

Wizerunek UE w polskich czasopismach. Na podstawie analizy zawartości pism: „Polityka”, „Wprost” i „Newsweek” z roku 2013

Streszczenie

Artykuł omawia wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w ramach modułu dotyczącego kryzysu komunikacji w projekcie o kryzysach w UE. Jego przedmiotem jest wizerunek UE wyłaniający się w roku 2013 z czasopism: „Newsweek” Polska, „Polityka” i „Wprost” i zgodność zawartych tam treści medialnych z celami polityki informacyjnej UE. Wykorzystano ilościową i jakościową analizę zawartości oraz analizę ramową, identyfikującą zastosowane przez dziennikarzy schematy interpretacyjne. W oparciu o teorię *agenda-setting* ustalono agendę medialną zestawiając ją z kroniką wydarzeń w UE w roku 2013.

Słowa kluczowe: *agenda medialna, agenda-setting, analiza treści, analiza zawartości, analiza ramowa, medialny wizerunek Unii Europejskiej, stopień uwidocznienia*

Abstract

The article discusses the results of a study carried out within a broader research project on the crisis of communication in the EU. The aim of the project was to confirm or falsify a thesis on crisis of communication in the EU. The range of communication activities undertaken by the organisation's structure was determined, communication strategy of the EU was studied, the use information channels, and the content of communications Polish media was analysed. The subject of this article is the image of the EU emerging in 2013 from “Newsweek Polska”, “Polityka” and “Wprost” and the convergence of their media content with the objectives of the EU information policy. Quantitative and qualitative content analyses were used as well as framing analysis, identifying the interpretation schemes used by journalists. Based on the agenda-setting theory the media agenda was set and juxtaposed with a timeline of events in the EU in year 2013.

Keywords: *media agenda, agenda-setting, content analysis, framing analysis, media image of the European Union, degree of visibility.*

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The image of the EU in Polish magazines. Based on the analysis of the contents of “Polityka”, “Wprost” and “Newsweek” published in 2013¹

Information policy, defined as the principles and forms of information dissemination (see: Heim 1986: p. 21–37; Rowlands 1996: p. 13–25; Stasiak-Jazukiewicz 2005: p. 17), takes many forms. In the first program document of 2001, “Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on a new framework for cooperation in connection with activities related to the information policy and communications of the European Union”, the purpose of the information policy was mentioned, namely, to provide citizens with knowledge about the meaning, content and forms of the path towards integration. National media are an important channel of information policy. In 2013, Poles declared a high level of trust in the media: 57% trusted the radio, 53% – TV, 48% – the press and 45% – the Internet (Standardowy Eurobarometer 2013: p. 4). Although TV has for years remained the main source of information for an average Pole, we should not underestimate the role of the printed press. According to the 2013 research by Millward 2013 for 57.2% of its readers, the press is “the most valuable resource content” (Poleszczuk, Anuszevska 2013: p. 3). In addition to journals, magazines, especially the weekly opinion ones, play an important role in shaping public opinion, and this is due to their specificity – the analytical nature of the publication, allowing full presentation

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of this phenomenon or event and broad dissemination of opinions expressed therein in other media, including electronic media. Weekly opinion is read by 29.4% of Poles aged 15–75 years (Poleszczuk, Anuszevska 2013: p. 10). According to the PBC in 2013, the highest opinion circulation was reached by “Newsweek Polska”, “Wprost” and “Polityka” which were read by 8.9%; 6.27% and 5.47% of Polish citizens above 15 years old (PBC 2013). As reported in a survey carried out by “Polityka” in 2014, the magazine is read by the economically active (61.2%), urban dwellers (90.4%), under 45 years old (61.6%), with higher education (84.2%). In addition, 59.9% of “Polityka” readers are men (Czytelnicy Polityki 2014)². Similar demographics characterise the subscribers of the other two magazines. Each of them occupied high positions in a ranking prepared by the Institute of Media Monitoring of the most frequently quoted media in Poland: “Wprost” landed on the 3rd place with 3043 quotations in the period from 1 January to 31 December 2013, “Newsweek” was 6th with 2304 quotations and “Polityka”, which ranked 9th with 1251 quotations (IMM 2014: p. 3). These magazines are situated in the centre of the so-called mainstream, which is an emanation of views prevailing in the Polish public sphere. And finally, the students of European studies, surveyed in 2012, declared themselves as readers of these magazines.

Purpose and research method

The aim of this article is to define the image of the EU outlined in 2013 by the three nationwide magazines: “Newsweek”, “Polityka” and “Wprost”. It is to establish whether the media coverage complies with the objectives of the EU information policy.

