

RACISM IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE IN POLAND. A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS¹

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Abstract: During the last decade, representations of black people² in the Polish media have increased significantly. In this paper, I describe and analyze a set of linguistic mechanisms for portraying black people in the Polish media. My central case for analysis involves two media stories that took place in Poland between 2007-2010 involving two men, one black and one white, both of whom were diagnosed as HIV-positive. Simon transmitted the disease to a series of his female partners and reporting on the case consistently highlighted issues to do with his immigration status, culture, crime, violence and sexual abuse. This set of issues was not raised in media coverage of Wieslaw, a white man who was also HIV-positive. The data for the analysis are drawn from a corpus of newspaper articles of the Polish newspapers: *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita*. Based on the qualitative methods of discourse analysis, I will attempt to elicit some discursive ways of representing the black character, a member of the out-group, in comparison to the white in-group perpetrator.

Keywords: *discourse, racism, critical discourse analysis, media discourse, linguistics.*

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² In this paper the term "black people" will refer to "Africans" or people of African origin (Poles of African origin or mixed heritage).

My African American friend came to visit me last Summer in Wroclaw, Poland. We were taking a walk in the afternoon and we walked passed a neo-nazi in broad daylight. He stopped out of shock for seeing such a racist display. He could not conceptualize how this can be a tolerant outlook in Polish society. How anyone can allow to promote such ignorance at two o'clock in the afternoon. So was the difference between him and I. He witnessed it; I experienced it. In this article, I will attempt to explain how we got to this point in our society that stopped my friend, but kept me moving.

(Author's personal diary)

INTRODUCTION

This paper outlines an exploratory study of the generalizability of the theory of dissemination of racism as a function of top-down discourse construction and articulation, reflected through the interests of the symbolic elites as generators of such discourse. My goal is to explore the ways in which Poland, a Central European country without a colonial history, frames the language of media discourse on black people, their actions, and characteristics. Poland has a distinctive history of racial formation with regard to Africans. Unlike Western European countries with a colonial history and significant African Diaspora (like Britain, France or the Netherlands), Poland did not have colonies in Africa and thus now it only has a very small black population. I discuss some characteristics of the representations of the similar actions of the members of binary racial groups in Polish media discourse (massive white dominant vs. tiny black minority). Whereas the racial and ethnic otherness of the black man was emphasized in all sections and hence his individual negative action referred to the whole group, the white man was portrayed as an exceptional case in the Our group of Poles, as a "black sheep" of the society.

NUMBER OF AFRICANS IN POLAND

Despite the presence of ethnic minority groups, i.e. Roma, Lemkos, Tartars, Karaims, and Jewish people, Poland along with Romania and Bulgaria is one of the EU countries with the lowest share of non-nationals in the population (<1%). Which means that 99,8% of the population declare themselves as of Polish (white) ethnicity only (Central Statistical Office, 2012). There aren't slightly above 4000 people of African origin in Poland. Although this number does not include Polish citizens of mixed heritage, the overall number of black people in Poland is extremely small. Statistics of the Office for Foreigners indicate that in the end of 2011 representatives of almost all African countries resided in Poland (48 countries as of 31 December 2011). These were both individuals from e.g. Malawi (1), South Africa (85) and Namibia (2), as well as several hundred citizens of Nigeria (847), Egypt (609), Tunisia (677) and Algeria (474).

As the result of this, demographic situation, the vast majority of white people in Poland have never seen or interacted with blacks on an everyday individual level. Based on the results of "The Public opinion research with regards to the integration of the citizens of African countries in Poland"

conducted by Africa Another Way Foundation in 2011 (Duński, & Średziński, 2011) only 15% of all Poles have met an African in their neighborhood. This refers to the whole country. If we were to look at large cities (over 500,000 in population) in Poland, only 29% of all white respondents encountered a person of African origin, and 13% have met one in person. Black people in Poland are usually associated with the following social groups:

- students on scholarships (younger groups in large cities),
- sportsmen (soccer, basketball players),
- celebrities or prestigious professionals (doctors, journalists, politician John Gonsoum),
- bazaar sellers.

