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Asylum-Seekers as a European Collective Action Problem - Interplay of Polish Press Media and Parliamentary Discourses

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Asylum-Seekers as a European Collective Action Problem - Interplay of Polish
Press Media and Parliamentary Discourses

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Abstract

With the arrival of over 800.000 migrants to Europe in 2015 during the ‘migration crisis’, the debate on migration rights shifted its discourse from compassion and solidarity to more negative stances, such as systematic racist behaviors, including demoralization, dehumanization and hate speech against migrants. This thesis aims to delve into the deteriorated image of migrants in the media and determine the consequences of national decision-making at the European level. To do this, this thesis refines existing theories on the relationship between media, the public and policymakers, as these present important academic inconsistencies. By employing a combined approach including the relevance of the political orientation of media outlets and the constraints of collective action problems, this thesis aims to show that media outlets hold similar frames on asylum-seekers and EU asylum cooperation as their political affiliates. With the use of Poland as a case study, this thesis conducts a discourse analysis on *Gazeta Wyborcza & Rzeczpospolita* Polish press media outlets and parliamentary speeches to uncover frame patterns and the influence media has on a government. This is done by tracing the frames in a chronological manner. Ultimately, this thesis finds that there is a political affiliation between press outlets and politicians, and that the discourse on asylum-seekers significantly impacted asylum-application rejection rates, thus undermining the EU asylum cooperation.

Keywords:

Asylum-seekers; Migration Crisis; Mediatization; Frames; Poland

Listed acronyms:

EU = European Union

GW = *Gazeta Wyborcza* - leftist-liberal press outlet

RP = *Rzeczpospolita* - conservative-liberal press outlet

PiS = *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* - far-right political party (eng. Law and Justice)

PO = *Platforma Obywatelska* - centrist political party (eng. Civic Platform)

PSM = Public Service Media

“The world will not be destroyed by those who do evil, but by those who watch them without doing anything”

Albert Einstein

Introduction

Migration to Europe has significantly increased in the last decades and has been marked by a peak in 2015 with the so-called ‘migration crisis’. Over 800.000 migrants arrived in Europe in 2015, setting a new record as indicated by the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2022). While ‘asylum-seekers’ can be defined as immigrants who forcibly fled their country due to life-threatening situations and do not yet have a recognized status of ‘refugee’; numerous terms such as ‘migrants’ and ‘refugees’ are interchangeably employed to designate them (Amnesty International, 2022). A consequence of this inaccuracy is the fallacious representation of asylum-seekers in the media, subsequently causing important public debates on national and the European Union’s (EU) levels (Serafis et al., 2020, p. 560). While governments faced public pressure and high media scrutiny, the crisis exposed EU member states to an unclear distribution of responsibilities leading to a tremendous polarization in the EU (Estevans, 2018, p. 5). Such polarization was characterized by the distancing of states from cooperative European values, an important rise of populism, increased support for far-right parties, and negative reporting on asylum-seekers in the media (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017, p. 1752).

The migration crisis has exacerbated existing patterns in negative rhetorics about asylum-seekers, with demoralization, dehumanization, and hate speech towards them. (Geddes, 2003; Huysman, 2006; Serafis et al., 2020, p. 560; Troszyński & El-Ghamari, 2022, p. 2). The academic literature points out the debate on asylum-seekers as a collective action problem by denoting the reluctance of states to act upon it (Serafis et al., 2020; Thielemann &

Armstrong, 2013), which was notably the case of Poland (Troszyński & El-Ghamari, 2022). Despite providing explanations for the rise of populism and far-right parties (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2021, p. 448), there is a lack of focus on the process through which governments undermine their responsibilities towards asylum-seekers (Serafis et al., 2020, p. 561). The underanalyzed factors include the role of media in a government's decisions (Mangal, 2020; Dai, 2005). The impact of the media on the agenda-setting of policy-makers can be explained by a mechanism involving public opinion, as public satisfaction matters for an incumbent's reelection (Dai, 2005, p. 366). Specifically, media plays an important role in influencing public opinion, which then affects the decisions of policy-makers (Mangal, 2020, p. 5825). Considering the role of media in policy-making processes and collective action is therefore essential to understand certain phenomena, such as free-riding. (Mangal, 2020, pp. 5821-5822). Consequently, the objective of this thesis is to delve into the deteriorated image of migrants in Polish media and political discourses, to subsequently analyze the influence national media can have on a government's stance on the EU asylum cooperation.

This thesis thus proposes the following research question:

How does national media influence a government's stance on the EU asylum cooperation?

Firstly, this thesis outlines relevant academic findings and disagreements on media independence and collective action. These are subsequently utilized to refine existing theories and offer a combined approach to answer the research question. Thereupon, the proposed combined approach in the theoretical framework is applied to the case of Poland, to establish the effects national media had on the state's stance on the EU asylum cooperation. This is done by conducting a discourse analysis of Polish press media outlets and parliamentary

speeches to determine and compare the dominant narratives on asylum-seekers. After tracing the narratives in time, this thesis determines the degree of media frames' influence on a government. This thesis expects to find that there is a political affiliation between media and governments and that the government is influenced by the frames on asylum-seekers of the affiliated media to the government.

Literature Review

This thesis aims to explore the functioning of media in framing the issue of asylum-seekers and secondly examine the effect of media on the decisions of policy-makers and their impact on collective action. The existing literature can be explored from three perspectives: collective action and the EU's institutional design, media independence in regards to framing, and media independence in relation to policy-makers. All perspectives revolve around the theme of the migration crisis.

1. The Migration Issue

Although migration has been a prominent issue for decades, the notion of securitization around migration has been somewhat dormant before the refugee crisis in 2015 (Huysman, 2006, p. 16). The sudden arrival of 1 million people predominantly from Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan raised the issue to the top of political and media agenda at national levels, but also at the EU level (Estevens, 2018, p. 2). A heavily debated topic was the abolition of internal borders within the EU, triggering an important dissemination of narratives suggesting a security deficit (Huysman, 2006, p. 70). Inevitably, this increased politicization and securitization of the issue on migration and asylum-seekers. While EU cooperation on the asylum-seekers issue seems essential for humanitarian and security

motives, the de-nationalization of state sovereignty is challenged by the lack of a common position on how to deal with increasing migration and led to enhanced national strategies enforcing security and defense policies in the EU (Estevens, 2018, pp. 1-2). Another challenge is the racist and dehumanizing discourse in the media which intensified the negative perceptions on asylum-seekers (Serafis et al., 2020, p. 560).

2. Collective Action and EU's Institutional Design

The EU currently functions under the Asylum Procedures Directive, which aims to provide a system to ensure that the decision and the distribution of asylum applications are fairly and efficiently distributed among the EU member states. After numerous disagreements, the dynamics of the migration crisis resulted in the suggestion of the Asylum Procedures Regulation proposal in 2016, which embraces stricter compliance rules (EU Commission, 2022). The issue on asylum-seekers lies in the assumption that there is a zero-sum distributive game between EU Member States which attempt to coordinate a state-like administrative and coercive capacity at the EU level. This can be explained by the two-level game, in which "the foreign policy goals of national governments vary in response to shifting pressure from domestic social groups, whose preferences are aggregated through political institutions" (Moravcsik & Schimmelfennig, 2009, p. 65). In other words, EU integration in regard to the issue on migration undergoes pressure from supranational EU institutions for further integration and is based on incomplete and minimal intergovernmental bargains (Maricut-Akbik, 2021, p. 783).

What particularly influences the compliance of a state on the international level is the Domestic Constituency Mechanism (Dai, 2005, p. 363). Dai (2005) argues that a government takes into consideration the domestic preferences of interest groups and voters. The

incumbent's interest is therefore to follow such preferences to increase their chances of being reelected (p. 366). The literature on interstate collective action also stresses the role of the public (Dai, 2005; Krzyżanowski et al., 2018; Moravcsik & Schimmelfennig, 2009). The multiplicity of actors involved in the EU and policy position face a significant integration cleavage. While certain actors support a coordinated response on the basis of humanitarianism and EU solidarity, it is challenged by a communitarian rejectionist view on immigration from other domestic actors, that focused on shutting down national and EU borders. The EU is thus challenged in presenting a unilateral front and its voluntary aspect toward national actors leads to numerous cooperation disagreements (Maricut-Akbik, 2021, p. 782). Depending on the political salience of an issue and the preferences of domestic constituencies, dissimilar levels of compliance can be expected at the EU level (Dai, 2005, p. 367).

3.a. Media Independence and Framing

With an increased mediatization of politics, political events become dependent on both mass and social media (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018, p. 6). The debated independence of news organizations becomes increasingly relevant to the understanding of how the interpretation of events can sometimes differ from reality (Bennett et al., 2006, p. 477). Creed et al. (2002) refer to the term “framing” to describe the process through which “underlying structures or principles hold together and give coherence to a diverse array of symbols and idea elements” (p. 36). Framing can differently be defined as the range of information actors disseminate, highlight and exclude to the public (Entman, 2004, p. 52). In this understanding, framing consists of two essential elements: selection and salience of an issue. Actors select aspects of a perceived reality and make them salient by employing a chosen narrative that

captures the interest of the public (p. 52). The process of framing is indicated by Groseclose & Milyo (2005) as the source of bias in news outlets. However, the academic community frequently disagrees on what should be considered bias and its political consequences (p. 1192). Following Groseclose & Milyo's (2005) definition, *media bias* can be described as the over and underreporting of certain events, based on a journalist's political beliefs (p. 1195).

Regarding asylum-seekers, the so-called refugee crisis left room for domestic media to shape a large set of frames, ranging from political, economic, and societal implications (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017, pp. 1749-1750). Such frames encompass the threat frame, which was employed when the press associated asylum-seekers with illegality, terrorism, and crime (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017, p. 1751; Heidenreich et al., 2019, p. 176). Another frame associated asylum-seekers with an economic burden and stressed the threat to a country's economic prosperity and welfare after accepting them as refugees (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017, p. 1756; Heidenreich et al., 2019, p. 173). Thirdly, the 'securitization' frame was used by press outlets when referring to integrative issues of asylum-seekers with the society, and the cultural costs that emerge from them (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017, p. 1756). Finally, the literature mentions the humanitarian frame, which highlights the role of the society in welcoming refugees and pointing out the actions that have been taken in their regard (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017, p. 1756).

3.b. Media Independence and Policy-Makers

The academic literature can be separated into two sets that differently assess the connection between media and policy-makers (Benett et al., 2006, p. 467). Accordingly, the first one argues that media and policy-makers have a strong connection, regardless of whether media plays the role of watchdog or guarddog of the government. By contrast, the second one

treats the media as an independent actor who serves its own interests by reporting for or against the government. In this process, sensationalism can be used to increase media consumerism.

In the first set of academic literature, the connection between media and policy-makers is indicated as vibrant. Mangal (2020) argues that media aims to fastly report feedback on policies to increase the chances of influencing them. Policy-makers therefore closely monitor media's feedback to improve their policies (p. 5826). Consequently, policy-makers' agenda is influenced by the media agenda as politicians adapt their action to meet the media reportings (Sevanas et al., 2016, p. 605). In this logic, media plays the role of watchdog of the government (Benett et al., 2006, pp. 468-469). While still acknowledging the strong connection between governments and media, Robinson (2001) advances that media only depicts the issues that are politicized and rarely deviates from the positions of policy-makers by reflecting the dominant political perspectives (p. 525). This observation is particularly applicable to states mainly relying on public service media (PSM) and, in some cases, having experienced democratic backsliding, such as Poland (Połońska, 2019, pp. 227-228.). Following this argumentation, media plays the role of guarddog of the government (Bennett et al., 2006, p. 469). Despite some disagreements over the role of the media as a watchdog or guarddog for governments, this body of literature emphasizes the direct link between media and governments.

An alternative set of academic literature draws a looser connection between media and governments and specifies that media should be treated as a separate actor with interests on its own. In this logic, media outlets employ political affiliation to target a particular group of consumers, which contributes to explaining the positive and negative reactions to a

government's actions. Both left and right-leaning media tend to produce positive news coverage when referring to their political in-group and negative news coverage when referring to competing political ideologies (Rozado & Al-Gharbi, 2021, p. 1). Furthermore, news sensationalism is pointed out as a pragmatic problem, directly proper to the media itself (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013, p. 273). Beyond the political orientation of news outlets, the use of a strategic discourse by the media to convey news items in a more compelling, unusual, and emotion-provoking manner, with the goal of promoting media consumerism, is known as news sensationalism (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013, pp. 275-277). Consequently, this second set of literature treats the relationship between media and policy-makers as weaker and highlights political affiliation (Rozado & Al-Gharbi, 2021, p. 1) and sensationalism as a tool to gain financial benefits in the competition for people's attention (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013, pp. 273-274).