First of all, we had to identify the presence of EU issues in the magazines’ contents. The next step was the reconstruction of the emerging image of the EU. The next research problem was to determine the nature of the attributes of the image (apologetic, critical, neutral profile) and applied interpretative schemes. The acquired data enabled the confirmation of the hypothesis of compliance of the three national magazines in 2013 with the objectives of the EU information policy.

Quantitative and qualitative content analyses were used in order to detect the relationship between the contents of the coverage and social structures of meaning. The

² 15 000 respondents participated in the survey. The results are brought by Millward Brown.

advantage of quantitative analysis involves taking into account all the texts that fall within the range of sample selection, which favours the capturing of all topics, including marginal and atypical problems (Berelson 1952; Lisowska-Magdziarz 2004). Qualitative analysis enables us to carry out an observation of purposes and meanings attributed to individual threads (cf. Podemski 1989). This analysis includes framing analysis of the studied texts, based on a typology of generic frames by Holli Semetko and Patricia Valkenburg (Semetko, Valkenburg 2000: p. 93–109). A frame suggests the importance of an issue and helps organise media content, providing context, omitting or expanding information. The quantitative and qualitative analyses also served to determine the media agenda (agenda setting). By attracting attention of the audience to some of the issues and ignoring others, media influence the evaluation of the occurring events (McCombs 2008).

The assumed volume of the article made it impossible to provide a complete categorising pattern. Instead it provides a limited presentation of the most relevant research results.

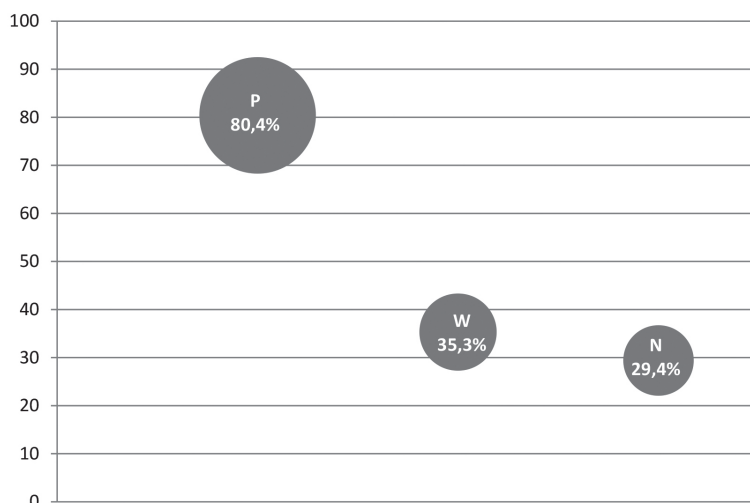
Quantitative content analysis

Preliminary analysis studied the contents of all the issues of the three magazines from 2013, extracting the materials³ regarding the EU. Analysing materials on specific EU Member States (the so-called horizontal Europeanisation) was abandoned, provided that there were no references to the EU as an organisation. The analysed categories included publications on the role of Germany and some German individuals (eg. Merkel) in the EU.

On such specific issues 115 materials were found, including 76 in “Polityka”, 21 in “Wprost” and 18 in „Newsweek”. “Polityka” took the subject the most of the times, which may indicate the editors consider it to be one of the most important issues - important from the point of view of an average reader. Out of 51 issues of each of the weekly magazines, which appeared in 2013, there were no texts on the EU in the 10 issues of “Polityka” (issues 11, 12, 14, 15, 32, 33, 34, 35, 39 and 42), in 33 issues of “Wprost” and 36 issues of “Newsweek”.

³ We are using the word “materials” as apart from journalist articles some other sponsored materials were included

Graph 1: Percentage of issues including materials on the EU in the total number of editions of magazines surveyed in 2013



Source: own research.

All materials were subjected to a typical quantitative content analysis to determine the extent of their visibility, authorship and used genres of journalistic expression. They provide a measure of the importance attached to the text by the editors. The important topics are given to experienced journalists, important news coverage is a priority in the magazine and the genre of journalistic expression applied depends both on the skills of the journalist and the financial resources that the editors are willing to spend on its construction and, finally, on the tastes of the readers, with which the journalists have been well-acquainted.

A 10 point scale was adopted (from 0 to 9 pts.), where 7–9 points stand for a high degree of visibility; 3–6 points – average and 0–2 points – low. The following principles were adopted in awarding points:

Table 1: Scoring Principles

pts	Place of Publication	Visual Design	Attractive Headline
3	Magazine cover history or feature story	Varied illustrations with additional information	Emotionally-loaded, expanded lead and text headings

2	Information in the Index	Many illustrations	expanded <i>lead</i> and headings
1	Key Section	One illustration	either <i>lead</i> or headings

Source: own research.