Despite these tiny numbers, black people in Poland have recently become a significant presence in the Polish media. The wide range of stories about black people in the Polish media cover three areas:

- negative representations of hunger,
- illnesses (especially AIDS),
- natural disasters,
- threat and deviance (existential, economic and cultural),
- TV travel shows (with focus on cultural differences),
- sexist depictions of women (exoticism),
- black people in other nations: persons from popular culture and politics (like president Obama).

THEORY OF DISCOURSE AND ELITE RACISM

Although the concept of elite racism has been tested and investigated in several distinct countries and contexts, there is an apparent similarity to those discourse contexts that leaves open the question of how generalizable this theoretical construct really is. In other words, contexts where the theory has been tested are ones in which a significant minority population already exists, and has persisted for some time. My analysis of some of the common linguistic and discursive strategies about black people in the Polish media reveals that stereotypes

exist in a nation that does not have a significant black population or colonial history. Despite the fact that the Polish experience with black people and with colonialism in Africa is fundamentally different from that of West European nations with significant black populations (like Britain or France), it can still reveal similar types of discourse structures to those we find in public discourses of these other nations (Wodak, & van Dijk, 2000), for example, as illustrated for Austria (e.g. Reisigl, & Wodak 2001; Krzyżanowski, 2010; Boreus, 2013), Britain (e.g. van Dijk, 1991; van Dijk, 1993; van Dijk, 1997; van Dijk, 2015; Richardson, 2007; Khosravi-Nik, Krzyżanowski, & Wodak, 2012), the Netherlands (e.g. van Dijk, 1984; van Dijk, 1987), Germany (e.g. Roberts, 2012), Spain (e.g. van Dijk, 2005), Denmark and Sweden (e.g. Boreus, 2013; Nohrstedt, 2013). My suggestion is that these discourse structures in Poland are likely to have a far more discriminatory effect, and may reproduce more powerful prejudices against blacks because there are so few of them in the nation. If such prejudices exist in a “Western” society, there is still frequent interaction between whites and blacks that can offset such prejudices. However, this has not yet been the case in a social context/space that has historically been without a minority population but is witnessing the emergence of a minority population.

In addition to this, much of public discourse is largely controlled by the symbolic elites (i.e. leading politicians, journalists and academics). Studies have shown that the (white) dominant groups are largely responsible for the reproduction of racism in society through their discourse (van Dijk, 1993; Reisigl, & Wodak, 2001; Jiwani, 2006; del Teso-Craviotto, 2009; Jiwani, & Richardson, 2011). Van Dijk’s argument is about the fact that on the one hand elites would be critical of overt racism from others in society but be blind to their own covert forms of racism, which leads to institutional racism and perpetuates stereotypes and notions of Us vs. Them. However, because black minority group in Poland has not yet reached a threshold in power, population or political capability, racism is not yet the subject of a specific elite interest – or does

not appear to be so at the surface. Polish ideas about and attitudes towards black people over the last two decades are drawn from media, cinema, and other popular cultural forms, and are thus largely stereotypical. We now have available a range of examples across the Polish media – the national and local press, television, radio, internet and so on – in which Blacks are mentioned as a primary or secondary topic. It is through the mechanism of an assertion of the interests of that elite that the origination of racial discourse as being top-down (from the elite in nature) is investigated. For only in an assessment of their interests can we determine whether the general racial discourse in media may be sourced through that elite. This provides scholars with a significant source of evidence upon which to base an analysis of Polish media discourse on blacks.

