

THE DISCURSIVE IMAGE OF POLAND IN ARGENTINEAN NEWSPAPER *LA NACIÓN* (2004–2016)

AGNIESZKA WSZOŁEK, PAWEŁ PŁANETA

Institut Dziennikarstwa, Mediów i Komunikacji Społecznej
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

MEDIA ZA GRANICĄ

ABSTRACT

The media reception of the way of given country's running internal affairs policy is not without an influence on the country's image – and its soft power efficiency – abroad. The aim of the article is to present the results of the survey on the structure of discursive image of Poland present in the *La Nación* in 2004–2016. An analysis performed in this research was the lexical analysis of the daily's content gathered in the text corpus (3622 articles). The results of statistical evaluations were the words frequency lists, the analysis of certain words concordances and collocations. The effect of such procedure was the reconstruction of important words co-occurrences and common patterns. In this phase of the survey the units of analysis were words, so the intensity of the analyzed text attributes were measured by the number and percentage range of certain words. The next phase of the survey was the computer-assisted content analysis (CACA). Finally, as a result of factor analysis, the structure of the discourse on Poland in *La Nación* was reduced to the strongest factors determining which different (detailed) categories have the tendency to co-occur and that is why they create easily distinguishable configuration. Changes in how Poland is described were presented on four periods of different governments.

Keywords: media image of Poland, media in the world, press in Argentina, computer content analysis, *La Nación*

The main aim of this article is to present the results of the survey on the discourse on Poland present in the *La Nación* daily in the years 2004–2016. We define the term “discourse” as a process of creating, strengthening and disseminating the system of social meanings, whose recognition takes place mainly owing to the analysis of its elements, which refer to texts or their social backgrounds, i.e. discourse participants (partners)¹. So the discursive image of the certain country in the media is an important indication of its *soft power*. Because of that it is worth analyzing how Poland is perceived and how its image changes over time. The Argentinean media are not a popular subject among Polish media experts despite the fact that Polish-Argentinean relations have a long history. This article tries to answer the following questions: Is Poland a recurring topic in the Argentinean press? How is it perceived and what are the most important stories covered? We will also try to find out if that image changes and what factors influence it.

We have analyzed the corpus of texts² that appeared in one of the most important Argentinean newspapers – *La Nación*. In the chosen texts Poland is treated as the main or one of the main subjects. They were published within 13 years, between 2004 and 2016. While looking for the answers to the questions mentioned above, because of the significant volume, we used triangulation of methods

¹ In linguistics, theoretical sources of the term ‘discourse’ can be detected in (inspired by behaviourism) accomplishments of linguists, representatives of American Structural Linguistics (e.g. Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Leonard Bloomfield) and their followers, the so-called ‘distributionalists’ (e.g. Zellig S. Harris). Linguistic analysis, according to their approach, consisted in studying the surrounding contexts in which a given linguistic element appeared. Z.S. Harris characterized discourse analysis as a method of seeking in any connected discrete linear material, whether language or language-like, which contains more than one elementary sentence, some global structure characterizing the whole discourse (the linear material), or large sections of it. The concept of discourse analysis turned toward the idea of searching for structure, i.e. ‘patterns of co-occurrence’. According to this method, at the beginning the number of regularly occurring elementary units of discourse were counted (by the use of the so-called segmentation procedure of words, parts of words, phrases, expressions), then the units were classified and the rules governing the ways of joining them were searched for. Distributional discourse analysis recognizes the semantic meaning of words, taking into consideration only their surroundings, the occurrence of other text units, e.g. other words or parts of words. The feature which distinguishes discourse – according to narrative theory – refers to the manifestation of the ‘speaking’ subject and the relation taking place between the subject and audience. Regarding the social aspect, in the most general terms we have to do with ‘discourse’ when people use the language to describe, understand or change the world surrounding them. The term ‘discourse’ functions similarly in philosophy, e.g. in works of Frankfurt School (especially those of Jürgen Habermas), where ‘discourse’ refers to such a type of communication by means of which people communicate with each other on the subject of important rules and norms of public life.

