing, most frequently a commentary and an expository article. The former consists in its author's personal opinion on the current situation concerning a given aspect of the migrant crisis, while the latter is an analysis of a thesis proposed at the beginning of the article, with references to facts and data proving the presented view.

The in-depth analysis focused on determining types of employed photographs, their function, correspondence to the caption, and the created topoi, which constitute a focal point of the relationship of power, knowledge and discourse which is significant for CDA. Discourse is understood as a tool of exercising impact on people, but also as a mechanism enforcing a predetermined worldview and assessment of reality. CDA,

which among others stems from Michela Foucault's and Pierre Bourdieu's theories, assumes that its main aim is to reveal "hidden aspects of discursive practices which are related to the relationships of power and enforcing structures of dominance" (Jabłońska, 2012, p. 84). Here a reference was made to the strategy of visual representation of social actors proposed by Theo van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 136-148). Types of photographs quoted in the present paper are termed in line with the theory of Roman Burzyński, who—on the basis of content—distinguished photographs which are current only once, genre photographs, reportage and sports photographs (Burzyński, 1964, p. 138). Obviously, considering the theme of analysis, in this case the last category is not represented. The function of photographs and the relationship between the photo and the text were determined on the basis of my own typology. The function is understood here as a major role the image plays in the message, and it may assume three dominant values: informative, persuasive, and illustrative (Szyłko-Kwas, 2017b, pp. 69-80). The relationship between the photograph and the text may take one of five forms: (1) a complement of the information visible in the photo; (2) an extension of the content of the image; (3) persuasive strengthening of the message; (4) a text independent of the photograph; or (5) there may be no caption at all (Szyłko-Kwas, 2017a, pp. 137-150).

Results of Analysis

Photographs accompanying journalist materials concerning the issue of refugees usually assume the form of reportage photography that is photography which documents what happened, presenting a lot of information on people and events as well as showing emotions related to the presented theme. That is why the persuasive function was represented most frequently, which additionally increased the persuasive power of the photographs. Their aim was to influence addressees, encouraging them to feel either acceptance or hostility towards refugees. If there was any caption under the photograph, it predominantly complemented the information presented through the image. It provided details about the place and time of taking the photograph or explained the presented behaviour. *Gazeta Polska* mostly did not include any captions, and images referred to the journalist material or the title of the article.

Table 3

Aggregate Results for Particular Categories

	09.2015										
	Type of photograph			Function of photograph				Photograph—caption relationship			
	One-time	Genre	Reportage	Informati ve	Persuasiv e	Illustrativ e	Complem ents	Expands	Strengthe ns	Independ ent	No.
GW	3	7	21	8	12	11	17	8	2	1	3
DGP	1	4	8	3	4	6	5	1	0	3	4
GPC	0	11	33	1	30	13	7	3	11	7	16
07.2017											
GW	0	1	5	1	3	2	4	1	0	0	1
DGP	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
GPC	1	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	1	1	1
	5	23	71	13	52	34	33	13	14	13	26

Note. Source: The Author's Own Research.

What is especially crucial for CDA, though, is the topos understood in DHA as the "heading" that is a kind of argumentative structures related to the presented topic (Krzyżanowska, 2013, pp. 73-74). One needs to

emphasise that the identified topos should be understood and embraced in the same way by both the sender and the addressee in line with the knowledge they have. This should be so because the images are not used to pass information but to refer to unanimous understanding of a given message (Rusinek & Załazińska, 2005, p. 73).

A Group of Comers (A Wave of Refugees)