Discourse as a communicative process has a tremendous impact on the social representations, attitudes and ideologies of people, which can perpetuate racist prejudices (e.g. Potter, & Wetherell, 1987; Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013). By viewing, reading, listening and interacting with media channels on a daily level we are exposed to ideologies, values and beliefs that are reproduced by semantic and pragmatic meanings of text and discourse. What is crucial here is that racism is mostly learned by discourse. The reproduction of racism through discourse derives from a double-dimensional approach to racism as a system of domination consisting of two subsystems: the system of discriminatory discursive practices and the system of racial prejudices (for details see: e.g. van Dijk, 1991; for details about a socio-cognitive approach to discourse see van Dijk, 2014; van Dijk, in press). For this reason, the social relevance of discourse structures and thus ways that social beliefs pertain to racism will be highlighted in this article.

My analysis builds on Teun van Dijk's socio-

cognitive theory of the reproduction of racism through text and discourse. He argues that racism is a system of group domination consisted of two subsystems: a system of discriminatory practices and a system of (underlying) racial prejudices which reversely are the cause of the visible and embodied aspects of racism, namely all forms of discrimination as language and social practices (e.g. T. van Dijk, personal communications, February 1, 2010; van Dijk, in press). Hence social structures need to be interpreted and represented cognitively. At the same time, mental representations affect the cognitive processes involved in the production and interpretation of discourse. To show how the underlying attitudes shape discourse about Blacks, I will attempt to elicit some discourse structures and strategies in which media characters are constructed, described, and attributed in the discourse of Polish newspapers, thus contributing to the social reproduction of racism. The discourse structures introduced by Teun van Dijk, supported by Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak's analytical tools for studying discourse on racial and ethnic groups in Western countries, provide an ample methodological basis for the analysis. It is important however to note that the linguistic tools are not enough on their own to conduct the hereto study. What's crucial here is the context of the investigated matters. Therefore, implied in questions about the name and reference of the characters (marked by membership categorization devices), attribution of characteristics (signaled by stereotypical evaluative attributions of traits) and perspectivation of discourse (specific point of view, citation and quotation) (Reisigl, & Wodak, 2001), global topic (macrostructure) and text schemata (superstructure) (e.g. van Dijk, 2004; van Dijk, 2011) will be inquiries about media political profile or circumstances of the communicative event³.

³ In my doctoral thesis *Manifestations of racism in Polish language. Mechanisms of Language System, Text and Discourse* I elaborate on methodological tools for critical discourse analysis.

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

In this paper, I will focus on various linguistic ways of representing black people in Polish newspaper discourse. I specifically look at the case study about the story of Simon, a black HIV-positive man who transmitted the virus to his sexual partners. The analysis is conducted in comparison to the linguistic representation of Wieslaw, a white HIV-positive man who deliberately infected his partners with the virus. I have selected two sample texts for the analysis, both published in the last decade by the most prominent daily newspapers: *Gazeta Wyborcza* (typically associated with social liberalism and multiculturalism) and *Rzeczpospolita* (a moderately conservative broadsheet). To illustrate a few textual and discursive strategies of racial representation in media, I will give a detailed qualitative analysis of two news reports from the aforementioned papers⁴.

The first example published by *Gazeta Wyborcza* in 2007, is a part of an article on Simon Mol, a Black HIV-positive man. He was charged with passing the virus to his white Polish female partners in Poland. Simon, a son of Hanna Ngaje, was born in 1973 in Buea, the capital of the British Cameroon. Mol was notably known in Poland as a writer and a journalist. He was an anti-racist political activist and a winner of the Anti-fascist of the Year Prize by the Anti-Fascist Never Again Foundation in Poland. In 2007 when Mol was taken into custody by the Polish police and charged with infecting his sexual partners with HIV, he became one of the most frequently mentioned persons in media discourse in Poland. Nationwide media immediately commented on this and other related issues (the arrest, investigation of the man's thus far biography, interviews with victims, etc.), highlighting his immigration status, culture, crime, violence and sexual abuse. Polish conservatives

and *Rzeczpospolita* newspaper thus tagged him as "a professional refugee" (Text 3) and "a legend that killed" (Text 4). However, although most discourse was generated by the right-wing elite groups, the case was largely covered by *Gazeta Wyborcza*, a daily liberal Polish newspaper. This study will bring us to another story, which unlike Simon's case was predominantly described by local newspapers along with *Fakt* and *Super Express*, the Polish nationwide tabloid press. The man was referred to as a "hippie lowlife" or "paedophile by the gutter press".