The analysed materials were characterised by a medium degree of visibility, enabling the readers to get acquainted with the content. The best visualised were correspondence and interviews. The texts were published mainly in key sections, which were well-known to readers. Only one of the analysed materials had the status of the topic of the week in “Polityka” (No. 24, “A Half-Happy Pole”). The vast majority of articles boasted attractively sounding titles emotional, a powerful lead and headings.

Table 2: Examples of titles of materials on the EU in the studied press published in 2013

Magazine	Issue No.	Headline
“Polityka”	4	Mieć Unię i zjeść Unię
	8	Gra na dwa segregatory
	16	Euro we mgle
	21	Komu śmierdzi gaz?
	23	Pękanie Europy
“Newsweek”	6	Budżet da Unii kopa
	10	Z nogą w drzwiach Eurolandu
	15	Cruella de Merkel
	27	Europa nie pociąga
	40	Angela Merkel – Matka chrzestna Europy
“Wprost”	7	Kasa bez granic
	19	Rosną szanse Sikorskiego w Unii
	23	Europa w kieszeni Chin
	23	Wściekli bo obcy
	26	Chorwacja bez euforii

Source: own research.

The materials were accompanied by varied illustrations – photos, maps and graphics, not only raising the attractiveness of the editorial but also being a source of additional information. The record holder, “The EU pyramid” (“Polityka”, No. 26) included 11 illustrations. This leads us to the conclusion that the intention of the editors of all surveyed titles was that the texts were noticed by the public.

Table 3: The degree of visibility in points

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
“Polityka”	4.96 pts	5x8 pts	9x2 pts	130: 1.71	11	9 (0 il.)	1
“Wprost”	6.05 pts	3x7 pts	3x3 pts	47: 2.24	6	4 (1 il.)	0
“News-week”	5.55 pts	3x7 pts	1x3 pts	26: 1.44	4	10 (1 il.)	0

Key: A – media entity; B – average degree of visibility; C – number of issues with a high degree of visibility D – number of issues with the lowest degree of visibility among all; E – number of illustrations: average number; F – number of illustrations in the most illustrated material; G – number of the least illustrated materials; H – number of weekly feature status materials. Source: own research.

The EU themes were discussed with all applicable journalistic genres: news, serving as means of providing knowledge of the facts and events as well as journalistic and frontier genres acting as persuasive, manifesting relationship of the author to the presented world. This genre diversity would guarantee both appropriate presentation of the content and proper reception of the coverage (Free-Zmorzyński, Kozieł 2013: p. 29). Various journalistic genres perform different functions: informative, controlling, and organising public debate. There were no in-depth analyses and reports but these have long since disappeared, due to the general cost reduction in the press industry. There were, however, notes, news, correspondence and silhouettes on the informative side; comments, journalistic articles and columns on the journalistic one and interviews on the frontier side.

There were 17 interviews published over the studied period – interviews were also the most attractive in the evaluation of the media audience, perfectly responding to the need for public debate. 11 interviews were published in “Polityka” and 6 in “Newsweek”. No interview was found in “Wprost”. A characteristic feature of the magazine at

the time was quoting short speeches of many role-model figures. This is the result of a wider phenomenon, genre syncretism, resulting in mixing genres. Considering the total number of published materials relating to the EU “Newsweek” did the format of interview the most (on average every third text). Interviews were conducted with the figures from the EU administration, European and Polish political scene, as well as the European market analysts and researchers.

Table 4: List of interviews regarding the studied subject contained in “Polityka” and “Newsweek” in 2013

Issue No.	Author	Headline	
“Polityka”	8	Wawrzyniec Smoczyński and Piotr Serafin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and the principal negotiator on behalf of Poland at EU summits	Gra na dwa segregatory
	16	Wawrzyniec Smoczyński and Eriki Nielsen, global economist for UniCredit Bank	Euro we mgle
	22	Wawrzyniec Smoczyński and Peer Steinbrück, SPD German chancellor candidate	Niemcy nie są potworem Europy
	23	Adam Szostkiewicz and Robert Cooper, a British diplomat, one of the architects of the EU’s foreign and defence policy	Pęknięcie Europy
	28	Marek Ostrowski and Viviane Reding	Albo my albo Chiny
	29	Editorial team and Andrzej Ryś, Director For Health Systems and Products	Rewolucja w popielniczce
	31	Jacek Żakowski and Joseph E. Stiglitz, an economist and Nobel Prize Laureate	Kto drukuje ten żyje
	36	Janina Paradowska and Janusz Lewandowski, the EU Budget Commissioner	Ciepła woda brzegi rwie
	46	Monika Niewiadowska a Isabela Smoleń, loan department at the Rabka Region Development Foundation	Unijne pożyczki oprócz bezzwrotnych dotacji
	48	Wawrzyniec Smoczyński and Aleksander Kwaśniewski	Ukraina ucieka
50	Jacek Żakowski and Mark Leonard, a British political scientist	Ukraina to problem Ukraińców	

