THE NEGATIVE PORTRAYAL OF MUSLIMS IN THE POLISH PRESS

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AN ANALYSIS OF SELECTED EXAMPLES PUBLISHED BETWEEN 2015-2016

A Report by the

Kultura Liberalna's Public Debate Observatory

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Public Debate Observatory

The *Kultura Liberalna's* Public Debate Observatory is a research unit that collects and analyses information on cases of radicalisation in public debate and analyses them. Its research covers not only hate speech, which has been recognised and is partly monitored by dedicated organisations, but also all other manifestations of radicalisation that take forms that are aggressive, abusive, antidemocratic, xenophobic, homophobic, vulgarly anti-clerical, etc.

We constantly monitor selected Polish press publications from all sides of the ideological spectrum. We also conduct research on online radicalisation. We publish the results of current monitoring as weekly analyses, topical monthly reports, and by adding entries to our "Glossary of Radicalisms".

Further information about the project: http://obserwatorium.kulturaliberalna.pl

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1. Preface

The language we use in relation to persons of denominations other than the dominant religion, as well as those of other ethnicities or cultural affiliations, is a litmus test of the maturity of the public debate in a democratic state. This is especially worth stressing in the case of the Muslim community in Poland. There seems to be a correlation between the weight in the media of images related to the refugee crisis and terrorist attacks in other European countries; between radical messages directed at representatives of this community and their being subjected to negative stereotyping and acts of violence.

We should therefore call for special caution when writing and speaking about persons who are members of the Muslim community. Opinion polls, including those conducted by the Polish Public Opinion Research Centre CBOS, confirm that in recent years Muslims have been especially vulnerable to stigmatisation, discrimination and exclusion. Media communications all too often blur the meaning of concepts, which leads to the identifying of Muslims, Arabs and refugees as terrorists, Islamist fundamentalists, etc. This leads to the creation of a negative image of aggressive Islamic culture, whose representatives wish to dominate, or even conquer, the European continent by all sorts of means.

> **Media communications all too often blur the meaning of concepts, which leads to the identifying of Muslims, Arabs and refugees as terrorists, Islamist fundamentalists.**

The unfair treatment towards the Muslim community in Poland is of a particular character as it is often committed indirectly. Radical communications we have come across during the preparation of this report are predominantly concerned with Muslim communities residing in Western Europe, and with refugees seen as a group of people harbouring incognito terrorists. As well as this, the communications are mediated via the current political fighting between dominant factions in Poland, which, for the sake of simplicity, can be divided into "conservative-right-wing" and "liberal-leftist". This led to media discussions not so much describing Muslims as turning them into a "polemic tool" for the majority of 2015 and 2016. The media often published output without appropriate commentary or selected their interviewees in a way that would provide for a heated exchange of views. It can be assumed this was caused by the desire to increase sales, viewing figures and online clicks.

Not every manifestation of radicalism is synonymous with hate speech. However, an increased presence of radicalisation leads to the loss of confidence in media users and the blunting of social sensitivity to extreme content. This, in turn, leads to the deterioration of the moderate centre and causes harm to persons who are victims of aggressive remarks.

This report, which has been prepared by the *Kultura Liberalna's* Public Debate Observatory's team and commissioned by the Commissioner for Human Rights' Office,

has two main aims. First, we set out to recreate the linguistic image of representatives of the Muslim community in Poland as presented in the Polish media. Secondly, we hope that the report will reinforce a pluralist, mature public sphere in Poland, which, in turn, will help to ensure tolerance, respect, dignity and safety to any individual, regardless of their ethnicity, group affiliation, gender, faith, views and health status. Only in this way can the foundations of a conscious and active democratic society be built in Poland.

Dr Karolina Wigura, Head of the *Kultura Liberalna's* Public Debate Observatory

2. Introduction. What is this report about?

Muslims are increasingly becoming victims of violence in Poland[1]. Since 2000, the number of cases of religiously and ethnically motivated crime in Poland has risen more than tenfold. In 2015, the prosecution service carried out a record number of 1500 inquiries into this kind of crime. Moreover, in the first six months of 2016, 863 inquiries on hate-motivated crimes were launched across the country (this is 69 more inquiries than in the first half of 2015, an increase of 13%). In recent years, there has been a notable increase in acts of violence against a new target – Muslims, or persons identified as such by the perpetrators. In 2016, this was the case in as many as 250 inquiries, which made up almost 30% of all cases motivated by racism or xenophobia. In particular, there were numerous online publications reported to the prosecution service, the authors of which wrote about refugees by calling them "wogs", "disease-spreaders", or called for "the re-kindling of the ovens in Auschwitz".

According to opinion polls, most Poles mainly come into contact with Muslims via the media. As stated by CBOS, only 12% of respondents have had any personal contact with Muslims or residents of countries regarded by respondents as Muslim (these were mainly Arab countries in the Middle East or North Africa). It should therefore be highlighted that Arabs are among the ethnic groups most disliked by Poles. 67% of respondents declare their dislike of Arabs, which is an increase of 21 percentage points compared to a corresponding study from four years ago. As few as 8% of respondents felt friendly towards Arabs. Especially important in the context of the conclusions of this report is the rather high percentage (57%) of people expressing reluctance to accept refugees from Arab countries.

The CBOS poll also points out the correlation between the attitude of Poles towards Muslims and events such as terrorist attacks in other countries (most recently in Brussels, Paris, Bardo in Tunisia and others), in the aftermath of which there is a notable increase in negative attitudes towards Muslims[2].

Researchers are increasingly pointing out the crucial role of the language of public communication in the process of shaping the image of representatives of ethnic and religious minorities. Radicalisation researchers Mabel Berezin and Melissa Williams show how radical content formulated by radical political groups, including content that is

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[1] Polish Prosecution Service, Preparatory Proceedings Department, *Wyciąg ze sprawozdania dotyczącego spraw o przestępstwa popełnione z pobudek rasistowskich, antysemickich lub ksenofobicznych prowadzonych w I półroczu 2016 r. w jednostkach organizacyjnych prokuratury* [Extract from the report on cases of crimes motivated by racism, antisemitism and xenophobia conducted in the first half of 2016 in organisational units of the prosecution service], 14 October 2016, online: http://pk.gov.pl/sprawozdania-i-statystyki/wyciag-ze-sprawozdania-dotyczacego-spraw-o-przestepstwa-z-nienawisci-i-2016.html, accessed 14 December 2016.

[2] Cf. Michał Feliksiak, *Postawy wobec islamu i muzułmanów*, Komunikat z badań CBOS [Attitudes towards Islam and Muslims, Communication on CBOS research], online: http://cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2015/K_037_15.PDF, accessed 3 January 2017.

discriminatory towards minorities, is slowly seeping into the rhetoric of centrist groups[3]. The animalisation of the discourse on refugees in Europe can serve as an example here. On the one hand, we can point to remarks made by extreme right politicians such as Marine Le Pen, who described the migrant crisis as "bacterial immigration", on the other there are remarks by centrist politicians. For example, David Cameron described Syrians arriving in Great Britain as a "swarm"[4]. In his book, *Hate Spin: The Manufacture of Religious Offence and its Threat to Democracy*[5], Cherian George points to the mechanisms that consolidate patterns of branding, stigmatisation, distance, discrimination and violence through aggressive language. In his opinion, we are not only dealing with the popularisation of a particular kind of language here, but also with deliberately planned campaigns of slurs and insinuation, whose aim is to negatively mobilise voters and whose side-effect is an increase in prejudice against religious minorities.

"The level of prejudice, especially towards the Muslim community, is on the rise. Once every three to four days there are acts of aggression taking place in our country" – this is how Adam Bodnar, the Commissioner for Human Rights, began his meeting with representatives of the Muslim community in Poland on 21 June 2016[6]. This report, prepared by the team from *Kultura Liberalna's* Public Debate Observatory and commissioned by the Commissioner for Human Rights' Office, is also pertinent to the discussion on the subject of branding, stigmatisation and discrimination of representatives of the Muslim community in Poland. The aim of our research was to recreate the linguistic image of representatives of this community. At the outset, we have adopted the hypothesis that this image is to a large extent impacted on by ideas about Muslim communities in other European states, as well as representations of refugees from the Middle East and Africa in both Polish and international media, specifically related to the migrant crisis, which reached its highest point in 2015-2016.

We monitored seven selected press publications and four online portals over the period September 2015 to September 2016 in order to document and analyse examples of Muslims and their community being described negatively. We also considered the context in which references were made to the Muslim community in general, even if the words used were not of a negative or stigmatising nature. As well as this, we devoted a part of

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[3] Mabel Berezin, "The Normalization of the Right in Post-Security Europe", in: Armin Schäfer, Wolfgang Streeck (ed.), *Politics in the Age of Austerity*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 239–261; Melissa S. Williams, Jeremy Waldron (ed.), *Toleration and Its Limits*, New York-London 2008.

