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THE DISCOURSE ABOUT IMMIGRANTS ARGUMENTATION STRATEGIES IN POLISH WEEKLY MAGAZINES

Abstract. The article deals with the problem of different argumentation strategies inside the discourse about immigrants. In the beginning there is a short description of immigration phenomena in Poland. The next section explains the main methodological assumptions (social representation, framing) and basic analytical categories applied in researches presented in this paper. The main part of the article concerns the research outcomes. They concentrate on different types of argumentation strategies in III RP and IV RP weekly magazines. Final results show the contradictions between two types of narrations about the immigrants and about expected crisis solutions. In the last segment of the article it is expressed that the immigration issue is one of the factors in the process of social cleavages sustain, especially when it comes to the attitude towards modernization and system transformation.

Keywords: immigrants, migration crisis, social cleavages, discourse, weekly magazines.

1. Immigrants in Poland

The immigration problem is now located in the centre of political debates in the European Union countries. These arguments and disputes can result in different attitudes towards immigrants – from acceptance, openness and tolerance to fear, anxiety and hostility. The reactions on immigrants can be also depend on the narrations applied by symbolic elites (the discourse organisers). The main can also depend objective of the article is to present and analyse the discourse about immigrants. Journalists and publicists who write for Polish weekly magazines and who can be named as the text producers deliver to the audience different versions of the immigration problem. During the immigration crisis it is important to recognise the argumentation strategies applied in Polish press and to analyse them in the discursive approach.

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Immigrants are not the homogenous group of people. In this category we can find: refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants or individuals who just want to change their place of residence. In most dramatic position are the first two groups but we can also assume that people who migrate to find a better job or want to improve their standard of living are also under migration pressure. The migration decision depends on many different factors. It can be a result of political instability, war, natural catastrophe or significant climate change. A good illustration of immigrants diversity is the classification proposed by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR). UNHCR that addresses its actions and policies to “the people of concern,” who are divided into six groups: refugees, asylum-seekers, returned refugees (so called repatriates), internally displaced people (IDP; usually protected or assisted by UNHCR forces), returned IDPs, persons under UNHCR’s statelessness mandate and other groups of people of concern (UNHCR, 2016).

It is hard to describe the immigration problem as a well debated, discussed and recognised in Polish public debate. During the transformation period in Poland there were no significant number of immigrants or refugees who wanted to come to our country. Usually they treated it as a transit, not as the end of their journey. Most often they wanted to go further to richer, western European countries, like e.g.: Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Sweden or France. The situation is different when we speak about the Poles who migrated abroad. Around 2 million of Polish citizens living abroad. They moved most often to the United Kingdom and Germany. Polish immigrants are not political refugees but the economic migrants, who look for an economic stability and a better future for themselves and for their children, like in the case of the immigrants from Asia or Africa.

To recognise the scale of immigration phenomena I want to recall the data from the Office for Foreigners in Poland. In September 2015 the total number of immigrants in Poland was 101,000. In this group 71,000 were from the outside of the European Union. Compared to around 38 million Polish citizens the number is very low. It is 0,3% of Poland’s population.

In 2015 there were 1,25 million asylum seekers or law protection applicants in the European Union countries. According to Eurostat data the most popular country was Germany (35% of applications), where the applications’ number was significantly higher than in other EU states. Second Hungary (14%), third Sweden (12%) and fourth Italy (7%) all together had as many requests as Germany itself. From 1999 to 2015 111,600 immigrants applied for asylum in Poland. It was two times less than the number of asylum application in Germany in the year 2015. A total number of asylum requests in 2015 in Poland reached the level of 12,325. It was 0,8% of a total number of application in the EU. Only 637 applications were accepted (the applicant received a decision of refugee status or was given the legal protection) and the rest of them were rejected (28%) or canceled (85%). The asylum seekers came mostly from Russia (78%), usually of Chechnya descent, from Ukraine (19%), Tajikistan (4%) and Syria (2,9%). Refugee status was mostly

given to the Syrians (Urząd ds. Cudzoziemców, 2015). Numbers presented in the report gives the right to the statement that Poland is not a country where immigration (especially from Asia and Africa) is common and significant social phenomena.

Despite this fact the migration problem became one of the most important issues in media disputes during the presidential and parliamentary election campaigns. It was connected with the changing political context. The massive number of immigrants (refugees, economic immigrants) were heading European Union borders. Partially this process was a consequence of the **war in Syria** and unstable political situation in the Middle East and countries like Afghanistan or Eritrea. It was the main reason of migration pressure. The European Commission wanted to divide and deploy the immigrants in the member states. The European Union governments started the negotiations concerning the migrants division problem. Moreover, on November 13th 2015 there were a **terrorist attacks** in Paris. 130 people died there. On March 22nd 2016 there were two bomb attacks in Brussels. Terrorists killed 32 people. These two dramatic events were significantly influential when it came to changing attitudes towards immigrants in Poland. The level of acceptance of immigrants in Poland (and across Europe) went down from 72% (May 2015) to 39% (May 2016; Badora 2016).