The most commonly employed theme of photographs is a big group of “aliens” coming to us. This pronoun—us—is not precise here, because photographs most often were taken in Hungary or Italy, yet this information is not always precisely provided. We can, however, see in the photo that there are many comers, that they look different than we do—their hair is dark, their skin colour is darker than ours, they have different clothes, especially women, they do not have any belongings. The presented shots mostly show a wide perspective so that a larger group of comers can be seen, which is to be reminiscent of a wave to flood us. The group is mostly heading in our direction; people are getting off the train or trying to cross a border. It is a kind of invasion which is likely to cause anxiousness. It should be noted that the background of the photo as well as a bird’s eye view, which is often employed, do not allow one to establish a close contact with the comers. They remain alien, emotionally distant, but at the same time alarmingly close. Some photographs show a group walking and a place they have just left. The place is dirty, strewn with litter. This is yet another argument showing refugees as an uncontrolled crowd which leaves in its wake destruction and disarray, which in turn causes hostility and lack of acceptance towards this community. Photographs showing people coming in boats also depict large groups on boats which are too little to hold them all. This image may naturally evoke pity and willingness to help, but it also poses a question whether these people are responsible for their own lives and the lives of children accompanying them. That is why these photographs most often accompany considerations on the necessity of admitting refugees, discussion on the imposed quota of immigrants whom Poland is forced to admit, and problems that these decisions implicate. Virtually all photographs presenting this topic are reportage photographs whose aim is to tell a story and engage the addressee emotionally. Only single images are one-time photographs documenting a particular event and are accompanied by a caption providing details this event.

Women and Children

The topos which rates second is women (sometimes families) with children. These are most probably mothers of the children whom they carry in their arms or lead by the hand, and children are usually sad or teary. The image of innocent and helpless beings who suffer is to bring migrants emotionally closer to us. It shows pain and encourages us to get involved in helping refugees, even if it is only by accepting them in our country. In such photographs it is significant that the images of women and children are accompanied by men in uniforms who act as guards and take care of the safety of the presented group. On the one hand, they are helping; it can be seen that they let them cross some border, reach out to them, take their children from the boat. On the other hand, they are wearing protective masks isolating them from the “aliens”. The need to undertake such protective steps is not explained. The addressee does not know whether the protection results from preventing diseases that refugees may transmit, from an unpleasant smell or other unknown reasons. Still, this measure separates refugees from their guards, showing a division into the coming “aliens” and the locals defending themselves.

An interesting element of such photographs is also children on the shoulders of adults, children who hold a placard saying “We want Germany” or presenting a photo of Angela Merkel. In this case, the youngest became a tool of sorts, the voice of adults who suggest that children want to have “a better tomorrow” but in Germany.

In this category of photographs shots presenting people from a shorter distance, the perspective is natural, yet these are not close-ups which would allow addressees to establish a close contact with the photographed person. These are reportage photographs in which emotions of addressees are skilfully used, but at the same time they do not carry extremely impressive messages. Only one photograph by Marko Djuric (Reuters) published on the cover of *GW* was of a strongly persuasive character.⁵ In the foreground there is a terrified teenage boy holding in his arms a crying infant. The two are held fast by a uniformed man wearing a facial mask. The photograph does not allow one to determine whether the presented children are stopped from, for instance, crossing a border or escaping, or whether the man is offering them help. In the background there is a woman who is saying, perhaps shouting something. Behind her, there are two cameramen filming the scene. The whole arrangement shown in the photograph implies that the situation is tense; it is visible there is some drama going on, the fate of the children is at stake and they are shown as the actual victims of this difficult situation.

All the photographs embodying the above *topos* contribute towards improving the image of refugees, showing the ones who suffer the most during the crisis. As it has been mentioned, there are no close-ups with children looking straight into the lens of the camera that could make it possible to establish an emotional bond with the addressee. However, the photographs present individual tragic stories rather than only a faceless crowd.

Protesters

Refugees are not only comers, including women and children who peacefully ask to be admitted to Europe, mainly Germany. The third *topos* presents refugees who fight to reach their goals. In this case three kinds of messages are employed. First of all, there are young men who protest in a big group against detaining them in places which are not their ultimate destination. It is visible that this protest is not entirely peaceful, there are clashes with the local police, and tear gas is used. This kind of message triggers hostility towards the presented people, who are attempting to execute their demands in a violent way. Undoubtedly, they are not supplicant refugees asking to be admitted to Europe. They are not helpless women and children but strong men who fight for the goal they want to achieve.