[4] "David Cameron criticised over migrant 'swarm' language", *BBC News*, 30 July 2015., online: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-33716501, accessed: 29 October 2015; Cédric Mathiot, "Immigration bactérienne: Marine Le Pen s'enfonce", *Liberation*, 12 November 2015, online: http://www.liberation.fr/desintox/2015/11/12/immigration-bacterienne-marine-le-pen-senfonce_1412832, accessed 17 December 2015.

[5] Cherian George, *Hate Spin: The Manufacture of Religious Offence and its Threat to Democracy*, Cambridge, Mass. 2016; also cf. Jacek Wasilewski, *Opowieści o Polsce. Retoryka narracji* [Stories about Poland. The rhetoric of narrative], Warszawa 2012; and EU Commission's Radicalisation Awareness Network, online: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/index_en, accessed 12 January 2017.

[6] *O sytuacji polskich muzułmanów i muzułmanów w Rzeczypospolitej na spotkaniu Adama Bodnara w Biurze RPO* [On the situation of Polish Muslims and Muslims in the Republic of Poland at a meeting with Adam Bodnar at the Commissioner for Human Rights' Office], online: https://www.rpo.gov.pl/pl/content/o-sytuacji-polskich-muzulmanow-i-muzulmanow-w-rzeczypospolitej-na-spotkaniu-adama-bodnara, accessed 3 January 2017.

the report to analysing ways in which commentators representing different views on Islam and the migrant crisis communicate. We did this in the belief that the language of their dispute can in itself be a vehicle for social prejudice. The examples indicated allowed us to describe the important features of the fragment of the linguistic worldview we were interested in, as preserved in the Polish press and on the internet.

It should be understood that current socio-political events in Europe that have attracted so much attention in the media – including terrorist attacks and the ongoing refugee crisis – can cause social alarm. Nothing prevents this unease from being articulated. Varying suggestions on how to react to these events, e.g., by accepting and integrating refugees or refusing to implement such policies, are also permitted. The same applies to the criticism of behaviour or views inherent to some representatives of Muslim communities. What is fundamental here, however, is the issue of the form, including its linguistic and visual aspect, of the ongoing dispute. The media can have a significant impact on increasing tolerance towards minority groups or integrating them into the majority group, or, conversely, they can serve to fuel the stigmatisation and discrimination of a minority. This is also relevant for the Muslim community in Poland, both the historic Tatar community, which has resided in Poland for centuries, and the contemporary Muslim community, consisting of those who have recently arrived in Poland, either over the last few decades or as a result of the ongoing refugee crisis.

We hope that this analysis will encourage journalists and columnists to reflect upon how opinions about representatives of Muslim communities both in Poland and abroad should be formulated. Perhaps it will also make the media more sensitive to possible malpractice in this respect.

3. Research characteristics

3.1. Aim and scope of research

The aim of the research presented below was to describe and analyse the language used in the Polish press and online publications in relation to representatives of the Muslim community, with a particular focus on the following:

(1) terms used for representatives of the Muslim community: *a Muslim*, *a Mahometan*, *a believer in Allah*, *a follower of Islam*, etc.; and the derivatives of these words: *Islamic*, *Muslim*, etc.;

(2) language used in descriptions of the Muslim religion and culture: *Muslim religion*, *Islam*, *Mahometan religion*, *Muslim mentality*;

(3) terms used to refer to persons who the speakers believe to be Muslims: *an Arab*, *a refugee*, *a Syrian*, *a Chechen*, *a migrant*, *an Asian*, etc.;

(4) vocabulary relating to global conflict and terrorism associated with Muslims: *Islamic State*, *ISIS*, *terrorism*;

(5) vocabulary relating to the migrant crisis, often not necessarily used to offend anybody, but potentially carrying negative connotations: *influx*, *wave*, *crowd*, etc.;

(6) political and journalist rhetoric, which uses informal terms and expressions, including negatively loaded terms (e.g. *Paki*, *Islamic horde*, *Islamic invasion*, *fundamentalist*, *Islamist*, *terrorist*, *social jihad*, *Asian mob*[7]).

In our analysis, we paid special attention to highlighting and characterising examples (cases) of a stereotypical, false, ridiculing way of presenting issues that relate to representatives of the Muslim community, their culture, etc.

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[7] Cf. *Słowniczek kryzysu uchodźczego* [Glossary of the refugee crisis], prepared by the *Kultura Liberalna's* Public Debate Observatory, available at http://obserwatorium.kulturaliberalna.pl. Also cf. Łukasz Bertram, Michał Jędrzejek, *Islamskie hordy, azjatycki najazd, socjalny dżihad. Jak polskie media piszą o uchodźcach? Analiza specjalna* [Islamic hordes, Asian invasion, social Jihad. How do the Polish media write about refugees? Special analysis], 14 October 2015, online:
http://obserwatorium.kulturaliberalna.pl/raport/islamskie-hordy-azjatycki-najazd-socjalny-dzihad-jak-polskie-media-pisza-o-uchodzcach-uchodzcy/, accessed 12 January 2017; Łukasz Bertram,
Karolina Wigura, "Die Radikalisierung der polnischen Debatte zur europäischen Flüchtlingskrise", *PolenAnalysen*, no. 178, 15 March 2016, online:
http://www.laender-analysen.de/polen/pdf/PolenAnalysen178.pdf, accessed 12 January 2017.

3.2. Methodology

The tool we used for the analysis was the simplified categorisation key, which allowed us to earmark an initial, broad corpus of texts[8]. The basis on which a text would be entered into a corpus was to check whether it contained any words belonging to any of the categories described above, or similar words that were identified during the initial phase of the monitoring.

The results of our research have not been reviewed quantitatively. Some examples only partly meet the criteria we used for selecting examples of stereotypical, false or derogatory ways of presenting Muslims, their community and religion. We explain the reasons for selecting particular examples further on in the report.

In our research, we used a number of crucial notions. First of all, we used the notion of linguistic worldview (LW), an idea formulated within the Lublin ethnolinguistic school. According to Jerzy Bartmiński, one of the leading representatives of this study area, linguistic worldview is the interpretation of reality, which is contained within language and can be expressed as a set of opinions about the world. These opinions can be fixed, i.e., they can manifest themselves through grammar, vocabulary, phraseology and proverbs. They can also be presupposed, recreated by researchers on the basis of text analysis and fixed at the level of social knowledge, as well as through myths, beliefs and rituals[9]. The aim of our research was to recreate elements of the linguistic worldview of representatives of the Muslim community contained in the Polish press.

Secondly, we used the notion of conceptual metaphor as defined by Vyvyan Evans. According to Evans, conceptual metaphor is "a form of conceptual projection involving mappings or correspondences holding between distinct conceptual domains. Conceptual metaphors often consist of a series of conventional mappings which relate aspects of two distinct conceptual domains. The purpose of such a set of mappings is to provide structure from one conceptual domain, the source domain, by projecting the structure onto the target domain. This allows inferences which hold in the source to be applied to the target. For this reason, conceptual metaphors are claimed to be a basic and indispensable instrument of thought"[10]. Further in the report we show how source domain inferences (e.g. related to the word *invaders*, etc.) were applied to words from target domains (*Muslims*, *refugees*, etc.).

In justified cases, we also analysed illustrations, and especially the covers of magazines. We did this according to Cornelia Müller's multimodal metaphor theory, i.e., metaphors that operate on various levels, for example both verbal and iconic. This is how the covers

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[8] Walery Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy* [The analysis of press content], Kraków 1983.

[9] Jerzy Bartmiński, "O pojęciu językowego obrazu świata" [On the notion of linguistic worldview], in: Jerzy Bartmiński (ed.), *Językowe podstawy językowego obrazu świata* [The linguistic foundations of linguistic worldviews], Lublin 2009, p. 12.

[10] The definition of metaphor in: Vyvyan Evans, *A Glossary of Cognitive Linguistics*, Edinburgh 2007, p. 136; also cf. George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, *Metafory w naszym życiu* [Metaphors We Live By], trans. Tomasz P. Krzeszowski, Warszawa 2010.

of weeklies or memes operate. It should be added that a visual message works in different ways, depending on whether a picture has been captioned, or not, and in what way[11].

3.3. The researched press publications and online portals

For the purposes of our analysis we have selected eleven titles, which we also research as part of other work within the *Kultura Liberalna's* Public Debate Observatory. These are: three daily newspapers (*Fakt*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*), four opinion weeklies (*Do Rzeczy*, *Newsweek*, *Polityka*, *wSieci*) and four portals (*NaTemat.pl*, *Dziennik Opinii*, *Niezalezna.pl*, *Fronda.pl*). The publications and portals were selected on the basis of a number of criteria: their impact factor (they were placed highest in citation rankings), popularity (highest number of unique users or copies sold) and profile (publications described as right-wing, liberal or centre-left). Indicating differences between the analysed publications was not the aim of our research. The diversity and popularity of the publications served the purpose of ensuring the representativeness of the examples analysed.

