

Discursive representations of Polish migrants in the British media space:
Us and Them relation in selected press titles

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red.

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Introduction

The power of discourse in facilitating and maintaining discrimination against 'members' of 'groups' is tremendous. Language provides names for categories, and so helps to set their boundaries and relationships; and discourse allows these names to be spoken and written frequently, so contributing to the apparent reality and currency of the categories. (Fowler 1991: 94)

The present doctoral dissertation takes under scrutiny the discursive representations of Polish migrants which are created in the selected titles of the British broadsheet newspapers, namely, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Times*. The theoretical framework applied in the research project is Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Wodak and Meyer 2009, Wodak 2010, Wodak 2011d) that belongs to the broad spectrum of Critical Discourse Analysis/Critical Discourse Studies approaches to the analysis of mutual relations between texts and social reality. Additionally, as the complex issue of discursive representations requires an interdisciplinary approach, it refers to other scientific disciplines, such as media studies and studies on migration.

The issue of Polish post-accession migration to the United Kingdom has long attracted considerable academic attention due to its unprecedented size¹ and far-reaching consequences for both Poland and the Great Britain. Hence, a substantial body of literature and research has been established within numerous fields focusing on various aspects of the subject. The essential area of research is also the extensive media coverage that has been given to Polish migrants, including the domain of the British press. The way in which the press reports the news, significantly impacts on the process of creating certain representations of reality and, consequently, it may also affect the

¹ The 2011 Census revealed that Poles had become the second largest group of residents (after the Indian community) who were born outside the UK, as their number amounted to 579,000 (ONS 2013a; see also Section 1.5.).

readers' attitudes to 'others'. Therefore the research on the discursive representations of Polish migrants may allow for speculating on the potential influence of the quality press on its readers' perceptions of Poles. Moreover, as the portrayal of 'out-group' is inextricably interwoven with the picture of 'in-group', the representations of immigrants also provide the readers with the knowledge on the host society's identity traits. The objective of the doctoral project is, thus, twofold. First, it makes an attempt to reveal the comprehensive synthetic picture of Polish migrants which is discursively created by the quality press, with the special attention devoted to potentially perceptible differences between the three broadsheets analysed in terms of their political alignments (the last aim refers especially to *The Times* which has centre-right leaning, traditionally associated with a negative attitude towards immigrants). Second, I examine discursive strategies from the perspective of differentiating between Poles and Britons, to expose the *We* (Britons) vs. *Them* (Poles) relation, which is construed by the researched newspapers. Additionally, the research findings allowed me to draw conclusions on the manner in which the broadsheets present the process of Poles' integration into the British society. For these purposes I trace linguistic regularities as well as recurring argumentation schemata that are integrated into the articles. My research hypotheses are as follows: 1) British broadsheets create predominantly negative representations of Polish migrants and overtly differentiate them from positively depicted Britons; this way they form discursively demarcated 'in-group' of Britons and 'out-group' of Polish migrants, which may result in building the prejudiced attitude towards Poles; 2) the *Us* vs. *Them* relation contributes to the process of discursive construal of not only Polish but also British national identity.

Media provide the audiences with the coverage that not only presents but also interprets the social reality, due to the fact that every media message is subjected to the process of discursive framing. As Entman (1993) states, "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (p.52). Thus, media effectively influence the individual process of forming the knowledge about the social actors/events, and build the commonly shared understanding of the world. Since the knowledge of other national/ethnic groups is an integral part of these common perceptions, media can stereotype the others using the codes of dominating culture. They can form mental modes that become a basis for the formation of general attitudes, especially in the case of those who have scarce personal experience in contacts with minorities or immigrants (van Dijk 2012; see also Hartmann and Husband 1974). Crucially, as media messages are omnipresent and they

have the potential to be frequently repeated and widely disseminated, media can strengthen and sustain the already existing and commonly shared representations of others. Moreover, media emphasize the differences between *Us* and *Them*, as they have a tendency to spend “inordinate attention on the more bizarre and unusual elements of the minority communities” (Croteau and Hoynes 1997: 143). In consequence, media are often perceived by recipients as a source and legitimation of their prejudices, and media messages form a baseline for negative sentiment towards ethnic minorities (van Dijk 1987, 1993b). As argued by Wilson and Gutierrez (1995), “negative, one-sided or stereotypical media portrayals and news coverage do reinforce racist attitudes in those members of the audience who do have them and can channel mass actions against the group that is stereotypically portrayed” (p.45). That is why the media framing of ethnic minorities cannot be ignored or underestimated.

The extensive research on news reporting has shown that the British media’s opinion can effectively influence public attitudes to the issue of immigration (Conboy 2006; Kaye 2001). Moreover, the British press follows the tendency of negative portraying of immigrants/asylum seekers (e.g. Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Mautner 2000) by means of natural disaster metaphors (see Chapter 1 of the dissertation) or the strategy of ‘moral panic’. This is a very dangerous phenomenon, since, according to Cohen (1980):

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media... Sometimes the subject of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten...at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way society conceives itself. (p.9)²

Thus, as the press implicitly communicates the information that the British national sovereignty is threatened by invading immigrants, it may potentially evoke negative feelings towards them. In result, the press ‘uses’ the immigrant ‘other’ to construct/reinforce national British identity (cf. Conboy 2006; Lynn and Lea 2003). Immigrants are presented as threatening not only to British identity, but also to ‘in-group resources’, such as workplaces (McLaren and Johnson 2007: 710). Moreover, the British press portrays immigrants “as outsiders who are less deserving of our [British] country’s help, and as individuals who need not be granted the same rights and generosity

² See also Marsh and Melville 2011.

(particularly in terms of welfare support) as the British ‘us’” (Goodman and Speer 2007: 167-168). For all the reasons mentioned above, the British press’ messages concerning immigration deserve close academic attention from the critical perspective.

CDA, by definition, aims at revealing those elements of texts that may potentially ignite social tensions between different groups or maintain unequal power relations. DHA, in particular, concentrates on tracing the discriminatory potential and exclusionary load of the texts describing the group of ‘others’. Therefore the presented research project can reveal the ways of highlighting the differences between *Us* (Britons) and *Them* (Poles), negative stereotyping of Poles, and making them responsible for the social problems whose reasons are usually much more complex than it is exposed in populist simplifications. I focus on the discursive construction of *Us* and *Them* relation, as this kind of positioning of social actors is “the foundation of prejudiced and racist perceptions” (Wodak 2010: 295) and the central technique in the identity-oriented discourse. In words of Hall (1997b), discourse can establish “a symbolic frontier between the ‘normal’ and the ‘deviant’... the ‘acceptable’ and the ‘unacceptable’, what ‘belongs’ and what does not or is Other, between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’, *Us* and *them*” (p.258). That is why the examination of the *Us* vs. *Them* relation in reference to Britons and Polish migrants may speak volumes about the inclusion/exclusion of Poles into/out of the British society, and about the discursive means of construing/maintaining the national identity of *Us*.

To identify the mechanisms of the discursive construal of the categories *Us* and *Them*, DHA offers five research questions: 1) How are persons named and referred to linguistically? 2) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? 3) By what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion/exclusion of others? 4) From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed? 5) Are the respective points of view articulated overtly, are they intensified or are they mitigated? (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 44). Answers to the above-presented questions enable scholars to reveal racial/social discrimination of others who are members of ethnic or religious minorities, asylum seekers, migrants, etc. (the questions will be analysed in greater detail in Chapter 3). I selected the DHA methodology because its tools allow a researcher to effectively explore both language and rhetorical aspects of a given discourse, thus complementing the linguistic analysis with the analysis of premises building certain topoi. It provides an analyst with clear-cut research questions which organize central lines of enquiry, and allow for the identification of discursive strategies that logically lead to conclusions.

In my research project, I examine the process of construing the image of a Pole as 'the other' and, in consequence, creating the portrayal of *Us* (Britons), as it can be found in opinion-making broadsheets. The motivation behind my aim to concentrate on the quality press was the fact that the press unchangeably remains a significant and preferred source of information for the symbolic elites (van Dijk 2012). The symbolic elites are understood as groups of professionals (e.g. politicians, scholars, journalists, teachers or writers) who are able to control the most influential public discourses (they have access to respective discourse genres) and, consequently, they are responsible for reproducing dominant ideologies and knowledge (van Dijk 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 2003, 2004, 2005a). In result, the relation between the elites and the press is bidirectional. On the one hand, they can formulate texts which are the source of shared ethnic prejudices (van Dijk 1993b). On the other hand, the content of the articles that the elites are exposed to can vastly influence their decisions concerning those spheres of life in which they are involved (including the public sphere). In the words of van Dijk (2012):

[if] the press especially influences the symbolic elites and the symbolic elites in turn control public discourse (e.g. the press itself), then the press has a crucial role in the reproduction of racism, both by its news reports and by its editorials, op-ed articles, and columns in which opinions about immigration and the multicultural society are being made explicit and hence reproduced in society. (p.27)

Thus, the analysis of broadsheets can offer interesting and thought-provoking insights into the elites' perceptions of Polish migrants. Additionally, as I selected the broadsheets representing different political orientations, the research project enables me to trace potential differences in portraying Polish migrants between newspapers of various political slants.

The articles analysed were published within the timespan of 10 years (2004-2014), starting with Poland's accession to the European Union and the opening of the British labour market. I aimed at obtaining the sample of data from a relatively long period of time to identify the characteristic features of the overall representation of Poles that might be perceptible to regular broadsheets' readers. Moreover, 10-year-long range of data clearly demonstrates that the issue of Polish migration attracted constant press attention³, albeit with different intensity⁴. My goal was not the diachronic analysis of the

³ The researched articles were located in various newspaper sections, such as: Home Pages, Society Pages, Comment and Debate, Education, Media Pages, etc., which shows that the issue of Polish migration was presented from different perspectives and aroused multidimensional interest of the British quality press.

⁴ The extensive media coverage concerning Poles appeared, for instance, in January 2013 when most British media outlets published reports on data from the 2011 Census. The census revealed that 546,000 people in England and Wales spoke Polish which, in turn, meant

material due to the data selection constraints and different methodological focus of DHA framework, which primarily concentrates on uncovering “discursive strategies of dissimulation (aiming at the construction of national difference) and discursive strategies of assimilation (aiming at the construction of intranational sameness)” (de Cillia et al. 1999: 151).

As far as the structure of the dissertation is concerned, it consists of a theoretical and an empirical part, and is divided into six chapters. The first four chapters provide the theoretical background that allows the reader to situate the researched subject in a broader context of CDA, migration studies and the media research. In Chapter 1, I focus on migration as a social phenomenon which has systematically grown in significance and, consequently, has attracted close academic attention of scholars representing various disciplines. In the first section, I present a concise overview of the most essential – theoretical and methodological — approaches to migration, whereas in the second section I discuss the most representative examples of linguistic research on the subject. Chapter 1 contains also the part devoted to the historical development of a migration process to the UK, and the one presenting the issue of the Polish migration to the Great Britain. The overall aim of these sections is to provide readers with the social and historical context of the subject explored.

Chapter 2 draws on discourse as a notion and an object of academic study, with a particular attention given to ‘context’, since it is a key element of any Critical Discourse Analysis. In the next section, I briefly address the role and scope of CDA perceived as an approach which thoroughly examines mutual relations between social and language phenomena and, simultaneously, it is an effective tool to expose unfair social practices. The last part of Chapter 2 sheds more light on the notion of identity and shows the key role of discourse in the process of creating ‘the other’. Additionally, in this section I provide the most essential examples of identity-oriented research. Lastly, I point to potential implications of discourse for creating the national identity.

Chapter 3 is an attempt to outline the most recognized analytical frameworks that are perceived as belonging to the broad spectrum of CDA. In the subsequent sections I discuss both the milestone theories and the more recent developments. The special attention has been given to the DHA with a brief overview of the most crucial research conducted within this framework, theoretical assumptions and methodological tools. The section devoted to DHA portrays this interdisciplinary approach as an effective framework that combines the analysis of linguistic manifestations with the analysis of the topoi depicting a group in question.

that the Polish language became England’s and Wales’ second language. Numerous (if not all) socially-oriented print media expressed then alarmist concerns over the scale of the influx of Poles.

The primary aim of Chapter 4 is to provide the concise picture of media as a social phenomenon, and to familiarize the reader with the general characteristics of media language. I start with analyzing the main assumptions of research on media language. In the successive sections I elaborate on media perceived as a *process* and a *product*, the mechanisms of constructing the news together with news values, and the newspaper language (including the structure and types of the press news). The last section presents the British press against the backdrop of the UK media system and shows the well-established position of the press as an information/knowledge provider. As a whole, Chapter 4 is supposed to show the complex and multileveled process of creating the news, and to expose its potential ability to implicitly convey the discriminatory content.

Chapter 5 constitutes the empirical part of the dissertation. It contains the methodological assumptions, the description of the broadsheets analysed, and the brief overview of the most significant previous research projects focusing on the subject of the discursive representations of Polish migrants in the British press. In the last section I concentrate on data which I have chosen for the purposes of the empirical study and I conduct the analysis of the press discourse according to the DHA framework.

In Chapter 6 I present the conclusions from my research project. First, I illustrate the findings by means of selected and most representative examples of discursive strategies that can be found in the researched articles. In the next section I describe the *Us* vs. *Them* relation which results from the discursive representations of Poles and the corresponding representations of Britons. The conclusion is supplemented by a discussion on the function of 'the other' (both positively and negatively portrayed) in the process of defining 'our' identity. The final part of the concluding chapter offers directions for further research concerning the subject of study.

The present dissertation project falls into to the wide strand of research on migration. Within CDA framework it draws on the pragmatic apparatus and rhetorical analysis, thus demonstrating the advantage of multidisciplinary approach to complex and multifaceted social phenomena. At the same time, it shows that the print media may be a rich source of data concerning various aspects of culture, and an important object of academic study.

To conclude, in the course of a few years vast numbers of Poles left Poland and arrived in the UK this way becoming an integral part of the British society. Thus, they contributed to the intensive migration movements of recent years, which results in contemporary society transforming into increasingly multinational/multicultural. The ethnic diversity, which becomes easily noticeable in everyday life, frequently leads to the rise of xenophobia and far-right ideologies (cf. Rydgren 2003). Such phenomena often entail implicit or

explicit anti-immigration discourse, which, in turn, becomes one of the major challenges to both successful intercultural communication and the integration of minorities into host countries. That is why every research that aims at detecting discursive manifestations of discrimination or unfair treatment in media messages can contribute to revealing (and eliminating) potential threats to peaceful coexistence of migrants and native citizens.

Chapter 1. The notion of migration

The following chapter is supposed to provide the reader with an introductory account of the most essential concepts related to the issue of migration. The first section offers a quick overview of the global context of migration, whereas the second section reveals the most significant theoretical and methodological approaches to this phenomenon. In the third section I elaborate on the most relevant linguistic research that deals with migration, namely, I shortly address a range of phenomena that are tied to immigration discourse, and the ways in which they are analyzed from the linguistic perspective. The fourth section gives an insight into the historical context of the immigration flow to the Great Britain. I present the most important events from the UK's history that have contributed to making the current British society highly multinational and multicultural. The last part of Chapter 1 draws readers' attention to the issue of the Polish migration to the UK and shows the development of the Polish community from the historical-political perspective.

1.1. Migration as a social phenomenon

The very notion of migration may be defined in narrow (exclusive) or broad (inclusive) terms. The exclusive definition describes migration as the unforced, international movement of people, caused mainly by economic and social factors and connected with relatively long-lasting stays of migrants outside their country of origin (Kubiak 2007). According to the inclusive definition, it is any relatively long-lasting transfer of individuals or groups of people from one country to another, which results in a general redistribution of the world population (ibid.). In the 1990s, demographic analyses estimated the number of migrants at over 80 million, including 20 millions of asylum seekers (Giddens 2001), while at the end of the first decade of the 21st century these numbers rose to 191 million people, migrating for various reasons. Within this number, 115 million migrants (60%) chose highly-developed countries, whereas 76 million relocated to the developing countries. More than 20% of the world population of migrants settled in the USA, and 33% in Europe (Ostaszewski 2008; see also the website: Global Issues; the website: United Nations Population Division).

Human migrations have been an integral part of the development of civilizations. As such, they occurred in various historical periods and countries and were usually caused by political unrest or unemployment. Nevertheless, over the last few decades the scale of migration has grown unprecedentedly due to the increase in the world population, unequal development of countries and regions, political conflicts, religious/ethnic persecutions and natural disasters (cf. Castles and Miller 2009; Gocalski 2009; Piwnicki 2007; Zamojski 1999). Another crucial factor in the increased migration is related to the communication revolution, the results of which effectively alter human perception and directly influence decisions concerning mobility:

Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) have transformed our definitions of time and space and reshaped our very notions of communication, travel, separation, connectedness, relationships, community, culture, citizenship, mobility, and migration. The increasing speed and efficiency of communication and the development and expansion of cyber-technologies have merged physical connectedness with virtual connectivity, and have shrunk what was not so long ago conceived as a 'wide world' into a 'tiny global village' of disparate dependencies. (Buzzi and Megele 2011: 30)⁵

The reasons for migration are analyzed within many academic disciplines, such as sociology, demography, anthropology, geography, history and economy (Gocalski 2009; Guinness 2002; Knopek 2007), but there is a cross-disciplinary consensus on the general division of these reasons into two groups, i.e. push and pull factors (Lee 1966 cit. in Kaczmarczyk 2005: 29). Push factors are the features related to the source country (the country of origin), and these are e.g. wars, natural disasters or political prosecutions, whereas pull factors characterize the target country (the destination country), and they are, for instance, a prosperous job market, better life conditions or lesser population density. Although this division has been criticized as too simplistic and not reflecting the complexity of the decision-making process, it still seems to be a useful starting point for the discussion on the reasons for migrations (cf. Giddens 2001; Gocalski 2009; Romaniszyn 1999; Zamojski 1999).

The phenomenon of migration undergoes constant changes, which is why recent years have seen new trends and regularities in migration patterns. First, migration has become a global issue and affects more and more countries, especially with respect to migrants' countries of origin and the destinations they choose, both of which are significantly diversified. Second, the number of migrating women has increased rapidly. As Koser (2007) comments on it, "(...) women have traditionally migrated to join their partners abroad, [whereas] an increasing proportion of those who migrate today do so independently; they are often the primary breadwinners for the families they

⁵ See also Majewski 2007.

leave behind" (p.7). What has been also noticeable, the number of the highly qualified workers has distinctly increased. Moreover, migration has become transnational in character, which means that migrants maintain close relations with their homelands and their efforts find political support in the host countries (Nakonieczna 2010; see also Section 1.2.). The third visible change in migration trends is, as pointed out by Majewski (2007), the rise of educational standards among migrants. Currently more migrants have academic degrees, thanks to which they have a better starting point in the destination country and can adapt to their new life situation quicker and easier. Contemporary immigrants often possess knowledge of culture, social relations and political institutions, speak the host country's language and are able to communicate effectively.

Despite these trends, migration has always been a challenge to the integrity of the host country. It disturbs the balance of national standards in many aspects, e.g. the economy, culture, social issues and politics (cf. Kleinman 2003). Citizens of the host country often express a fear that immigrants will lower the quality of life by occupying workplaces and importing economic and social deficiencies from their home countries. A country admitting migrants has to face the issue of re-establishing its ethnic identity, along with implementing effective immigration policies which allow newcomers to participate in education, public affairs or job opportunities (cf. Nakonieczna 2010; Zamojski 1999; Zenderowski et al. 2010). As Koser (2007) concludes: "Today almost every country in the world fulfils all three roles — migrants leave, pass through, and head for all of them" (p.7). That is why migration always affects more people than migrants themselves and the issue of migration, as a global phenomenon, gains in significance and attracts constant scholars' attention (cf. Cohen 2008; Messina and Lahar 2006).

1.2. Migration: theoretical perspectives and research

As the scale of migration constantly increases, so does the necessity to identify, measure and examine its causes and consequences. Research on migration in its broadest sense comprises two extensive scopes: the first refers to the conditions, stages and types of migration processes; while the second refers to the process of migrants' adaptation to host communities and the resulting changes in both the source and the host countries (Castles and Miller 2009).

Taking into account the complexity of the issue of migration, researchers use varied scientific approaches within different academic disciplines. Moreover, within a particular academic domain, migration can be explored on different levels of research, i.e. macro-, meso- and micro-level. On the macro-level scholars explore this phenomenon from the perspective of a state,

and search for the interdependencies between migration and the issues of unemployment, economic growth, etc. The meso-level perceives migration as a result of inequalities in the development of various regions (areas) of a given country. The micro-level approach refers to personal and social factors that potentially can encourage an individual to take the decision of migration (Gocalski 2009: 9)⁶.

Migration is a multidimensional and highly complex phenomenon, which is why it cannot be entirely explained by one academic domain or one theory. Consequently, researchers apply the broad spectrum of theories – historical, geography-demographic, sociological, political and economical ones (ibid.: 13). Moreover, as migration is both an individual and a mass phenomenon, it often requires the theories of the cross- or inter-disciplinary nature. Each discipline has a specific research perspective in terms of interests and theoretical background, and a particular theory concentrates on selected aspects of migration, but at the same time each theory draws on approaches from other disciplines and combines them with various methods and levels of analysis.

To illustrate, at 'the world system' level the analysis of reasons for migration should refer to historical conditions that form(ed) a particular socio-economic context, while the theory of a dual job market claims that migrants are the effect of a lack of balance between the centre and peripheries, the latter of which constitute a reservoir of cheap labour for the developed countries (Nakonieczna 2007; see also Bauder 2006). The highest level of analysis of migration is represented by transnational theory, which focuses on the connections between migrant communities, and has developed the term 'transmigrant'. A transmigrant is a person whose life is shaped by their participation in transnational communities based on migration. This notion describes migrants who are active in transnational migration organizations, and does not refer to temporary migrants or those who have already settled down in the host country (ibid.; see also Kindler 2008). As Glick-Schiller et al. (1995) put it:

Transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state (...). They are not sojourners because they settle and become incorporated in the economy and political institutions, localities, and patterns of daily life of the country in which they reside. However, at the very same time, they are engaged elsewhere in the sense that they maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated. (p.48)⁷

⁶ Nakonieczna (2007) distinguishes the level of individuals or families, the structural-historical level, the system level and the transnational level (p.13).

⁷ See also Budakowska 2007.

The sociological (micro-level) theories of migration refer to the decision-making process and the role of a migrant's family. Consequently, it examines 'migrational flexibility', i.e. the way in which migrants react to factors stimulating their decisions to migrate. Moreover, the notion applied by researchers to explore the role of social relations in the migration process is 'migrant networks' (Romaniszyn 1999: 65). This category describes the specific type of relationships which link a given group of persons, objects and events. It concentrates on micro-mechanisms of migration and analyses various kinds of interpersonal relations, including the family bonds, which tend to be the main factor creating the migration chains and facilitating the process of adaptation to the new country (cf. Riedel 2007; Danilewicz 2007).

The sociological analysis also shows that although the decision to migrate is usually an individual choice (however, being influenced by the social relations), the impulse for migration comes from the macro-economy policy of a particular country. The conclusion thus arises that researchers need to analyze the same migration cases with reference to the levels of individuals, social groups, regions or countries (Nakonieczna 2007).

In terms of the type of research, migration as a mass phenomenon is most often examined by means of quantitative models of analysis. The measurement of migrations is indispensable not only for academic purposes, but also in order to improve the migration policies introduced in host countries, which create migration procedures relying mostly on statistical data. Nevertheless, even the most accurate statistics reveal only the basic characteristics of a migrant's social-demographic background or his/her reasons for migration, and do not provide sufficient data for in-depth research of the entire migration process. Thus, in comprehensive migration research scientists need to apply both quantitative and qualitative approaches, and although these differ in terms of procedures, tools and methods of analysis, they are considered to be equally useful and complementary.

Quantitative methods are used mostly to describe the size and intensity of the subject of research, whereas qualitative methods are supposed to explain the mechanisms responsible for the examined phenomenon. The latter methods also serve the purpose of formulating theoretical postulates concerning the subject. Quantitative methods are usually defined as the use of statistics to characterize the analyzed subject (and to present the results of research), i.e. individual persons, groups of people, as well as social categories (households, families, professional groups) or institutions (schools, companies, etc.) (Lissowski 1999). Statistical analysis of quantitative data is supposed to consist of mathematical procedures such as correlations, regression and the structure of distribution, which allow a researcher to determine to what extent a particular phenomenon is present in the population. These

methods are used mostly in the discipline of sociology and refer to cross-sectional, comparative, structural, or dynamic and experimental methods. The most important technique used in all of these methods is a survey, and a tool – a questionnaire (ibid.). Qualitative methods, with respect to migration, are situated on the border of many social sciences. They are often applied by interdisciplinary teams to describe and interpret migration mechanisms and to complement data collected by quantitative methods from a large sample.

Depending on the subject of research a number of diversified qualitative methods exist, which may be used individually or in combinations. These may be used to examine the mechanisms of migrants-source and the migrant-recipient communities, together with the patterns of the decision-making processes and integration with the society of the host country. But the major advantages of the qualitative methods are the ‘soft’ techniques, which enable scholars to adjust the research tool(s) to the analyzed situation. This is extremely important when the examined community (the community of migrants) derives from a culture that is different from that of the scientist. Qualitative methods do not limit themselves to presenting results in the form of descriptions, but they also enable the creation of models of particular migration patterns. In this respect, the most important migration research techniques are: an interview, an ethnographic survey including interviews with migrants, an ethnographic method combining observation and interview, a case study, a biographic method, and a historical method (Jaźwińska 2000; cf. Górny 1998).

When it comes to linguistic research on migration, although it employs both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis and draws on the findings and tools of the above-mentioned disciplines, its fundamental subject of interest with respect to migration is different. As the next section shows, linguistic analyses focus primarily on classifying and analyzing the discursive representations of migrants and the phenomenon of migration, as well as they trace the extra-linguistic reasons for and consequences of these representations.

1.3. The linguistic perspective on migration

Linguistically-oriented research on migrants’ issues, in the huge majority of cases, shows that anti-immigration discourse has become a crucial issue for contemporary, multicultural societies. In an attempt to define and understand this problem, linguistic research on this issue concentrates mainly on the links between the (negative) discursive representation of migrants and the resulting social inequalities, exploring the cognitive mechanisms that can be blamed for this phenomenon.

One of the most notable linguistic contributions to this topic has been the investigation into discursive representations of migrants in the texts on immigration in the UK press, carried out by Hart (2010). Within this approach, the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis have been combined with selected concepts from cognitive linguistics, linguistic pragmatics, and evolutionary psychology to address, in a cross-disciplinary fashion, the complexities of the process of meaning construction and the psychological processes underlying the popularization of exclusionary social and political practices towards migrants and asylum seekers in the UK.

Hart's research reveals how British media employ various linguistic strategies in order to incorporate the anti-immigration ideology, and how they appeal to a recipients' cheater-detection module (a cognitive module can be explained as an innate ability to understand notions from a given conceptual domain, e.g. the domain of cheating; see also the further part of Section 1.3.), as well as their emotions. This way media form negative attitudes towards foreigners/immigrants/asylum seekers who have decided to move to Britain. According to Hart, this result is achieved mostly by particular predication and legitimization strategies, both of which are concepts deriving from Critical Discourse Analysis that have only recently been appropriated by linguistic pragmatics (CDA will be elaborated on in Chapter 2).

Predication indicates assigning (explicitly or implicitly) certain qualities to the individuals/groups described with the aim of constructing associations which will justify exclusionary practices towards the out-group members (see also Section 2.3.2.). In the case of the British public discourse on immigrants and asylum seekers, the analysis of the media and political discourse representations, together with the consequent Britons' (in-group members) perception of immigrants (out-group members), resulted in elaborating the list of the following recurring topoi constructed by particular predications.

Topos	Association/Premise
Burden	The out-group needs to be supported by the in-group
Character	The out-group has certain undesirable characteristics
Crime	The out-group consists of criminals
Culture	The out-group has different norms and values than the in-group and is unable to assimilate
Danger	The out-group is dangerous
Disadvantage	The out-group brings no advantages/is of no use to the in-group
Disease	The out-group is dirty and carries infectious diseases

Topos	Association/Premise
Displacement	The out-group will eventually outnumber and/ or dominate the in-group and will get privileged access to limited socio-economic resources, over and above the in-group
Exploitation	The out-group exploits the welfare system of the in-group

Table 1. Recurring topoi and typical associations (Hart 2010: 67)

In many cases the above-listed associations are based on subconscious concepts deriving from anthropology and psychology, such as the ethos of group-living and mutual support, which are claimed to be the only guarantee of survival and progress of a given community (ibid.: 67). These background ideas underlie predications depicting immigrants and asylum seekers in the UK as disobedient towards fundamental rules of social conduct, which in turn is used to blame them for the impoverishment and regress of British society.

Another concept with psychological implications which is used to form predications and trigger desired associations in the minds of the addressees is the ‘freerider problem’. According to Barrett, Dunbar and Lycett (2002: 253 cit. in Hart 2010: 69), a freerider is a person who prefers to exploit others for his/her own benefits, instead of reciprocating favors and engaging in the struggle for mutual well-being. As a result, immigrants and asylum seekers are presented in the British public discourse as abusing the welfare system by applying for social benefits and free medical help more often than the ‘legitimate’ citizens, and at their expense (the British cover these costs by paying taxes).

Hart discusses all of these discursive representations, identifying a ‘cheater-detection module’ which is activated in the minds of the recipients by means of the above mentioned associations and “[lexical] items linked with altruism, reciprocation, exploitation, obligation and duplicity (...)” (ibid.: 69), e.g. ‘kindness’, ‘generosity’, ‘repay’, ‘contribute’, ‘spongers’, ‘cheating’, ‘illegal’, etc., which either through direct or indirect references contribute to the creation of the image of foreigners as *cheaters* that need to be *detected* by legitimate citizens and excluded from the society. A similar aim is achieved through predications realizing the topoi of exploitation and disease. In the words of Hart, these predications are created, *inter alia*, by biologonyms, i.e. “metaphorical noun phrases that refer to immigrants and asylum seekers as organisms that exist in relation of parasitic rather than mutual symbiosis with their host” (ibid.: 77).

As for the Hart’s topos of culture, this is realized by predicating that the out-group members are unwilling to assimilate due to the fact that they

cherish values which are different to and conflict with those of the in-group members. The poor command of English is perceived as the source of their dissimilation. Consequently, their inability to enter into any communication and interaction with the society is presented as another proof of unwillingness to contribute and cooperate.

According to Hart (2010), the predications which realize the topoi listed in Table 1. not only activate the cheater-detection module, but also ignite the 'emotion modules'. These modules rely mostly on two very strong, negative emotions promoting avoidance behaviors, namely, anger and fear (ibid.: 80). Since these emotions influence perception and actions, their persuasive potential in the construction of discursive representations of immigrants or asylum seekers is very powerful. Hart provides a vast number of examples demonstrating that press articles which refer to the influx of foreigners to the UK, abounded in words such as 'damage', 'danger', 'threat', etc. or their synonyms. Their role was to make the recipients form strongly negative emotional responses towards immigrants, which in turn led to the formation of racist and xenophobic attitudes in the society. These are the effects of 'emotive coercion', which is a process whereby "cognitive associations activate text-consumers' social intelligence and emotion modules, eliciting decisions and actions intended by the text-producer" (ibid.: 87).

In order to intensify these effects, the threats and dangers attributed to the immigrants are often presented as spatially and temporally close to Britons. This way the authors of the researched texts realize the strategy of 'proximization', which is a pragmatic development of the cognitive strategy of 'coercion'. Proximization, as described by Cap (2008, 2010, 2012, 2013), is the process of organizing the discourse in such a way that it constitutes the 'deictic centre' with the discourse participants, i.e. the in-group members and the values they share constitute the 'inside deictic centre elements' or IDCs, whereas the out-group members and their values are the 'outside deictic centre elements' or ODCs. Such an arrangement allows for a further conceptualization of ODCs as entities which, if they enter the deictic centre, might immediately influence IDCs both materially and ideologically (see also Section 3.10.). Proximization can be detected in spatial, temporal and value-oriented dimensions. As stated by Hart (2010):

Spatial proximization occurs when the threat depicted in the predication is presented as close to or approaching the text-consumer. Temporal proximization is similarly realized by representations of the threat in the predication as already happening, having only just happened, as just about to happen, and/or as something which happens on a recurrent basis. (p. 166)

Additionally, the value-related variant of proximization deals with emphasizing the incongruencies between 'our' and 'their' value systems. As

such, proximization is a very effective strategy for a constructing powerful, persuasive public discourse. It turned out to be applicable to the analyses of other discourses entailing in-group/out-group distinctions. Thus, the research conducted by Hart revealed that the British press, when writing about immigrants/asylum seekers, used the strategy of proximization in order to trigger emotional arousal in their readers.

Nevertheless, if text-producers/speakers are to be successful and to achieve their intended results, the claims, associations and conceptualizations they promote need to be accepted as true. This is the moment in which the issue of legitimization comes into play. Hart (2010: 90) perceives legitimization as “the use of linguistic expressions to imbue utterances with evidence, authority and claims to truth and/or presumptions about the felicity conditions which give the speaker the right to make an assertion”, and singles out only two main strategies of legitimization, i.e. ‘internal coherence’ and ‘external coherence’⁸. Following Sperber (2001), Hart sees ‘internal coherence’ as a phenomenon reflected in text by means of logical terms such as ‘and’, ‘or’, ‘therefore’, or ‘nevertheless’, which not only link parts of the text as cohesive devices, but which are also devices for persuasion and legitimization. Consequently, they can work as false cause-effect statements or implied ones, showing relationships which, although they sound like commonly accepted truths, are imbued with ideology, and are therefore less likely to be questioned by the recipients.

Last, but not least, with respect to ‘external coherence’, following Saeed (2003: 143 cit. in Hart 2010: 94), Hart focuses on ‘evidentiality’ and sees it as “a term for the ways in which a speaker qualifies a statement by referring to the source of the information”. To illustrate, a perfect example of this mechanism is the use of an idiom such as ‘it goes without saying’ which attributes the content of the *that-clause* which follows the idiom to a (very often illusory) common ground accepted by both the speaker and the addressee. The motivation behind this linguistic tool is that the addressee will assume that the claim located in the *that-clause* is the reflection of values or knowledge that he/she shares with the speaker, and will consequently accept the message intended.

A similar result is achieved by references to PERCEPTION, PROOF, OBVIOUSNESS and GENERAL KNOWLEDGE (cf. Bednarek 2006). Here claims are attributed to expert sources such as reports, statistics and studies, which are generally accepted as reliable proofs for social phenomena. Such examples

⁸ It should be noted that taking into account the numerous studies on legitimization conducted within CDA or pragmatics, the view adopted by Hart is quite narrow, as other linguistic accounts of legitimization, such as the one proposed by van Leeuwen (2007), offer a much broader arsenal of strategies.

of legitimization may also be considered individually within 'source-tagging', which is a subcategory of evidentiality. 'Source-tagging' is a strategy in which messages are attributed either to expert sources such as those that have been mentioned above, or to some common, general beliefs and opinions shared by individuals, groups or institutions regarded as reliable and enjoying public respect.

A significant contribution to the linguistically-oriented analytical approach to ethnic minorities was made by Musolff, who explored the metaphorical and, more generally, figurative language use within the public domain (especially politics). As he puts it: "If our social experiences and conceptualizations are organized in terms of metaphors, then politics, as part of the social domain, must also be perceived and constructed metaphorically" (Musolff 2004: 2). Musolff's special focus is racist metaphor that has always been an object of study of the critically oriented approach to research on language. Referring to Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980), Musolff perceives metaphor as a rhetorical tool which enables the cognitive 'mapping' of conceptual structures from a relatively well-known 'source domain' onto less-known 'target domain' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 156-160; Lakoff 1993: 208-209). He gives the example of conceptual metaphor A NATION STATE IS A HUMAN BODY which implicates among others, the existence of a potential 'parasite' that overuses the state's body (Musolff 2012). Consequently, this metaphor gives the speaker the argumentative advantage if they decide to denigrate a particular social group by means of depicting them as elements threatening the stable existence of a nation state. The parasite-metaphor is the typical example of such a semantic transfer from the biological to the social domain, and has been used in various historical contexts, e.g. in Nazi anti-Jews one (cf. Musolff forth.).

What is crucial in the context of modern anti-minority discourses, the social parasite metaphor is 'discourse metaphor' (in contrast to static, ahistoric metaphors), which indicates that it adapts to new contexts and can be applied in different political/social situations without incurring the risk of being accused of explicitly promoting anti-racist statements (Musolff 2014). As Musolff concludes, metaphor should be perceived as a fundamental means of argument and concept-building that can vastly influence the overall tone of a particular text and potentially direct its receivers to negative attitudes towards certain groups or individuals.

In the domain of immigration discourse studies a significant position is held by the research of van Dijk who examined the role of the news media in the reproduction of racism (van Dijk 1991). After the in-depth (both quantitative and qualitative) analyses of news reports in the Dutch and British press, he enumerated the most frequent topics concerning racism that

corresponded to prevailing ethnic prejudiced occurring in everyday talk. They were: immigrants as and refugees as spongers, immigration as invasion, crime, violence and problematic cultural differences. Moreover, as his research findings demonstrated, the racist content was expressed by the style, rhetoric and the local semantic structures as well (*ibid.*; see also Chapter 4). Van Dijk also explored parliamentary debates about ethnic affairs, in particular those concerning immigration issues (van Dijk 1987, 1993a, 1993b, 2000b). The primary aim of the research was to investigate:

[how] political discourse is involved in the enactment, confirmation or challenge of attitudes and ideologies about ethnic groups, ethnic relations, or issues such as immigration and integration. (...) [Consequently] The choice of structures in such an analysis, thus, should not be an arbitrary application of discourse analysis, but must be based on theoretical and practical arguments that link discourse structures with our aim to understand political racism, anti-racism and 'ethnic beliefs' (beliefs about ethnic groups, immigrants, refugees or ethnic affairs). (van Dijk 2000b: 87)

Thus, the significant issue in this kind of analyses are complex structures that are typical for social or political interactions. They can be examined at various levels of analysis. These structures have the potential to enact discrimination and, consequently, influence social cognition through forming certain mental models. The highest level of analysis can reveal the practices of marginalizing or problematizing immigrants (or any minority) by means of biased setting policy or unfair legislating procedures. Other levels of research concern a whole debate (or collections of debates) and concentrate on the categories, such as, among others, overall schemata and topoi. Another level of analysis refers to the small fragments of debates and is connected with examining the categories such as, for instance, structure, local coherence or local interaction. As van Dijk concludes, the overall goal of his research is to understand the role of politics, namely, linguistic manifestations applied in parliamentary speeches in the (re)production or challenging racism (van Dijk 1987, 1991, 1993b)⁹.

An interesting insight into immigration discourse was proposed by Baker et al. (2008), who successfully combined methods of corpus linguistics with the framework of Discourse-Historical Approach. Corpus methods enable researchers to identify significant linguistic patterns that can be also qualitatively analysed at the further stages of research (e.g. in the form of an in-depth analysis of the context). The aim of the research carried out by Baker et al. Was, firstly, to analyse a 140-million-word corpus of British press articles in terms of common categories of representation of refugees, asylum

⁹ See also Blommaert and Verschuren 1998 for more information on political debates about immigrants.

seekers, immigrants and migrants (collectively named as RASIM), and secondly, to select representative texts for the qualitative analysis. The research findings show, for instance, that the groups analysed are represented in newspapers by means of a relatively small number of topics/categories and topoi. Most of these linguistic manifestations convey a negative stance and are common for refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants, however, to less extent for migrants. It, in turn, indicates for the more positive attitude to migrants themselves and generally negative attitude to the whole group of RASIM. Moreover, when examining the stance of particular newspapers, it became clear that neither broadsheets nor tabloids are consistent in their perception of RASIM. However, broadsheets proved to be more likely to challenge the negative representations of this group or negatively opine on the statements calling for stricter asylum and immigration control. The above presented example of the research findings show that studies on immigration discourse can be effectively informed by the synergies of different analytical methods, as they reveal facts that are unable to trace with the application of one framework only.

Richardson and Colombo (2013) conducted extensive research on anti-immigrant political arguments expressed by the Italian extreme right secessionist party *Lega Nord* (The Northern League). As they emphasize, across Europe far-right and populist parties overtly express the statements of national preference and anti-immigrant argumentation. Referring to Rydgren (2003), Richardson and Colombo quote four arguments that are used by these parties to depict immigrants as unwelcome members of the society: “a) immigrants are a threat to ethno-national identity; b) immigrants are a major cause of criminality and other kinds of social insecurity; c) immigrants are a cause of unemployment; d) and immigrants are abusers of the generosity of the welfare states of Western democracies” (p.7). This way far-right parties imply that the foreign ‘other’ (immigrant) poses a threat to traditional values and consolidation of a host nation. As a consequence, they opt for excluding ‘others’ at social, political and/or economic level.

Richardson and Colombo focused on posters from political campaigns that were held in the period between 2001 and 2008, with the aim of tracing the characteristic features of the party’s anti-immigrant discourse. The research material was examined from both visual and linguistic perspective, with the particular attention given to the argumentative structure and referential strategies. The analysis of pictorial communication refers to visual turn in discourse analysis which resulted in including visual artefacts into the sphere of academic consideration on discourse. Their research shows the distinct change in the party’s argumentation strategies applied in the subsequent campaigns. The earlier posters overtly conveyed antipathy to foreigners

together with calling for stopping their invasion through stricter regulations or a border closure. The then posters portrayed the figure of a medieval Milanese knight, Albert da Giussano, who, according to the legend, in 1167 led the Lombard armies in the battle against the encroaching German empire. The myth of the knight was applied by the *Lega Nord* to construct extensive propaganda of the struggle to defend Italy against the masses of immigrants (Spruce 2007). In contrast, the new strategy involved opaque reference to liberal values and referring to seemingly factual or rational arguments. The party made attempts to justify the necessity of isolating ethnic minorities giving the evidence of Native Americans who became the victims of immigration and, consequently, they were restricted to the reservations. The Richardson and Colombo's research effectively demonstrates the potential of CDA in exploring visual communication tools with the application of cultural/anthropological theories.

Apart from the research projects briefly presented above there are other linguistic contributions to anti-immigration discourse analysis. Migration has been analyzed with the use of such frameworks as the Discourse-Historical Approach to CDA (Wodak and Sedlak 2000; Wodak and van Dijk 2000) or Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2006; El Rafaie 2001; Santa Ana 1999, 2000), obviously not only with respect to migrants' issues in the United Kingdom¹⁰. Migration is a contentious topic in most (if not all) of the countries in the world and in each case it has its reflections in their public discourses, regardless of whether it is related to the Roma population in Poland, which is the third largest ethnic group in this country, or to the Syrian war refugees who have escaped to neighbouring countries such as Lebanon or Turkey. In these and other countries there are tensions between the citizens and the migrants, resulting in exclusionary discourse which over time has drawn the attention of more and more researchers, which in turn calls for employing ever more interdisciplinary approaches to the problem.

1.4. The history of immigration process into the United Kingdom

The issue of migration to the UK has a long tradition and is strictly connected with the industrial development as well as an imperial episode in the British history. The Great Britain was the first country that became industrialized in the 19th century and the first to experience labour migration at a great scale. Proliferating factories absorbed the labour force deriving from the rural areas, however, harmful living and working conditions together

¹⁰ Apart from that, the essential research on media representations of migrants was conducted by Wood and King 2001, Dacyl and Westin 2001, as well as ter Wal 2002.

with the low birth rate entailed the constant demand for new workers. At the outset of the 19th century the effective source of labour force for Britain's factories became Ireland, the closest British colony. The decline of the Irish industry (which was not able to stand for competition with the British one) along with impoverishing agriculture policy of British lords, resulted in cross country poverty and the famine disaster (Castles and Miller 2009). Consequently, before 1851 as many as 700,000 of Irish people emigrated to Great Britain. They constituted 3% of population of England and Wales, as well as 7% of population of Scotland effectively contributing to Britain's industrial boom (Jackson 1963; see also Romaniszyn 1999).

Another significant migration flow into the UK was the arrival of 200,000 Jews who sought refuge after pogroms in Russia in the period of 1875-1914 (ibid.) The vast numbers of Jews found their jobs in textile industry and trade sector, subsequently entering the private business and 'white collars' domains. The racist attacks on Jews resulted in passing the first migration regulations which were the Aliens Act (1905) and the Aliens Restriction Act (1914) (Garrard 1971).

In the time of the World War I, the Great Britain again experienced labour shortages and began to bring workers (as well as soldiers) from African and south-Asian colonies. As the analogical problem appeared with the end of the II World War, the British government concentrated on increasing immigration movement to the UK to counteract both labour shortages and post-war emigration from Britain to the USA, Australia and Canada (Szarota 2004). The government decided to bring 90,000 of workers (mostly males) from the refugee camps across Europe, as well as from Italy, by way of the European Voluntary Worker Programme (EVW). EVW workers were assigned to particular workplaces, they had no possibility to bring their families and could be deported in the case of insubordination. The programme was completed in 1951 as bringing workers from the British colonies appeared to be the easier way to gain new labour force.

However, in the years 1946-1951 another group of 100,000 of Europeans gained the permission to work and live in the UK (Castles and Miller 2009). Between 1946 and 1959 Britain became the final destination for 350,000 migrants from Ireland. Moreover, in the late forties and fifties the immigration of workers from the Commonwealth (previous British colonies located on the Caribbeans, Indian subcontinent and in Africa) was on constant increase in response to permanent demand for workforce. In 1951, the Great Britain was a place of residence for 218,000 migrants from the Commonwealth (including Pakistan which later left this organisation), whereas in 1961 this number reached the level of 541,000. In the aftermath of war, after the establishment of the new political system in the central-eastern Europe, Britain received

also several dozen thousands of political refugees. Additionally, in the late 1950s there arrived over 20,000 refugees from Hungary which was undergoing the anti-communist revolution (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Łodziński 2008). At the beginning of the 1960s the mass migration from the former colonies distinctly diminished due to the implementation of rigorous restrictions resulting from the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) and stagnation of British economy (Castles and Miller 2009, see also Romaniszyn 1999). The restriction of immigration laws took place in the result of the ruling of the Conservative Party which was the inheritor of the imperial tradition of the UK and opted for the more ethnic unity of the Great Britain (Szarota 2004).