While the aforementioned literature explores the independence of media, it is essential to analyze the influenceability of the public and its consequences on the elite's decision-making. Accordingly, the information absorbed by the public is tightly linked to the concept of *learning*. As defined by Jamieson (1985) learning can be understood as the process through which human opinion and behavior are affected in regards to an issue when encountering a specific narrative (p. 5). Additionally, Wirth & Schramm (2005) emphasize the role of emotional reactivity within the public, which significantly affects the *learning* process of a population, and thus the salience of an issue at the political level (p. 3). Emotions such as fear and anxiety are thus generated when exposing media consumers to content including powerful headlines and imagery, which often results in exaggerated perceptions of certain topics (Wirth & Schramm, 2005, p. 12).

Although the existing literature argues that the European refugee crisis leads to an emphasis on collective action problems, the role that media plays in the EU asylum cooperation remains academically disputed. The current theories proposed by scholars (1) present inconsistencies regarding the relationship between media, the public, and policy-makers, and (2) do not offer a model that combines media independence with collective action problems. Consequently, this thesis assembles a theory that clarifies this relationship and takes into consideration the constraints of collective action problems.

Theoretical Framework

This section establishes a link between the discussed elements in the literature review, namely the connection between media independence, collective action problems, and the institutional design of the EU. The literature review reveals that scholars present major disagreements in regards to the factors that determine media independence, and thus, the influence media have on policy-makers in EU member states. Consequently, this section constructs a theory based on existing ideas and adapts it to the asylum-seekers context.

Krzyżanowski et al. (2018) consider the mediatization of politics as a vibrant characteristic of this decade. Accordingly, mediatization can be conceptualized as the process through which the functioning of political practices diverges as a result of the increased dependence of politics on both mass media and social media. This notably causes politicians to alter political practices from political representation to a more focused response on mediated attention-seeking issues (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018, p. 6). In this rationale, the mediatization of politics can be analyzed as a strategy of the media to serve their own financial incentives. This is done by shaping the public's opinions before an issue has been

politicized, as such the politicization process has to follow the expectations of the public (Strömbäck, 2008, pp. 236-237).

To capture a more comprehensive picture of the representation of asylum-seekers during the refugee crisis, this thesis suggests treating the media as an independent actor. This is because the unpredictability and duration of the issues have given the opportunity to the media to shape public opinion, and mediate the issue as such as it is sufficiently politicized in line with the used frames (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017, pp. 1749-1750). Furthermore, this allows this thesis to challenge the PSM model assumed in Poland (Połowska, 2019, pp. 227-228.), and determine the observations that can be made when treating media as independent. This thesis employs Entmann's (1993) conceptualization of a frame from the literature review, namely the lenses an actor uses to purposely decide which information to disseminate, highlight and exclude to the public (p. 52). Nevertheless, while treating media as more independent, the political stance of news outlets is employed as a variable which affects media independence in relation to the politicization of certain issues (Rozado & Al-Gharbi, 2021, p. 1).

This thesis distinguishes media stance in a dichotomous manner. A media outlet is conceptualized as "pro-government" when it produces positive news coverage on the government, in which favorable reports on the government's actions are made. By contrast, a media outlet releasing content against the government is conceptualized as "counter-government"; including assessments that foster negativism, cynicism, and a thematic framework against the actions of the government. An important element of both of these conceptualizations is that a new outlet must have direct incentives, such as increased readership, to politically affiliate or not with the government (Rozado & Al-Gharbi, 2021, p.

1). This is part of acknowledging the media as a political actor with its own incentives and also identifying sensationalism as a key characteristic of media (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013, p. 273). In this approach, public opinion is a causal mechanism which explains the degree to which policy-makers are influenced by the media in collective action problems (Bennett et al., 2006, p. 481-482). As asylum-seekers and immigration more broadly have become heavily politicized issues, it can be stated that both media and politicians influence the public (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018, p. 5).

The existing literature pointed out crucial frames employed in the context of asylum-seekers during the refugee crisis. However, it did not consider, or briefly mentioned the existence of frames with a more positive depiction of asylum-seekers, such as frames that denounce the use of false narratives on asylum-seekers. Consequently, this thesis not only aims to explore the existence of such narratives but also analyze whether the aforementioned frames and the frames proposed by the thesis were consistently employed.

Following Rozado & Al-Gharbi (2021) observations, this thesis claims that both left and right-leaning media produce opinionated content on asylum-seekers, however, the frames of pro-government media are mostly reflected in a government's actions. In line with this statement, this thesis expects that governments which heavily politicize immigration and frame it as a problem, are more prone to echo the negative framing of immigration, which are later mirrored in public sphere discourses and their political agendas (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018, p. 5). This leads to a convergence of media and politicians' discourses, which eventually become simultaneous and self-enforcing processes. Finally, a last prediction is that the *learning* process (Wirth & Schramm, 2005) is significantly more pronounced, as the population is not only exposed to the frames of media but also the ones of politicians (p. 16).

Building upon the cyclical process logic (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018), it can be expected that the interplay between media and politicians on the European cooperation on asylum-seekers mitigates solidarity instruments involving the take-in of refugees (Maricut-Akbik, 2021, p. 795), thus reinforcing the collective action problem.

This thesis therefore suggests verifying the two following theoretical expectations:

- The political stance of pro-government press media on asylum-seekers in the EU influences the frames of a government.
- The political stance of counter-government press media on asylum-seekers in the EU does not influence the frames of a government.

Methods

Case Selection

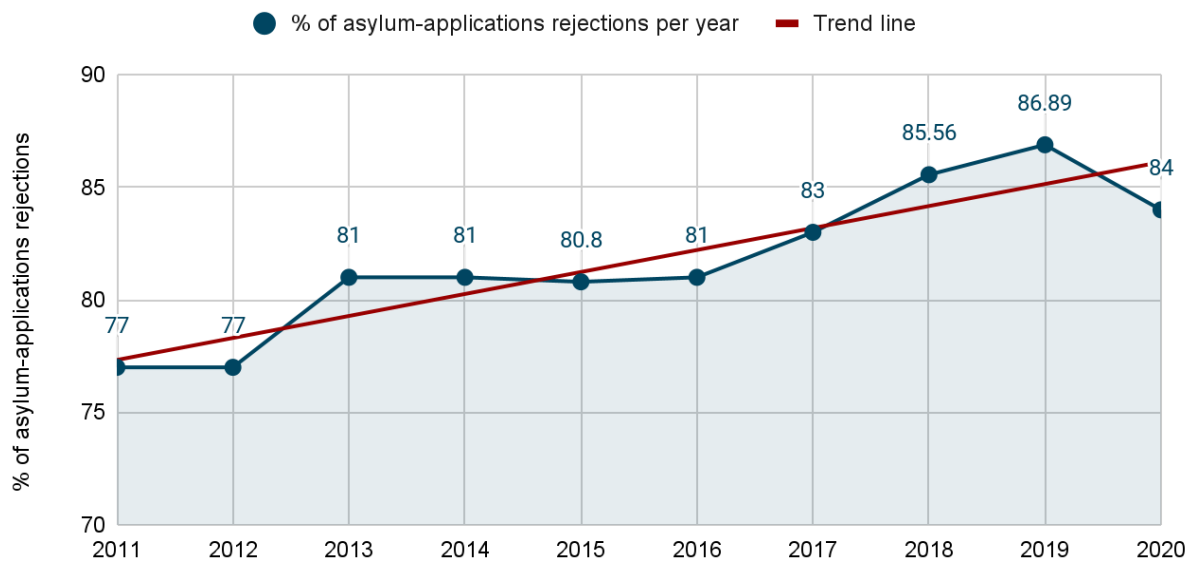
Despite the adoption of an Act legalizing the stay of certain foreigners and the amendment of the Act on foreigners' rights in 2011, Poland mostly welcomed refugees only temporarily by contrast to deeply-integrated EU member states, such as France or Germany (Adamczyk, 2017, p. 311). Nevertheless, the significant increase in the number of asylum-seekers led to a drastic change in the Pole's perception of refugees, notably shaped by the media and political debates (Bielacka-Prus, 2018, p. 5). The refugee crisis was particularly impactful in Poland, as it took place before the presidential and parliamentary elections, which dramatically fragmented the adopted positions of competing parties, and thus, popular opinion (Leśniczak, 2020, pp. 60-62). As part of its election program, the Law and Justice (PiS) party promised to focus on security, a coalition against the relocation of immigrants, flexible solidarity, and reducing the sources of migration (Adamczyk, 2017, p.

313). As Poland experienced a transition to a more right-wing and populist government after the refugee crisis (Połńska, 2019, pp. 230-231), the influence of the mediatization and politicization of asylum-seekers should be evaluated. This phenomenon was similarly observed across Europe, as in deeply integrated EU countries, such as Germany and Austria, far-right parties gained significant support after the refugee crisis (Estevans, 2018, p. 5). From the academic perspective, the findings in Poland could significantly contribute to explaining the increase of populism stances and their implications in regard to asylum-seekers in other EU member states, and other EU collective action problems.

Therefore, to investigate the interplay between media and politicians in the European cooperation on asylum-seekers, this thesis applies Poland as a typical single case study. Several reasons justify this case selection choice. In terms of structure, a single case study allows conducting an in-depth examination of one subject with a significant amount of empirical data. Secondly, Poland is a relevant case to analyze in the context of the European cooperation on asylum-seekers as it adopted one of the most communitarian positions in regard to the refugee crisis (Maricut-Akbik, 2021, p. 793). The case of Poland is chosen on the basis of its outcome in relation to the research question, as the state significantly diminished its participation in the EU asylum cooperation after the migration crisis, by rejecting further asylum applications (see Graph 1). While migration is a long-lasting phenomenon, the image of the “foreign migrant” appeared very sparingly in Polish media and politics before the 2015 “refugee crisis” (Bielacka-Prus, 2018, p. 5). It is worth noticing that the position of Poles towards asylum-seekers decreased over time, and this was also observed in other EU member states (Bielacka-Prus, 2018, p. 8). The case is typical, as it is representative (Seawright & Gerring, 2008, p. 299) of the general polarization that occurred

in the EU, including the rise of populism and far-right (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017, p. 1752).

Graph 1: Rejection percentages of asylum-applications in Poland (2011-2020 period)



Source: Self-made graph based on data from the Asylum Information Database (AIDA) <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/poland/>

The two Polish newspapers *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita* are indicated as the most opinionated press media in Poland having published the most articles during the refugee crisis (Bielacka-Prus, 2018, p. 16). While *Gazeta Wyborcza* has a leftist-liberal political orientation, *Rzeczpospolita* classifies itself as conservative-liberal (Filas & Płaneta, 2009, p. 142). *Rzeczpospolita* functioned somewhat independently until 2006, it was heavily criticized for signing a controversial agreement with the *Law and Justice* (PiS) far-right political party (p. 143). The new provision led to significant discussions on *Rzeczpospolita* being indirectly “owned by the government ” (Filas & Płaneta, 2009, p. 143). By contrast, *Gazeta Wyborcza* is considered as the rival of *Rzeczpospolita*; sympathizing with the ideology of the *Platforma Obywatelska* (PO), a centrist-liberal political party (Filas & Płaneta, 2009, pp. 143-144;

Troszyński & El-Ghamari, 2022, p. 4). Based on Filas & Płaneta (2009) findings, *Rzeczpospolita* can be operationalized as a supporter of PiS and *Gazeta Wyborcza* as a supporter of PO (pp. 142-143).

Research Design

This thesis aims to uncover the frames employed by media and politicians to depict the asylum-seekers issue during the refugee crisis. This is done by conducting a frame analysis, whose aim is to explore “existing cultural accounts in the interest of change at the organizational and societal level and look for patterns across levels of discourse” (Creed et al., 2002, p. 36). Specifically, this method analyzes whether there is a certain pattern and consistency in the employed narratives between the mediatic and political spheres in the time scope from 2014 to 2017. This time period is particularly relevant, as Poland experienced a change in the government and its ideology, which arguably occurred in line with the refugee crisis (Troszyński & El-Ghamari, 2022, p. 7). This thesis examines the content of 48 selected articles from both *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita* press outlets and 24 parliamentary speeches that occurred within the same time frame, from which a total of 108 quotes is retrieved (see Appendix A; Tables 2 & 3).

To verify its theoretical expectations, this thesis proceeds in two steps. Firstly, it applies qualitative discourse analysis to press releases and parliamentary speeches to determine the dominant frames employed in the context of asylum-seekers. The frames are identified on the basis of pre-established categories (see Table 1). This is done to obtain a preliminary overview on the dominant frames. Subsequently, through an extensive comparison of the deployed language in selected quotes from press releases and political speeches, this thesis explores the similarities and differences that can be found. This not only

serves as a basis to determine the degree of independence between media and government frames, but also provides a chronological indication on the use of language, and whether some frames mirrored each other overtime. To confirm the results quantitatively, this thesis provides bar charts representing the frequencies of all quotes from press outlets and politicians speeches which have been identified as belonging to a certain frame category (see Figures 1, 2, 3, 4 & p. 33-35).