Our monitoring activities covered the analysis of the selected titles from the beginning of September 2015 up until the end of September 2016. The research was conducted in November and December 2016.

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[11] Cf. e.g. Cornelia Müller, Alan Cienki, "Metaphor, gesture and thought", in: Raymond W. Gibbs (ed.), *Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*, Cambridge 2008.

4. Research results

From our corpus of texts which featured words or expressions related to Muslim communities in Poland and Europe, we selected the ones that recur and make up a kind of a repertoire of rhetorical devices employed to build a particular discourse about Muslims. Some of the examples we selected may prove controversial. We have, however, chosen them because of the mechanisms that occur in the texts we researched.

The subject of this report is the image of the Muslim community in Poland as portrayed by the Polish media. Yet cases in which representatives of this community were actually written about were very rare in the material we researched (we quote the most important examples further on in the report). However, the debate on Muslims was prevalent in the Polish media between 2015 and 2016. How is this possible?

In the media we analysed, the figure of a Muslim was very much equated with the figure of a refugee arriving in the European Union. Consequently, a number of expressions, which are not synonyms, were often used interchangeably. These were chiefly the following terms: *Muslims*, *Arabs*, *migrants*, *refugees*. There was also a clear convergence in the use of these terms and the following words: *terrorism*, *terrorist*, *Islamist*, *fundamentalist*, etc. This would often occur without sufficient consideration of the situational context and the ethnic or religious make-up of immigrant or refugee groups. In many cases, such a blurred picture of Muslims became a useful tool – for rhetorical reasons – in disputes on completely different issues, e.g., decision-making mechanisms in the European Union (when it came to refugee quotas), which were used to mobilise readers or the electorate.

This phenomenon can be described as an example of "package thinking". As Tadeusz Ciecierski writes, this means "thinking collectively about ideas, specific opinions, persons, institutions, etc. that function in the public sphere. It is caused by a false assumption that there is an objective and well-founded basis which binds together things that, in reality, have nothing in common with each other"[12].

A consequence of this way of thinking about the migrant crisis is that participants of public discussion use ready-made sets of words, argumentation and images, in which various elements are combined and evoke combined associations, despite the almost non-existent or minimal connection between them. Let us call them packages.

The results of our study indicate the existence of a single, distinct package. It is a negative image of Muslims, who are identified with refugees arriving into Europe in an uncontrolled manner, or with immigrants already living in Europe and leaving themselves open to terrorist radicalisation. Further associations within the same package are images of an all-consuming wave, or an invasion, Islamisation, a clash of civilisations. The package also

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[12] Tadeusz Ciecierski, *O myśleniu wiązkami* [On thinking in bundles], *Kultura Liberalna*, no. 107, 18 January 2011, online:
http://kulturaliberalna.pl/2011/01/18/ciecierski-wnuk-lipinski-miller-janke-iszkowski-wiazki-pakiety-polska-polityka/#1, accessed 12 January 2017.

contains the image of Europe being blinded by the harmful ideology of multiculturalism, moving towards its suicide, etc.

The main components of the package are the distinctive features of the sub-chapters we present further on, in the detailed results section. These are:

(1) the metaphor of a wave, raid or invasion of refugees and immigrants from countries whose population is predominantly Muslim, and the related metaphor of hybrid war, or a war conducted with alternative methods – through terrorism or "sexual" and "social" jihad;

(2) the metaphor of the so-called ideology of multiculturalism, which is supposed to play an important role in describing the current socio-political situation of many Western European states and to pose a threat to Polish sovereignty, Christian values and traditional Polish culture;

(3) the metaphor of a "breeding ground for Jihad", i.e., immigrant districts which are locations for the recruitment of future terrorists;

(4) the metaphor of the clash between Western civilisation and the civilisation of Islam, whose critical point in the refugee crisis of 2015-2016;

(5) the metaphor of the suicide of the elites, or even all of Europe, as they are unable to face up to the threats mentioned above.

In the material we analysed, there was little evidence of a package that could be described as showing "positive thinking about Muslims". While the supporters of "negative thinking about Muslims" strengthened their views by referring to such categories as the sovereignty of Poland and Christian values, those who disagreed with them referred instead to the general catalogue of European values, including tolerance, human rights, equality under law, etc.

The "negative thinking about Muslims" package dominated in the media that can be placed in the right-wing-conservative worldview spectrum. However, some of its elements also seeped through to the liberal-leftist media. In our report, we point to the fact that the latter often used the metaphor of *a wave*, or even *a tsunami*, of refugees. It is true that the words "influx" and "wave" [in Polish "napływ" and "fala" respectively – trans.] have both positive and negative collocations[13], and can link refugees with associations of *a flood*, an *untamed element* or *a natural disaster*. The expression *breeding ground for Jihad* also appeared in the media. It evokes animalistic associations and dehumanises newcomers.

From the point of view of the two ways of thinking, it was important how the adversary for a particular set of values was identified. The "negative thinking about Muslims" package is accompanied by the conviction that the adversary is, firstly, aggressive Islam and, secondly, European elites who attempt to impose their diktat on Poland. The persons

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[13] Cf. Piotr Żmigrodzki et al., *Wielki Słownik Języka Polskiego* [Great dictionary of the Polish language], online: www.wsjp.pl, accessed 12 January 2017.

who argue with this package point to right-wing-conservative elites as the main adversary, which are sometimes described with abusive expressions or statements, e.g., they are accused of *pouring brown sauce [over reality]*, *Nazism*, etc.

In the conversation about Muslims, we observed the mechanism of hyperbolisation. Its premise lies in the fact that neutral terms are gradually replaced with increasingly negative equivalents during a discussion. For example, this happens to terms used to describe the refugee crisis. It is described as an *influx*, *wave*, *flood*, *tsunami*, *attack*, *raid*, *invasion*, *war*, etc. The consequence of this mechanism is the "abduction" of words: terms that are initially regarded as neutral, such as *influx*, are eventually equated with more radical terms, e.g. *wave*, *tsunami*, etc. Ultimately, this makes any sustainable discourse on Muslims quite difficult.

Some of the texts we analysed did not actually contain any statements referring directly to the characteristics of Muslims, refugees, etc. They did, however, contain unfavourable statements about opponents in the Polish public debate, who, according to a given author, spread false, ridiculous or outright dangerous views. These texts make up crucial research material.
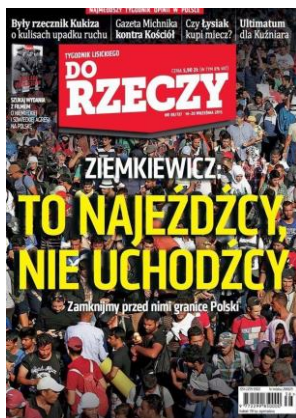
First of all, we can assume that an increasing number of abusive statements, expressions, etc. can lead to the general deterioration of the public debate and an increase in the number of discriminatory statements used to describe various minority groups[14].

Secondly, during such debates Muslims become only "polemic tools", which could lead to their dehumanisation and to them being perceived as a largely anonymous crowd rather than individual human beings with inherent rights and dignity.

4.1. The metaphor of a wave, invasion, war

Example I (emphasis added by the authors of the report):

The cover of the *Do Rzeczy* weekly (2015, no. 38) – a picture of a crowd and the headline linked to an article by Rafał Ziemkiewicz; in big letters we read "They are invaders, not refugees".

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[14] Cherian George, op. cit.

Example II:

A cartoon in the *Do Rzeczy* weekly (2015, no. 48, p. 3) depicting a group of people who are pulling the Trojan horse towards the walls of a city. A person standing inside the walls says: "It's only refugees bearing a gift for us!".

Example III:

The cover of the *wSieci* weekly (2015, no. 37) – Muslims leaning against a Polish border barrier. They pose in a way that evokes a symbolic picture from September 1939 [showing German soldiers breaking a Polish border barrier – trans.], online: http://www.wsieci.pl/numer-37-pmagazine-203.html, accessed 20 December 2016.

Example IV:

> "Hundreds of thousands of Muslims are flooding into Europe. (…) On 12 September 1683, the allied Polish-Austrian-German forces defeated the Turkish army that had been besieging Vienna. Today, Austrians and Germans welcome the 'civil army' of young Muslims with open arms. (…) [European politicians] fail to see that the issue of equitable aid for refugees was used to facilitate a surprise invasion of Europe."