The prevailing number of immigrant workers who came from the Commonwealth states decided on the permanent stay in the UK which entailed the intensive process of joining families. These practices were, in turn, limited by the Immigration Act (1971), however, the population of immigrants originating in the Commonwealth increased in 1971 to 1.2 million, and in 1981 – to 1.5 million (Castles and Miller 2009). The majority of people from the former British colonies (together with their children) possessed citizen rights until the passing the Nationality Act in 1981. The status of the minority was not formally defined through the fact of being a foreigner but was a result of institutional and informal discrimination. The majority of the Black and Asian workers were able to find job only in the industrial and services sectors. Another barrier in reaching higher levels of social ladder was poor education and unchangeably difficult living conditions (cf. Abercrombie et al. 2005; Giddens 2001). Consequently, in the 1970s there started the process of forming ethnic minorities within the British society. In 1980 the main groups of migrants (Irish, Americans, Italians, Indians and Pakistanis) commonly constituted 2,8% of the population, whereas in 1993 – 3,5%. In 1994 their number amounted for 2.034,000 persons (Bonasewicz 1999).

At the end of the 20th century the legal regulations regarding the rules of migration process together with the relative economic and political normalization in Eastern Europe resulted in the stabilization of migration flows to the UK. However, the beginning of the new millennium saw the revival of migration connected with on-going globalization and the demand for both highly- and low-qualified workers. Glover et al. (2001) point to the several British economy sectors that suffered severe labour shortages before opening the job market for new EU members (which collectively became referred to as the A8 countries). These were highly-qualified sectors, such as: health service (before 2004 78% of hospitals informed about difficulties with funding professional personnel), education including academic level (this sector is not attractive for Britons due to low wages) and Information Technology (there is inefficient number of British IT faculties graduates). On the other

hand, the labour shortages were also acutely discernible in low-qualification and low-paid sectors of catering, hotels and housing services (every second company in the hotel sector had recruitment problems before 2004), as well as in agriculture (especially when it comes to seasonal employment). As it soon after turned out, the 2004 EU enlargement caused the rapid and effective fulfillment of these job vacancies.

The biggest flow of migrants to the UK ever was noticed in 2004 and amounted for 494,000 persons (migration net amounted for 202,000 persons) (OECD 2006). Overall, the immigration flow that directly followed EU 2004 enlargement is perceived as the largest wave of immigration in the UK's history (Salt and Rees 2006 cit. in Drinkwater and Garapich 2011). Such a quick increase of migration figures and their factual or potential influence on the British society became one of the most important concerns for the British voter and this fact has been noticed and used by politicians. The traditional distinction line between two main British parties' attitude to migration issues falls between the more positive attitude of the Labour Party and the more sceptic/negative stance of the Conservative Party. The Labour politicians argue that the Great Britain needs to compete in the international market and migrant workers can compensate for a declining labour force (caused by an aging population and a constant shortage of workers in low-paid economy sectors)¹¹. The Conservative Party proponents maintain that, instead of relying on immigrants, the government should enable the indigent unemployed workers to undertake education and proper training programmes (Oakland 2006). In the extreme situations politicians overtly play the 'immigration card', and in their political speeches strengthen immigration fears using the exaggerated descriptions of social and economic profiles of migrants who, allegedly, aim at overusing the British beneficial system. The good example here is the right wing UK Independence Party (UKIP) which calls for implementing restrictions on the immigration figures and portrays immigrants as a threat to the high standards of living. UKIP systematically gains in popularity which reflected on its electoral success in by-elections (February 2013) and local elections (May 2013) (the website: UK Polling Report).

The long and complicated immigration process to the UK resulted in the highly multicultural character of the British society which can be observed

¹¹ The United Nations reports on the benefits/costs of labour migrants in Europe estimated that the UK migrants' work input in 2005 amounted for 3 billion euro, and the British Tax Office received from migrants 435 million pounds (Świętochowska 2007). As Koser (2007) comments on it: „In certain developed countries, entire sectors of the economy and many public services have come highly dependent on migrant workers and would collapse almost literally overnight if their labour were withdrawn. It is often said — though difficult actually to prove — that migrants are worth more to the UK economy than North Sea oil” (p.10).

nowadays¹². The developing of the peaceful coexistence patterns of various ethnic groups requires referring to common British identity being perceived as the awareness of constituting one state rather than the commonness of historical/cultural experiences. As stated by Parekh (2000):

Britain needs to be, certainly, 'One Nation' – but understood as a community of communities and a community of citizens, not a place of oppressive uniformity based on a single substantive culture. Cohesion in such a community derives from widespread commitment to certain core values, both between communities and within them: equality and fairness; dialogue and consultation; toleration, compromise and accommodation; recognition of and respect for diversity; and – by no means least – determination to confront and eliminate racism and xenophobia. (p.56)¹³

This multicultural model, described as 'ethnic community model' reflected on British social norm which allows the ethnic minorities to preserve their own cultural and national identity. Although this strategy has been practiced in the UK for many years it has been recently strongly criticised as it does not impose any obligations for immigrants and does not allow them to effectively, gradually assimilate with the British society. Instead, it results in formulating separate ethnic groups which do not make any attempt to join in the intercultural dialogue (Balicki and Stalker 2006). Zamojski (1999) describes this situation as 'ethnoseparatism' and perceives it as one of the major threats to the effective assimilation (the traditional formulas of assimilation have been questioned by contemporary immigrant groups and do not play the positive role in the process of integration into the host country) (p.13).

In view of the recent massive migration movements there arises the crucial issue to what extent new migrants should integrate into the British society. As the British integration model does not realize the systemic policy of integration for migrants, the law only regulates relations between various 'ethnic groups' and contains anti-discriminatory rules¹⁴. This situation is the

¹² According to Paxman (1999), the symbolic moment in which the Britons became aware of the British multiculturalism was the parliament opening ceremony in 1987 during which the Black Member of the Parliament — Bernard Grant — appeared dressed in traditional West-African outfit.

¹³ The in-depth analysis of the multiple identity of the ethnic minorities' representatives and the complex idea of britishness cannot be presented here due to the space limitations of the dissertation. For more information see Kumar 2003, Knauer and Murray 2000, Storry and Childs 2002, among others.

¹⁴ The Race Relations Acts forbid discrimination on grounds of racial, ethnic or national origin and they refer to education, housing, employment, services and advertising areas. Additionally, in the case of alleged discrimination individuals can appeal to the Race Relations Tribunals and other anti-discrimination bodies, culminating with the Commission for Racial Equality, established in 1976 (Oakland 2006).

result of the British attitude to the society itself, according to which, diversity is a natural, immanent feature of the society and is not perceived as being strictly connected with immigration (Trevena 2008). However, such a liberal integration policy, which does not take into consideration specific needs of particular groups of new waves of migrants, may prove inefficient in the situation of the recent dynamic immigration process and the consequent forming of the new, large ethnic groups as it is currently happening, for instance, in the case of Poles (cf. Kymlicka 2003).

The question of extensive migration process to the UK that has lasted for recent years remains a sensitive issue. An unsolved problem is also an illegal migration estimated for 50,000 – 500,000 (Castles and Miller 2009). Although Britons got accustomed to ethnic diversity and “they don’t mind the heavily veiled female bank clerk, or the Indian behind the railway ticket counter whose blue turban is carefully matched to his blue uniform” (Hall 2001: 17), they have been forced to develop complex solutions to social and economic problems generated by extensive flows of migrants¹⁵. The problems have been noticed by the prominent politicians’ who overtly address the issue of the recent extensive immigration to the UK. The representative example here is the prime minister David Cameron who admitted, that he had always believed in the benefits of immigration, however, “immigration has to be properly controlled [because] without proper controls community confidence is sapped, resources are stretched and the benefits that immigration can bring are lost or forgotten” (Home Office 2013). The incentive for the critical reflection on the recent immigration movement to the UK has derived from, among others, the huge number of Polish immigrants.

1.5. The Polish migration to the UK

The first Polish migration wave to the UK can be traced to the 19th century when participants of the failure-ended November Uprising sought refuge from political repercussions exerted by the partitioners. However, the significant Polish migration movement is connected with the World War II as the first group of Poles (30,000 soldiers and 3,000 civilians) crossed the boundaries of the Great Britain as early as in September 1939. The subsequent years

¹⁵ The census conducted in 2001 revealed that 8,3% of the UK’s population were foreign-born (ONS 2005), whereas according to the 2011 Census, the number of foreign-born residents amounted for 11,9% of the total population which corresponded to 7,5 million people. It means that about 70% of the inter-censal population increase was the result of immigration (ONS 2013b). Interestingly, at the beginning of the 21st century the British government projections suggested that immigration figures (partly balanced by the emigration movement from the UK) would reach approximately 7.2 million only until 2030 (Oakland 2006).

of the war saw the further groups of Poles directing to the UK to escape the atrocities of the German invasion in continental Europe. After 1942 the vast majority of Polish soldiers who left the Soviet Union with the General Anders' Army joined the First Corps of Polish Army that was stationed in Scotland. That is why the main Polish centres became then London, Glasgow and Edinburgh (the website: Muzeum Historii Polski¹⁶; see also Wilson 1992).

With the end of the war the significant number of Polish soldiers decided to stay in the UK as they were against the new communist authorities in Poland and supported the Polish Government on Exile (Burrell 2006; see also Woźniczka 2010; Wrzesiński 2006). The Polish Resettlement Act, issued by the British government in 1947, enabled Polish servicemen to demobilize in Britain and initiated the intensive movement of joining families. Consequently, the first large Polish communities in the UK were located in areas with military bases adjustment camps for soldiers and their families (Niewierowicz and Borucki 2009). Additionally, numerous British work schemes that were arranged for displaced persons in central Europe included also people of Polish origin (Burrell 2009)¹⁷. In result, the 1951 Census recorded a Polish-born population of over 162,000 (Sword 1996). At that time the newly formed Polish minority experienced the first attacks from the side of local inhabitants. Poles were accused of living on the cost of taxpayers and threatening Britons' workplaces, as "[they] were now to be thrown in large numbers on the British labour market and they would jeopardize the maintenance of full employment, bring down British workers' living standards or wages, destroy the hard earned liberties of trade unionists, accentuate the housing shortage and eat food that Britain could hardly spare" (Zubrzycki 1956: 81-82).

In the subsequent years the number of Polish migrants in the UK remained at a relatively stable level and at the end of the 20th century it began to decrease due to the aging of the post-war migrant group, as well as a return migration after the collapse of communism in Poland. In the words of Drinkwater and Garapich (2011), the then Polish diaspora "was mainly composed of the World War II combatants, women joining their families in the 1950s, Polish Jews escaping persecution from the anti-Semitic policies of the communist government after 1968, 'Solidarity' opposition activists trapped by the imposition of Martial Law in 1981 plus their families, who arrived later in the 1980s" (p.4). At the close of the 20th century the Polish population residing in the UK was gradually decreasing and amounted for 73,700 in 1991, and 60,700 in 2001¹⁸ with around one third of Poles living in London (Owen

¹⁶ The Poland's History Museum

¹⁷ For more information on the issue of the integration of post-war Polish immigrants into the British society see also Zubrzycki 1988 and Strachura 2004.

¹⁸ According to the 2001 Census data, in the UK there lived then 58,000 people born in Poland

et al. 2007). Moreover, at that time the Polish population became increasingly elderly as 57% of Poles were of pensionable age or over (Drinkwater and Garapich 2011)¹⁹.

The situation drastically changed in 2004 which was the moment of Poland's accession to the EU and opening the British labour market for A8 countries' citizens (the other two countries which opened their job markets were Ireland and Sweden). It was also the beginning of an unprecedented Polish migration movement to the UK. Although Poland is the largest of the A8 countries, such an intensive immigration was disproportionate to its size, as Polish workers constituted about 65% of WRS (Worker Registration Scheme) registrants, with the Poland' population accounting for, approximately, a half of A8 countries' total population (ibid). There is, thus, the visible over-representation of Poles which "may be explained by several factors including the presence of existing and new migration networks across the UK, active recruitment by UK employers in Poland and the relative weakness of the Polish economy around the time of enlargement" (ibid.). In contrast to the poor economic situation in Poland, the British economy in 2005 flourished, it had one of the best employment rates in Europe (75%) with the unemployment rate decreasing to 4,5% (the labour market reform that has been realized since 1997 resulted in activation of permanently unemployed and professionally passive persons), and still required the foreign workforce (Owen et al. 2007). Apart from the economic/employment motivation, another important factor was willingness to gain new experiences and skills, as it was in the case of many young Poles termed as 'searchers' (Eade et al. 2006: 34; see also Nowak 2007).

As Poles took full advantage of the British open labour market, according to GUS²⁰, until 2009 30% of all the Polish migrants left for the UK (whereas 7,5% decided for Ireland) (Kaczmarczyk 2011). Consequently, "considering the average length of stay abroad it is justified to say that post the 2004 EU enlargement the United Kingdom became the most important destination country for Polish migrants" (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk 2009: 28; see also Nowak 2007). The research on Polish migration patterns revealed that Poles

(ONS 2013a; see also the further part of Section 1.5.).

¹⁹ After the fall of communism the significant part of Polish population in the UK was also constituted by temporary residents who worked there as undocumented labour. As Fihel and Kaczmarczyk (2009) put it: "many Poles devised a strategy of 'commuting' between their usual residence and often irregular work in the West as a viable way of making a living. In a relatively short period of time, communities of undocumented temporary workers from Poland mushroomed in western European cities such as Berlin, Brussels, London, Rome and Vienna" (p.23). After 2004 those who had been in the UK prior to EU enlargement could register within the Workers Registration Scheme and this way legalize their work in the Great Britain.

²⁰ Główny Urząd Statystyczny — the main statistical office in Poland

who chose the Great Britain were prevailingly young, relatively well educated and without previous migration experience (in contrast to Poles migrating to, for instance, Germany or Italy who were relatively older, less educated and possessed the certain migration experience). In most cases they migrated without their families. They decided to leave for an English-speaking country due to possessing language skills that could allow them (at least theoretically) to cross the limitations of the secondary job offers (Kaczmarczyk 2011; see also Iglicka 2008; Burrell 2009; Drinkwater et al. 2010). As Fihel and Kaczmarczyk (2009) conclude:

This selectivity in the profile of post-accession migrants choosing the UK has been based on the fact that migration is now perceived as a good start to, the continuation of, or simply the attainment of a career. Prior to EU enlargement migration was a necessity for those who could not make a living in their region of origin, and who moved to seek better work opportunities than those available in their home country. In other words, EU enlargement brought an impetus for emigration to a new group of people, mostly those who would not have coped with, or benefited from, the stricter working regulations abroad beforehand. (p.38)

Although Polish migrants in the UK tend to be so well educated (25-30% hold a university degree) and highly skilled, they predominantly occupy the secondary job market sphere which means that they perform jobs in 'typical' migrant sectors, such as construction, cleaning, agriculture or hospitality. The potential opportunities to improve qualifications together with professional development are not available for Poles and there is a distinct negative phenomenon of 'brain wasting' or deskilling which was also experienced by Polish migrant leaving for the UK in the 1980s (*ibid.*: 44; see also Anderson et al. 2006; Ptaszek 2009).

The overall size of Polish population in the UK (constituted mainly by Poles who arrived after 2004) has been exposed by the 2011 Census figures with the data concerning the characteristic of different groups of migrants residing in the UK (their nationality was determined by the country of birth and a passport held). According to the census, the three largest groups of residents who were born outside the UK was Indian (694,00 which was equal to 1,2 % of the resident population in 2011), Polish (579,00 or 1,0%) and Pakistani (482,000 or 0,9 %). However, among the most numerous nationalities born outside the UK it is Poles who showed the largest increase over the inter-censal period (between 2001 and 2011), as their number increased from 58,000 (0,1%) to 579,000 (1,0%), which indicates a nine-fold increase over the decade (ONS 2013a)²¹.

²¹ Consequently, the Polish language has become the second most commonly spoken language in the UK after English. According to the 2011 Census, 618,091 respondents aged three and

The economic slowdown connected with Global Financial Crisis, that affected the UK economy in 2008, substantially reduced the unemployment prospects for Polish migrants, in particular those employed in retail, construction and hospitality sectors. Moreover, the worse economic situation forced many Poles to reassess their migration plans as they were no longer able to pay for regular travelling between the Poland and the UK (cf. Burrell 2009). In result, a certain number of Polish migrants left the UK for Poland. However, the vast number of Polish migrants who arrived in Britain after 2004 decided on a permanent stay in this country and soon brought their families. Since 2006 Polish women residing in the Great Britain have had one of the highest fertility rates in the UK, and since 2008 they have been outnumbered only by Pakistani women (Iglicka 2011). Such a distinct gap between fertility figures of Polish women living in Poland and those residing in the UK can be explained only by their willingness to start a family and bring up children in the economic conditions that are unreachable in Poland (the cultural factor concerning the number of children born, which is significant when comparing European with Asian/African countries, can be excluded in the case of the UK). This situation unquestionably proves that Polish labour migration to the UK is in the course of transforming into the long-lasting settlement process (ibid.; see also Trąbka 2009)²².

The post-EU enlargement Polish migration to the UK is an important and unique population movement. According to Burrell (2009), "It is difficult to think of another migrant group which has established itself so quickly, and so widely, in British history" (p.7). Due to the large numbers of Polish migrants who arrived to the UK in a relatively short period of time and began to noticeably influence the social relations and economic stability of the British state, Poles became a statistically significant ethnic minority population. Consequently, both politics and non-government institutions noticed the urgent necessity to exert bigger control over the process of integration of Polish migrants into the British society, especially in the situation of their experiencing poverty, permanent unemployment or racist aggression²³. On the other hand,

over claimed that Polish was their main language, amounting to 1.01% of the total population of the UK aged three and over (ONS 2011).

²² As Home Office revealed, in 2013 the increased number of grants of settlement for Poles (in recognition of their permanent residence since 2009) for the first time placed Poles in the top 10 (together with former nationals of Nepal), displacing Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe (Home Office 2014).

²³ The report of the Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry revealed information on the cases of hostility towards Poles connected with the worsening economic situation after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis and the consequent rise of unemployment among Britons (*Raport o sytuacji Polonii i Polaków za granicą 2009*).

significant percentage of Polish migrants integrated successfully and contribute to the economic growth.

Undoubtedly the Polish migration to the UK is a complex and dynamic phenomenon which still deserves close academic scrutiny. The present dissertation responds to the empirical niche, as the discursive representations of Polish migrants have not been explored by means of the Discourse Historical Approach framework up to the present time. However, although the methodological advantages of DHA are unchallengeable, the inevitable limitation of the project is the size of the research sample that needed to be adjusted to the dissertation's space constraints.

Chapter 2. Discourse and identity

The introductory section of Chapter 2 deals with the notion of discourse and shows the origins as well as the essential turning points in the history of academic development of this concept. The next section sheds more light on the domain of CDA and describes it as an effective approach to explore the dialectics between language and the social. Moreover, this section shows that CDA tool-kits allow scholars to effectively trace potential discriminatory practices embedded in discourse. The aim of the last section is to present the close and vital relationship between discourse and identity, with a special focus on the role of discourse in the national identity's constructing process. In the first subsection, I present the concise overview of the notion of identity and refer to theories proving that identities remain under overriding influence of social practices (that is why they are contested and are in flux). Next, I concentrate on the significance of discursive acts in the construal of identity. The selected examples of research are supposed to demonstrate how the concepts of CDA can be applied to the analysis of discourse — identity interdependencies. Last, but not least, I turn to the issue of national identity to highlight that the discursive construction of a nation or an ethnic group is inseparably connected with differentiating *Us* from *Them*.

2.1. *Discourse as a notion and object of research*

The term 'discourse' has figured prominently in various fields of academic research, where it has been examined from psychological, philosophical, linguistic and social perspectives, with either interactional and critical orientations. The perceptions of this concept, however, have differed depending on a particular academic field (cf. Brown and Yule 1983; Foucault 1972; Parker 2002; Schiffrin et al. 2003).

The word 'discourse' derives from the Latin verb *discurrere* meaning 'going back and forth' and this fact is reflected in one of the cardinal features of Critical Discourse Analysis which is described as abductivity, and understood as a constant analytical movement between a theory and data (other features of CDA will be referred to in the further part of Chapter 1). The term itself (together with 'discourse analysis') established its significant position in the

social sciences in the year 1970 during Michel Foucault's seminal lecture on 'orders of discourse' (Reisigl 2004 cit. in Wodak 2011b: 15). Presenting twenty-three meanings of discourse Foucault signalled the complexity of this notion and anticipated problems with creating its ultimate definition. In this lecture, Foucault also formulated numerous key axioms concerning contexts of discursive events (which he termed as *énoncés*), and characterized what, in his view, is *not* a discourse. As he argued, discourse cannot be perceived as an object because it is an abstract phenomenon and as such it is difficult to define. However, what determines discourse is a set of relations appearing between discursive events. According to Foucault, 'discourse' requires macro-level analysis focused on rules and practices (formal or informal) defining a certain type of utterances that are possible and acceptable within a given communicative domain. This way Foucault changed an approach to oral communication, emphasizing the need to acknowledge the role of social context in the production of utterances (Foucault 1972).

Above-presented assumptions paved the way for the functional approach to discourse centered on analysing language in use, in contrast to the formalist (structuralist) tradition perceiving discourse as a unit of language above the sentence (Schiffrin 1994: 20). Functional approach made it possible to explore both static and dynamic relations between discursive events, together with analyzing reasons and consequences of social change (Duszak 1998; Lemke 1999; Wodak and Wright 2006; see also van Dijk 1997a).

The dialectics between discourse and society has also been underlined by Jürgen Habermas who located language in the centre of all social practices. In his theory of Communicative Action, Habermas proposes general normative standards for communication²⁴ and focuses on the significance of the public sphere in a democratic society (Habermas 1984; see also Dahlberg 2004). The public sphere is the scene of constant public debate on relevant issues on which members of the society formulate commonly shared opinions. The conceptual category of the public sphere encompasses not only mass media professionals (networks of electronic/print media) but also political parties, politicians and lobbyists, all of which play a crucial role in forming and transforming public opinion (Habermas 1999, 1979). As Habermas (1979) concludes: "Language is also a medium of domination and social power. It serves to legitimate relations of organized force" (p.130). That is why the element of critique is indispensable in the democratic society which conventionally

²⁴ Habermas elaborated a set of principles which should be a starting point for creating discourses oriented to mutual understanding. In his view communication can be analysed in terms of validity claims: the truthfulness, legitimacy and comprehensibility of the utterance together with sincerity of the speaker. Validity claims provide a general basis for critical investigation of speech (Habermas 1984, 2000).

relies on messages selected and shaped for strategic purposes by those who possess social power. Habermas's theory of communication provided a theoretical grounding for the critical view on both structures and reproduction of discourses in the public sphere, and, consequently, it was operationalised by CDA that, by definition, concentrates on distortion of speech standards together with their implications (Wodak and Meyer 2009).

In addition to an abstract approach to discourse advocated by Foucault, other perspectives on discourse referred to the tradition of language games elaborated by Wittgenstein (1967 cit. in Wodak 2011b) together with the theory of speech acts proposed by Austin (1962) and developed by Searle (1969). In these approaches discourse was primarily perceived as language activity in the written, visual or oral (verbal or non-verbal) communication, undertaken by social actors in a certain social context (defined by social rules, norms and conventions) (Wodak 2011b: 16). With reference to the Speech Act Theory, Searle elaborated also the social ontology theory, according to which, social reality (events, issues, relations etc.) possesses a certain form and status in result of public collective agreement, which in turn is established by means of constitutive potential of language (Searle 1995, 2010).

Wood and Kroger (2000), referring to Austin's and Searle's Speech Act Theory, view discourse as a way of treating language, and focus on the function of language – the central concept in discourse analysis. This way they link the language with action and analyse what people can do by means of language (2000: 7)²⁵. Also van Dijk regards discourse as a form of action and explains it as an intentional human activity performed for the concrete purpose (1997a: 8). In his approach any activity connected with a discourse (e.g. production, lexical selections, rhetoric style) can be perceived as action whereas speakers/writers who assign meaning to discourse manifestations should be understood as social actors. The conclusion thus arises that to comprehend discourse means to understand how a given discursive indicator can be abstracted from a representative text. Consequently, the aim of discourse analysis may be explained as exploring the content of a stretch of language in order to see how this content is used by a given social actor to perform a 'function' in a particular discourse.

It was Emil Benveniste who introduced the term discourse to the domain of linguistics, which in consequence significantly altered linguistic research perspective (Benveniste 1966 cit. in Wilk 2007). From then on, although a sentence was still a subject of study, linguists directed their attention to text together with supratextual dimensions of communication. Such a perspective

²⁵ They consider three functions (forces) of a particular utterance: locutionary force (what the speaker talks about), illocutionary force (what the speaker wants to do through an utterance) and perlocutionary force (what effect is exerted on the hearer).

on discourse allowed researchers to treat speech as a form of social activity, with an utterance as a fundamental point of reference. The elimination of this strictly sentence-oriented approach enabled discourse analysis to perceive discourse as any “form of language use manifested as (written) text or (spoken) talk-in-interaction, in a broad semiotic sense” (van Dijk 2008c: 116), and apply a functional attitude to the language domain. Researchers, thus, focused on finding the answers to following questions: who uses a particular language form, how and why. Perceiving language as asocial communicative practice is a fundamental assumption for discourse analysts (this aspect will be discussed in greater detail in the further part of the dissertation).

A true milestone in the process of negotiating the definition of discourse was the research of Teun A. van Dijk (1990a) who differentiated discourse analysis from text linguistics and defined discourse as ‘text in the context’. The notion of discourse is always conceptualized as a phenomenon strictly connected with context in which it appears (Duranti and Goodwin 1992; van Dijk 2008c), although the context itself is one of the most complex and unclear concepts in discourse studies. As van Dijk concludes in his theoretical approach of context: “people adapt what they say – and how they say it, and how they interpret what others say – to at least some of their roles or identities, and the roles of other participants” (1997a: 12). It means that, the factual meaning of what is conveyed in discourse depends on a number of setting dimensions, such as time, place, elements connected with a physical environment and socio-cognitive factors. The latter are formed by personal knowledge and socially shared beliefs in the form of implied meanings and presuppositions, as well as common intratextual experience of previously created discourses (a given discourse is always interwoven in other discourses that are present in the social space). Context is by no means ultimately fixed or objective, as every participant of a discursive event variously interprets social facts and assigns different degrees of relevance to them. Thus, contexts may be explained as mental constructs (subjective representations) which vastly influence the process of production or comprehension of text pertaining to the domain of particular discourse. According to van Dijk, cognitive approach to context is indispensable to “account for personal variation and subjectivity and in order to explain how social structures can influence discourse structures ‘via’ the mind of social members” (1997a: 16). That is why, van Dijk refers to contexts as ‘context models’ which are “subjective interpretations of communicative situations” (2008c: X).

Although all definitions of discourse emphasize the crucial aspect of context they provide no unified theories to clarify limits of these environments which means that ‘context’ usually refers only to relevant aspects of the particular social situation (cf. Weiss and Wodak 2003). For instance, according to

van Dijk, context can be perceived as 'environments' (cognitive, social, political, cultural or historical) that determine a given discourse (van Dijk 2008a: 216). Nevertheless, the context, which discourse is always embedded in, has to be made more precise with regard to the specific range of analysis.

Discourse was long variously explained in different academic cultures. In traditional text linguistics the term discourse was used only in the domain of conversational analysis (together with 'utterance' and 'conversation') whereas 'text' was connected only with the written sphere of language (Duszak 1998). This differentiation was a result of traditional division of language into written and spoken ones which initiated the development of two parallel academic trends: European, concentrated on linguistics, and American, dealing with ethnomethodology and culture, focused on spoken language (Jabłońska 2006). However, van Dijk suggested that the term discourse covers also written texts, as social actors form their linguistic manifestations in the same way in every form of language (van Dijk 2001). The discourse-text relation is also clarified by Wodak (2011b) who postulates that text is a concrete and unique realization of the given discourse, which means that it presupposes the existence of specific patterns and common features concerning knowledge and structures typical for this particular discourse.

Although the notion of discourse has been widely used in numerous studies on language and society, its universal and unequivocal definition still awaits for creation. Szacki (2002) points to the fact that the word 'discourse' has become extremely popular in contemporary humanities and its omnipresence resulted in blurring its meaning. Several researchers have made attempts at clarifying and limiting the scope of its meaning, with Wodak and Meyer (2009) among them. They state that:

[discourse] means anything, from a historical monument, a *lieu de mémoire*, a policy, apolitical strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations, to language per se. We find notions such as racist discourse, gendered discourse, discourses on un/employment, media discourse, populist discourse, discourses of the past, and many more – thus stretching the meaning of *discourse* from a genre to a register or style, from a building to a political programme. (p.3)

The crucial stage in the development of discourse analysis was initiated by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) who started 'visual turn' – the analytical trend that allowed to explicitly consider the presentation of information in iconic forms (photographs, diagrams, graphics, etc.) and, consequently, comprehend this kind of information in combination with linguistically presented information.

A significant role in the history of research on discourse has been also played by a cognitive turn in a text/discourse analysis focusing on mental procedures and discursive strategies being used to create, interpret and

negotiate meaning. The crucial achievement in this scientific trend is van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of CDA as well as cognitive linguistics-based approach, including Critical Metaphor Studies (Hart, Koller, Charteris-Black and Musolff) (all these approaches will be described in more detail in Chapter 3).

This brief overview of the definitions of discourse shows that there may be as many ways of understanding of the term discourse as theoretical approaches to it. The notion of discourse has been variously understood in various academic disciplines, which is why the term always needs to be clarified for the demands of particular research and specific theoretical approach. However, as CDA scholars frequently emphasize, an interdisciplinary perspective that draws on the insights of different disciplines and academic cultures, enables them to overcome methodological limitations and conduct comprehensive and multi-faceted analyses of discourse-related phenomena.

2.2. CDA as an approach and a tool to expose unfair social practices

Critical Discourse Analysis is perceived as a specific theoretical framework which is a critically-oriented type of a discourse analysis. It does not apply to any single, unitary theory or methodology, as it has evolved from different theoretical backgrounds elaborated for various types of data, and is highly interdisciplinary in nature (cf. Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Richardson 2007; van Dijk 1993a; Weiss and Wodak 2003; Wodak and Meyer 2009). A CDA practitioner can refer to any academic discipline to find a method which proves to be effective since:

[a] good method is a method that is able to give a satisfactory (reliable, relevant, etc.) answer to questions of a research project. It depends on one's aims, expertise, time and goals, and the kind of data that can or must be generated – that is, on the context of a research project. (van Dijk 2013)

Nevertheless, discourse analysts agree that, by definition, CDA deals with examining a conversation or a text in the frames of outlined social contexts, especially in reference to relations of power abuse, domination and social inequality (Fairclough 1995a, Fairclough and Wodak 1997; van Dijk 2001; Wodak and Chilton 2005, Wodak and Meyer 2009).

An attribute 'critical' is the key theoretical concept in CDA and refers to the trend of Critical Linguistics that combined linguistic and social analysis, with the aim of focusing on social hierarchy and power, as these aspects of communication were not efficiently explored by sociolinguistics (Wodak and Meyer 2009). Critical trend in linguistics emerged at the end of the 1970s²⁶

²⁶ It should be mentioned that in the 1960s' many language scholars adopted a more critical perspective with the French scholar Pêcheux among them (1982), who referred to the work of Russian theorists Bakhtin (1981) and Vološinov (1973) (cf. Wodak 2011a).

(Fowler et al. 1979) and referred to the critical theory elaborated by the Frankfurt School in the 1930s of the 20th century²⁷.

Fowler, Kress and Hodge were first to use the term 'critical linguistics' as they claimed that discourse not only reflects social reality, but also affirms it by constant reproduction of existing social structures (Fowler et al. 1979). The fundamental assumption of critical linguistics perceived as applied language analysis, expresses the stance that any aspect of linguistic structure (phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic or textual) can convey ideological message (Fowler 1991). In his research, revealing connections between linguistic items and social values, Fowler referred to the Systemic Functional Grammar model (Systemic Linguistics) developed by Halliday (1985) which provided him with the scheme for classifying linguistic structures in terms of their communicative roles.²⁸ Critical linguist practitioners applied also social theory and took advantage of contributions from Karl Marx (1970), Antonio Gramsci (1971), Louis Althusser (1971), Jürgen Habermas (1979), Michel Foucault (1972), Pierre Bourdieu (1993), as well as Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge (1979).

According to Wodak (2007), every strand of CDA is strictly connected with four concepts: critique, ideology, power and history. The notion of 'critique', though it has different meanings, is associated with the Frankfurt School or Marxist notions, and can be understood as implying "distance to the data in the social, making the respective political stance explicit, and having a focus on self-reflection" (ibid.: 209). The attribute 'critical' implies the necessity of tracing the ideological underpinnings of discourse that in the course of time become invisible and commonly accepted elements of social reality. The word 'critical' signals also that a researcher does not restrict to purely descriptive goals of discourse analysis, but searches for broader context influencing the discursive events (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Stubbs 1983).

As pointed out by Wodak (2010), "one of the aims of CDA is to 'demystify' discourses by deciphering ideologies" (p. 298). This assumption refers to the concept of symbolic violence elaborated by Bourdieu and defined as "the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 167). In his theory, Bourdieu describes symbolic (cultural) capital as 'resources' (non-material and non-economic factors such as knowledge, social relations or prestige) that can be used to

²⁷ In 1937 Horkheimer published his seminal essay entitled *Traditional and Critical Theory*, in which he asked the rhetorical question: "What is 'theory'?"

²⁸ The Hallidayan model focuses on function of grammatical items and their social implications resulting from the selection of particular grammatical elements. According to this model language always performs three functions: ideational (when language users express their experience), interpersonal (when speakers/writers express their own attitudes or evaluations) and textual (when they create the text) (Halliday 1985).

influence others. The unequal levels of symbolic capital among the members of a given society may entail symbolic dominance or even symbolic violence. Consequently, language is not a pure communicative tool (autonomy of language system is highly illusory), but the form of struggle for symbolic power.²⁹ Moreover, language provides those in power with possibility to effect the actual social reality through changing mental representations describing this reality (Bourdieu 1991, 1993, 2005). The notion of 'habitus' adds the dimension of personal response to the Bourdieu's theory on cultural struggle proceeded by means of symbols. Habitus is a socio-cultural capability to reproduce behaviour patterns shaped in the process of socialization, in order to maintain commonly accepted *status quo* (Bourdieu 1990). Another crucial concept is Bourdieu's 'field of action' which is "a segment of the respective societal reality" subjected to set of rules defined by a given institution. Consequently, the fields can be understood as networks of social relations which shape the frame of a particular discourse. It also means that discourses spread to different fields and overlap with other discourses (Girnth 1996 cit. in Wodak 2011c: 40).

In this vein the notion of ideology refers to these social phenomena that are responsible for circulating symbolic forms (Thompson 1990). CDA analyses ideology "as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations" (Wodak 2007: 210), which is why CDA researchers pay special attention to the ways in which ideology is mediated by language in different social institutions. Consequently, many CDA-rooted studies have been devoted to the discursive character of ideologies that are perceived as representations of those aspects of social life that define individual interests of certain groups, and contribute to legitimizing unjust forms and relations of power. A good example of ideology is racism, since it may be perceived as an ideology legitimizing unfair treatment of certain ethnic groups (similarly sexism may be perceived as an ideology that serves the purpose of legitimizing unfair treatment of women).

The concept of power is equally significant for discourse analysts, since CDA enables researchers to understand how language strengthens various forms of exercising power by groups or social institutions.³⁰ Texts are often sites of struggle in that they show the manner in which discursive differences are negotiated and how they struggle for dominance (Weiss and Wodak 2003; van Dijk 2008c; Wodak 2007, 2011a,). That is why CDA often investigates the

²⁹ For more examples of interdependencies of power and language, as well as the case studies of language discrimination towards people who do not possess the command of the dominant language see, e.g. Ahearn 2011 and Duranti 2009.

³⁰ For examples of research on how language contributes to organizing social institutions and exercising power see: van Dijk 2008b, Graham 2002, Lemke 2003, Martin 2002, Gee 2004, Blommaert 2005, and Mey 1985, among others.

ways in which particular linguistic manifestations are used by people who possess power for the purpose of manipulating others. Those in power do not exert control over others by means of direct commands or suggestions. Instead, they effectively influence their mental operations involved in performing actions, and consequently they interfere in their – seemingly independent – intentions and purposes. As argued by Wodak:

[language] is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power and expresses power; language is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term. Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power in hierarchical social structures. (Wodak 2011a: 52)

That is why any CDA analyst attempts to find answers to cardinal research questions such as, among others: “Which discursive strategies legitimate control or ‘naturalize’ the social order? How power is linguistically expressed? How are consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance manufactured? Who has access to which instruments of power and control? Who is discriminated against in what way?” (ibid.: 53-54).

When it comes to the concrete linguistic realization of the power exerted by dominant groups, it may be visible in laws, rules or habits that they establish, obey and have. In consequence, norms that are supposed to be the guarantee of a peaceful social co-existence, create such a form of social relations that Gramsci defined as ‘hegemony’ (1971), citing as an example class domination, sexism and racism. Hegemony can be well understood as the way in which dominating group exerts an ideological influence on a non-privileged group, and does it without using force but by means of negotiated compromise (Ahearn 2011). Hegemony is, thus, a form of social power that makes people refrain from objecting to distorted reality, which they perceive as legitimized by social consensus. Dominance is strictly connected with possessing unlimited access to public institutions and media that serve the purpose of disseminating dominating group’s ideology. What is crucial, such unequal social relations are often deeply grounded in everyday discourse practices and do not undergo any critical reflection, which means that they are unconsciously strengthened in the course of time. As a consequence, discourse may serve the purpose of the medium by which ideologies are persuasively communicated in society, because, as van Dijk remarks, “people develop ideologies to manage the problem of coordination of the acts or practices of individual social members of the group” (1997a: 26).

An important element of CDA scholarship is the historical context of social phenomena under analysis, taken as situational constraints that influence the language use, since power is formed as a result of interdependencies

between numerous historical events (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Wodak 2010) (the notion of context was tentatively described in the earlier part of this chapter and will also be discussed in Chapter 3, in the section devoted to DHA approach).

CDA may be perceived as a group of various critical approaches to the complex relations between language (discourse) and other aspects of social processes. According to van Dijk, the core of discourse studies as academic discipline is systematically realized analysis of different structures and strategies used on different levels of texts and speeches (van Dijk 2007). That is why every strand of CDA contains an element of detailed analysis of the text which is used here in the broadest meaning possible and covers any spoken interactions, as well as 'multimodal' texts on TV and Internet that mix language and visual codes, together with all kinds of written and published texts. Linguistically defined text-concepts and linguistic-discursive textual structures are analysed in those texts to prove the social production of inequality, power, ideology, authority, or manipulation (van Dijk 1995).

According to Fairclough (1992), what constitutes the term discourse are texts, interactions and contexts which may be understood as three dimensions of discourse: discourse-as-text, discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-social-practice. Consequently, CDA should be conducted in three stages which are: 1) description that focuses on formal features of a text; 2) interpretation which concentrates on connections between text and interaction (text is perceived here as the result of a production process and a starting point in a process of interpretation); 3) explanation that examines relation between interpretation and social context with special attention given to social factors that determine the processes of production and interpretation, together with their social effects³¹. The third stage of CDA analysis allows a researcher to trace hegemonic processes involved in creating discourse. Fairclough perceives hegemony as power that may be achieved by constructing alliances and creating an atmosphere of common consent, so that "the articulation and rearticulation of orders of discourses is correspondingly one stake in hegemonic struggle" (1992: 93). Thus, the way in which discourse reappears in difficult social spheres shows the emergence of a specific 'order of discourse' which in turn may constitute commonly accepted normativity (see also Section 3.7.).

There is nothing like a single definition of CDA. Nonetheless, according to

³¹ In other words, this three-dimensional framework for studying discourse combines micro-, meso- and macro-level interpretation (at the micro-level a researcher analyses the text's syntax and certain rhetorical devices, the meso-level means examining how power relations are enacted, and at the macro-level analysts focus on intertextual understanding and social factors affecting the text).

Wodak (2011a), the CDA approach can be described by means of ten general characteristics that are common denominators of all frameworks within this school:

- 1) The approach is interdisciplinary (...);
- 2) The approach is problem – oriented, rather than focused on specific linguistic items (...);
- 3) The theories as well as the methodologies are eclectic (...);
- 4) The study usually incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation as a precondition for any further analysis and theorizing (...);
- 5) The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary (...);
- 6) Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied (...);
- 7) The historical and broader socio-political contexts should be analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts (...);
- 8) The categories and tools for the analysis are defined in accordance with all these steps and procedures and also with the specific problem under investigation (...);
- 9) Grand Theories might serve as a foundation; in the specific analysis, Middle-Range Theories serve the aims better (...).
- 10) Practice and application are aimed at. (...). (p.54)

The language as a means of communication has been a constitutive factor for human communities, which is why any analysis of social changes would be incomplete without discourse analysis. Following this assumption Fairclough and Wodak (1997) point out that the most significant feature of CDA is the explicit awareness of perceiving language as a social practice:

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectal relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it. The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of relationships between people and groups of people. (p. 258)

Thus, CDA as a tool for analyzing relations between discursive and non-discursive elements of social processes aims at revealing the role of language in establishing and maintaining the unfair social patterns of power and

ideology along with those discursive practices that dehumanize, subdue and/or marginalize particular social groups.

As CDA operates at the intersection of language and social structures, a subject of scientific study for CDA is supposed to be social issues and phenomena frequently connected with migration, social position of women/minority groups in contemporary multicultural societies, degradation of the natural environment, unemployment or consequences of entering free market economy into the sphere of education/public healthcare. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) describes the range of CDA's scientific interests pointing to the following "applied and applicable topics and social domains: 1) Political discourse; 2) Ideology; 3) Racism (together with immigration); 4) Economic discourse; 5) Advertisement and promotional culture; 6) Media language; 7) Gender; 8) Institutional discourse; 9) Education; 10) Literacy" (p.450). In all these social spheres practitioners of CDA critically analyse power asymmetries, social inequalities and manipulation. This way they reveal opaque social structures by means of in-depth analysis of cultural codes – "compact packages of shared values, norms, ethos and social beliefs" (Gavriely-Nuri 2012: 78) conveyed by different discourses.

Interdisciplinary approach serves the purpose of revealing relations between text, speech, social cognition, power, society and culture (van Dijk 1993). Moreover, a researcher not only describes and explains particular phenomena, but also plays a role of an active spokesman and defender of those who are under hidden power taking on form of symbolic power, which they are not aware of. It means that discourse analysis in its critical variant cannot be, by definition, neutral as it obliges a researcher to openly express his/her own opinions and take a definite stand on the social connotations of research findings. Similarly, Toolan (1997) emphasizes prescriptive stance of CDA suggesting that CDA is supposed to point to defects of particular discourses and make proposals of corrections. That is why the crucial feature of any CDA approach is practice-orientedness together with strong commitment to change, and its overall goal is to prove the quality of life through understanding the language distortions and their potential influence on social reality. As Verschueren (2001) comments on it:

Language is a formative agent in social, cultural and political processes, and the social world is really a world of communication, discourse and rhetoric. A solid understanding of communicative, discursive and linguistic practices is therefore mandatory for anyone interested in optimizing the quality of life in areas as diverse as the family, education, work contexts, business, news production and consumption, politics and the like. Hence the need for critique. (p. 60)

Thus, critical theories (including CDA) as such are aimed at contributing to 'enlightenment and emancipation' (Wodak 2011a: 52) so they should

serve the purpose of increasing people's awareness of their needs and at the same time of giving advice on how to root out academically diagnosed social inequalities.

This increasingly interdisciplinary facet of CDA resulted in the discussion on replacing the term 'Critical Discourse Analysis' with the broader one 'Critical Discourse Studies' (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak 2004) to avoid associations with a particular analytical *method*. In the words of van Dijk:

[what] would be the systematic, explicit, detailed, replicable procedure for doing 'critical' analysis? There is no such method. Being critical, first of all, is a state of mind, an attitude, a way of dissenting, and many more things, but not an explicit method for the description of the structures or strategies of text and talk. (van Dijk 2013)

Nevertheless, the term CDA is still widely used in the academia as the extensive body of subject literature resources traditionally refers to Critical Discourse *Analysis*. However, the reservation should be made that CDA is perceived as a *family/group* of approaches to discourse.

This array of frameworks to choose from is an undoubted methodological strength of CDA. It makes CDA the best perspective possible to analyse complex social phenomena that require interdisciplinary approach. It is well visible in the case of migration issues which need wide theoretical/methodological reference to be effectively explored.

2.3. Discourse in construction and reflection of identity

2.3.1. The notion of identity

The notion of identity is a very broad concept, given significant attention across the social sciences and humanities. It is analysed from different perspectives in numerous scientific disciplines such as, among others, psychology (e.g. Aronson et al. 2004; Kenrick et. al 1999; Tavris and Wade 1995; Zimbardo et al. 2009), sociology (e.g. Budyta-Budzyńska 2013; Giddens 2001; Golka 2013), anthropology (e.g. Boksański 2005; Duranti 2009; Kłoskowska 2005; Nowicka 2009), and culture studies (e.g. Barker 2003). Identity is also extensively explored by numerous approaches within CDA that aim at searching for interconnections between identity, language and society (e.g. Bamberg et al. 2010; de Fina 2011; Hodge 2012; Kalyango and Kopytowska 2014; Koller 2012; Kurteš and Kopytowska 2014; Scollon 1996).