Other issues which in my opinion are related to the immigration problem are **cleavages in Polish political system**. The cleavages in politics reproduce themselves in media system which creates the feedback relation between them. Polish media sustain and bolster social cleavages. They can do it intentionally or unintentionally but for the final result it does not matter if they did it on purpose or not. This process is possible because of the fact that journalists deliver to their audience carefully designed concepts, which use ideologically driven narrations and myths. The immigration problem was interspersed into the political discourse concerning the description and estimations of Polish political and social system transformation.

2. Media and social cleavages

The regime transformation in Poland brought some significant changes also in a media market. It was not shaped by the gradual evolution of free press. Its form is an outcome of political decisions, press title division among political parties and investments of foreign capital (especially German and French). The character of media market transformation triggered a significant division among the editors. To describe it as a simple dichotomy, there were “transformation supporters” (and this side initially dominated the public debate) and “transformation critics.” This situation can be still observed in Poland but “the critics” had distinctly increased their influence on the public debate. Nowadays media discourse in Poland is dominated by two sides. In this article the first one will be called “III RP

magazines” and the second one “IV RP magazines”.² “Polityka” and “Newsweek” belongs to the first category (III RP) and “W Sieci”, “Do Rzeczy” and “Wprost” to the second one (IV RP). In fact these two groups of text producers belong to two different discourse orders based on different assumptions, lexical conventions, discursive practices and different ideologies.

There are some set of issues that characterises each side of the dispute. IV RP magazines are critical to the scenario and course of economic and social reforms during the Polish transformation. As a consequence they treat III RP as a collapsed state with inefficient institutions which protect only social elites and exclude the common people. They accuse the mainstream media (III RP supporters) as responsible for that situation. They are in favour of traditional, conservative values (close relation with the catholic church, traditional family, against LGBTQ laws, against in-vitro procedure, pro-life, nation state oriented policy). They are also sceptical that the tragedy in Smolensk on April 10th 2010 was just a plane crash.

III RP magazines represent oppositional attitudes towards their opponents. It means that in general they support the way and character of transformational changes in Poland. They opt for liberal values (separation between state and church, small steps for LGBTQ laws, in-vitro co-financed by state, abortion permitted in selected cases, closer cooperation with the European Union). They agree that in Smolensk it was nothing more than a plane crash.

We can assume that the journalist is preparing his or her text with some presumptions about the reader. There is no homogenous audience but we can speak about audiences consociated with different press titles. Discourse participants share their common register of socio-cultural beliefs. Both, the author (text producer) and the reader (text consumer), should share the common understanding of social and political reality. These shared values and norms help to understand the message in a proper way. These theses are derived from the assumption which tells, that interaction participants share inter-subjective knowledge. This level of agreement allows the text consumers to recognise and to decode correctly the main categories and notions used by text producers. Journalists who have in their minds a specific “recipient design” are able to make their narrations more effective. Text consumers and text producers have concurring opinions about the crucial issues in political and social discourse agenda. The discourse is understood as a form of social action of its participants in socio-cultural context (Van Dijk, 2001).

In this paper articles from five Polish weekly opinion magazines were analysed. They were chosen on the grounds of their circulation and sales outcomes (data presented in Table 1). Selected titles are very influential in the public

² III RP is the shortcut for the Third Republic of Poland, which is the name for the country during the transition period after 1989 till now. IV RP is the shortcut used for the first time by Robert Matyja (1998) and then by Paweł Śpiewak in order to describe a new (better) model a regime. The conservative party Law and Justice used this slogan in the election campaign in 2005 to present itself as a chance for the new begging and the cleansing supporters.

discourse organizing process. Journalists who work for these magazines are well-known *personas* on media market. Their profiles on Twitter or Facebook are very popular. Usually their blogs or statements expressed in internet articles have a lot of comments. They can be treated as anchormen for the weekly magazines.

There were fifty four articles qualified for the analysis (“Newsweek” 20 articles, “W Sieci” 12, “Polityka” 9, “Wprost” 8, “Do Rzeczy” 5). All the texts were published between September 2015 and April 2016. Chosen articles directly referred to the immigration problem. Texts where the immigration was only the side issue were not taken into consideration. The research was concentrated on the texts in weekly magazines because they have a form of extended opinions which were intentionally and carefully prepared by the text producers. They are not soundbites or one-sentence posts. Elaborated forms of thoughts expressions like articles in weekly magazines allow to fully present journalist’s position. Some chosen quotations from investigated magazines are presented in this paper. These examples are representative for the argumentation strategy of the research material. Moreover, the analysed text were characterised by the high level of cohesion inside both groups – III and IV RP magazines.

Table 1. Average sales of weekly magazines in last quarter in 2015³

Title	Circulation	Sale
“Polityka”	173,858	120,782
“Newsweek Polska”	170,408	119,935
“W Sieci”	151,302	79,599
“Do Rzeczy”	122,397	63,517
“Wprost”	119,381	61,484

Source: <http://www.wirtualnemedi.pl/artykul/najpopularniejsze-tygodniki-w-polsce-ranking>.

It was assumed that political culture can be described and analysed in a discursive sense (Czyżewski et al., 2014: 383). The main objective of the analyses was to investigate the argumentation strategies applied by the text producers. The text consumers (readers) are provided with the proper ways of the political reality interpretation.