Table 1: Codebook

Category (Frame)	Description	Example
Asylum-seekers as a threat	Employed when the press article/parliamentary speech refers to concerns in regards to (in)security; including fears on increased criminality and terrorism in the context of the refugee crisis.	<i>“We do not believe [...] that all Muhameds are terrorists, we just claim that a great majority of terrorists are Muhameds”.</i> (RP, 03.10.15)
Asylum-seekers as an economic trouble	Employed when the press article/parliamentary speech refers to the economic costs linked to asylum-seekers in the context of the refugee crisis.	<i>“Immigrants are looking for a better life. Refugees flee to save their lives and freedom (...) Applying for refugee status blurs this division, as it often conceals the economic causes of migration”.</i> (RP, 07.09.15)
Asylum-seekers as a cultural danger	Employed when the press article/parliamentary speech refers to the social and integration costs linked to asylum-seekers in the context of the refugee crisis.	<i>“The Muslim proletariat will not assimilate”.</i> (RP, 03.10.15)
Asylum-seekers as people in need	Employed when the press article/parliamentary speech refers to empathy towards asylum-seekers in the context of the refugee crisis.	<i>“Everyday we see people who flee and die in terrible conditions on the way to freedom”.</i> (GW, 01.09.15)
Asylum-seekers as victims of false narratives	Employed when the press article/parliamentary speech refers to the biased depiction of asylum-seekers in the context of the refugee crisis.	<i>“Don’t scare Poles today, don’t tell them that they will get submerged by refugees who will steal their jobs and who will be dangerous”.</i> (Kopacz, 16.09.15)

Data Collection & Operationalization

To perform the qualitative discourse analysis, this thesis runs a selection process of articles from press outlets and political speeches. In regards to the press outlets, keywords such as “*uchodźcy*” (refugees), “*migranci*” (migrants), “*imigranci*” (immigrants), “*azylant*” (asyle), “*Unia Europejska*” (European Union) are directly researched on *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita* websites. Subsequently, this thesis selects the articles fitting in the relevant time frame, namely between 2014 and 2017. In a similar manner, the government speeches are retrieved in regards to the use of the same keywords. Through this procedure, a total of 48 press articles and 24 parliamentary speeches have been selected (see Appendix A; Tables 2 & 3). Although the data collection procedure and analysis of frames are conducted in Polish, the analysis section is transcribed in English, with access to original quotes (see Appendix B; Tables 4 & 5). To conduct the categorization of frames in both cases, this thesis follows an inductive approach. Accordingly, it explores the data based on the occurrence of similar frames. The recording units employed in the established categorization of this thesis are sentences and paragraphs (see Table 1). This is because such units provide wider space for interpretation, as they are not strictly based on the occurrence of certain words. Nevertheless, the discourse analysis procedure remains flexible, as such as it is open to the emergence of new subcategories from the treated data, which can be later incorporated as additional findings.

Analysis

This section provides a comprehensive analysis of media frames and political narratives that have been identified in the methodology. This thesis illustrates the most relevant quotes for each analyzed frame, and demonstrates the significance of the quote in

relation to the research objectives. Ultimately, based on these observations, this thesis refers back to the theoretical expectations laid out in the theoretical framework, and discusses whether these theories have been proven in the case of Poland.

Asylum-seeker as a threat

Several subcategories can be identified as indicators of threat in the discourse of the analyzed materials. From the beginning of the crisis, the employed discourse played an important role in shaping the used language by frequently using metaphors. Consequently, quotes such as *“Greece suffocates from the refugee’s wave”* (GW, 07.08.15); *“the wave of refugees flowed with a doubled force”* (RP, 23.09.15), *“the refugee’s storm on Germany”* (RP, 08.09.15) and *“refugees will spill over the continent”* (GW, 12.08.15) not only demonstrate a language that emphasizes danger but also removes the human element from asylum-seekers. This is because the employed language stresses the size of the group by comparing it to an ocean or storm overflowing Europe, and is particularly detrimental to the image of humans fleeing war. As a result, this leads the public to see the migration crisis as an *“invasion of migrants”* (RP, 25.09.15), rather than a legitimate search for asylum.

Another subcategory of the threat frame which emerged in the media is the increase of terrorism fears which were systematically associated with increased migration in Europe. Accordingly, while *Gazeta Wyborcza* emitted some speculative sentences such as *“it is hard to imagine that terrorist organizations such as ISIS will not used the migration wawe opportunity to send their people”* (GW, 15.09.15), *Rzeczpospolita* directly incriminated the Islamic culture as a characteristic of terrorism. This is particularly visible in the following quote *“We do not believe [...] that all Muhameds are terrorists, we just claim that a great majority of terrorists are Muhameds”* (RP, 03.10.15). Additionally, by contrast to *Gazeta*

Wyborcza, Rzeczpospolita highlighted the role of asylum-seekers in increased criminality and violence, as sentences such as “*refugees breached protective barriers*” (RP, 19.09.15) and “*there were thefts and attacks on Polish citizens*” (RP, 29.10.15) show a threatening stance of asylum-seekers. The systematic comparison of asylum-seekers to terrorists and criminals not only created threats in regard to security but also served as a basis to support the arguments of PiS politicians. In fact, it has been noticed that quotes such as “*the matter of refugees should significantly question our solidarity, as these events could lead to dangerous situations such as the increase of terrorism and war*” (Szydło, 18.11.15) were used shortly in time by the PiS party as a justification that PO politicians then in power, did not sufficiently assure Poles’ security. The terrorist acts in Paris on the 13.11.15 exacerbated this trend, as PiS politicians directly related the events to the refugee crisis, as portrayed in the following quote: “*The problem of migrants and the naive approach (proposed by the EU) led today to events a lot of countries would like to forget about*” (Szydło, 13.01.16). Although *Gazeta Wyborcza* briefly mentioned the possibility of increased terrorism, *Rzeczpospolita* consistently associated terrorism with asylum-seekers.

There are also two subcategories that essentially emerged out of PiS politicians' speeches, during the presidential and parliamentary campaigns. Firstly, PiS politicians utilized sentences such as “*Does the government have the right to make decisions under foreign pressure and without the express consent of the nation, which in a high degree of probability may have a negative impact on our lives and our security?*” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15) as a justification that asylum-seekers might pose a threat to Poland’s stability. Moreover, to emphasize the danger, PiS politicians frequently referred to the EU’s ruling on asylum-seekers, and thus, asylum-seekers themselves as a threat to Poland’s sovereignty with quotes such as “*We have the right to defend our sovereignty [...] we have the right to defend*

ourselves against this discriminatory action carried out by opponents of Poles” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15). The analysis of the frame depicting asylum-seekers as a threat to Poland’s sovereignty is important, as it accounted as a principal argument of the PiS party to limit its contribution to the EU asylum cooperation.

Finally, the last subcategory outlines a sanitary threat around asylum-seekers, which also emerged from parliamentary speeches. In fact, a PiS politician mentioned that *“there are already signs of very dangerous diseases that have not been seen in Europe [...] (that are brought by refugees) and a wide range of parasites which are harmless in the bodies of these people but are dangerous here”* (Kaczyński, 13.10.15). Not only this quote demonstrates a comparison between refugees and Poles, but it has a racist connotation as it assumes that this particular group of refugees is dangerous for Poles in regards to sanitary reasons. The xenophobic aspect of this speech is confirmed as Kaczyński later claims that *“the dangerousity of unknown diseases should serves as a basis to be more selective when it comes to accepting refugees to Poland”* (Kaczyński, 13.10.15).

These observations lead to key findings for this research. Firstly, in accordance with Molek-Kozakowska's (2013) definition, this analysis reveals that a lot of press articles used sensationalism in the form of metaphors to amplify reality and increase the attractiveness of the news. Although PiS politicians only replicated a few metaphors in their discourse, they consistently repeated emitted fears on terrorism by *Rzeczpospolita*. This demonstrates that as predicted by Rozado & El-Gharbi (2021), the political affiliation of a press media is relevant in this process. This is because the chronological order of the narratives shows that the ruling party employed similar narratives to the ones of the affiliated press media. It is also worth noticing that certain narratives such as the “attacks on sovereignty” and the “sanitary threat”

were only reflected in political speeches, there was no later instance reflected in the press. This therefore outlines the shortcomings of Rozado & Al-Gharbi (2013) theory and suggests that in contrast to the mediatization theory (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018; Strömbäck, 2008), not all issues are politicized and subsequently portrayed in the media. Consequently, the theoretical expectations of this thesis can only be partially confirmed for the threat frame.

Asylum-seeker as an economic trouble

Another identified frame focuses on the asylum-seekers issue as an economic burden. Accordingly, the media firstly emitted doubts in regards to the intentions of asylum-seekers, by discussing the possibility of economic migration. This was done by comparing asylum-seekers to economic migrants, as depicted in *Rzeczpospolita*: “*Immigrants are looking for a better life. Asylum-seekers flee to save their lives and freedom [...] Applying for refugee status blurs this division, as it often hides the economic causes of migration*” (RP, 07.09.15). Such division can also be found in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, as it claims that “*not everyone of them is a victim, not everyone of them deserves to live in Europe*” (GW, 10.09.15), which implies that there are economic standards to deserve shelter. However, this was the only quote that was retrieved from *Gazeta Wyborcza* in regards to the economic intentions of asylum-seekers, as the press outlet mostly adopted a positive attitude. By contrast, *Rzeczpospolita* adopted a more negative stance, as it qualified asylum-seekers multiple times as “*invaders*”, “*tricksters*”, “*robbers*” and “*parasites*” (RP, 11.09.15). Furthermore, *Rzeczpospolita* emphasized the economic disadvantage of Poland in comparison to other EU member states, by outlining a diverging economic impact of asylum-seekers. The press used quotes such as “*the costs of welcoming the wave of refugees do not seem to impress anyone in Germany [...] Germany can afford it*” (RP, 11.09.15) as a justification that some EU member states are better equipped than Poland in welcoming refugees.

The same rhetoric was later used by PiS politicians, as they blamed Germany for “*being a magnet for attracting economic migrants*” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15), which is “*not (economically) beneficial to Polish citizens*” (Szydło, 24.09.15). Similarly to the threat frame, PiS politicians considerably blamed the institutional design of the EU, led by “*corrupt Brussels elites*” (Szydło, 24.09.15) which purposely “*pushes migrants into Poland through the relocation mechanism*” (Chruszcz, 28.01.16). Once again, the choice of such vocabulary dehumanizes asylum-seekers who are treated as being “*tossed across EU member states*” (Schetyna, 16.09.15) as no state wishes to take economic responsibilities over them. This therefore shows that PiS politicians not only depicted asylum-seekers as economic trouble but contrastingly to the press, the political speeches also emphasized the role of the EU, which they describe as very pervasive. Focusing back on the national level, while still assuming the refugee crisis was mostly based on economic motives, the PiS party made stark and straightforward comparisons between Polish and foreign economic migrants. This can notably be seen in the following quote: “*No Polish economic migrant ever asked for [...] free prostitutes, a free apartment, expected social welfare, but worked hard instead*” (Tarczyński, 28.01.16).

The analysis of the economic frame indicates important findings. Firstly, it is noticed that both media outlets employed sensationalism, notably *Rzeczpospolita*, which employed words with a very negative connotation to describe asylum-seekers. The use of words such as “tricksters” and “parasites” is particularly sensationalist, as it amplifies the reality (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013), dehumanizes asylum-seekers and strengthens the utilized frame from an economic perspective. A similar trend was later observed in the discourse of the PiS party, to which the press outlet is affiliated, which confirms Rozado and Al-Gharbi’s (2021)

theory on political affiliation. Accordingly, PiS politicians made in majority sensationalist comparisons (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013), between Polish migrants and asylum-seekers, by also dehumanizing them to further damage their image with the use of a lot of shocking and opinionated phrases. Finally, although *Gazeta Wyborcza* did it fewer times than *Rzeczpospolita*, its views depicted asylum-seekers as an economic trouble, which diverges from the discourse of PO politicians. This observation contradicts Rozado and Al-Gharbi (2018) and Krzyżanowski et al. (2018) findings. Consequently, while the first theoretical expectation of this thesis has empirical support, the second one is disproven for the economic frame.

Asylum-seeker as a cultural danger

An effect that was observed in the media at the beginning of the crisis was the emphasis on religion, as a principal source of cultural danger. Sentences such as “*the Muslim proletariat will not assimilate*” (RP, 03.10.15) very explicitly designate religion as the main factor affecting the assimilation of asylum-seekers. While sentences such as “*multicultural politics have not been proven successful worldwide [...] the United Kingdom, Germany and France [...] have a problem with the radicalization of immigrants who do not want to assimilate*” (GW, 15.09.15) are found in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita* mentions the “*possibility of an ethnic revolution and the dismantling of the Christian culture*” (RP, 05.09.15). Both press outlets demonstrate concerns around the “*Islamisation of Europe*” (GW, 15.09.15) and its consequences, which clearly depicts the existence of a frame treating asylum-seekers as a cultural danger. Nevertheless, a step further was taken by *Rzeczpospolita*, as through quotes such as “*(Muslims) do not respect the values of secular states*” (RP, 03.10.15), the press outlet only degrades the image of Muslims, but also falsely assigns a specific religion to all asylum-seekers, with the assumption that they will force their religion

upon Europeans. The fact that *Rzeczpospolita* frequently generalizes a whole population can also be detected on its use of the name “*Muhamed*” to talk about every Muslim or asylum-seeker, as exemplified in the following quote: *“Tolerance, human rights, and the conviction of human dignity will be considered laughable in the face of the extreme otherness of Muhameds”* (RP, 04.10.15).