The first example (Text 1), published by *Gazeta Wyborcza* in 2007, an article on Simon Mol, a black HIV-positive man who was charged with passing the virus to his white Polish female partners in Poland. The case was extensively covered by the media in a series of articles of various genres (news reports, editorials, opinion articles, background articles, features, interviews and columns), published between January 2007, when the man got arrested, to October 2008, when he died of AIDS.

The analysis below draws from the study of newspaper discourse based on the continual dynamics of two rather classic types of discourse structures: introduced in the study of discourse by Teun van Dijk in his classic study of news discourse in press (e.g. van Dijk's original work on structures of news in the press 1983, 1985, 2000), with special reference to his concept of global topic (macrostructure) and schematic organization (superstructure) of news discourse. He describes them both as compiling and closely related elements of any text and similarly applied in news text. He argues that a global topic defines what the meaning of a text is, and therefore represents the overall content of a news item. Schematic organization, on the other hand, determines the global topic by conventionally organizing the meaning in different parts of the text (van Dijk,

⁴ The linguistic material I analyze in this paper are partly mentioned in my previous work (Ohia, 2010; Ohia, 2011; Ohia, 2015; Ohia, 2016).

Table 1. Text data; superstructure. Source: Own elaboration based on (Text 1: Gazeta Wyborcza July 03, 2007; Text 2: Rzeczpospolita November 04, 2008).

Headline	A Cameroonian deliberately infected with HIV? (Text 1)	Did he infect women with HIV? (Text 2)
Lead	„Accusations of exposing to the grievous bodily harm of incurable and enduring disease were rendered to a 34-year-old political refugee from Cameroon, Simon M. who has been suspected of infecting at least 4 women with HIV virus. He is threatened with spending up to 10 years in jail”.	„A 46-year-old HIV-positive man may have infected a 15-year-old home evader, as well as dozens of other women”.
Event description	„Simon M. was detained by the police in Warsaw on Wednesday morning. He did not plead guilty at the examination”. „Based on his website, he is a Cameroonian poet, writer and journalist. Because of writing an article about the corruption scandal in Cameroon he had left his homeland. He initially sought asylum in Ghana, where he was granted political asylum status in 1998. He came to Poland one year later”.	„The police say: Wieslaw is like a wandering bird. While staying in Krakow during the past few months, he rented an apartment where he got together with a 15-year-old. Little do we know about Wieslaw S. He is an electrician. He comes from Gizycko and he does not have any permanent residence. He makes money begging, gathering cans and producing beads necklaces”. „According to Rzeczpospolita research, Wieslaw S. had spent 3 years in prisons in Gizycko and Kielce. Initially in Spring 1994, he was taken into custody for a month. He spent 3 years in jail for an attempted murder from July 1994 to December 1996 and after a break from Autumn 1997 to May 1998”.
Sub headline	No sub headline (the text remains under the main headline)	Why did Wieslaw S. deliberately expose his partner to the HIV infection?
Conclusion	„The police spokesman reports the detention is a result of the police investigation conducted since the last days of November. A woman allegedly infected with HIV reported to the police. She identified a man that she suspected. The police interviewed a doctor who gave treatment to her and diagnosed the disease. After consulting him, it was assumed that there could be more people infected. Based on the doctor’s account, there were many young women infected with a specific type of HIV that occurs in one of the African countries—stressed the spokesman”.	„Marcin Drewniak from the Centre for Prevention and Social Education in Krakow considers, -This kind of behavior may reveal a complex pathology. We should meticulously scrutinize his life up until now. Possibly he intended to take revenge for the mental abuse experienced in the past, or maybe he is insane?” „Zbigniew Nęcki, a psychologist from the Jagiellonian University adds: - His biography reveals some abnormalities that stand beyond the social norms, resulting either from mistakes in upbringing or psychopathic personality. It is evident that he has no sense of moral norms and social life. He only cares about his own fate. That is a huge problem of our society: How to protect people from such psychopaths”.