² In this project we use the methodology of gathering the text corpora as samples of various discourses. Sudden progress concerning digital technology of recording data undoubtedly brings rational research benefits. Communication ‘products’, i.e. ‘texts’ in broad sense, never before have been as simply accessible as they are nowadays. The accessibility to these texts (written forms of discourse) is additionally increased, because they circulate also in a digital form. The research material is thus more ‘flexible’, it easily undergoes various analytical processes aided by software tools. The method which has turned out to be very useful in discourse analysis is the one taken from linguistics and referring to analysis method of specific text corpora, i.e. sets of texts carefully selected to fulfill the intended research aim. Text corpora analysis makes it possible to study up-to-date discourses, but also to carry researches within the so-called ‘archeology of discourse’.

to help us eliminate mistakes with statistics interpretation and to avoid heuristic observations. We have analyzed frequency lists, used factor analysis, computer content analysis and finally qualitative research.

Before we start the direct research we should understand the environment in which these articles are published. The Argentinean media are not well known in Poland. Even in Argentina itself the media studies are not too extensive, despite the fact that the role of press was and still is significant.

While following the Argentinean media, we can notice that we are dealing with the Mediterranean model, taking into account the criteria applied by Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini in “Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics”³. They consider the liberal model as standard for evaluation of other models⁴. Meanwhile, the Latin American media culture, understood as the entire activity in this field and the idea what media are and what they should be used for, is different from this standard. However, it also shows that in these conditions it is possible to create valuable media content. Despite the fact that this system was built on European fundamentals, objectivism is not the priority, freedom of speech is often violated and the media are part of the political game. Nevertheless, the media are still an important factor that is building the national identity of the whole continent.

When we look at the Latin American culture it is very important to take into consideration the paradigm of its ideological dualism – the fight between the unity and diversity. Almost the entire continent shares the same history, language and religion. On the other hand, we can observe enormous ethnical and economic disparities. This dualism can also be seen in political fights between liberalism and socialism. They come from two opposite mindsets that divide the continent,

³ The Mediterranean model, also called Polarized Pluralist Model, is characterized by low newspaper circulation as it is the elite medium, high political parallelism, weak professionalization and dependency on the state. The Argentinean market fulfills all of the criteria. In 2012 a little more than one million copies of all newspapers were sold in this country inhabited by forty million people. It's 6 percent less than a decade before according to the news agency Télam. This tendency started in 1997. From that year circulation has declined by 50 per cent (!). In the 1990s around 231 copies were sold per 1000 households. Nowadays it's much less than 100 copies, according to the Argentinean Circulation Verification Council (Instituto Verificador de Circulaciones – IVC). According to WAN-IFRA report (World Press Trends 2016, <http://www.wan-ifra.org/reports/2016/11/21/world-press-trends-report-2016>) it is 46.1 copies per adult. It's less than in other Latin American countries like Mexico, Chile or Brazil. The number of titles is also one of the lowest, only 43 daily newspapers were being issued in 2015. Although external pluralism can be observed, the newspapers are strongly polarized and the digital media belonged to the state not so long ago. Television TV Pública is the relic of this system. It's managed by the state owned company and it is dependent on the government, but its market share is far lower than private companies' share. Although new elite organizations were created to promote journalist code of ethics, this profession is still under political, commercial and criminal pressure. During military dictatorship the state gained total control over press, the newspapers had to have a license and were censored. Today these measures are replaced by the legislature. Some laws affect the media limiting its independency – the last loud case was an act that established state monopoly on paper sale and distribution.

⁴ More about this in: Hallin, Mancini (2004), p. 66.

capitalism and anti-imperialism (anti-American attitude). Latin America is economically dependent on the United States and, as a consequence, this country is perceived as a potential danger⁵. Jairo Lugo-Ocando, the lecturer in School of Media and Communication in Leeds, writes that it was not long ago when the Latin American media were called *maquilas* (Lugo-Ocando 2008, p. 1). *Maquilas* are factories most often situated in Mexico that are supposed to compose a ready product from different parts and re-export this final product back to the USA. Latin America is afraid of this phenomenon. Moreover, this continent still suffers from postcolonial anxiety. It was ruled by foreign governments for a long time therefore nationalistic ideas and the fear of globalization are still vivid there.