In parliamentary speeches, similar patterns are found in regards to the cultural danger, by emphasizing that *“they (asylum-seekers) declare that they do not want to obey our law and customs and, at the same time, impose their sensitivity in the public sphere, in a very aggressive and violent manner”* (Kaczyński, 16.09.15). Although the quote does not explicitly mention religion as an obstacle to cultural integration, it strongly suggests that the cultural danger erects from the lack of consideration of asylum-seekers in regard to local customs. The question *“Do you really want to stop being the owner of our own country?”* (Kaczyński, 16.09.15) from the same speech confirms this observation, as it insinuates that multiculturalism would lead to a loss of control over the country.

Interestingly, PiS politicians did not use religious terminology, but employed a narrative of double standards, by differentiating the culture of Middle-Eastern asylum-seekers, to the ones from the “near east”, such as Ukraine. This is firstly seen when *“cultural closeness”* (Błaszczak, 26.11.15) was used as a basis to accept certain groups over asylum-seekers over others, and justifying it by saying that *“we have to help those who indeed need help, and are our neighbors suffering from war”* (Błaszczak, 26.11.15). This quote emphasizes that “the neighbors” in need should be prioritized, and the word *“indeed”* implies that other asylum-seekers do not need help in reality. In line with double-standards, PiS politicians particularly stressed cultural differences between Middle-Eastern

asylum-seekers and Polish migrants. Accordingly, by saying “*When Poles emigrated, have they ever imposed their rules in these places? Has anyone been terrorizing? No. They worked hard with great humility*” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15), the PiS politician distinguishes both groups, and makes a connection to the rhetoric of the threat frame. This demonstrates that similarly to the threat and economic trouble frames, PiS politicians used comparisons to strengthen their arguments.

Several findings can be derived from these observations. Firstly, the frequent use of specific names to picture an entire community by *Rzeczpospolita* can be perceived as an attempt of sensationalism, as it easily captivates the reader’s attention (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013). Moreover, the use of the buzzword “*Muhamed*” facilitates this misleading association and positively affects the *learning* process (Wirth & Schramm, 2005), which later influences public opinion on certain topics. While this thesis expects to find similarities in the employed discourse, the analyzed data demonstrates some contradictions to this statement. This is because neither of political speeches from both political parties targeted the Muslim religion in specific, by contrast to *Rzeczpospolita*. This somewhat disproves Rozado & Al-Gharbi (2021) theory, as, despite the consistent use of the cultural danger frame, the political speeches were not fully influenced by the narrative employed by the media. In this case, both theoretical expectations of this thesis are somewhat contested, because although the government moderately employed some similar narratives to the pro-government press media, the differences in the discourse suggest that the affiliated press outlet did not fully influence the government.

Asylum-seeker as people in need

Despite the existence of negative frames on asylum-seekers, the use of the frame picturing them as people in legitimate need for help highlights the polarized opinions on asylum-seekers, in the media and politician speeches. By contrast to *Rzeczpospolita*, *Gazeta Wyborcza* also held a narrative that presented asylum-seekers as victims since the beginning of the crisis. This can be noted in sentences such as “*everyday we see people who flee, and on this way to freedom, die in terrible conditions*” (GW, 01.09.15), that demonstrate the difficult situation of asylum-seekers. In this process, the press outlet also denounced the actions of the newly elected government through sentences such as “*The state [...] spends 1.5 billion PLN yearly on salaries for catechists. For a fraction of this amount, each immigrant can be provided with housing and care until they are independent*” (GW, 12.09.15).

Furthermore, *Gazeta Wyborcza* also directly addresses its readers by using the logic of Christian values, with the sentence “*if we, as Christians claim that we love God we do not see, but we refuse to help a refugee who asks us for bread, we are hypocrites*” (GW, 10.09.15). While *Rzeczpospolita* did not deny that asylum-seekers are people in need, it mostly focused on what Poles have been doing, which can be seen in quotes such as “*Polish families are willing to receive refugees from Syria under their roof*” (10.09.15) and “*the Church helps in silence*” (08.09.15). Although these sentences show the presence of solidarity in Poland, *Rzeczpospolita* refrained from calling out the government, and unlike *Gazeta Wyborcza*, did not organize its own humanitarian action. Accordingly, to stress the needs of asylum-seekers and the urgency of the situation, *Gazeta Wyborcza* organized a humanitarian action, in which it was possible to give “*sleeping bags, mats, blankets which will be [...] donated to those fleeing the war in Syria, but also fleeing the Taliban in Afghanistan, and the dictatorship in Eritrea*” (GW, 18.09.15). This quote not only calls the

public for help, but reveals the multiple sources of danger faced by asylum-seekers that puts them in a position of victims.

The discourse of PO politicians had similarities to the frame that depicted asylum-seekers as people in need and that was highly prominent in *Gazeta Wyborcza*. This is because sentences such as *“This year, 2900 refugees disappeared or were found dead”* (Schetyna, 16.09.15) were found in PO politicians’ discourse from the beginning of the crisis. This quote illustrates the scale of the problem and attempts to trigger compassion among Poles. In a similar fashion to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, PO politicians’ discourse illustrated an attempt to reassure the public on the economic impact of asylum seekers. This is seen in the quote *“These 10-12 thousand people about whom we are talking about, is less than the number of people coming to Legia (Warsaw football team) matches. We are talking here about a symbolic amount of money, a symbolic number”* (Kopacz, 19.05.15) in which a PO politician minimizes the number of potential refugees in the eyes of the public, by comparing it to something familiar that can be visualized. Finally, contrastingly to PiS politicians, PO politicians significantly put forward the EU as an actor who can help asylum-seekers, and thus, should not be undermined. Accordingly, the use of the pronoun “we” in the quote: *“Today, we, the EU, we will be this reliable place in which they can find shelter”* (Kopacz, 16.09.15) stresses the role of Poland as part of the EU and Poland’s willingness to provide shelter to people in need. This is confirmed by quotes from the speech of other PO politicians, later in time: *“The EU has decided to help refugees who flee from death, from persecution”* (Trzaskowski, 28.01.16). This last quote combines a narrative that portrays the hard conditions of asylum-seekers, and an indication that the EU is ready to act.

This thesis lays out several findings, notably in terms of sensationalism. Accordingly, *Gazeta Wyborcza* directly addressed its readers several times to denounce the hypocrisy on selective help by reminding the principles of Christianity. It can be argued that the majority of quotes present a sensationalist ground, however, in this instance, sensationalism is used to capture the public's attention for mobilization towards asylum-seekers. Consequently, Molek-Kozakowska (2013) findings are contested in this context, as *Gazeta Wyborcza* did not use sensationalism to generate readership, but to call for action. This parallelly confirms that media should be treated as an actor of its own (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018; Rozado & Al-Gharbi, 2021), as this quote targeted people and not necessarily politicians. Nevertheless, it is also visible from PO politicians' discourse that sensationalism was frequently used to capture the attention of the public by comparing the number of refugees to something that can be visualized, including the apolitical segments of the population. A similar pattern is observed in the discourse of the media that is later reflected in the discourse of the party it is affiliated to, supporting the theories on political affiliation (Rozado & Al-Gharbi, 2021) and the mediatization of politics (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018). This provides evidence for the second theoretical expectation of this paper, however, no conclusion can be made for the first one, as both *Rzeczpospolita* and PiS, the party the press media is affiliated to, did not sufficiently employ this frame to draw reliable results.

Asylum-seeker as victims of false narratives

Finally, a last observed frame portrays asylum-seekers as victims of false narratives. Accordingly, *Gazeta Wyborcza* held a narrative which accused the government of shaping an inaccurate and false discourse on asylum-seekers and refugees by stating “*Today in Poland, there is no word more dangerous than ‘refugees’. That is why you need to [...] distract the fears and prejudices that are still fueled by the rulers*” (GW, 19.06.17). This quote points to

the role of the government in degrading the image of refugees. Similarly to the frame depicting asylum-seekers as people in need, *Gazeta Wyborcza* played a crucial role in denouncing the fallacious information circulated by the ruling party. Moreover, the press outlet acknowledges the role of other actors in producing degrading narratives, including the one of media. This is seen in the quote: *“We Poles, we Europeans. We give ourselves to be pissed off at the will of those who have an interest in it. We swallow the lies and half-truths created by the political, media and cultural industries.”* (GW, 19.06.17). This quote straightforwardly mentions the interest of different actors in disseminating biased narratives and assumes the manipulation at the cost of asylum-seekers, who are put in a position of victims. Furthermore, by employing the following statement: *“Now PiS wants to talk about Islam in a ‘professional’ and ‘matter-of-fact’ way [...] While on Monday, in the parliament, the conference ‘Islam as a challenge for Poland and for Europe’ was held”* (GW, 19.06.17). *Gazeta Wyborcza* directly criticized the actions of the Polish government, to which it is not politically affiliated.

The denunciation of false narratives on asylum-seekers was however observed well before in the political speeches. In fact, the opposition party PO denounced the attempt of the government to create fear around asylum-seekers with sentences such as: *“We are also hostages of irresponsible politicians who threaten us with a flood of refugees, as the beginning of the end”* (Schetyna, 16.09.15). An interesting phenomenon was observed on the 20.06.17, a day after *Gazeta Wyborcza* released the article on the dangerous role of several self-interested actors, including media channels; in shaping false narratives about asylum-seekers. Accordingly, PO politicians raised their voices on the 20.06.17 speech concerning media’s responsibility for damaging the image of asylum-seekers. A quote which directly targets the media is: *“Something completely outrageous is the attitude of editors,*

heads of public television towards refugees. This is pure racism. How can you tolerate this evident neglect, this discomfort faced by an ordinary Polish audience? Why do you allow this to happen?" (Mieszkowski, 20.06.17). Nevertheless, this also indirectly targets the ruling party, as PO politicians ask PiS politicians why nothing has been done about the dissemination of biased content: *"I would like to ask whether, in the light of this provision, the national council has taken a position, mainly on public television, which [...] practically feeds us day in and day with xenophobic, even racist material"* (Rzasa, 20.06.17).

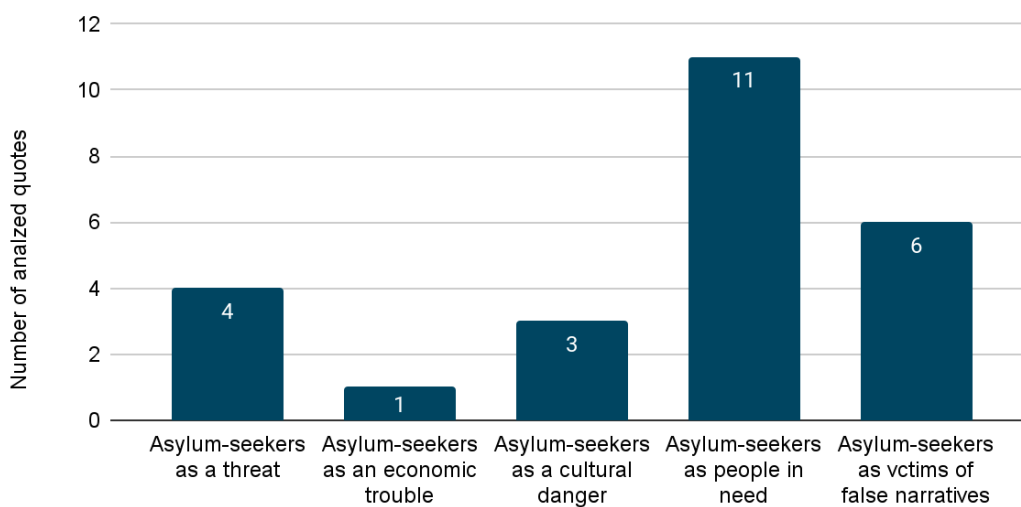
A crucial finding can be derived from these observations. Accordingly, *Gazeta Wyborcza* exemplifies that although it functions as an independent entity from political parties, its reporting is affiliated to the opposition political party, thus against the government. This falls in line with Rozado & Al-Gharbi (2021) theory on the importance of political affiliation in the reporting of the media. As *Gazeta Wyborcza* targeted the government a significant number of times with arguments which were later used by PO politicians, this clearly depicts Krzyżanowski et al. (2018) theory on the mediatization of politics, as the political party was influenced by the media outlet. Both of these findings provide strong evidence for the second theoretical expectation of this thesis, notably because the opposition to the government utilized similar arguments as the press media which is affiliated to it.