The analyses concern three dimensions. The first one is the text dimension. It concentrates on lexical choices and nominalizations. It is also an attempt to

³ There is another opinion magazine which has the highest sale on the market. This is “Gość Niedzielny” (“The Sunday Guest”). This title represents the statement of the Roman Catholic Church. It also has a different circulation model than other magazines. That is why it was not included it to research material.

recognize rhetoric strategies which were used by the text producers (Reisigl 2011, 2010). By rhetoric strategy I understand the intentionally used words, collocations and categories in order to create a desired narration. The second dimension is discourse practices which concentrates on the interaction between text producers and text consumers. Both sides operate on some (basic) assumptions about connections between them in the process of communication. The third dimension refers to sociocultural practice. It means that the text producers can use their power to exert an influence on the elements of discourse in order to modify and catalyse the struggle between the discourse participants. As a result we can observe competitive ideologies understood as a set of assumptions accepted by the participants in a given stretch of discourse (Fairclough 2001: 2). To investigate these dimensions I applied: the social representation theory, rhetoric analysis and framing theory.

The social representation theory was presented by Serge Moscovici. He defined social representations a system of values, ideas, and practices with a twofold function. The first one is to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to make them be able to master it. The second function is to enable communication between the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying the complex features and aspects of their and their history (Moscovici 1973: IX–XIV). In Polish sociology Cezary Trutkowski applied this theory for discourse analyses (Trutkowski, 2000).

There are some similarities with the collective representations concept described by Emile Durkheim (2010). However, Moscovici treats social representations not as a reproduction but as an active process with probability that everyone can be a social agent. In his approach problematic issues and unrecognized problems are brought to the understandable categories. They are fitted into existing symbolic resources. Two processes which are connected with the social representation are: the anchoring and the objectification. The first one, anchoring, (which is based on classification and naming) helps to describe and define complex or abstractive notions and ideas with “typical” categories or “simple” descriptions (Moscovici 1984). This way all these “tough” and “complicated” issues become understandable and possible to confront with “mundane knowledge” resources. The social world is being transformed on the discursive path. The objectification is a process where a notion or an idea are being reproduced in an image. It completes the anchoring. Both these processes change “the unknown” into “the known”, something which was strange into something which the group is familiar with (Kubala 2015).

After the social representation recognition the analyses was concentrated on interpretation frames. They help to render events or occurrences meaningful for the text consumer thereby they ease the reader to comprehend his or her experience and schedule actions (Benford, Snow 2000: 614). Erving Goffman

defined frames as “schemata of interpretation.” They should help the audience (public) understand social and political reality (P l u w a k 2009: 61). They cannot be sophisticated. The main idea is to simplify the complex issues and narrow it down to the new dimension. The amalgamated problem of social conflicts can be portrayed as a fight between “good guys” and “bad guys”.

Frame analysis should entail the recognition of interpretative schemata both in media and these observed in collective actions. Wilson explains that ideology is a set of values, beliefs and goals which are associated with social movements or group interest. It provides the rational background for individuals and collective action. In the process of ideology decomposition three substantial functions can be enumerated: diagnosis, prognosis and motivation. On the basis of this theoretical proposal three types of frames were identified (F r a n c z a k, 2014a, 2014b).

Diagnostic framing concerns the problem of identification and attributions. The framing process is used to define the current situation and to estimate proposed political program and solutions. It creates the image of these who are a threat to our welfare, safety and security. Diagnostic framing can be used for injustice description. It also enables social cleavages depiction. This diagnose may concern the whole political system (regime) and its weak points. It can help to identify the interests' disparity and the conflict between social elites and common people. But mostly diagnostic framing is about presenting the problem in the perspective which refers to the narrator interests and motives.

Responsibility framing is applied in order to identify and describe the structural and non-structural factors which are responsible for the immigration. This process is a kind of a “blame game”, which is looking for the answer to the question: Who is guilty?

Future scenario framing is projecting the vision of the expected an acceptable solutions. It should encourage people to accept and represent attitudes towards discussed problem (immigration, modernization, integration) which reflects the text producers expectations.

3. Media discourse concerning immigrants

The immigration problem can be qualified as an unrecognised and unknown in Polish society. As it was mentioned Poland is an ethnically homogenous country insignificant numbers of immigrants. The immigration crisis in Europe was a new situation for Poles.

When problems like that are being discussed they concern norm and values which interact with individual attitudes. Sometimes the controversial issues are being excluded from the main public discourse agenda. It is like Bruce Ackerman wrote, when he was describing his model of public sphere (B e n h a b i b 2003: 79–80). If the moral point of view of the problem is being exposed there can be

a tendency to avoid controversial issues and to marginalise them. To put it another way, they can be excluded from the public debate. It does not mean that they are not important but more profitable for the community is to treat this kind of issues as somebody else problems. Public sphere can be divided into the public and the private fields with a necessity of legal regulations in both areas (Nowak, Pluciński 2011: 19). Jeffrey Alexander claims that we can define society in moral categories. The goal of civil society can be described as establishing the moral regulations in the social life. It means that the citizens are getting involved with political discourse, which both organizes and divides the political community into included and excluded groups (Alexander 2010). Both sides of the public debate in Poland (III RP and IV RP magazines) aspire to be a discourse regulators. They want to provide their text consumers with “proper” version of social reality description.