“Newsweek”	6	Jacek Pawlicki and Janusz Lewandowski, the EU Budget Commissioner	Budżet da Unii kopa
	10	Ryszard Holzer and Leszek Balcerowicz	Tylko dla silnych
	13	Maciej Nowicki and Valery Giscard d’Estaing	Tylko Polska zasługuje jeszcze na euro
	27	Sebastian Stodolak and Wolfgang Schneider, Vice President at Ford Europe	Porozumienie o wolnym handlu USA – UE: Wszyscy na tym zyskamy
	40	Jacek Pawlicki and Gertruda Höhler, former counsellor for Helmut Kohl	Angela Merkel – Matka chrzestna Europy
	45	Jacek Pawlicki and Joschka Fischer, former Minister of Foreign Affairs in RFN	Niemcy są za duże na Europę

Source: own research.

Analysis of the information sources in terms of their reliability and diversity showed that in all the titles competent, truthful information was the priority. The authors of the texts were foreign correspondents (eg. Tomasz Walat from “Polityka”), special envoys (eg. Jagienka Wilczak, “Polityka” – correspondence from Ukraine) or journalists specialising in the subject. In “Polityka” the EU subject was undertaken by the Wawrzyniec Smoczyński (8x), head of international section and Adam Krzeminski (5x), who specialises in European and Polish-German relations. In “Wprost” the most articles on the subject were penned by: head of foreign section Maciej Jarkowicz (4x) and a leading journalist of this department Mariusz Janik (3x). Jacek Pawlicki, head of international section and a long-time correspondent for “Gazeta Wyborcza” in Brussels, authored 7 out of 18 materials in the study, while three texts were written by Maciej Nowicki, mainly dealing with international politics. The pages were also given to some acknowledged figures (Ulrich Beck in “Polityka”), or other media reporters (Andrzej Brzeziecki, editor-in-chief of the bimonthly “Nowa Europa Wschodnia” in „Polityka” and Grzegorz Ślubowski, a journalist of Polish Radio in “Wprost”) and thus the function of the organiser of public debate was fulfilled. The vast majority of texts was of author kind, not only brief information headlines. There were paid materials being a result of cooperation with public administration and national agendas of the EU

funds. Most of this kind of materials, 5, were published in “Wprost”, 4 in “Polityka” and 1 in “Newsweek”.

Table 5: Text authorship on the EU subject in the studied press in 2013

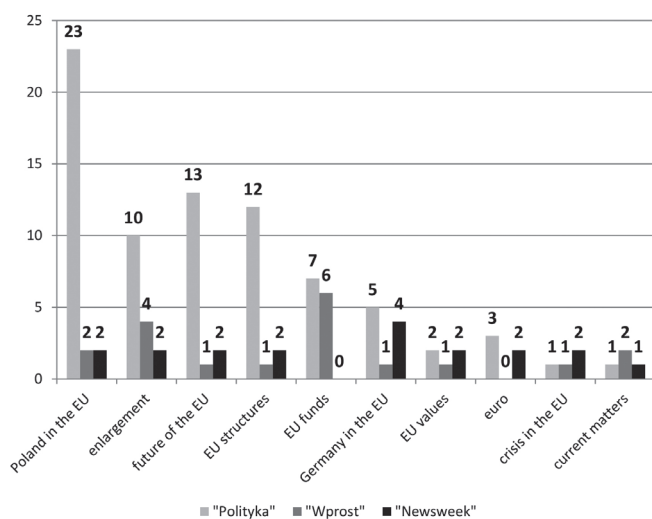
Media entity	anonymous	author	
		editorial	external
“Polityka”	19	55	2
“Wprost”	2	18	1
“Newsweek”	–	18	–

Source: own research.

Qualitative content analysis

The selected study materials related to the following thematic groups: a) Poland in the EU; b) Germany in the EU; c) enlargement of the EU to include new countries; d) the future of the integration process; e) the values of the EU; f) crises in the EU; g) the euro currency; h) the EU fund absorption in Poland; i) the structure of the EU, decisions and people; j) speculating on current topics.