1991). They consist of headlines, leads, and body of the text that usually include background and context, events, comments, explanations, etc. The following table shows the extracted categories of text organization based on the articles about Simon (Text 1) and Wieslaw (Text 2). Although they are both structured in a standard way, we can see that each part of the first one contrasts with the fragments of the latter. For example, the last section in the article about Simon does not provide any direct comments beside the spokesperson's, however several voices of the dominant discourse are implicitly mentioned (see the below analysis), whereas in the second story a journalist refers to specific utterances by explicitly indicated representatives of authorities.

The headline message attracts the readers first and remains in their memory, and hence has a tremendous impact on how people construe their own representations of a topic. Headlines' shape, structure and choice of words play a crucial role in attracting the readers and thus influencing their choice of articles (Bedřichová, 2006). Headlines not only summarize the event but they may also convey power relations, by subtle linguistic (grammatical and semantic) means. The question in the headline of the analyzed article "(Did) Cameroonian deliberately infect with HIV?" (Text 1) represents a typical global macrostructure routinely used in news about Africa and Africans. HIV presupposing AIDS is one of the most frequent topics attributed to black people in predominantly white societies. In this case the presupposition (mitigated by a rhetorical question) not only indicates the US vs. THEM binary - by using the ethnonym "a Cameroonian" thus "not a Pole" - but also by deducing that Cameroonians (equals Blacks - the lexical choice of the term Cameroonian may only signal an apparent mitigation, that is using a linguistic indicator of nationality, instead of ethnicity or "race") THEY bring the HIV to US. However, the prepositional phrase "in Poland" is not used in the sentence. It should be noted that the use of nationality instead

of ethnicity or race signals a linguistic strategy in liberal discourse to avoid the agent's skin color. It is hence the term "Cameroonian" used to name Simon Mol that constructs the global membership categorization device (main reference) in the headline. In comparison, the headline in the article about Wieslaw: "Did he infect women with HIV?" has no indication of ethnicity, race or nationality. "Race" here unlike in the story of Simon becomes irrelevant and transparent. Also, the question itself is constructed as a yes/no question, which gives a completely different meaning compared to the previous headline. The primary message in the headline "A Cameroonian infected with HIV" (Text 1) is recited and reinforced in the lead, which is the first paragraph: "Accusations of exposing to the grievous bodily harm of incurable and enduring disease were rendered to a 34-year-old political refugee from Cameroon, Simon M. who has been suspected of infecting at least 4 women with HIV



Fig. 1. Referring Simon's identity in Text 1.

virus. He is threatened with up to spending 10 years in jail". Here, the identifying references are sequenced in specific order:

Traits of identity (age and name) are split up with the socio-ethnic/national markers. In the lead about Wieslaw only age is mentioned ["46-year-old HIV-positive" (Text 2)]. The syntax of the sentences in the lead in Simon's story raises questions about the agent and the social actor's responsibility. It is

evident here that actions of authorities (police) are diminished and silenced by replacing the active voice where the police/prosecution would be an agent, with the passive voice. Consequently, Mol as the main character and his actions remain represented as grammatical and therefore social agents. "Accusations of exposing to the grievous bodily harm of incurable and enduring disease were rendered..." (Text 1); "Simon M. who has been suspected of..." (Text 1); "He is threatened with..." (Text 1).