The imaginative (notional) stereotypes rooted in the power relations can manifest themselves in social emotions. The politicians and media can use them to mobilize support or resistance for important political programs e.g. how to fix the immigration problem. Political actors who take part in public debates claim that they represent the freedom discourse whereas their opponents use the oppression discourse. Text producers which are engaged in the political dispute claim that their language represents the democratic discourse. They tell us that they use the freedom discourse with appropriate notions concerning values, norms and action motives.

4. Social representations of immigrants in weekly magazines

4.1. IV RP magazines

Firstly, the immigration problem in IV RP magazines was anchored as **the conspiracy of elites**. Once again (like it was many times in Poland’s history) “They” want to tell us what “We” should do in “Our” country. The immigration problem is embedded in the classical dichotomy “We” and “They”. The conservative magazines locate themselves inside the “We” collection. “They” were objectified as: the European Union authorities (and elites), Western Europe state leaders (especially Germany – Chancellor Angela Merkel) and Polish government (with its Prime Minister of that time – Ewa Kopacz).

The more unceremoniously Union’s hegemony are trying to open borders for immigrants and the more hysterical is the moral blackmail propaganda the more obvious is that Poland cannot give up (Ziemkiewicz, “Do Rzeczy”, 38/2015).

According to IV RP press argumentation strategy, what we are experiencing right now is the confrontation between the disgraced elites and the common people who

represent the right morality. It is not our duty to help the immigrants, because we are not responsible for the migration crisis. It is Western European countries fault. They were involved in Middle East political crisis and they opened the Pandora box with the immigration crisis. Moreover the appeasement policy encouraged great numbers of immigrants to settle down in Europe. Furthermore, immigrants are usually economic immigrants not the refugees. The elites want to impose the political correctness conditions and implement the completely unreliable multikulti solutions. Poland should resist the elite's pressure and stand strong as a traditional country. What we need is the sobriety thinking which characterises attitudes of common people.

Secondly, the immigration problem was anchored as **the hostile strangers' invasion**. This type of rhetoric has some discrimination discourse features (Reisigl 2010). The strangers were objectified as Muslim terrorists, Taliban who are trying to force our borders and who are dangerous not only for our cultural values but also for our physical security. They were portrayed on the magazines' covers as young men wearing typical Taliban's clothes, with guns and bombs. One of the covers presented them as rapists who want to sexually harass "our women". That is why we have to defend our land, our values and our women. Immigrants are not the opportunity for our society but they are a threat. They are not refugees but hostile invaders. The main actor – an immigrant, is presented as anti-hero not a hero. What we are facing is the civilization clash.

Inside the old Europe countries we can see the clash of two civilizations – Western civilization and Muslim civilization [...] Each of them has got its own identity (Rybińska, "W Sieci", 7/2016).

"We" are representing the "right" values, "They" are representing the "wrong" ones. In this place we can recall the myth about Poland as the Christianity Outpost which was often used to describe a significant role of our country in the history of Europe. Nowadays the history repeats and Poland can stop the flood of invaders – Muslims.

These anchoring and objectification procedures direct the text consumer attention to the narration of the great threat and the loss of sovereignty. To find out how the image of immigrants is being constructed I decided to apply some categories from rhetoric analysis: nominalizations and predictions. It helps in identification of the argumentation strategy. Some chosen examples are presented in the table 2 Following through these rhetoric categories allows to reconstruct (piece together) the narration. In this paper narration is described as a data operations ways. It means that it is not just a simple description of reality but it is intentionally prepared to push text consumer attention into expected direction (Wasilewski 2012: 25, 88). Inside IV RP magazines the narration is focusing on the threats and fears which we will face within the nearest future. Those who are responsible for these incoming dangers are the out-groups like the liberal and European elites and the Muslim immigrants not the in-groups like the common Polish citizens.

Table 2. Nominalizations and predictions concerning immigrants in IV RP magazines

Nominalizations	Predictions
THEY-STRANGERS, IMMIGRANTS	<i>Immigrants' communities closed in cultural ghetto and who separate themselves from cultural majority</i> (Giziński, "Wprost", 36/2015)
MUSLIMS	<i>Young Muslims civilian army; Muslim invasion</i> (Nykiel, "W Sieci", 37/2015) <i>Muslims, who are coming to Europe, carry inside them the conflict with the Western world as a part of their collective identity</i> (Rybińska, "W Sieci", 7/2016)
REFUGEES and ECONOMIC IMMIGRANTS	<i>Refugees should be weed out [it is like to separate the wheat from the chaff – Author] from economic immigrants</i> (Nykiel, "W Sieci", 37/2015)
INVADERS	<i>Immigrants are bursting into our houses</i> (Rybińska, "W Sieci", 7/2016) <i>[...] they fight regular battles whereas the local governments are helplessly and asking for support. "We are very afraid. We are in a danger, every day, every minute. They are walking in our houses. They are everywhere! They want to kill one another and we don't know what to do"</i> (Nykiel, "W Sieci", 37/2015) <i>They are invaders not refugees</i> (Ziemkiewicz, "Do Rzeczy", 38/2015)
MASS/WAVE OF PEOPLE	<i>Europe is wondering how to deploy the millions which flood it</i> (Ziemkiewicz, "Do Rzeczy", 37/2015) <i>[...] Millions of immigrants, sea of immigrants</i> (Górny, "W Sieci" 39/2015) <i>The immigrants' wave is spilling over the Europe, temporally stopped in Calais [...]. Another hundred thousands of immigrants are waiting to cross over the sea</i> (Giziński, "Wprost", 36/2015)
STRONG AND HEALTHY MEN	<i>Instead of defending their's countries they are breaking through the union's border. They know their's target. They are marching on Berlin and Wien.</i> (Nykiel, "W Sieci" 37/2015)