Graph 2: Distribution of topics related to the EU included in the press in 2013



Source: own research.

Among the studied articles, the largest group of thematic articles were those dealing with Poland in the EU, mainly due to “Polityka”, which addressed the issue 23 times. Among them was a series of articles on the occasion of the upcoming 10th anniversary of the presence of Poland in the organisation, recapping economic and political benefits of membership. Considered the adopted long-term EU budget for the years 2014–2020 was also considered, and Polish hopes for the new generation of aid programs were indicated. Another topic referred to the silhouettes of Polish Euro-MPs, plotted in relation to the Parliament election campaign launched in May. It was speculated about the possibilities of filling key positions in the structures of the EU Polish politicians (Sikorski, Kwasniewski).

“Enlargement” covered topics such as Croatia’s accession negotiations with Serbia, the association agreements of Georgia and Moldova as well as not signing the Association Agreement with the EU by Ukraine.

Thematic group “future of the EU” was multi-threaded. Materials on the deepening of political and economic integration between member states as well as on establishing economic relations with third countries. The European system of border surveillance, banking union, agreement on economic adjustment for Cyprus, relations between the EU and China and negotiations with the United States were among the covered topics. Articles pointing to factors that inhibit the integration process, such as the British Euro-scepticism, social diversity, the crisis of democratisation also fell into this thematic group.

The fourth in terms of number is a thematic group dealing with EU structures, decisions and officials. It is represented by materials presenting decision-making mechanisms by various EU institutions, silhouettes of EU politicians such as Mario Draghi and Catherine Ashton. Recaps of the absorption of assistance funds were published only in “Polityka” and “Wprost”.

10 of the studied materials related to the role of Germany and of Angela Merkel in the EU. They stressed that the impact of Germany’s EU policy stems from their economic and demographic potential. They reported an ongoing German pre-election debate on the participation of this country and its political elites in corrective actions of the European project.

Thematic group entitled “EU values” consists of 5 articles. “Polityka’s” Adam Grzeszak took the issue of economic patriotism versus economic nationalism (No. 2, “In Self-Defence”) and Łukasz Wójcicki analysed the degree of implementation of the guiding principles of solidarity to Member States (No. 43, “Metastatic Disease”) on

the example of the situation of immigrants on the Italian island of Lampedusa. Immigrants and nationalists in the Member States is the main subject of interest for Mariusz Janik from "Wprost" (No. 23, "Furious aka Strangers"). The subject of humanitarianism proclaimed by the EU and applicable rules of solidarity in the face of incoming immigrants were covered by Maciej Nowicki from „Newsweek" (No. 42, "European fortress"). The same author also wrote about growing populism, which may lead to resigning from observed values (No. 43, "The Extreme Front of Europe").

5 articles concerned the euro. They were written in the context of a future decision to approve or not the European currency by Poland. The crisis in the EU was mentioned 4 times, in the context of the financial crisis ("Newsweek" 2x, "Wprost" 1x), and the crisis of democracy ("Polityka" 1x).

Compared to the calendar of events in the EU in 2013, reports regarding the activity of the EU structures in the studied nationwide magazines (Table 6) were not complete. Out of the 33 events 18 attracted the attention of these magazines. The statistics for particular magazines is as follows: 14 events were commented in "Polityka"; 8 in "Wprost" and 5 in "Newsweek". Only three events were the subject of investigation of all three titles, namely the EU budget for 2014–2020; Croatia's accession to the EU and not signing of the Ukraine Association Agreement with the EU. The events that have a clear national context (the EU budget, Ukraine) or were exceptional (Croatia) were most often reported. This state of affairs does not differ from the research experience of media experts. Already back in 1965 Johann Galtung and Marie Holmboe Ruge pointed to a catalogue of criteria for determining the importance of information that guide the media (criterial factors). First of all, this is the frequency - a less common phenomenon enjoys more media attention than the run-of-the-mill social processes. What's important is the size of the event and the intensity of its occurrence - scoop, scandal are more informative. Another meaningful aspects are how easy a clear assignment to either the category of events or desirable/regrettable phenomena is, cultural proximity, the importance of predictability and surprise. Negative, personalised content has priority on the one hand, referring to the major actors on the international scene, on the other - regarding problems plaguing the so-called ordinary people (Galtung, Ruge 1965: p. 64–91). Despite the presence of these conditions the reports of the studied magazines in 2013 provided a clear image of the organisation and a public debate on the problem of integration of the continent was organised by presenting different opinions, allowing also the external voices and comments into the game. In other words, the content of the surveyed media enabled

the readers to realise the common problems of all Europeans, establishing at the same time the European Public Sphere, considered to be essential among the primary, e.g. according to Erik Oddvar Eriksen among others (Eriksen 2007: p. 23).