The second image is even more persuasive when it comes to negative connotations. The photographs present whole families or women with children who rebel against their current situation. The photograph by Leonhard Foeger (Reuters) published in *GPC* shows two women, two men, and five children standing behind a fence.⁶ The situation is visibly tense. One woman is shouting towards the photographer, one of the men is doing the same, additionally making a gesture meaning that he is waiting for something to be done “here and now”. What is more, the heading “Crisis. Great threat for Europe” and the title “Poland won’t cope with immigrants” only escalate the feeling of threat awoken by those who do not behave peacefully towards people and places they come to. A fear even greater is induced by a photograph by Toby Melville (Reuters) published in the same weekly.⁷ This seemingly peaceful image presents three women in niqabs walking in the street with children. However, the woman in the foreground is carrying a small placard saying “Islam is the perfect system for all mankind”. It is not known when and where the photo was taken—yet during the period called “the refugee crisis” and the time of worries concerning admitting a large group of refugees, this kind of message strengthens anxiety related to cultural differences and difficulty in integrating the coming immigrants into our society. Here it must be specified that all the photographs presenting the currently described themes come from

⁵ *Gazeta Wyborcza* No. 210. 8543 of 09.09.2015.

⁶ *Gazeta Polska Codziennie* No. 208 (1211) of 07.09.2015, p. 1.

⁷ *Gazeta Polska Codziennie* No. 210 (1213) of 09.09.2015, p. 2.

one daily, namely GPC, which follows far rightist views. In both cases reportage photography was used.

The third image shows Europeans protesting against admitting refugees to their countries. The presented photographs reveal, for instance, Poles holding a slogan: “Today immigrants, tomorrow terrorists!”, or Germans with a banner saying: “No way. You will not make Europe home”. In this case, these are mainly words that carry the information. People holding the slogans are in the background. These are one-time photographs that report particular protests during which the words were used.

The Nomadic Homeless

Conditions in which refugees trying to reach Europe live are certainly difficult. The photographs (not always accompanied with information where the photo was taken) show mainly city squares or the vicinity of railway stations, where refugees wait for an opportunity to set on their further journey to western Europe, especially Germany (in one photograph there is a man holding a self-made banner saying “Merkel”). Only very few photographs depict refugee camps. These images present people in sleeping bags lying on the ground or concrete floor, little tents and families sitting next to them, or a whole tent town. Clearly, such images evoke compassion towards people who live (like nomads) in harsh conditions. On the one hand, showing children in such photographs strengthens the message. On the other hand, a group of young men sitting idly does not evoke sympathy. They look, similarly to the first situation mentioned above, like a wave of comers flooding us from other countries. The photographs discussed here are reportage or genre photographs. The latter simply employ an image of a person waiting to be relocated among other similar people. What is shown is lethargy, idleness, lack of any activity. Again, long shots are used. A lack of details and a bird’s eye view distance addresses from the people in the photograph. At the same time, words which talk about crisis, escape, camps, and admitting refugees to Europe focus mainly on the addressee (in both positive as well as negative way, depending on their content). Captions, titles and leads employ such terms as “drama”, “crisis”, and “aid”.

Conclusions

Marianna Michałowska rightly observes that photographs of refugees are presented in discourse as social catastrophes (Michałowska, 2017, p. 12), a conclusion which seems to be confirmed by headings such as “Drama of refugees” in *Gazeta Wyborcza* from 4 to 11 September 2015, or “Migrant crisis” accompanying selected articles in *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna*, as well as “Crisis” and “Crisis in the European Union” in the headings of articles in *Gazeta Polska Codziennie*. Thus, it would seem that their authors use strong emotional charge of the employed photographs in order to encourage readers to accept the politically and socially imposed admission of refugees, or discourage them from doing so. Apart from single photographs, this type of message was not yet employed. Despite the fact that 72% of the photographs are reportage photographs, they did not carry a strong expressive value. This fact should be attributed to the kind of press in which the photographs were published—general-interest daily newspapers. In this type of publications, the main focus should be placed on passing information, although opinion writing also occupies a significant place. However, daily press does not feature extended journalist forms, such as reportage, in which photographs would emotionally complement the presented story. Single photographs attached mainly to informative materials about refugees, which amounted to 63% in the analysed period, did not employ strong persuasion. The image of children—so easy to use by supporters of admitting immigrants—was not used exceedingly. Also, the opponents of this idea, who could base their stories on the image of aggressively looking young men, did not employ this image too often, although still more often than the image of children was used.