According to Erikson, who significantly contributed to the research on the development of personality in the biographical dimension, identity "connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and

a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others” (1980: 109). Erikson identified and described two aspects of identity, competence and integrity, that formed operational benchmarks for the analysis of human behaviour. The competence refers to the social status and professional characteristics, whereas integrity is the state of mind, but it requires various systems of social interactions (e.g. ethnic ties, religions, political affiliations) to operate effectively (Hoover 1997).

The subject literature distinguishes between numerous types/levels of identity, among which there are personal and social (individual vs. collective) identity, with the latter divided into national/ethnic, cultural or socio-cultural identities (e.g. Budyta-Budzyńska 2013; Golka 2013; Kenrick et. al 1999). Every scientific discipline in which ‘identity’ requires to be mapped and defined, uses one of these concepts or combines them to analyse a particular aspect of identity. The personal identity (self-identity) refers to idiosyncratic qualities that make a person unique, and is defined as “a person’s essential, continuous self [which is] the internal, subjective concept of one-self as an individual” (Reber 1995: 355). Thus, the social identity can be perceived as a social version of identity through which the self defines its position in social practice, depending on the collection of group memberships. The social attitude to identity situates the reflexive self within a certain kind of social context, so that identity is described through the set of beliefs and emotions directed towards the group/groups which the individual belongs to (Kenrick et al. 1999: 566). The contemporary scientific approach to identity is the result of conceptual developments concerning identity and language, that constituted a new paradigm defined as social constructionist and oriented towards practice and interaction. As de Fina (2011) points out, the new trends of thought were elaborated in disciplines such as: social theory (post-modern self) (Bauman 2005; Giddens 1991), feminist theory (Butler 1990), social constructionism (Berger and Luckman 1966), symbolic interactionism (Mead 1934), and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967). Another incentive to change in perception of identity was connected with the vast criticism of the ‘essentialist’ understanding of this phenomenon (essentialism separated identity from social processes and established its meaning as a non-negotiable concept) (Bhabha 1994; see also Hodge 2012).

Since the individual negotiates his/her identity with society in relation to a broad spectrum of social variables, identity emerges from the dialectics between the individual and society, and is perceived as an unstable and changeable phenomenon. In consequence, theories concerning the process of identity negotiation:

[are] always embedded in a more general interpretation of reality; they are ‘built into’ the symbolic universe and its theoretical legitimations, and vary with the character of the

latter. Identity remains unintelligible unless it is located in a world. Any theorizing about identity - and about specific identity types - must therefore occur within the framework of the theoretical interpretations within which it and they are located. (Berger and Luckmann 1996: 195)

The identity theory (possessing sociological background), as well as the social identity theory (deriving from psychology) address the structure and function of the self, and acknowledge reciprocal links between society and the socially construed self. Although these theories differ in their approaches to socio-cognitive processes connected with identity-related behaviour patterns (Hogg et al. 1995), they significantly overlap and both emphasize that the multifaced and dynamic self actively mediates its place within social structure through its individual behaviour (Stets and Burke 2000)³².

In the highly globalised context of the contemporary world, the concept of identity is increasingly examined in relation to the necessity of redefining identity in situations of international/intercultural contacts. The problem particularly refers to migrants who need to face the process of building a relation between their national identity and the culture of the host country. The issue is vastly explored by extensive subject literature pertaining to the domain of intercultural communication, bifurcated multicultural/hybrid identities, and acculturation processes (e.g. Berry 1997, 1988, 2005; Horton and Mendus 1999; Kwiatkowska and Chodkowska 2010; Matsumoto and Juang 2004, among many others).

2.3.2. Identity as discursively construed

The relationship between language, discourse and identity has always been a significant area of CDA investigations. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) distinguish three broad domains of social life which may be discursively constituted, i.e. 'representations of the world', 'social relations between people' and 'personal identities' (p.273). It means that when negotiating the sense of self, an individual not only learns the social rules but also confronts them with the issues raised within certain discourses. In result, the complex process of identity formation is deeply interwoven with discursive reality (numerous discourses that are the integral part of the social). As Benwell and Stokoe (2006) point out, the perception of identity changed "from early treatments

³² Identity theory was originally formulated by Stryker (e.g. Stryker 1968, 1980, 1987) and it refers to the symbolic interactionist view that perceives the self as a product of social interaction. Social identity theory was elaborated by Tajfel in relation to social perceptions of racism, prejudice and discrimination and it draws on the social self, group processes and intergroup relations. It was then supplemented by Turner and others (e.g. Tajfel 1959, 1969, 1974; Tajfel and Turner 1979).

of identity as a self-fashioning, agentic, internal project of the self, to post-modern accounts which treat identity as fluid, fragmentary, contingent and, crucially, constituted in discourse" (p.17).

To explore how identity is construed through particular language manifestations and how various types of social practices contribute to maintaining individual/collective identities CDA researchers apply a range of analytical tools and methods. According to Bamberg et al. (2011), identity-oriented research conducted within discourse studies, can be differentiated between two competing views of identity construction. To understand these alternative, analytical approaches it is crucial to:

[distinguish] between these general societal contextual conditions (as framing and delineating local conditions) that can be characterized as *capital-D contexts* and the kinds of local in situ contexts within which subjects 'find themselves speaking' that can be described as the *small-d contexts* of everyday activities. (Bamberg et al. 2010: 180-181)

Consequently, there can be distinguished two types of analyses – the ones concerning 'capital-D discourses' and those referring to 'small-d discourses' (ibid.: 181). The first approach considers the person's identity as constructed in and through already existing discourses, and it derives from Foucault's theory that deterministically perceives process of shaping identity as influenced by culture. The culture entails commonly shared norms which are social conditions under which discourses form 'regimes of truth' — frames within which social life is talked about and understood (Foucault 1988: 11). The other representatives of this approach are Habermas (1979), who examines discourse in the form of 'discourse ethics', and Lyotard (1984) who analyses 'discourse genres'. As their concepts emphasize the significant role of interconnections between the social actions and individual behaviour, all these theorists perceive identity as fundamentally determined by societal macro-conditions.

The other perspective's representatives are, among others, Harris (1952) and Schiffrin (1994) who refer to 'small-d discourses'. They concentrate on the sense of self as emerging in interaction and analyse particular language choices used by individuals to effectively express their intentions in a given social context. However, most critical approaches to discourse prove that both perspectives presented above can be successfully combined in view of the fact that macro-scale social relations (including those responsible for identity creation) are reflected by micro-scale language interactions (Fairclough 1995a, 2003).

Fairclough challenges Foucauldian perception of an individual person as the 'powerless subject' and acknowledges their active role in creating the self. As he points out:

People are not only pre-positioned in how they participate in social events and texts, they are also social agents who do things, create things, change things [and] self-consciousness is a precondition for social processes of identification, the construction of social identities, including social identification in discourse and text. (Fairclough 2003: 160)

Thus, not only does discourse play a crucial role in shaping identity but it can both reflect and constitute identity in a constant, dynamic process. As argued by Fairclough, identity can be 'construed' with potential for 'construction' (ibid.: 8-9). CDA's concentration on the identity formation processes resulted in conceptual turn from perceiving identity as a static phenomenon to its understanding as the dynamic concept of constant process of creation that occurs through social action and interaction. It is:

[a] shift away from viewing a person as self-contained and *having* identity and generating his/her individuality and character as a person identity project towards focusing instead on the processes in which identity is *done* or *made* – as constructed in discursive activities. (Bamberg et al. 2011: 178)

Consequently, discursive approaches to identity construction concentrate on three dimensions of this construal process (ibid.):

- a) mutual relation between the self and surrounding reality in the process of construction identity (the research concerns the question whether the self influences reality or if reality influences the self);
- b) the differentiation between the self and the other that allows an individual to navigate between her/his uniqueness and the sense of belonging to the community (to what extent the self is differentiated and simultaneously integrated with self — other relations);
- c) how the constant change across the person's biography affects maintaining the sameness as the sense of self.

The above-presented three dimensions of identity exploration are inseparably connected with the concept of low/high agency that can be understood as "the degree of empowerment in the discursive space" (Kopytowska 2012: VII). On the linguistic level agency is construed by particular choices of lexis and grammar patterns, in order to differentiate the social statuses between the individual/group of a victim status, who demonstrates low level of responsibility for social actions, and the individual/group with a strong sense of social control³³.

The notion of agency is a useful concept when analyzing the discursive strategies of positioning the subject in relation to other social actors who are referred to, with the aim to differentiate between in-group and out-group

³³ For an insightful analysis of the concept of agency see also Boltański 1999 and Chouliaraki 2006.

members. One of the basic social mechanisms traced by CDA is the discursive construction of identity of 'us' and 'others', that starts with creating generalizations of differences between various social groups and categorizing them with positive and negative labels. This discursive process is well captured by van Dijk's theory of 'ideological square' (1998b: 33) that explains the strategy of describing *our* properties/actions in a favourable manner together with emphasizing *their* negative features. The construction of *our* vs. *their* identity is thus visible in discursive evocation of a set of *our* shared values/characteristics which are different from those typical for *them*. When these categories are attributed to the whole minority group, they result in stereotyping and developing the whole system of discrimination. Such a system functions thanks to certain discourse that may be used to marginalize or exclude any minority out-group, be that representatives of another race, religion, gender, etc. (see also Section 3.2.3.). As the 'us' vs. 'other' opposition is an integral part of national/ethnic identity (Budyta-Budzyńska 2013), in-group vs. out-group discursive representations are of central importance in situations of conflicts (political, ethnic, cultural, religious, etc.) and in the immigration discourse (Hart 2010).

The above-presented approach has been applied in the analyses of numerous identity-centred discourses that are collectively termed as discourses of difference (Wodak 1996) or the discursive politics of representations (Hall 1997a; Pickering 2001; see also Ainsworth and Hardy 2004). Among the fields of interest within the CDA domain there are gender and ethnic/racial identities' construction, as well as reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudices (e.g. Cameron 1997; Stokoe 1998; Tannen 1994; van Dijk 1997b, 2005b).

When examining the interplay of micro and macro identities in a given discourse, de Fina (2011) distinguishes between certain discursive strategies that are responsible for the construction of identity:

- a) indexicality – attributing the meaning to certain language characteristics (sounds, words, expressions) that in result become associated with particular social categories (qualities, situations, social representations or ideological systems);
- b) local occasioning – shaping and influencing reality through expressing identity indexical categories;
- c) positioning – negotiating identity by occupying opposite or complementary position towards others;
- d) dialogism – expressing identity in interactions and dialogical situations;
- e) categorization – forming identity categories connected with the social/national group membership or historic circumstances.

Thus, discourse-based understanding of identity enables researchers to perceive identity as being both contextual and relational, and to examine the manner in which the dominant cultural approach to identity is normalized, reproduced and maintained in everyday texts. As pointed out by Benwell and Stokoe (2006), discourse studies on identity serve the purpose of explicating “the processes by which people orient to consistency in their accounts of themselves and other people (underpinning the view of identity as ‘fixed’), whilst simultaneously showing that identity is contingent on the local conditions [of social reality]” (p.17). The conclusion thus arises that, when examining the processes of construction at the micro-level, a researcher may reveal both the way in which constructions of identity constrain individuals, and the prospects for resistance expressed by marginalized groups.

The example of identity-oriented CDA research is the analysis conducted by Koller (2012) who examined the notion of collective identities as socio-cognitive representations together with discursive construction of gender and sexual identity. For the purpose on her research Koller formulated general research questions at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of discourse, that are to be answered in a collective-identity study:

- 1) What collective identities do discourse producers construct in a particular text? (micro-level);
- 2) How are collective identities constructed in a concrete text? (micro-level)
- 3) Who is involved in the discursive practices around the text, and in what role? What genre does the text instantiate (meso-level);
- 4) What social factors impact on the text and on discourse practice? (macro-level). Questions 3 and 4 feed into the ultimate question as to: why are these identities constructed in discourse and why in this way? (p. 27)

The significant contribution to research on identity was also made by Hodge, who, among others, analysed the key categories and identities that are interwoven with the ideological message conveyed by the press images depicting Muslim women (2012). Dascal presented in-depth analysis of identity-oriented issues, especially cultural identity, referring to collective identities of Arabs and Jews in Israel (2003).

Since identity is a relational phenomenon, various forms of information technologies significantly influence identity formation due to the fact that they directly affect social relationship patterns. The good example here can be the explosive development of the Internet which results in forming fragmented and multiple identities being facilitated by anonymous online interactions. As the way in which people communicate is inherently connected

with their identity, the technology-driven patterns of communication “have consequences for identity construction characterizing the process not only in shape but in substance” (Cordini 2011: 93).

2.3.3. National identity and discourse

In the context of research on discursive representations of Polish migrants and their consequent implications for the discursive construing of Polish and British identities, the issue of national identity deserves a broader attention. The national identity is conceived as the ethnic-oriented variant of social identity and as such is fundamentally based on a common history and awareness of belonging to a particular in-group. De Cillia et al. point to five basic assumptions concerning the discursive construction of nations and national identities (p.153-154):

1) referring to Anderson’s theory, nations can be perceived as mental constructs termed as ‘imagined political communities’ (Anderson 1991: 224). Their representations are embedded in the minds (memories) and when transported into the exclusion/inclusion contexts, they can become influential guiding ideas;

2) national identities are construed discursively, through language and other semiotic systems’ realizations. Thus, the idea of a given nation is disseminated by politicians, journalists, intellectuals by means of media, system of education, etc;

3) with respect to Bourdieu’s notion of habitus (see Chapter 2) national identity can be regarded as a habitus in the form of a complex set of common concepts, ideas or perception schemes (stereotypes, attitudes, etc.) that are intersubjectively shared with other members of the national group. In result they form the particular emotional attitude to the in-group and out-groups;

4) the discursive constructions of nations and national identities are always strictly connected with the construction of difference and sameness to differentiate ‘us’ from ‘others’;

5) national identity is not a stable and immutable phenomenon. Instead, it is dynamic and frequently incoherent. That is why an individual can be characterized by different identities that are construed in terms of a particular context (situational settings, social field, etc.).

Consequently, the interconnections between discursive acts (that are socially constitutive) and national identities are manifold:

First, they [discursive acts] play a decisive role in the genesis, production and construction of certain social conditions. Thus, discourses may serve to construct national identities. Second, they might perpetuate, reproduce or justify a certain social status quo (and national identities related to it). Third, they are instrumental in transforming the status

quo (and national identities related to it). Fourth, discursive practices may have an effect on the dismantling or even destruction of the status quo (and of national identities related to it). (ibid.: 157)

The above-presented national identity vs. discourse interrelations are of particular importance in the context of migration. In the situation of an intercultural/international contacts, not only native citizens, but also immigrants have to confront with 'the other', and, consequently, re-define their identities. As discourse is both socially constitutive and socially constituted, "migrant identities and belongings are discursively constructed and reformulated; macro-social and discursive practices influence these constructions and reformulations" (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2008: 105). The research on national identity discourse is, thus, aimed at tracing linguistic devices (lexical choices, syntactical means or argumentation schemes) which stimulate identification and solidarity with the 'we-group', and simultaneously distance 'us' from 'others'.

The prominent example of analytical insight into the process of identity construction through particular formulations of language is a study conducted by Billig (1995). He analysed how British newspapers constructed the national identity by means of deictic expressions such as 'us', 'our' and 'we'. According to Billig, national identity is all the time discursively recreated by means of certain words that people are constantly exposed to, and which are subject to almost unconscious perception. These "banal words, jingling in the ears of the citizens, or passing before their eyes" (ibid.: 93) reproduce dominant national ideologies and operate as reminders of national identity. A significant position in the panorama of identity-centred discourse research is held by the Vienna school of DHA which took under scrutiny national references in the Austrian public discourse (e.g. Wodak 2010; Wodak 2011a).

Summing up, as stated by Hodge (2014), "an increasingly globalized and mediatized world is producing ever larger and more dispersed discursive manifestations of identity" (p.307). That is why the complex interconnections between identity and various types of discourse (including the media discourse) have become an undeniable fact, and CDA — with its broad spectrum of approaches and tools — vastly contributes to understanding identity as a social, discourse-dependent phenomenon.

Chapter 3. Different trends within CDA

The purpose of Chapter 3 is to present a clear picture of the most recognized frameworks within the CDA group, and, thus, situate the DHA framework in the broader methodological context. To briefly describe the established traditions and new developments, I refer to their key theoretical assumptions, the most prominent representatives and the essential examples of research. The main focus in this chapter is DHA approach, as it is the framework applied in the presented research project. For this reason, I put particular emphasis on DHA's historical background together with its theoretical underpinnings and analytical tools.

3.1. Established traditions vs. new approaches

Critical Discourse Analysis (understood as a text-oriented critical approach to research on social phenomena) has expanded considerably in the recent years, as it appeared to be an effective way to comprehensively describe the mutual influences of discourse and the social in the contemporary mediatized world. Such a proliferation of approaches would not be possible without incorporation of concepts and (elements of) methodologies from various scientific domains that give attention to different kinds of social phenomena. As argued by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999): "The theoretical constructions of discourse which CDA tries to operationalize can come from various disciplines, and the concept of 'operationalization' entails working in a transdisciplinary way where the logic of one discipline (for example, sociology) can be 'put to work' in the development of another (for example, linguistics)" (p.16).

As CDA is inseparably connected with the micro-level analysis of textual data, it (inevitably, but to different extents) feeds on the achievements of the domain of linguistics. However, CDA approaches do not rely on ready-made linguistic frameworks. Instead, they abductively adapt selected linguistic theories and combine them with the social ones (broadly perceived), depending

on the type of data and a research problem operationalised (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 30).

Although interdisciplinary, multi-faced and, by definition, eclectic CDA allows for a broad range of methods, tools and attested data, there are distinct analytical traditions that can be clearly identified within the CDA domain. As Hart and Cap (2014) point out:

These traditions may be delineated either in terms of particular methodological 'schools' or 'approaches' (e.g. Wodak and Meyer 2009) or in terms of the discourse domains and genres targeted (e.g. Cap and Okulska 2013; Bhatia 2004; Martin and Rose 2008). These alternative demarcations represent two possible vantage points in CDS: looking from a theoretical/methodological point of view toward the range of data that a given model is equipped to handle or looking from the point of view of particular data-types toward the range of theories and methodologies that one would need to properly account for them. (p. 2-3)

Thus, the unique richness of possible methods, tools and data makes a CDA perspective naturally suited to handle social complexities in discourse, such as those inextricably connected with ethnic/national discourses.

To overview the collection of methodological approaches perceived as CDA *group* of frameworks I will present six dominating analytical traditions distinguished by Wodak and Meyer in relation to their 'theoretical attractors' and deductive vs. inductive analytical attitude (2009: 20). They are enumerated as follows:

1. Discourse-Historical Approach (Vienna school);
2. Corpus-Linguistic Approach;
3. Social Actor Model;
4. Dispositive Analysis (Duisburg school);
5. Socio-Cognitive Approach;
6. Dialectical-Relational Approach.

Additionally, the list presented above will be supplemented with four more CDA developments identified by Hart and Cap (2014) who recognized the necessity of including significant and distinct approaches into CDA spectrum arguing that:

Each of these new agendas represents, like most strands in CDS, an individual yet interdisciplinary research programme. Moreover, in line with other schools in CDS, each of them constitutes a nuanced line of inquiry shining a light on otherwise unexplored features of the social-linguistic interface. (p.5-6)

As emphasized by Hart and Cap, according to these four recent approaches, "the ideological, persuasive or manipulative potential of discourse" is not an intrinsic feature of language as such, but it is a property of cognitive processes that are prone to be activated by means of particular language

manifestations. The new trends took into consideration topics that were vastly underexplored by the established programmes, and elaborated new manners of analyzing data (2014: 5). The list of these approaches includes:

1. Critical Metaphor Studies;
2. Cognitive-Linguistic Approach;
3. Legitimation-Proximization Model;
4. Neuchatel/Fribourg School of Critical Cognitive Pragmatics.

I will outline the concise characteristic of every approach presenting their main assumptions (together with key theory names that laid the foundations of a particular CDA tradition), and the most important examples of research topics. The DHA, as a methodological framework which my dissertation research project is based on, requires considerable attention and amore in-depth analysis, which is why it will be portrayed in greater detail.

To begin with, Critical Linguistics ('East Anglian' school) (Fowler et al. 1979; Fowler 1991; Hodge and Kress 1993; see also Chapter 1 of the dissertation) deserves to be mentioned as a historical precursor of CDA, although it is not included in the Wodak and Meyer's typology. As the brief outline of the CDA approaches proves, most of its analytical tools and research techniques have been somehow incorporated by other approaches (Billig 2008; O'Halloran 2003). Critical Linguistics evolved into new directions drawing on a number of linguistic/social theories, but it is also still widely used as an independent model and provides the social sciences/humanities' scholars with methodological inspirations.

3.2. *Discourse Historical Approach*

3.2.1. The historical note

Discourse Historical Approach is (similarly to the dialectical-relational framework) the most established approach within the academic research tradition. It was originally elaborated for the purpose of the analysis of stereotypical anti-Semitic images in the public discourse connected with the 1986 presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim in Austria (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Wodak 1996b; Wodak 2010; Wodak 2011a). The thorough research of historical documents, interviews and Austrian newspapers allowed for:

[the] recording of the varying perceptions, selections and distortions of information, i.e. the recontextualization of anti-Semitic *topoi* (...) [and the process of] constitution of anti-Semitic stereotyped image (...) of the "Others" as it emerged in public discourse in Austria in 1986 (...). (Wodak 2010: 301)

The significant research conducted within the framework of DHA sought to reveal the language sources of discrimination and discourses of difference after 1989 (Wodak and Matouschek 1993). The subject of study was the right wing populist rhetoric applied by Jörg Haider and the Freedom Party in Austria. Haider commented on the representatives of other nationalities, especially black Africans, by means of the strategy of negative other-presentation and logical argumentation justifying negative 'emotions' towards them (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 42). This extensive study on prejudice and racism revealed certain theoretical regularities concerning the racist discourse about foreigners (e.g. minority group members and immigrants). The research findings allowed for inferring the conclusion that although the forms of racist/prejudiced discourse may be similar, the contents is diversified and depends on the particular group stigmatized, as well as the given institutional settings (Wodak 2011a: 62).

Wodak and other DHA practitioners continue to do research on institutional discourse as it is inherently connected with the issue of struggles for power, access and control, and extensive usage of inclusion/exclusion strategies enshrined in different degrees of formality (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2008; Wodak 2011c). One of recent DHA research served the purpose of revealing identity politics and patterns of decision-making processes in EU organizations to "explain the context-dependent tensions and contradictions which necessarily arise in such a historically complex 'entity' as Europe" (Wodak 2011a: 62).

3.2.2. Theoretical assumptions

DHA analyses textual data to reveal potential danger of promoting stereotypes and other discriminatory images. Following the assumption that language can be a tool of managing unequal power relations, DHA gives attention to those who possess and exert power over others³⁴. It traces the ideological positioning of discourse in relation to sexist, racist and other forms of discriminatory language realizations that are embedded in political discourse of national and international level (Wodak 2011c).

In terms of theoretical underpinnings, DHA integrated pragmatic theories concerning micro-level text analysis, with social theories (sociolinguistic tradition of Bernstein school and Habermas theory on communication). Moreover, with its emphasis on collective memory, DHA links to the socio-cognitive theory of van Dijk who perceives discourse as a form of knowledge (e.g. van Dijk 2014). Consequently, in DHA 'discourse' is defined as being:

³⁴ When analysing language of power in politics DHA refers to the Foucault's concepts of power-knowledge and govern mentality (Wodak 2011c: XIV).

- related to a macro-topic (and to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity which involves social actors who have different points of view);
- a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action;
- socially constituted as well as socially constitutive. (Wodak 2011d: 48)

DHA distinguishes between 'discourse' and 'text', namely, discourse contains certain patterns of knowledge and structures, whereas texts (concrete oral utterances or written documents) are unique realizations of a specific discourse, and they represent certain genres. Although DHA adapted the outline of 'referential strategies' that is an integral part of the social actor model (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 46-56), it is mostly concentrated on the issue of topoi (see the strategy of argumentation in the further part of Chapter 3).

In terms of critical attitude (typical for all the CDA approaches) DHA refers to the socio-philosophical orientation of Critical Theory and, consequently, adheres to the concept of social critique which embraces three inter-related aspects of critique (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 32):

1) *Text or discourse immanent critique*. It refers to internal features of text/discourse and aims at revealing inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes and unclear statements within its structures. Referring to own preconceptions and theoretical assumptions concerning the given type of text, the researcher can detect linguistic incongruencies, as well as incorrect logical, semantic or syntactic, among others, structures.

2) *Sociodiagnostic critique*. It deals with the aspect of persuasive or 'manipulative' character of discursive practices. On this stage texts are interpreted interdisciplinarily, i.e. from the perspective of different social theories and analytical models, that allows researchers to embed the communicative structures in a wider frame of social/political relations and organizational circumstances. Following the assumption that discursive practices are specific forms of social practices which are connected with other forms of social activities (Fairclough 1992), DHA aims at revealing contradictions between a given discourse and related social practices (e.g. favourable political declarations and discriminatory practices that stand in opposition to the declarations).

3) *Prospective critique*. It serves the purpose of elaborating guidelines that are supposed to improve communication and reduce 'language barriers' within institutional discourses analysed. This form of critique enabled DHA scholars to prepare concrete proposals for a number of public institutions such as: hospitals, schools, courtrooms, public offices and media institutions (Wodak 1996a).

The first and the second level of critical analysis belongs to the epistemic/cognitive domain of analysis, whereas the third one is connected with the sphere of practice and is associated with normative/ethical dimension. Additionally, the specific form of critique is the critical reconstruction of the past discursive situations. Although it is named *retrospective critique* it is also future-oriented and equally effective like prospective critique, since it refers to those aspects of the past that can still significantly influence the quality of communication in the present.

Through the programme of critique, DHA attempts to explicate potential social consequences of certain interpretations of given discursive representations, as well as to contribute to the solution of specific societal disfunctionalities. However, Wodak points to the fact that in the process of complex critical analysis, DHA does not formulate ready-made this-is-right/this-is-wrong statements. Rather, it justifies successive analytical steps of the researcher and gives theoretical grounds that explain why certain interpretations of discursive events are more valid than others (Wodak 2008). In the words of Reisigl and Wodak (2001):

In order to avoid an excessively simplistic and one-sided perspective, social critique has to be carefully and self-reflectively applied. It has to keep loyalty, first, to the empathy with the victims of discrimination, second, to the principles of justice and, third, to the principles of rationality (not to be understood in the negative and restricted sense of "instrumental rationality") that can help to lead to a better future. (p.35)

When analyzing text-oriented social phenomena a researcher needs to recognize the necessity of taking into account numerous theoretical/practical aspects, in order to effectively investigate how texts function and change against the backdrop of particular contexts. In this vein DHA is based on the principle of triangulation (Cicourel 1969), a multi-aspect method according to which, bias-free critical research requires to be conducted in an interdisciplinary and multi-methodological manner. In result, the triangulation entails using diversified methods of collecting empirical data as well as analyzing different corpora and genres (depending on the subject of a particular study). The above-mentioned assumptions oblige DHA researchers to extend their analytical perspective towards extra-linguistic dimensions and to interpret discursive events in view of historical, political, sociological and psychological aspects. Thus, the triangular approach adheres to the notion of multi-level context which includes four layers of it. The levels of context are distinguished as follows (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 41):

1) *The immediate language surrounding and text-internal context (context)*. It includes, among others, lexical particularities, collocational patterns, connotations, implications and presuppositions.

2) *The intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses.* On this level the researcher analyses discourse representations as well as allusions and evocations.

3) *The extra-linguistic social/sociological variables together with the institutional frames of the specific situational context.* When exploring this level of context, a researcher can apply the middle range theories in order to analyse specific aspects of a given situation, such as, e.g. the level of formality, the features of a place, the time and typical characteristics of the recipients of the communicative situation.

4) *The broader socio-political and historical context of discursive practice.* On this stage the researcher pays attention to the historical background of texts and organizations under analysis, focusing on the fields of action in which particular discursive events are embedded in, as well as historical facts connected with discourse topics. Here macro-theories are necessary to be applied.

What is crucial, the key notions in DHA are: intertextuality, recontextualization and interdiscursivity. Intertextuality means that all texts are linked with other texts. These links can be established in various manners i.e. through reference to a text's topic, to its main actors, or to the same events described. Intertextuality can also be realized by means of reappearing the same arguments, however, this process is also defined as 'recontextualization' and can be divided into de-contextualization (when an argument is transmitted from an old context and restated in a new one) and recontextualization (when the argument is implemented in the new context and acquires a new meaning). Interdiscursivity means that discourses concerning various topics are connected with each other and a particular discourse can refer to topics or subtopics of any other discourse (discourses are naturally hybrid) (Wodak 2011d: 48).

Such a broad, multidimensional approach to context enables researcher to regard "(a) macro-topic-relatedness, (b) pluri-perspectivity related to various voices in a specific social field, and (c) argumentativity as constitutive elements of a discourse" (Wodak 2011c: 39). In result, DHA effectively combines the textual and contextual levels of analysis.

3.2.2. Methodological tools

The core element of DHA framework are discursive strategies that are applied by authors of written/oral texts to depict reality in a specific way, frequently in the discriminatory manner. The strategies have been selected by DHA founders from the broad panorama of linguistic and rhetorical means that can be used to create the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, justification of inclusion/exclusion of others as well

as the construction of identity. Consequently, the strategies orientate DHA framework to five research questions (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 44):

- 1) How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
- 2) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
- 3) By what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion/exclusion of others?
- 4) From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?
- 5) Are the respective points of view articulated overtly, are they intensified or are they mitigated?

Thus, every strategy serves the purpose evoked by the respective research question, and is realized by particular language devices, as presented in Table 2.

The notion of strategy is conceptualized as “a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim” (ibid.). Consequently, the discursive strategy is understood as systematic way of using language that can be located “at different levels of organization and complexity” (ibid.).

The 1st strategy: reference/nomination

Referential/ nomination strategies serve the purpose of presenting or constituting social actors as members of in-groups/out-groups through assigning to them certain categories. As Reisigl and Wodak (2001) point out, “the simplest and most elementary form of linguistic and rhetorical discrimination is that of identifying persons or groups of persons linguistically by naming them derogatorily, debasingly or vituperatively” (p.45). DHA approach recognizes the spectrum of referential strategies that have been adapted from van Leeuwen’s framework as it contains the categories of representation of social actors (van Leeuwen 1996), especially in reference to more subtle forms of positive/negative identifying. However, DHA practitioners redefined van Leeuwen’s categories in certain degree and supplemented them with the new categories and sub-categories (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 46). As strategies of nomination are closely related to the strategies of predication, they can be perceived as the special type of the predication (cf. KhosraviNik 2010).

Discursive strategies in DHA			
Strategy		Objective	Devices
1.	reference/ nomination	construction of in-groups and out -groups	membership categoriza- tion: biological, naturaliz- ing and depersonalizing metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches
2.	predication	labeling social actors more or less posi- tively or negatively, deprecatorily or ap- preciatively	stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits, implicit and explicit predicates
3.	argumentation	justification of posi- tive or negative attri- butions	<i>Topoi</i> used to justify polit- ical inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferen- tial treatment.
4.	perspectiviza- tion or discour- sive representa- tion	expressing involve- ment positioning speaker's point of view	reporting, description, nar- ration or quotation of (dis- criminatory) events and utterances
5.	intensification or mitigation	modifying the ep- istemic status of a proposition	intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force or (discriminatory) utterances

Table 2. Discursive strategies in DHA framework (Wodak 2010: 302)

The 2nd strategy: predication

The predication strategies are applied to label social actors in a favourable/unfavourable manner. In the words of Reisigl and Wodak (2001) predication is:

[the] very basic process and result of linguistically assigning qualities to persons, objects, events, actions and social phenomena. Through predication, persons, things, events and practices are specified and characterized with respect to quality, quantity, space, time and so on. (p.54)

These qualities are assigned either explicitly or implicitly by means of a number of linguistic devices, e.g. in the form of reference (based on explicit denotations or implicit connotations), attributes (such as adjectives or

relative clauses), predicates or predicative nouns, adjectives, pronouns, collocations, explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (ibid.). Predication is a powerful strategy in making in-group/out-group distinctions (or in van Dijk's terms — *Us* vs. *Them* relation) in a group or a society. The categorisations resulting from such divisions are usually organized as binary oppositions, i.e. the in-group members are assigned positive qualities, while the out-group members are attributed with the negative ones. Therefore, their role is to trigger and force certain biased and harmful connotations about the out-group members in the minds of the in-group members who consequently form negative attitudes towards them. In the political context this form of distinguishing between in-group and out-group can be applied "to mobilize support for an issue and to diminish potential opposition" (Wodak 2011c: 44).

The 3rd strategy: argumentation

The strategy of argumentation is based on the notion of *topos* (locus) which is rooted in classical rhetoric and is the fundamental element of the argumentation theory — interdisciplinary study on reaching conclusions by means of logical reasoning. According to van Emmeren et al. (1996), *topos* can be perceived as a 'place' where arguments are located, or as a pragmatic procedure (p.38). Within CDA *topoi* (loci) are defined with reference to the pragmatic domain as:

[parts] of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. (Wodak 2007: 220)

In the subject literature the notion of *topos* is described as a traditional or conventional literary or rhetorical theme. Ivie (1980) defined *topos* as "a reservoir of ideas or core images from which specific rhetoric statements can be generated" (p.281). It is also understood as a generalized key idea that can be a starting point for generating specific statements or arguments (Richardson 2004: 230). Following Drews et al. (1985), Jäger refers to *topoi* as collective symbols and 'cultural stereotypes' that are commonly shared by members of a given society and handed down through generations (2009: 34)³⁵. This way they become socialized into specific cognitive frames (such as event models or metaphor scenarios) and discourses (Wodak 2006). *Topoi* form a repertoire of images which together constitute a complete picture of societal/political reality and consequently they allow society members to

³⁵ See also van Dijk 1984, among others.

interpret messages provided by the media. Moreover, certain argumentative topoi are recontextualized in various public domains and realized by means of different linguistic devices (Iedema 1999, Wodak 2000)³⁶.

As a topos is a content credible/reliable argumentation scheme that leads a given argument from the (explicit) premises to the (implicit) conclusion, it is applied as a rhetorical tool in discussions (when arguing for or against) on various issues connected with racism, ethnicism and nationalism (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Reisigl 2011). When analyzing the recontextualisation of certain topoi, a researcher can effectively trace the process of creating the stereotypical representations of 'the other'. That is why a topos is perceived as a central category in discourse of discrimination and a key concept in the DHA (Wodak and Meyer 2009).

DHA framework offers the list of the most common topoi that were defined in result of research conducted on election campaigns (Pelinka and Wodak 2002 cit. in Wodak 2011d), parliamentary debates (Wodak and van Dijk 2000) and 'voices of migrants' (Delanty et al. 2008) as well as media reporting (Baker et al. 2008). They are as follows: 1) Usefulness, advantage; 2) Uselessness, disadvantage; 3) Definition, name-interpretation; 4) Danger and threat; 5) Humanitarianism; 6) Justice 7) Responsibility; 8) Burdening, weighting; 9) Finances; 10) Reality 11) Numbers; 12) Law and right; 13) History; 14) Culture; 15) Abuse (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Wodak and Meyer 2009; Wodak 2011d).

As the above-mentioned research showed, these topoi were used by social actors to justify the exclusion of migrants in the process of creating implicit conclusions suggesting that migrants ('the others') are responsible for various social irregularities and, consequently, there should be undertaken proper precautions to counteract migrants' influence on a host country. The given topos can be always paraphrased by means of an if-structure, e.g. for the topos of responsibility it is an utterance: "because a state or a group of persons is responsible for the emergence of specific problems, it or they should act in order to find solutions of these problems" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 78). According to Sedlak (2000) topoi can be easily differentiated from topics, which refer to the subject of discussion. Consequently, it means that topoi can be situated *within* discourse manifestations connected with a particular topic (the issue under discussion).

Van Dijk (2000a) points to the fact that the significant feature of topos is the common-sense reasoning typical for specific issues. The conclusion, thus, arises that the most significant aspect of a certain topos are acceptable premises leading to an undeniable (although unsaid) conclusion. In my

³⁶ For the analysis of the notion of topos in the more formal perspective of classical rhetoric see Zagar 2010.

dissertation research I investigate any premise leading to implicit (but at the same time – distinct) conclusion in order to create the broader spectrum of topoi, without restricting to those placed in the DHA framework's list. The topoi enlisted in the result of my research are not entirely disjunctive, as a given premise may refer to more than one aspect of Polish migrants' representation. That is why every topos aims at emphasizing a certain aspect of the issue, which is the integral part of the particular representation trend (e.g. the description of Polish workers is analysed by means of four topoi to cover all the premises concerning the theme of Poles working in the UK).

Another rhetoric tool used within the area of argumentation strategy is fallacy that can be defined as the type of an argumentation scheme which violates the rules of rational and credible argumentation³⁷. Fallacies are often used in manipulative linguistic manifestations that serves the purpose of legitimating different forms of discrimination (including racist, ethnicist and nationalist ones) or strengthening of negative prejudices. What is crucial in view of discrimination discourse, in many discursive situations recipients are not able to differentiate between reliable argumentation scheme (topos) and its distorted reflection (fallacy) which makes fallacies even more powerful strategy when conveying discriminatory messages in the populist and racist argumentation (Reisigl 2011; Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

The 4th strategy: perspectivisation, framing or discourse representation

To identify this strategy, a researcher needs to examine linguistic means that are applied by authors of texts "to express their involvement in discourse [as well as] to position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration and quotation of discriminatory events or utterances" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 81). The key concepts that are indispensable to effectively refer to the strategy of perspectivisation, framing or discourse representation are: 'participation framework' (the type of relationship between individuals evolved in discourse), 'frames' (interactional principles by which situations are defined and conceptualized)³⁸ and 'footing' (the manner in which a writer/speaker organizes his/her relationship to others) (Goffman 1981).

³⁷ For more information on the rules of national disputes and constructive arguing in critical discussions see the pragma-dialectical approach of van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992 and 1994, among others.

³⁸ The notion of frame is variously interpreted across disciplines, however, according to Goffman (1974), it can be understood as 'schemata of interpretation' that are applied to "locate, perceive, identify and label" particular scenes or events, as well as their participants (p.29).

The 5th strategy: intensification or mitigation

Intensification vs. mitigation strategies are supposed to modify the epistemic status of a proposition by means of linguistic devices that change (tone or strengthen) the illocutionary force of utterances. As far as this strategy is concerned, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2001):

The analysis of mitigation strategies (...) can combine the local analysis of mood/speech act structure and modality with the analysis of the perspective of the linguistic representation of social actors as well as with the analysis of presuppositions and implications. (p.83)

The mitigation strategies can be divided into macro- and micro-mitigation with the latter splitting into direct and indirect micro-strategies (ibid.: 84). Intensification/mitigation is strictly connected with certain cultural conventions typical for particular historical circumstances, specific situational context, political correctness or acceptable levels of tolerance in public sphere.

DHA, thus, unfolds a four-step programme of analysis (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 29):

- 1) establishing the specific *contents or topics* of a given discourse that potentially may include racist, nationalist or ethnicist ingredients;
- 2) the analysis of the *discursive strategies* including argumentation strategies;
- 3) the analysis of the *linguistic means* (as types of the discriminatory stereotypes);
- 4) the analysis of the *specific linguistic realizations* (as tokens of the discriminatory stereotypes) that are context-dependent.

To conclude, DHA elaborated the analytical programme, that made it possible to analyse communication from linguistic perspective in historical, socio-political and organizational contexts, in order to effectively reveal the discursive construction of collective concepts of 'races', nations or ethnicities. This multilevel approach enabled scholars to find the balanced point between research focusing either on micro-interactions or macro-structures. Thus, DHA may be perceived as an umbrella framework whose elements have been incorporated into other complex methodological frameworks applied by CDA practitioners. For instance, Musolff (2004, 2010) combined DHA with corpus linguistics and cognitive linguistic approaches, whereas Koller (2004) analysed collective identity by means of methodological techniques of DHA, social actor model and the socio-cognitive approach.

3.3. *Corpus-Linguistic Approach*

The Corpus-Linguistic Approach (Baker 2006; Baker et al. 2008; Mautner 2009, 2011) theoretically adheres to Critical Theory and provides researchers with linguistic computer-aided devices that enable them to conduct the thorough analysis of texts by means of quantitative software programmes. Corpus-Linguistic Approach is designed to analyse the large-scale and electronically stored corpora of textual materials, which is why it effectively refutes the accusations of CDA researchers' bias in selecting or/and interpreting data. As corpus-based procedures allow scholars to identify statistically significant co-occurring language patterns, they undeniably prove the statistical relevance of particular research findings.

The Corpus-Linguistic Approach concentrates on, among others, over-/underrepresented patterns of vocabulary and grammatical structures, together with semantic prosody, collocations and keyness. Consequently, it is potentially able to trace the language properties of ideological content conveyed by hegemonic discourse. Since Corpus-Linguistic Approach relies on the largely (although not completely) decontextualized texts, it is often combined with other CDA approaches that take into consideration the broader context, and can enrich this framework with qualitative input. Baker et al. (2008) applied the Corpus-Linguistic Approach to explore, among others, the discourse of racism in the news. Mautner analysed various sociolinguistic issues (2009), whereas Mulderrig (2009) examined UK political discourse.

3.4. *Social Actor Model*

The Social Actor Model (van Leeuwen 1996; van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999) draws on a broad range of linguistic and sociological theories, especially those that explain the role of *action* in establishing social structure. As individual actors permanently constitute and reproduce social structure, representation is ultimately always based on certain practices. Although this approach refers to methodological assumptions of the systemic functional approaches such as Critical Linguistic (with Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics) and dialectical-relational approach, it elaborated socio-semantic rather than strictly grammatical categories. They are aimed at examining the representations of social actors (groups or individuals) in discourse, with the special focus on the way in which they are attributed in terms of social inclusion/exclusion. According to this approach, the discursive representations are able to convey specific knowledge/opinions about social actors as well as certain expectations, attitudes (resulting from those opinions) and emotional states.

The Social Actor Model theory, situated within social semiotics, took into consideration non-verbal aspects of discourse and provided useful tools for exploring the communicative potential including discriminatory power of visual devices applied by media and politics domains (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 2001, 2006). Consequently, the approach has been used e.g. to analyse media in terms of racist manifestations (van Leeuwen and Jaworski 2003), as well as in search on the *Cosmopolitan* magazine which transmitted sexist stereotyping (Machin and van Leeuwen 2003). The most recent research conducted under this label concerns semiotics handwriting and typography as well as the significance of colour and other devices (Wodak and Meyer 2009). Social Actor Model has been also consistently used by many CDA scholars who focused on pronouns and attributes as well as the verbal mode, time and tense. In result, it vastly contributed to the development of research on multimodality that can be understood as perspective integrating language, image, sound and music (e.g. van Leeuwen 1999, 2000, 2005; Richardson and Wodak 2009).

3.5. Dispositive Analysis (Duisburg school)

Similarly to other CDA approaches, Dispositive Analysis (Jäger and Meier 2009) adheres to Critical Theory, however, from all the CDA established frameworks it most directly refers to notion of discourse formulated by Foucault together with his structuralist understanding of discourse phenomena. As Foucault's theory does not effectively explain the relation between discursive/non-discursive practices (activities) and materializations (objects), Dispositive Analysis integrates the activity theory of Leontiev (1978) and the social constructivism of Laclau (1980). Following the assumptions of these theories, the missing link between discourse and reality is the social actor, which is how Dispositive Analysis moderates the rigid structuralist stance held by Foucault.

According to Link's definition, discourse is "an institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power" (Link 1983: 60 cit. in and translated by Jäger and Maier 2009: 34). Thus, messages conveyed by institutionalized discourses (in form of certain patterns of behaviour, speaking and – in result – thinking) are of central importance in shaping the intrinsic sense of 'self' (this way discourse constitutes subject). Consequently, in view of this approach, language — which is one of human activities — can be located among other social practices (customs, traditions, legal codes, architectural achievements, etc.), all of which construct a semi-otic network in a broad sense. In discourse-oriented research Dispositive Analysis concentrates on the role of e.g. metaphors, references, topics as well

as symbols and argumentation strategies that can potentially maintain racist discourses. Moreover, Dispositive Analysis takes advantage of the Foucault's concept of the 'dispositive' which covers both discursive and non-discursive practices and materializations.

3.6. Socio-Cognitive Approach

The Socio-Cognitive Approach (van Dijk 2004, 2005a, 2008b, 2009, 2014) is fundamentally grounded in formal text linguistics but it extensively adheres to the theories from the domains of psychology and cognitive science, with the special focus on the social representation theory of Moscovici (2001)³⁹. The framework introduces the triadical system of interplay between discourse, cognition and society ('the van Dijk's triangle') that plays a crucial role in reproducing unequal power relations and forming stereotypes or negative social attitudes (e.g. ethnic prejudice).

Socio-Cognitive approach directed CDA practitioners' attention to discourse as a phenomenon strictly connected with social cognition. In the words of van Dijk (2003):

[social] cognition' is the system of mental structures and operations that are acquired, used or changed in social contexts by social actors and shared by the members of social groups, organizations and cultures. This system consists of several subsystems, such as knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values, and the ways these are affected and brought to bear in discourse and other social practices. (p.89)

Thus, flows of stored societal knowledge organizes the way in which a particular society determines further discursive and non-discursive practices.

In this approach discourse is understood as "a communicative event, including conversational interaction, written text, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images and any other 'semiotic' or multi-media dimension of signification" (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 25). Discourse is, thus, perceived as a means through which social representations (norms, opinions, values that are shared by members of a given social group) shape individual cognition. This way discourse influences consciousness of members of the society and, consequently, shapes their identity. Personal and social cognition can be understood as an interface that mediates between discourse structures and social structures (as there is not a direct relation between them).