Quantitative observations on the employed frames

The discourse analysis established a connection between the language that was first employed by the media outlets and the speeches of politicians from the political party to which a press outlet was affiliated to. Nevertheless, it is relevant to observe these results quantitatively, and determine whether the same connection can be established regarding the

frequencies of the employed frames. It is noticed that the frequencies of employed frames by PO politicians (see Figure 3) somewhat correspond to the number of times *Gazeta Wyborcza* employed a given frame (see Figure 1). This observation is particularly evident when comparing the counts of the frames “asylum-seekers as people in need” and “asylum-seekers as victims of false narratives”.

Figure 1: Number of times *Gazeta Wyborcza* employed the analyzed frames



Similarly, the frequencies of employed frames by PiS politicians (see Figure 4) extensively mirror the number of times *Rzeczpospolita* employed a given frame (see Figure 2). In both cases, the frames that depicted asylum-seekers as a “threat”, “economic trouble” and “cultural danger” were particularly prominent in comparison to the remaining frames. Consequently, the degree of similarity of and the chronological order of the retrieved quotes from both press outlets and the political parties to which they are affiliated fall in line with Rozado & Al-Gharbi (2021) theory. This is because, when taking the chronological order and language similarities into account, the frames of pro-government press media, namely *Rzeczpospolita*, influenced the frames of the PiS ruling party. Correspondingly, the frames of the counter-government media, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, did not influence the frames of the ruling party, as PiS politician’s speeches did not mirror the most employed frames by *Gazeta*

Wyborcza. Based on the observations from the discourse analysis and the comparison of frame occurrences, both of the laid out theoretical expectations by this thesis can be confirmed. In sum, considering mostly confirmed qualitative evidence, consistently supported quantitative findings, Poland's increase of asylum-seekers applications rejection rates, and academically substantiated observations, this paper states that national media influences a government's stance in the EU asylum-cooperation.

Figure 2: Number of times Rzeczpospolita employed the analyzed frames

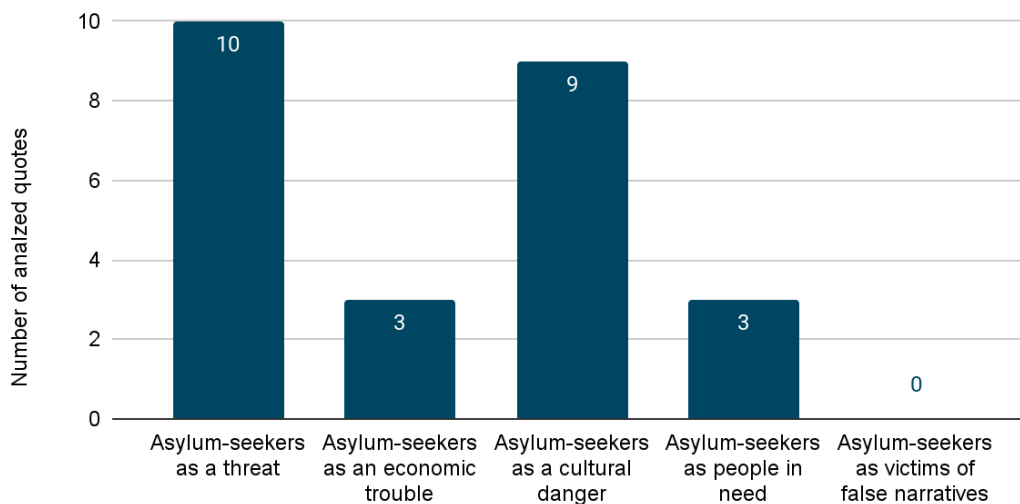


Figure 3: Number of times Platforma Obywatelska (PO) politicians employed the analyzed frames

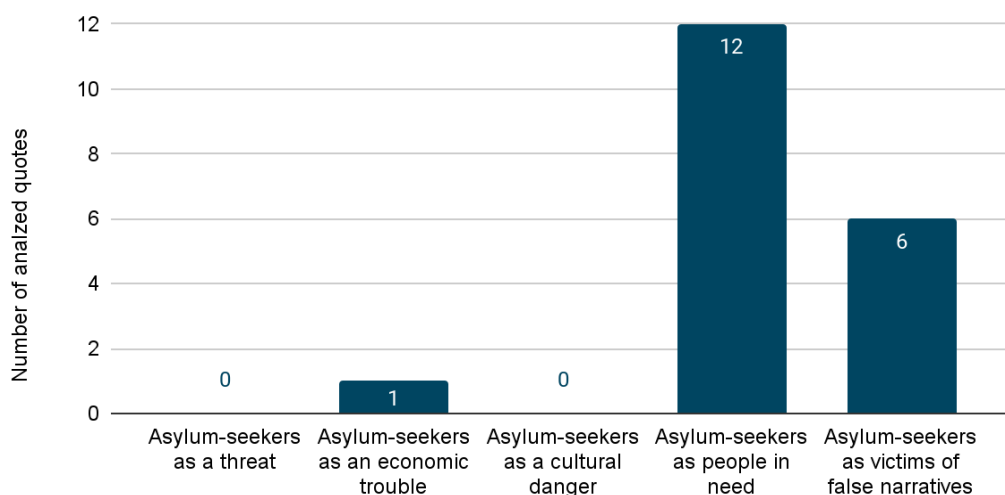
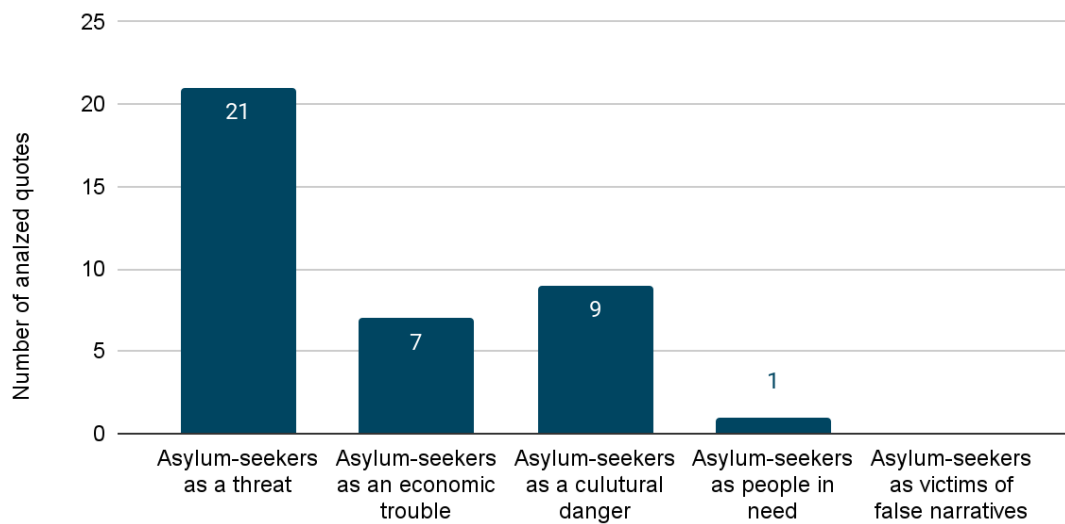


Figure 4: Number of times Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS) politicians employed the analyzed frames



Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis aims to answer the research question “*How does national media influence a government’s stance in the EU asylum cooperation?*” by exploring the case of Polish media and parliamentary speeches. Three main findings can be derived from this research. Firstly, as suggested in the theoretical framework, the data reveals that although media plays a somewhat independent role from politics, the political stance of a press outlet affected the employed frames on asylum-seekers by a government. The discourse analysis established a connection in the language that was firstly employed by the media outlets, and then similarly portrayed in politicians’ speeches. Furthermore, the frequencies of the employed frames confirm this finding, as the politicians employed similar frames to the ones of the press outlets to which their political party was affiliated. This thesis’ observations thus fall in line with Rozado & Al-Gharbi (2021) findings, and its theoretical expectations, namely that the political stance of pro-government media on asylum-seekers influences the frames of

a government and that the political stance of counter-government media on asylum-seekers does not influence the frames of a government, can be confirmed.

Secondly, the observations confirm the independent role of both pro- and counter-government press media, as both employed sensationalism, to increase the attractiveness of their content. This statement is made based on the trends in frequently employed metaphors such as “*storm of refugees*” and buzzwords such as “*Mohamed*” to exaggerate the reality and generate readership. Interestingly, PO and PiS politicians refrained from using sensationalist metaphors and buzz-words, by contrast, to press outlets. Finally, another crucial finding of this thesis is that the media is not always a political actor that influences politicians. Accordingly, as observed in the frame “asylum-seekers as a threat”, some narratives emerged from politicians’ speeches by contrast to the mediatization theory, which predicts that political behaviors change in relation to the echoed frames by the media. This observation therefore exposes a shortcoming of the theoretical framework and the analysis, as this thesis focused on solely uncovering the influence of media on political speeches. As the case study of Poland was chosen on the basis of its outcome, namely a significant impact on asylum application rejections, these aforementioned observations demonstrate that national media influenced the government’s stance in the EU asylum cooperation. Nevertheless, to generalize the findings of the Polish government to other EU member states, further research is required.

This thesis has numerous strengths, which complement the findings of previous research. Firstly, the frame analysis was conducted on both press outlets and political speeches, which were subsequently compared, which was not done before. Secondly, while an extensive discourse analysis was conducted in the first order, the thesis also provides a

quantitative comparison of the frequencies of employed frames, which reinforces the linguistic findings. A weakness of this thesis, however, is that it is limited to testing the influence of press media on political speeches, while the effects of other prominent actors such as social media could be incorporated in the analysis. Therefore, an interesting prospect for future research is to include the effects of the government on the media, and employ statistical tools to uncover other variables which affect this relationship.

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Appendix A: Data Sources

Table 2: Analyzed press articles

Press Media	Political stance	Number of articles
<i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i>	Lefttist-liberal	20
<i>Rzeczpospolita</i>	Conservative-liberal	28
		Total: 48

Table 3: Analyzed political speeches

Politician	Position	Political party/stance	Number of speeches
Błaszczak, M.	President of Poland (2010-2015)	Platforma Obywatelska	2
Chruszcz, S.	Member of Parliament	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	2
Duda, A.	President of Poland (2015-)	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	1
Głębocki, K.	Member of Parliament	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	2
Kaczyński, J.	Member of Parliament	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	3
Kopacz, E.	Prime Minister of Poland (2014-2015)	Platforma Obywatelska	3
Mieszkowski, K.	Member of Parliament	Platforma Obywatelska	1
Rząsa, M.	Member of Parliament (2009-)	Platforma Obywatelska	1
Schetyna, G.	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2014-2015)	Platforma Obywatelska	2
Szydło, B.	Prime Minister of Poland (2015-2017)	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	4
Tarczyński, D.	Member of Parliament	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	1

	(2015-2020)		
Trzaskowski, R.	Member of Parliament	Platforma Obywatelska	2
			Total: 24

Appendix B: Collected data

Table 4: Classification of all retrieved quotes from press outlets and parliamentary speeches by applicable frames in the original language (Polish)

Gazeta Wyborcza (GW)	
A-S as a threat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>Grecję dusi fala uchodźców (07.08.15)</i></u> • <u><i>jest ich tak dużo, że w końcu dotrą też do Polski [...] uchodźcy rozleją się po całym kontynencie. Nie powstrzymamy ich (12.08.15)</i></u> • <u><i>Dlatego nie wyobrażam sobie, by organizacja taka jak Państwo Islamskie – ale też Al-Kaida czy Boko Haram – nie wykorzystala tak dużej fali uchodźców. Tłumy ludzi wjeżdżają do Europy, więc jest okazja, by przerzucić tu swoich ludzi (15.09.15)</i></u> • <u><i>niekontrolowana fala uchodźców (23.09.15)</i></u>
A-S as an economic trouble	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>nie każdy z nich jest uchodźcą, nie każdy jest niewinną ofiarą, nie każdy zasługuje na przywilej zamieszkania w Europie (10.09.15)</i></u>
A-S as a cultural danger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u><i>Dla zmniejszenia zagrożenia zaleca się monitorowanie muzułmańskich instytucji religijnych, które dziwnym trafem okazują się później często meczetami wahabickimi siejącymi nienawiść i pogardę (10.09.15)</i></u> • <u><i>polityka multikulti nie sprawdziła się na świecie. Spójrzmy, co dzieje się w krajach takich jak Wielka Brytania, Niemcy czy Francja. One są znacznie silniejsze ekonomicznie niż Polska, stać je na wię-cej, a mimo to mają problem z radykalizacją imigrantów, którzy nie chcą się asymilować (15.09.15)</i></u> • <u><i>Dojdzie do zmiany tożsamości kulturowej Europy (...) przyczyną upadku Imperium Rzymskiego, obok regresu demograficznego i złego rządzenia, był także brak zdolności do obrony jego granic przed tymi z zewnątrz, którzy chcieli lepiej żyć (19.09.15)</i></u>