Source: own elaborations.

Typical argumentation which was used in this type of narration can be noticed in the quotation below:

We were afraid of islamization of Europe in the perspective of next decades. All of a sudden, overnight, our continent was overflowed by thousands of Muslim immigrants, who can speed up this process [...]. So far, Poland wasn't infected by the multikulti virus, and doesn't have to contend with a warning outgrowth of other cultural groups. It looks like the hysterical Europe isn't able to bring the crisis, which can destroy it, under control [...]. (Nykiel, "W Sieci", 37/2015)

It is important to mention about the perspectivization used by journalists when they present themselves to the readers. They introduce themselves as clear-headed,

the right-wing, conservative journalists and publicists who are conscious about the threats and know “the covert truth.” They are against multikulti policy and its solutions (they call it “virus”). They are also able to understand “the real logic” of contemporary solidarity which allows them to write about “**the hysteria of lovingkindness**” (Ziemkiewicz, “Do Rzeczy”, 38/2015), which now can be observed among mainstream elites (including media). Moreover, the real objective of III RP media is covert. They treat immigrants instrumentally as a tool in conflict with media opponents.

“The stranger”, who the Left in declarations would hug and open for him every door, is in fact a figure which is used to oppress a domestic enemy. The gates and hearts are open for the new-comer only to nail down the right-winger and obscurant heartlessness, Catholic’s hypocrisy, narrow-mindedness of nationalist [...] (Wildstein, “W Sieci”, 38/2015)

The only “right solution” for the mass immigration problem is to stem it and concentrate our efforts on the welfare of our national community. The discursive practices applied in IV RP magazines are presented in the table 3.

Table 3. Discursive practices in IV RP magazines

Labeling (ethnization, religious affiliation, arbitrary discrimination)
Populistic argumentation schemata (traditional morality, anti-elitism, wisdom of common people, exclusive and narcissistic idea of nation, dignity and subjectivisms of Poles)
Issue ignoring (not mentioning about important problems like e.g. ageing of Polish society)
Hypostatizing (Islamization as the main immigration goal)
Alibi Muslim (figure)
Eye-witness (citations from police reports)
Typical examples (descriptions of individuals illegal behaviour as a proof for crime oriented immigrants community, Sweden as an example of unsuccessful immigration policy)
Large numbers (thousands of Muslims)
Metaphors (military – immigrants as an army of invaders, nature elements – flood of Muslims, medical – multikulti virus)
Transitivity (migration was very often described as a self-adjusting movement)
Depersonalization (verbs and nouns which not refer to people; “Illegals”, “Unqualified”, “Crowd”, “Flood”, “Masses”)
Identification discrimination (used towards opponents, so-called mainstream media: moonbat, lemming, infected by PC virus)
The indexical “we” instead of “I” to create co-incumbency

Source: own elaborations.

The examples of right-wing populism discursive practices can be identified in IV RP magazines rhetoric. The text producers use it to launch and sustain the collective fear and the anti-elitist attitude. Moreover, some examples of hypostatization were used, for instance when the main objective of migration was defined as an **Islamization of Europe**. The European elites are trying to cover the inconvenient truth within the political correctness curtain. IV RP magazines apply also dehumanization practices where the immigrants are being described as the forces of nature (*“the wave of migrants which flood Europe”*). Harvey Sacks claimed that the categories can be classified and grouped together into the collections (Silverman 2007). The collection “immigrants” usually contains categories which were associated with: compassion, solidarity, curiosity, hope, help, minority. IV RP magazines systematically and with visible effect were reconstructing this collection into containing categories associated with: suspicion, defence, fear, carefulness, threat, terrorism, majority.

4.2. III RP magazines

Social representations of the immigration problem in III RP magazines are significantly different than in IV RP magazines. Firstly, the immigration is anchored **a chance for solidarity with others/strangers**. Immigrants need our help. In the past, many of Polish citizens left their homes and moved abroad. Maybe they were not looking for salvation but they were looking for: safety, higher living standards, normality. Western Europe was perceived as a promised land. Now we have a chance to pay our debts. We should help the people in concern not only because it is in accordance with Christianity attitude but also as a member of the European Union we are obliged to respect the common values and present ourselves as a responsible society. We cannot only take from the UE we should give as well. Poland will not be “a black sheep” in Europe as the Prime Minister Ewa Kopacz said in parliament. This situation is a serious challenge for Polish society specifically for deeply divided society.