Instead of objectivism the journalist mission became the priority. Political involvement of the press has a very long tradition which starts with the beginning of independence⁶ and which was continued through the turbulent times of the rising and falling of dictatorships until today. With the beginning of the 20th century the most important journalists became politicians and politicians became journalists⁷. In the discussion about how the modern Latin-American journalism should look like, in the opposition of objectivism and pluralism of the media the main argument is its civic participation and its power to stimulate the society (Sajna 2013, p. 139).

The position of La Nación newspaper in the Argentinean print press system

The Argentinean press market can be divided between the newspapers published in Buenos Aires (around 55 per cent of the newspapers) and the one published in the interior (around 45 per cent). Two of the most well-known newspapers

⁵ Because of that many South American countries turned to the Soviet Union in the 60s, see Sajna (2013), p. 129.

⁶ The first Argentinean newspaper appeared on June 7th 1810, only one month after the first autonomic government was created. It happened on May 25th 1810 and it is a symbolic date of Argentinean independence. The newspaper was *La Gazeta de Buenos Ayres* by Mariano Moreno, source: El periodismo argentino hace 100 años, 20.05.2010 [<http://www.diariosobrediaros.com.ar/dsd/notas/4/303-el-periodismo-argentino-hace-100-anos.php>; 19.11.2017]. At the beginning of the 19th century small local journals began to appear in opposition to big dominant titles of the Spanish colonizer. Simon Bolívar himself, called the Libertador, was involved in the first publications and he is considered the master of Latin American journalism by some. The introduction of a liberal economic system by the constitution of 1853 consolidated the political power of the agricultural export sector. This process was accompanied by an early development of the press landscape, with the main titles, the morning papers *La Prensa* (1869) and *La Nación* (1870), which were focused on economic and political domains. Both papers are still published today, but with varying degrees of success: for more than 140 years *La Nación* has held the opinion of the political and economic leadership while *La Prensa* has lost its importance. See: Mastrini (2009), p. 773.

⁷ More about this in: Sajna (2013), p. 168.

gain the most of the market share. These are *Clarín* (around 231 thousand copies)⁸ and *La Nación* (around 155 thousand copies)⁹. These numbers differ depending of the source, which proves that the Argentinean media market is not well examined.

There were a few reasons to choose *La Nación* for this research. Despite the fact that *Clarín* has more readers, it is also younger. *La Nación* daily is one of the oldest newspapers that are still issued in Argentina. It was first published on January 4th 1870¹⁰ while *Clarín* was created only in 1945.¹¹ *La Nación* was established by Bartolomé Mitre, the former president of Argentina, therefore it serves as a good example of the politicians' engagement in the media. This journal is considered as one of the most prestigious titles in the country. Some of the most important writers of the Hispanic world were published there, like Miguel de Unamuno, José Ortega y Gasset and Jorge Luis Borges¹².

Clarín is more center oriented and less radical¹³ than *La Nación*. Because of this the latter journal better represents the tendency towards political and ideological engagement of the Latin American media. Its profile can be described as liberal-conservative and the structure is divided into five permanent sections:

⁸ A special feature of Argentina was the large newspaper readership among the middle and lower classes, whose interest at the beginning of the 20th century was initially directed at the socialist and anarchist press, and over the years it passed to another type of populist newspaper, with no political-revolutionary content that can best be described today as the "sensational press." At the beginning of the first term of President Juan Domingo Peron the daily newspaper *Clarín* appeared in 1945 but it had no explicit connection to "Peronism". Today, *Clarín* has the largest circulation of any daily newspaper in Argentina and it is the leading Spanish-language newspaper. Over the decades, the circulation has been growing steadily, but it declined slightly at the beginning of the 21st century. At the end of the 1st decade of new millennium, its circulation was app. 400 thous. copies, making *Clarín* one of the most important Spanish-language daily newspapers worldwide. Mastrini (2009), p. 774.

⁹ According to the Ministry of Culture statistics search engine [www.sinca.gob.ar/sic/estadisticas/index.php; 8.04.2017].

¹⁰ F. Laborda, LA NACIÓN Ilega hoy a las 50.000 ediciones, 28.11.2010 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 20.04.2017].

¹¹ Más de 24.000 tapas del diario al alcance de todos los lectores, 25.08.2013 [www.clarin.com; 20.04.2017].

¹² *La Nación* (Argentina) [[https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Naci%C3%B3n_\(Argentina\)](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Naci%C3%B3n_(Argentina))]; 28.10.2017].