³⁹ Additionally, other inspirations for this approach come from social constructionism (e.g. Berger and Luckmann 1966) and symbolic interactionism (e.g. Blumer 1962; Plummer 1975).

The social representations are tied to a specific social group, which is why they are dynamic constructs that strictly depend on context. Socio-Cognitive Approach sees context as the crucial notion in theory of discourse, and formulates the concept of context models and event models which are:

[mental] representations in episodic memory... in which people store their knowledge and opinions about episodes they experience or read/hear about... Context models control the 'pragmatic' part of discourse and event models the 'semantic' part. (van Dijk 2001: 112)

3.7. *Dialectical-Relational Approach*

The Dialectical-Relational Approach (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995a, 2003) draws on the Marx's theory of social conflict and aims at detecting the linguistic realizations of this conflict (e.g. manifestations of social difference, dominance or resistance) by means of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics. It concentrates on power and institutional discourse with the special focus on intertextuality of different forms of social practice. In view of Dialectical-Relational Approach "every social practice has a semiotic element. Productive activity, the means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis are dialectically related elements of social practice" (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 27). CDA is, thus, understood as analysis of the dialectical relationship between those elements.

The semiotic dimensions of a social practice are the main point of Fairclough's theory, and they are described as the 'orders of discourse' (1995a: 55-57). In words of Tenorio (2011) they can be examined in relation to "its styles (or semiotic ways of being), genres (or semiotic ways of acting and interacting) and discourses (or semiotic ways of constructing the world) (p.8). Consequently, a subject of scientific study (a particular social problem) needs to be operationalised in terms of its semiotic dimension, to examine its specific styles, genres and discourse together with the context structure (the tense, the modality and the agents, among others). When analysing language realizations that are typical for various forms of social life, the Dialectical-Relational Approach takes into account both structure and action of discourse practices, and explores their role in forming social hierarchies. The crucial concept in the Dialectical-Relational Approach is *interdiscursivity* which refers to the notion of the order of discourse and means the existence of mutual interrelations (implicit or explicit) between different discourses.

3.8. *Critical Metaphor Studies*

Critical Metaphor Studies (Charteris-Black 2004; Koller 2004; Musolff 2004, 2010) is a significant contribution to cognitive paradigm within CDA

and has been defined as the “integration of cognitive semantic and pragmatic approaches that is based on corpus evidence” (Charteris-Black 2004: 13). It gave its analytical attention to the implications of particular metaphorical expressions in different types of discourses, mostly in the political one⁴⁰. Thus, this approach added the new dimension to the analysis of metaphors, namely, the focus on their ideological embedding.

Critical Metaphor Studies, as critical viewpoint on metaphors elaborated within CDA, “has illuminated the fundamental role the metaphor plays not only in our *understanding of* the socio-political world we inhabit, but also in the way we argue about socio-political issues” (Hart and Cap 2014: 6). The spectrum of research projects conducted within Critical Metaphor Studies approach proved that metaphors play the crucial role in organizing mental representations of social experience and they are deeply interwoven with other language realizations that constitute the network of knowledge. That is why, to reveal how metaphors contribute to potential ideological manifestations, they are analysed in reference to the broader context.

The important example of research conducted under the label of Critical Metaphor Studies, was the one concerning differences between cognitive processes connected with metaphors and those connected with metonymy. In this vain, e.g. Charteris-Black (2003) analysed the Malay language in terms of figurative use of selected words together with the social aims of their metaphorical conceptualizations.

3.9. Cognitive-Linguistic Approach

Cognitive-Linguistic Approach (Hart 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2013) integrates the findings of Cognitive Linguistics and analyses the spectrum of grammatical/lexical structures in terms of conceptual processes that can be triggered by those structures due to their ideological content. As argued by Hart and Cap (2014), the conceptual processes are “seen as instantiations of non-linguistic, domain-general cognitive processes” (p.6). According to typology elaborated within Cognitive-Linguistic Approach, conceptual processes include: categorization, metaphor, modality and deixis, and all of them are examined as potential ideology carriers due to their impact on broader cognitive systems. As the conceptual processes are structured by language

⁴⁰ The research of metaphor itself has a long academic tradition and refers to the school of cognitive metaphor analysis established by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). In their words “metaphors play a central role in the construction of social and political reality” (ibid.: 159), as by means of metaphors the forms of reasoning typical for one domain of knowledge can be used in another domain, in order to help understand the subject.

and they unavoidably influence the way of perceiving social categories (time, space, location, etc.), they are an important persuasive tool in hands of those who express ideological messages to exert power.

Although Cognitive-Linguistic Approach has been distinguished in Hart and Cap's typology of four recent trends, Hart himself emphasizes that it is *not* a single theoretical framework, but (similarly to CDA) a paradigm within linguistic studies, which can be perceived as an umbrella term for a number of approaches that analyse discourse from the perspective of conceptual processes (2010). As cognitive approaches focus on the relations between knowledge and meaning, they blur the classical distinction between thinking and language use. The significant contribution of Cognitive-Linguistic Approach theories into CDA resulted in focusing on complex relationship between linguistic manipulation and the general theory of conceptual processes, with the special attention given to the 'construal' potential of language (Hart 2010: 56), which means that the certain situation can be conceptualised differently depending on the particular words/expressions in use⁴¹.

3.10. *Legitimation-Proximization Model*

The Legitimation-Proximization Model (Cap 2006, 2013; Chilton 2004; Kopytowska 2013, 2014, 2015) applies the theoretical apparatus of linguistic pragmatics in order to analyse the conceptual operation of 'proximization', that can be realized in a spatial, temporal or axiological variant. The usage of a particular form of proximation strictly depends on the specific political context embedded in the network of global interdependencies. The purpose

⁴¹ The cognitive framework is also a distinctive feature of Chilton's research (e.g. 1996, 2004, 2011) who concentrated on the discourse of politics and international relations. He applies pragmatics achievements as he sees the domain of pragmatics as complementary to semantics. However, Chilton has never explicitly referred to the term CDA as his primary aim was to prove the presence of in-born 'critical instinct', and, consequently, the obsolescence of CDA research. As argued by Wodak and Meyer (2009): "His [Chilton's] most recent (...) and ongoing work departs from CDA's tendency to allegedly reify social structures and processes and raises major research questions relating to the relationship between language and social cognition in the evolution of the human species. More particularly, he has drawn on cognitive evolutionary psychology to ask whether there might exist an innate 'critical instinct'. If this is the case, he argues, then what is the role of critical discourse analysis?" (p.14). Chilton, thus, focuses on the question if contemporary societies guarantee proper conditions for the 'critical instinct' to operate. Chilton's stance has been challenged by other CDA practitioners, among them Wodak, who states that: "such a purely cognitive approach is not able to explain the emotional and affective components of anti-Semitic rhetoric nor the wide range and contextual factors necessary for its mass-psychological impact at a specific time in a specific context (...)" (Wodak 2007: 204).

of the pragmatic-cognitive strategy of proximization is to persuade the audience of the existence of potential threat that can directly affect the addressees in a spatial, temporal or axiological dimension. This way proximization shapes conceptual relations between the entities situated within the deictic centre (IDCs), i.e. a speaker together with an addressee, and those who are outside the deictic centre (ODCs) (Chilton 2004). This language strategy has two pseudo-physical dimensions, i.e. spatial and temporal proximization, and one value-related dimension, i.e. axiological proximization. Spatial and temporal proximization allow for depicting this influence (which is usually a negative one such as a 'threat') as close in time/space to the IDCs and the deictic centre. The axiological dimension indicates pointing to the system of values that may be put at risk.

The three proximization strategies are in mutual interrelations and have compensatory character which means that their application is strictly connected with the current state of affairs. In result, when the given dimension of threat loses in significance and the respective type of proximization is downplayed, another type restores the overall balance of the potential threat (e.g. if spatial or temporal threat diminishes, the speaker explicitly emphasizes the differences between out-group and in-group systems of values). On the other hand, if any aspect of the context can be used to formulate spatial or temporal proximization strategy, the axiological dimension is not referred to. The Spatial-Temporal-Axiological (STA) model of proximization construes the form of argument which is supposed to arouse recipients' acceptance of particular political arrangements that are depicted by the speaker as counteracting postulated threat. Consequently, the proximization strategy serves the purpose of legitimisation of adequate counter measures as well as delegitimation of actions performed by a potential aggressor.

The Legitimation-Proximization Model has been applied to analyse the language used by the US administration during the Iraq war (e.g. Cap 2006, 2008, 2011). Cap provided the thorough typology of linguistic indicators that serve the purpose of realizing a particular dimension of proximization (2013). Kopytowska concentrated on this strategy in terms of the media coverage in visual news reporting, and from this perspective she analysed the CNN news reports on Africa. She elaborated multimodal categories of proximization to examine the apparently 'peripheral' news content as being deictically moved closer to the news recipients. In Kopytowska's innovative approach proximization is perceived as a multimodal phenomenon that is strictly connected with the attractiveness and persuasive potential of the news or other media genres (Kopytowska 2013, 2014, 2015).

3.11. Neuchatel/Fribourg School of Critical Cognitive Pragmatics

Neuchatel/Fribourg School of Critical Cognitive Pragmatics (Maillat and Oswald 2009, 2011; Saussure and Schulz 2005) investigates, among others, fallacious arguments in order to reveal the manipulative property of language. In words of Sperber et al. (1995) “people are nearly-incorrigible ‘cognitive optimists’” (p.90), which means that they uncritically rely on their cognitive processes and do not call into question their knowledge, opinions and conclusions. In result, people are highly prone to cognitive illusions and can easily internalize manipulative/ideological discursive content which they are not aware of.

Neuchatel/Fribourg School of Critical Cognitive Pragmatics explicitly adheres to the Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995; Wilson and Sperber 2002)⁴² to reveal how cognition processes (such as cognitive bias or subjective assessment of relevance) influence selecting of information, and how they constrain people from double checking.

Both the established and more emerging traditions illustrated above are not entirely discrete, as CDA is a flexible paradigm and, consequently, elements of one approach can be transmitted into another methodological framework. This indisputable virtue of CDA allows different approaches to be combined in continuous search for new synergies and productive developments. Thus, the rich and versified panorama of CDA approaches allow, in turn, researchers to address discourse from a variety of analytical angles and to analyse any aspect targeted. CDA constantly develops and evolves, which means that it reassesses the validity/usefulness of its methods and does not hesitate to cross the boundaries of new scientific territories in order to appropriate any descriptive or applied science. In result, it can effectively react to innovations and interconnections appearing in social reality.

To conclude, CDA is by no means *one* scientific orientation applying a strictly defined and complete list of theories or methods, but an approach constitutively oriented towards interdisciplinary dialogue and collaboration with various branches of social studies. As a consequence, the decision of applying the CDA perspective obliges a researcher to select a particular variant of CDA framework which is always related to other methodological choices.

⁴² According to the Principle of Relevance (the main assumption of the Relevance Theory), “Every act of ostensive communication communicates the presumption of its own optimal relevance” (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 158). It is the generalization concerning *the ostensive-inferential communication*, in which “The communicator produces a stimulus which makes it mutually manifest to communicator and audience that the communicator intends, by means of this stimulus, to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions” (ibid.: 155).

Chapter 4. Media and media language

The objective of this chapter is to provide a broad media context of the issues under discussion. The chapter begins with presenting a concise picture of media as a social phenomenon and object of academic study. Next, I move on to a short characterisation of media language and I offer a brief overview of the notions central to the media discourse. The overriding aim here is to trace the link between media and mental representations, and also to highlight the role of discourse as the special form of interface between them. In the next section I concentrate on media discourse that can be perceived as a *process* and a *product*, whereas the subsequent part of the chapter is devoted to the process of constructing the news and sheds more light on the crucial concept of news values. The successive section brings the reader closer to understanding the newspaper language, with the special focus on the structure and types of the press news. Finally, I show the British press in the context of the UK media system. I make an attempt at illustrating its social determinants and the most distinctive features of the print media market. As a whole, Chapter 4 focuses on the complex processes that accompany news production, and it emphasizes the power of media in the generation of meaning and conveying potentially discriminatory messages.

4.1. The mass-mediated messages and their influence on the audience

4.1.1. Media as a social phenomenon and object of research

According to McQuail (2000), the media system is formed by all the mass media that operate in the society in different sectors such as press, radio, television and telecommunication (p.212). The sectors are inextricably intertwined with each other and altogether create the media space that produces the broad panorama of media texts. As verbal dimension constitutes a prevailing part of media content and, simultaneously, an essential part of all the texts that individuals are exposed to, they significantly influence human awareness of social and political reality. Media transmit certain knowledge, attitudes and beliefs, and provide the public with the information on political/social problems together with the means to their resolution. As Hulteng (1979) claims:

All the various communication media are equally important to us in making sense of what William James called the 'blooming, buzzing confusion' that surrounds us. By their headlines, by the placement and length of stories in the evening newscast, the media help to order in importance both events and personalities. They help us to categorize. Since we can't attend to everything that is going on, the media provide us with clues to those things of particular significance to us individually, so that we can focus on matters that affect us most nearly. (p.82)

In this vein, according to Fowler (1991), media are one of the main language-forming institutions (together with the education system and the government) as they generate substantial part of the language which is used by the society. Moreover, media create the sphere of mass education and they significantly supplement formal schooling system.

The potential of mass media to effectively influence individuals' awareness and public opinion was recognized by Lippmann (1922 cit. in Goban-Klas 2009) who pointed to the dominating role of the press in the process of creating mental images of reality. Lippmann referred to stereotypes as 'pictures in our heads' (understood as visualizations of the identity or nature of others) and their role in shaping people's expectations of how other members of the society are supposed to behave. The media are unquestionably a major source of such stereotypes.

The founding concept of the media research was developed by Lasswell (1948) who elaborated the 'Five W's' formula. According to it, the main directions of media analysis should answer following essential questions: "who says, what, with which channel, to whom, with what effect?". Consequently, Lasswell divided media's research domain into five spheres of analysis concerning respectively: control, content, medium, audience and effects (p. 37 cit. in Goban-Klas 2009: 88). Lasswell's formula allowed the researchers to explore certain aspects of media influence on the society, however, it proved to be ineffective in covering all the characteristic features of media-public relation. That is why numerous scholars made attempts to supplement it with additional questions such as, for instance, 'in what situation?' and 'why?' (Goban-Klas and Sienkiewicz 1999: 15).

The further research on media effects resulted in elaborating numerous theories concerning potential media capacity to influence the receivers' opinion-formulating process. The pioneering model named 'the bullet theory' ('the direct effects theory') was rooted in behaviorism — the psychological trend that dominated in the 1930s and maintained the opinion, that media messages directly and distinctly influence audiences' behaviour. As Lowery and De Fleur (1995) put it, media receivers were assumed to be „uniformly controlled by their biologically based ‚instincts‘ and (...) [they were thought to] react more or less uniformly to whatever ‚stimuli‘ came along“ (p. 400; see also Berger 1995). However, extensive research on the subject that referred

to the social learning theory elaborated by Miller and Dollad (1941 cit. in Grossberg et al. 1998) proved individual differences in media texts absorption. The social learning theory concerned the process of learning through observation and emphasized the role of individual motivation, which, in turn, challenged the idea of involuntarily perception of media messages. The consequent studies on media's impact led to the conclusion that media audience is involved in the process of selective perception, which means "the ability of individuals to mold their own view of reality from media content" (Grossberg et al. 1998: 292). As pointed out by Pisarek (1983), the message received differs from the message sent, because the receivers negotiate the meaning of media messages depending on their personalities, previous experiences and current situations. Consequently, they can consciously confront the media representations of others with their own cognitive models. Nevertheless, although the receivers subject the media messages to intentional interpretation, media still shape people's cognition due to the complex procedures of selecting information that occur in the process of constructing the news (see also the further part of Chapter 4).

4.1.2. Research on media language

Bell (1991) proposes six reasons for which media language deserves academic interest. First, the language of mass media is "intrinsically interesting to us as language users and receivers" due to the fact that they provide the receivers with definitions, hierarchies and stereotypes encoded in language. In result, the linguistic means applied by media carry hidden potential to persuade the audience. Secondly, media vastly affect the language use in a given society, which presupposes potentially negative influence on everyday speech. Thirdly, language itself is an essential part of media content, as it is both a tool and a means of expression for media messages. The fourth reason is connected with the advantage over face-to-face communication in terms of collecting data. Media-derived research materials are not burdened with Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972: 209) which means that the form of messages stays neutral towards the fact of recording. Undoubted attractiveness of media is also their availability and consequent easiness of the data collecting process. Finally, media texts' quality is not affected by recording process, which is often not the case in the situation of spoken language recording (direct-line recordings of the given medium are comparable with the originals) (p.3-4; see also Bednarek and Caple 2012b: 6).

Media language is explored within numerous scientific domains, such as social psychology (it concentrates on attitudes to language and examines language as a means of mutual interactions), sociology (it analyses how the use of language in media affects groups in a society), and communication studies

(they aim at understanding how the media construct the messages). The analytical approach to media research refers to various academic traditions such as semiology,⁴³ narrative analysis⁴⁴ and genre analysis⁴⁵ (qualitative methods), as well as content analysis⁴⁶ (quantitative interpretations). According to Richardson (2007), research on media language/discourse is based on five fundamental assumptions concerning language itself (p.10-13):

1) Language is social – as language is the central human activity and the tool of attributing meaning to actions, it can exist only in and through the dialogue with society. “Language *first* represents social realities and *second* contributes to the production and reproduction of social reality or social life” (Richardson 2007: 10).

2) Language use enacts identity – through language (in any form) people project themselves as possessing certain identity. Thus, the meaning of a medium text (as well as any utterance or argument) is inseparably related to the identity of its producer who is responsible for its content. In result, to understand any act of communication the individual needs to recognize this identity and properly interpret the activity that is being acted out through text.

3) Language use is always active – it means that language is directed at performing certain actions that are strictly connected with the context. In terms of media, these actions include: informing about an event, exposing wrongdoing or arguing for/against an issue under discussion.

4) Language use has power – certain genres of communication have potentially more power than others which means they can more effectively

⁴³ Semiology, grounded on the theories of de Saussure (1974) and Peirce (1931-1948), regards all forms of communication (as each type of text conveys meaning through signs), and it was developed in reference to mass media texts by European structuralist theorists — mainly Barthes (1968). However, semiology, when applied as the only tool of media research, proved to lack systematic analytical procedures and to be too much centered on individual interpretation (Strinati 1995). For this reason it has been supplemented by other methods.

⁴⁴ Narrative analysis examines various forms of storytelling and seeks to identify narrative conventions applied by stories-producers. Drawing on, inter alia, semiology devices, narrative analysis deconstructs the plot structure and analyses the way in which the audience is supposed to understand the content (Fulton et al. 2005; Gillespie 2006).

⁴⁵ Genre analysis relates closely to semiology and narrative analysis, and concentrates on the mutual relationships between various kinds of texts. It seeks to reveal how the texts are clustered into particular genres and how they form certain hierarchies (e.g. the genre of comedy have further subtypes such as romantic comedy, sitcom etc.) (Solomon 1976).

⁴⁶ Content analysis identifies broad empirical trends in the sample of texts, to receive findings that can be scientifically verifiable (capable of being proven/disproved through unbiased evidence). The method assumes that the content is coded into predefined categories that are precisely described for the purpose of the study. Consequently, it allows a researcher to reveal particular forms of content and count their occurrences across the range of texts (Berelson 1952; Kerlinger 1986).

affect social reality. Journalism can be, thus, perceived as a powerful genre of communication because:

[through] its power to shape issue agendas and public discourse, it can reinforce beliefs; it can shape people's opinions not only of the world but also of their *place* and *role* in the world; or if not shape your opinions on a particular matter, it can at the very least influence *what* you have opinions on; in sum, it can help shape social reality by shaping our views of social reality. (Richardson 2007: 13)

5) Language use is political — it is an unavoidable consequence of the assumptions that language is social and possesses power and it is connected with the fact that language is always used in certain material circumstances and serves the arbitrary purpose.

Media language and its potential capacity to influence the society has been covered by substantial amount of academic research conducted within the broad discipline of media studies. The critical approach proved to be essential to explore the news discourse as it allows the researchers to trace ideologies and power relations that are interwoven with the news production process. According to Garrett and Bell (1998), among the linguistically-oriented perspectives, CDA "holds a hegemonic position in the field of media discourse, such that other approaches tend to have to position and define themselves in relation to CDA" (p.6). CDA practitioners examine the ways in which common beliefs and social structures are embedded in and reinforced by means of language (Fairclough 1995b; Fowler 1991; Chilton 1988; van Dijk 1984, 1986, 1988; Richardson 2007, among others). They look beyond the news texts and also consider institutional and socio-cultural context of the news. For this purpose they apply the broad spectrum of methodological frameworks within which they examine individual texts, longer samples of texts or ample corpora, whereas the areas of interest include, among others, the media representations of refugees (Baker 2006), the representations of women (Fowler 1991; Clark 1992) or the specificity of war reporting (Lukin et al. 2004; see also Bednarek and Caple 2012b). The main assumption behind the CDA approach to media is a dialectical relationship between language and social reality, which means that linguistic phenomena are a special kind of social phenomena, and social phenomena are also (partly) linguistic phenomena (Fairclough 1989). Since the discursive nature of social and cultural phenomena is inextricable feature of the mass media language, it should be scrutinized as a site of power and struggle for ideological domination. Moreover, although media are supposed to create mental space for honest public debate and to reflect the reality disinterestedly, they are often apparently transparent. That is why media discourse analysts aim at identifying a discourse position which can be explained as a given medium's

tendency to support the particular ideology. In the words of Wodak and Mayer (2009):

A discourse position describes the ideological position from which subjects, including individuals, groups and institutions, participate in and evaluate discourse. Also, the media take up discourse positions, which become evident in their reporting. (...) subjects status is nothing natural and obvious, but something that in itself needs to be established through discourse). (p.49)

Thus, CDA plays crucial role in exploring how media depict states of affairs, and how these depiction patterns can possibly influence receivers' mental perception of social facts. As the mental perception reflects in particular behaviour, media discourse has the potential to (indirectly) affect, sustain or change the social reality. As Fairclough (1989) concludes:

The hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of the capitalist class and other power-holders to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth. (p. 54)

In terms of my research project, the press discourse can be, thus, understood as an intentional use of language, in order to communicate particular mental representations encoded in the articles' content.

4.1.3. Media representations vs. mental representations

As media re-present facts, media coverage is not a neutral account of the situation reported but a particular medium's version or *representation* thereof. When referring to the press, Fowler (1991) emphasizes: "It should be clear that linguistically constructed representation is by no means a deliberate process, entirely under the control of the newspaper" (p.41). Media representations can be variously detailed and substantiated, however, "none are unbiased" (Hodkinson 2011: 128). Media can be perceived as 'consciousness industries' as they "act as powerful agencies capable of shaping and directing public and private understanding of the world and its social, economic, moral, cultural, technological and political affairs" (O'Sullivan et al. 1994: 16). Consequently, media significantly affect the storage of opinions, values and attitudes that circulate in the society, thereby vastly contributing to the process of constructing particular mental representations.

The mutual relation between media representations and mental ones can be explained with reference to the Socio-Cognitive Model of CDA which perceives discourse as related to social cognition i.e. the system of mental

representations that are stored by society members in their long-term memory (see also Section 3.6.). What is crucial in the context of media research, these mental structures/representations that commonly constitute the social cognition, are prevailingly acquired, maintained and changed through texts (van Dijk 1990b). Koller (2004) distinguishes between 'primary' and 'secondary' texts whose content is mutually interwoven in result of the process of recontextualisation (p.24). The primary texts indicate e.g. political speeches or government/independent reports together with specific ideologies they contain, whereas the secondary ones are commentary texts, such as newspapers articles and other media texts, that disseminate the primary texts' ideology. In words of van Dijk:

The media have their own rich repertoire of means to further enhance and 'popularize' the sometimes abstract and technical language and opinions of the politicians, e.g. by spreading scare stories about 'massive' illegal immigration, welfare 'cheats', housing and employment shortages attributed to minorities, perceived cultural deviance (e.g. Islam) and especially 'black crime' (drugs, mugging, violence). (1993a: 268)

Consequently, the media can be an effective means of manipulation of public opinion and the tool of power exerted by elite groups. Elites are defined in terms of their 'symbolic power' which is "measured by the extent of their discursive and communicative scope and resources" (ibid.: 255). Thus, political power is strictly connected with symbolic discursive power that allows elites' representatives to control the minds of their secondary audience i.e. the media, other elites and, in result, the whole public (cf. Bourdieu 1991, 1993, 2005).

According to Sperber (2000), the process of constructing the social cognition is possible due to the human capability to create metarepresentation, which, in turn, can be understood as a representation (provided by a text) of a representation (formed in human mind). Media texts can be, thus, perceived as public metarepresentations that "convey mental representations and have, at least by extension, some of the properties of the mental representations they convey" (Sperber 2000: 128). Consequently, interpreting texts (through any method) unavoidably leads to constructing cognitive metarepresentations of the linguistic representations embedded in those texts (Hart 2010).

Since media texts possess capacity to manipulate information and communicate ideology or certain attitudes, they can potentially contribute to forming or strengthening racial practices. As Reisigl and Wodak (2001) emphasize, racism is the complex phenomenon that can be perceived both as a social practice and an ideology, and manifests itself discursively: "On the one hand, racist opinions and beliefs are produced and reproduced by means of discourse; on the other hand, through discourse, discriminatory exclusionary

practices are prepared, promulgated, and legitimized” (ibid.: 1). Similarly, according to van Dijk (2012), racism as the system of ethnic domination should be analysed in terms of two dimensions, namely, social and cognitive ones. The social dimension reflects in everyday social practices of discrimination, whereas the cognitive dimension indicates the socially-shared collection of the ethnic beliefs, stereotypes, prejudices and ideologies that serve the purpose of motivating and legitimating discriminatory practices. As van Dijk concludes: “One of the main roles of discourse is the reproduction of social representations, such as knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, and values. *This means that discourse is the main interface between the social and cognitive dimensions of racism*” (ibid.: 16). Consequently, the media discourse, with its unlimited power of popularizing evaluative ethnic discursive representations, is heavily involved in the formation of potentially racist attitudes (cf. van Dijk 1991, 1993b).

4.2. Media discourse – main characteristics

4.2.1. Media discourse as a *process* and a *product*

Media discourse is a broad concept that refers not only to certain linguistic and/or visual manifestations but also to all the journalism practices that result in a particular form and content of the media text. As pointed out by Richardson (2010), any product of journalism is involved in “the specific dialectical relations that exist between journalists and their text genres, these texts and their audiences, and between journalism (as a trade, profession and constellation of institutions) and the wider social formation” (p.1). Every media text is, thus, the product of a combination of discursive practices that make it (at least to a certain extent) unique. Consequently, as journalistic discourses are always socially situated, they should be explored from a ‘product’ as well as a ‘process’ perspective. It means that media discourse analyses cannot be restricted to the text-linguistic concepts only, but also need to consider contextual circumstances, connected with specific professionals practices (Fairclough 1995b; Fowler 1991; Richardson 2007). As argued by Blommaert (1999):

[texts] generate their publics, publics generate their texts and the analysis of meanings now has to take into account a historiography of the context of production, the mechanisms and instruments of reproduction and reception, ways of storage and remembering. (p.5-6)

In this vein, Carvalho (2010) refers to the role of actors’ discursive strategies in media discourse and proposes the category of *discursive effects* (such

as e.g. discourse structuration, discourse institutionalization and closure), which serve the purpose of describing processes that are linked to texts, but they appear outside the text ('above' it). They are impossible to be traced in one single text as "(...) discursive effects are not the direct consequence of one actor's discursive interventions but are often dependent on a variety of (discursive) causes and circumstances and show the constraining force of discourse" (p.14). That is why she elaborated a methodological programme for the analysis of journalistic texts, which exposes the complexity of news discourse from production-reception, textual-contextual and synchronic-diachronic perspective. Carvalho's framework was conceived for predominantly written texts (newspapers/magazines articles), and is divided into textual and contextual analyses. In terms of the textual analysis it focuses on the several dimensions of the text that are essential for construction of meaning. These are: 1) layout and structural organization; 2) objects; 3) actors; 4) language, grammar and rhetoric; 5) discursive strategies and 6) ideological standpoints. To explore the text's wider context the framework proposes: 1) comparative-synchronic and 2) historical-diachronic analysis (ibid.: 16). As Carvalho concludes, this framework "addresses issues such as time in discourse analysis, the discursive manipulation of reality by different social actors, and the modes of social operation of discourse" (ibid.: 21). Consequently, it may prove extremely useful to explore the media discourse concerning a particular issue (also over an extended period of time) (cf. Jacobs 1999).

4.2.2. The process of constructing the news and news values

As Bell (1991) points out, media language researchers have at their disposal the broad spectrum of media texts that can be divided into three main dimensions of research. The first domain are the genres that indicate the particular type of media content (e.g. news, classified advertising, game shows, weather forecasts). The second area are the media outlets which carry the content (the publications, television channels or radio stations). Last, but not least, the researcher's focus can be one of media 'outputs', meaning the products of the media outlets that cover the particular time period (specific newscasts, advertisements or programmes) (p.12).

Since news is the primary language genre within the media texts and (similarly to advertising) it is the common genre to all the primary mass media (Bell 1991), the news genre has been the most prominent research focus in academic approaches. The characteristic feature of media system are two dimensions of control over news that have been described by Fowler (1996) as 'selection' (media decide on what is featured) and 'transformation' (media decide on how the content is presented). Media, thus, not only inform the public but also supplement their reports with explanations and interpretations

and, consequently, produce a partial account of events described. Hall (1973) points to the fact that, since mass media serve the purpose of communication, they need to “infer what is already known, as a present or abstract structure... but (this structure) is a construction and interpretation about the world” (p.183).

The set of events that are reported is not a reflection of the intrinsic importance of the events, but the result of the operation on the artificial criteria of selection (Fowler 1991). The process of selection of events and issues that form the base for news stories, is explained in terms of gatekeeping, namely, the procedure of selecting events that should be covered or excluded. The term ‘gate-keeper’ was proposed by White (1950) according to whom, the flow of information is regulated by gatekeepers, i.e. persons who are allowed to control the media coverage and to direct the process of communication. As Blanchard (1998) puts it: “Journalists serve as filters, or gate keepers, who evaluate potential stories and select only the most interesting and the most important” (p.428). Another key term is agenda setting (McCombs and Shaw 1972) which indicates prioritizing certain ‘facts’ over others. Both these selection processes are determined by news values that can be explained as the values according to which one piece of information is evaluated as more newsworthy than another.

The foundation study of news values has been elaborated by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and their typology remains the significant attempt to outline the issue, as well as a starting point for any discussion of news values. Taking into account commercial priorities and journalistic procedures, Galtung and Ruge identified eight criteria that are described as universal, and further four that are perceived as being more specific to developed capitalist countries (Hodkinson 2011: 130-134).

1) *Frequency* — an event’s timespan should be compatible with the frequency of publishing/broadcasting the news. In result violent incidents are highly probable to be covered as they happen in the short timespan between the successive editions of newspapers or news bulletins. Similarly, gradual processes are unlikely to make the news, unless they are highlighted by a discrete event. The value of frequency have been also connected with the notion of immediacy or recency, which means that the most recent stories are prioritized even if they are not attractive in reference to other news values (Bell 1991).

2) *Amplitude* – this value is connected with a threshold of noticeability and indicates that an event needs to reach a newsworthy level of seriousness. In practice it means that the news is likely to receive prominent coverage if it is sufficiently extreme or dramatic (especially in the case of visual coverage).

3) *Clarity* – the good news should be clear and one-dimensional, so that

it could be easily interpreted by the audience. That is why any ambiguities concerning the cause or significance of an event are neutralized or kept to the minimum.

4) *Cultural proximity* – according to Galtung and Ruge, news is ethnocentric, which means that the highest priority is attained to stories describing places or people that are relevant or culturally familiar to the audience.

5) *Predictability* – this value refers to the audience expectations concerning social situations. In this category newsworthy stories fit into anticipated events or activate certain stereotypes.

6) *Unexpectedness* – news providers tend to prioritize events that are somehow unusual or extraordinary. This news value explains that an event which is not sufficiently remarkable is rather unlikely to become news.

7) *Continuity* – the newsworthy story is the continuation of the news that has already entered the news agenda. This phenomenon is understood as the result of human tendency to follow the developing plot. Consequently, news providers allocate considerable space to ongoing stories, even if there are not substantial new events.

8) *Composition* – this final universal news value means that news providers pay attention to the overall character of a newspaper or news bulletin, and select stories that fit to the holistic conception. In result, they complement news that are coherent with the main theme of the edition or, conversely, attempt to achieve a balance of news types and differentiate the coverage.

9) *Elite nations* – the more desirable news are those relating to the events that take place in the most powerful and influential countries of the world.

10) *Elite people* – this news value is similar to the previous one and means that stories of powerful or famous people are more newsworthy as they arouse more interest among the audience.

11) *Personification* – this crucial category refers to the extent to which news can focus on individual person's decisions, emotions or behaviour. This kind of story is highly likely to be covered as it allows the audience to engender identification and emotional response.

12) *Negativity* – negative stories are more liable to appear in the news agenda, as they more effectively correspond to other news values than positive stories. As Hodgkinson (2011) concludes: "Negative stories often concern discrete short-term events, they are easier to present in an unambiguous manner and tend to involve rare or unexpected phenomena" (p.134)⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ As pointed by Glasgow University Media Group (1976), the negative messages predominate in media coverage because they response to receivers' expectations to learn about negative events. This tendency has been proved by psychological research, according to which this cognitive asymmetry is the result of adaptive function of knowledge, i.e. the negative information teaches individuals how to avoid threats or accidents (Pisarek 2002).

Galtung and Ruge emphasize the fact that news factors are not independent of one another but cumulative, which means that the lack of one factor can be compensated by another (and the more of them in the news, the higher likelihood that the news will be covered by the medium). Although the above-presented criteria proved to be a milestone in the development of media studies, Galtung and Ruge did not refer to numerous factors that influence media production process. As Brighton and Foy (2007) comment on it:

From a social scientist's perspective, there is much in favour of their analysis. From an editorial perspective, it is less satisfactory. There is, for instance, no room within these criteria for individual perspective or ambition of a news gatherer, of a publisher, of an editor. No room for the corruption that comes from a publisher's or broadcaster's reliance on advertising revenue – revenue that could be compromised by an adverse piece of editorial work. (p.8-9)

Galtung and Ruge's conclusions have been revisited and enriched with amendments by other media scholars. Bell (1991) added to this typology a number of other factors (competition, co-option, predictability and pre-fabrication), and he introduced certain modifications in terminology, and divided news factors into three classes. According to Bell, the first class relates to the content of the news, the nature of its events and actors; the second group is connected with the news process, and the third group refers to the quality of the news text (p. 156). Other significant attempts to revising and updating Galtung and Ruge's system include the typologies developed by e.g. Harcup and O'Neill 2001, Harrison 2006 or MacShane 1979. Bednarek and Caple (2012a) differentiate between a more 'cognitive' and a more 'discursive' view of news values. As they point out:

[most] researchers take a cognitive perspective on news values, conceptualising them as beliefs (or criteria), 'intersubjective mental categories' (Fowler, 1991, p.17), 'rules or codes' (Allan, 2010, p.72) or '*internalized assumptions*' (Cotter, 2010, p. 56 (italics in original)) that people hold/apply about qualities/aspects that make something newsworthy. (p.104)

Consequently, assessing the newsworthiness is perceived as a subjective process which means that decisions concerning particular news may vary according to the journalist/editor. However, from a discursive perspective, news values need to be examined "in terms of how newsworthiness is construed through discourse (both language and image)" (ibid.). Thus, news values are not the inherent aspect of a given event but they are established by means of certain linguistic and visual realizations. In this approach researchers do not concentrate on the 'nature' of a news event, but analyse how the news discourse makes it newsworthy (cf. Bednarek and Caple 2012b).

What is crucial in the context of news values, "(...) it should be emphasized that these are values. They are not neutral, but reflect ideologies and priorities held in society" (Bell 1991: 156). Therefore, as Negrine (1994) states, "the news values and news judgements which determine the content of the media not only direct our thinking to specific areas which the media define as important, but, conversely, direct our thinking away from other unimportant areas. In this way they contribute to our mental maps of the world (p.4). The conclusion thus arises that media message structures are formed in the complex process of news production, which reveals numerous potential opportunities to influence the shape of the information conveyed. Moreover, media texts may be ideologically invested in various ways and the process of selection itself is the most effective way of implanting bias that remains undetected by media receivers.

4.2.3. Newspaper language. The typology and structure of press news

A typical feature of the relation between the press (mass medium) and the readers (the audience) is the communicative gap (discursive gap) which is the result of different modes of communication i.e. print for newspapers, and speech for face-to-face contacts. These modes are exclusively distinct, as print connotes authority and formality, whereas speech is associated with solidarity and informality. Consequently, to narrow this communicative gap, newspapers deliberately adopt a model of face-to-face communication mode and apply vocabulary that is typical for everyday conversations rather than for formal speeches (Fowler 1991: 59).

A newspaper account of events, similarly to other media, does not objectively reflect the facts but constructs a codified definition of what should be presented to readers as the reality. To explore this process of codification, a researcher needs to analyze the given newspaper's preferred language and the mode of address which is understood as the customary way of addressing the audience. The decisive factor for establishing the particular newspaper's mode of address is defining its professional sense of the newsworthy, which, in turn, depends on numerous organizational and commercial conditions as well as likely opinions of the newspaper's potential readers (target audience) (Allan 1999). This specific form of address is also described as distinctive 'public idiom' (ibid.: 89) and it results in apparent variations in the language of different newspapers (even if they bear some visual resemblance). As Hall et al. (1978) point out:

The language employed will thus be the newspaper's own version of the language of the public to whom it is principally addressed: its version of the rhetoric, imagery and underlying common stock of knowledge which it assumes its audience shares and which thus forms the basis of the reciprocity of producer/reader. (p. 61)

Although newspapers obviously use the language of the members of society, they “return it to them inflected with dominant and consensual connotations” (ibid.: 62). Thus, the analysis of newspaper language can shed light on this inflection phenomenon and reveal the ideological codes that are embedded in it through the news production process.

According to Bell (1991), for the purpose of language analysis, the genre of press news can be divided into four categories (p.14–15).

1) Hard news: these are reports of the broad spectrum of events (accidents, conflicts, crimes, discoveries, etc.) that appeared/happened since the previous issue of the newspaper.

2) Soft news: they stand in opposition to hard news and they are not immediacy-oriented (they do not have to be timely). The most typical representative of soft news is a feature article which is a longer article rather than a story on an immediate event. Feature articles are frequently prepared by a different group of journalists from those who produce hard news on a daily basis (they can be also acquired from outside services of news agencies or major newspapers). Although feature articles can be written in more informal style, journalists attempt to produce them in more hard news terms.

3) Special-topic news (e.g. sports, business/financial, arts, computers, etc.): they are usually allocated in the particular sections that are explicitly designed for their subject matter.

4) Headlines, crossheads or subheadings, bylines, photo captions. This is the group of elements that are adjuncts to the ‘body copy’ (the main text of a feature or a news story) and they are visually distinct.

As hard news is the key news product that is a decisive factor of the overall image of the newspaper, it has to be assessed by the target audience as formal, credible and authoritative. According to Allan (1999), the highly formalized construction of the hard news reflects in the following distinctive elements (p.89-91):

1) Headline: it expresses the key fact of the report or its principal topic. It can influence readers’ interpretation of the account through conveying certain ideological manifestations.

2) News lead: it is an opening paragraph or a summary/abstract of the report. It is supposed to answer the five Ws and H questions (who, what, when, where, why, how) to direct readers’ attitude to the issue concerned.

3) Narrative order and sequence: the conventionalised narrative structure of the hard news is the inverted pyramid format. It means that the main facts of the story are presented in the lead, then the less significant facts are described, and the least important (as well as the most expendable) elements are delivered at the very end.

4) Vocabulary: when creating the hard news, journalists use the certain

types of stylistic devices on a regular basis (these language realizations define the newspaper's social personality and above-mentioned professional sense of the newsworthy). The hard news of tabloid (popular) press are construed by means of more colloquial language, whereas the quality broadsheet press uses terms regarded as formal and unemotive.

5) Forms of address: the terms applied in order to identify news actors described are connected with various levels of formality, the status of power and the relationship between the reader and the news actor. The forms of address can be formulated with different degrees of directness, by means of personalized or impersonalized forms.

6) Transitivity and modality: these notions identify the relationship between the processes and the actor who perform them, so that the reader could find the answers to the question: "who (or what) does what to whom (or what)" (Allan 1999: 91). The certain transitivity patterns influence the ideological connotations of an event/situation, whereas modality serves the purpose of conveying the relative truthfulness.

7) Relation of time: as hard news cannot be, by definition, out of date, it contains explicit temporal reference in the form of time expressions.

8) Relation of space: these are various manners in which journalists can refer to geographical locations.

9) Implied reader: the potential reader of the hard news is projected on the basis of the number of ideological presuppositions concerning class, gender, race, etc., and it can significantly influence the shape of the news account.

10) Closure: in case of hard news the closure is always supposed to be partial and contingent, which means that it does not carry any formal markers to signal closure.

The above-presented typologies show that press discourse contains numerous elements located on different semiotic levels. As Fowler (1991) concludes:

[typographical] choices (style and size of print), composition and the deployment of photographs, drawings, cartoons, tables, maps captions, etc. are of immense significance in newspaper representation, and these factors interact dynamically with language proper, the words considered as linguistic structures. Newspaper discourse is so complex that concentration on one aspect inevitably leads to neglect of others (...). (p.8)

Consequently, since newspaper discourse is such a complex phenomenon, researcher's focus needs to be limited for the purpose of a particular study, to enable researcher conducting an in-depth analysis on a particular level. Thus, for the purpose of my study, and to stay in accord with the DHA framework, I concentrated on the vocabulary level. The articles analysed in the dissertation project fell into the categories of hard news, soft news and special-topic news as they were allocated in different newspaper sections.

4.3. *The British press in the context of the British media system*

The British media system is one of the oldest and best developed ones in the world (Biernacka-Ligęza 2009; see also Briggs and Burke 2009; Curran and Seaton 2003). In the British society the mass media are perceived as being with their independent of the state control and, holding the position of 'the fourth estate' (the other three being the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the monarch)⁴⁸. Media are perceived as social institutions that serve the public interest and do not aim at realization of the goals of the particular political group. This strong attachment to the idea of independence inclines in unwillingness to perform 'media policy', which is visible in popular statement 'policy of no policy' and focus on freedom of speech (Adamowski 2008: 79). However, although the idea of official political independence of the British press has a long tradition⁴⁹, and none of the newspapers is an organ of a political party, in practice, newspapers autonomously adhere to particular political lines in the manner of commenting social issues.

The history of the British press takes back as far as to the 15th and 16th century. In 1476 the publisher William Caxton opened the first print press manufacture, and in 1529 the king Henry the VIII established the first system of granting licenses to English publishers (ibid.)⁵⁰. The first English newspaper, *The London Gazette* was published in 1665, and the first London daily newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, appeared in 1702 (Gorman and McLean 2009), however, it was not until the mid-1850s that "the taxes on knowledge" (various taxes on paper and advertising) were repealed. According to Negrine (1994), it was "a historical and political watershed; it ensured that individuals and groups could voice opinions and circulate those opinions via the press without risk of persecution" (p.21).

Nowadays, the British press market is the fourth biggest one after the USA, Germany and Japan, and the British people are among the most newspapers-oriented nations (Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak 2007). According to Adamowski (2008), the contemporary British press market can be described by the following characteristic features (p.56):

⁴⁸ The idea of the press as the 'fourth estate' is usually traced to the English historian Thomas Carlyle, but Carlyle attributed the origin of the term to the conservative philosopher Edmund Burke who stated that there were "Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important than they all" (Burrowes 2011: 47).

⁴⁹ In the 18th century the philosopher David Hume praised press freedom in Britain as follows: "Nothing is more apt to surprise a foreigner, than the extreme liberty which we enjoy in this country, of communicating whatever we please to the public, and of openly censuring every measure entered into by the King or his ministers" (Hume 1742).

⁵⁰ For details on the history of the British press see Adamowski 2006, Feather 2000, Negrine 1994, Williams 1998, as well as Gorman and McLean 2009, among others.

1) the clearly visible domination of the national press over the local and regional one;

2) the highly versified segment of dailies and their extensions in the form of Sunday editions (there are equal regulations for the quality press, the mid-market press and the tabloids);

3) the relatively stable position of the print press which is proved by the vast number of daily and Sunday editions as well as the rich market of magazines (the overall number of press titles is estimated on about 9,000 items), although since the end of the 1950s of the 20th century they have experienced systematic decrease in circulation, however, at a minor scale;

4) the strong competition on the press market which results in its increasing segmentation;

5) the minimum level of state regulation (in comparison with the regulation system of electronic media);

6) relatively high degree of concentration of media capital, which is particularly visible on the national level.

There are several theories concerning the division of the UK's press market, however, according to Bland et al. (2005), there is a prevailing tendency to define the British national press as the morning daily newspapers together with the newspapers released on Sunday, which are published in London and are available across the United Kingdom on the same day (in this approach newspapers released in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Cardiff are perceived as 'national' only in Scotland and Wales). Thus, the market of national newspapers comprises following titles (Adamowski 2008; Negrine 1994; Oakland 2006):

1) the broadsheets (the quality press):

a) the dailies: *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and *The Independent*,

b) the Sunday newspapers: *The Sunday Times*, *The Observer*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, and *The Independent on Sunday*;

2) the mid-market press (the middle press) which falls between broadsheets and tabloids: the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* together with their Sunday editions: *The Mail on Sunday* and the *Sunday Express*;

3) the popular press (tabloids):

a) the dailies: *The Sun* (a daily newspaper of the highest circulation in the Great

Britain and the second highest circulation in Europe), the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Star*;

b) the Sunday editions: *News of the world*, the *Sunday Mirror*, the *Daily*

Star Sunday and *The People* (the last title is released only on Sundays).