We saw two faces of Poland. The first one: worried, concerned, sympathetic. And the second one: distorted with a frown of aversion, contempt or even hate (Szostkiewicz, “Polityka”, 39/2015).

One of “Polityka” covers was presenting the famous “Solidarity” logotype which was wrapped in the barbed wire. This example of objectification recalls the idea of solidarity. The trade union and social movement of “Solidarity” became a symbol of Polish transformation. Its essence was to create a community where people support themselves. Now we, as a nation, are facing the test, how much of the solidarity remained inside us. If we want to be regarded as a responsible (and open) community we have to show our commitment in the immigration crisis. Even if some journalists share the fear of Islamization they claim that the love commandment should be more important for us.

I am not losing sight on slow Islamization in many European countries. I am afraid of barbarous Islamic fanatics who are ready to decapitate unbelievers. However, I am afraid more of our faithlessness in the most important Christianity commandment, the commandment of love (Lis, "Newsweek", 38/2015).

Journalists from III RP media claim that their opponents want to awake the fears and prejudices towards immigrants. Right-wing's press reactions were described as: "*hysterical blackmail*", "*sump flooding*" (Karpiuk, "Newsweek", 39/2015) and the right-wing establishment was accused of: "*falling into the madness of national phobia and egoism*" (Kalukin, "Newsweek", 39/2015).

In III RP magazines we can observe some attempts to economize the immigration discourse. Media anchored the immigration problem as **an opportunity for a new beginning**. It means that this situation can be a chance to accelerate the economic development in Poland. Polish society is experiencing some negative trends, like e.g. demographical issues. We are facing the problem of decreasing number of working people. Immigrants in our country would fulfill the work market gap. This kind of anchoring can be treated as an attempt to economize the immigrant discourse and highlight some practical results instead of showing the moral perspective as the most important one. Immigrants were objectified as "the New Poles" (it was a title on the cover of "Polityka" also portrayed with a picture of happy immigrants family) or as entrepreneurs who run their businesses in Poland. The examples of nominalizations and predictions are given in table 4

Table 4. Nominalizations and predictions concerning immigrants in III RP magazines

Nominalizations	Predictions
1	2
THEY-THESE PEOPLE, NEWCOMERS, PEOPLE (needed and necessary)	<i>Integration of newcomers will bring Europe benefits (Wójcik, "Polityka", 37/2015)</i>
IMMIGRANTS	<i>There is no wall which can stop desperate immigrant [...]. Europe – even if it sounds ridiculous – needs immigrants (Wójcik, "Polityka", 37/2015)</i> <i>Sweden is able to manage the immigrants and including refugees, and gets great benefits (Szalat, "Polityka", 39/2015)</i>
STRANGERS	<i>Once again there will be strangers, who in the eyes of many Europeans, will be responsible for all theirs illnesses, which will be eagerly testified by one more populist (Wójcik, "Polityka", 37/2015)</i> <i>Muslims, Arabs, strangers became a perfect object to employ the right-wing patriotism version [...]. Strangers are the same kind of people like we are [...]. If it there is a need they deserve our help and solidarity (Szostkiewicz, "Polityka", 39/2015)</i>

Table 4 cont.

1	2
ASYLUM-SEEKERS AND...	<i>They are being kept in refugees camps where working is forbidden</i> (Wójcik, "Polityka", 37/2015)
THE MOST ENTERPRISING INDIVIDUALS	<i>They are individuals who don't risk this kind of journey only for European social policy [...]. They come here with their's own ideas and skills [...]. In the end their's working activity is increasing the local salaries.</i> (Wójcik, "Polityka", 37/2015)
MASS OF PEOPLE	<i>Human tsunami [...]. Millions of desperate people</i> (Pawlicki, "Newsweek", 36/2015)
DESPERATE YOUNG PEOPLE	<i>Ready to work and to pay taxes and to maintain grumbling and often xenophobic Europeans</i> (Wójcik, "Polityka", 37/2015) <i>There are more than 2000 kilometers ahead for Syrians [...] through Greece, Macedonia, Serbia and Hungary [...] and then straight to the Great Britain, Sweden and especially Germany – a promised land, prosperous country with a proper social</i> (Pawlicki, "Newsweek", 36/2015)

Source: own elaborations.

The following quotation is a typical argumentation used in III RP magazines to describe an immigration problem.

In the humanitarian crisis conditions, which Europe is facing today [...] the long-term project of the newcomers group integration can bring Europe the highest profits. [...] The worst solution is to let these people in here in Europe to still isolate the [...]. If there is one way for these people to blend (but not melt) in the society, this is the work permit. (Wójcik, "Polityka", 37/2015)

The perspective which is characteristic for the journalists from III RP magazines presents them as the opponents of intolerance, lack of solidarity and xenophobia. They play a role of an enlightened citizen who can explain the advantages of reasonable immigration policy. They are also convinced that the right choice for Poland is to cooperate with other European Union member states and on this making our connections with the community stronger. Some of the discursive practices can be found in the table 5.