> (Marzena Nykiel, "Politycy fundują nam Polskę w turbanie" [Politicians are treating us to a Poland in a turban], wSieci, 2015, no. 37, pp. 18–21)

Example V:

> "This <u>human mass</u> is approaching from faraway countries: Indonesia, Afghanistan, Chad, Ethiopia. Just like <u>conquistadors, puritans, colonisers, and before them Goths, Huns and Slavs</u>, they are lured by the richness of the new lands and the powerlessness of their inhabitants".
>
> (Tomasz Wróblewski, "Cywilizacja niemożności" [The civilisation of inability], *Wprost* 2015, no. 36, p. 4)

The terms quoted above were used to name an increase (or the potential increase) in the number of Muslims in Poland and Europe. In the right-wing-conservative media, the basic categories were *invasion*, *conquest*, *raid*, *penetration*, etc. Expressions of a military character were also used to describe Muslims/refugees themselves – they were portrayed as an *army* (as well as *hordes* and a *mob*). The equating of Muslims as a whole with invaders (and terrorists – these instances are described further on in the report) was also typical here. Stylistic devices based on phonetics were also used – in the examples above, the words *uchoDŹCA* ("refugee") and *najeźDŹCA* ("invader") rhyme (in the original Polish).

The term *war* was used to describe the state Europe currently finds itself in. Historical analogies were also employed here – the media referred to the Red Army marching west in 1920, and also to events further back in time: wars with the Turks in the 16th century. In liberal-leftist media we found forms that were less military – such as a *human mass*, *tsunami*, etc.

Reportedly, there are three types of weapon used in this war. The first one, and one that is clear to see, is terrorism. The second is demographics. In this context, the media wrote about the promiscuity of refugees, "virile, young men spreading their semen" or raping European women. As well as this, female Muslims were described as women whose uteruses serve as a separate kind of weapon. The third type of weapon is claiming benefits. Refugees from Muslim countries are portrayed less as conquerors and more as a demanding crowd, reaching out for European (mainly German) social benefits.

4.1.1. Terrorism

Example I:

> "<u>Syrians are a terror-supporting nation</u>. This did not happen simply from one day to the next, as a result of the Arab Spring, or the war in Iraq. Syrians are not victims of American foreign policy, militant Islam or other popular excuses. They supported Islamist terrorism. Millions among them support it still. They are not Jews fleeing the Nazi Holocaust. <u>They are Nazis trying to flee air-raided Berlin</u>."

("Syryjscy muzułmanie popierają terroryzm" [Syrian Muslims support terrorism], *Fronda.pl*, 16 December 2015, online: http://www.fronda.pl/a/syryjscy-muzulmanie-popieraja-terroryzm,62338.html, accessed 28 December 2016)

Example II:

[Title] "Terrorists have ‘culturally enriched’ Paris. Shooting, bombs, hostages – numerous fatalities".

("Terroryści ‘ubogacili kulturowo’ Paryż. Strzelanina, bomby, zakładnicy – wiele śmiertelnych ofiar" [Terrorists have "culturally enriched" Paris. Shooting, bombs, hostages – numerous fatalities], *Niezalezna.pl*, 13 November 2015, online: http://niezalezna.pl/72901-terrorysci-ubogacili-kulturowo-paryz-strzelanina-bomby-zakladnicy-wiele-smiertelnych-ofiar, accessed 12 January 2017)

Example III:

"Europe, indolent and saturated with wealth, still fails to understand that its ostentatious demonstration of kindness towards refugees from Islamic states will not stop the wave of terrorism coming from Muhammad's disciples, who despise ‘infidels’ for their lack of direction, hedonism, pacifism. Instead of making yourself feel better by taking part in yet another march or wearing a new T-shirt in solidarity with the people of New York, Paris or Brussels (this is an incomplete list and it will, sadly, expand), it is much better that you decisively support radical means adopted by your country's authorities and security forces designed to reinforce protection against terrorists (even to the detriment of your civic rights), and that you stop feeling sorry for poor refugees who keep coming to our continent."

(Jerzy Bukowski, "Żałosne europejskie pięknoduchostwo" [Pathetic European idealism], *Niezalezna.pl*, 24 March 2016, online: http://niezależna.pl/78127-zalosne-europejskie-pieknoduchostwo, accessed 28 December 2016)

Example IV:

"Not knowing enough about Islam and perceiving it as something alluringly exotic, makes the West, already overpowered by being forced into tolerating all that is different, powerless in the face of an invasion – yes, an invasion – of Islamist terrorists. (…) Terrorist attacks are not organised by Muslim dropouts, but by religious Muslims to whom hundreds and thousands of others regularly pay alms".

(Katarzyna Gójska-Hejke, "Nie miejmy złudzeń" [Let us not fool ourselves], Niezalezna.pl, originally published in: *Gazeta Polska Codziennie*, 23 March 2016, online: http://niezależna.pl/78040-nie-miejmy-zludzen, accessed 28 December 2016)

Example V:

> "When it comes to the discussion about refugees, the concerns of opponents to opening borders do not stem from the fear of the unknown. On the contrary, they are based on knowledge and the ability to foresee things. (...) Muslim communities assimilate very slowly, <u>if at all</u>. (...) Problems and discrimination become the source of frustration, which, in turn, expresses itself through radicalism. Moreover, <u>the potential for aggression contained within the Muslim holy book is huge</u>, hence social tensions so frequently lead to the growth of terrorism".
>
> (Paweł Lisicki, "Lęk czy zuchwałość" [Fear or audacity], *Do Rzeczy*, 2015, no. 44, p. 3)

In the analysed texts, we were able to notice a tendency to treat all Muslims and people of Arab extraction either as terrorists, supporters of terrorists, or as vulnerable to recruitment by terrorist organisations. Such statements were a lot more frequent than more distanced portrayals. This was clear, for example, when attention was drawn to the fact that the large numbers of people arriving in the European Union during the refugee crisis gave Islamist organisations a chance to send their members over to Europe unnoticed as a result of reduced levels of border control. Another instance was the concern expressed over growing frustration and radicalisation in attitudes of Muslims already residing in Europe. This stemmed from the difficulty in assimilating such large numbers of the continent's new inhabitants.

It should also be noted that, to a great extent, the discourse on terrorism did not relate to Poland, as the size of Muslim communities in our country is rather small. Another noted phenomenon was the presence of texts referring to acts of terror in which the authors attacked not so much the perpetrators, but, indirectly, the victims, meaning Western societies, who are accused of not being able to defend themselves against threats.

4.1.2. "Sexual" jihad

Example I:

> "New Year's Eve attacks by the mob in Cologne, Hamburg and Stuttgart resemble tribal wars, which involve disseminating one's own semen, humiliating women and men, destroying an opponent's social tissue. This is not an attack on individual persons, but on an entire community."
>
> (Jan Wójcik, "Kolonia – Rok Później" [Cologne – One Year On], *Fronda.pl*, originally published in: *euroislam.pl*, 7 January 2016, online: http://www.fronda.pl/a/kolonia-rok-pozniej,63576.html, accessed 2 January 2017)

Example II:

> "Merkel has let in over a million migrants who are culturally foreign to Europe. They are mainly young, virile men, who, in their countries, have access not to women, but to sheep. Consequently, the newcomers rape and molest women on a mass scale, participate in terrorist attacks and cause Europeans to be scared of walking down the street and using metro stations".
>
> (Krzysztof Rybiński, "Co rozwali kobieta" [What a woman destroys], *Do Rzeczy*, 2016, no. 6, p. 88)

Example III:

> "If we don't take matters in our own hands (and not just hands), <u>Muslims will defeat us</u>. <u>Not through terrorism</u>, though, <u>but with the uteruses of their women</u>."
>
> (Tomasz Terlikowski, Terlikowski: Papież niezwykle mocno o tym, że Europejczycy sami
> proszą się o śmierć [Terlikowski: Pope's strong words on Europeans' own death wish], *Fronda.pl*, 15 September 2015, online:
> http://www.fronda.pl/a/terlikowski-papiez-niezwykle-mocno-o-tym-ze-europejczycy-sami-prosza-sie-o-smierc,56948.html, accessed 21 December 2016)

Example IV:

> [Title] "If there is Islam, there will be rape. This is why we say NO"
>
> (Będzie islam, będą gwałty. Oto, dlaczego mówimy NIE [If there is Islam, there will be rape. This is why we say NO], *Fronda.pl*, originally published in: *euroislam.pl*, 1 October 2015, online: http://www.fronda.pl/a/bedzie-islam-beda-gwalty-oto-dlaczego-mowimy-nie,57887.html, accessed 12 January 2017)

Example V:

> "(...) it is no longer possible to hold on to the opinion that Islam is a religion of respect towards women. This respect is personally experienced <u>not only by Yazidi and Christian women who are raped – according to the rules of Islam – in the Middle East</u> (but who would worry about them?), but also by German women, who, during the Carnival, were able to find out for themselves what the Muslim attitude to women is like."
>
> (Tomasz Terlikowski, "Seksualny dżihad" [Sexual jihad], *Do Rzeczy*, 2016, no. 7, p. 72–73)

The set of expressions used for refugees/Muslims most frequently contains ones related to their sexuality. According to this narrative, Muslim men are rapists who not only commit crimes against women, but who do so in line with the rules of their faith. What is more, this is not exclusively about harm caused to one person by another. Forced sex is

seen as a weapon – proof of domination and of the number of possessions belonging to one's own group. The sexuality of Muslim women is predominantly linked to their fertility – an instrument used to gain demographic advantage.