However, it is in the next section of the article where the police would be mentioned as an agent ("by the police"), the passive voice rules place them in a background position while Simon remains the main foregrounding topic of the sentence. The next series of sentences reflects the symbolic spatial distance between US and THEM: "Based on his website, he is a Cameroonian poet, a writer and a journalist. Because of writing an article about the corruption scandal in Cameroon he had left his homeland. He initially sought asylum in Ghana, where he was granted political asylum status in 1998. He came to Poland one year later" (Text 1). Again, the spatial distance is expressed by the following phrases: "a Cameroonian poet, writer and journalist, sought asylum in Ghana, came to Poland" (Text 1). These in turn establish the black actor's crime as more reprehensible than if committed by a white person due to its reference to the Other (non-Pole, non-European, non-White), hence threatening and highly mystifying. Finally, not only is it presupposed that Simon comes from a mysterious world, but also his identity becomes possibly inconsistent and controversial (see a series of articles about Simon published by Rzeczpospolita (i.e. Text 3; Text 5; Text 6). This lack of credibility is expressed in the apparent parenthesis "according to his website" (Text 1). The parenthesis in rhetoric is an explanatory or qualifying word, clause or sentence, inserted into a passage. However, the use of such a rhetorical device in the quoted sentence is apparent. The clause does not add to the meaning of the paragraph. On the contrary, it questions the

plausibility of the narrative. The pronoun phrase "his website" (Text 1) ultimately implicates: according to his (THEIR) own sources which cannot be taken seriously because they arise from the out-group. In contrast, in the first sentence of the main part of the article Wieslaw is referred to as "a wandering bird" (Text 2), which is a peculiar animalization, as someone who is light headed and not responsible for his actions. What should be noted here is also the perspectivation. This sentence is a direct speech police utterance. The reference that follows to the character's occupation emphasizes an unrepresentative lifestyle regarding social standards. This together with the past life story (credited by Rzeczpospolita) offers a pathologized depiction of a negative in-group character. "The police say: Wieslaw is like a wandering bird. While staying in Krakow during the past few months, he rented an apartment where he got together with a 15-year-old. Little do we know about Wieslaw S. He is an electrician. He comes from Gizycko and he does not have permanent residence. He makes money begging, gathering cans and producing beads necklaces" (Text 2). Subheadline (no such in Simon's case): "Why did Wieslaw S. deliberately expose his partner to the HIV infection?" (Text 2). This constitutes a logical presupposition: Wieslaw's behaviour was intentional. Due to his Polishness (and "whiteness") this fact is so unusual that we need to provide a reasonable explanation. The final sections, which constitute the core part of both articles, illustrate the fourth type strategies: presentation of the news from a white dominant perspective. "The police spokesman says that the detention is a result of the police investigation conducted since the last days of November. A woman allegedly infected with HIV reported to the police. She identified a man that she had suspected before. The police interviewed a doctor who gave her treatment and diagnosed the disease. After consulting him, they assumed that there could be more people infected. Based on what the doctors said, there were many young women infected with a specific type of HIV that occurs in one of the African countries, the spokesman says"

(Text 2). I consider this fragment as a response to the question in the headline. It gradually evolves into a story within a story, a rhetorical device wherein one narrative is presented during the action of another narrative. The below sequence demonstrates the chain of reporting actions:



Fig. 2. Chain of reporting actions in Text 2.

In this chain, several voices are thereby referred to as indirect speech, e.g. the woman's action is followed by the doctor's report, followed by the spokesman's report, followed by the newspaper (the article itself). However, the analysis demonstrates that the most frequent component of all the actions is "the police". The last sentence of this paragraph uttered by the doctor takes out the responsibility for judging and evaluating Mol's behavior from the authorities and puts it into expert's lips. Finally, each voice in this discussion subtly refers to the police agency:

- Victim discourse (reported to the police);
- Police discourse (produced by the police);
- Expert discourse (interviewed by the police);
- Media (journalist) discourse (based on the police).