The fundamental distinction in terms of the categories of newspapers is drawn between populist 'red-top' tabloids (the popular press) and the high-brow 'quality publications'. The tabloids are oriented toward an informal, overtly opinionated style with strong emphasis on illustrations and catchy titles, as they are mostly aimed at entertaining their readers (Bobiński 2004). That is why they concentrate on the construction of sensation, emotional personalized human stories and celebrity gossip, with an intensive application of Galtung and Ruge's news values. The broadsheets, in contrast, adopt more sophisticated and formal tone, as well as they place emphasis on financial news with an in-depth coverage of national/international politics. They are usually more balanced, provide their readers with the complex analysis of the issue, and tend to adhere to journalist ethics (*ibid.*). The titles described as the middle market locate in between the tabloids' and broadsheets' standards.

The British society is deeply aware of mass media efficiency in terms of spreading the information, with the traditionally accepted prominent position of the daily and Sunday newspapers (Adamowski 2008; Temple 2008). That is why affluent readers of quality press are much more desired by advertisers than the tabloids' amateurs, and advertisers are prepared to pay even 14 times more for the broadsheets advertisements than for those in tabloids (Franklin 1997). Consequently, the half of the British newspapers (including all of the national quality publications) is designed for an elite minority of highly educated professionals, and the broadsheet detailed coverage in serious tone is biased towards elite's interests and their perspective, whereas the majority of the population is targeted by the tabloid press (Curran and Seaton 2003). This fact well reflects long-standing differences in funding, which means that broadsheets are supposed to deliver advertisers a narrow group of elite audiences, whereas the popular press focuses on "catering for the lowest common denominator", and aims at attracting advertisers through maximizing the quantity of readers (*ibid.*: 96).

The recent years saw the systematic trend of decreasing print press readership (estimated on 20% during the period of the last ten years), as young Britons prefer to gain information from the Internet editions of newspapers, as well as radio and television (the research on domestic habits concerning the use of the Internet revealed that newspapers webpages belong to the group of the most often explored ones). Moreover, newspapers readers frequently consume short texts when commuting to work, after which they supplement them with the respective information found on the Internet (Jędrzyk-Kuliniak 2007). As a consequence, according to Adamowski (2008), the electronic newspapers increasingly gain in significance and they effectively compete with print editions. Similarly, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) emphasize that online editions of national newspapers are increasingly popular among British newspapers readers (they essentially enlarge the national daily

newspapers' readership). Moreover, 75% of British population turns to Sunday editions of national press (McNair 1999). Thus, the national newspapers (supported by the electronic media) hold the significant position on the British press market (71% of adult Britons read national newspapers on the daily basis). Although there exists an alternative source of information in the form of local and regional press (with readership of 83%), it supplements rather than distinctly competes with the national newspapers (Adamowski 2005).

The survey conducted by the Print and Digital Data (PADD) revealed the increasing significance of online audience in the overall readership of national broadsheets. According to the April 2012 National Readership Survey statistics, the most popular national broadsheet in print was *The Times* with 5.52 million print readers a month. However, *The Guardian* recorded the highest total number of readers (combined print + website) thanks to an online audience exceeding the print equivalent (Billige and Mourain 2013). The monthly figures for three national broadsheets looks as follows (ibid.):

NRS Print and Digital Data survey – April 2012: MONTHLY FIGURES			
The title	Print readership	Website readership	Print + website total readership
<i>The Times</i>	5,524 000	295 000	5,737 000
<i>The Guardian</i>	4,076 000	6,410 000	8,949 000
<i>The Independent</i>	3,123 000	2,583 000	5,317 000

Table 3. The monthly figures for three national broadsheets according to NRS Print and Digital Data survey – April 2012

At present, according to the Newsworks (the marketing organization dealing with national newspapers in all their forms), the daily readership and circulation figures for print and online editions of the broadsheets analysed can be presented as follows (the website: Newsworks 2015):

<i>The Guardian</i>	Print	circulation	185,429
		readership	723,000
	Online	circulation	2,788,864
		readership	1,729,000
	Print and online readership		2,363,000

Table 4. The daily readership and circulation figures for print and online editions of *The Guardian*

<i>The Independent</i>	Print	circulation	61,338
		readership	283,000
	Online	circulation	2,488,481
		readership	626,000
	Print and online readership		878,000

Table 5. The daily readership and circulation figures for print and online editions of *The Independent*

<i>The Times</i>	Print	circulation	396,621
		readership	978,000
	Online	circulation	N/A
		readership	16,000
	Print and online readership		1,062,000

Table 6. The daily readership and circulation figures for print and online editions of *The Times*

The above-presented data show the distinct dominance of broadsheets' online readership. As far as print versions are concerned, the National Readership Survey conducted in 2014, revealed that both circulation and readership of print newspapers significantly decreased compared to the previous year (Sutcliffe and Jackson 2014).

The title	Readership change between 2013 and 2014	Circulation change between 2013 and 2014
<i>The Guardian</i>	-20%	-2%
<i>The Independent</i>	-34%	-15%
<i>The Times</i>	-12%	-2%

Table 7. The decrease in circulation and readership of print newspapers between the year 2013 and 2014.

The decline in print audiences' figures demonstrates the readers' tendency to shift to the online editions. Consequently, this distinct change in reading habits forces the newspapers to face the necessity of building and monetizing the online audiences (ibid.). Crucially, although circulation figures of print quality newspapers have been on constant decline connected with

the increasing popularity of tabloids, the online broadsheets versions enlarge their readership. As White (2001) puts it: “[the] reason for the disparity is demographics. While tabloid readers are likely to be heavy TV watchers, broadsheet readers are more likely to be web surfers and therefore more inclined to visit their newspaper’s internet site”.

In the course of time the British press gained in significance and became the powerful medium that reaches essential percentage of population. However, it is not free of the certain political slant. The UK newspapers can be overtly biased as they are *not* formally forbidden to have clear political editorial policies (Hodkinson 2011: 128), however, there exists the smaller parallelism to the party system than it is observable in other European countries (the website: ReStore (...)). This traditional practice contrasts with the British television sphere, i.e. TV broadcasters are subject to a statutory public interest obliging them “to ensure that news, in whatever form, is reported with due accuracy and presented with due impartiality” (the website: Ofcom)⁵¹.

POLITICAL SLANT			
	left	centre	right
TABLOIDS		The Daily Mirror	The Sun
			The Daily Mail
			The Daily Express
			The Star
BROAD-SHEETS	The Guardian		The Daily Telegraph
		The Independent	
			The Times
		The Financial Times	

Table 8. The political slant of the most important national newspapers (O’Driscoll 1997: 153)⁵²

⁵¹ According to Hodkinson (2011), the qualifier ‘due’ indicates that covering “every argument and every facet of every argument” is impossible, but the aspiration to produce unbiased news is undoubted (p.128).

⁵² As it is visible in the table, the right side appears to be vastly over-represented. According to O’Driscoll (1997), it does not prove that the majority of population hold right-wing views, but that (at least partly) the certain newspapers tend to be owned by Conservative Party supporters (p.153).

Table 8 presents a general outline of the positions that national newspapers occupy within the right-left political spectrum. The distinct identification with the particular political orientation gives the newspaper a predictable outlook and allows it to attract readers who know what kind of content they can expect. Thus, in the long run, such clear self-defining practices maintain sufficient circulation ratings⁵³.

The Great Britain does not possess the constitution, and the only unified act of law that guarantee respecting the civil rights is the Human Rights Acts passed in 1998. Moreover, according to British law, any activity which is not legally forbidden is allowed, and freedom of individual can be restricted only through the act of law or the precedence (the common law). Consequently, the UK press is not codified by a single and unified law bill but it relies on various regulations referring to other aspects of economic and social spheres (Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak 2007; Oakland 2006). The most important legal acts regulating the press are those concerning the rules of free competition, and they include The Fair Act 1973 and The Competition Act 1980. These legal acts grant the entitlement to control the proper functioning of industry and trade to the special institutions: The Office of Fair Trading, The Monopolies and Mergers Commission, as well as The Secretary of State for Trade and Industry (Bladocha 2003). Due to the above-mentioned system of regulations, the press is perceived as the domain of economy, not politics. Although in the past the newspapers were dependent on the state and perceived as a propaganda tool of official political direction of the government (Curran 2002), nowadays the most important factor that determines the success or the failure of the given newspaper title is its readership and consequent profits from advertising⁵⁴.

As newspapers readers move to on-line editions and turn to free-of-charge press distributed mostly on the underground stations or bus stops, the print media resort to various strategies to counteract declining circulation figures. The publishers lower the prices, and change the visual, the format and the content. The second strategy is publishing another title which generates proper sale income and this way allows the publisher to subsidize an unprofitable daily (Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak 2007). The broadsheet dailies analysed (*The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Times*) changed their format

⁵³ For more information on the political orientation of British newspapers see the website: ReStore. A sustainable Web Resources Repository.

⁵⁴ If in the struggle for a greater share of the market a newspaper resorts to excessive voyeuristic practices, it can be brought to the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) that deals with complaints regarding invasions of privacy (as well as protects the freedom and independence of the press and maintains the standards of journalism). This organization is constituted by newspapers editors and journalists, which again shows that the press is supposed to regulate itself (McDowall 1999; Oakland 2006).

to the smaller, more handy one, named as 'compact edition', which allowed their publishers to avoid the financial crisis. In terms of content, they publish more light information and social/political sensation. Both tabloids and broadsheets (the quality press also needs to adjust to hard free market rules) apply bright headlines and shocking news. The process has been termed as tabloidization of media and is perceived as the lowering of the quality of print and electronic media content (cf. Zelizer 2009). It is visible in the domination of image over the text, as well as in simplification of the language and shift to entertainment-oriented content. The other distinct tendency is delivering infotainment which is the compilation of news and entertaining elements. It concerns mainly electronic media, however, the print media also increasingly adopt this style (Thussu 2007)⁵⁵.

To sum up, it seems to be worthy to refer to the research of Billam (1995) and Hermes (1995) who analysed Britons' press reading habits. According to Hermes, reading newspapers is not a deeply meaningful and serious activity, that is performed for purely informative/educative reasons. Instead, as people customarily turn to newspapers between other daily events and read them several times a day in free-of-work moments, it is an activity strictly integrated with ordinary life, and a standard part of a domestic routine. However, reading newspapers should not be underestimated, as it contributes to 'collective identity' and, consequently, has important implications for the social system. As Billam (1995) points out:

At its broadest, I understand the term 'collective identity' as referring to the relationship between a newspaper and its (collective) readership (its audience). This relationship should be seen as a two-way process whereby the discourse of the newspaper is in part the product of the opinions of its readers and the overall tone of the newspaper itself, hence the use of the term 'collective'. The collective identity of a national morning newspaper is thus something which the producer (the newspaper) wishes to present and exhibit, whilst at the same time, it is also something which the consumers (the audience) wish to be associated with and belong to. (p.160 cit. in Abercrombie et al. 2005: 392-394)

The conclusion, thus, arises that the press holds an unshakeable position within the British social sphere and vastly influences the perception patterns that circulate in the society.

⁵⁵ According to Thussu (2007), infotainment is „a neologism which emerged in the late 1980s to become a buzzword, a handy catchall for all that was wrong with contemporary television – refers to an explicit genre-mix of 'information' and 'entertainment' in news current affairs programming" (p.7).

Chapter 5. The press discourse on Polish migrants: the analysis

In the following chapter I present a range of the most relevant research projects referring to the issue of discursive representations of Polish migrants in the British press. Additionally, I briefly summarize research that refers to other migrants' discursive representations in the Polish media. Next, I describe data and the methodological assumptions of my dissertation project, and also provide a concise characterisation of the broadsheets examined. In the final section of Chapter 5 I conduct the analysis of the press discourse according to the DHA research questions.

5.1. Previous research on the representations of Polish migrants in the British press

As it was already mentioned, the issue of Polish post-accession migration to the United Kingdom has been extensively commented in the British press due to its unprecedented scale and unarguable influence on the British society. Consequently, the discursive representations of Polish migrants created in particular newspapers attracted academic attention of media and other domains' scholars. The most significant examples of the research on Polish migration in the British press deserve a broader commentary and are presented below.

In 2000 the Institute of Public Affairs⁵⁶ began to conduct research on the representations of Poland in the European media. Thus, Polish post-accession migration to the UK has become an object of extensive scientific study from the sociological, psychological and cultural perspectives. A significant research project has been realized in this vein by Fomina and Frelak (2008) who prepared an extensive report on public perceptions of Polish labour migrants in the British press. The preliminary aim of their study was to analyse the image of Polish immigrants as it appeared in the British press before

⁵⁶ Instytut Spraw Publicznych

and shortly after Poland's accession to the EU (in the period from January to August 2004), as well as three years later (from January to August 2007). For this purpose, Fomina and Frelak monitored selected newspapers, both broadsheets and tabloids, and the sample material was examined by means of both quantitative and qualitative tools. The quantitative techniques allowed the scholars to specify how often the information referring to Polish migrants appeared in the British press in the periods concerned, whereas the qualitative tools made it possible to focus on reappearing threads.

The report offers an array of research findings concerning British perceptions of Poles. On the whole, the articles provide readers with the broad spectrum of definitely complex and ambiguous representations of Poland and Polish migrants. The representations are both positive and negative; however, in terms of the impact of Poles on the cultural, social and economic sphere of Briton's life Polish immigration to the UK arouses more controversies. Fomina and Frelak referred also to five types of Polish migrants, according to the ways in which they are portrayed in the press on the base of their work and life patterns: "the *storks* (seasonal workers), *hamsters* (who save to invest in Poland), *foragers* (intentionally unpredictable), *koala bears* (without prospects, often jobless and homeless), and *salmons* (intending to stay in the UK)" (ibid.: 8)⁵⁷.

Wawrzyczek et al. (2010) conducted an extensive research on the British discourse concerning Poles and Polish nation. They analysed the articles from a broad selection of British national dailies and Sunday editions that were released within the period of 2002-2007. In their focus there were both the quality press and the tabloids (including the middle-market newspapers) representing the whole spectrum of political slants. Referring to interdisciplinary domain of Media and Culture Studies the scholars explored the content of the sample material in terms of recurring topics and topoi (together with their frequency) to reveal dominant (as well as omitted) motifs. The second level of analysis was based on the narrative analysis, whereas the last stage involved the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis to describe lexical choices and their potential power to create the discourse of marginalization/exclusion. The research findings show, among others, the prevailing tendency

⁵⁷ According to Eade et al. (2007)'s typology, Polish migrants in the UK have been categorized as: "*storks* (20%) — circular migrants who are found mostly in low paid occupations (catering, construction industry, domestic service) (...), *hamsters* (16%) — migrants who treat their move as a one-off act to acquire enough capital to invest in Poland; Compared with *Storks* their stays in the UK are longer and uninterrupted (...), *searchers* (42%) — those who keep their options deliberately open. This group consists predominantly of young, individualistic and ambitious migrants (...), and *stayers* (22%) — those who have been in the UK for some time and intend to remain for good. This group also represents respondents with strong social mobility ambitions" (p. 33-35) (see also Section 1.5.).

of the British newspapers to describe Poles by means of the attributions that indicate social backwardness of Poles compare to Britons. Moreover, even if the articles refer to the positive features of Polish nation (religiousness, work ethos) they still conceptualise Poles as culturally different from the British people. The undeniable value of the Wawrzyczek et al.'s research project is the broad range of representations revealed.

Wilk (2010) analysed the images of Poles and the Polish state in *The Guardian* daily, in the editions covering the period 2003-2005. The aim of the research project was to conduct a comparative study of the discursive representations of Poles and Poland before and after the accession. The research project was realized within the framework of CDA. As Wilk concludes, the representation of Poland changes depending on the political context in which it is presented. For instance, in the context of negotiations over the EU accession Poland is portrayed as a troublesome and nonconformist country (although, recognizably, it fights for its rights). On the other hand, the same unyielding image of Poland is assigned a positive value when it is commented in reference to the debate over the Nice agreement and the determined struggle for the advantageous distribution of votes (Poland is then depicted as the UK's ally). The general conclusion, thus, arises that *The Guardian's* representations of Poland and Polish migrants are highly heterogeneous, namely, they are more positive at the macro-level and more negative/stereotypical on the micro-level.

Spigelman (2013) explored a collection of articles from selected British daily newspapers (five broadsheets and five tabloids) to reveal the recurrent strategies of framing Polish migrants during the period of EU enlargement. The newspapers were examined within the framework of a corpus-based discourse analysis, by means of an collocation analysis and discourse analysis. With the aim of tracing discursive patterns of 'evaluation' (linguistic manifestations of the author's personal attitudes, opinions or emotions to the subject under discussion) he referred to the parameter-based framework of evaluation (Bednarek 2006). Subsequently, the research findings were triangulated with the responses received in a series of public opinion surveys (the research focused on questions regarding the minority group which experiences the most prejudiced reactions as well as possible media influence on public perceptions of migrant workers). The final step in the triangulation procedure was relating the findings to each other to prove potential negative effect of media on Polish migrants. Spigelman's research findings show the tendency of newspapers to portray migrants, in particular Poles, as 'flood' that poses a threat to the economic stability of the UK. Moreover, the distinct research results revealed using a stereotype of the "Polish plumber" as the general category of a Polish migrant who replaces British manual labourers and this way contributes to raising unemployment figures in the UK.

The above-presented selection of the most essential research projects dealing with the representations of Poles and Poland in the British newspapers shows that the issue is a broad multifaceted phenomenon and requires further research. What is crucial in the context of the present dissertation, the topic of the newspapers representations of post-accession migration to the UK has not been so far examined by means of the Discourse-Historical Approach framework⁵⁸.

5.2. Data and methodology

5.2.1.Data

The research sample consists of 189 electronic versions of the articles published in the broadsheets analysed, namely, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Times*, in the period between 01. 2004 – 03. 2014. The corpus has been compiled from the ProQuest, the Internet database of source materials, by means of three key search phrases: *Polish migrants in UK*, *Polish people in UK* and *Poles in UK*. Every search term generated 250 most representative records⁵⁹ in the form of articles from 19 selected British newspapers,

⁵⁸ There should be noted that Polish post-accession migration (not only to the UK) has been also explored from the perspective of its representations in the Polish press. The examples of this kind of research include the project realized by Napiontkówna (2007) who analysed the panorama of migration issues described by selected Polish newspapers (mostly dailies and weeklies) in 2005. She referred, among others, to the Polish migrants in London who were depicted in terms of both success and integration problems. Bloch and Lewandowska (2008) examined the articles from the 2004-2006 editions of six weeklies to show differences between the newspapers in terms of the ways in which they describe the reasons and results of Polish migration. Richter (2012) explored the representations of Polish migration in selected Polish weeklies within the period of 2003-2009, and revealed the distinct changes in the tone of press debate on Polish migration from the moderately optimistic (with the emphasis on migrant-sourced benefits) to pessimistic (based on rhetoric of the losses). Dziągłowski (2013) analysed the post-accession Polish migration in view of its social and cultural results, concentrating on weeklies from the period of 2004-2012. As he concluded, among others, in the hierarchy of results the social ones hold the prominent position, and the Polish migration is generally depicted as generating more social problems than opportunities. The significant research referring to the representations of foreigners and immigrants in Polish media includes the works of Grzymała-Kazłowska (2007) who examined the Polish weeklies' articles, a television programme and Internet discussions on the Poles' attitude to Ukrainians. Grzymała-Kazłowska described the representations of immigrants, revealed the social mechanisms involved in the process of creating these representations, and discussed their social functions. Mrozowski (1997, 2003) analysed, among others, the representations of immigrants residing in Poland, which were formed in Polish daily newspapers.

⁵⁹ ProQuest involves intelligent software geared towards selecting records revealing the most representative and/or the most plentiful language data. This can be proved by multiple

including three broadsheets examined in the dissertation. In the next step the articles found after inserting every key phrase were manually searched through to eliminate duplicates and those which contained a word ‘Pole’ in the meaning different from ‘a person of Polish nationality’. The corpus collected consisted of 189 articles including 80 articles from *The Guardian*, 50 from *The Independent* and 59 from *The Times*. The numbers of electronic versions of articles delivered by the database, by newspaper and year, are presented in Table 9⁶⁰. The articles formed a representative sample of all the articles concerning Poles, published in the broadsheets selected and in the target period of time. I did not differentiate the articles in terms of the particular genre (news report, letter to the editor, editorial), as in the process of news production every type of text is subject to the same selection mechanisms. The selected broadsheet articles were examined both separately – to compare linguistic and argumentative patterns applied in the articles from the particular broadsheet, and holistically – to reach more general conclusions on the broadsheets’ representations of Polish migrants.

The year	The number of articles		
	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The Independent</i>	<i>The Times</i>
2004	1	4	5
2005	2	4	3
2006	18	10	10
2007	17	5	11
2008	12	6	8
2009	4	4	4
2010	7	1	4
2011	7	4	1

searching of the same key phrases: on each search the same set of articles is identified, the ProQuest noting there are more articles, though they are less linguistically representative.

⁶⁰ The largest numbers of articles on Poles come from the years 2006 and 2007 which is connected with the fluctuations in number of Polish migrants arriving in the UK. The Polish immigration reached its top level in 2007 with the number of 96,000, however, by the end of 2009 this number decreased to 39,000 (Spigelman 2013). Similarly, the number of Poles’ WRS (Worker Registration Scheme) applications decreased from 41,195 in 2007 to 12,480 in 2009 (measured in the first quarter of the year) (Fix et al. 2009). This slowdown in Polish migration movement to the UK was the result of the 2008 Great Financial Crisis which entailed less employment availability on the British job market. The second reason was relatively well operating Polish economy, which encouraged numerous Poles to return to Poland (cf. Castles and Miller 2010).

The year	The number of articles		
	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The Independent</i>	<i>The Times</i>
2012	2	1	-
2013	8	8	6
2014	2	3	7
Total:	80	50	59

Table 9. The research sample: the numbers of articles from years 2004 – 2014

When analysing topoi and discursive strategies, I applied the following short forms for the researched broadsheets: G for *The Guardian*, Ind for *The Independent* and T for *The Times*. If there were more than one article from the same day, the articles' dates were supplemented by additional indexes in the form of small letters a, b or c.

5.2.2. The characteristic of the broadsheets under analysis

The Guardian

The Guardian was established in 1821 by John Edward Taylor with the support of the non-conformist Little Circle Group of local businessmen. Primarily it was the local weekly newspaper published in Manchester (until 1954 it was entitled *The Manchester Guardian*), and in 1855 it was transformed into a daily. As it gained in popularity and readership ratings, it was replaced to London and became a national newspaper (Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak 2007).

Nowadays *The Guardian* is owned by the Guardian Media Group and the brand "The Guardian" indicates an international media organization which possesses affiliations to other national newspapers of similar goals and political inclinations. Moreover, its weekly edition, *The Guardian Weekly*, contains articles from *The Guardian* and *The Observer* together with selected reports and articles from *The Washington Post* (the most widely circulated American daily) and from *Le Monde* (a French daily evening newspaper).

In 2013 *The Guardian* in print version had an average daily circulation of 189,000 copies which situated this newspaper behind *The Times* but ahead *The Independent*. According to the data revealed by the website The Guardian.com, in 2012, its combined print and on-line circulation amounted for 9 million readers (Halliday 2012).

The Guardian has inclination towards the liberal and social democratic outlook, and it is recognized for its sensitivity to social issues and taking

a pro-European stance. In the UK general election in 2010 the newspaper supported the Liberal Democrats. Despite its relatively limited circulation it remains an influential daily and is popular among intellectual elites (Fomina and Frelak 2008). The Sunday equivalent of *The Guardian* is *The Observer* which has, in general, slightly more right slant than *The Guardian* (ibid.). Several years ago it changed the format from the broadsheet to the Berliner (a bit taller and wider than the tabloid/compact format, and both narrower and shorter than the broadsheet format).

The Independent

As it was launched in 1986, *The Independent* is one of the youngest UK national daily newspapers. It was founded by Whittam Smith, Matthew Symonds and Stephen Glover who were formerly the staff members of *The Daily Telegraph*. Their primary goal was to create an objective source of daily news, without strong political biases overtly expressed by other country's established newspapers. It is renowned for its journalistic integrity and innovative graphic design.

The Independent is moderately liberal and it has been traditionally opinionated as the most objective British daily-newspaper. It is regarded to be more centre-left in terms of culture and politics and taking a more pro-market stance on economic issues (Wilby 2008). It is not associated with any particular political party and features a broad range of views.

The Independent found a large audience, however, it experienced massive loss in the readership ratings in the 1990s of the 20th century. The change of the format from broadsheet into the compact in 2003 stopped this negative trend and entailed distinct increase in selling ratings (Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak 2007). Currently it is published by Independent Print Limited, and its Sunday equivalent is *The Independent on Sunday*.

The Times

The Times was founded by publisher John Walter in 1785 as *The Daily Universal Register*, but three years later its title gained the present sounding. The history of *The Times* well reflects the history of the European press. It was the first European newspaper that was published by means of the steam machine (in 1814), as well as the first to send abroad a foreign correspondent. Moreover, *The Times* was a pioneer in possessing the war correspondent and introducing the editor's article (Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak 2007). The characteristic feature of *The Times* is the special trust committee that supervises its factual level and political independence.

The 1960s and 1970s years of the 20th century saw the definite decline in selling figures, but this negative trend was overcome by its new owner Rupert

Murdoch (together with the concern News International) in 1981. Murdoch introduced numerous organizational developments and lowered the price of the issue. Another important alteration was the change the format into the compact to appeal to younger readers as well as those commuting to work by means of public transport (after a short period of unprofitable co-existence of both broadsheet and tabloid versions, the compact has been the only format available since the 1st of November 2004 (ibid.).

The Times has distinct centre-right credentials. However, although it is a traditional supporter of the Conservative Party, in the 2001 and 2005 general elections it supported the Labour Party, whereas in 2010 election the newspaper declared its support for the Conservative Party). This kind of shifts makes *The Times* the most varied newspaper in terms of political support in British history (Hall et al.2005; Stoddard 2010).

Its sister newspaper is *The Sunday Times* which is not the continuation of *The Times* but an autonomous title, released since 1822. Both are published by Times Newspapers Limited. *The Times* lent its name to numerous equivalent newspapers published across the world (e.g. *The New York Times* since 1851, *The Irish Times* since 1859 or *The Manila Times* since 1898).

5.2.3. Methodology

Every article from the research sample was analysed in accord with DHA methodological framework to reveal the particular discursive strategies that have been applied by the authors of the articles to create certain representation of Polish migrants. The examination process of journalistic narrations allowed me to identify four main categories (distinctive trends) of representations that encapsulated all the dominant themes concerning the broad spectrum of issues connected with Poles residing in the UK. The categories are as follows:

1. Poles in the aspect of working in the UK
2. Poles and their adaptation to living in the UK
3. Poles — family and social attitudes
4. Poles and the impact of migration on the UK

The starting point for the analysis of every category is the strategy of argumentation realized in the form of repetitive topoi that can be defined by means of premises which are present in every broadsheet analysed. Thus, based on the concept of topos which is the integral part of the DHA methodology (e.g. Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Wodak 2007; Wodak and Meyer 2009) I identified the following topoi within the above-presented categories :

1. Poles in the aspect of working in the UK
 - 1.1. The topos of a Polish manual labourer
 - 1.2. The topos of Polish work ethos

- 1.3. The topos of labour exploitation and modern day slavery
- 1.4. The topos of high-qualified jobs and Polish business
- 1. Poles and their adaptation to living in the UK
 - 2.1. The topos of a populous and significant community
 - 2.2. The topos of social alienation and homelessness
 - 2.3. The topos of the English language incompetence
- 2. Poles — family and social attitudes
 - 3.1. The topos of great expectations and “a new life” motivation
 - 3.2. The topos of strong family bonds
 - 3.3. The topos of cheating and involvement in illegal actions
- 3. Poles and the impact of migration on the UK
 - 4.1. The topos of social and economic benefits for the UK
 - 4.2. The topos of social and economic costs for the UK

The descriptive scheme of narration that I applied to analyse every topos consists of three parts: the general presentation of premises building the given topos, the in-depth description of the paragraphs referring to the topos (the conceptual level of analysis), and the presentation of selected phrases/sentences that are examples of remaining discursive strategies distinguished within DHA framework (the linguistic level of analysis). This kind of description allowed me to effectively point to linguistic devices used to achieve certain discursive objectives such as labeling Polish migrants positively/negatively or construing the out-group of Poles and in-group of Britons. The final interpretative stage of the analysis made it possible to formulate certain conclusions on how researched broadsheets create the overall representation of Polish migrants, and, consequently, how they construct Polish migrants' identity and, at the same time, refer to British national identity. The research findings also allow the reader to have certain insight into the process of Poles' integration into the British society.

5.3. The analysis of topoi and discursive strategies

5.3.1. Poles in the aspect of working in the UK

5.3.1.1. The topos of a Polish manual labourer

A Polish manual labourer is described in the context of skill gap and labour shortages severely affecting the British job market. A clear conclusion arises that both problems can be solved only by employing migrant workers, many of whom are Poles. There are also numerous examples of vastly overqualified Polish workers who perform low skilled jobs for purely financial reasons. The

most typical embodiment of a Polish manual labourer is a plumber who appears in the articles as a synonym of both a Polish worker and a whole Polish community residing in the UK. The premises referring to this topos can be found in 29 articles from *The Guardian*, 18 from *The Independent* and 28 from *The Times*.

The Guardian

Polish migrants are depicted as workers employed in skilled manufacturing sectors and public services where at least two-third of them – according to data revealed by the Home Office – perform lowest paid work (G-2006.05.20). The most frequently mentioned Polish manual jobs are a plumber (G-2006.07.21c, G-2005.11.23, G-2006.05.20, G-2006.07.21a, G-2006.08.11, G-2006.10.28, G-2007.01.02, G-2007.01.31, G-2007.09.26, G-2007.09.24, G-2011.05.27b) and a builder (G-2006.12.06, G-2004.07.07, G-2006.05.20, G-2007.01.02, G-2011.08.26). Other jobs performed by Poles are: casual labourers, waiters and waitresses, mechanics, male models, female escorts (G-2004.07.07), kitchen workers, packers, warehouse operatives, cleaners, farm workers (G-2005.11.23, G-2011.04.06a), flower cutters, lorry/van drivers, mechanics (G-2006.05.20, G-2006.07.21c), bus drivers (G-2007.09.26), a care worker (G-2007.08.08), a security worker (G-2006.09.09), a catering worker (G-2006.12.06), a food packaging and processing worker (G-2007.08.08). Definitely the most frequently represented group (which even outnumbers plumbers) is a “process operative” meaning a factory worker (G-2005.11.23, G-2004.07.07). *The Guardian* points to the fact that 60% of the British hotel industry’s workforce are migrants (including Poles) some of whom have excellent skills connected with their previous experience in hospitality (G-2006.04.29). The articles also describe the problem of vastly overqualified Polish graduates performing low skilled jobs (G-2007.03.24, G-2007.01.31, G-2008.10.22).

Referring to labour shortages, *The Guardian* writes that almost 20% of low skilled jobs are filled by non-UK born foreign workers (twice as much as a decade ago) (G-2011.05.27a). Polish migrants are highly desirable workers, as the UK does not train enough workforce in many sectors (G-2012.06.22). The manager of a depot where half of employees are Poles points out: “they [Poles] are invaluable to me. I wouldn’t be able to operate here without them” (G-2006.05.20). The chief economic adviser to Ernst & Young Item Club confirms that opinion: “They [Poles] have gone to areas of the UK economy where they are needed, both geographically and occupationally” (G-2006.05.20). In fact, Polish workers are (and will be) needed in the UK also due to the aging population as the demographic prognosis predict an insufficient number of British workers to pay for public services and pensions in the future (G-2007.11.29, G-2013.11.14).

A Polish plumber is often used by journalists as a representative migrant worker, e.g. in the discussion on the necessity of imposing number restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian migrants: “First it was the Polish plumber that struck fear into Britain, [now it is] the Romanian builder” (G-2006.10.28). The Bulgarian prime minister (quoted by another article) reacted to this discussion saying: “I am afraid I will disappoint the British media. We don’t have so many qualified plumbers” (G-2006.09.25). One of the articles writes about “the archetypal Polish plumber” who appeared in *The Guardian*’s headline of an article about Poland’s campaign to attract Poles home, although the article concerned doctors, carers and engineers, but did not refer to plumbers in any way (G-2008.04.28).

The Independent

The Independent also raises the issue of (often overqualified) indispensable Poles who perform low skilled/unskilled jobs (Ind-2005.04.28, Ind-2006.07.06), as the British education system does not provide Britons with proper skills (Ind-2006.07.06). An accompanying problem is that indigenous workers are not willing to do certain jobs, e.g. in agriculture, hotel and restaurant industries (Ind-2006.10.30, Ind-2008.04.25). Poles are thus presented as: plumbers (Ind-2004.05.20, Ind-2005.04.28, Ind-2006.02.12, Ind-2006.05.01, Ind-2006.06.11, Ind-2008.03.08, Ind-2009.07.01, Ind-2010.01.29, Ind-2013.11.15), builders (Ind-2005.04.28, Ind-2009.07.01, Ind-2010.01.29, Ind-2011.08.21, Ind-2013.11.15, Ind-2011.11.20), cleaners (Ind-2008.03.08, Ind-2010.01.29, Ind-2011.08.21), carers (Ind-2005.05.01, Ind-2004.05.02, Ind-2006.08.27), bus drivers, mechanics (Ind-2005.04.28), shelf-stackers, dishwashers (Ind-2005.04.28), waiters (Ind-2005.04.28), meat packers (Ind-2013.11.15). They can also be found in sectors of hospitality, food processing (Ind-2006.08.27, Ind-2004.05.02), fish processing (Ind-2005.04.28), catering (Ind-2005.04.28) and tourist industry (Ind-2006.02.11).

One of the articles describes experienced Polish teachers who work as plumbers and builders “because salaries for teachers in Poland are ridiculously low” (Ind-2004.05.02), another mentions a teacher who works in a café (Ind-2008.01.20). According to a quoted employer: “It’s a bit of a waste really, I’ve had doctors doing laddering work because it paid better than being a doctor back home” (Ind-2006.05.01).

A Polish plumber is again used as a typical migration worker (not only Polish). Although migrants arrive in vast numbers, they are not able to maintain workforce stability of Europe without attracting non-European migrants in the nearest future: “(...) the UK ‘Polish plumber’ experience has demonstrated the benefits of the arrival of new skilled workers, but this is migration within the EU so it does not help the position of Europe as a whole” (Ind-2006.02.12).

When writing about Eastern European settlers in the UK and their contribution to British economic growth *The Independent* does not refer to a Polish plumber only: "Where would we be without our friendly Polish builder or our Hungarian plumber?" (Ind-2004.04.25). The argument of a needed migrant worker is also raised in the paragraph concerning the aging British population and the prospective necessity to fill the labour shortages in public services (Ind-2013.01.18).

The Times

The Times also refers to the fact that migrant workers are indispensable to solve the skills and labour shortages that are acutely felt by the British employers (T-2007.12.02, T-2013.05.27). As an example there serves a bus company which wants to employ drivers from Poland (T-2004.04.25). Polish workers perform low-skilled or unskilled jobs, frequently outnumbering local workers, as in the case of the factory sector (T-2005.05.01). The jobs performed by Polish workers are: plumbers (T-2010.10.27, T-2008.02.16a, T-2005.06.05, T-2008.02.16c, T-2006.04.16, T-2006.09.10a, T-2006.09.10b, T-2006.09.23, T-2007.06.16), builders (T-2013.02.05, T-2009.01.12, T-2006.05.07, T-2006.09.10a, T-2008.02.16a, T-2006.09.10b, T-2007.06.16), care assistants (T-2007.04.23, T-2010.10.27, T-2006.04.16), shop assistants (T-2006.12.31a), lorry drivers (T-2004.05.01), barmen (T-2005.05.01, T-2010.10.27, T-2008.02.16a), cleaners (T-2008.02.16a, T-2007.06.16), chambermaids (T-2006.04.16), decorators (T-2006.09.10b), waitresses (T-2006.12.31a), carpenters (T-2007.06.16), electricians, painters, roofers (T-2007.06.16), nannies (T-2007.06.16), fruit packers (T-2013.10.06) and factory workers (T-2006.12.31a, T-2007.04.23, T-2013.10.06). They also work in food processing (T-2013.10.06, T-2007.10.17, T-2007.01.15), agriculture (T-2013.10.06, T-2007.04.23, T-2006.09.10a), fish processing (T-2005.05.01), kitchens (T-2005.05.01, T-2008.02.16a), restaurants (T-2005.05.01, T-2013.02.05, T-2007.04.23, T-2006.12.31a), hotels (T-2013.02.05, T-2007.10.17, T-2007.04.23, T-2005.05.01, T-2006.09.10a, T-2007.01.15), cafés (T-2006.12.31a), pubs (T-2007.06.16) and catering industry (T-2007.10.17). *The Times* emphasizes the fact that the earnings of 50 pence an hour in the sector of low-skilled jobs is an unachievable salary level in Poland (T-2004.11.14).

Articles in *The Times* contain paragraphs concerning over-qualified Polish workers who are ready to perform a job by no means connected with their previous + or education (T-2005.05.01). One of the examples is a retired Polish army and NATO major who decided to become a British-based lorry driver and, consequently, quadrupled his monthly pension in Poland (T-2004.05.01). There is also a story of graduate in management sciences

working as a croupier (T-2008.02.16b), Polish teachers who work as care assistants (T-2006.04.16, T-2007.04.23), and psychiatrists (together with other doctors and professionals) who force flowers in greenhouses (T-2007.02.25). Hotel's manager talks about "people with doctorates working here as porters [who] never complain" (T-2007.04.23). Nevertheless, the most striking example of a grossly overqualified Pole is a professional musician who worked as a cleaner at Glasgow University to have an opportunity to practice piano playing. His secret concerts ended when he was discovered by a secretary who heard him on a university webcam. Eventually, the talented Pole resigned from his cleaning shifts and started to give private piano lessons to students T-2010.02.21).

Also in *The Times*, a Polish plumber is presented as a typical exemplification of a Polish worker — e.g. in the article on "French resistance towards cheap 'Polish plumbers'". When writing about vast number of low-skilled workers who decide to leave their homeland and move to the UK, the article says that in Poland "you can't get a plumber for love nor money" (T-2008.03.11).

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

The strategy of perspectivisation is prevailingly realized by means of quoting employers and experts (as it is visible in the above description of the topos). Below there are selected examples of other strategies.

The strategy of reference/nomination:

(1) "He is not the proverbial Polish plumber. Instead of dealing with Britain's blocked U-bends, he has come to cater for a market that has opened up for Poland's ever-mobile population – pastoral care (the comment on a Polish priest) (G-2006.03.15).

(2) "(...) the recession has sent some Polish plumbers home." (the comment on Poles who returned to Poland due to a downturn in an economic situation) (G-2009.11.04).

(3) "The Polish plumber is not an urban myth but the norm" (the comment on the omnipresence of Polish manual workers) (Ind-2006.05.01).

(4) "The army of nannies and plumbers" (the strategy is realized by means of military metaphor describing a large number of Polish workers) (T-2007.06.16).

The strategy of predications:

(1) "New workers talents have gone wasted – the young economics graduate winds up picking strawberries" (G-2007.01.31)

(2) "Plumbers drain away" (the comment on workers who left Poland for the UK) (G-2007.01.02).

- (3) “[Poles] are filling essential gaps in the labour market” (G-2006.12.06).
- (4) “Poles are bringing many skills to this country” (G-2006.12.06).
- (5) “[Poles] have a mixed range of skills and a huge desire to work hard” (the opinion of a professor of University College in London) (Ind-2005.04.28).
- (6) “They [Poles] are addressing a gap in skills” (T-2006.09.10b).
- (7) “The Polish builder has dominated his adopted British environment, a bit like the immigrant grey squirrel driving out the native red.” (T-2011.07.27).

The strategy of intensification:

- (1) They [Poles] bring desperately needed skills, from dentistry to plumbing, compensating for Britain’s historic failure in vocational training (G-2006.08.11).
- (2) “She is an educated, thoughtful 23-year-old who will arrive here tomorrow eager to do a job that few of us will touch (the comment on a Pole who plans to move to the UK to work) (Ind-2004.05.02).
- (3) “And then came the Polish builders. A generation owes its basements and bathroom to Poland.” (Ind-2011.11.20).
- (4) “So in demand are Polish workers that a website (...) has been set up” (T-2006.09.10).

5.3.1.2. The topos of Polish work ethos

The topos of Polish work ethos is built on the premises describing reliable and effective Polish workers together with their positive attitude to work. Moreover, the articles extensively write about Poles’ eagerness to perform work, and unwillingness to rely on benefits. The premises building the topos can be found in 16 articles from *The Guardian*, 15 articles from *The Independent* and 15 articles from *The Times*, which means that this topos is equally used in every broadsheet analysed.

The Guardian

Many articles depict Poles as highly motivated and hard-working people (G-2008.01.09, G-2009.01.24). For instance, it is mentioned that according to the Home Office report, Polish workers are seen as “highly motivated and skilled (...), more willing to work hard long hours” (G-2007.10.17a). Numerous articles expose the fact that Poles are determined to find employment (they appreciate even low-paid job) and only slight number of them decide to overuse the British social system (G-2006.05.20, G-2011.01.22,

G-2011.04.06a, G-2011.08.26). This conclusion is strengthened by the statement expressed by the president of the Federation of Poles in Great Britain who comments on Polish workers' dynamism: "There is a terrific entrepreneurial spirit among them", "Ninety-nine per cent of the people that come here are in work" (G-2006.05.20).

Polish workers' attitude to work is often contrasted with the negative behaviour patterns of Britons. The owner of the agency for temporary staff, interviewed by *The Guardian*, says that British workers — „tell (...) so many lies, all the time, about why they didn't want to go to work. 'Oh, my gran died in Liverpool,' or 'My goldfish is dead,' 'I've got a headache.' Every excuse you could possibly hear". *The Guardian* describes company bosses complaining about contracted British workers who did not appear at the workplace. The head of another agency comments on "a different cultural attitude to work in Poland" and the British workers' expectations to receive governmental assistance rather than to autonomously seek employment (G-2012.06.22).

The *Daily Mail* spokesman, who is quoted by *The Guardian* in relation to the Federation of Poles' accusation of defaming Polish residents in the UK, refutes charges in the following way: "We have run articles praising the skills of Polish workers and pointing out that many employers prefer their work ethic to the lack of commitment of British workers" (G-2008.03.15).

In one of the articles the owner of a depot denies discriminating against British workers but admits that "It's a very competitive market" and "Polish workers are very hard working" (G-2006.05.20). Also a bus company appreciated virtues of Polish workers and organized recruitment in Poland because of Poles' "terrific work ethic" linked with the habit of being punctual, smartly dressed and always ready to make "the effort to go the extra mile" (G-2007.09.26). According to the report of the government's MIF⁶¹, Polish migrants are "more skilled and often more reliable and hard working than British workers" (G-2007.10.17b). A good example of the difference between Poles and Britons is given by a Polish businessman residing in the UK: "I usually feel that if you go into a shop or into a petrol station and there is a young Polish worker there, they will move about 10 times faster than their young British counterpart" (G-2006.07.21c).

The Guardian points to the fact that Poles do not tend to claim benefits as they are mostly young and fit (G-2006.08.11), in 80% they are under 34 years of age (G-2007.09.26) and less likely to be ill (G-2013.05.18) (consequently they also do not overload NHS⁶²). Last, but not last, describing the play performed by the mixed Polish-Scottish cast, the author of the article writes about "the passion of the Polish actors making a fiery contrast with the underplayed reserve of their Scottish counterparts" (G-2008.09.30).

⁶¹ The Migration Impact Forum

⁶² The National Health Service

The Independent

The Independent also emphasizes Poles' high motivation and readiness to work hard (Ind-2005.12.14, Ind-2006.08.27, Ind-2007.11.02, Ind-2008.03.08, Ind-2008.03.15, Ind-2008.04.25). It points to Polish work ethos (Ind-2013.01.18) and describes Poles as cheap, flexible (Ind-2008.04.25), intelligent (Ind-2004.05.02), industrious, ambitious, more diligent than Britons (Ind-2007.11.02), and prepared "to fill every and any job" (Ind-2005.04.28). One of the articles writes about "the effect of the Polish plumbers on the UK workforce" and asks the rhetorical question: "Who would return to the old half-days, builders listening to Radio 1, endless tea, directions to the toilet?" (Ind-2011.11.20).

Searching for the source of Poles' attitude to work, one of the authors – quoting a worker — explains a Polish word "kombinovac" which is supposed to mean "resourcefulness, adaptability and enterprise", and derives from difficult episodes of Polish history (Ind-2005.04.28). According to *The Independent*, Poles definitely prefer to work than to take advantage of benefits (Ind-2005.04.28, Ind-2006.10.30, Ind-2004.05.02). An interviewed Pole explains the psychological source of Polish unwillingness to claim social security: "If you claim benefit you show that you have failed. Everyone wants to show that they are a success. It is the major impetus for working hard" (Ind-2005.04.28).

The report published by JRF⁶³ reveals that employers prefer hard-working EU migrants to the British workers because the latter have the reputation of being less reliable, lazier and unwilling to do low-skilled work (Ind-2006.05.01, Ind-2006.08.27). Such desirable virtues of Poles cause that British entrepreneurs employ Poles without hesitation, often more willingly than Britons (Ind-2013.11.15). It is well visible in the case of a bus company (described also by *The Guardian*) which appreciated Polish workers and organized a recruitment session in Poland (Ind-2006.02.11).