4.1.3. "Social" jihad

Example I:

> [Title] "We have <u>social jihad</u> to look forward to. The <u>great march</u> for benefits"
>
> (Grzegorz Wierzchołowski, "Czeka nas socjalny dżihad. Wielki marsz po zasiłki" [We have social jihad to look forward to. The great march for benefits], *Niezalezna.pl*, originally published in: *Gazeta Polska*, 17 September 2015, online: http://niezalezna.pl/71015-czeka-nas-socjalny-dzihad-wielki-marsz-po-zasilki, accessed 30 December 2016)

Example II:

> [Tytuł] "Immigrant <u>run on</u> European <u>benefits</u> continues"
>
> ("Imigrancki szturm po zasiłek do Europy trwa" [Immigrant run on European benefits continues], *Fronda.pl*, 18 września 2015 r., online: http://www.fronda.pl/a/chorwacja-panstwem-niepowaznym,57089.html, accessed 4 January 2017)

Example III:

> [Title] Unemployed much worse off than refugees in Poland. Upkeep of refugees costs much more
>
> (plk, "Bezrobotny ma w Polsce gorzej niż uchodźca. Utrzymanie tego drugiego kosztuje dużo więcej" [Unemployed much worse off than refugees in Poland. Upkeep of refugees costs much more], *Niezalezna.pl*, 4 września 2015 r., online: http://niezalezna.pl/70572-bezrobotny-ma-w-polsce-gorzej-niz-uchodzca-utrzymanie-tego-drugiego-kosztuje-duzo-wiecej, accessed 4 January 2017)

During the peak period of the refugee crisis (at the turn of summer and autumn 2015), content that portrayed Muslims/migrants whose journey to Europe was motivated predominantly by obtaining the right to (mostly German) social benefits appeared in the analysed media. Some media took this opportunity to present calculations which compared the situation of a refugee who would receive benefits with that of, for example, an unemployed Polish person. As can be seen from the examples above, the metaphor is linked with the war metaphor described earlier in the report ("Immigrant run on European benefits continues").

4.2. The metaphor of the so-called ideology of multiculturalism

Example I:

> "We accept Muslims into our land. Their modern-day religiosity often takes on a fanatical form, and many of them, driven by their tradition, do not even attempt to conceal in any way the fact that they have no wish to assimilate. At the same time, we reject our own Christian heritage and scold those who have the courage to fall back on it. We have faith in the utopia of multiculturalism, in which representatives of various cultures and religions are to co-exist in harmony. Faced with other cultures, we negate our own identity, whose indisputable source is Christianity. This puts us in a disadvantaged, weaker position. In the face of the influx into Europe of large numbers of declared Muslims, it would be worth considering carefully the words of the German historian Michael Hesemann, who, in his book 'Hitler's Religion' wrote that 'radicalised Islamist fundamentalism in its fanatical form is simply the answer to the spiritual poverty of the West'".
>
> (Marta Kaczyn´ska, "Nasze bezpieczeństwo" [Our safety], *wSieci*, 2015, no. 47, p. 13)

Example II:

> "Belgium (...) is making attempts at following modern trends by the book. These mainly include political correctness and multicultural policies. In the name of the latter, the country accepts ever newer demands of the Muslim community by gradually rejecting its own traditions and values. This approach could be understood as an encouraging factor by radical Muslims who put forward ever greater demands".
>
> (Elżbieta Kuźma, Dominika Ćosić, "Parada burek w Brukseli" [Burqa parade in Brussels], *Do Rzeczy*, 2015, no. 44, p. 76)

Example III:

> "The fact that immigrants all stick to 'their own' neighbourhoods or particular suburbs is obviously something natural. But the fact that enormous sums of money that have been pumped into 'integrational' programmes without bringing any results simply speaks for itself. Contrary to the ideology of multiculturalism, there are relatively few immigrants who have adapted permanently to the realities of their host countries. This is not only the fault of their unwillingness to take on local customs. It also stems from their rejection by local communities, who, though using the language of 'political correctness' and the cover of media propaganda, have hardly welcomed competition on the job market with open arms. The multiculturalism project has failed across practically all areas. Its ideological layer was to generate a mechanism similar to the famous American 'melting pot': the influx of newcomers from other cultures and religions was designed to help crush 'patriarchal' social structures, based on the traditional family and Christian morality. Then the migrants, in the same way as the local community, were to grow out of religious and moral 'superstitions' and mix in

> with the homogenous 'new society', based on values postulated by ideologists, such as 'tolerance', as opposed to national or religious values".
>
> (Rafał Ziemkiewicz, "Arabska przyszłość" [Arab future], *Do Rzeczy*, 2016, no. 2)

Example IV:

> "The opposition towards the 'export' of migrants is indeed very strong in Poland. Even though the left try to label this attitude chauvinistic and xenophobic, this opposition actually stems from the careful and realistic observation of failures in the integration of Muslims in the West".
>
> (Piotr Semka, "Burzliwa jesień prezydenta" [President's stormy autumn], *Do Rzeczy*, 2015, no. 37)

Example V:

> "The author of this text is absolutely not a fan of some of the judgements which boil down to putting all Muslims, or emigrants and refugees, into one big bag labelled 'Islamist'. These judgements cannot be further away from truth and, what is more, they are toxic. This, however, does not change the fact that the fear of emigrants and newcomers is understandable and justified. It is the fear of drastic social changes our country could be faced with. No one knows at what stage these changes would stop. There is also the issue of the not-so-colourful experiences of uncontrolled multiculturalism in Western countries, which have resulted in both bloody terrorist attacks and the creation of enclaves full of estranged, frustrated people who experience the sense of being unable to fulfil their aspirations within a culture they do not accept".
>
> (Wiktor Świetlik, "Tak hejtują elity III RP" [Hate by elites of the Third Republic of Poland], *wSieci*, 2015, no. 39, pp. 32–33)

In the corpus of texts we researched, one of the more widely-spread arguments against accepting Muslim refugees and immigrants into Poland, and, in a broader sense, into Europe, was the ideology of multiculturalism, sometimes referred to as 'multiculti'. A precise definition of multiculturalism does not exist in the press discourse. It only functions as a catchphrase or slogan, which describes a series of phenomena that are perceived as negative by some authors. The examples of such phenomena are terrorist attacks, inefficient or failed integrational policies, the formation of partly closed, dangerous districts in large cities, an actual or imagined animosity towards Christianity and Christians, the alleged downfall of a national state and identity, the weakening of the so-called traditional family and Christian morality and the increasing visibility of Islam. In this kind of discourse, multiculturalism becomes not even a name for an actual social model (e.g. British), but is instead synonymous with the "downfall of Western culture" prophesised by conservative columnists.

Polish authors who criticise the so-called multiculti ideology in their pieces often do not distinguish between the various models of integrating immigrants in different societies,

e.g. in France, Germany or Great Britain. This happens because their polemic does not deal with specific solutions used in these countries, but instead with an ideological concept, which they perceive as related to the left and to liberalism. This is the reason why rhetorical attacks on multiculturalism are present exclusively in publications by authors linked to conservatism in the broad sense of the word.

The criticism of multiculturalism, which appears in the discourse on Muslim refugees and immigrants, gets turned into the defence of conservatism and "traditional values", and the criticism of immigration *per se* becomes criticism of an ideological nature, which describes societies as great ideological projects. In such instances, authors write, as in the examples above, about the "utopia of multiculturalism" or the "multiculturalism project" designed to "help crush 'patriarchal' social structures" or to become an element of a policy that will encourage "radical Muslims to put forward ever greater demands", putting our own culture "in a disadvantaged, weaker position".

Viewed in this light and repeated over and over again across numerous publications, the ideology of multiculturalism becomes a polemic device used to criticise ideological opponents. It does not, however, have much to do with Islam or Muslims, who, if anything, get turned into the silent subject of arguments between columnists.

4.3. The metaphor of a "breeding ground for Jihad"

Example I:

> "The terrorist attacks in Brussels spurred special forces to action across all of Europe. The authorities jumped at the chance to search for terrorists in places where the police had previously been scared to go to. 'Hotbeds of lawlessness', 'terrorist enclaves', 'lawless zones' – this is what commentators and experts from right to left have said about two Brussels neighbourhoods, Schaerbeek and Molenbeek. And indeed, these districts are seedbeds of terrorism. The situation is similar in German cities, as well as Paris and Stockholm. Talking about this today does not sound as outrageous as it did when Jarosław Kaczyński spoke in similar terms. The Law and Justice leader said that in Sweden alone there are 54 zones, where 'Sharia law applies and the state has no control whatsoever'. Back then, his words were mocked, seen as outrageous and Kaczyński himself was accused of 'scaremongering'. No one is laughing anymore today".
>
> (Wojciech Mucha, "Strefy bezprawia istnieją" [Lawless zones exist], *Niezalezna.pl*, 27 March 2016, online: http://niezalezna.pl/78238-strefy-bezprawia-istnieja, accessed 15 December 2016)

Example II:

> "About French *cités*, suburbs of big agglomerations, which in recent years have become genuine breeding grounds for Jihadists".