All this does not matter in the article on Wieslaw (Text 2). Here, we only have two specified experts: a social worker and a mental health counsellor giving comprehensive explanations for Wieslaw's behaviour. "Marcin Drewniak from the Centre for Prevention and Social Education PARASOL in Krakow says: -This kind of behavior may reveal a complex pathology. We should meticulously scrutinize his life up until now. Possibly he intended to take revenge for the mental abuse experienced in the past, or maybe he is insane? Zbigniew Nęcki, a psychologist from the Jagiellonian University adds: - His biography reveals some abnormalities that stand beyond the social norms, resulting either from mistakes in upbringing or psychopathic personality. It is evident that he has no sense of moral norms and social life. He only cares about himself. That is a huge problem of our society: How to protect people from such psychopaths" (Text 2). The comparison reveals a key strategy for portraying the discourse of Us vs. Them. The main mechanism is the



Fig. 3. Wieslaw as a demon in the initial stage of the investigation. External attribution

Source: Text 9.

generalization of naturalization of negative traits of the out-group member and pathologizing the same characteristics of the in-group member.

Wieslaw's behaviour was justified by his alleged mental disability. The passage combined with visual images reveals the universal strategy of the representation of negative actions in-group and out-group members. Whereas Simon's behaviour was described as common (even among the "Cameroonian elites") and embedded in African practices and as representative of an average African, Wieslaw's behaviour was unnatural and abnormal. Hence the out-group member was inherently "bad". On the contrary, when the action was pursued by the representative of Us, he was referred to as a "black sheep". His behaviour surprised us and exposed to the degradation of our image. The general mechanism for the creation of negative representation of members of social groups based on the opposition Us vs. Them is presented in Fig. 4. My analysis shows that when a person from an in-group commits a crime (or does something socially unacceptable), their behaviour is diminished - it is usually presented as an action on a local scale (i.e. around Cracow), attributed a geographical reference (Giżycko). Similarly, the prevalence of news coverage - they are usually short notes in the tabloid media, so the context is placed on the periphery of the dominant media. In opposition, the crime committed by the person of the out-group was exaggerated and spread across the country, in different areas of life, including the large scale of Polish society (Mol seduced and deceived countless crowds of Poles) and was mainly described by the mainstream media (even the traditional and conservative daily Rzeczpospolita has taken a tabloid "investigation", see i.e. Text 5). The second mechanism is related to the attribution of the action. Wieslaw's action was the result of his individual, mental and personality traits. Wieslaw distinguished from typical Poles, i.e. by a hippie lifestyle and by mental disorders. The black man was a typical representative of his nation,

or even the whole continent. Simon represented a system of "African values", that required from him to transmit the disease to be cured.

We can see here the extrapolation of individual characteristics on group characteristics - Mol was deliberately acting in accordance with the cultural determinants of them, his behaviour has generalisation. The method of attribution of action (in the case of the inner member of the group We, external - they group) is also associated with evaluative attribution characteristics of the hero. While Wieslaw S. was a predator, a creepy pervert and a psychopath (and a paedophile), Mol not only appeared to be a legend, a professional refugee, ordinary crook, but above all he was a very typical Cameroonian.

Wieslaw as an in-group member	Simon as an out-group member
Mitigation	Hyperbolization
Individualisation	Generalisation/ Internal attribution
Pathologisation/ External attribution	Naturalisation

Fig. 4. Strategies of representing negative actions by in-group and out-group members. Source: Own elaboration.