Table 6: Calendar of events in the EU in 2013 vs media agenda

Month	Events	Media agenda
1	Irish presidency	x
	EC announced The European Year of Citizens; main themeses were rights and benefits for EU citizens.	“Polityka” 2x (no. 9 i 22)
	Fiscal Law Package enters life	“Polityka” 1x (no. 17/18)
	Marseille and Koszyce - European Capitals of Culture	“Wprost” 1x (no. 39)
	Jeroen Dijsselbloem – new Eurogroup President	x
	EU Financial Transaction Tax	x
2	2014–2020 Multiannual Financial Framework	“Polityka” 7x (3x no. 6, 2x no. 7, no. 8 i no. 36); “Wprost” 2x (no. 4 i 7); “Newsweek” 1x (no. 6)
	New law package on fishing	x
	EU Youth Guarantee: for those below 25 years of age, secures employment, training, education or professional training within 4 months after graduation or the possibility of registering in the Job Office.	x
3	Ban on animal-tested products within the EU.	x
	EU economic priorities for 2013 are accepted. Guidelines for member states regarding budgeting policy and structural reforms are issued	x
	Eurogroup political agreement for Cyprus is reached.	“Wprost” 1x (no. 13); “Newsweek” 1x (no. 13)

	EP's resolution on EU-China affairs	"Polityka" 1x (no. 28); "Wprost" 1x (no. 23)
4	Serbia i Kosovo sign The Brussels Agreement	x
5	The so-called Two-Pack, improving euro area budgetary coordination, is accepted.	x
	EP – security standards for oil and gas industry.	"Polityka" 1x (no. 21)
6	EU access negotiations with Serbia	"Polityka" 1x (no. 26)
	Łotwa in the euro area from 2014 on.	"Polityka" 1x (no. 24)
7	Croatia enters the EU	"Polityka" 1x (no. 1); "Wprost" 1x (no. 26); "Newsweek" 1x (no. 27)
	Croatian Neven Mimica becomes a member of the EC.	x
	Lithuania takes over the leadership in the EU Council.	"Polityka" 1x (no. 27)
	EP investigation into Electronic Mass Surveillance of EU Citizens	x
	TTIP negotiations (USA – EU).	"Polityka" 1x (no. 13); "Newsweek" 1x (no. 27)
10	Emily O'Reilly voted European Ombudsman	x
	The banking union in the European Union	"Polityka" 1x (no. 47)
11	EP's Sakharov's Prize for a Pakistani campaigner for girls' education	x
	Georgia and Moldova sign the Association Agreement at the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius.	"Polityka" 1x (no. 49)
	Ukraine doesn't sign the Association Agreement.	"Polityka" 6x (no. 17/18; no. 19; no. 47; no. 50; 2x no. 51); "Wprost" 1x (no. 47); "Newsweek" 2x (no. 42 i 47)
12	EUROSUR kicks off.	"Wprost" 1x (no. 7)
	The EU long-term budget is accepted by the council for years 2014–2020 – the Multiannual Financial Framework.	"Wprost" 3x (no. 40, no. 41 i no. 46)

	The Council of Europe's first debate on defensive capability within common security and defence policy.	x
	The Council of Europe – agreement on the rules of bank restructuring.	x

Source: own research

Coverage of the events served as a way of endorsing or criticising specific phenomena, justifying political decisions and appreciating or depreciating particular people. Each studied title created an image of the EU with use of cognitive means (information about current events, analysis of phenomena and problems) and affective means (evaluating speech formulated by journalists and referenced actors). In all examined titles there were more evaluating materials (apologetic, when the idea of integration and Polish membership were evaluated, and critical when discussing individual decisions of the structures of the organisation or implementation of them by particular Member States, e.g. when recounting the ways of spending aid funds by Poland or discussing the reasons for the delay in deciding on adopting the euro. Only in “Polityka” the number of materials without cognitive affective means exceeded the critical evaluation of the matter. There were more apologetic materials than in other categories combined.