The published photographs cause a certain cognitive dissonance. On the one hand, we have mainly reportage photographs fulfilling the persuasive function, which means that photos carrying a strong emotional load and based on suffering should have been chosen. According to Michałowska, “one cannot separate the problem of exile from phenomena which brought it about: wars, natural catastrophes or generally speaking—violence. In each of these areas we see people suffering ...” (Michałowska, 2017, p. 13). The content analysis of photographs published in the selected traditional dailies does not, however, fully confirm this thesis or relativize it. Each of the four dominant topoi presents a group of people, which foregrounds collective rather than individual suffering, although the latter will always remain closer to the addressee. This refers to the theory of visual representation of people as “others” by Theo van Leeuwen and to the strategy of showing people as a homogenous group, which means denying them individual features and differences through showing them from a certain distance, without eye contact, from a bird’s view perspective. This in turn denotes that the viewer has power over the represented people, when a high-angle shot is employed (van Leeuwen, 2008).

The image of refugees in daily press amounts to the image of aliens, others who come to Europe. Their appearance causes fear for a number of reasons. First of all, these photographs show how that the group is big and that among the comers there are a lot of young strong men, which provokes a question whether all migrants need to be admitted. Interestingly, less and less discourse concerns the causes of their refuge, while more and more addresses European problems. That is why migrants are not shown as war victims, and press articles decreasingly often talk about them in this context, instead focusing mainly on the debate concerning the necessity to admit them. Secondly, the press shows consequences of the presence of so many refugees in Europe. Starting from rubbish (photographs of squares left by a group of refugees), through protests and fights (photographs of rebellious men) to cultural and religious differences (women in niqabs and hijabs)—people are presented in negative contexts. The presented images are similar irrespective of the content of the analysed articles. The latter are about quotas of immigrants to be admitted in particular European countries, or the need to build borders, or just the opposite—about the senselessness of undertaking these steps. It is worth emphasizing yet that GPC speaks more often about the enforcement, Islam, chaos, or sovereignty, which goes in line with the narrative of the governing party, which is opposed to admitting refugees to Poland. Thirdly, the issue of the broadly understood conflict related to migrants is strongly underlined. The conflict involves many sides: political factions in Poland, the EU administration, as well as migrants themselves. Political confrontation is most often depicted with photographs of politicians discussing legal regulations; these are both representatives of the EU administration who force Poland to accept union decisions, as well as Polish politicians who debate rejecting the European coercion. These are predominantly genre photographs which are accompanied by captions complementing the image with information about the presented figures. Conflicts with immigrants are shown mainly through photographs depicting rebellious refugees who demand to be given rights. Again, one needs to emphasise that causes of their rebellion, such as poor living conditions, are never shown. The viewer sees a group of people with banners demanding getting to Germany (“Merkel” is a slogan carried by children as well as adults), clashes between the police and young men, or shouting women with children.

Summarizing the image of refugees in the Polish daily press does not stem from extreme, emotionally charged themes. Photos of crying children are not overused, and there are no photos that would document suffering of those who flee war. However, the image of an immigrant that is being built is based on the vision of young rebellious men flooding Europe, men who voice their demands. Repetitious presentation of such an

image increases hostility towards comers, who are seen not as war exiles seeking help, but as young people with their demands of a better and easier life. It is worth emphasizing, though, that this conclusion is true provided that viewers can read the content of the photograph. For those who have not mastered such an analytical skill to comprehend visual messages, the analysed photographs will be just an illustration which does not have any clear meaning as it does not carry a strong impressive value.