In another article *The Independent* comments on the tabloid *The Sun* which changed its rhetoric style when writing about Poles and now praises Polish workers as "such hard-working people that Britain wouldn't be the same without them" (Ind-2008.05.19). *The Independent* also argues with *The Daily Mail*'s statements that immigrants are financial burden for every UK household. The author quotes findings of the Home Office report according to which migrants work harder than Britons, which in turn is reflected in their higher earnings and taxes (Ind-2008.03.15). As a conclusion, Poles undoubtedly contribute to the exchequer and do not burden British taxpayers.

⁶³ The Joseph Rowntree Foundation

The Times

The Times confirms the picture of Poles as highly motivated and hard-working people (T-2006.05.07, T-2006.09.10b, T-2013.02.05, T-2014.02.28). Not only are they cheap and flexible (T-2007.06.16), but also polite, respectful, reliable and always enthusiastic (T-2008.03.11, T-2011.07.27, T-2007.04.23). In one of the articles a reader can find information that “These men [Poles] work 10 hours a day, six days a week (...). It’s a 60-hour week, but they want to do it” (T-2006.05.07). *The Times* emphasizes unique work ethic of Poles and their willingness to work longer hours, referring to the data revealed by the government study (T-2007.10.17). Polish workers’ “strong work ethos” (T-2006.05.07, T-2007.12.02) and “relentless pursuit of work” (T-2005.05.01) are juxtaposed with Britons’ low skills and widespread tendency among British workers to rely on welfare state (T-2008.02.16c). A Pole who worked as a plumber for a Scottish company talks about his colleagues:

I didn’t think the Scottish plumbers were very good at all. I thought they were very lazy. They didn’t even understand their own regulations. They wanted to get the big money for their job but they’re not prepared to work. (T-2008.02.16c)

There are also paragraphs commenting on the fact that British entrepreneurs frequently employ Poles, often more willingly than Britons, and recommend them to friends (T-2006.05.07, T-2006.09.10b, T-2013.08.13). One of the articles writes about a Pole who had experience in working with Britons. To conclude, the author of the article comments on her statements: “She would never be so rude as to say that the British do not share an appetite for hard work; she just refers to ‘people [who] say they are sick when everyone knows they are having a hangover” (T-2007.06.16).

The living embodiment of a hard working Pole is a man from Edinburgh who effectively combines three jobs being a freelance graphic designer and a two bar cleaner (T-2005.05.01). *The Times* explains such a Polish effectiveness referring to the CRNEM⁶⁴ report, according to which Polish people “are individualistic, driven by the desire for success and believe strongly in an idealized market economy” (T-2006.05.18). The recruiter of a communication technology company talks about “very bright, enthusiastic and committed” Poles (T-2007.12.02), whereas a hotel’s human resources manager expresses the opinion that “The guests like them [Poles] because they are friendly and helpful and we rarely have any disciplinary problems (T-2007.04.23).

The incomparable skills of Polish builders, who are quicker, more honest and work more effectively than British ones, attracted the attention of

⁶⁴ The Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism at the University of Surrey

a UKIP⁶⁵'s politician. He officially opted for decreasing the immigration rate, but at the same time hired a team of Polish workers to restore his house. As it can be read in the article, Polish workers are so appreciated because "many [British] workers here just aren't skilled enough to do the work involved in renovating an old property" (T-2006.05.07). Good reputation of Polish workers causes the situation that workers of other eastern Europeans nationalities pretend to be Poles to maximize their chances for employment (the case of Lithuanian nanny who passed herself off as a Pole is described in T-2007.06.16).

Although the newspapers write at length about Polish attitude to work, which is overtly admired by British employers, some Poles doubt it and express the opinion that Polish work ethos is not an inborn imperative, but is entirely based on financial motivation: "You can be a different person in different circumstances, if you were a doctor earning Pounds 400 a month would you be very motivated in your work? I'm not surprised that some people can be hard-working somewhere and lazy somewhere else" (T-2007.06.16).

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

When building the topos of Polish work ethos the authors of articles apply various discursive strategies. As far as the strategy of perspectivisation is concerned, it is visible in frequent references to numerical data derived from official government reports and research institutions' findings. This way newspapers want to objectively prove that Polish workers prevalingly register to work and only a small percentage of them apply for social benefits.

The strategy of reference/nomination is used in the form of attributes describing Polish features of character, which is clearly visible in the quotations describing Poles presented above. Other examples include the expressions:

(1) "This benign invasion of eager and biddable young Poles (...)" (the phrase contains the military metaphor of "invasion" to describe the arrival of vast amount of young Polish workers to the UK) (G-2006.07.21a).

(2) "like an army of ants" (the expression used by the owner of the Polish-registered recruitment company in reference to the industriousness of Polish workers (T-2006.05.07).

The strategy of predication is used in the form of verb phrases which illustrate Polish workers' behaviour, e.g.

(1) "The Pole would never suck his teeth and tell us 'It's going to be a long job, sweetheart', but would politely get to work" (T-2011.07.27).

⁶⁵ The UK Independence Party

(2) “[Poles] take pride in their work doing so well. They are constantly busy” (the opinion of a local government worker) (T-2006.09.10b).

(3) “they [Poles] won’t let you down” (the opinion of a the owner of recruitment company) (T-2006.05.07).

(4) “The new arrivals have forced their British rivals to up the ante” (the statement concerning Poles who have a reputation for working long hours for lower prices) (T-2006.09.10b).

(5) “Polish builders (...) have spent four years forcing their British rivals to raise their game” (the comment on Poles working at a fraction of the local workers’ prices) (T-2008.02.16a).

(6) “I know people [Poles] who work 14 hours a day, seven days a week” (the opinion of a Pole) (T-2006.09.10b).

The strategy of intensification is visible in the expressions strengthening statements concerning Poles, e.g.

(1) “(...) I have these maaarvellous Poles! They never take a break!” (Ind-2011.11.20)

(2) “They are undoubtedly good workers” (the opinion expressed by the owner of a building firm) (T-2006.09.10b).

(3) “It was an absolute pleasure” (the opinion of the hotel’s human resources manager about Poles he worked with) (T-2007.04.23).

5.3.1.3. The topos of labour exploitation and modern day slavery

Topos of exploitation is built by the premises exposing the abuse of Polish workers by gangmasters and unscrupulous employers. A significant number of articles from my research sample extensively illustrates the unfair treatment of Poles, and emphasizes the lack of possibility to change the situation without the intervention of local services. This topos can be identified in the articles from every broadsheet analysed: in 17 articles from *The Guardian*, in 3 articles from *The Independent* and in 7 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

The problems of Poles start at the level of a recruitment process as their language deficiency together with lack of familiarity with work practices in the new country condemn them to totally rely on employment agents in terms of working and living conditions. Poles sign contracts “without the benefit of translation and without their understanding”, and they are not employed

directly by the factories but subcontracted by a complex chain of labour agencies (G-2005.01.11). As a representative of the Federation of Poles in the UK explains — those agencies pay them significantly less than standard rates, do not register workers, do not give them payslips, and Poles are required to pay high rent. Moreover, they have false insurance numbers (often several of them have the same one) not to deduct tax at the high emergency rate (G-2005.01.11). Such practices force Poles to become illegal workers and prevent them from joining trade unions. Any attempt to object to the agencies' work terms may end with being "sacked by text message" (G-2006.12.06).

Poles are not informed about the type of work they are contracted to perform and the place of living to which they are transported by the gangmasters — often in the middle of the night — in prohibited, uncertified vehicles. Their accommodation violates all the social and health standards (G-2005.01.11, G-2008.05.08), which means that Poles have to sleep on bare mattresses in cramped rooms. From one of the articles the reader can learn that "inside there was no furniture, just mountains of rubbish, piles of syringes, soiled mattresses on the floor, and a terrible smell" (G-11.01.2005). Poles often find their employment on farms where they have to live in caravans and sleep six to eight in bunk beds (G-25.05.2013, G-23.11.2013).

Another problem is psychological violence, as in the example of quoted Poles who say that "they felt intimidated" (G-2005.01.11). It has been proved by the GLA⁶⁶ report, according to which Polish workers experience "sinister threats" against their families living in Poland who may be in danger if workers leave the workplace fixed by the gangmaster or fail to pay for accommodation. Moreover, gangmasters often hold workers' passports and steal their documents (G-2008.05.08). This way employers together with unscrupulous labour agencies take advantage of Poles' ignorance of employment laws (G-2006.12.06, G-2007.08.08, G-2008.07.23).

Similar information can be found in other articles, e.g. in one referring to the TGWU's hotel branch revealing that in 80% of Britain's hotels, migrants workers (also Poles) earn, on average, one pound less an hour than the British workers (G-2006.04.29). The article also points to the fact that Polish migrants are forced to work long hours, take double shifts and work unpaid or underpaid overtime. Other common abuses which are described include: "the absence of employment contracts, no sick pay, no holiday pay (...), delayed payment of wages, no breaks, line-management bullying and unfair dismissal". Additionally, the report mentions verbal racism expressed by a line manager who screamed: "You Fuckers! Don't be stupid like the Poles". One of Poles who experienced exploitation and abuse reflects on his situation: "I came to this free country as a free man wanting to work hard. I feel robbed, robbed of my rights. How can this happen?" (G-2005.01.11).

⁶⁶ The Gangmasters Licensing Authority

Another frequent practice is wangling money out of Polish workers for non-existent positions at Tesco. Bogus-Tesco-jobs gangs convince potential Polish workers to make an employment payment and to buy tickets to the UK at their own expense, and after arrival Poles are required to pay for accommodation. Afterwards they are driven away and left near the accidental house where no one has heard about Tesco recruitment procedure (G-2007.02.05).

Shocking examples of physical abuse towards Polish migrants are cited after EHRC⁶⁷ report on meat and poultry processing factories which revealed the “widespread mistreatment and exploitation” (G-2010.03.13). One in five workers (mainly Poles) admitted experiencing physical abuse; in many cases they were pushed, kicked or had things thrown at them (a line manager threw “frozen hamburgers [that were] like stones”). A woman working at an assembly line talks about being forced to carry 16 kg boxes that caused a damage to her hand. The article concludes that most of Polish workers endure such a treatment because complaining could end with terminating the job and being left with no other possibility to find permanent employment (G-2006.04.29). Labor exploitation is common also in the building trade as gangmasters violate health and safety regulations. In result, workers risk serious injuries or even deaths (G-2014.02.04). More strikingly, according to many journalistic narrations Poles are treated as illegal workers, although they are rightfully entitled to work legally in the UK on equal terms with other new EU migrants and British workers. It is well illustrated by the story of Poles who were brought to an unknown house and told to wait until the group of Afghans packed their possessives to dustbin bags and was moved to another location (G-2005.01.11). This way Poles took up the place of exploited Afghan workers.

In the context of unbearable working conditions, articles often report the issue of increasing number of Poles joining British trade unions and going on strikes. *The Guardian* writes that “Poles are bringing solidarity back to fashion in Britain” as for the first time since the World War II there was a trade union branch created consisting solely of migrant workers (Polish branches in Southampton and Glasgow) (G-2006.12.06, G-2009.06.25, G-2010.04.24).

The Guardian raises the issue of the problem of human trafficking referring to the case of a young Pole who was murdered in the UK in suspicious circumstances. According to anti-trafficking charities, her story “contains evidence that she was trafficked into the UK, even though at first she may not have realized she was being treated as a commodity” (G-2006.09.09).

Articles describing unlawful treatment of Polish workers overtly point to the role of the government and local authorities in the process of taking proper steps to ensure that the situation will be systematically improved in

⁶⁷ The Equality and Human Rights Commission

the future. *The Guardian* calls for strengthening the ineffective Gangmasters Licensing Act (adopted in the year 2004 after the drowning of twenty-three Chinese cockle pickers) and stricter control of labour agencies to protect workers from exploitation (G-2005.01.11, G-2006.08.11, G-2014.02.04, G-2007.03.24, G-2012.06.22). To protect workers' rights, local councils should provide them with information on health and safety regulations and opt for penalizing exploitative employers (G-2007.08.08). The articles describing Poles' slavery-like work effectively prove that without assistance Polish workers will remain exploited for a considerable length of time and will contribute to degradation of social structure.

The Independent

The Independent refers to the findings of survey conducted by the JRF⁶⁸, according to which "across all sectors migrants were working longer hours than average" (Ind-2006.05.01). One of the charities helping Poles says that 63% of their mentees (Poles living in the UK) confirm being exploited at some point of their stay in the UK, whereas according to the Upper Room⁶⁹ – Poles worked for free even for two months (Ind-2011.08.21). One of the articles describes also the common practice of cheating Poles by promising non-existent work, for which they decide to spend all their financial resources for a ticket to the UK (Ind-2009.03.04).

The Times

The Times also writes about the problem of Polish migrants' vulnerability to exploitation. Poles are lured by promises of high wages and later forced to work for significantly less (T-2007.01.15). In addition, job agents promise work on building sites that is never materialized (T-2007.06.16). If the work does exist, it is, in fact, equal to losing freedom because gangmasters take away passports, mobile phones and any forms of identification (T-2013.10.06). Apart from that, gangmasters often apply the system of one-day hiring which means they choose Polish workers during the early morning recruitment and transport them to work (in this kind of system Poles have no chance for permanent employment) (T-2010.08.14). A story of Polish family working on a farm provides information on difficult living conditions without any privacy and "boiling kettle to wash" (T-2007.02.25). As a representative of the Federation of Poles in Great Britain claims: "Still, quite a large number of people come into really hard times largely through naivety or they are preyed upon" (T-2007.06.16).

⁶⁸ The Joseph Rowntree Foundation

⁶⁹ The local support service for Eastern European migrants

The example of cheating practices is presented in the description of a Pole who was taken from Victoria Coach Station by a man promising him employment and accommodation. The false agent transported him to a workplace where the Pole was treated as an indentured worker and did not receive any salary. The Pole eventually went on foot from Norwich to London and found work on a construction site (T-2009.01.12). The problem of financial discrimination of Polish workers is revealed also by the article about Polish plumber who says: "I was working 50 hours a week at Pounds 8 per hour. The Scottish plumbers were working for Pounds 15-20 an hour to do a poor job" (T-2008.02.16c).

The Times describes the case of a small flat (on the outskirts of a provincial city) that was turned into a prison for about twelve Polish slaves. They were trafficked into the UK and "forced to work for miniscule wages". The article reports on the surveillance operation organized by the charity Hope for Justice whose aim was to nab the suspected slavemaster when he was picking up Polish workers (kept locked indoors) and transporting them by van to the fruit-packing factory. As the article concludes: "(...) the operation has uncovered more than six cases of human trafficking, as well as shocking examples of cramped living conditions, including a two-bedroom house containing nine adults and two children" (T-2013.10.06).

In *The Times* there are also articles on collaboration of British trade unions with the Polish ones such as "Solidarność" (T-2007.01.15) to develop English teaching programmes and disseminate information leaflets for Poles to protect them against being paid less than the British workers (T-2007.06.16).

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

As far as the strategy of perspectivisation is concerned, the authors of articles from every analysed broadsheet often refer to official reports edited by the British government or social research institutions. Another source of information are interviewed Poles, thanks to whom the articles may quote direct witnesses of the described situations. In a few cases the authors of articles cite politicians who make statements concerning the problem of exploitation of (not only) Polish workers and the necessity of finding an effective solution to it.

The strategy of reference/nomination – selected examples:

(1) "The victims are invariably hidden deep within the supermarkets' supply chains" (T-06.10.2013).

(2) "Teams of uneducated, vulnerable workers who they [illicit gangmasters] exploit using violence and intimidation" (T-06.10.2013).

(3) "The legitimate food producing companies then employ the victims, unaware their pay and freedom is being seized by a trafficker operating in the shadow" (T-06.10.2013).

(4) "What you can do to help Britain's secret slaves." (the comment on leaflets written in Polish that are distributed in supermarkets) (T-06.10.2013).

The strategy of predication:

(1) "Without language, money or even the proper name of the boss of the company (...), they [Poles] felt helpless" (G-11.01.2005).

(2) "They had been threatened with eviction and loss of two weeks wages by their gang-masters if they dared to tell anyone about their conditions" (G-11.01.2005).

(3) "Migrants often end up in substandard housing" (G-08.08.2007).

(4) "Workers endured this treatment without complaint because of fears their work would be terminated" (G-13.03.2010).

(5) "They [Poles] are forced to work inhumane hours to scant pay under threat of violence" (T-06.10.2013).

The strategy of intensification:

(1) "(...) more workers are being exploited in the meat-packing and processing industry than ever before" (T-06.10.2013).

(2) "The victims are absolutely trapped because they are financially tied to these people" (the strategy of intensification is combined here with predication) (T-06.10.2013).

5.3.1.4. The topos of high-qualified jobs and Polish business

The broadsheet articles analysed contain numerous premises proving that Polish migrants hold high professional positions, establish companies and pursue successful business careers. Poles are appreciated for their high qualifications, high management skills and impressive command of foreign languages. In my research sample the topos of high qualified professions and Polish business can be identified in 5 articles from *The Guardian*, 6 articles from *The Independent* and 12 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

Poles quickly develop their career as they start from a low-skilled job and systematically progress on the job market while improving their English language skills. *The Guardian* claims that "the stereotypical image of Polish

plumber has passed its sell-by date”, referring to the research conducted by Ernst & Young, according to which one in three New Europe migrants holds a post in administration, business and management (G-2006.05.20). The Polish high-level professions include: bankers (financiers), lawyers, architects, musicians, gallery owners (G-2006.05.20), deli owners, multimedia designers, concert promoters, band musicians, photographers, artists and film makers (G-2006.07.21c). In one of the depots Poles are supervisors and administrators along with an office clerk responsible for bilingual print materials (G-2006.05.20). A distinct group of Polish professionals are medical doctors who become entitled to work in NHS after demonstrating high language skills (G-2006.05.20, G-2007.09.26). Polish medical centres have been established across the UK (with at least 20 in London itself) and – due to excellent Polish doctors and nurses’ reputation – they attract both Polish migrants and British citizens (G-2013.05.18). As an increasing number of Poles perform professional roles, they often become members of the Polish City Club (G-2006.05.20).

On the basis of the opinion of Ernst & Young’s Item Club, Polish workers are described as high-achieving generation, “more enterprising and self-confident than previous immigrants”. The Polish “can-do attitude” leads to their successful climb up the career ladder (G-2006.05.20). The Guardian assumes that – including post-war migration – almost 40,000 Poles established their own businesses in the UK (G-2006.07.21c). The examples of enterprising Poles are a Polish sportsman who opened a karate school and works as a self-employed karate instructor (G-2006.07.21c), and a former industrial climber who started a multimedia company. His lack of qualifications and experience appeared to be a minor barrier compared with the passion for making films and the possibility to afford his first video camera (G-2006.07.21c). Another success story concerns an award-winning Polish employment agency which helps migrant workers find suitable employment and go through the initial administrative procedures (G-2007.03.24).

The Independent

The Independent also points to Poles’ high-level professions among which there are: doctors, nurses, dentists (Ind-2005.04.28, Ind-2006.02.11), a photographer assistant (Ind-2005.05.01), bankers (Ind-2006.02.11) and managers (Ind-2008.03.08). Polish doctors ease shortages in certain sectors, as in the case of Polish dentists registered by NHS in Scotland (Ind-2006.02.11). British companies and banks willingly recruit highly educated graduates, especially IT professionals, as “Poland has some of the most highly skilled computer specialists in the world” (Ind-2005.04.28).

Career-oriented and determined Poles make their utmost to improve their job prospects as in the example of a young graduate who started his work as a painter in a building team to become a photographer assistant and an English college student. A Polish flair for business was noticed by the journalists who write about “countless Polish businesses” (Ind-2008.04.25) and a Pole who established a martial art school (Ind-2012.01.10).

The Times

According to one of the articles, Polish workers “are working everywhere. They are cleaning City offices but they are also running them” (T-2007.06.16), as one third of Poles work in the sectors of business and management (T-2006.09.10a). In *The Times* Poles are also presented as doctors (T-2005.05.01, T-2013.02.05, T-2010.10.27), nurses and teachers (including Polish teachers of English) (T-2005.05.01). In other paragraphs there are mentions of a Polish university lecturer (T-2005.05.01, T-2010.10.27), a librarian (T-2008.02.16c), a harpist (T-2005.05.01), a shipping clerk (T-2008.02.16a), a computer designer (T-2008.02.16c), scientists (T-2010.10.27), bankers (T-2007.06.16, T-2013.02.05), music promoters (T-2007.06.16), and agents in the City (T-2013.02.05). Polish dentists help NHS solve the shortage of Scottish dentists many of whom open private practices (T-2006.04.16).

The successful Polish businesspersons are described with numerous examples. One of these are three IT professionals who co-funded the website for Poles (with additional donations from the consulate), and organized a Polish DJ night at a local nightclub (T-2005.05.01). The reader can also learn about a Pole who started his professional career as a builder and after seven years he set up his own, now well-prospering, construction company (T-2006.09.10b). He reflects on his success saying:

I'll admit I'm not a builder by profession (...), my father is a plumber, and I used to help him a bit when I was a kid. But me and my team know what we're doing, and we've never had an unhappy customer (T-2006.09.10b).

Other Poles who started their professional paths as builders, became eventually a shipping clerk (T-2008.02.16a) and a computer designer (T-2008.02.16c). There is also a story of a man who went a long and winding road from work in the pub, through being a van driver and an office clerk, to gain an IT position in a publishing company (T-2007.06.16). An impressive career was pursued by a Pole who at the beginning of his stay in the UK worked as a cleaner and eventually found employment in the office of a distinguished money transfer company (T-2007.06.16). There are also Poles described who made an extreme success after establishing a company importing Polish food

together with a chain of Polish delis (T-2007.06.16). One of the journalists refers to a Pole who “isn’t scared of hard work and enjoying his new life”, and emphasizes him speaking “impressive English” (T-2005.05.01).

The Times also explores the topic of appreciated Polish IT professionals who were recruited by an educational information and communications technology company. Its director portrays newly employed 150 Polish graduates as “brilliant — highly educated and very skilled in English and other languages” (T-2007.12.02).

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

As far as the discursive strategies used by the authors of articles are concerned, the strategy of perspectivisation is visible in quoting Polish workers and referring to data revealed by research institutions. Below there are also selected examples of other strategies.

The strategy of reference/nomination:

(1) ‘Massive banks such as Barclay are tapping into a rich vein of young talent at Poland’s universities” (an author describes Poles in general as ‘young talent’) (Ind-2005.04.28).

(2) “A haemorrhaging of the ambitious and the skilled” (the comment on Poles who in large numbers leave Poland and settle in the UK, there is also visible here the strategy of intensification realised by means of a word “haemorrhaging” that evokes associations with the large number of people moving into the UK with an unstoppable force) (T-2006.04.16).

(3) “Many talented professionals are already settled in” (the comment on Poles residing in the UK) (T-2005.05.01).

The strategy of predication:

(1) “All Polish builders who have lived in England for a few years know what they are worth by now” (the opinion of a building company’s owner about Polish builders who reinforced their professional position and raised their quotes) (T-2011.07.27).

(2) “He has achieved this through sheer hard work” (the comment on a Pole who established a building company, the strategy of predication is combined here with the strategy of intensification which is visible in the word “sheer”) (T-2006.09.10b).

The strategy of intensification:

(1) “To say RM [the name of IT firm] is delighted with the caliber of its Polish recruits would be an understatement” (the opinion about Poles who were interviewed during the recruitment process) (T-2007.12.02).

5.3.2. Poles and their adaptation to living in the UK

5.3.2.1. The topos of a populous and significant community

Since EU 2004 enlargement and opening the British job market for new European migrants, the Polish community in the UK has been on constant increase. Poles became omnipresent, as they are visible and audible in the streets, workplaces and public utilities. Consequently, numerous articles in my research sample address the issue of significant number of Polish migrants residing in the UK and the cultural/social symptoms of their presence, such as the proliferation of Polish press, shops and medical centres (see also The topos of high-qualified jobs and Polish business). The premises of this topos can be found in 21 articles from *The Guardian*, 21 articles from *The Independent* and 16 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

In the period immediately following Poland's accession to EU *The Guardian* writes about the "tabloids' prediction of a flood" of EU new migrants, whereas the Polish embassy in Warsaw suggests that "it has been more of a trickle than a flood" (G-2004.07.07). However, in the article published in 2006 the reader can find information about "around 300,000 Poles in the UK" who have as many as three Polish-language publications on the British press market (G-2006.01.16). Referring to the large number of Polish migrants, an interviewed Pole says that in the past her Polish "unusual Slavic looks would turn heads in the street (and) 'cute' accent was a novelty at parties", whereas nowadays Polish migrants are ubiquitous and easily visible across the society (G-2006.07.21b). As it is concluded in one of the articles:

This autumn in London, you can listen to a Polish radio station, sign up to study at the British branch of Lodz University, tuck into delicje biscuits (...) from Tesco, and log on your Polish bank account at NatWest. All before calling your Polish plumber to fix the boiler, of course. (G-2007.09.26)

Moreover, when writing about Poles leaving for the UK, *The Guardian* points out that even "a quick back-of-an-envelope calculation reveals that around 1,000 Wroclavians a day are heading to London. Liverpool, Manchester, Stoke-on-Trent and other UK destinations" (G-2006.07.21a). Poles are often compared to a large Indian community, e.g. in terms of developing Polish business connected mostly with food products: "[Polish] model is similar to that of the Indian community; at first they set up services for Indian people, then they began to diversify" (G-2006.07.21c).

As it is visible in the following paragraph, large numbers of Polish migrants are a frequent argument in discussions concerning prospective influx of Romanians and Bulgarians migrants:

The research shows a repeat of the exodus of Polish workers to the UK is unlikely (...). The latest figures from the 2001 census show there were 60,000 Polish-born residents living legally in Britain before accession in May 2004, compared with fewer than 15,000 Romanians and Bulgarians (...). But researchers argue that the experience of so many more Poles coming to Britain is unlikely to be replicated since Bulgaria and Romania have much stronger networks elsewhere (...). (G-2006.09.25)

Still in this discussion one of the British ministers claims that “the situation this time would not replicate the mass arrival of Poles” (G-2013.11.21).

Poles have been noticed by the mobile network operator that offers “a tailored broadband service aimed at the UK’s growing Polish population” (G-2006.06.26), as well as by the bank officials, according to whom “their [Poles’] prospects are bright” so they are in need of a bank accounts and services designed especially for them (G-2006.12.09). A London City Hall politician “added the Slavic dumplings to the city Hall shopping list” expecting Polish community’s support in the Mayor election. He addressed Poles in the following words: “[you are] rightful residents of the capital... Polish Londoners, not outsiders. Its time for London to notice your presence” (G-2007.08.27). *The Guardian* quotes also a Caribbean British who expresses his feeling about “the subconscious racism everywhere” and points out that “in 50 years’ time [Turkish and Polish people] will be more part of this society than we ever will” (G-2011.12.29).

As *The Guardian* concludes, the original estimate elaborated by University College in London which predicted 15,000 Poles and other newcomers arriving to the UK yearly, was based on an assumption that other EU countries would not impose border restriction on new EU migrant workers (G-2013.11.21).

The Independent

The Independent also writes about sceptical newspapers that warn against “beggars, scroungers or worse” who are expected to “flood Britain”, as well as “scores of low-paid migrants from Poland (...) (that) will flock the UK”. In fact, these are young Poles who want to improve language skills and gain experience but not in the scale of anticipated flood (Ind-2004.05.02, Ind-2004.05.07, Ind-2005.05.01).

The Independent quotes the president of the Polish Education Society who talks about an increasing number of Polish children in Saturday morning schools, and numerous participants of Sunday masses in a Polish church

in the Northern London. According to her, there used to be three masses on Sunday and the church was never full, whereas now there are “six or eight services every Sunday and people are standing outside in the street” (Ind-11.02.2006). Another article referring to an increasing number of Polish church goers reveals: “Polish churches are full of toddlers and pushchairs. Teary tattooed plumbers cross themselves. Hard-up meat packers shove 20 into the collection boxes for the nuns needing furniture in eastern Poland” (Ind-2013.11.15).

Selected articles refer to the discussion about work permission for Romanians and Bulgarians which links this issue with “the ‘hysteria’ that surrounded the accession of Poland and other countries in 2004” (Ind-2006.08.22). As the article’s author notices, “with the previous wave of accession to the east, and especially Poland” the Romanians and Bulgarian should not be treated as second-class European citizens, nor be imposed quotas (Ind-2006.09.25). *The Independent* concludes that Poles often appear in discussions on immigration as a shorthand for all new European migrants (Ind-2010.01.29).

In *The Independent* the reader also can find information about the Home Office’ predictions, according to which official statistics predicted a significantly smaller number of new EU countries’ citizens than the number of those who actually arrived in the UK (Ind-2007.01.01). The Office for National Statistics proves that Poles are the second largest group of foreign-born British residents, immediately after the Indian community which is the most populous one (Ind-2009.02.25). From another article the reader can learn that Polish language became an integral part of the panorama of the British languages. According to an authoritative report on immigrant languages, in the year 2001 the Polish language was not included in the group of 12 most frequently used languages in the UK, whereas now Polish is more widely spoken than Hindi and Pakistani tongues (Ind-2013.01.31, Ind-2013.02.09). Consequently, from all the UK minorities the Polish community has the broadest offer of Polish media including newspapers, web channel TV and two Anglo-Polish radio stations (Ind-2007.10.22). Even the most xenophobic of British newspapers *The Sun* releases a Polish edition “with somewhat less racy content” (Ind-2009.07.01, Ind-2008.05.19). Poles became also a noticeable target group for British banks and supermarkets that opened Polish sections (Ind-2008.01.20, Ind-2009.07.01).

The Times

The Times leaves no doubts as to the large number of Poles in the UK claiming that one day London will have a larger Polish population than Gdańsk with 470,000 inhabitants (T-2007.06.16). One of the articles describes Polish community that resides in Scotland, pointing to the fact that:

A substantial number of the incomers [Poles] are thought to be in Scotland. Tending bars in Edinburgh pubs, plying their trade as plumbers in Inverness, working as chambermaids in Glasgow hotels, Poles have become a familiar part of Scotland's social and economic fabric. (T-2006.04.16)

As a good example there serves the story of a Polish model (a former waitress) who became the face of VisitScotland's winter publicity campaign (T-2006.12.31), however, *The Times* does not fully approve this situation. An increasing number of Poles arriving in Wales resulted in Welsh TV planning to add Polish subtitles to its selected programmes (T-2007.06.05). Another article describes an interesting borrowing, a Polish word "horda" which became "horde" and, as it means a tribe of migrating nomads, it is used to describe the populous Polish community (T-2007.06.16). From *The Times* articles the reader can also learn that Poles living in the UK have a selection of Polish newspapers and magazines at their disposal (T-2007.06.16).

The Times informs its readers about the fact that banks and companies compete for the new wave of immigrant workers and want to attract "the elusive Polish plumber and his compatriots" (T-2005.09.25, T-2006.09.23). One of the articles concerns councils representatives recruited from ethnic minorities. According to an interviewed politician, the Polish community, with an estimated number of 6 000,000 Poles living across Britain, is supposed to encourage its members to stand for election and serve as councilors since "our councils should look like our communities" (T-2007.09.24).

The Times also shows the connection between populous Polish community and social fears of potential influx of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants together with the generally negative attitude towards migrants:

More than 1 million people from the new member states of Eastern Europe now live here and Polish is the UK's second language. This and the prospect of a "flood" of Bulgarians and Romanians may explain why anti-immigration and anti-EU attitudes now seem to go together (T-2013.05.27).

To sum up the presented premises I will quote one of the articles' authors who concludes: "Some [Poles] would go home, but others would come, they would keep coming. They were here to stay and we had better get used to it. And to them" (T-2007.02.25).

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

The strategy of perspectivisation:

When writing about large numbers of Poles, every newspaper analysed prevaingly refers to the official numerical data provided either by the government or by research institutions. In several cases, data from alternative

sources are juxtaposed with each other. Rarely do articles present only approximate numbers without a particular source of figures. Below, there are selected examples:

(1) "The latest figures on the workers' registration scheme for migrants form the new EU states show (...) (that) nearly 170,000 of the 293,000 who have applied to work in Britain come from Poland" (G-2005.11.23).

(2) "Official statistics suggest that 228,000 Poles have registered to live and work in Britain since Poland joined the EU in May 2004. Other estimates suggest the real figure is between 350,000 and 500,000, while last week the respected Polish news magazine Polityka estimated that one million Poles have moved to the UK" (G-2006.07.21a).

(3) "The latest figures [from the Home Office], showing an extra 59,000 Polish and other east Europeans registering to work between May and September, bring the cumulative total to 510,000 since EU accession in 2004" (G-2006.11.22).

(4) "We estimate that there are at least 150,000 Poles within Greater London. The fact that there are some 55,000 Polish electors in London, 8,000 Polish-speaking children in London state schools, nearly 70,000 paying national insurance and nearly 60,000 on the increasingly unpopular Worker Registration Scheme is further evidence that many are considering a long-term stay" (the opinion of the representative of the Federation of Poles in the Great Britain) (G-2007.08.27).

(5) "According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS), net migration to the UK from Poland is on the up again, and Poles are now the biggest group of foreign nationals in the UK" (G-2011.05.27).

(6) "Government figures put the number of Poles living in the UK at the end of last year at 555,000 – up from the 75,000 here in December 2003" (G-2011.08.26).

(7) "The officials figures, published yesterday, also show that the Polish community in Britain now numbers 545,000 and is the largest by foreign nationality in the UK, eclipsing the Indian, Pakistani and Irish communities. However, measured by country of birth rather than nationality the Indian community remains the largest, with many more Indians taking British citizenship" (G-2011.05.27a).

(8) "Privately, many Poles believe the true number of their compatriots in the UK now tops the million mark" (G-2011.08.26).

(9) "Office of National Statistics estimates that between May and December 2004, 73,000 Poles registered to work in the UK, of whom roughly a third were here already and since legalized their presence. A year on from accession, that figure is nearer 100,000" (Ind-2005.04.28).

(10) "According to the Federation of Poles in Great Britain, the total number of people with a 'Polish connection' could be as high as 750,000, equal in size to the Pakistani community and bigger than the Caribbean population, which is about 560,000" (Ind-2006.02.11).

(11) "According to the centre for Economics and Business Research, one million Poles live in Britain, the biggest community being in West London" (T-2007.05.18b).

(12) "Nobody knows for sure, but there are estimated to be half a million Poles living in the UK (...)" (T-2008.03.11).

(13) "The 600,000 or so Poles in the UK are eligible to vote in European and local elections" (T-2014.03.15).

The strategy of reference/nomination:

(1) "(...) a thriving and industrious expat Polish community" (about Polish community in Scotland) (T-2006.04.16).

(2) "(...) Scotland's burgeoning Polish community" (similarly to the word "throwing", the attribute "burgeoning" suggests the intensive process of the Polish population's increase) (T-2006.12.31a).

(3) "Few people epitomize the dynamism and international outlook of this horda better than (...) a founder of the Polish City Club (T-2007.06.16).

(4) "(...) gangmasters (...) have access to legions of labourers" (military metaphor is used here to describe a vast amount of Polish workers) (T-2013.10.06).

The strategy of predication:

(1) "Polish workers are clearly an attractive prospect for the UK banks" (G-2006.12.09).

(2) "The Polish market represents potentially big business for UK banks" (Ind-2008.01.20).

(3) "The Polish community is playing an increasingly important role" (G-2006.12.09).

(4) "What's wrong is that they [Romanians and Bulgarians] joined the EU after half a million Polish migrants rocked up to these shores" (G-2007.11.01).

(5) "A phenomenon [UK-Polish migration] that exploded on an unexpected scale with Poland's accession to the EU in 2004" (military metaphor is used here to describe a quick tempo of migration) (G-2011.04.06a).

(6) "Polish women were the most likely foreign-born mothers to give birth in England and Wales, producing 20,5000 babies in 2011" (Ind-2014.02.05).

(7) "(...) there are Polish people all over the place now" (the opinion of an interviewed Pole) (T-2005.05.01).

(8) "He is one of a new wave of Polish men and women who have flocked to Scotland" (T-2005.05.01).

(9) "(...) before 2004 there were about 50,000 people in Britain from the so-called A8 countries that joined the EU that year (...). Within 18 months, that figure had grown nearly sevenfold, mainly because of the Polish invasion (...). Before the floodgates opened in 2004 there were fewer than 34,000 Poles here." (there is visible here military metaphor together with implicit predication comparing Poles to a flood) (T-2014.01.05).

(10) "The Polish community in London is one of the most rapidly expanding and important in the capital and therefore obviously City Hall has been in touch with the Polish community" (the comment of a spokesman for City Hall in London, the strategy of intensification is visible in the word "obviously") (G-2007.08.27).

The strategy of intensification:

(1) "The epic scale of the exodus" (the utterance referring to Poles who leave Poland for the UK) (G-2006.07.21a).

(2) "The biggest wave of emigration into Britain for three centuries" (the comment on Polish migration to the UK) (G-2006.07.21a).

(3) "The Mail is entitled to run stories about immigration, the more so as the last 10 years have witnessed immigration on a scale at a vastly increased rate than at any time in this country's history since and including the Norman invasion of the 11th century" (the comment of the representative of the Daily Mail to reject the Federation of Poles in Great Britain' accusation of publishing articles unfavourable for Poles) (G-2008.03.15).

(4) "Well over a million by Polish estimates had swanned off to the UK and Ireland since Poland joined the EU in 2004 (the comment on information published in a Polish newspaper) (G-2007.09.29).

(5) "Peter is one of the hundreds of thousands of Poles who have moved to Britain (...)" (G-2011.08.26).

(6) "Would the last person to leave Poland please turn out the lights? Around 100,000 Poles have left their families and homeland to find work in the UK." (Ind-2005.04.28).

(7) "There has been a significant Polish community in Britain since the Second World War but numbers have risen dramatically following Poland's entry into the EU in May 2004" (Ind-2006.06.11).

(8) "Although this [the size of the Polish population in the UK] grew after the downfall of Communism, it has risen dramatically since the EU expansion in May 2004 (...)" (G-2006.02.11).

(9) "Young, talented Poles (...) have come to Britain in their thousands" (Ind-2006.08.27).

(10) "He [a homeless Pole] is just one of hundreds of thousands of Poles now living in hardship in Britain" (Ind-2008.08.24).

- (11) "(...) Britain opened the door to hundreds of thousands of Poles" (Ind-2013.12.22).
- (12) "Since their arrival en masse in 2004 (...)" (T-2006.09.10b).
- (13) (...) the mass arrival of Poles (...)" (G-2013.11.21).
- (14) "The mass influx of Polish building workers (...)" (T-2006.09.10b).
- (15) "Some [Poles] would go home, but others would come, they would keep coming. They were here to stay and we had better get used to it. And to them" (T-2007.02.25).

5.3.2.2. The topos of social alienation and homelessness

Numerous articles contain premises that point to the social degradation of Polish migrants caused by the lack of permanent employment and the consequent lack of money. In extreme situations Poles become destitute, live in squats or in the streets and rely on help of charity organizations. The premises of this topos are visible in 13 articles from *The Guardian*, 6 articles from *The Independence* and 4 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

The Guardian writes about Poles who spend long hours at newsagent's window with advertisements for casual labourers. The name of this place – "the wailing wall" – well conveys the despair of Polish workers who desperately seek and strongly compete with each other for any form of employment⁷⁰. These meetings are the only opportunities for Poles to socialize, as they have no other possibility for social integration. If they do not succeed to find a job they again compete, this time for charity help with other EU countries' homeless. The deep disappointment is expressed by one of Poles who says:

We came here because Blair told us to come here. But why did he do that when he has homeless people sleeping here already? He promised us a job when there is no job. They think we will live like dogs but we are not dogs. (G-2004.07.07)

Polish workers are entitled to the housing benefit and a job seeker's allowance if they have been registered with the Worker Registration Scheme and have worked legally for 12 months. However, most of them cannot afford or do not want to save the 90 pounds cost of registration, condemning themselves to work with gangmasters who abuse employment rights

⁷⁰ The so-called "Wailing Wall" is a window of a grocery shop in King Street, next to the Polish Cultural Centre in London. The window advertises employment vacancies for Poles.

(G-2008.02.20). Consequently, Poles are at risk of unexpected redundancy, and in such a situation they have no possibility to claim public funds, they are left without money, with limited access to services. As a result, they quickly become isolated and homeless (G-2010.07.05). After being employed on unlawful terms Poles have slim chances for social housing, the more so that even legal workers rarely gain social accommodation, as such problems are not issues of high priority (G-2007.08.08, G-2007.10.17a). *The Guardian* describes a Pole who lost his job on the construction site and began to live in squats:

[he] worked out the art of squatting – identifying empty houses by tracking the rubbish bins that remained empty week after week, using his plumbing and electrical skills to reconnect electricity and water supplies. The only headache was being evicted by the council or, worse, waking to find himself trapped inside the house after council workers erected anti-squatting metal sheets over the windows and doors. (G-2011.04.06a)

Numerous Polish construction workers become homeless as a result of accidents as they are exposed to risk of injuries, especially on small building sites whose owners violate health and safety regulations (G-2010.04.10). The articles describe a Pole who had an accident and was transported to hospital being unconscious and without documents (G-2007.03.24), and a Polish migrant who was found in a squat with a serious spinal injury (G-2008.07.23). Living in squalid conditions may result in highly infectious diseases which pose a threat not only to the Polish migrants themselves, but also to the public health. *The Guardian* writes about an increasing number of homeless migrants (including Poles) who suffer from chronic tuberculosis and, when living in squats, they are not properly and effectively treated. The article points to the urgent necessity to arrange "organised eviction" of squats during which the police together with health and social services could select migrants who present health hazard and are in need of immediate medical assistance (G-2008.07.23).

The charity organizations are often the last resort for homeless Poles who are in need of food and accommodation, but due to scarce funding and their relatively small size these organizations are not able to effectively help the constantly increasing number of homeless from the Eastern Europe (G-2008.02.20, G-2006.09.09). Consequently, the Polish Itaka Foundation launched a campaign in Poland designed for Poles who seriously consider leaving for the UK, to raise their awareness of potential problems (G-2006.09.09). Another Polish charity, Barka, collects funds to donate fare pays for Poles sleeping in the streets in London, and also makes efforts to discourage them from the permanent stay in the UK (G-2011.04.06a). One of many homeless Poles is a man who lost his job in a factory and for six months slept in parks, railway stations and squats to eventually spend some time in prison for stealing and carrying a knife (G-2011.04.06a).

Homeless Poles are deeply embarrassed with their situation, and ask the interviewers not to print their personal details (G-2011.04.06a). A Pole with the experience of living in squats and parks who found his place in a charity shelter, comments on his life in the UK: “I didn’t think it would be a paradise, but I didn’t expect it to be hell on earth” (G-2008.02.20). Poles also talk about the enormous psychological burden which often leads to depression (G-2011.08.26), and the hardship of their stay in the UK. One of them admits that: “This is not the life I dreamed of. This has not been a positive time for me. I have been unhappy all the time, to be frank.” (G-2011.04.06a).

The Independent

The Independent also writes about Poles who work for gangmasters “on pitiful wages paying dearly to live in hovel, or in the streets” (Ind-2006.08.27). Again, the reader can learn that Poles who did not work legally for a year are not entitled to benefits and the loss of a job is in their case equal to becoming homeless (Ind-2009.03.04): “[life] can be extremely tough for the new arrivals, particularly those seeking work in London. Walk around Victoria at night and you will see Poles sleeping on what they call ‘English mattresses’— cardboard boxes” (Ind-2005.04.28).

One of the stories describes two Polish brothers who lost their jobs and now, thanks to a charity organization, receive food parcels and can visit a GP⁷¹. Although these Poles wash and shave in public toilets, they make every effort to remain optimistic and find employment, as one of them says: “it is only when you get depressed that things get really bad” (Ind-2009.03.04). Another homeless Pole is an embittered man who spent one of the strongest British winters living in the open air. As he says:

This is terrible for us (...). We just do what we can to survive. I could never have imagined I would end up living like this when I was in Poland. England is a rich country; you would never believe that people live like this here. (Ind-2009.03.04)

Indeed, in the times of economic downturn Polish migrants often fall in the spiral of debts, experience mental health problems or alcohol abuse and, consequently, become an isolated community vulnerable to social degradation (Ind-2011.08.21). The high level of stress of those who struggle with financial problems and feel lonely in a new place often becomes unbearable. If they are left without professional assistance of special services, they may get depressed or even commit suicide - “Unreleased figures from the Polish embassy in the UK reveal that as many as one in five of the 250 Poles who died

⁷¹ The General Practitioner — the specialisation of the medical doctor

in Britain last year took their own lives" (Ind-2008.08.24). A support service manager in a charity organisation in London says about "30 to 40 per cent of (...) clients, from Poland in particular, (who) have more serious depression" (Ind-2011.08.21). The official data prove that information. For example, according to unpublished study prepared by the University of Wolverhampton: "[almost] half the new Polish migrants they surveyed were suffering from significant levels of mental distress and were at risk of developing mental disorders" (Ind-2011.08.21). An example of a lonely, desperate Pole is a man described as a "reliable guy" who could not bear depression together with marital and financial pressure and stabbed the closest family including a wife, a father, a friend and two children with himself at the end (Ind-2011.08.21).

One of the charity organization in London began to cooperate with its Polish counterpart to cope with vast numbers of homeless Poles (Ind-2006.08.27). The author of the article points to the fact that voluntary sector is not supposed to take the whole responsibility for the homeless, and it is the government that should coordinate the system of the advice and assistance services for homeless migrants (Ind-2009.03.04).

The Independent also writes about five Polish migrants who died in the explosion when illegally distilling vodka. The fatal accident proves that migrants need to be included in the British economic and social system to be fully visible and protected by the law, as: "It is only when they do so in the shadows of the grey economy that disasters like this happen. The solution is not less immigration but less marginalization" (Ind-2011.07.15).