The practice of racial identification raises many objections if it is completely unjustified. As in such expressions: Black man is suspected (47). vs. 47-year-old man is suspected, which may give rise to associations "race" to crime. One of the global strategies for the representation of black people is associating their presence in media with specific situations, e.g. crime or social problems (such as racism). The result is often that they become invisible in the descriptions of the ordinary,

everyday life. Their appearance in the media are highly subordinated by the assumptions that they can only commit crimes and they are our problem. Media representations of black people are limited to black male athletes, or black female sexuality. People whose skin colour is different from the majority in Polish society are not considered "normal". "Race" usually constructs connotations of a threat of invasion, pollution and deviance. People who are different from Us are not only categorised as "the other", but they are criminals, they are dirty and they cause problems and diseases. "They" should not have access to public goods therefore they should be isolated from "our" "civilised" culture. Moreover, the analysis revealed the global discourse strategies on ways to categorise characters based on their skin colour. Among these mechanisms, we should specifically focus on the neutralisation of negative characteristics of black people with (*they have AIDS, they have an increased sex drive etc.*) and the internal attribution of external behaviour. On the other hand, textual strategies applied in the news reports uncover one the demonisation of "the other" presented as a potential source of danger for the group identity and socially shared norms and values.

CONCLUSION

Poland's post-WWII population to this day remains among the most homogeneous in Europe. One implication of this is that three generations of Poles have been born, raised and educated without the need to question the notion of being Polish while not being an ethnic Pole. On the contrary - where attention has been drawn to questions of Polish identity beyond Polish borders it has been precisely to remind and reconstruct notions of Polish identity amongst ethnic Poles who found themselves beyond borders drawn hastily by others. Needless to say, with respect to what the above, studying racial discourse in Poland brings us to the notion of Polish national identity (about constructing the national identity in relation to outsiders see: Wodak,

de Cilla, Reisigl, et al., 2009, Krzyzanowski 2010). Although, heretofore there might be is an implicit understanding that racism against people of African origin may not have been present in Poland prior to the emerging presence of the elite racist discourses, my goal is to investigate the reproduction on racist social representations, beliefs and ideologies through the most powerful sources in the society, specifically media, education and academia.

I have conducted this analysis to show some characteristics of the representations of the similar actions of the members of binary racial groups in Polish media discourse (massive white majority vs. small black minority). Whereas the racial and ethnic otherness of Simon was emphasised in almost every paragraph, Wieslaw was portrayed as an exceptional case in the OUR group of Poles, as a "black sheep" of the society. My analysis of some of the common linguistic and discursive strategies about black people in the Polish media reveals that such stereotypes exist in a nation that does not have a significant black population nor colonial history. Despite the fact that the Polish experience with blacks and with colonialism in Africa is fundamentally different from that of West European nations with significant black populations, it can still reveal similar types of discourse structures to those we find in these other nations, for example, as illustrated by Teun van Dijk or Ruth Wodak, among others for Austria (e.g. Mitten, 1992; Wodak, KhosraviNik, & Mral 2013); Britain (e.g. van Dijk, 1991; 1993; 1997 Hartmann, & Husband, 1974; Lynn, & Lea, 2003; Richardson, 2004; KhosraviNik, 2008; KhosraviNik, 2009) and the Netherlands (van Dijk, 1981; van Dijk, 1984; van Dijk, 1987). But my suggestion is that these discourse structures in Poland are likely to have a far more discriminatory effect, and may reproduce more powerful prejudices against black population because there are so few of them in the nation.

I consider discourse strategies as mechanisms that confer rational, systematic action towards a goal of awareness by the group that "we are a group" and that "we have a goal" and that "this



Fig. 5. "I am Polish, therefore I have Polish obligations". Nationalist demonstration on Poland Independence Day, Warsaw 11 November 2013. Phot.: Paweł Relikowski, Gazeta Wrocławska.

language item or linguistic tool help us to achieve our goal". Whether it is a historically present motto: "I am Polish, therefore I have Polish obligations" (Fig. 5) accompanied by its contemporary derivation "This is Us, This is Us, This is Us: Poland", a commonly used by far-right discourse "White Power", or something as common and "innocent"

as a child's poem *Bambo the Little Negro* by Polish author Julian Tuwim (see: Zamojska, 2012; Piekot, 2016), the antipathy against "the Other" in Poland, a country that is witnessing the emergence of minority population, prevails and is reproduced on all levels of public discourse.

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