References

- Burzyński, R. (1964). Fotografia—materiałem prasowym (Photography as press release). In B. Golka, M. Kafel, & Z. Mitzner (Eds.), *Teoria i praktyka dziennikarstwa (Theory and practice of journalism)* (pp. 134-145). Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Duszak, A., & Fairclough, N. (2008). *Krytyczna analiza dyskursu, interdyscyplinarne podejście do komunikacji społecznej (Critical discourse analysis, interdisciplinary approach to social communication)*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Universitas.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction* (pp. 258-284). London: SAGE.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Archeologia wiedzy (Archeology of knowledge)*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.
- Gajda, S. (2012). Media—stylowy tygiel współczesnej polszczyzny (A media—stylish melting pot of contemporary Polish). In M. Kita, & I. Loewe (Eds.), *Język w mediach. Antologia (Language in the media. Anthology)*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Hadzińska-Wyrobek, A. (2011). Wizerunek uchodźcy w polskiej prasie po 1990 r. oraz rola mediów w kształtowaniu stereotypu uciekiniera (The image of a refugee in the Polish press after 1990 and the role of the media in shaping the refugee stereotype). *Media, Kultura, Społeczeństwo (Media, Culture, Society)*, 1(6), 113-125.
- Jabłońska, B. (2012). Władza i wiedza w krytycznych studiach nad dyskursem—szkic teoretyczny (Power and knowledge in critical studies on discourse—theoretical sketch). *Studia Socjologiczne (Sociological Studies)*, 1(204), 75-92.
- Kawka, M. (2014). O badaniu języka dyskursu medialnego (On researching the language of media discourse). *Media i Społeczeństwo (Media and Society)*, 4, 164-171.
- Kopińska, V. (2016). Krytyczna analiza dyskursu—podstawowe założenia, implikacje, zastosowanie (Critical discourse analysis—basic assumptions, implications, application). *Rocznik Andragogiczny (Andragogical Annual)*, 23, 311-334.
- Krzyżanowska, N. (2013). (Krytyczna) analiza dyskursu a (krytyczna) analiza gender: Zarys synergii teoretycznej i metodologicznej ((Critical) discourse analysis and (critical) gender analysis: Outline of theoretical and methodological synergy). *Przegląd Socjologii Jakościowej (Review of Qualitative Sociology)*, 9(1), 62-84.
- Kurdupski, M. (2018a, February 6). “Fakt” najchętniej kupowany w 2017 roku. Większość dzienników z najniższą sprzedażą w historii (“Fakt” is most frequently bought in 2017. Most dailies with the lowest sales ever). Retrieved from <http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/artykul/fakt-najchetniej-kupowany-w-2017-roku-wiekszosc-dziennikow-z-najnizsza-sprzedaza-w-historii>
- Kurdupski, M. (2018b, February 19). “Rzeczpospolita” i “Głos Wielkopolski” liderami sprzedaży e-wydań dzienników w 2017 roku (“Rzeczpospolita” and “Głos Wielkopolski” leaders in sales of e-editions of dailies in 2017). Retrieved from http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/artykul/rzeczpospolita-i-glos-wielkopolski-liderami-sprzedazy-e-wydan-dziennikow-w-2017-roku_1
- Lisowska-Magdziarz, M. (2006). *Analiza tekstu w dyskursie medialnym. Przewodnik dla studentów (Text analysis in the media discourse. A guide for students)*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Loewe, I. (2014). Dyskurs medialny—przegląd stanowisk badawczych (Media discourse—review of research stands). *Forum Lingwistyczne (Linguistic Forum)*, 1, 9-16.
- Michałowska, M. (2017). Niewidzialne obrazy. Fotografie uchodźców w dyskursie mediów (Invisible images. Photographs of refugees in the media discourse). *Polonistyka. Innowacje (Polish philology. Innovations)*, 6, 7-24.
- Mrozowski, M. (1997). *Obraz imigranta na lamach prasy polskiej (The image of the immigrant in the Polish press)*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Społecznych UW.
- Mrozowski, M. (2003). Obrazy cudzoziemców i imigrantów w Polsce w prasie polskiej (Images of foreigners and immigrants in Poland in the Polish press). In K. Iglicka (Ed.), *Integracja czy dyskryminacja? Polskie wyzwania i dylematy u progu wielokulturowości (Integration or discrimination? Polish challenges and dilemmas at the threshold of multiculturalism)* (pp. 184-235). Warszawa: Instytut Spraw Publicznych.