The Times

The recession entails increasing numbers of migrants in need of financial and social help. As one of the articles writes: "No job, only a tent to live in and too proud to go home; (...) hard times have reduced some [Eastern Europeans] to sleeping rough" (T-2010.08.14). *The Times* searches for causes of Polish migrants' homelessness and points to the fact that they frequently come to the UK being totally unprepared — "[they] have no English, they don't have qualifications or connections (...), place to stay at least for a few days before they get to work" and possess minimum amount of money (T-2007.06.16). Moreover, according to charities, Poles (together with other new EU migrants) become homeless because of insufficient assistance from their embassies and consulates (T-2009.01.12).

One of the journalists raises the issue of the British government that incurs the travel costs of mainly Polish migrants who were unable to become financially independent of social support. Governmental grants transferred for this purpose to local councils and charities amounted to 100,000 pounds in the 2008 alone (T-2009.01.12). The Polish charity Barka paid for the travel

fees to Poland for about 3,000 Poles (T-2007.06.16). However, according to a charity worker since the government support is not sufficient and on constant decrease, there is an enormous pressure placed on charity organizations which already support the British homeless (T-2007.02.25).

The Times describes the story of 54-year-old Pole who lost his job being “too old to keep up” and started to live in homeless shelters, soup kitchens and, eventually, in a squat without doors and windows. He took the opportunity to go home owing to the scheme of donating migrants’ tickets (T-2009.01.12). There is also an example of a factory worker who fainted at a workplace and was taken to hospital. As his boss could not wait for his full recovery, the man eventually lost his job and was left without work, income to pay rent, friends or family. As a consequence he became homeless and turned to a Christian charity for “[food], clothing, washing and laundry. [A charity] told him how to bed down at night, not on the main pavements where teenagers might attack you, but out of sight and preferably beneath some cover, for protection from the rain”. On the street the man was hit on the head and had all his bags stolen. Although he suffered destitution and humiliation he did not want to come back to Poland as “he was a proud man who was surprised and ashamed to find himself sleeping rough, and wanted to stay and fight his way out” (T-2007.02.25).

Last, but not least, *The Times* describes one of many migrants’ camps arranged in the city park where jobless Poles put up makeshift tarpaulin tents. Poles rely on city’s church groups which provide them with food and showers, but they persistently seek any chance for employment. The article concludes that without the government assistance programmes local authorities will not be able to tackle the problem of homeless migrants. One of the Poles living in the camp, who was attacked by young men, comments on his situation: “I have nothing to complain about. No one wants to be in this situation. But it could all change when I get work. I will stand on my own two feet until then.” (T-2010.08.14). Thus, the ultimate conclusion arises that it is the lack of employment that prevailingly causes the social failure of Polish migrants’.

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

The strategy of perspectivisation is visible in numerous quotes from homeless Poles. Selected examples of other strategies include the following statements presented below.

The strategy of reference/nomination:

(1) “Migration is not easy. There are winners and losers and the losers are visible in the streets around Waterloo station before dawn, huddled under thin sleeping bags, sometimes in pairs for he shard warmth.” (the journalist’s comment on the results of migra-

tion, the strategy of reference/nomination is combined here with the strategy of predication) (G-2011.04.06a).

(2) "Now they are sleeping in a tent, victims of a recession that has destroyed the livelihoods of thousands of migrant workers." (Ind-04.03.2009).

The strategy of predication:

(1) "A lot of people0uck" (G-2011.05.27b).

(3) "Polish workers there were queuing for a handful of jobs" (G-2011.04.06a).

The strategy of intensification:

(1) "(...) for many Poles, the British adventure has ended in poverty, crime, homelessness – and a free ticket home" (G-2011.04.06a).

(2) "They [Poles] are completely lost. They're totally naive and they're just waiting to be cheated." (the opinion of Polish journalist on unprepared Poles coming to the UK) (G-2004.07.07).

(3) "Humiliation is obvious down at Victoria coach station after 11pm, when the concrete walkways and corners skirting the outside of the building become home for the night for dozens of young Poles" (G-2004.07.07).

(4) "Migrants' dreams in tatters. Life has been getting harder for many of the thousands of Poles in Britain, who suffer alarming levels of poverty, depression and suicide". (the strategy of intensification is combined here with the strategy of predication) (Ind-2008.08.24).

(5) "the dream ends in a cold squat" (metaphor is used to describe a Pole who came to the UK to find a better life but became homeless) (T-2009.01.12).

5.3.2.3. The topos of the English language incompetence

Numerous articles address the issue of the limited English language skills as a predominant cause of the Polish migrants' adaptation problems. Language competence vastly influences the professional opportunities together with social integration options and, consequently, it may be a decisive condition shaping the emotional and mental well-being. The premises building the topos can be found in 18 articles from *The Guardian*, 7 articles from *The Independent* and 9 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

Low English skills did not discourage Poles from attempts to seek job in the UK. As the reader can learn: “despite speaking little English, many of the Polish migrants had devoured the Polish newspaper articles with headlines proclaiming half a million jobs waiting for Poles in Britain”. Nevertheless, many job advertisements contain information on “English essential” so numerous Poles try to improve their basic language skills reading English textbooks (G-07.07.2004). However, according to the Polish embassy, Polish migrants often do not make any effort to improve their English as they plan only a temporary stay in the UK. That is why “[there] are many thousands of people with no English who may be working on building sites and in factories with the intention simply of staying here for a while, making some money and going home to have a better life” (G-2006.07.21c). The acute reality proved that without command of the English language Poles are totally dependent on employment agencies or gangmasters (see the topos of labour exploitation and modern day slavery). They sign (often being forced to) not translated contracts, and in problematic situations they are not able to ask for help or turn to the police (G-2005.01.11, G-2007.01.31, G-2007.02.05). A Pole who succeeded in finding a job, also felt his stay in the UK as a culture shock, which was mostly connected with his language deficiency. As he says:

There was no one I knew, it was a new environment, you can't speak to anyone, you can't explain your problems to anyone. People were taking drugs, drinking, getting beaten up. I was very homesick. (G-2011.04.06a)

The Guardian writes about Polish signs or printed materials in a workplace and at a doctor's surgery that have been displayed for Polish-speaking migrants (G-2006.05.20, G-2012.06.22). There are paragraphs concerning a Polish language helpline set up by police for victims of illegal gangmasters' practices (G-2007.02.05), and the necessity of exposing posters on health and safety protection on building sites, as employers generally do not display safety instructions in Polish (G-2010.04.10). Nevertheless, in the long run, inability to communicate in a foreign language is an insuperable social barrier. That is why Poles “[with] a shaky grasp of English, no permanent place to live and no friends (...) end up either mixing only with other Poles, thus reinforcing the stereotype of migrant workers, or (...) become isolated and return home” (G-2007.08.08).

According to an interviewed Pole, trade unions play a crucial role in helping non-English speaking Poles adjust to British job market reality.

They provide Polish workers with advice and necessary help, and also offer Polish-language websites and application forms (G-2006.12.06). The trade unions' contribution is indispensable, but the long-run solution to the English inefficiency problem is definitely limited to the English as a second language courses. They are funded by local councils or organized by charity organizations, that additionally provide migrants with bilingual assistants when they are needed (G-2007.01.31, G-2007.10.17, G-2007.08.08, G-2008.02.20). Mobile networks companies and banks launch services in Polish to attract Poles who are not able to make use of standard English language offers (G-2006.06.26).

Last, but not least, when describing the coach journey from Poland to the UK, *The Guardian* writes: "there will be lots of free coffee, and videos of Polish comedies and Mr Bean – not a bad introduction to life in Britain, perhaps, for Poles not fluent in English" (G-2006.06.26).

The Independent

The Independent also points to the fact that, when Poles do not possess proper command of English during their stay in the UK, it can lead to social alienation due to cultural barriers and the lack of social relations. Therefore those who plan a longer stay in Britain are in the necessity to improve their language skills (Ind-2005.04.28, Ind-2008.08.24). The more so that English is indispensable to get a professional assistance in the case of emotional problems (Ind-2008.08.24) or in emergency situations when one has to contact the police. As one of the articles reveals:

Burglars love Poles because they are paid in cash and hide it in shoeboxes. When they see builders and cleaners moving in over the road, they are already laughing. They can sometimes make 5,000 from one bedsit. And they know the Poles will never call the police. (Ind-2013.11.15)

In one of the articles the community representative of the town which received a significant Polish community, comments on the spectrum of difficulties connected with vast numbers of Poles, most of whom do not speak English: "We had to start from scratch, we have no experience of dealing with this, no one speaking the language, no resources" (Ind-2006.02.11). *The Independent* also noticed that banks willingly employ Polish-speaking professionals and simplify bank procedures to attract Polish migrants (Ind-2008.01.20).

The Times

The ability to communicate in English is necessary to find employment and to avoid exploitation by foremen (T-2008.02.16a, T-2009.01.12), and not to socialize in solely Polish circles (T-2013.03.28). The lack of language skills is a problem for a Pole who seeks a job but “he is having trouble improving his English” (T-2006.04.16), and for builders whose language skills after 4-year-stay in the UK are still “very limited” (T-2011.07.27). FMB⁷²’s external affairs manager admits that Poles’ language skills are as much important as the construction skills: “For example, if they don’t understand the phrase ‘Look out, that scaffolding is about to collapse on your head, ‘ then that’s no good” (T-2006.09.10b). One of the articles ironically presents a few Polish phrases that can prove to be useful to communicate with Polish workers who do not speak English:

What about essential phrases? 1. That sounds great — when can you start? Fantastycznie, Kiedy mozesz zaczac? (fan-tas-titch-nee-yeh key- eddy moh-shesh zach-eau-ch?) 2. Can you do plumbing, too? Czy robisz instalacje hydrauliczne? (chee robish insta-latz-yeh hid-row-lich neh?) 3. Are you sure you want all that money in cash? Czy napewno chcesz tyle pieniedzy gotowka? (chee nap-ev-noh h- tzhesh till-eh pee-nye-zih got-oof-keau) 4. Do you take vodka in your tea? One shot or two? Czy dodajesz wodke do herbaty? Jeden kieliszek chy dwa? (chee dod-ay-esh vood keh doh her-batty? yeh-den key-lish-ek chee dva?) 5. Fix this before my wife/husband gets home! Napraw zanim zona/maz wroci do domu! (nah-praw zah-neem sho-nah/ m-eau-sh vroo chee do do-moo!). (T-2006.09.10a)

The Times describes a Polish building company owner who is deeply frustrated, as his workers do not make any effort to speak English (T-2006.09.10b). From another article the reader can learn that in a Northern Ireland, Police received 560 applications from Polish candidates but none was accepted because the command of English was a “major factor” (T-2007.07.03).

The Times also addresses the issue of banks’ services and asks how non-English speaking migrants, e.g. Poles, can understand financial jargon if even a fluent English speaker has difficulties with it. Banks’ officials are aware of the problem which is why they translate brochures and forms into Polish and recruit a certain number of bilingual customer service staff (T-2005.09.25).

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

The strategy of perspectivisation is visible in the quotes from officials representing Polish organizations or other institutions that have experience in collaborating with Polish migrants, and assess Poles’ language competence.

⁷² The Federation of Master Builders

Other strategies used with these premises are predication and intensification, as presented in the examples below.

The strategy of predication:

- (1) "Dreams of arriving in the UK, and promptly securing a well-paid job, are frequently dashed, with migrants workers discovering that their language skills are not good enough" (G-2007.03.24).
- (2) "'It helps to keep me warm', he says in Polish" (a homeless Pole wearing the pyjamas underneath his trousers) (G-2008.02.20).
- (3) "She is happy to explain in her halting English, what attracted her to the UK" (about Pole who decided to move to the UK) (G-2011.08.26).
- (4) "They [Poles] are economic migrants, venturing from Poland to the UK with more drive than language skills" (G-2008.09.30).
- (5) "(...) she says in broken English" (T-2006.04.16).
- (6) "They [Poles] are mastering the English art of politeness even as they struggle with the language" (Ind-2005.05.01).
- (7) "she wrestled with the language and with loneliness (...)" (Ind-2006.08.27).
- (8) "(...) given his own language battles when he first arrived, (he) lists another annoyance: 'I get frustrated that my workforce doesn't speak English'" (T-2006.09.10b).

The strategy of intensification:

- (1) "Most [Poles] have a profession or skill, but the main problem is language" (opinion of the representative of Federation of Poles in Great Britain) (G-2006.05.20).
- (2) "The Problem is the English language skills of many Polish people coming to the UK to work is rudimentary at best" (the opinion of the representative of Federation of Poles in Great Britain) (G-2006.01.16).
- (3) "For those who do not speak English, the move [to the UK] can be a traumatic experience" (Ind-2005.04.28).

5.3.3. Poles – family and social attitudes

5.3.3.1. The topos of great expectations and "a new life" motivation

Poles arrive in the UK for numerous reasons but the most important motivation is finding a job and, consequently, having higher earnings than those obtainable in Poland. They save money to raise their standards of living or to

send remittances home and support their families (see The topos of strong family bonds). Journalists frequently describe desperate Poles who decided to leave for the UK after long-lasting, unsuccessful attempts to find a job in Poland. Polish migrants also express willingness to improve their professional qualifications or gain experience of living in a new place and learning a new culture. Regardless the reason, Poles arrive in the UK with the great expectations of finding a better life than the one they left behind. The premises pointing to the topos of great expectations and “a new life” motivation can be found in 10 articles from *The Guardian*, 8 articles from *The Independent* and 11 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

The Guardian describes Poles' financial motivation connected with a beneficial exchange rate between Polish and British currencies: “(...) the lure of higher wages in the UK is irresistible, not just for middle-class professionals but also for anyone with ambition, prepared to take a low-skilled job and improve their English” (G-2006.07.21a). The prospect of finding an even low-paid job in the UK seems to be even more tempting if one takes into consideration the high unemployment rate in Poland (G-2011.05.27, G-2011.08.26). However, better financial opportunities were not the only motivation for Poles who came to Britain “in the hope of adding more qualifications to their engineering degree” (G-2004.07.07) or because “they fancied an adventure”. Young Poles are willing to travel widely as they take advantage of the opportunity of freedom of movement which was unavailable to previous generations (G-2006.07.21a, G-2007.01.02).

The Guardian describes the story of a Pole who had no qualifications, was unable to find a job in Poland, and decided to leave for the UK, being aware of his family's expectations: “(...) everyone [in his family] was excited and hoped that his good fortune would trickle back to them” (G-2011.04.06a). Harsh reality frequently does not correspond to the expectations, as in the case of many homeless Poles. One of deeply disappointed Poles reflects on his situation saying that he: “wanted to better himself, so he had given up his life-long job [in Poland and came to the UK], never thinking he might regret it” (G-2005.01.11).

The Independent

Also according to *The Independent*, Poles frequently combine their primary aim to find work and better quality of life with improving their English skills and gaining professional experience (Ind-2004.05.01, Ind-2009.03.04, Ind-2009.07.01). They are not discouraged by the hardships of hard work and

highly appreciate the higher standard of living, although it sometimes entails the rent amounting to half of their salary (Ind-2004.05.02, Ind-2006.08.27).

The reader can also learn the examples of Poles who perceive their journey to the UK as the only chance to escape unemployment in Poland (Ind-2005.04.28, Ind-2006.02.11). A man is quoted:

If you go to a small town in the east of Poland (...) you see a totally different world. Unemployment is reaching 30 per cent in rural Poland. So, for someone with no prospects, working in London sounds great. (Ind-2005.04.28)

When pointing to the fact that motivations behind Poles' decisions of leaving for the UK are diversified and they accomplish their aims with various results, *The Independent* emphasizes that "when you read their stories of hope and ambitions, you soon realize that 'they' are 'us'" (Ind-2005.05.01).

The Times

The Times also raises the issue of "the hopes and concerns that have driven" Poles to the UK (T-2006.04.16). One of the articles refers to the fact of complete reservations on planes and coaches from Poland to the UK, by which Poles travel "from the former communist bloc countries to a prosperous new life in Britain", since it was "for so long an impossible dream" (T-2004.04.25, T-2006.04.16). Although the economic motive remains the main reason for which Poles' decide to move to Britain, they also seek "fun, adventure, new cultures (...), experiences (...), fresh ideas" and new challenges for professional development together with the possibility to learn the English language (T-2005.05.01, T-2006.04.16, T-2007.06.16).

Numerous articles describe also Polish migrants who come to the UK in search of employment and fortune (T-2004.08.28, T-2009.01.12, T-2010.08.14), with the further prospects of establishing their own businesses or making investments after returning home (T-2004.11.14, T-2008.02.16b, T-2008.02.16c, T-2007.06.16). One of the Poles admits: "I wanted to come back to Poland to settle down and also to chase my dreams" (T-2008.02.16b). Another fragment tells the story of a Polish couple who sold up all their possessions in Poland and moved to Britain with the plan to find a job and settle in the UK on permanent terms (T-2004.11.14). Poles openly express their disappointment with Poland and perceive the possibility of leaving for the UK as the only obtainable solution to their daily problems. An interviewed Polish student, who has already had an experience in working in Britain, concludes: "Life is difficult here [in Poland]. Wages are low and work is hard to find. Going back to work in Britain is my dream and now we can do so legally there is no stopping me" (T-2004.11.14). Polish migrants often have only superficial

and patchy knowledge about their new destination, but they are prepared to make every effort to learn, as in the case of young Poles who say: "It will be difficult to assimilate, but we will try our hardest" (T-2006.04.16).

As a conclusion I will quote the statement of one of the authors who refers to Poles' expectations: "We all had our dreams. Polish people were no different from everyone else" (T-2007.02.25). Every migration is inspired by people's hope of financial betterment and it always entails changes in both a receiving country and a host one (T-2007.02.25, T-2007.06.16).

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

The strategy of perspectivisation:

The authors of the analysed articles frequently quote Poles who openly talk about their expectations and ideas concerning living in the UK.

The strategy of reference/nomination:

(1) "She (...) set up a travel company before anticipating the Polish gold rush and moving into food imports" (the comment on a Pole who established a prosperous company in the UK (G-2006.07.21c).

The strategy of predication:

(1) "(...) *Londynczy* (*Londoners*), a big budget Polish drama series which follows the lives of a group of Poles as they seek their fortune in London" (G-2008.10.22).

(2) "(...) some [migrants from the accession states] came to Britain to earn money, others for adventure, a few for love" (Ind-2005.05.01).

(3) "People come to the UK in search of work, better living conditions and quality of life" (the opinion of a representative of a charity organization) (Ind-2009.03.04).

(4) "Greg [a Pole] had dreamt of making a new and better life, and when he saw as advert in a Polish newspaper for a recruitment agency seeking security guards to work in England, he applied (...)" (T-2007.02.25).

(5) "Polish people (are) looking for employment, coming here to seek their fortunes" (opinion of a representative of British airlines) (T-2004.08.28).

(6) "In three months they will move to a new life" (the comment on a Polish couple who decided to leave for the UK) (T-2006.04.16).

(7) "The Jamrozes want a new life, Reiter wants new ideas" (the statement concerning Poles who plan to leave for the UK) (T-2006.04.16).

The strategy of intensification:

(1) "(...) charities reveal they cannot cope with the number of eastern Europeans living rough on the streets of London after discovering, to their cost, that they are not paved with gold." (G-2006.09.09).

(2) "A lot of them [Poles] have come expecting the streets to be paved with gold and not realizing they are not automatically entitled to housing or benefits" (the opinion of the representative of a local council, the use of an idiom "streets are paved with gold" suggests that Poles expect to relatively easily find profitable employment, but the everyday reality often appears to be surprisingly harsh) (Ind-2006.02.11).

5.3.3.2. The topos of strong family bonds

Numerous articles convey the message of strong family relations and the hardship of family separation experienced by Poles who left for the UK. The significant role of a family in Poles' lives is described also in relation to their emotional attachment to the home country and friends, as well as in the context of substantial remittances dispatched by Polish workers to their families in Poland. The premises building the topos of strong family bonds can be found in 8 articles from *The Guardian*, 7 articles from *The Independent* and 12 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

The Guardian describes Poles talking about a difficult decision to leave the family in order to find employment in the UK, and family members being left in Poland (G-2004.07.07, G-2006.07.21a). One of the articles raises the issue of Polish workers who do not register with the Worker Registration Scheme and work under gangmasters' supervision to save a certain sum of money and support their families, although they themselves receive miniscule salaries and exist "on baked beans and pot noodles" (G-2004.07.07, G-2005.01.11, G-2006.08.11). The remittances sent from the UK are often the only source of income for families who are severely affected by high unemployment (G-2006.09.09, G-2008.08.11, G-2008.12.22). The example of the problem can be the story of the Polish family in which the mother is the only person who has a job, and money sent from abroad has become a significant financial supply for the whole family (G-2011.04.06a).

A Polish embassy representative points to the fact that: "For the winners, success in the UK does not always breed lasting affection for the country (...), many [Poles] choose to return when they have children". It means that a family is also an all-important factor if Polish migrants hesitate between prolonging their stay the UK and coming back home, even if they succeeded in the adaptation process (G-2011.04.06a).

The Independent

The Independent also refers to the fact that numerous Poles send remittances to their families to support modest domestic budgets (Ind-2006.10.30, Ind-2007.02.28). The family is often the only factor discouraging Poles from leaving for the UK despite them having drastically low earnings and very limited prospects for the nearest future (Ind-2011.07.15, Ind-2005.04.28). The interviewed Pole reflects on her situation: "I have a fiancé. It would be difficult to work apart from him. I'd rather work for less money and have a stable family." The author of the article concludes: "She would definitely consider going to the UK, but again, the prospects of finishing her studies and eventually having a family is holding her back" (Ind-2005.04.28).

Poles who eventually took the difficult decision to leave Poland overtly express their strong emotional bonds with both family and friends, as in the example of a young Pole who plans only a temporary stay in the UK and is determined to return to Poland: "I will come back. I must. I have my family here, my friends, the places I know. I am sentimentally attached. It is going to be very difficult for me to be apart from all of that for a long time (Ind-2004.04.28)."

The Independent points also to the fact that homeless Poles talk about how much they miss their families and "declined to give their surname or be photographed for fear of bringing shame on their families back home" (Ind-2009.03.04). The head of the Polish charity organization Barka, which helps destitute Poles return home (see The topos of social alienation and homelessness), emphasizes the fact that Polish migrants severely suffer from the lack of family support as "family units, connections and communities" are of central importance in Poland and are impossible to be recreated in a foreign country (Ind-2011.08.21).

The Times

Numerous journalistic narrations concerning Polish migrants raise the issue of remittances supporting the families in Poland (T-2007.12.02, T-2008.02.16a, T-2009.02.17, T-2009.08.20), and emotional costs paid by family members, especially children, who miss their parents (T-2004.11.14, T-2007.06.16, T-2008.02.16a, T-2008.02.16c). The grandmother of a boy who was left by his mother, after she decided to leave her family for the UK in search of employment, expresses her opinion: "I have mixed feelings about my daughter leaving home to work for in Britain. It has split up the family and her son misses her terribly but they will now be better off" (T-2004.11.14).

The Times attracts readers' attention to the fact that the remittances significantly improve the Poles' families living standards "allowing them to pay

for better healthcare and education, start their own business and, in some cases, even to buy a car or a flat" (T-2008.02.16a, T-2004.11.14). One of the articles describes the case of a former Polish army and NATO major who decided to leave for the UK and become a lorry driver after retiring at the age of 44 (see The topos of a Polish manual labourer). Although the decision of leaving behind his wife and two children seems to be extremely difficult for him, he plans a two years' stay in Britain "sending the bulk of his earnings home". As he says: "It is the only real chance that I have to earn decent money for my family" (T-2004.05.01).

The family appears in the homeless Poles' stories as they talk about making the strenuous attempts to financially support their families before they become destitute (T-2007.02.25, T-2009.01.12), and about loneliness without families' assistance (T-2010.08.14). Poles who succeeded in pursuing a career in the UK are as much emotionally affected by the lack of family and friends as, for example, a Pole who says: "People are more friendly in Poland (...). When you are on the Tube, you are surrounded by people but you are alone" (T-2007.06.16). Also a man who made every effort to adapt to his new place of living and working, eventually came to the sad conclusion: "I was very unhappy because I was away from my family. I saw my son Michael only three times in two years. My family needed me very much and it was a priority" (T-2008.02.16c). Another quoted Pole overtly admits:

This year I made the decision to go home. I definitely don't want to stay here. I don't feel at home here. You see, it's not my country. I miss my family, my mother and father. I miss the food, I miss it all, really. (...) Now I've made enough money to go back. (T-2008.02.16c)

Last but not least, a woman interviewed on Polish healthy eating habits talks about an old tradition of eating at a table with the whole family, with a TV set being switched-off (T-2006.07.29).

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

The strategy of perspectivisation is visible in the vast number of quotes from Poles who talk about their personal experiences and emotional difficulties.

The strategy of predication:

(1) "The decision to move abroad is never easy, and it is made more complex by the importance that Poles place on the family, and by the naked patriotism which most Poles express" (Ind-2005.04.28).

(2) Most of the Polish migrants are sending money back to their families – many of whom live in poverty in rural areas with unemployment of up to 50%" (there is also visible here a strategy of intensification) (T-2004.11.14).

The strategy of intensification:

(1) "He sent the money home for his family, and continued to send it even after his girlfriend ended their relationship" (the strategy of intensification is combined with the strategy of predication) (T-2007.02.25).

5.3.3.3. The topos of cheating and involvement in illegal actions

The analysed articles often point out that Poles undertake illegal practices and cheat both other Poles and Britons. A separate problem of the Poles who are forced to work on unlawful terms by gangmasters was studied in The topos of labour exploitation and modern day slavery. The paragraphs concerning the issue of Poles-cheaters can be found in 5 articles from *The Guardian*, 1 article from *The Independent* and 2 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

One of the journalist writes about a man who was made redundant due to a downturn at the company, and was unable to find new employment: "He tried to find a new job, but without English it seemed impossible. At first he stole to pay the rent, but Burton is a small place, and shop assistants began to call the police when they saw him" (G-2011.04.06a).

When describing the exploitation of Poles, *The Guardian* points also to the fact that Polish workers are not only exposed to abuse by British gangmasters, but they are also at risk of having their documents stolen by their Polish compatriots. Moreover, Poles happen to cooperate with gangmasters, organizing illegal subcontracting chains and recruiting Polish workers (G-2004.07.07, G-2005.01.11). A paragraph refers to a Pole charged with violent sexual assaults who hid among Polish workers in one of the cramped houses and was eventually imprisoned (G-2005.01.11).

Another story describes a Pole who put in ads of non-existent jobs at Tesco in the Polish press. The father of one of the cheated Poles says:

There were no conditions or requirements. He was just told to buy a plane ticket and call before to set up a time to be picked up at the airport. They took a plane to Luton (...). They were picked up by somebody, I think a Pole. (G-2007.02.05)

Last but not least, one of the article presents a Polish TV series *Londonczycy* (*The Londoners*) in detail and describes the main plot threads, among which there is one related to Poles cheating other Poles. As the journalist comments on the series: "The baddies are all Poles. It is Polish people who are screwing over other poles, which is so often the case in real life" (G-2008.10.22).

The Independent

The Independent refers to the research conducted by JRF according to which most of the migrants from new EU countries (including Poland) are legally allowed to live in the UK, however, some of them “[work] in breach of their immigration status” and one in five resides in Britain on illegal terms (Ind-2006.05.01).

The Times

The Times describes an exception to the rule that Polish workers are honest and reliable. The British woman who wanted to have her house refurbished and extended, turned to a Polish renovation specialist to get a quote. After a week she found her house with “the basement door (...) changed and a Yale lock installed”, which proved that she had fallen prey to Polish squatters. The author of the article concludes: “In the end, it took six and a half weeks, pound 9,000 in legal fees, and the imminent arrival of a bailiff to get the Poles out” (T-2006.09.10b). According to another article, Poles stay in the UK illegally if they do not pay work registration fee (T-2007.06.16).

All the analysed stories left readers without any doubts that not every Pole has an impeccable reputation and a certain number of Polish migrants operates outside the law.

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

The strategy of perspectivisation:

The articles quote statements of persons came into contact with Poles involved in illegal practices.

The strategy of reference/nomination:

(1) “While most of the Poles just wanted to work hard, it turned out that one of their number had been using the anonymous underworld of migrant working as a hiding place” (G-2005.01.11).

(2) “Many choose not to pay the pounds 70 registration fee and so are part of a huge black market” (T-2007.06.16).

The strategy of predication:

(1) “[He was] sleeping on filthy mattresses in cramped rooms, dealing with (...) Polish thugs trying to steal his passport” (G-2004.07.07).

(2) “It’s Poles exploiting other Poles” (G-2004.07.07).

The strategy of intensification:

(1) "Though as with any industry, there are horror stories. An extreme example of how badly things can go awry (...)" (the comment on the case of Poles who illegally moved into the British woman's house) (T-2006.09.10b).

5.3.4. Poles and the impact of migration on the UK

5.3.4.1. The topos of social and economic benefits for the UK

Topos of social and economic benefits is built by the premises pointing to the fact that Polish migrants significantly contribute to the UK economic growth (official data presented in the articles refer to the Poles alone or to the whole group of eastern European immigrants/all immigrants residing in the UK, which includes Poles). In terms of social benefits, in a prevailing number of examples, Poles adapt well to social norms, socialize with Britons and noticeably contribute to the cultural diversity. The issue of Polish workers, who fill the skillful gap and allow numerous employers to operate effectively, was also explored in the description of The topos of a Polish manual labourer. Polish medical doctors who substitute for their British counterparts leaving the NHS, were described in The topos of high-qualified jobs and Polish business. The premises of The topos of social and economic benefits for the UK can be identified in 13 articles from *The Guardian*, 22 articles from *The Independent* and 16 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

Numerous paragraphs raise the issue of benefits that are connected with migration (G-2005.11.23, G-2006.08.11, G-2012.06.22). One of the articles quotes the immigration minister who expressed the opinion that new European workers contribute "to the success of the UK economy paying tax and filling key jobs" (G-2005.11.23). Moreover, according to the official government data, migrants' contribution is not only indispensable to maintain economic growth, but it exceeds the British citizens' contribution (G-2007.10.17a, G-2011.05.27a, G-2013.11.18, G-2013.11.14). Another positive economic aspect of migration is reduction of the UK's trade deficit and national debt (G-2007.03.05, G-2013.11.14). *The Guardian* also refers to the alternative attitudes towards migrants demonstrated by opposite political parties, however, it emphasizes potential benefits:

The Tories are torn between little England antiforeigner tendencies and neocon cheap-labour enthusiasm. Labour are the traditional celebrators of cultural diversity, and the Treasury gleefully supports wealth-creating migration. (G-2006.08.11)

Poles also contribute to British economic growth because they work for low hourly rates and, consequently, prevent the inflation increase (G-2006.04.26, G-2006.05.20). As a result, services become cheaper, which is, in turn, beneficial to consumers (G-2006.08.11). Poles are also appreciated for fostering certain values, such as “their much-needed involvement in the union movement and the part they play in providing just the kind of solidarity that many employers had thought was now unfashionable” (G-2006.12.06). From several articles the reader can learn that Polish migrants successfully adapt to their new places of work and living, as in the example of a Pole who says: “Working in the UK is brilliant (...). I live 10 minutes from work, with some English friends. I’d like to settle in Britain. I have good colleagues; a brilliant boss and I like coming to work” (G-2006.05.20).

When referring to the public discussion on the potential benefits and costs of migration, *The Guardian* quotes the findings of the joint study of the Treasury, the Home Office and the Work and Pensions, according to which the vast number of “Polish and other east European workers has had ‘no discernible’ impact on unemployment and has led to only a modest dampening of wage growth” for British workers (G-2007.10.17b). The conclusion, thus, arises that the costs of Polish migration are miniscule when compare to benefits.

The Independent

The Independent writes about legal migrants who replace the illegal workers “without whose efforts the British economy would collapse” (Ind-2004.05.02), and their significant role in the British society as they are “looking after our children and building our houses” (Ind-2005.05.01). In the similar tone, numerous articles describe migrant workers who sustain the proper pace of economic development (Ind-2006.02.11, Ind-2006.08.27, Ind-2006.08.22, Ind-2006.09.25, Ind-2006.10.30, Ind-2008.03.15, Ind-2011.04.21, Ind-2013.01.18). Poles are also crucial taxpayers (Ind-2006.08.22, Ind-2008.03.08) and consumers of traditional Polish beer. This causes significant increase in the sales of Polish brands Tyskie and Lech, which was noticed by the British brewer (Ind-2007.05.18). *The Independent* quotes “the respected” National Institute of Economic and Social Research, according to which “immigration acts as an economic stimulus, pushing total employment levels higher and dole claimant numbers lower than they would otherwise have been” (Ind-2012.01.10). Moreover, the research findings proved that there was “no association” between higher immigration and joblessness (Ind-2014.01.06). One of the articles points to the fact that:

(...) immigration has reduced the risk of a return to the wage-price spirals so commonplace in the 1970s which, ultimately, proved so disruptive to our living standards (and

which hit pensioners particularly hard). Immigration has, thus, helped the UK avoid the 'boom-bust' cycles of old. (Ind-2006.10.30)

The Independent also describes Poles who adapt well to the British society and "have been absorbed with very little friction" (Ind-2006.04.19). They talk about their social circles of British friends and say that "England feels like home" (Ind-2005.05.01, Ind-2006.08.27). The cultural benefit of Poles' presence in the UK are Polish shops which have a lot of Polish food products on offer and become increasingly attractive for the British customers (Ind-2006.06.11, Ind-2008.04.25). To prove the fact that that Poles evoke positive associations among Britons, *The Independent* quotes the findings of the survey conducted by the Polish newspaper:

Almost eight in 10 Britons (79 per cent) would have nothing against their child marrying a Polish person but one in five would object. But the positive views have their limits: Poles came bottom of the league when Britons were asked who they would most like to spend a weekend with. Italians came top. (Ind-2007.11.02)

The conclusion arises that Poles became a vital element of British cultural patchwork, contributing to "the extraordinary range of nationalities" that live in the UK (Ind-2011.11.20).

The Times

The Times also describes Polish workers who are essential to realize many construction projects and "will play a key part in keeping the British economy competitive" (T-2004.04.25). Again, the reader can learn that immigrants vastly contribute to the economic growth (T-2007.02.25, T-2007.12.02, T-2008.03.11, T-2010.10.27, T-2013.05.27, T-2014.02.28, T-2007.10.17). Immigrants help public finances and are central to British "future prosperity", as they "create new demand and new jobs, which in turn increases the wealth of all" (T-2014.02.28). Referring to the Ernst & Young Item Club research, one of the articles reveals the information that "migrants had kept Gordon Brown's growth forecasts on track, adding 3 billion pounds to the economy in the past two years" (T-2007.02.25). For example, as British brewer puts it, "the influx of Polish workers to Britain (...) has sparked a boom in sales of Polish beer" (T-2007.12.02, T-2007.05.18b).

Some paragraphs describe Poles who found "new English friends", integrate well into the local community and call the UK their home (T-2007.02.25, T-2007.04.23, T-2007.06.16, T-2010.08.14, T-2013.02.05). Consequently, there are "countless Britons who call Poles their friends" (T-2013.02.05). In terms of cultural benefits, Poles are appreciated for offering "their new hosts a taste of their homeland" in numerous Polish shops that have appeared across

Britain (T-2006.04.16). One of the articles refers to the survey conducted in Catholic schools, which revealed “that Polish-speaking children did not hold back other kids – indeed maths scores slightly improved” (T-2013.03.28).

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

The strategy of perceptivisation:

The authors of the articles frequently quote the estimates revealed by the Home Office and the Treasury, the findings of research conducted by official institutions together with Britons who talk about their personal experiences in contacting with Poles.

The strategy of reference/nomination:

(1) “New Europe work force will boost Britain’s economy by 0,2% in 2006, 0,4% in 2007, and will contribute pounds 300m to Gordon Brown’s tax coffers this year” (the strategy of reference/nomination is combined here with the strategy of predication) (G-2006.05.20).

(2) “Polish people had started coming here as our wartime allies in 1939, and for the past 2½ years they had been our economic allies in the ever expanding fellowship of the European Union” (T-2007.02.25).

The strategy of predication:

(1) “The Treasury estimates that in 2006 new migration added about ponds 6bn to economic growth” (G-2007.10.17a).

(2) “(...) immigration has added between pounds 12bn and pounds 18bn to Gordon Brown’s treasury coffers” (information from the report of the International Monetary Fund concerning the decade 1998-2007) (G-2007.03.05).

(3) “The unexpectedly high influx of eastern Europeans, mainly Poles (...), has brought benefits” (the opinion of the Labour Member of Parliament) (G-2006.08.11).

(4) “(...) new migrants put much more into the economy than they take from it” (G-2012.06.22).

(5) “Now most people think Poles are good for the economy (...)” (the strategy of intensification is visible in the word “most”) (G-2013.11.18).

(6) “The contribution of Polish workers is helping fuel Britain’s currently buoyant economy.” (G-2006.05.20).

(7) “Migrants are profitable (...)” (G-2006.08.11).

(8) “Poles integrate well and contribute to their local communities. They also contribute substantially to the Exchequer, and their talent for entrepreneurialism has led to the

opening of countless Polish businesses which have added to the rich variety of shops in high streets throughout the UK" (there is also visible here the strategy of intensification) (Ind-2008.04.25).

(9) "(...) the huge contribution Polish immigrants have made to our economy in the past decade" (there is also visible here the strategy of intensification) (Ind-2013.12.22).

(10) "Migrants (...) are boosting economic output by Pounds 6 billion a year, according to a government study published yesterday" (T-2007.10.17).

The strategy of intensification:

1) "This benign invasion of eager and biddable young Poles has, it is generally agreed, been marvelous for the British economy and anyone who had previously struggled a cheap plumber" (G-2006.07.21a).

2) "The National Institute Economic Review goes further, attributing a third of the UK's economic growth in 2004-05 to immigrants from the new EU states, such as Poland (...)" (G-2007.03.05).

3) "The first official government study of the economic impact of the biggest wave of migration to Britain in recent years reaches an overwhelmingly beneficial verdict. 'In recent years migrants have made a more positive contribution to the public finances than native workers'" (the strategy of intensification is combined here with the strategy of predication) (G-2007.10.17a).

4) "Now most people think Poles are good for the economy (...)" (the strategy of intensification is combined here with the strategy of predication) (G-2013.11.18).

5) "Government rhetoric ignores its own analysis, which last week showed again that migration is good for the economy" (the strategy of intensification is combined here with the strategy of predication) (G-2013.11.18).

6) "Both sides benefit enormously" (the comment on eastern Europeans who contribute to half of the increase in the UK labour force as well as Poles who found more workplaces in Britain than in Poland) (Ind-2005.12.14).

7) "(...) there are unequivocal gains to the host country if the migrants are highly skilled. That would square with our experience in the UK" (Ind-2006.04.19).

8) "(...) many politicians and some sections of the media forget what an outstanding contribution immigration has made to our national life" (Ind-2009.02.25).

9) "Many immigrants have made huge contributions to our society. Migrants create jobs as well as competing for them. Immigrants often have a particular dynamism" (the strategy of intensification is combined here with the strategy of predication) (Ind-2013.01.18).

10) "Immigrants from countries that accede to the EU in 2004 have been net contributors to the exchequer ever since, putting more in taxes than they have taken out in services. Unlike the rest of us" (T-2013.03.28).

11) “More than half of voters believe immigrants benefit the economy, filling jobs and keeping wages lower, and also have a positive effect on cultural life.” (the comment on the a study of voters’ pinions for the BBC conducted by NatCen Social Research) (there is also visible here the strategy of perspectivisation) (T-2014.01.07).

5.3.4.2. The topos of social and economic costs for the UK

Polish migration is inseparably connected with the certain financial and social costs that are paid by the British state and society. Vast numbers of Polish migrants who arrived in the UK in a relatively short time and frequently concentrated in particular areas only, overload public services and occasionally cause social tensions. Moreover, Polish professional effectiveness is a significant argument in the public discussion about the pressing necessity to implement adequate training programmes for the British workers who lack proper skills. The issue of the government funding travel fares to reconnect homeless Poles with their families in Poland, was analysed in the description of The topos of social alienation and homelessness. Additionally, the paragraphs pointing to the fact that official data do not prove the speculations over Poles contributing to the increase of unemployment among Britons, were presented in The topos of social and economic benefits for the UK. The premises concerning social and economic costs of Polish migrants are identified in 16 articles from *The Guardian*, 12 articles from *The Independent* and 16 articles from *The Times*.

The Guardian

One of the disadvantages of immigration are poor working conditions in the workplaces arranged by gangmasters who maintain “the culture of intimidation” using “a regime of fear” (G-2006.04.29). Migrant workers frequently have no possibility to join trade unions, so if the working conditions become unbearable, they leave the workplace and do not try to change them. Consequently, a vicious circle appears – “poor working conditions lead to high turnover of the workforce, which in turn keeps poor working conditions intact” (G-2006.04.29).

The Guardian also raises the issue of depressing the wages by gangmasters who grossly exploit migrants workers and pay them the minimum wage. It also affects workers from British-born ethnic minorities, who receive salaries below a survivable minimum level and, consequently, are increasingly poor. This way cheap Polish workers – although they maintain inflation on a low level – contribute to the deepening of economic and social stratification (G-2006.08.11, G-2012.06.22, G-2013.12.28). Another problem is the lack of training programmes aimed at upskilling the British undertrained

employees, which is the result of employing Polish skillful workforce (G-2006.08.11, G-2010.08.27). Moreover, there are predictions concerning insufficient number of qualified vocational teachers in the future. As one of the articles asks: "Are we in the UK going to depend on Polish plumbers not just to do plumbing over here, but to train youngsters, while Poland has to call on Bulgarians to do its plumbing?" (G-2007.01.02).

The negative attitudes towards Polish migrants also stem from the suspicions that Poles deprive Britons of workplaces, especially on small, local job markets (G-2006.07.21b, G-2007.01.31). Other causes of social tensions are workers who made the noise when they "do unsociable shifts" (G-2007.08.08), and the homeless who burden local budgets (G-2007.08.08, G-2007.09.26, G-2008.07.23). The local councils are obliged to ensure Polish workers a proper access to English language classes, so that they could integrate better with the community and understand public information (G-2007.01.31, G-2007.08.08, G-2007.10.17a). *The Guardian* also refers to the research findings that Polish migrants have difficulties with adaptation to cultural norms. According to JRF⁷³, new migrants do not try to integrate into the society, do not socialize with the British and spend time in their compatriots' circles only. Moreover, as they express prejudice towards Asian and Roma people, they demonstrate "little understanding" of the fact that Britain is a multicultural society (G-2007.09.26).

A significant issue is the pressure on affordable housing and public services, education, hospitals together with community cohesion (G-2007.03.05, G-2007.08.08, G-2007.10.17a, G-2007.10.17b, G-2009.11.04, G-2012.06.22). When searching for the possibility to solve these problems, *The Guardian* refers to the IDeA⁷⁴ report which urges local councils "to work more closely with employers, voluntary and faith organizations and landlords who have links with the new arrivals" (G-2007.08.08). As the author of yet another article concludes: "(...) a number of local governments and other organizations are tackling the issues with vigour" (G-2007.03.05).

Nevertheless, also the report published by the Home Office attracts the readers' attention to the fact that in more than half regions with vast eastern migrant communities the authorities noted a rise in crime rate together with health and housing problems. The reader can find information about the rising translation costs and migrant children who do not attend school, as well as school problems concerning pupils who arrive and leave within a year (G-2007.10.17a). The issue of Polish migrants' children appear also in the political debate on benefits for children who live in Poland, which is connected with the widely discussed problem of financial pressure on local communities and the state benefits system (G-2014.01.09).

⁷³ The Joseph Rowntree Foundation

⁷⁴ The Improvement and Development Agency

The Independent

Numerous articles rise the issue of Poles' pressure on schools and health system, pointing to the fact that the government should take effective steps to tackle the problem of overstretched public services (Ind-2006.02.11, Ind-2007.11.02, Ind-2013.01.18). There are also paragraphs describing workplaces being taken over by migrant workers (Ind-2007.01.01, Ind-2007.11.02, Ind-2010.01.29). One of the articles reveals: "The Government admitted the number of Britons in work had fallen in the past two years as they were replaced by 540,000 people from abroad" (Ind-2007.11.02). However, in another article *The Independent* emphasizes the fact that youth unemployment was rising in the UK before the influx of Polish workers as, according to NIESR⁷⁵, "there was 'no association' between higher immigration and joblessness" (Ind-2012.01.10).

In the context of vast numbers of Polish workers, it is necessary to solve the problem of shortages of skilled citizens among the Britons. The British young unemployed are in need of apprenticeships to gain proper skills, but employers prefer more effective Polish workers. The conclusion, thus, arises that Poles do not motivate the British job market to implement the system of improving qualifications for native workers (Ind-2011.11.20).

Numerous articles point out that Poles do not socialize with Britons and live in isolated communities (Ind-2011.08.21, Ind-2013.02.09). Moreover, they can potentially cause social unrest, e.g. one of the articles talks about vast numbers of Polish football fans who, due to safety precautions, "were allocated space in a specific area of the ground, rather than (...) in home areas" (Ind-2013.10.14). When referring to the discussion on the child benefit, *The Independent* claims that children living abroad should not be eligible for this kind of support, however, such limitations have to be implemented "within a context of celebrating the virtues of immigration" (Ind-2013.01.18).

One of the authors argues with *The Daily Telegraph*, according to which "the unprecedented influx of newcomers has had an impact on the availability of social housing", and claims that shortage of homes in the UK proceeded the moment of 2004 EU enlargement and arrival of eastern European workers. Apart from that, migrants do not qualify for council housing (see also The topos of social alienation and homelessness) (Ind-2006.08.22, Ind-2013.01.18, Ind-2014.01.06).