> (Marek Magierowski, "Toast za zdrowie imigrantów" [A toast to the health of immigrants], *Do Rzeczy*, 2015, no. 39, pp. 22–24)

Example III:

> "What is known about the Islamist terrorist? So far, not much. 29-year-old Abaaoud was born in Brussels. He is of Moroccan extraction. Belgian authorities report that <u>he grew up in the immigrant district of Molenbeek Saint Jean, which today could be described as 'a breeding ground for bombers'</u>".
>
> (Łukasz Maziewski, "To on był mózgiem ataków" [He was the brains behind the attacks], *Fakt*, 17 November 2015, p. 3)

Example IV:

> "The politics of integration has broken down. The resentment and frustrations of descendants of immigrants are on the rise. <u>In Paris, Brussels and London there are entire districts that have become the breeding ground for Jihad</u>".
>
> (Jacek Pawlicki, "Suma wszystkich strachów" [Sum of all fears], *Newsweek*, 2016, no. 2, pp. 49–51)

In the aftermath of terrorist attacks in Western Europe, the Polish press printed articles about the districts in which the terrorists had lived or hidden. Because these districts were inhabited by immigrants or citizens of particular countries, that is, by people who have arrived in Europe in the last 30-40 years, terrorism became linked with immigrants or their descendants. Consequently, negatively charged expressions were used to describe immigrant districts, namely *breeding ground for Jihad*, *breeding ground for bombers*, *seedbeds of terrorism* and other, related terms.

Yet the press turned a blind eye to issues affecting underprivileged districts, such as poverty, or the fact that levels of crime were higher than in other neighbourhoods, or indeed that these problems were blamed on the race or religion of their residents. Consequently, immigrants and their descendants were not only blamed for the arrival of terror, but they were also made responsible for the failure of integration programmes and the dislike of native communities towards immigrants.

4.4. The metaphor of the clash of civilizations

Example I:

> "<u>We are witnessing the clash of two civilisations</u> in 'old' Europe – Western and Muslim. They are two civilisations which have not ceased to fight one another for the last 14 centuries".
>
> (Aleksandra Rybińska, "Piekło Europy" [Europe's hell], *wSieci*, 2016, no. 7, p. 21).

Example II:

> "The war of civilisations has become a fact. If we want to survive and resist rape, assault and murder we must learn to fight in order to protect our families, wives and daughters... The police or army will not always be there for us. The other side has no reservations whatsoever. It deals with 'infidels' in a ruthless, incredibly brutal way. The traditional 'eye for an eye' is no longer enough in terms of self-defence; our eyes are not worth it. What we have learned about militant Islam so far (the bastards upload videos of their bloody 'feats' online) tells us that potential bandits should be pacified right at the outset, before they put their roots down here. First economic laws must be enforced, and only then will there be time for multicultural whims!"
>
> (Lech Makowiecki, "Kaszanka" [Blood sausage], *wSieci*, 2016, no. 3, p. 105)

Example III:

> [Lead] Europe is faced with the greatest risk. EU politicians are too blind to notice its consequences and Kopacz's government is too weak to oppose it. The authorities' indolence is leading us straight to the head-on clash of two civilisations".
>
> (Marzena Nykiel, "Politycy fundują nam Polskę w turbanie" [Politicians are treating us to a Poland in a turban], *wSieci*, 2015, no. 37)

Example IV:

> "Most Muslims do not want to hear about even a partial assimilation with the rest of European society. With time, they will be making even louder demands for the respect of their religious views, their Sharia-motivated sensibility and their lifestyle which unquestionably goes against European ideals. The current EU immigration policy leaves us with only three solutions for the future – subordination, repatriation or war".
>
> (Tadeusz Jemioło, "Hurtowa islamizacja" [Wholesale Islamisation], *NaTemat.pl*, online: http://tadeuszjemiolo.natemat.pl/177899,hurtowa-islamizacja-zabije-europe-jaka-znamy, accessed 12 January 2017)

The presence of Muslims in Europe, and especially the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Muslim refugees and immigrants over a short period of time onto our continent, was presented by the press in the category of "the clash of civilisations" – the civilisation of Islam and Western civilisation. Actual cultural differences were not considered within this discourse. All refugees and immigrants who were Muslims were earmarked as members of the homogenous civilisation of Islam.

First of all, this civilisation has allegedly never been present in Europe before. Secondly, it was doomed to enter into conflict with Western civilisation, which, incidentally, was also regarded monolithically. As one columnist writes: when faced with incoming Muslims,

Europe could either abide by them, expel them, or enter into conflict with them. Because of the fact that – according to other authors – Muslims are not ready for integration or assimilation, because they do want to function on the edges of European societies and, e.g., introduce Sharia law to the districts they live in, they ought to "be pacified right at the outset, before they put their roots down here". Conducting this kind of politics is typical of European elites, which puts us even closer to aggravating the conflict between two civilisations rather than the victory of one of them.

4.5. The metaphor of Europe's suicide

Example I:

> "It is unfortunate for our Western neighbours that the new government in Warsaw clearly puts more emphasis on the interests of its own nation. What is even worse is that <u>these interests rarely go hand in hand with those of Europe's greats, who would rather put their heads under machetes outside mosques in the name of sick ideologies than look after the safety of their own mothers, wives and daughters</u>. Recently, this has been clearly visible in Cologne, Hamburg, as well as in Berlin, which has been trying to paper over Arab banditry on German streets."
>
> (Krzysztof Feusette, "Achtung, Polen!", *Do Rzeczy*, 2016, no. 9, p. 45)

Example II:

> "How do we explain this suicidal, mad approach of European elites and this great amount of energy expended by Merkel, Juncker, Schulz and Tusk in whipping Hungary and forcing Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia into accepting a contingent of 'refugees' at a time when we should have been thinking about increasing border protection, controlling the incoming masses and cutting smuggling routes?".
>
> (Rafał Ziemkiewicz, "Europejski zamach stanu" [European coup d'etat], *Do Rzeczy*, 2015, no. 39, p. 19)

Example III:

> "(…) although I do not believe that all of Europe is ever going to become 'Euroarabia', at the same time it is clear that the values close to the left (for example women's liberation) will become threatened proportionally to the number of migrants from the Middle East and North Africa, and their descendants, living on the continent. Moreover, it is completely obvious that the physical safety of Europeans will be compromised. This includes left-wingers. Perhaps it will affect them more than others, as they dominate in the media-celebrity world, which provokes Islamists most (e.g. *Charlie Hebdo*). So perhaps not 'Euroarabia', but most certainly some bloody chaos.

> I have to admit that the fact that left-wingers are ignoring this is some kind of a record on a historic scale to me. But a record of what? Certainly not stupidity, because I cannot say that the other side is dominated by stupid people. I think this is predominantly the fear of admitting a mistake. (...) [reasons for making mistakes vary, but] they want to remedy the crisis threatening the very heart of their world by following tired slogans: 'Cancer? Have some more aspirin! Is it spreading? Take even more aspirin!' Meaning even more multiculturalism".
>
> (Piotr Skwiecin'ski, "Jak samobójcy" [Just like suicide], *wSieci*, 2015, no. 35, pp. 38–39)

Example IV:

> "(...) We do not belong to European structures in order to get rich and be quiet. <u>We are there to defend the foundations of Christian civilisation, which get habitually damaged by the 'family' in Brussels</u>. We are amused by the slogans of 'common values', which to you are the cult of Mammon and homosexuality, secularism, feminism, and ecology, which are seen as an ersatz spirituality. We feel deeply sorry for the residents of your countries, upon whose dizzy heads you bring hordes of Islamic barbarians. We bring the gospel of nationality, morality and religion to your compatriots. We want to rebuild the community of free European peoples with them".
>
> (Wojciech Wencel, "Przemoc w rodzinie" [Domestic violence], *wSieci*, 2016, no. 3, p. 104)

Example V:

> "Political correctness, which has become the religion of liberal-leftist elites in Europe, is no longer funny. It is dangerous".
>
> (Dominika Cosic, "Ani słowa o islamie" [Let's not talk about Islam], *Do Rzeczy*, 2016, no. 2, pp. 36–38)

Example VI:

> "Now Germans are faced with yet another delusion/sham (...). Despite the failure of multiculti politics, Angela Merkel is introducing new swathes of immigrants into Germany. It's like curing a hangover with vodka."
>
> (Piotr Semka, "Utopia teutonica", *Do Rzeczy*, 2015, no. 38, pp. 20–21)

The press also presents current EU policies on refugees and immigrants in terms of stupidity, lack of prudence, or even as the suicide of European elites. Columnists emphasise that, in the face of the clash between Western and Islamic civilisations described above, EU elites (who, in turn, are being unambiguously described as "the family from Brussels", which would suggest their mafia affiliations) should take decisive steps when it comes to their response to any threat that may come Europe's way, e.g. by closing borders or deporting people. Instead, as we have read in the press, they "would rather

put their heads under machetes outside mosques in the name of sick ideologies [e.g. multiculturalism]". According to another author, they are also unfair towards leaders like Victor Orbán, who implements decisive policies vis-à-vis refugees by strengthening Hungary's borders, even building fences and walls along them.