- O'Keeffe, A. (2011). Media and discourse analysis. In J. Gee & M. Handford (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 441-454). London: Routledge.
- Piekot, T. (2006). *Dyskurs polskich wiadomości prasowych (The discourse of Polish press news)*. Kraków: Universitas.
- Potyrała, A. (2015). W poszukiwaniu solidarności. Unia Europejska wobec kryzysu migracyjnego 2015 (In search of solidarity. The European Union in the face of the 2015 migration crisis). *Przegląd Politologiczny (Political Review)*, 4, 33-52.
- Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and discrimination. Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*. London: Routledge.
- Rheindorf, M., & Wodak, R. (2017). *Borders, fences, and limits—Protecting Austria from refugees: Metadiscursive negotiation of meaning in the current refugee crisis*. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15562948.2017.1302032>
- Rusinek, M., & Załazińska A. (2005). *Retoryka podręczna czyli jak wnikliwie słuchać i przekonująco mówić (Rhetoric, or how to listen carefully and speak convincingly)*. Kraków: Znak.
- Synowicz, A. (2013). W stronę analizy tekstu—wprowadzenie do teorii dyskursu (Text analysis—an introduction to discourse theory). *Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Śląskiej (Science notebooks of The Silesian Technical University)*, 65, 383-395.
- Sztompka, P. (2012). *Socjologia wizualna (Visual sociology)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Szylko-Kwas, J. (2017a). Fotografia prasowa a podpis—ujęcie typologiczne (Press photography and caption—typological approach). *Studia Medioznawcze (Media Studies)*, 4(71), 137-150.
- Szylko-Kwas, J. (2017b). Między informacją a obrazem—o funkcji fotografii w prasie (Between the information and the image—about the function of photography in the press). *Zeszyty Artystyczne (Artistic notebooks)*, 1(30), 69-80.
- Talbot, M. (2007). *Media discourse: Representation and interaction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 4(2), 249-283.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001a). Badania nad dyskursem (Research on discourse). In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Dyskurs jako struktura i proces (Discourse as a structure and process)* (pp. 9-44). Warszawa: PWN.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001b). *Critical discourse analysis*. In D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin, & H. Hamilton (Eds.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 352-371). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Warzecha, A. (2014). Krytyczna analiza dyskursu (KAD) w ujęciu Normana Fairclougha. Zarys problematyki (Critical Discourse Analysis (CAD) from Norman Fairclough. Outline of the problem). *Konteksty Kultury (Contexts of Culture)*, 11(2), 164-189.
- Wodak, R. (1996). The genesis of racist discourse in Austria since 1989. In C. Rosa, C. Coulthard, & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and Practices* (pp. 107-128). London: Routledge.
- Wodak, R. (1997a). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction* (pp. 258-284). London: Sage.
- Wodak, R. (1997b). Others in discourse, racism and anti semiticism in present day Austria. *Research on Democracy and Society*, 3, 275-296.
- Wodak, R. (2011). Wstęp: Badania nad dyskursem—ważne pojęcia i terminy (Introduction: Discourse research—important concepts and terms). In R. Wodak & M. Krzyżanowski (Eds.), *Jakościowa analiza dyskursu w naukach społecznych (Qualitative analysis of discourse in social sciences)* (pp. 11-48). Tłum. D. Przepiórkowska, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Łośgraf.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods for critical discourse analysis*. London: SAGE.
- Wodak, R., & van Dijk, T. A. (Eds.). (2000). *Racism at the top: Parliamentary discourses on ethnic issues in six European States*. Klagenfurt: Drava Verlag.
- Wolny-Zmorzyński, K. (2007). *Fotograficzne gatunki dziennikarskie (Photographic journalistic genres)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne.
- Wolny-Zmorzyński, K. (2010). *Jaka informacja? Rzecz o percepcji fotografii dziennikarskiej (What information? About the perception of journalistic photography)*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Wolny-Zmorzyński, K. (2016). Jak oceniać i wartościować fotografię dziennikarską (How to evaluate the press photography?). *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze (Media Research Issues)*, 2(226), 326-334.