Table 7: Character of the materials regarding the EU in the studied titles in 2013

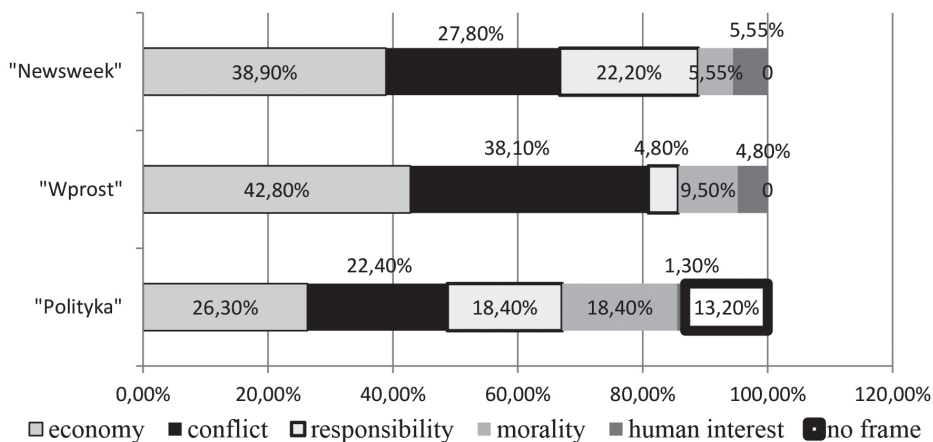
Media entity	apologetic		critical		neutral	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
“Polityka”	42	55.26%	13	17.11%	21	27.63%
“Wprost”	13	61.90%	7	33.34%	1	4.76%
“Newsweek”	10	55.56%	7	38.88%	1	5.56%

Source: own research.

The media image of the EU in the studied journals condition the interpretative framework. The conducted framing analysis showed their widespread use (Graph 3).

In multi-threaded journalistic materials one is absent. Only the dominant frame was adopted, from which the largest number of arguments was drawn. In 10 materials published in "Polityka" no dominant frame was extracted. "Wprost" and "Newsweek" did not contain any material devoid of interpretive framework.

Graph 3: Interpretive frames applied in the materials regarding the EU in "Polityka", "Wprost" and „Newsweek” in 2013



Source: own research.

In all three titles the most often used framework was that of economic consequences, investigating the reported events through the prism of their outcomes, especially for the Polish economy. The frame of conflict, presenting the phenomenon as controversial, causing deep disagreements can be most objective, according to many. Hence its popularity. In the case of the studied materials it was used less frequently than the frame of economic consequences, primarily for reporting issues such as Euroscepticism, negotiations between Ukraine and the EU, immigrants and disbursement of aid means in Poland. The morality frame was used, for instance, when presenting the progress of the enlargement process. The EU funds subject was also undertaken in the daily problems frame. Recalling the values espoused in the EU proceeded normally in a morality tone.

It is an interesting to juxtapose the interpretative frames with the overtones of the materials. In all the titles the materials with apologetic overtones were looked into ma-

inly in a convention of economic consequences while the ones with critical overtones in the frame of conflict. No patterns were observed in neutral-tone materials.

Table 8: Framing vs overtones of the EU-related materials in “Polityka”, “Wprost” and “Newsweek” in 2013

	framework	neutral	apologetic	critical
“Polityka”	conflict	4	5	8
	human interest	0	1	0
	responsibility	1	11	2
	morality	7	6	1
	economic consequences	1	17	2
	none	8	2	0
“Wprost”	conflict	1	0	7
	human interest	0	1	0
	responsibility	0	1	0
	morality	0	2	0
	economic consequences	0	9	0
	none	0	0	0
“Newsweek”	conflict	0	0	5
	human interest	1	0	0
	responsibility	0	4	0
	morality	0	1	0
	economic consequences	0	5	2
	none	0	0	0

Source: own research.

A wide range of actors was presented, from the European Union, as an organisation and its structures (especially the European Commission and the European Parliament), the collective EU citizen, concrete politicians and European parliamentarians (Mario Draghi of the European Central Bank, Catherine Ashton, Angela Merkel, David Cameron, Nigel Farage of the UK Independence Party, François Hollande, Angela Merkel, Viktor Yanukovich) and Polish figures (Donald Tusk, Bronisław Komorowski, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Radosław Sikorski, Zbigniew Ziobro, Tadeusz Cymański). Specific institutions, forms of activity of the EU and its effects were included in the headlines.

Table 9: Ranking of the most frequent actors in the publications of “Polityka” (minimum 5), “Wprost” and “Newsweek” (minimum 3) in 2013

Actors	“Polityka”	“Wprost”	“Newsweek”
UE	38	14	11
Europe	(2)	–	5
EC	24	4	(2)
Aid Funds	12	8	–
Poland	12	3	3
EP	8	(1)	(1)
Euro	7	4	4
Germany	5	(1)	4
Ukraine	7	(1)	(1)
Donald Tusk	5	(1)	(2)
Angela Merkel	5	3	4
Key: values in brackets do not fulfil the assumed criteria (minimum 5 or 3 issues), however, they confirm the actor’s presence in particular issues of each title.			