Columnists refer to this supposedly timid approach of European elites as "suicidal" and "mad". What is more, as we have already mentioned above, they recognise here the influence of "the ideology of multiculturalism", which they associate with the left and liberalism. Political correctness also belongs to this ideology. According to columnists, it bars speaking openly about the dangers linked to the arrival into Europe of Muslims from the Middle East. The rules of political correctness, for example those banning hate speech towards persons of another skin colour or faith, are seen here as a manifestation of the abovementioned suicidal tendencies, a defensive stance, one which puts European communities at risk of losing their lives and health, as it apparently justifies the perpetrators behind terrorist attacks.

4.6. Polish Muslims

Example I:

> "The issue of Muslims in our country (apart from the harmless Polish Muslims) is practically non-existent. It is probable that this is just the thing that will attract Jewish immigrants to Poland".
>
> (Piotr Włoczyk, Krzysztof Kłopotowski, "Po co nam Żydzi" (rozmowa) [What do we need Jews for? (a conversation)], *Do Rzeczy*, 2015, no. 36)

Example II:

> "The Bogdanowicz family are Muslim, they go to the mosque. All their neighbours know that their greeting 'asalam alaykum' means 'peace be with you', and no one minds. Dżenetta is really upset about the tragedy of Syrian refugees. She feels very emotional about it, because her family had to wander around the world many years ago. 'My grandad Ismail walked the combat trail with General Anders' army. He only returned to Poland in 1956. And my auntie fought as a lieutenant at Monte Cassino.'"
>
> (Jan Malec, "Polscy Tatarzy: Przyjmijmy muzułmanów jak swoich" [Polish Tatars: let's welcome Muslims as people of our own], *Fakt*, 15 September 2015)

Example III:

> "(...) If I'm to be fair: I personally feel no civilizational connection with the Polish Tatars. (...) If they have not converted, have not renounced Islam, having lived among Christians from the late 14th century until the beginning of the 20th century, then perhaps there is something to worry about. (...) Of course I'm not saying that we should set the alarm bells ringing, set up the Polish Pegida and

> write down proscription lists. But there is no harm in being careful. I do hope that <u>Tatar Muslims are being well looked after by the relevant Polish authorities. They are, after all, an entirely different civilisation</u>".
>
> (Dominik Zdort, "Dokąd deportować Tatarów" [Where should Tatars be deported to?], *Rzeczpospolita. Plus Minus*, 6 February 2015)

Example IV:

> "(…) Muslims <u>loyal to Poland</u>, the Tatars."
>
> (Włodzimierz Szczepański, "Oto Łomża. Nie spodobał im się hidżab. Przypomnieli muzułmance, że Polska to nie jej dom" [This is Łomża. They didn't like the hijab. They reminded a Muslim woman that Poland is not her home], *NaTemat.pl*, online: http://natemat.pl/180173,nie-spodobal-im-sie-hidzab-przypomnieli-muzulmance-ze-polska-to-nie-jej-dom, accessed 12 January 2017)

Example V:

> "First of all we need to consider that Islam is internally divided into varied factions. An average Turkish Sunni (under Erdoğan's authoritarian rule) is someone completely different to a tolerant Iranian Shia (living in the fundamentalist Ayatollah state). A radical Wahabi from Saudi Arabia is different to <u>a loyal Polish Tatar</u>!".
>
> (Krzysztof Jabłoński, "Kogo wyłowić z fali uchodźców?" [Who should be fished from the wave of refugees?], *Niezalezna.pl*, 1 April 2016, online: http://niezalezna.pl/78454-kogo-wylowic-z-fali-uchodzcow, accessed 15 December 2016)

The analysed press discourse of 2015 and 2016 on Polish Muslims, both those who have lived in our country for centuries (Tatars) and those who have arrived here more recently (mainly refugees from Chechnya) is difficult to characterise due to the relatively small number of texts or statements devoted to these communities. In the recorded texts we have, however, observed references to traditions of Polish religious tolerance, the heritage of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and large-scale Polish migration during the Second World War, and also modern, religiously-motivated conflicts in Western Europe.

On the one hand, columnists recall the peaceful, historic coexistence of Polish Muslims among the Catholic majority and the presence of Muslims in the Anders Army. By doing so, they emphasize the faithfulness and devotion of the Polish Tatars to Poland since at least the 15th century. On the other hand, by employing the rhetoric of the clash of civilisations between the West and Islam to describe the events in France, Germany or Great Britain, some columnists stress their dislike towards and fear of Polish Muslims, who they regard as infidels (non-Christians) and potential terrorists. Islam, in turn, is seen as a civilisation and religion alien to the European *kulturkreis*.

It is also worth mentioning that this is where the Polish right-wing discourse reveals its inconsistencies. In many cases, as illustrated by the examples above, the historic multiculturalism of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is positively evaluated. However, when the topic changes to contemporary multicultural Western societies, positives turn into negatives, and the coexistence of various cultures and religions is no longer perceived as cultural richness, but as a threat to the cultural, religious and ethnic homogeneity of today's Poland.

4.7. The metaphor of an attack on Poland's sovereignty; Muslims as a "polemic device"

Example I:

> [Title] Has Kopacz already <u>capitulated on refugees</u>?
> "Even though Kopacz did not make any outright declarations that a few thousand refugees would arrive in Poland, as <u>we are forced to accept them by EU politicians</u>, preparations are already underway".
>
> (plk, "Kopacz już skapitulowała ws. uchodźców? Wojewoda mazowiecki gotowy do ich przyjęcia" [Has Kopacz already capitulated on refugees? Governor of Mazowsze ready to receive them], *Niezalezna.pl*, 9 September 2015, online: http://niezalezna.pl/70730-kopacz-juz-skapitulowala-ws-uchodzcow-wojewoda-mazowiecki-gotowy-do-ich-przyjecia, accessed 20 December 2016)

Example II:

> "The issue is much broader because German politicians have granted themselves the right to violate the rules of the entire EU immigration policy and to impose on other EU member states solutions that carry a deadly threat. There can only be one explanation for this irrational and essentially suicidal lawlessness and violation of democracy. After decades of fasting, Germany has once more felt like a nation of masters who does not need to adhere to rules that are binding for others. There are obvious differences: back in the day, Germany imposed its will in the name of national socialism. Today they do it in the name of multiculturalism".
>
> (Grzegorz Strzemecki, "Serwilistyczna Unia Nadawców poucza Polskę w sprawach wolności mediów" [Servile Broadcasting Union lectures Poland on media freedom], *Fronda.pl*, 14 January 2016, online: http://www.fronda.pl/a/serwilistyczna-unia-nadawcow-poucza-polske-w-sprawach-wolnosci-mediow,64031.html, accessed 20 December 2016)

Example III:

Illustration – symbols of Islam incorporated into the Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska) logo.

("GENIALNE! Ministerstwo Prawdy: Polska Ludowa musi zdać test na przyzwoitość" [GENIUS! Ministry of truth: Polish People's Republic must take a test in propriety], *Fronda.pl*, 10 September 2015, online: http://www.fronda.pl/a/genialne-ministerstwo-prawdy-polskaludowa-musi-zdac-test-na-przyzwoitosc%2C56704.html, accessed 20 December 2016)

Example IV:

> "17 September, which we have so far associated with the 4th Partition of Poland, takes on a new meaning as of today. The EP has adopted quotas of illegal immigrants, which are to be imposed top-down!"
>
> (17.09.2015 – "Zamach na suwerenność Polski!" [17.09.2015 – An attack on Poland's sovereignty], *Fronda.pl*, 17 December 2015, online: http://www.fronda.pl/a/17-wrzesnia-2015-bronimy-zagrozonej-suwerennosci-polski,57057.html, accessed 20 December 2016)

Example V:

> "Some time ago I stumbled upon information that Germany is blackmailing Poland with refugees via Brussels. Apparently, if we do not accept a transport of immigrants from the South, they will take our EU subsidies away from us... As it happens, it was 1 September. This has brought back terrible memories and a sad realisation. What right do the Germans have to dictate to a sovereign state what it should do in a particular situation? [...] There can be no diktat here. And certainly not a German one".
>
> (Jan Pietrzak, "Dyktat Niemców?" [The Germans' diktat?], *wSieci*, 2015, no. 37, p. 12)

Example VI:

The cover of the *wSieci* weekly (2015, no. 38) depicting Ewa Kopacz in Arab dress with explosives around her waist; flames can be seen in the background. The caption reads: "Ewa Kopacz urządzi nam piekło na rozkaz Berlina" [Ewa Kopacz will make hell for us under

orders from Berlin], online: http://www.wsieci.pl/numer-38-pmagazine-204.html, accessed 20 December 2016.