Table 5. Discursive practices in III RP magazines

Labeling (victims, religious affiliation)
Enlightened citizen argumentation strategy (modern morality; it is our duty to bring help for those who need it, modern societies understand the need of solidarity with others/newcomers, strangers, open society, immigrants can be "New Poles", every man has dignity)
Eye-witness (reportage from the UE borders)
Typical examples (immigrants who run small businesses in Poland as an example of good integration with community, Sweden as an example of successful immigration policy)

Large numbers (thousands of immigrants)
Metaphors (medical – immigrants as an energy injection, nature elements – flood of immigrants, economics – extra hands in labour market)
Economisation (immigrants mean profit for the Polish economy)
Depersonalization (“Muslims from assignment”, “Human tsunami”, “Flood”, “Masses”)
Identification discrimination (used towards opponents, so called conservative media: <i>Pislamist</i>)
The indexical “we” instead of “I” to create co-incumbency

Source: own elaborations.

In III RP magazines discursive practices are different than these used by opponents of border opening. In the articles we can find the specific type of identity, which describes the immigrants. Usually they are called “victims” or “people in need.” These people were made up to find themselves in this situation. They were made to migrate. Refugees aspire to overcome their poor conditions, they do not want to fight against our cultural values and steal our jobs. The outlook of the narration is rooted in the path-dependent model of reality. The story of immigrants was not written by themselves but they were only the pawns in a complex political game.

5. Framing

The argumentation strategy is developed and touched up with well-designed frames. Framing devices (metaphors, typical examples, analogies, slogans, pictures) prompt the proper way of perceived political and social issues. It does not mean that the recipient is completely passive in the processing of information. But well-constructed frame does not encourage for arbitrariness in interpretation. Three types of frames (and some subcategories) which were characterised above in the paper are presented in the tables 6 and 7.

The process of frames construction is based on the idea that journalists and readers frame the political reality in a similar way. Framing should make the media narrations reliable and easy to understand for the texts consumers. The discourse researcher should not speculate about the discourse participants motives and intentions. Nevertheless, the framing strategies applied in weekly magazines are connected with a certain type of influence which journalist want to apply when it comes to his relations with the audience. They were designed and calculated not only to motivate and push citizens to certain types of opinions and actions but they were also projected in order to mark and define the distinction between IV RP and III RP magazines followers.

Table 6. Framing in IV RP magazines

Diagnostic frame		Responsibility frame		Future scenario frame
defining	winners	losers	structural factors	non-structural factors
Strangers and cultural hostile Muslims invade	Islam, Islam believers, Islamic culture, terrorists' groups, Western Europe societies	Polish society, Polish culture, traditional values, European civilization	Lack of professional migration policy in the EU, Poland in weak position in the EU structures	Stopping the immigrants flood, increasing endorsement for conservative politics, reversal towards traditional and Christian values, delegitimization of old elites
Islamization			Demographical processes in Muslim countries („pregnancy policy“), „ <i>Eurabia</i> “, appeasement policy	
Immigration policy imposed and designed in a condescending way by old elites and other countries (Germany)			Institutional solutions in the EU, political correctness, the model of media market (mainstream domination); <i>European liberal state, in other words Leftist Kolkhoz.</i>	United around new European leaders like Orban, Kaczyński and Le Pen
Leftist's attack on traditional values Polish and European borders must be protected	Poland, Polish society, common people	Discredited elites, cultural strangeness and hostile attitude of immigrants		

Source: own elaborations.

Table 7. Framing in the III RP magazines

Diagnostic frame		losers	Responsibility frame		Future scenario frame expected changes
defining	winner		structural factors	non-structural factors	
Raising fears and xenophobic attitudes by conservative political groups (PiS)			Lack of the EU immigration policy, increase of nationalistic atmosphere (attitudes), European solidarity crisis		Social moods change, controlled inflow of immigrants and their inclusion to labour market, presenting Poland as a valuable member of the EU, immigration as a pan-European and Arabian problem
Test for proofing our European identity	Conservative and traditional groups/ background, slower European integration supporters, these who consider nation as an exclusive community (blood ties)	These who need help (<i>Muslim become an alien from a hostile planet</i>), Polish labour market, Polish and European society	Lack of cultural education in a spirit of openness, permission for imposing nationalistic narration delivered by nationalistic and right-wing groups and parties.	Right-wing, conservative and nationalist political leaders (Orban, Kaczyński, Farage, Le Pen)	
Migration as not a material and organizational but mental (cultural) challenge			Demographic processes, climate change in the South		Answer for the question: <i>Who are we? (Immigration will define us, not immigrants); we need a positive patriotism</i>

Source: own elaborations.

6. Conclusions

Society is not homogeneous in morality dimension. It contains different morality communities. The moral community is organized and structured in a specific way. They use different cultural codes for political and social reality description. But it cannot be accidental. The community should be given and prompted the proper reality description by the actors who organize its moral and political basis. The intentionally prepared set of hints is delivered to selected readers. It helps journalists to focus audience's attention on the certain dimensions of the problem. As a consequence readers' community share the understanding of some important issues which are present during the public debates and disputes.