<p>A-S as people in need</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>“Codziennie widzimy ludzi, którzy uciekają i na drodze do wolności umierają w przerażających warunkach” (01.09.15)</u> • <u>Ochrony i schronienia należy udzielić każdemu aktualnie potrzebującemu bez względu na to z jakiej szerokości geograficznej pochodzi i do kogo się modli” (02.07.15)</u> • <u>Warszawa uważa, że dyskutowanie tylko o tym, ilu uchodźców ma przyjąć dany kraj, jest błędem, bo trzeba najpierw zacząć walkę z przemytem ludzi. A przede wszystkim przestać się kłócić [...] Nie może być mowy o budowaniu nowych murów i zasieków z drutów kolczastych” (05.09.15)</u> • <u>Jeśli więc jako chrześcijanie mówimy, że kochamy Boga, którego nie widzimy, a nie chcemy pomóc uchodźcy, który prosi nas o chleb, to jesteśmy obłudnikami (10.09.15)</u> • <u>„Europę stać na uchodźców” (10.09.15)</u> • <u>Państwo jest bardzo bogate, skoro co roku wydaje 1,5 mld złotych tylko na pensje dla katechetów. Za ułamek tej kwoty można każdemu z imigrantów zapewnić mieszkanie i opiekę, dopóki nie stanie na nogi (12.09.15)</u> • <u>“Gazeta Wyborcza” zbiera śpiwory, karimaty i koce, które zawieziemy na Węgry uciekającym przed wojną w Syrii, ale też uciekającym przed talibami w Afganistanie, dyktaturą w Erytrei. Można te rzeczy przynosić w piątek do naszej redakcji przy Czerskiej 8/10 (18.09.15)</u> • <u>Mam nadzieję, że Warszawa nie będzie drugim Budapesztem, że przyjmie uchodźców godnie. Tak jak przystało na stolicę w środku Unii Europejskiej w XXI wieku (18.09.15)</u> • <u>“Już nie tylko Sopot, ale również Gdańsk, Gdynia, Kraków i Wrocław deklarują, że chcą przyjąć dzieci i rodziny z Aleppo. Jednak bez zgody rządu mają związane ręce. A ten pozostaje nieugięty.” (06.02.17)</u> • <u>“Syryjskie dzieci potrzebują tego samego co Polskie dzieci” (13.02.17)</u> • <u>“Trudno zachować godność własną, jeśli godność innych nie będzie nas obchodzić” (20.06.17)</u>
<p>A-S as victims of false narratives</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>“Ależ jesteśmy frajerami w sprawie uchodźców. My, Polacy, my, Europejczycy. Dajemy się robić w konia z woli tych, którzy mają w tym interes. Łykamy kłamstwa i półprawdy tworzone przez przemysły polityczny, medialny i kulturalny.” (20.06.17)</u> • <u>“Nie ma dziś bardziej groźnego słowa w Polsce niż „uchodźcy”. Dlatego trzeba cierpliwie i mądrze rozmawiać, wyjaśniać i rozpraszać wciąż podsycane przez rządzących lęki, uprzedzenia, prostować kłamstwa.” (19.06.17)</u> • <u>“Teraz PiS chce rozmawiać o islamie w sposób „profesjonalny” i „rzeczowy”, po prostu „fachowo”. W poniedziałek w Sejmie odbyła się więc konferencja „Islam jako wyzwanie dla Polski i dla Europy” (19.06.17)</u>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>“Niedopuszczalny napis “Jeb**c islamskie świnie [...]” (20.06.17)</u> • <u>“Zarządzanie strachem – tak wielu komentatorów opisuje to, co robią z obywatelami poseł Kaczyński i jego partia. Konsekwentnie i bez skrępowań wykorzystują nasze, często irracjonalne lęki, straszą uchodźcami.” (21.08.17)</u> • <u>“ Otóż zdecydowanie przeważająca część mieszkających w Niemczech muzułmanów (to w sumie ok. 4,5 mln osób) jest nieźle zintegrowana ze społeczeństwem i dobrze radzi sobie na niemieckim rynku pracy. Pracę ma średnio o kilka punktów procentowych więcej osób wyznających islam, niż wynosi średnia dla całego społeczeństwa. 78 proc. niemieckich muzułmanów zaś podtrzymuje codzienne kontakty z osobami innych wyznań. Lepszy wynik odnotowano jedynie w Szwajcarii (87 proc.)” (24.08.17)</u>
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Rzeczpospolita (RP)	
A-S as a threat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>szturm uchodźców na Niemcy (08.09.15)</u> • <u>uchodźcy sforsowali zasieki, szturmują promy (09.09.15)</u> • <u>fala uchodźców napłynęła ze zdwojoną siłą (16.09.15)</u> • <u>bitwa uchodźców z węgierską policją (17.09.15)</u> • <u>Obawy, że do Europy w tłumie tysięcy uchodźców przedostaną się także terroryści, są uzasadnione (18.09.15)</u> • <u>inwazja imigrantów na Europę i Niemcy (25.09.15)</u> • <u>Mur nie zatrzyma uchodźców (28.09.15)</u> • <u>Nie twierdzimy – przyznają autochtoni – że wszyscy mahometanie to terroryści; twierdzimy, że przeważająca większość terrorystów to mahometanie (03.10.15)</u> • <u>samych kradzieży w sklepach jest trzykrotnie więcej. Zdarzały się napaści na obywateli (29.10.15)</u>
A-S as an economic trouble	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Imigranci szukają lepszego życia. Uchodźcy uciekają, by ratować życie i wolność (...) Ubieganie się o status uchodźcy zamazuje ten po- dział, gdyż często kamufluje ekonomiczne przyczyny migracji (07.09.15)</u> • <u>koszty przyjęcia fali uchodźców nie wydają się robić na nikim w Niemczech większego wrażenia (...) Niemcy na to stać (07.09.15)</u> • <u>najeźdźcy lub naciągacze, rabusie i pasożyty (11.09.15)</u>
A-S as a cultural danger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>oni są wychowani w korupcji nie przyniosą ze sobą szacunku dla</u>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>prawa</u> (05.09.15) • <u>co może prowadzić do rewolucji etnicznej i demontażu kultury chrześcijańskiej</u> (05.09.15) • <u>“Z powodu ogromnej fali imigrantów w Niemczech żyje już nawet więcej wyznawców Allaha niż we Francji: niemal 6 milionów osób”</u> (09.09.15) • <u>szczególnie niepokoi nasilenie aktów agresji ze strony muzułmanów przeciwko społeczności żydowskiej</u> (10.09.15) • <u>co trzeci muzułmanin ma więcej niż jedną żonę, którą poślubił w obecności imama. W ten sposób zaczyna się pojawiać równoległy system prawny oparty na szariacie</u> (10.09.15) • <u>Wywieszenie flagi uważa się za agresję wobec imigrantów</u> (18.09.15) • <u>“nie szanują wartości państwa świeckiego”</u> (03.10.15) • <u>“Muzułmański proletariatus się nie zasymiluje”</u> (03.10.15) • <u>“tolerancja, prawa człowieka, przekonanie o godności ludzkiej, zostaną uznane w obliczu skrajnej inności mahometan za śmiechu warte”</u> (04.10.15)
A-S as people in need	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>“uczciwą dystrybucję uchodźców i nieuleganie emocjom”</u> (02.09.15) • <u>“Kościół pomaga w ciszy”</u> (08.09.15) • <u>Polskie rodziny chcą przyjmować pod swój dach uciekinierów z Syrii</u> (10.09.15)
A-S as victims of false narratives	-----Not applicable-----

Platforma Obywatelska (PO) politicians	
A-S as a threat	-----Not applicable-----
A-S as an economic trouble	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>“Musimy ustalić listę [...] która pozwoli oddzielić uchodźców przed cierpieniem i wojna od migrantów ekonomicznych których chcą poprawić swój byt”</u> (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 09:30)

A-S as a cultural danger	-----Not applicable-----
A-S as people in need	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <u>“Dzisiaj odwrócenie się plecami do tych co potrzebują pomocy w tej wielkiej rodzinie Europejskiej powoduje że moralnie i mentalnie się z tej wspólnoty wypisujemy”</u> (Kopacz, 16.09.15) ● <u>“Czy stać nas na gest solidarności w stosunku do tych którzy rzeczywiście uciekają ze swojego kraju tylko dlatego że boją się stracić swoje zdrowie lub życie ?”</u> (Kopacz, 16.09.15-02:59) ● <u>“Dziś nie musimy stawiać murów i zasieków na naszych granicach. Dziś, nasze granice są bezpieczne”</u> (Kopacz, 16.09.15-04:30) ● <u>“Dzisiaj, my, Europa, będziemy tym wiarygodnym miejscem do którego oni będą mogli dopłynąć aby się schronić”</u> (Kopacz, 16.09.15-04:30) ● <u>“Solidarność powinna działać w dwie strony”</u> (Kopacz, 16.09.15-07:25) ● <u>“Jedna z przyczyn desperackich ucieczek z obozów z Libanu, Jordanii czy z Turcji, są złe czy fatalne warunki w obozach uchodźczych. One sprawią [...] ta wielka migracje do Europy [...] a więc naszym obowiązkiem jest ich przyjąć i pomóc”</u> (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 03:03) ● <u>“W tym roku, zginęło lub zaginęło około 2900 uchodźców [...] na transporcie do Europy zarabiają grupy przestępcze”</u> (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 04:29) ● <u>“W trakcie narastania obecnego kryzysu [...] złamano wiele ustaw kierujących los uchodźców, w tym zasady azyłowe w Unii Europejskiej”</u> (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 06:28) ● <u>“Pojawiły się też pokusy przerzucania odpowiedzialności na inne kraje [...] w obliczu dramatycznych obrazów i liczb padło zbyt dużo obietnic [...] niepotrzebne emocje i podziały”</u> (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 07:22) ● <u>“My jako Polska jesteśmy w stanie i chcemy okazywać solidarność w kwestii uchodźców”</u> (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 08:45) ● <u>“Te 10–12 tys. osób, o których się teraz spekuluje, to mniej, niż przychodzi na mecze Legii. Mówimy o symbolicznej kwocie, symbolicznej liczbie”</u> (Kopacz, 19.09.15) ● <u>“Uchodźcom, którzy uciekają przed śmiercią, przed prześladowaniami. Unia Europejska postanowiła pomóc”</u> (Trzaskowski, 28.01.16)
A-S as victims of false narratives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <u>“Jeśli mówimy o retorycznym przygotowaniu [...] bardzo solidne odróżnienie imigrantów ekonomicznych od uchodźców”</u> (Kopacz, 16.09.15-05:47)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>“Dziś nie straszcie Polaków, nie opowiadajcie że [...] zaleje nas masa uchodźców którzy będą zabierać pracę i będą niebezpieczni dla Polaków” (Kopacz, 16.09.15-08:23)</u> • <u>“Dzisiaj dochodzi obraz drutu kolczastego [...] na granicy serbsko-węgierskiej, gdzie uchodźcy są zatrzymywani [...] dzisiaj, jesteśmy zakładnikami tych obrazów, bo są one w mediach. Ale jesteśmy też zakładnikami nieodpowiedzialnych polityków którzy straszą nas zalewem uchodźców, początkiem końca” (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 00:51)</u> • <u>“dobrze by było, żeby nie straszyć obywateli, nie próbować zbijać na tym kapitału politycznego [...] więc postulowałbym, żeby jednak nie przerzucać się tego typu politycznymi epitetami, tylko raczej zastanowić się, jak rozwiązać problem” (Trzaskowski, 28.01.16)</u> • <u>“Chciałbym zapytać, czy w świetle tego zapisu krajowa rada zajęła stanowisko, głównie wobec telewizji publicznej, która przy okazji bardzo poważnej dyskusji o uchodźcach praktycznie dzień w dzień karmi nas ksenofobicznymi, wręcz rasistowskimi materiałami.” (Rzasa, 20.06.17)</u> • <u>“rzecz, jakaś zupełnie skandaliczna, to jest stosunek redaktorów, szefów telewizji publicznej do uchodźców. To jest czysty rasizm. Jak możecie państwo tolerować te ewidentne zaniedbania, ten dyskomfort, z którym musi się mierzyć zwykły polski widz? Dlaczego państwo do tego dopuszczacie i pozwalacie na to?” (Mieszkowski, 20.06.17)</u>
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<p>Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS) Politicians</p>	
<p>A-S as a threat</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Czy rząd ma prawo pod obcym naciskiem i bez wyraźnej zgody narodu podejmować decyzje, które w wysokim stopniu prawdopodobieństwa mogą mieć negatywny wpływ na nasze życie, na nasze bezpieczeństwo? (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-01:08)</u> • <u>Nie chodzi tu o przyjęcie tej czy innej liczby cudzoziemców, chodzi o to, że istnieje poważne niebezpieczeństwo (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-02:50)</u> • <u>“Najpierw najbliżsi, rodzina, później naród, później inni [...] powinniśmy pomóc, ale metoda bezpieczna, znaczy finansowa” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-06:30)</u> • <u>“Mamy prawo do tego żeby bronić naszej suwerenności [...] mamy prawo bronić się przed tą akcją dyskryminacyjną prowadzoną przez przeciwników Polaków” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-11:33)</u>