Source: own research.

The actors were portrayed from different angles (Tables 10 and 11), they gained approval or received criticism of their activities. Only Angela Merkel was presented exclusively in a positive light.

Table 10: Overtones of the materials regarding particular actors

Media Entity	Actors	Neutral	Apologetic	Critical
“Polityka”	UE (38)	8	24	6
	EC (24)	7	11	6
	EP (8)	3	5	–
	Aid Funds (12)	3	7	2
	Poland (12)	4	6	2
	Euro (7)	–	7	–

“Polityka”	Germany (5)	2	3	–
	Ukraine (7)	1	3	3
	Donald Tusk (5)	–	4	1
	Angela Merkel (5)	–	5	–
“Wprost”	EU (14)	–	8	6
	EC (4)	–	4	–
	EP (1)	–	–	1
	Aid Funds (8)	–	8	–
	Poland(3)	–	3	–
	Euro (4)	2	1	1
	Germany (1)	–	1	–
	Ukraine (1)	–	–	1
	Donald Tusk (1)	–	1	–
	Angela Merkel (3)	–	3	–
“Newsweek”	EU (11)	–	6	5
	EC (2)	–	1	1
	EP (1)	–	1	–
	Poland (3)	–	2	1
	Euro (4)	–	2	2
	Germany (4)	–	4	–
	Ukraine (1)	–	–	1
	Donald Tusk (2)	–	1	1
	Angela Merkel (4)	–	3	1

Source: own research.

Table 11: Framing of materials regarding particular actors:

	actors	K	LS	O	M	EK	BR
“Polityka”	EU (38)	8	–	12	10	6	2
	EC (24)	6	–	6	3	7	2
	EP (8)	2	–	1	3	–	2
	Aid Funds (12)	1	–	–	–	11	–
	Poland (12)	2	–	2	1	5	2
	Euro (7)	2	–	–	–	5	–
	Germany (5)	–	–	3	–	–	2

	Ukraine (7)	2	–	–	4	–	1
	Donald Tusk (5)	1	–	2	–	2	–
	Angela Merkel (5)	–	–	5	–	–	–
“Wprost”	EU(14)	6	1	2	1	4	–
	EC (4)	–	–	2	–	2	–
	EP (1)	1	–	–	–	–	–
	Aid Funds(8)	–	–	–	1	7	–
	Poland (3)	–	–	–	–	3	–
	Euro (4)	–	–	–	–	4	–
	Germany (1)	–	–	1	–	–	–
	Ukraine (1)	1	–	–	–	–	–
	Donald Tusk (1)	–	1	–	–	–	–
Angela Merkel (3)	–	1	1	–	1	–	
“News-week”	EU (11)	2	–	4	1	4	–
	EC (2)	1	–	–	–	1	–
	EP (1)	–	–	–	–	1	–
	Poland(3)	–	–	1	–	2	–
	Euro (4)	–	–	–	–	4	–
	Germany (4)	–	–	4	–	–	–
	Ukraine (1)	1	–	–	–	–	–
	Donald Tusk (2)	–	–	1	–	1	–
	Angela Merkel (4)	1	–	2	–	1	–

Source: own research.

Conclusions

The quantitative content analysis confirmed the presence of issues concerning the EU in all studied magazines in 2013. Their number is standard for materials on international issues.

The qualitative content analysis revealed that the contents of the articles are in accordance with the aim of information policy of the EU, which is to provide citizens with knowledge about the meaning, content and forms of the pathway to

integration. The assumed media agenda showed that the presented image of the EU was incomplete but positive in terms of the idea of integration and the presence of Poland in the EU. In essence, each of the studied magazines used the rhetorical principle of identification (Burke 1977: p. 225–230), referring to the ideas and values shared by their readers. Due to the nature of the studied magazines the majority accounted for interpretative texts, assessing the importance of those events, assessing their impact and forecasting consequences. Domestic profile, expected by the readers, was prevalent, i.e. mainly the issues affecting the lives of Poles and Poland's position on the international arena were presented (the phenomenon called "domestication"). The content had an average degree of visibility, which suggests that the intention of the editors was to reach the reader with a message. The published journalistic materials handled all three functions: informative, controlling and that of an organiser of public debate.

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