Public discourse about immigrants in Polish media is not unique or typical for our country. It is a kind of a cliché of discourse in Western Europe. It uses similar argumentation strategies and accounts. Like in Poland the immigration problem in Western Europe can be treated as a controversy which enhances the social cleavages and makes them easier to observe.

All the arguments used by both sides were addressed not to the newcomers but to the Polish society. The argumentation strategy was not designed for the immigrants. It was designed for Poles. One side wanted to awake the fear (which can finally express itself as an aggression) the second one wanted to soften the social moods. That is why, in my opinion, we have to take under consideration the broader aspect of immigrant discourse. The media dispute concerning the immigration problem which was presented in this paper is in fact the exemplification of modernization discourse in Poland. The immigrants became something like a side issue (collateral to the main discourse axe). The key subject was the last 26 years of regime transformation in Poland. IV RP supporters are trying to delegitimize its shape and its outcome. Their imperative is to carry out something what they call a counter-revolution.

The transformation process with its symbolic beginning in 1989 deeply changed Polish social structure. Inequalities were treated as a natural feature of free market economies. The culture of competitiveness awarded people who understood rules and mechanism of new social order. These who experienced poverty and unemployment could only blame themselves for that situation.

The working class was not in the mainstream of transformational beneficiaries. They were described and perceived rather as a modernization brakeman than active participants (Ost 2007). The gap between rich and poor, transformation winners and losers continue to extend. The winners improved their positions in social structure. They accepted the direction of modernization, which was described as a modernization which copies and pastes the cultural patterns of western democracies. The idea of transformation was not deliberated inside the Polish society. Symbolic elites established the modernization goals. It was the up-down, not the bottom-up model. That is why it is hard to describe Polish public

sphere as it was defined by John Rawls. He was writing about the social contract based on social and political rules established and agreed by the society members. As a consequence social sphere is co-created by the politically conscious citizens, institutions and power representatives (Rawls 2001).

Both the discourse about immigrants and the discourse about the modernization are rooted in the social morality. The immigration problem just like the other issues (e.g. women rights, the abortion, in vitro procedures, relations between the state and the Catholic church) is being used by the two opposed sides of the public debate to provide their narrations about the social reality. The two incompatible worlds are being presented in texts. In this way media debates reveal the deep conflict inside the Polish public sphere, which is sometimes described as a “cultural war” (Burszta 2013). Antagonistic categories were used to describe these two different worlds. It is a clash between conservatives and liberals and their description of modernization.

The particular narrative types and the building of accounts into ‘story’ should be perceived as a form of “politics of signification” of Polish media (Hall 2005: 62–67). It is not only the case of Polish public discourse where the dichotomy “We and They” creates cleavages and divisions inside party system, media market and in particular between the citizens. This kind of social phenomena can be observed in many European countries as well as in the United States. It is even expected when the complex issues like the immigration crises are being discussed. But as far as “Polish example” of immigrants debate is concerned we can state that social representations and framing of this phenomena reflect the roots of the narration about modernization and transformation in Poland. Modernization model from Western Europe copied by Polish symbolic elites and introduced to society as the only way of transformation path (see Krakowiak 2014) is being consistently criticized in IV RP magazines narration. The conservative journalists postulate something which can be named as a III RP social order impeachment and symbolic elites exchange. It means that narrations were engaged to create different models: legitimization and de-legitimization. When III RP magazines describe the immigrations crisis they defend almost three decades of transformation. They perceive this situation as a chance for us to prove that we can behave like responsible Europeans and sympathetic human beings.

Our attitudes towards immigrants should be a result of modernization based on open and tolerant society model. But it seems that citizens did not internalize norms and values transmitted by symbolic elites. The achievement of the defined objectives in the field of culture and social attitude demands also the social equality and social inclusion of these people who were left behind during the transformation. Inequalities, poverty, unemployment, lack of trust to social elites and lack of faith in politics are the main obstacles in society modernization. That is why the stranger does not belong to the collection “We”.

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Marcin Kotras

DYSKURS O IMIGRANTACH. STRATEGIE ARGUMENTACYJNE W POLSKICH TYGODNIKACH OPINII

Streszczenie. W artykule podjęty został problem różnych strategii argumentacyjnych w obrębie dyskursu o imigrantach. W pierwszej części znalazł się krótki opis zjawiska imigracji w Polsce. Kolejna część to wyjaśnienie głównych metodologicznych założeń (społeczne reprezentacje, ramowanie) oraz użytych w analizie kategorii analitycznych. W głównej części artykułu zaprezentowano wyniki badania. Koncentrują się one na różnych typach strategii argumentacyjnych obecnych w tygodnikach „III RP” i „IV RP”. Wnioski z badań wskazują na sprzeczność i antagonizm między dwoma typami narracji o imigrantach i o proponowanych rozwiązaniach kryzysu. W ostatniej części tekstu zawarto tezy mówiące o tym, że „sprawa” imigrantów jest jednym z kluczowych czynników podtrzymujących podziały społeczne, zwłaszcza jeśli powiąże się ją z postawami społecznymi wobec modernizacji i transformacji systemowej.

Słowa kluczowe: imigranci, kryzys migracyjny, podziały społeczne, dyskurs, tygodniki opinii.