- “Dla mnie, naczelną sprawą jest bezpieczeństwo Polskich obywateli” (Szydło, 24.09.15)
- “Kryzys migracyjny to problem całej Unii Europejskiej, a nie poszczególnych państw” (Duda, 09.10.15)
- “System kwotowy, narzucanie administracyjne liczb uchodźców, których trzeba przyjąć, nie jest skuteczne i państwa europejskie, zwłaszcza naszej części Europy, na to się nie godzą” (Duda, 09.10.15)
- “Są już przecież objawy pojawienia się chorób bardzo niebezpiecznych i dawno niewidzianych w Europie: cholera na wyspach greckich, dyzenteria w Wiedniu, niektórzy mówią o jeszcze innych, jeszcze cięższych chorobach. No i są pewne przecież różnice związane z geografją - różnego rodzaju pasożyty, pierwotniaki, które nie są groźne w organizmach tych ludzi, mogą tutaj być groźne. To nie oznacza, żeby kogoś dyskryminować, ale sprawdzić trzeba. Sprawdzić trzeba, dlatego minister zdrowia powinien wyjaśnić jak w tej chwili naprawdę to wygląda, bo z tego co my wiemy, z tego, co wiedzą nasi działacze (...) to to wygląda bardzo niedobrze” (Kaczyński, 13.10.15)
- “To jest rozporządzenie wykonawcze do ustawy o cudzoziemcach i tam zagrożenie tymi chorobami, o których mówiłem, jest podstawą do odmowy wpuszczenia czy zapewnienia stałego pobytu w kraju” (Kaczyński, 13.10.15)
- “Sprawa uchodźców uświadamia nam także że trzeba jasno postawić kwestie solidarności [...] gdy dojdzie do wydarzeń nadzwyczajnych, czy niebezpiecznych takich jak [...] zagrożenie terrorystyczne lub wojenne” (Szydło, 18.11.15)
- “Problem imigrantów, naiwne podejście do tego że rozwiążesz go w taki sposób jak zaproponowano, doprowadziło dzisiaj do wydarzeń o których wiele państw próbuje milczeć, i na pewno bardzo chciałoby o nich zapomnieć” (Szydło, 13.01.16-01:42)
- Kiedy rządziście, zgodziliście się na przyjęcie tysięcy uchodźców, bez uszanowania głosu Polaków [...] dziś, kolejny raz, atakujecie Polska suwerenność” (Szydło, 13.01.16-03:20)
- “zdecydowanie zapobiegać oraz zwalczać zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa Polski i Polaków, w tym i te, które wiążą się z terroryzmem. Po zamachach w Paryżu służby są w pełnej gotowości oraz monitorują sytuację związaną z bezpieczeństwem w Polsce.” (Błaszczak, 26.11.15)
- “ta wielka fala imigrantów, z którą mamy do czynienia, powoduje rzeczywiście wewnątrz kraju pewne napięcia i poczucie zagrożenia” (Błaszczak, 26.11.15)
- “wśród tej wielkiej fali imigrantów znaleźli się ci, którzy wcześniej współpracowali z Państwem Islamskim.” (Błaszczak, 26.11.15)
- “zagrożenia terroryzmem, fundamentalizmem islamskim, możliwości przenikania do Polski przedstawicieli tych organizacji, po trzeciej, zamachów terrorystycznych” (Błaszczak, 26.11.15)
- “Równolegle mamy do czynienia z działalnością

	<p><u>zorganizowanych grup przestępczych, które zajmują się przemytem ludzi” (Błaszczak, 26.11.15)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Nie podejmiemy żadnej decyzji, która by narażała nasz kraj na niebezpieczeństwo. A po tym, co wydarzyło się w Paryżu, widać, że zagrożenie terrorystyczne jest faktem w Europie (Błaszczak, 26.11.15)</u> • <u>“fali uchodźczej, która z kolei pośrednio wpływa na poczucie utraty kontroli nad wieloma procesami politycznymi w Unii, w końcu źródłem istotnej destabilizacji politycznej w kluczowych państwach Unii Europejskiej” (Szymański, 28.01.16)</u> • <u>“Byliśmy w stanie jako Europa zahamować główny strumień przenikania imigrantów do Polski [...] W ten sposób zwiększyliśmy bezpieczeństwo w Unii Europejskiej, a także odsunęliśmy widmo terroryzmu” (Chruszcz, 10.02.17)</u> • <u>“kryzys migracyjny, który destabilizuje państwa Południa i przynosi bardzo określone konsekwencje polityczne” (Szymański, 10.02.17)</u>
<p>A-S as an economic trouble</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>“Niemcy stworzyli wielki magnes przyciągania imigrantów ekonomicznych” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-08:25)</u> • <u>“Natomiast, godzimy się dzisiaj na rozwiązania które nie są korzystne dla Polskich obywateli” (Szydło, 24.09.15)</u> • <u>“od początku Prawo i Sprawiedliwość mówiło, że relokowanie uchodźców, którzy później okazali się w większości migrantami ekonomicznymi, to nie jest dobre rozwiązanie.” (Szydło, 24.09.15)</u> • <u>“Otóż w sposób historyczny, bezprecedensowy daliśmy sobie narzucić kwoty imigranckie, łamiące naszą suwerenność. Wbrew opinii społecznej, wbrew większości Polaków” (Chruszcz, 28.01.16)</u> • <u>Jedni nabroili, zaprosili do Europy, do nas imigrantów, mówili: tak, przyjeżdżajcie, jakoś sobie poradzimy, a potem przez system mechanizmu relokacji wpycha się ich do nas, do Polski (Chruszcz, 28.01.16)</u> • <u>“ruszy kolejna fala imigrantów, kolejna fala, która przejdzie także do Polski. Czyli wydaliśmy 3 mld euro, a zyskamy 1 mln, 2 mln, 3 mln nowych imigrantów. To był zysk i sposób myślenia w czasie tej prezydentury.” (Chruszcz, 28.01.16)</u> • <u>“Żaden z polskich emigrantów ekonomicznych nigdy nie domagał się, przepraszam za to, bezpłatnych prostytutek, nie chciał bezpłatnego mieszkania, nie oczekuje socjału, ale ciężko pracuje” (Tarczynski, 28.01.16)</u>
<p>A-S as a cultural danger</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Najpierw liczba cudzoziemców gwałtownie się zwiększa, później [...] deklarują że nie chcą przestrzegać naszego prawa i obyczajów i równolegle narzucają swoją wrażliwość w strefie publicznej, i to w sposób bardzo agresywny i gwałtowny (Kaczyński, 16.09.15- 03:05)</u>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>“We Włoszech, kościoły są traktowane jak toalety” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-04:10)</u> • <u>“We Francji, nie ustajaca awantura, wprowadzony szariat” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-04:16)</u> • <u>Czy chcecie, żebyśmy przestali być gospodarzami we własnym kraju? Polacy tego nie chcą i nie chce tego Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-04:40)</u> • <u>“Czy Polacy emigrując, narzucali w tych miejscach swoje reguły? Czy ktoś terroryzował? Nie. Ciężko pracowali, z wielką pokorą” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-09:35)</u> • <u>“Nie można jednak nazywać solidarnością, prób [...] eksportu problemów, jakie stworzyły sobie pewne państwa bez jakiegokolwiek udziału innych, które mają być nimi obciążone” (Szydło, 18.11.15-01:20)</u> • <u>“ludzie, którzy napływają do państw Unii Europejskiej, to nie są uchodźcy. Uchodźcami są wtedy, kiedy są w obozach w Libanie, w Jordanii, w Turcji.” (Błaszczak, 26.11.15)</u> • <u>“wspominał także o bliskości kulturowej uchodźców, jakiejś części, grupy uchodźców. Rzeczywiście to powinno być także naszym drogowskazem, aby pomagać tym, którzy [...] którzy rzeczywiście pomocy potrzebują, tych, którzy są ofiarami działań wojennych na Bliskim Wschodzie.” (Błaszczak, 26.11.15)</u> • <u>“w Unii realizowany jest jakiś inny cel, np. uczynienie z narodów europejskich masy multikulti, w której powrót na większą skalę do chrześcijańskich korzeni kontynentu nie będzie już możliwy” (Głębocki, 28.01.16)</u>
A-S as people in need	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>“Wsparcie tak, żeby życie w obozach było godne pod każdym względem, nie tylko pod względem zaspokojenia podstawowych potrzeb biologicznych, ale także podstawowych potrzeb edukacyjnych [...] chodzi o to, by ludzie przebywający w obozach dla uchodźców po zakończeniu w ich krajach wojny mogli powrócić do swych domów, by odbudować swoje życie” (Duda, 09.10.15)</u>
A-S as victims of false narratives	-----Not applicable-----

Table 5: Translated classification of all retrieved quotes from press outlets and parliamentary speeches by applicable frames (English)

Gazeta Wyborcza (GW)	
A-S as a threat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Greece suffocates from the refugee's wave (07.08.15)</i> ● <i>There are so many of them that they will come to Poland eventually [...] refugees will overflow the entire continent. We will not uphold them. (12.08.15)</i> ● <i>"This is why I cannot imagine that an organization such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda or Boko Haram, would not use the wave of migrants. Crowds of people enter Europe, which presents an opportunity to include terrorists" (15.09.15)</i> ● <i>"The uncontrolled wave of refugees" (23.09.15)</i>
A-S as an economic trouble	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>"not everyone of them is a victim, not everyone of them deserves to live in Europe" (10.09.15)</i>
A-S as a cultural danger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>"To potentiate the interface of movement of Muslim institutions that later turn out to be Wahhabite reciprocals sowing hatred and contempt" (10.09.15)</i> ● <i>"The multicultural policy has not proved successful in the world. Let's take a look at what is happening in countries like the United Kingdom, Germany and France. They are economically much stronger than Poland, they can do more, and yet they have a problem with the radicalization of immigrants who do not want to assimilate" (15.09.15)</i> ● <i>"The cultural identity of Europe will change (...) the cause of the fall of the Roman Empire, apart from the demographic decline and bad governance, was also the inability to defend its borders against those from outside who wanted to live better" (19.09.15)</i>
A-S as people in need	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>"Every day we see people who flee and die in terrible conditions on the way to freedom" (01.09.15)</i> ● <i>Protection and shelter should be provided to everyone in need, no matter where they come from and to whom they pray" (02.07.15)</i> ● <i>Warsaw believes that it is a mistake to only discuss how many refugees a given country is to accept, because you must first start the fight against people smuggling. And most of all, stop arguing [...] There can be no question of building new walls and barbed wire entanglements" (05.09.15)</i> ● <i>So if, as Christians, we say that we love a God we cannot see, and we do not want to help a refugee who asks us for bread, then we are hypocrites (10.09.15)</i> ● <i>"Europe can afford refugees" (10.09.15)</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>“The state is very rich, since every year it spends PLN 1.5 billion only on salaries for catechists. For a fraction of this amount, each immigrant can be provided with housing and care until they are independent”</i>(12.09.15) ● <i>"Gazeta Wyborcza" collects sleeping bags, mats and blankets, which we will take to Hungary fleeing the war in Syria, but also from the Taliban in Afghanistan, the dictatorship in Eritrea. You can bring these items to our office on 8/10 Czerska Street on Friday”</i>(18.09.15) ● <i>I hope that Warsaw will not be the second Budapest, and that it will accept refugees with dignity”</i>(18.09.15) ● <i>“Not only Sopot, but also Gdańsk, Gdynia, Kraków and Wrocław declare that they want to accept children and families from Aleppo. But without the government's approval, their hands are tied. And this one remains adamant. ”</i>(06.02.17) ● <i>“Syrian children have the same needs as Polish children”</i>(13.02.17) ● <i>"It is difficult to maintain one's own dignity if the dignity of others is not our concern"</i>(20.06.17)
<p>A-S as victims of false narratives</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>“But we're suckers about refugees. We Poles, we Europeans. We give ourselves to be pissed off at the will of those who have an interest in it. We swallow the lies and half-truths created by the political, media and cultural industries.”</i> (20.06.17) ● <i>““There is no word more dangerous in Poland today than" refugees ". That is why you need to talk patiently and wisely, explain and distract the fears and prejudices that are still fueled by the rulers, and straighten lies.”</i> (19.06.17) ● <i>"Now PiS wants to talk about Islam in a" professional "and" matter-of-fact "way, simply" professionally ". Yet, on Monday in the parliament, the conference "Islam as a challenge for Poland and for Europe" was held”</i>(19.06.17) ● <i>“Unacceptable inscription “F*ck Islamic pigs !”</i> (20.06.17) ● <i>“Managing fear - so many commentators describe what MP Kaczyński and his party do to citizens. They consistently and unscrupulously use our, often irrational fears, to threaten refugees.”</i> (21.08.17) ● <i>“Well, the vast majority of Muslims living in Germany (about 4.5 million people in total) are well integrated into the society and do well on the German labor market. On average, there are a few percentage of more people who believe in Islam work than the average for the entire population. 78 percent German Muslims, on the other hand, maintain daily contacts with people of other faiths. A better result was recorded only in Switzerland (87%) ”</i> (24.08.17)