Example VII:

> "In these circumstances, if the liberal left is demanding the subjugation of state services allegedly for the fear of totalitarian urges, then it means we are dealing with a sort of coup d'etat, a coup against the very foundations of the free world. (…) What a paradox it is, and how pathetic, that <u>the modern left is more afraid of domestic conservatives in power than of violent Islamists, and that, motivated by its hatred of religion and the Church, it is almost ready to convert to Islam</u>".
>
> (Konrad Kołodziejski, "Koń trojański w Europie" [Trojan horse in Europe], *Rzeczpospolita*, 2015, no. 243, p. P-004)

Example VIII:

> "<u>ISIS terrorist attacks are a gift from the heavens for Bible bashers and their Law and Justice government</u>, as they justify hatred, the restriction of human rights and the refusal to accept refugees. They will say their thanks at a service on Sunday".
>
> (Joanna Senyszyn, "Wielkanocne jaja. Kazanie ateistyczne" [Easter balls. An atheist sermon], *naTemat.pl*, 26 March 2016, online: http://joannasenyszyn.natemat.pl/175547,wielkanocne-jaja-kazanie-ateistyczne, accessed 27 December 2016)

Example IX:

> "The Minister for Justice, Zbigniew Ziobro, said on [the national news channel – trans.] TVP Info it was a dead cert that 'if the election result had been different, we would have been having Muslim districts being set up'. (…) Zbigniew Ziobro can carry on delivering his <u>absurd statements sprinkled with brown sauce</u> because

he is fully in line with the party which presents itself as the final barrier in front of the wave of Islamisation, separating us from the rotting Europe of multiculti".

(Paweł Wroński, "Zbyszek, co nas broni przed 'ciapatym'" [About Zbigniew, who protects us from the wog], *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 2016, no. 186, p. 2)

Example X:

"Just as I predicted, the tragedy in Paris has fuelled Polish racists and xenophobes. (…) Our invaluable intellectual [Paweł] Kukiz is wondering whether it is the 'mob' or the 'lefties who have let the mob in' who are more to blame for the atrocity. For now, Kukiz the intellectual has let a few Nazi boys into the Sejm."

(Tomasz Lis, "Zamachy terrorystów, zwycięstwo rasistów" [Terrorist attacks, racist victory], *NaTemat.pl*, 15 November 2016, online: http://tomaszlis.natemat.pl/161883,zamachy-terrorystow-zwyciestwo-rasistow, accessed 28 December 2016)

Example XI:

In the mirror held up by refugees, we saw our despicable face. It is not only xenophobic, racist and Islamophobic. It is also, regardless of the context, egoistic, selfish, cruel, cowardly, aggressive and paranoid. It is evil in almost every sense imaginable.

(Jacek Żakowski, "Polska twarz" [The Polish face], *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 2015, no. 208, p. 2)

Example XII:

[Article lead] "Spinning hatred. Just a few hours after the Paris attack, Polish right-wing columnists and politicians already knew: it was the fault of refugees and lefties. They threw themselves into fighting for Poland just for Poles with increased energy".

Renata Kim, Ewelina Lis, "Wcześniej się nie zdarzyło" [This has not happened before], *Newsweek*, 2015, no. 48, pp. 32–35)

In the face of the polarisation of public debate in Poland, our corpus also includes texts that do not actually stigmatise Muslims, but which feature the language of mutual slurs between persons of more right-wing conservative views and persons of more liberal-leftist views. In these texts, Muslims were used as a tool in the ideological-political or party political fighting. Two major issues are particularly interesting here: the sovereignty of Poland and the conflict between the left and right.

These sorts of texts should not be omitted in the analysis of discourse around Muslims, even though they only affect them indirectly. This is due to the fact that they contain particular assumptions about Muslim, assumptions which are treated as obvious truths and – as a consequence – which create or strengthen beliefs across society that, for

example, the presence of Muslims in Poland or Europe is dangerous, in line with the package of "negative image of Muslims" that we have characterised.

Seen from this angle, the chronological turning point here is 16 November 2015 – the swearing in of Beata Szydło's government after Law and Justice won the election. Before this date, the subject of attacks by right-wing media was the Civic Platform government led by Prime Minister Ewa Kopacz. The reason here was the government's approval of EU migrant quotas. This decision was presented as not only allowing "Islamic hordes" to penetrate Polish territory, but also as a capitulation in the face of the EU's violation of Poland's sovereignty.

The analysed media chose Germany as the second subject of their criticism. In their interpretation, the principles governing the division of migrant quotas are seen as a manifestation of, firstly, Berlin's attempts to shift the cost of its open-border policy onto other countries, and, secondly, a desire to impose its will on all of the EU. The notion of the German diktat seems to be the main category here. Right-wing media also took this opportunity to make historical analogies referring to Germany's expansionism from the times of Bismarck and Hitler, the difference being that militarism and racism were replaced by the ideology of multiculturalism and political correctness. In a less radical variant, Berlin's policy was presented not as an expression of intentional plotting, but as something defective and irresponsible, which would have grave and negative consequences for Poland. This message was still present in the public debate after Law and Justice's election victory (Law and Justice being – to some of the media – the party which was to oppose the diktat in the name of Polish sovereignty).

The analysed content can also be seen as part of a wider conflict of world views, articulated by persons of stronger right-wing-conservative views on the one hand, and more leftist-liberal on the other. The right-wing-conservative group presents people calling for tolerance as those propagating "softness" and seeking the blurring of national and religious identities. They are also seen as reticent towards Christian values, Polish tradition and sovereignty. The leftist-liberal side, on the other hand, accuses its opponents of having "brown", racist prejudices, of wanting to create "Poland just for Poles" and of being stubbornly against anything European. It is also possible to find expressions depicting the entire Polish society as xenophobic and hostile towards Muslims here. It seems that phrases such as *Nazi boys* and *Bible bashers* are used more as expressions of contempt towards voices from the other side than from an actual willingness to change their mindset. It is therefore possible to express justified doubt as to whether an objective discussion on topics such as the refugee crisis is at all possible in Poland. Or are we condemned to the fact that challenges of this kind, and, along with them, representatives of Muslim communities, will be hostages of a polarisation, both political and of world view, for a long time yet?

5. Conclusions

We have drawn the following conclusions from our research:

1. In the analysed press publications, examples of stigmatisation of persons from Muslim communities in Poland are relatively rare. Cases where, for example, Tatars or Chechens living in Poland were written about in a negative way because of their faith, were very rare.

2. There are other reasons at play that are responsible for the negative image of the Muslim community in Poland. Firstly, the publications analysed showed that words and phrases such as *Muslims*, *Arabs*, *migrants*, *refugees* were used interchangeably and often in conjunction with words such as *terrorism*, *terrorist*, *Islamist*, *fundamentalist*, etc. This was caused by an insufficient regard for the situational context as well as the ethnic or religious make-up of immigrant and refugee groups, etc.

3. In the analysed publications, we have also identified a number of phenomena which we have described as the "negative thinking about Muslims" package. The Muslims who are being referred to here are identified as refugees arriving into Europe in an uncontrolled manner, or with immigrants already living in Europe and leaving themselves open to terrorist radicalisation. Further associations within the same package are images of an all-consuming wave or an invasion, Islamisation, a clash of civilisations. The package also contains the image of Europe being blinded by the harmful ideology of multiculturalism, moving towards its suicide, etc.

4. Additionally, in the publications we analysed, the image of Muslims was, in many cases, and for rhetorical reasons, a handy tool in arguments on other issues, e.g. Poland's sovereignty or decision-making mechanisms in the European Union, which was used to mobilise readers or the electorate. What is more, we have also found examples of slurs used towards political opponents in political journalism, both those expressing their reservations when it came to accepting refugees in Poland, and those calling for hospitality towards them. This kind of language can lead to a further exacerbation of the Polish public debate. Consequently, this could lead to an increase in the number of radical communications directed against representatives of the Muslim community in Poland.

The analysis of the phenomena described in the report could be extended by adding to the list of monitored titles, e.g. local press, further tabloids, users' comments on the analysed online articles, and social media. It would also be appropriate to conduct research that fully utilises content analysis methods in order to be able to determine the precise number of texts featuring negative expressions in relation to all articles devoted to Muslim communities. We hope that the above report, despite only being an initial attempt at investigating its subject, will allow us to determine the most important factors that shape the linguistic worldview and multimodal metaphors containing content in the Polish press that is stigmatising, discriminatory and harmful to persons belonging to the Muslim community in Poland.

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