The Times

The Times presents migrant workers who remain "attractive to unscrupulous employers", work illegally and evade taxation (T-2004.04.25,

⁷⁵ The National Institute of Economic and Social Research

T-2006.09.10b, T-2013.03.28). Poles take over Britons' workplaces, as in the article about the owner of a British family construction company, who asks the rhetorical question: "(...) should we be importing people from abroad to do our own people out of jobs?" (T-2006.09.10b). However, *The Times* also writes about "the kind of cynicism that says they [Poles] are robbing Scots of jobs" (T-2005.05.01). In the context of Polish workers, the necessity arises to organize skills trainings for the Britons (T-2007.12.02, T-2010.10.27, T-2013.08.13, T-2014.02.28). *The Times* refers to the statement of a BNP⁷⁶ politician, according to whom, there is no apprenticeships' system for the unemployed Britons. As he points out: "their [Poles'] willingness to accept relatively low rates of pay is driving down wages, undercutting British workers and leading to reduced investment in training" (T-2007.04.23).

Vast numbers of migrants overwhelm education, public services and health system (T-2007.06.16, T-2008.03.11, T-2013.03.28, T-2007.10.17). The Home Office report reveals other problems, such as:

(...) pressure on private accommodation leading to higher rents (...), increasing low-level crime and antisocial behaviour (...) (as well as) homelessness and tensions between migrants and the existing population particularly in areas that have not previously experienced migration. (T-2007.10.17)

However, in another article we read that: "(...) the evidence does not support fears that immigrants steal jobs, are a burden to the benefits system and put strains on schools and hospitals (T-2013.05.27).

The Times quotes the Immigration Minister and attracts readers' attention to the fact that "there is evidence that the pace of change has been unsettling and has created challenges" (T-2007.10.17). The government allocates taxpayers' money to the repatriation of homeless migrants, mainly Poles, who have no access to benefits. The homeless are also a burden to local communities that provide migrants with food, clothing and outreach workers' assistance (T-2009.01.12). Poles find it hard to adapt to cultural norms and do not accept multiculturalism in Britain. They are described as having "racist views and expressing hostility towards ethnic minorities (T-2006.05.18)".

Other discursive strategies applied in the articles

The strategy of perspectivisation:

The articles from all the broadsheets analysed refer to official research findings and quote politicians' statements concerning the problems generated by all migrants or specifically the Polish ones.

⁷⁶ The British National Party

The strategy of reference/nomination:

(1) "Resentment is building in the new members [of EU] that they have been made scapegoats for the economic and social ills of old Europe" (T-2005.06.05).

The strategy of predication:

(1) "For example, people drinking in the street – they [Poles] don't see anything wrong with that but for people here it is associated with loutish behavior and it breeds hostility" (the opinion of the representative of the Commission for Racial Equality) (G-2007.09.26).

(2) "The familiar sight of the Polish plumber, or the Lithuanian student serving in a fast food restaurant, has led to complaints that they are adding to the unemployment level of young Britons. The number of jobless in the UK rose during 2006, at the same time that record numbers were in work" (the implicit argument that Polish migrants are not responsible for unemployment) (Ind-2007.01.01).

The strategy of mitigation:

(1) "The migrant workers may (...) be seen as a threat by less skilled workers. But there is not much evidence yet of negative effects" (T-2007.12.02).

The strategy of intensification:

(1) "(...) the rise [of number of Poles] is causing headaches for local authorities, schools, the health service (...)" (Ind-2006.02.11).

The above-presented examples show that authors of the articles apply the broad spectrum of discursive strategies and tend to promote particular representations of Polish migrants, which will be discussed in the following, final chapter.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

The concluding part demonstrates the research findings of the analysis. First, I describe the discursive representations of Polish migrants according to the DHA research questions. Then I infer conclusions concerning the *Us* (Britons) vs. *Them* (Poles) relation, which is formed by the representations described. The next section sums up the typical features of press discourse on Polish migrants, and also it contains final comments on the process of discursive construal of both Polish migrants' representations and British national identities. Last, but not least, I propose directions for further research that could be potentially conducted within the domain explored.

6.1. *Discursive representations in view of DHA analytical questions*

The analysis of the articles describing Polish migrants enabled me to find the following answers to the five analytical questions (see Section 3.2.3.) which are the main point of reference in the DHA methodological framework, and which have been addressed as research questions of the present dissertation project.

1) How are Polish migrants named and referred to linguistically?

The overview of the reference/nomination strategies, that are presented within every topos analysed, shows the following language tendencies in the way in which Polish migrants are referred to.

- The phrase of “Polish plumber”⁷⁷ is often used metonymically to refer to all Polish manual workers in the UK. This expression is also used with an attribute “proverbial” which points to the tendency that a “Polish plumber” gains a more general meaning and symbolically represents Polish migration (at least the significant percentage of it). What is clearly

⁷⁷ The first to use the phrase “Polish plumber” was French politician Philippe de Villiers who in 2005 anticipated the profusion of manual workers from ‘Old Europe’ after the EU expansion (Taggart 2006). This way he succeeded in mobilizing the opponents of EU constitution to vote against it (cf. Favell and Nebe 2009).

visible here are the two sub-categories of the reference/nomination strategy: professionalization and originalisation.

- The articles describing Polish migrants who are abused by illegal employers name Poles as “victims”, “slaves” or those who are “vulnerable” to exploitation, whereas the homeless Poles are (implicitly) referred to as “losers”. This way Polish migrants are embedded in the oppression scheme (which shows the strategy of victimization), and are presented as being unable to function within the social system on equal terms with Britons. Moreover, the texts that overtly refer to “uneducated teams” of Polish migrant workers apply the strategy of primitivisation.

- In the context of Polish work ethos and a vast number of Poles residing in the UK, there frequently occur military metaphors that portray Polish migrants them as a huge group of people. These are: “Polish invasion”, “invasion of eager Poles”, “an army of ants”, “the army of nan-nies and plumbers”, “legions of labourers”, “a phenomenon [of Polish migration] exploded”. Poles are also described as “a horde”, “haemorrhage” and “the Polish gold rush” which are metaphorical expressions indicating the large groups of people that may be difficult to stop. Moreover, the “gold rush” metaphor suggests competitive interaction between Poles. The above examples demonstrate the strategy termed as collectivization and nationalization.

- When writing about economic benefits brought by Poles, the authors of the articles name the Polish workers “*our* wartime allies” referring to the historical episode of stationing of Polish soldiers in the UK. Consequently, with regard to the present times Poles are described as “*our* economic allies”. The strategy applied here is relationalisation.

- There are cases of implicit or explicit reference to Poles as a “wave” or “flood”, e.g. when the situation of opening the British labour market is compared to opening the “floodgates”.

- In the context of the recruitment process, Polish prospective workers are metonymically named as “a young talent”, “the ambitious” or “the skilled”, which shows the strategy of classification.

2) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to Polish migrants?

Poles are described by means of the broad spectrum of predicates.

- The arguments forming the topos of high-qualified jobs and Polish business describe Poles by means of positive attributes, such as: “brilliant”, “skilled in languages”, “highly educated”, “talented” or “industrious”. Also in this context there is visible the tendency to describe Poles by means of military metaphors, as in the example sentence: “[The British employer] was delighted with the caliber of its Polish recruits”.

- Polish migrants' enthusiastic attitude to work is described by the predicates, such as: "[Poles] *politely* get to work", "[Poles] take pride in their work", "[Poles] won't let you down", "He achieved it through *sheer* hard work". There are also references to the competition between Polish and British workers like in the utterances: "[Poles] forced their British rivals to up the ante", "[Poles] forced their British rivals to raise their game". Additionally, the words "politely" and "sheer" are used here with the aim of intensifying the statements.

- When writing about the benefits for the UK, the authors refer to Polish migrants as those who, e.g.: "brought benefits", "added" a certain amount of pounds or contribute to their local communities, "are profitable", "are boosting economic output", "are good for the economy" and "are filling essential gaps" in labour market.

- In the context of labour exploitation the reader can learn that Polish migrants are "forced to work", "felt helpless", "had been threatened" or "endured" difficulties, whereas the homeless Poles "were stuck".

- Descriptions concerning a vast number of Poles express overtly an opinion that they "are playing an increasingly important role" in the UK. There are also cases of more informal references to Poles as, for instance, in the expressions saying that "[Poles] rocked up these [British] shores" or "Polish women produce babies". The Polish builders are compared to grey squirrels of North-American provenience which were introduced to the UK in the 1870s and since then they have been successively driving out the native red squirrels. Thus, Poles are metaphorically described as a foreign species which can eventually displace the British workers.

- The Polish incompetence in terms of the English language is described by means of metaphors of fight/struggle, as in the expressions: "struggle with the language", "wrestled with the language", "broken English", "halting English", "[Poles have] more drive than language skills".

- In the text referring to Poles' expectations of a better/easier life in Britain, Polish migrants are often described as having irrational, unrealistic conception of living in there, e.g. Poles surprisingly discover that "the [British] streets are not paved with gold". The reader is supposed to infer that Poles arrive in the UK (or plan to do it) being not aware of potential difficulties that they may encounter in a foreign country.

- When referring to the large number of Poles in the UK, the articles describe the Polish community by means of positive adjectives such as: "thriving" or "burgeoning". However, these attributes implicitly point to the fact that Polish immigrants are proliferating and their vast number may result in certain social problems.

3) By what arguments and argumentation schemes do the authors of the articles try to justify and legitimize the inclusion/exclusion of others?

The arguments/argumentation schemes regarding the living patterns of Polish migrants constitute twelve recurring topoi referring to 4 aspects of Poles' presence in the UK. In terms of potential inclusion of Polish migrants or their exclusion from the British society, the identified topoi can be divided into three groups depending on the positive, negative or neutral implications for Poles' adaptation process.

The topoi indicating the successful integration of Poles into the British society convey the message that large numbers of Poles have managed to carve their niches in the British social and economic system. They have permanent employment, pursue careers, contribute to the economic growth and establish satisfactory relationships with British friends. Moreover, their contribution to the UK's cultural wealth and diversity is undeniable. These topoi are as follows:

- 1) The topos of a Polish manual labourer
- 2) The topos of Polish work ethos
- 3) The topos of high-qualified jobs and Polish business
- 4) The topos of a populous and significant community
- 5) The topos of social and economic benefits for the UK.

On the other hand, the researched articles also contain a spectrum of premises that build the topos of Polish workers' daily plight, illegal activities and a burden on the welfare state system. These topoi may be perceived by readers as confirming Poles' difficulties with integration and the consequent exclusion of Polish migrants from the British society. These are the following topoi:

- 6) The topos of labour exploitation and modern day slavery
- 7) The topos of social alienation and homelessness
- 8) The topos of the English language incompetence
- 9) The topos of cheating and involvement in illegal actions
- 10) The topos of social and economic costs for the UK

There are also topoi that are neutral in regard to the inclusion/exclusion process, as they describe Polish migrants from the more personal perspective, and provide readers with the information on the motives of immigration to the UK. The topoi are as follows:

- 11) The topos of great expectations and "a new life" motivation
- 12) The topos of strong family bonds.

The arguments showing the integration process in a positive light, as well as the arguments referring to strong emotional bonds with family and Poles' expectations of finding better life in the UK, may reflect well on overall

positive perceptions of Poles. On the other hand, the topoi showing insurmountable barriers in the Poles' integration process may stir negative social attitudes towards the Polish community since Poles are topicalized as posing a threat to the British social *status quo*.

4) From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?

All the broadsheets analysed frequently apply direct quotations from Polish migrants that allow Poles to speak their own voice, thus making their statements sound more credible. Additionally, the personal stories are more attractive for readers than those presented with the (seemingly) objective tone of the reporting style. When describing the large number of Poles residing/working in the UK, the authors concentrate on numerical data released by the Home Office or research institutions to take the perspective of objective commentators of the reality. In this vein, the authors frequently cite politicians (members of parliament or local councilors), which, additionally, shows the process of recontextualisation of content from the public political context to the journalistic sphere.

5) Are the respective points of view articulated overtly, are they intensified or are they mitigated?

a) intensification:

The features attributed to Poles are very often intensified by the broad spectrum of linguistic tools, such as intensifying adverbs and adjectives or metaphors.

- The articles convey the message that Polish migrants are: “*undoubtedly* good workers”, “they bring *desperately* needed skills” and “working with Poles is an “*absolute* pleasure”.

- In the context of the overstrained social services, Poles are referred to as “causing headaches” to local authorities, which shows the application of the metaphor A NATION STATE IS A HUMAN BODY.

- When writing about the populous Polish community the authors of the articles apply the phrases such as “the *mass* arrival”, “the *mass* influx” or “en *mass*” that are conventional, scalar implicatures suggesting a huge but not exactly determined number of people. Similarly, the authors use an unclear quantifier “hundreds of thousands” which also implicates the huge and uncountable number of people.

- In the context of exploration and illegal employment, Poles are claimed to be “*absolutely* trapped”, “*completely* lost”, “*totally* naive” and “living in an *alarming* levels of poverty”.

- A difficult situation of jobless and homeless Poles is often contrasted with their previous expectations to find the chance for better

life like in the expressions: “the dreams end in a cold squat”, “migrants dreams in tatters”, “the British adventure has ended in poverty”.

- When the articles refer to the issue of the economic benefits that are brought by Poles, the reader can learn that they “contribute *substantially*”, they made “*outstanding* contribution”, “the *huge* contribution” or are responsible for “*unequivocal* gains to the host country”.

b) mitigation:

- The mitigation strategy can be traced in the sentences with modality of low probability, as in the following example: “Polish workers *may* be seen as a threat by less skilled workers but there is not much evidence of negative effects” (additionally, the author overtly writes here about the lack of clear evidence that could support a common opinion).

6.2. *Us and Them relation*

The answers to the DHA questions are the starting point for the discussion on construing *Us* vs. *Them* relation which is a central strategy in the identity-creation discourse and which, in the presented case of Polish migrants residing in the UK, leads to differentiating Poles from Britons. In these dichotomous construals Poles are placed both on the positive and negative side, as it is visible below.

a) Polish migrants as negatively represented

- Poles (*They*) are culturally unadapted, which means that they differ from Britons in terms of respecting British cultural norms. As the reader can learn, for instance, Poles “drink in the street” and “don’t see anything wrong with that”. Moreover, they do not accept the British multiculturalism, which is visible in their negative attitude to non-white Britons (*Us*).

- The distinct feature of the prevailing number of Polish migrants is their language incompetence. When referring to the Poles’ (*Their*) chances for successful integration with Britons (*Us*), the articles emphasize the fact that Poles’ “main problem is the language” and living in the UK without proper language skills can be for Poles a “traumatic experience”.

- The detailed descriptions of the unbearable living conditions of Poles who are illegally employed by the gangmasters show that Poles (*They*) are socially backward and are able to agree on the hygienic standards that would be entirely unacceptable for Britons (*Us*). This way the authors emphasize the difference between Britons and Polish immigrants with respect to their mentality and standard of life.

- Poles (*They*) who decided to leave for the Great Britain in search

for better life frequently talk about their difficulties with finding employment and the lack of chances for achieving the high economic standard in Poland, they “seek their fortunes in the UK” or “move to a new life”. They also have to send remittance home to support their families who otherwise would have slim chance for living on an acceptable standard. Moreover, the entertainment sphere and personal development opportunities offered by Britons (*Us*) are much more attractive than those which are available in Poland (in *Their* country). Consequently, these are Britons (*Us*) who can offer young Poles better life prospects in the form of workplaces, higher wages and the possibility of professional fulfillment.

- Poles (*They*) are burden for British taxpayers (*Us*) which is demonstrated by the texts regarding overstrained public services or costs of language assistance.

- Poles (*They*) replace Britons (*Us*) in many workplaces and inhibit the development of apprenticeship system for the unemployed Britons.

- The topos of illegal activities shows that Polish migrants (*They*) cheat/abuse Britons and parasite on British social system (*Us*), which is why Poles are described as contributing to a “huge black market” and forming the “anonymous underworld of migrants”.

b) Polish migrants as positively represented

- Poles (*They*) are better educated and qualified in comparison with the unskilled and less educated Britons (*Us*). The articles extensively describe examples of the successful recruitment process of Polish workers who are highly appreciated by the employers for their expertise and the foreign languages competences. The positive image of a Polish migrant worker refers both to the manual workers and highly qualified professionals.

- Poles (*They*) are highly motivated to seek career development opportunities, determined to improve their professional qualification and eager to learn. They noticeably contrast with Britons who lack initiative and remain passive when it comes to searching for employment (*Us*).

- The newspapers emphasize the fact that the Great Britain (*Us*) suffers a “historic failure in vocational training” and without Polish workforce (*Them*) numerous economic sectors would not be able to operate effectively on continuous terms.

- Polish (*Their*) work ethos is unchangeably impressive and is often juxtaposed with the nonchalant British (*Our*) attitude to work. According to the message conveyed by the articles, Polish workers appreciate and respect their jobs and are highly determined to find any employment (they frequently accept low-paid and difficult jobs that remain out of Britons’ sphere of interest).

- The *Us* vs. *Them* relation is also visible in the paragraphs devoted

to Polish migrants' contribution to the British economic growth, as Poles (*They*) (together with other new EU migrants) "pay more in taxes than take out in services. Unlike the rest of us [Britons]."

6.3. *Final remarks*

As the research findings show, the overall portrayal of Polish migrants that is formed by the broadsheets analysed is heterogenous and multidimensional. It means that the first hypothesis, referring to the prevailingly negative discursive representations of Poles, has been only partly confirmed. Poles are positively depicted as representing a broad spectrum of employment profiles, both blue- and white-collar professions; however, what is noticeable is the distinct domination of the manual trades. Consequently, the broadsheet discourse maintains the stereotypes of a "Polish plumber", a "Polish builder" or — more generally — a "Polish worker of manual sector". On the other hand, broadsheets describe the stories of Poles who made the financial and social success thanks to their hard work and determination (there are numerous examples of over-qualified Poles who treated their manual jobs as an only temporary stage in their career path and quickly got promoted). Poles are also appreciated for their unrivalled commitment to hard work. This way the broadsheets formulate new stereotypes: the stereotype of a Pole being an effective, high-qualified worker, and the stereotype of Polish work ethos. In terms of negative representation, a certain number of articles depict Poles as criminal perpetrators, which shows Polish migrants' complex, two-side portrayal. There are cases of meta-discourse, when journalists refer to the outlooks presented in other newspapers and challenge the opinions which are in conflict with the fair, medial treatment of Poles. Moreover, Polish migrants are not overtly accused of the social problems they generate. Instead, when writing about the strain on public services, broadsheets concentrate on the fact that the government statistics before 2004 were unreliable (the state was not prepared for such a large number of immigrants), and local authorities are not adequately subsidized by the government.

As far as the comparison of the three broadsheets analysed is concerned, there are no striking differences between the ways of describing Polish migrants, and the overall broadsheets' picture of Poles is coherent. All the three titles report the same or very similar topics concerning Poles, and describe particular situations by means of similar strategies. In every title analysed Poles are depicted through varied perspectives and portrayed in both positive and negative light. In result, the negative image of the unsuccessful Poles is balanced by the examples of other Poles' brilliant careers and their significant contribution to the British economic development. However, in

the research sample of selected articles only *The Times* overtly points to the fact that Poles arrive in the Great Britain being completely unprepared for the stay in a foreign country. Similarly, only *The Times* suggests that widely praised Polish work ethos may not be an intrinsic Polish feature and may have purely economical motivation. This newspaper also does not approve the case of using the image of a young Pole in the Scottish advertising campaign. On the other hand, only *The Times* expresses more lenient attitude to Poles' language deficiencies as it writes that even a native English language speaker could have problems with understanding the bank jargon, not to say immigrants. What is also worth noticing, *The Times* protects the immigrants saying that they became "scapegoats" of the "old" social problems, fall victims to tricksters, and there are no clear evidence which can support fears that immigrants steal workplaces or are a burden on the welfare system. As a whole, *The Times'* attitude to migrants is relatively balanced and does not carry the features of explicit pro-criticism orientation.

The articles are prevailingly written in the tone of objective reporting on Poles' behaviour or the situations/events that Poles are involved in. The researched texts do not contain linguistic manifestations that could be regarded as explicitly discriminatory/racial. However, there are cases of commenting on Polish workers in the ironic way as, for instance, in reference to their poor language skills. The articles present the phonetic descriptions of the Polish sentences that may seem to be useful for the Britons who employ Polish workers. Moreover, the reader can come across the overstatements concerning Poles, such as: "Maaarvellous Poles", "A [British] generation owes its basements and bathrooms to Poland" or "the epic scale of the exodus". There are also colloquial statements (sayings) and puns, such as: "Would the last person to leave Poland please turn out the light?" or "Plumbers drain away"; as well as emotive expressions used in commentary on the number of Poles which has risen "dramatically". The vivid and humorous language applied by the journalists to describe Polish migrants may not be an intentional effort to ridicule Poles, but an element of the omnipresent trend to include more entertaining content into journalistic texts (e.g. catchy phrases) with the aim of attracting larger numbers of readers.

Summing up, the language used for the description of Polish migrants is rather neutral and moderately emotive; however the statements regarding Poles are often emphasized by intensifiers or embellishments. The broadsheets recognize the need for a balanced overview of the Polish community, however, what disturbs the reader is the tendency to overuse the metonymical expression "Polish plumber" with not adequate highlighting its "only" proverbial use. The undesirable element is also the excessive use of general, vague expressions referring to large numbers of Polish migrants, which may evoke feelings of potential threat posed by undefined "masses" of Poles.

Another distinct linguistic tool are negative metaphors in the form of the military and natural disaster metaphors. They can be approached from two evaluative perspectives. First, they may be perceived as 'dying metaphors' (Orwell 1946) which do not serve the purpose of creating negative associations with the group described. Since such phrases are popular and overused in the press language, they have lost their previous negative connotations and imaginative power. Nowadays they are perceived as clichés and popular phrases that are broadly used within sensational language, not only in the context of migrants, but also to describe other social phenomena. In this vain, the word "horde" is used with reason of naming a huge group of Poles and does not link them with a negative context of the large groups of invaders⁷⁸. However, I hold the stance that although these expressions do not cause an overt critical reflection, they still possess the potential power to stir negative emotions and heighten the public sensitivities to 'the immigration issue' (cf. Charteris-Black 2006; El Rafaie 2001; Hart 2005, 2008, 2010; Musolff 2012, 2014; van Dijk 2012; among others). Thus, the metaphors of "wave" or "flood" result in Poles being associated with threatening masses of invading outsiders, and also they form the conceptualizations of water in which Britons may drown (Poles, thus, become a dehumanized, natural phenomenon). In general, natural disaster metaphors applied with reference to immigrants entail the situation in which immigration issues (e.g. the discussions on immigration restrictions) are treated as extremely serious problems (so-called matters of life and death). Similarly, military metaphors form associations with threat, and they are likely to produce a negative context for the presence of Poles in the UK. Consequently, such language means may negatively influence the readers' perception, and contribute to building resentment towards Polish migrants.

The topos of a populous and significant community (as well as other topos depicting Poles in the positive light) shows that the quality press univocally acknowledges relatively good integration of Poles into the British society. As this society has a long multicultural tradition and as a whole is constituted by a number of minority communities, Poles with their customs, religion and culinary habits well fit into the British cultural diversity. On the other hand, Poles also cause logistical problems for local authorities due to the large number of immigrants arriving in a relatively short time, and their usually poor command of English.

The second hypothesis of the presented research project, that refers to the *Us vs. Them* relation and its connection with the Polish/British collective/national identity construal, has been confirmed. In the broadsheet discourse, a Polish migrant is the distinct cultural 'other' that is implicitly applied to

⁷⁸ See also Fomina and Frelak 2008.

maintain British national identity. The identity discourse is realized by means of several language means that point to 'we-group' or refer to constitutive elements of British identity. The representative example here are the noun expressions such as: "*our* historical allies" and "*our* economic allies". Through this particular act of reference journalists constitute a national in-group and strengthen intranational awareness. There are also clear references to British historical episodes and the process of forming multicultural society. The newspapers repeatedly highlight the key role of the English language skills in the successful Poles' integration process. This way broadsheet discourse implicitly emphasizes that the English language has overriding influence for unifying Britons within 'the community of communities', and it is an indispensable (decisive) element of the British identity.

Britishness is a highly politicized phenomenon. Due to the historically superior role of England, British identity is associated with the UK citizenship and being the Queen's subject, rather than the common myth of genesis and origin or military triumphs. It means that a crucial identity-creating factor is the awareness of *belonging to the state* with high level of economic development and a common set of certain values, such as, for instance, tolerance rooted in a multi-ethnic society. The factor of a thriving, affluent state is particularly noticeable when compared with the weak economic position of Poland and the lack of prospects for young Poles. Similarly, this aspect is emphasized in the contexts of local councils which take proper steps to counteract negative repercussions of large number of Polish migrants. Numerous articles convey the message of an effective and unique state, when they overtly express that Polish immigrants "dream" about living in the UK, the more so that Poles were forbidden to go abroad by the long-lasting oppressive communist system. Thus, the strong British economy together with a friendly, multicultural social environment are crucial features of the UK and distinct points of reference for British identity.

The sameness of Britons is paralleled by the difference of Poles. Distinct dichotomous oppositions between Poles and Britons reflect the strong perception of a Pole as 'the other'. This 'otherness' is connected with Poles' East-European country of origin which, in turn, results in their different (lower) cultural/living standards and intolerant social attitudes, accompanied by the (mostly) insufficient level of English. The discursive creation of Poles as *Them* entails the existence of *Us* (Britons) who are defined by particular characteristics: *We* speak English, *We* are racially tolerant, and *We* are able to create prosperous economy. The hidden message conveyed has all the hallmarks of British superiority over Polish immigrants (or immigrants in general). Although the negative representations of Britons (such as ineffectiveness in vocational training or relaxed attitude to work) come into conflict

with this picture, they do not distort the general identity premise of Britons as having higher cultural and social standards than immigrants⁷⁹.

The research findings challenge the opinion that media prevailingly concentrate on the negative representations of others. Although negativity is one of the key news values, it does not play a primary role in the articles examined. As much important seem to be other news values, such as personification, continuity or predication. In the words of Tsuda (2003): "the media must present news and documentary coverage in a way that fits a society's pre-existing conceptual frameworks and assumptions in order to make the material more acceptable and understable" (p.295), yet, at the same time, they are supposed to deliver factual (both negative and positive) information on the subject. The media, thus, need to find a compromise between the audience's expectations and professional obligations. As the balanced coverage of migrant communities is crucial for the positive (or neutral) perceptions across society, the balanced (at least to some extent) representation of Poles in the researched newspapers can be assessed as a positive phenomenon.

What has been also exposed is the fact that *Us* vs. *Them* dichotomy is deeply entrenched in the press discourse. Newspapers (like other media) not only create 'the other', and, consequently, construct *their* national/collective identity, but also shape *our* identity through direct or indirect appeal to common features/values. Moreover, the bipolar representation of Poles provides tentative evidence that *Us* vs. *Them* relation does not have to rely on solely negative creation of 'the other'. 'The other' can also be positively portrayed, because the most important tenet in terms of identity construal is the fact that 'the other' *exists* and is *different* from the defined group of *Us*. However, the general conclusion drawn from the comparison of *Us* with *Them* is supposed to draw the readers' attention to the common set of *our* positive traits that constitute *our* national identity. Those values are implicitly highlighted throughout the discourse and they construct a distinct *Us* vs. *Them* bifurcation.

6.4. *Directions for further research*

A possible continuation of the presented research project would be the comparative analysis of the selected tabloids representing different political affiliations. The pilot study that I have conducted on the research sample of 74 tabloid articles (two national dailies: The *Daily Mirror* and The *Daily*

⁷⁹ See also Medrano 2010 who writes about the British sense of uniqueness: "[the] most salient theme in British post-World War II national culture (...) [is] the UK's satisfaction with its cultural and historical singularity" (p.214).

Mail, together with the Scottish popular daily – *The Daily Record*)⁸⁰ revealed certain general tendencies in depicting Polish migrants, which differentiates tabloids from the researched broadsheets.

- The tabloids give less attention to the fact that Polish migrants are not only manual low-paid workers, but also representatives of higher social classes who successfully pursue their careers in the business/high-qualifications sector.

- The language of tabloids is more emotive and rich in vivid expressions (e.g. when difficult working conditions are described).

- The tabloids offer different narrative style in the form of shorter texts which do not contain in-depth analyses of the issue in question. They contain a vast number of quotations that are often left without commentary.

- The tabloids concentrate on the negative stereotypes of Poles who accept lower standards of living, do not speak English and are eager to over-use social benefits. Consequently, the discursive representations of Polish migrants created in tabloids are more one-dimensional and negatively biased than it can be observed in the case of broadsheets.

- The tabloids write more explicitly about Poles who are claimed to be responsible for the increase of unemployment rate among Britons and pose a serious threat to social and economic safety of the UK's native residents.

- The tabloids overtly associate social problems with Polish migrants and apply the context of immigration flow to point to the Labour Party's ineffective politics.

- The tabloids refer to topics which are not present in the broadsheets sample, e.g. the problem of an increasing number of divorces and immoral sexual behaviour among Poles who left for the UK.

- In terms of the strategy of perspectivisation there is the visible tendency of presenting the shocking information with the source of it written in the further part of the text or with an anonymous source.

- There are also stories of successful Poles, however, they do not refer to people holding high professional positions (it may be connected with the target group of the popular press).

The further exploration of the selected tabloids may reveal other characteristic features of the tabloid press discourse on the level of particular linguistic manifestations, and it may allow a researcher to infer on their potential influence on creating certain attitudes towards Polish migrants. It would be also useful in future research to include the DHA research on discursive representations of other A8 migrants and to compare them with the representations of Poles (both in broadsheets and tabloids). Similarly,

⁸⁰ The *Daily Mirror* and *The Daily Record* were retrieved from the ProQuest database, and *The Daily Mail* is accessible at the *Daily Mail* website.

the fruitful analysis could be examination of the Poles' representations in the context of other ethnic communities residing in the Great Britain. Last, but not least, what calls for further exploration is the research on the British readers' perceptions of Polish migrants and the comparative analysis of their responses with the research findings presented. The overall conclusion may provide information on how particular broadsheets' representations of Poles impact the quality press readers' perception of this group. This aim could be achieved either by means of interviews with focus groups or by applying a questionnaire.

The 21st century has already been described as the age of migrations due to the omnipresence of this phenomenon and its significance for the world society as a whole. The intensive migration movement is inseparably connected with the issue of self-defining and negotiating the perception of 'others'. Therefore, research into migration should be extensive and its results made available to the widest possible public. In the end, the greater is societies' understanding of the issue, the greater are the chances for the peaceful coexistence of migrants and the inhabitants of the countries in which they reside.

Various media constitute a perfect subject for scientific study in the field of migration, as they reflect, cumulate and even mould particular social attitudes. That is why the analysis of press migration discourse can shed more light on the social reactions towards migrants in the host countries. The present DHA analysis of migration discourse demonstrates that linguistic research may effectively supplement other types of migration studies and vastly contribute to the holistic theory of this phenomenon.

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Appendix

CD-ROM: The corpus of researched articles:

- *The Guardian*
- *The Independent*
- *The Times*

Summary

The present doctoral dissertation takes under scrutiny the discursive representations of Polish migrants which are created in the selected titles of the British broadsheet newspapers, namely, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Times*. The theoretical framework applied in the research project is Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) that belongs to the broad spectrum of Critical Discourse Analysis/Critical Discourse Studies approaches to the analysis of mutual relations between texts and social reality. Additionally, as the complex issue of discursive representations requires an interdisciplinary approach, this dissertation refers to other scientific disciplines, such as media studies and studies on migration.

In my research project I examine the process of construing the picture of a Pole as 'the other' and, in consequence, the process of creating the portrayal of *Us* (Britons), which can be found in electronic versions of articles collected from the ProQuest database. The articles analysed were published within the timespan of 10 years (2004-2014), starting with Poland's accession to the European Union and the opening of the British labour market. I aimed at gaining the sample of data from a relatively long period of time to identify the characteristic features of the overall and comprehensive representation of Poles that might be perceptible to regular broadsheets' readers.

Media provide the receivers with the coverage that not only presents, but also interprets social reality. They can stereotype the groups of 'others' and, this way, influence social attitudes towards immigrants or ethnic minorities. As broadsheets are a preferred source of information for the symbolic elites (groups of professionals such as politicians, scholar, journalists, etc.), they may play a special role in forming certain attitudes towards minority groups. To find the mechanisms of discursive establishment of the *Us* and *Them* categories, DHA offers five research questions: 1) How are persons named and referred to linguistically? 2) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? 3) By what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize

the inclusion/exclusion of others? 4) From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed? 5) Are the respective points of view articulated overtly, are they intensified or are they mitigated? (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 44). The analysis of press discourse on Polish migrants according to the above-presented questions allowed me to identify twelve topoi that present Poles in, both, positive and negative light. The overall portrayal of Polish migrants that is formed in the researched articles is heterogenous and multidimensional. The press discourse maintains the stereotype of 'a Polish plumber' (in general – 'a Polish worker of manual sector') and Polish work ethos. On the other hand, there are numerous examples of Poles pursuing brilliant careers in the sectors which demand high qualifications and expertise.

In terms of linguistic tools, the research findings show certain tendencies in describing Poles, such as, for instance, military and natural disaster metaphors. Moreover, the statements concerning Poles are often emphasized by intensifiers. The overall broadsheets' picture of Poles is coherent and there are no striking differences between the ways of describing Poles by three newspapers analysed, however, it is only *The Times* that attracts readers' attention to certain aspects of Polish migration. The discursive representations of Polish migrants form the strong *Us* (Britons) vs. *Them* (Poles) relation which, in turn, serves the purpose of maintaining British national identity through discursive means. Thus, the most important factors of British identity that are emphasized by immigration discourse are: high cultural standards, tolerance, the English language command, and the sense of belonging to the prosperous state.

As far as the structure of the dissertation is concerned, it consists of a theoretical and an empirical part, and is divided into six chapters. The first four chapters provide the theoretical background that allows for situating the researched subject in a broader context of CDA, migration studies and media research. In Chapter 1, I focus on migration as a social phenomenon which has systematically gained in significance and, consequently, has attracted close academic attention of scholars representing multifarious disciplines. In the first section, I present a concise overview of the most essential – theoretical and methodological — approaches to migration, whereas in the second section I discuss the most representative examples of linguistic research on the subject. Chapter 1 also contains the part devoted to the historical development of the migration process to the UK, and the one presenting the issue of the Polish migration to the Great Britain.

Chapter 2 draws on discourse as a notion and an object of academic study, with a particular attention given to 'context', since it is a key element of any Critical Discourse Analysis. In the next section I briefly address the

role and scope of CDA perceived as an approach which thoroughly examines mutual relations between social and language phenomena and, simultaneously, it is an effective tool to expose unfair social practices. The last part of Chapter 2 sheds more light on the notion of 'identity' and shows the key role of discourse in the process of creating 'the other'. I supplement this section with the most essential examples of identity-oriented research. Lastly, I point to the potential implications of discourse for creating the national identity.

Chapter 3 is an attempt to outline the most recognized analytical frameworks that are perceived as belonging to the broad spectrum of CDA. In the subsequent sections I discuss, both, the milestone theories and the more recent developments. In this chapter special attention has been given to the DHA, as I provide a brief overview of the most crucial research projects conducted, the theoretical assumptions and the methodological tools within this framework. The section devoted to DHA portrays this interdisciplinary approach as an effective framework that combines the examination of linguistic manifestations with the analysis of the topoi depicting a group in question.

The primary aim of Chapter 4 is to provide a concise picture of media as a social phenomenon, as well as to familiarize the reader with the general characteristics of media language. I start with analyzing the main assumptions of research on media language. In the successive sections, I elaborate on media discourse perceived as a *process* and a *product*, the mechanisms of constructing the news together with the notion of news values, as well as the newspaper language (including the structure and types of the press news). The last section presents the British press against the backdrop of the UK media system, and shows the well-established position of the press as an information/knowledge provider.

Chapter 5 constitutes the empirical part of the dissertation. It contains the methodological assumptions, the description of the broadsheets analysed, and a brief overview of the most significant previous research projects drawing on the subject of the discursive representations of Polish migrants in the British press. In the last section, I concentrate on sample data and I conduct the analysis of the press discourse according to the DHA framework.

In Chapter 6, I present the conclusions from my research project. First, I illustrate the findings by means of selected and the most representative examples of discursive strategies that can be found in the researched articles. In the next section I describe the *Us* vs. *Them* relation which results from discursive representations of Poles and the adequate representations of Britons. The conclusion is supplemented by a discussion on the function of discursive 'the other' (both positively and negatively portrayed) in the process of defining 'our' identity. The final part of the concluding chapter offers directions for further research concerning the subject of study.

Streszczenie

Prezentowana rozprawa doktorska przedstawia prawidłowości w sposobie tworzenia dyskursywnych reprezentacji polskich imigrantów, jakie tworzone są przez wybrane brytyjskie gazety ogólnokrajowe (dzienniki), należące do sektora tzw. prasy dużego formatu, tzn. *The Guardian*, *The Independent* i *The Times*. Rama metodologiczna wykorzystana w projekcie badawczym to Historyczna Analiza Dyskursu (HAD), która należy do szerokiego spektrum podejść określanych jako Krytyczna Analiza Dyskursu (Krytyczne Studia nad Dyskursem) i wykorzystywanych do badania wzajemnych relacji między tekstem, a rzeczywistością społeczną. Dodatkowo, jako że złożone zagadnienie reprezentacji dyskursywnych wymaga interdyscyplinarnego podejścia, podstawa teoretyczna dysertacji zawiera także odniesienia do innych dyscyplin naukowych, takich jak studia nad mediami i studia migracyjne.

W niniejszym projekcie badawczym analizuję proces konstruowania obrazu Polaka jako „innego”, a w konsekwencji — tworzenia portretu „nas” (Brytyjczyków) jaki można dostrzec w treści elektronicznych wersji artykułów pobranych z bazy internetowej ProQuest. Analizowane artykuły były publikowane w okresie 10 lat (2004-2014), począwszy od momentu wstąpienia Polski do Unii Europejskiej i otwarcia brytyjskiego rynku pracy. Moim celem było zebranie danych ze stosunkowo długiego okresu tak, aby określić charakterystyczne cechy całościowej reprezentacji Polaków, która mogłaby być zauważalna dla stałych czytelników prasy dużego formatu.

Media nie tylko relacjonują, ale także interpretują rzeczywistość społeczną. Mogą stereotypizować grupy „innych” i w ten sposób wpływać na podejście społeczeństwa do imigrantów lub mniejszości etnicznych. Gazety dużego formatu są preferowanym źródłem informacji dla elit symbolicznych (tzn. grup profesjonalistów takich jak: politycy, naukowcy, dziennikarze, itp.), dlatego mogą one odgrywać szczególną rolę w tworzeniu określonego nastawienia do mniejszości narodowych. Rama metodologiczna HAD zakłada pięć pytań badawczych, których celem jest odkrycie mechanizmów dyskursywnego ustalania kategorii „my” i „oni”: 1) Jakie środki językowe służą nazywaniu

i odnoszeniu się do ludzi? 2) Jakie własności i cech charakterystyczne są ludziom przypisywane? 3) Z pomocą jakich argumentów i schematów rozumowania poszczególne osoby czy grupy społeczne usiłują usprawiedliwić lub uprawomocnić wykluczenie, dyskryminację, ucisk i wyzysk innych? 4) Z jakiej perspektywy lub punktu widzenia są artykułowane powyższe określenia i sposoby argumentacji? 5) Czy wypowiedzi te są formułowane w sposób otwarty, a nawet zostają wzmocnione, czy też, przeciwnie, ulegają stonowaniu (Wodak 2008: 195). Analiza dyskursu prasowego dotyczącego polskich imigrantów według powyższych pytań umożliwiła mi zidentyfikowanie dwunastu toposów, które przedstawiają Polaków zarówno w pozytywnym jak i negatywnym świetle. Ogólny obraz polskich imigrantów jaki wyłania się z lektury analizowanych artykułów, jest zróżnicowany i wielowymiarowy. Dyskurs prasowy podtrzymuje stereotyp „polskiego hydraulika” (ogólnie - „polskiego pracownika fizycznego”) i polskiego etosu pracy. Z drugiej strony widoczne są też liczne przykłady Polaków realizujących błyskotliwe kariery w sektorach wymagających wysokich kwalifikacji i fachowej wiedzy.

W zakresie narzędzi językoznawczych wyniki analizy wyraźnie wskazują na pewne tendencje w opisywaniu Polaków, takie jak np. metafory militarne i metafory nawiązujące do katastrof naturalnych. Co więcej, wypowiedzi dotyczące Polaków są często wzmacniane za pomocą wyrażen intensyfikujących. Ogólny obraz polskich imigrantów tworzony przez prasę dużego formatu jest spójny i nie można stwierdzić uderzających różnic między sposobami opisu Polaków przez trzy analizowane gazety, jednakże tylko *The Times* zwraca uwagę czytelników na pewne aspekty polskiej imigracji. Dyskursywne reprezentacje polskich imigrantów przekładają się na silną relację „my” (Brytyjczycy) i „oni” (Polacy), co z kolei umożliwia dyskursywne wzmacnianie brytyjskiej tożsamości narodowej. Zatem, najważniejsze czynniki konstytuujące tożsamość brytyjską, które podkreślane są przez dyskurs migracyjny, to wysokie standardy kulturalne Brytyjczyków, tolerancja, znajomość języka angielskiego i poczucie przynależności do dobrze prosperującego państwa.

Praca doktorska składa się z części teoretycznej i empirycznej, i podzielona jest na sześć rozdziałów. Cztery pierwsze rozdziały tworzą zarys teoretyczny, który pozwala na usytuowanie przedmiotu badań w szerszym kontekście KAD, studiów migracyjnych i badań nad mediami. W rozdziale pierwszym koncentruję się na migracji i przedstawiam to zagadnienie jako zjawisko społeczne, które nabiera coraz większego znaczenia i niezmiennie przyciąga uwagę naukowców reprezentujących różne dyscypliny. W pierwszym podrozdziale prezentuję przegląd najważniejszych podejść do migracji, zarówno teoretycznych jak i metodologicznych, zaś w podrozdziale drugim przedstawiam najbardziej reprezentatywne przykłady badań językoznawczych dotyczących migracji. Rozdział pierwszy zawiera także część ukazującą

historyczny rozwój zjawiska imigracji do Wielkiej Brytanii oraz podrozdział poświęcony polskiej imigracji do tego kraju.

Rozdział drugi przybliża pojęcie dyskursu i analizuje je jako obiekt badań, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kontekstu, który jest kluczowym elementem każdej Krytycznej Analizy Dyskursu. W kolejnym podrozdziale zarysowuję rolę i zakres KAD postrzeganej jako podejście, które bada wzajemne relacje między zjawiskami językowymi i społecznymi, stanowiąc jednocześnie efektywne narzędzie służące ujawnianiu nieuczciwych praktyk społecznych. Ostatnia część rozdziału drugiego przedstawia pojęcie tożsamości i ukazuje kluczową rolę dyskursu w procesie tworzenia „innego”. Podrozdział dotyczący tożsamości zawiera także przykłady najważniejszych badań integrujących dyskurs i tożsamość, jak również podkreśla wpływ dyskursu na proces kształtowania się tożsamości narodowej.

Rozdział trzeci stanowi próbę przedstawienia najbardziej znanych podejść metodologicznych należących do szerokiego spektrum KAD. W kolejnych podrozdziałach omawiam zarówno tradycyjne teorie, jak również nowsze typy analiz. Szczególną uwagę poświęcam podejściu HAD przedstawiając założenia teoretyczne, narzędzia metodologiczne i syntetyczny przegląd najważniejszych projektów badawczych realizowanych w ramach tego podejścia. HAD jest tu ukazana jako interdyscyplinarne podejście, które w skuteczny sposób łączy analizę realizacji językowych z analizą toposów obrazujących badaną grupę.

Głównym celem rozdziału czwartego jest zarysowanie pojęcia mediów jako zjawiska społecznego, a także przedstawienie ogólnej charakterystyki języka mediów. Rozdział rozpoczyna się prezentacją głównych założeń badań dotyczących języka mediów. W kolejnych podrozdziałach analizuję dyskurs medialny postrzegany jako *proces* i jako *produkt*, mechanizmy tworzenia newsów i pojęcie tzw. „wartości informacyjnych” (*news values*), jak również język prasy, w tym strukturę i typy newsów prasowych. Ostatni podrozdział ukazuje prasę brytyjską na tle brytyjskiego systemu medialnego i podkreśla niezachwianą pozycję tamtejszej prasy jako źródła informacji i wiedzy.

Rozdział piąty stanowi empiryczną część dysertacji. Zawiera założenia metodologiczne, opis analizowanych tytułów i syntetyczny przegląd najważniejszych, dotychczasowych projektów badawczych podejmujących temat dyskursywnych reprezentacji polskich imigrantów w prasie brytyjskiej. W ostatnim podrozdziale skupiam się na próbie badawczej i przeprowadzam analizę dyskursu prasowego zgodnie z ramą metodologiczną HAD.

W rozdziale szóstym przedstawiam wyniki mojego projektu badawczego. W pierwszym podrozdziale ilustruję wyniki za pomocą wybranych, najbardziej reprezentatywnych przykładów strategii dyskursywnych, jakie udało mi się znaleźć w analizowanych artykułach. W kolejnej części rozdziału

opisuję relację „my” i „oni”, która wyłania się z dyskursywnych reprezentacji Polaków i odpowiadających im reprezentacji Brytyjczyków. Konkluzję uzupełnia analiza funkcji dyskursywnego „innego” (zarówno sportretowanego pozytywnie jak i negatywnie) w procesie definiowania „naszej” tożsamości. Ostatnia część rozdziału zawiera propozycję dalszych, potencjalnie możliwych badań w obszarze analizowanego zagadnienia.