Rzeczpospolita (RP)	
A-S as a threat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>“Hybrid warfare”</i>(07.09.15) ● <i>“Storm of refugees in Germany”</i>(08.09.15) ● <i>“refugees have breached the barbed wire, stormed boats”</i> (09.09.15) ● <i>“the wave of refugees flowed with a doubled force”</i>(16.09.15) ● <i>“refugee battle with the Hungarian police”</i> (17.09.15) ● <i>“Fears that terrorists will also find their way to Europe in the crowd of thousands of refugees are justified”</i>(18.09.15) ● <i>“Invasion of migrants on Europe and Germany”</i>(25.09.15) ● <i>“The wall will not stop refugees”</i> (28.09.15) ● <i>“We do not claim that all Mohameds are terrorists; we claim that the overwhelming majority of terrorists are Mahameds”</i>(03.10.15) ● <i>“there are three times more thefts in shops. There have been attacks on citizens”</i>(29.10.15)
A-S as an economic trouble	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Immigrants are looking for a better life. Refugees flee to save their lives and freedom (...) Applying for refugee status blurs this division, as it often conceals the economic causes of migration</i> (07.09.15) ● <i>“the costs of welcoming the wave of refugees do not seem to impress anyone in Germany (...) Germany can afford it”</i> (07.09.15) ● <i>“invaders or tricksters, robbers and parasites”</i>(11.09.15)
A-S as a cultural danger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>oni są wychowani w korupcji nie przyniosą ze sobą szacunku dla prawa</i> (05.09.15) ● <i>co może prowadzić do rewolucji etnicznej i demontażu kultury chrześcijańskiej</i> (05.09.15) ● <i>“Due to the huge wave of immigrants, Germany already has more Allah followers than France: almost 6 million people”</i> (09.09.15) ● <i>“the escalation of acts of aggression by Muslims against the Jewish community is particularly worrying”</i> (10.09.15) ● <i>“every third Muslim has more than one wife, whom he married in the presence of an imam. Thus a parallel sharia legal system begins to emerge”</i>(10.09.15) ● <i>“The hanging of the flag is considered aggression against immigrants”</i> (18.09.15) ● <i>“They do not respect the values of the secular state”</i> (03.10.15) ● <i>“The Muslim proletariat will not assimilate”</i> (03.10.15) ● <i>“Tolerance, human rights, and the conviction of human dignity will be considered laughable in the face of the extreme otherness</i>

	<i>of Mohameds" (04.10.15)</i>
A-S as people in need	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"Fair distribution of refugees and not yielding to emotions" (02.09.15)</i> • <i>"The Church is helping in silence" (08.09.15)</i> • <i>"Polish families want to host refugees from Syria" (10.09.15)</i>
A-S as victims of false narratives	-----Not applicable-----

Platforma Obywatelska politicians	
A-S as a threat	-----Not applicable-----
A-S as an economic trouble	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"We need to establish a list [...] that will separate the refugees from suffering and war from economic migrants who want to improve their lives" (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 09:30)</i>
A-S as a cultural danger	-----Not applicable-----
A-S as people in need	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"Today, turning our backs on those who need help in this great European family makes us leave this community morally and mentally" (Kopacz, 16.09.15)</i> • <i>"Can we afford a gesture of solidarity towards those who actually flee their country just because they are afraid of losing their health or their lives?" (Kopacz, 16.09.15-02:59)</i> • <i>"Today we don't have to build walls and barriers on our borders. Today, our borders are safe" (Kopacz, 16.09.15-04:30)</i> • <i>"Today, we, Europe, will be the trustworthy place where refugees can find shelter" (Kopacz, 16.09.15-04:30)</i> • <i>"Solidarity should work both ways" (Kopacz, 16.09.15-07:25)</i> • <i>"One of the reasons for the desperate escapes from the camps in</i>

	<p><i>Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey are bad or disastrous conditions in the refugee camps. They will cause [...] this great migration to Europe [...] so it is our duty to accept and help them". (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 03:03)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>"This year, around 2,900 refugees have died or been missing [...] the transport to Europe is making money with criminal groups" (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 04:29)</i> ● <i>"In the worsening of the current crisis [...] many laws governing the fate of refugees have been broken, including the rules of asylum in the European Union" (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 06:28)</i> ● <i>"There were also temptations to shift responsibility to other countries [...] in the face of dramatic images and numbers too many promises [...] unnecessary emotions and divisions" (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 07:22)</i> ● <i>"We as Poland are ready and want to show solidarity in the matter of refugees" (Schetyna, 16.09.15- 08:45)</i> ● <i>"These 10-12 thousand. people who are now speculated about are less than when it comes to Legia games. We are talking about a symbolic amount, a symbolic number "(Kopacz, 19.09.15)</i> ● <i>"The European Union has decided to help refugees who flee from death, from persecution"(Trzaskowski, 28.01.16)</i>
<p>A-S as victims of false narratives</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>"If we are talking about rhetorical preparation [...] a very solid distinction between economic immigrants and refugees" (Kopacz, 16.09.15-05:47)</i> ● <i>"Today, do not scare the Poles, do not tell us that [...] we will be flooded by a mass of refugees who will take jobs and will be dangerous for Poles" (Kopacz, 16.09.15-08:23)</i> ● <i>Today there is a picture of barbed wire [...] on the Serbo-Hungarian border, where refugees are detained [...] today, we are hostages of these pictures because they are in the media. But we are also hostages of irresponsible politicians who threaten us with a flood of refugees, the beginning of the end "(Schetyna, 16.09.15- 00:51)</i> ● <i>"It would be good not to scare the citizens, not to try to use political capital on it [...] so I would postulate that, however, you should not switch to this type of political epithets, but rather think about how to solve the problem"(Trzaskowski, 28.01.16)</i> ● <i>"I would like to ask if, in light of this provision, the national council has taken a position, mainly on public television, which, on the occasion of a very serious discussion about refugees, practically feeds us with xenophobic, even racist material, day after day"(Rzasa, 20.06.17)</i> ● <i>"Something completely outrageous, this is the attitude of editors, heads of public television towards refugees. This is pure racism. How can you tolerate this evident neglect, this discomfort faced by an ordinary Polish audience? Why do you allow this to happen</i>

	<i>and why do you allow it?" (Mieszkowski, 20.06.17)</i>
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Prawo i Sprawiedliwość Politicians	
A-S as a threat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>"Does the government have the right to make decisions under foreign pressure and without the express consent of the nation, which in a high degree of probability may have a negative impact on our lives and our security?" (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-01:08)</i> ● <i>"It is not a question of admitting one or another number of foreigners, the point is that there is a serious danger" (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-02:50)</i> ● <i>"First the relatives, the family, then the nation, and then others [...] we should help, but a safe method means financial" (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-06:30)</i> ● <i>"We have the right to defend our sovereignty [...] we have the right to defend ourselves against this discriminatory action carried out by opponents of Poles" (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-11:33)</i> ● <i>"For me, the most important thing is the safety of Polish citizens" (Szydło, 24.09.15)</i> ● <i>"The migration crisis is a problem for the entire European Union, not individual countries" (Duda, 09.10.15)</i> ● <i>"The quota system, imposing the administrative number of refugees to be admitted is not effective and European countries, especially in our part of Europe, do not agree to it" (Duda, 09.10.15)</i> ● <i>"There are already symptoms of very dangerous diseases that have not been seen for a long time in Europe: cholera on the Greek islands, dysentery in Vienna, some people talk about other, even more severe diseases. And there are some differences related to geography - various types of parasites, protozoa, which are not dangerous in the organisms of these people, can be dangerous here." (Kaczyński, 13.10.15)</i> ● <i>"This is an executive regulation to the law on foreigners and the risk of these diseases, which I mentioned, is the basis for refusing entry or ensuring permanent residence in the country" (Kaczyński, 13.10.15)</i> ● <i>"The case of refugees also makes us realize that it is necessary to clearly pose the issues of solidarity [...] when extraordinary or dangerous events occur, such as [...] a terrorist or war threat" (Szydło, 18.11.15)</i> ● <i>"The problem of immigrants, the naive approach to the fact that you will solve it in the way proposed, has led today to events that many countries are trying to remain silent about, and certainly</i>

	<p>would very much like to forget about them" (Szydło, 13.01.16-01:42)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "When you were in power, you agreed to accept thousands of refugees, without respecting the voice of Poles [...] today, once again, you are attacking Polish sovereignty" (Szydło, 13.01.16-03:20) ● "Definitely prevent and combat threats to the security of Poland and Poles, including those related to terrorism. After the attacks in Paris, the services are on full alert and are monitoring the security situation in Poland." (Błaszczak, 26.11.15) ● "This great wave of immigrants that we are dealing with actually causes a certain tension and a sense of threat inside the country" (Błaszczak, 26.11.15) ● "Among this great wave of immigrants indeed happened to be terrorists" (Błaszczak, 26.11.15) ● "Threats of terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, the possibility of infiltration into Poland of representatives of these organizations, thirdly, terrorist attacks"(Błaszczak, 26.11.15) ● "At the same time, we are dealing with the activities of organized crime groups that smuggle people" (Błaszczak, 26.11.15) ● "We will not make any decisions that would endanger our country. And from what happened in Paris, you can see that the terrorist threat is a fact of life in Europe" (Błaszczak, 26.11.15) ● "A wave of refugees, which in turn indirectly affects the feeling of losing control over many political processes in the Union, and ultimately a source of significant political destabilization in key European Union countries" (Szymański, 28.01.16) ● "As Europe, we were able to stop the main stream of infiltration of immigrants to Poland [...] In this way, we increased security in the European Union, and we also removed the specter of terrorism" (Chruszcz, 10.02.17) ● "A migration crisis that destabilizes the countries of the South and brings very specific political consequences" (Szymański, 10.02.17)
A-S as an economic trouble	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "Germany has created a great magnet for attracting economic immigrants" (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-08:25) ● "However, we agree today to solutions that are not beneficial to Polish citizens" (Szydło, 24.09.15) ● "From the beginning, Law and Justice said that relocating refugees, who later turned out to be mostly economic migrants, was not a good solution." (Szydło, 24.09.15) ● "Well, in an unprecedented historical and unprecedented way, we have imposed immigration quotas on ourselves, violating our sovereignty. Contrary to public opinion, contrary to the majority of Poles " (Chruszcz, 28.01.16) ● Some of them were wrong, invited immigrants to join us, they said: yes, come, we'll manage somehow, and then, through the

	<p><i>system of the relocation mechanism, they are pushed to us, to Poland” (Chruszcz, 28.01.16)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>“Another wave of immigrants will start, another wave that will also go to Poland. So we spent EUR 3 billion, and we will gain 1 million, 2 million, 3 million new immigrants. It was a profit and a mindset during this Presidency” (Chruszcz, 28.01.16)</i> • <i>“No Polish economic emigrant ever asked for [...] free prostitutes, a free apartment, expected social welfare, but worked hard instead” (Tarczynski, 28.01.16)</i>
<p>A-S as a cultural danger</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>“First, the number of foreigners increases rapidly, then they [...] declare that they do not want to obey our law and customs and, at the same time, impose their sensitivity in the public sphere, in a very aggressive and violent manner” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-03:05)</i> • <i>"In Italy, churches are treated like toilets" (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-04:10)</i> • <i>"In France, a constant row, sharia introduced" (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-04:16)</i> • <i>“Do you want us to stop being hosts in our own country? Poles do not want it and the Law and Justice does not want it” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-04:40)</i> • <i>“Did Poles immigrate and impose their rules in these places? Has anyone been terrorizing? Not. They worked hard, with great humility” (Kaczyński, 16.09.15-09:35)</i> • <i>"But one cannot call solidarity, an attempt [...] to export the problems that certain states have created for themselves without any involvement of others who are to be burdened with them" (Szydło, 18.11.15-01:20)</i> • <i>“People who come to European Union countries are not refugees. They are refugees when they are in camps in Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey.” (Błaszczak, 26.11.15)</i> • <i>“He also mentioned the cultural proximity of the refugees, some part of the refugee group. Indeed, this should also be our signpost to help those who [...] really need help, those who are victims of the war in the Near East.”(Błaszczak, 26.11.15)</i> • <i>"The Union pursues some other goal, for example, to make the European nations a mass of multiculturalism, in which it will not be possible to return to the Christian roots of the continent on a larger scale" (Głębocki, 28.01.16)</i>
<p>A-S as people in need</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"Support so that life in the camps is dignified in every way, not only in terms of meeting basic biological needs, but also basic educational needs [...] the point is that people staying in refugee camps after the end of war in their countries they could return to</i>

	<i>their homes to rebuild their lives” (Duda, 09.10.15)</i>
A-S as victims of false narratives	-----Not applicable-----