¹³ The rise of *Clarín* was closely linked to the economic growth of the 1960s. [The economic upswing produced a strong political movement, influenced as much by the "Alliance for Progress" as by the Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean CEPAL, seeking a replacement of imports and an opening for foreign capital investment.] On the one hand, the success resulted from the offer of a daily newspaper that built a bridge between the more populist and the more elitist media and aimed at the middle strata of the population, and on the other hand, from the aggressive business policy that relied heavily on classified ads and other services. Due to the great importance for the public opinion, which has the medium by its popularity in the society, *Clarín* had and still has special relations with the respective politically relevant sources of power. The economic power allowed *Clarín* especially in the 1990s to actively participate in other media sectors. The company can now be described as a multimedia group with its subsidiaries: *Clarín* controls a publishing-house that publishes newspapers and magazines in the capital and in other important cities, controls free-TV and satellite TV broadcasters, cable TV networks, radio stations, entertainment and film production companies and also has interests in the telecommunications market. Mastrini (2009), p. 774.

politics, economy, sport, art, and adverts. The economic section is very expanded and it comes right after the most important information from the country and the world. On the other hand, this journal has strong connections to the Catholic Church – there is even a separate column *Culto Católico* in the society section. *La Nación* is a very conservative journal and if we brought its content to the USA, it could be called republican. It is directed towards educated readers, however it is very politically oriented which influences its perception of the reality¹⁴.

The main hypothesis and methodology of research

According to the media researcher Johan Galtung the news is more interesting if it concerns something close to the reader or something exclusive. While we know the position of Poland in the international arena we can assume that the countries with which we do not have direct relations will not be too interested in our affairs, especially when there is also geographical distance. In order to find out whether Poland is well covered in *La Nación* we had to find the reference frame, this is why we started with other countries.

The United States does not disappoint. The entries *Estados Unidos* and *EE.UU.* in the search engine give altogether 150 630 articles between 2004–2016 in which these lemmas appear at least once. China is not such a popular topic, it appeared only 46 thousand times. It can be surprising that Russia, the other world power, also has quite low ratio with only 21 thousand appearances. It is less than some of the western European countries like Germany, Italy and Spain. It is worth noticing that when we take away sports commentaries and football results from the sport section, we will have only half of the articles. We did not include the texts from this section in our research.

After entering *Polonia* to the search engine with the time frames January 1st 2004 and December 31st 2016 we will receive 6339 articles, and without the sport section – 3622 articles. Besides sport Poland is most often mentioned in the sections world, arts and opinion respectively. This number may not seem impressive

¹⁴ In the 1990s, Carlos Menem's neoliberal government pursued a policy which primary goal was privatization and the economic opening of Argentina. However, an impoverishment and the decline of the regional print media landscape was observed. The collapse of regional economic forces brought the regional advertising markets to a virtual standstill and led to an unprecedented collapse in circulation. Although the number of newspaper titles increased at the turn of centuries (from 100 in 1995 to 160 in 2006), many publishers are no longer independent regional companies, but subsidiaries of the major media groups. This concentration process of capital reached its peak with an alliance of the *Clarín* and *La Nación* groups that acquired traditional newspaper publishers in provincial capitals under the new name of CIMECO. *La Nación* owned a part of this holding until 2008 year, when it sold its share to *Clarín*. Another group worthy of mention in this context is the *Grupo America* created by two businessmen Daniel Vila and José Manzano, It operated according to the same pattern and bought or merged with regional newspaper publishers. The third group that owns interior newspapers is *Indalo Media*, Mastrini (2009), p. 774. Source: Quién es dueño de qué medio en la Argentina, 5.09.2016 [www.apertura.com; 10.07.2018].

in comparison to the previous countries. However, to obtain the whole image we should take a look at our neighbors from East-Central Europe. *The Czech Republic* appeared in the search results 3946 times and *Slovakia* only 1755 times. After entering *Hungría (Hungary)* we will receive around 3 thousand results and *Eslovenia (Slovenia)* will generate only one thousand and a half. This means that the references to Poland appear two times more often than the other countries of the region.

Table 1. Number of articles in *La Nación* which mention selected countries

Country	All articles	Without sport section
USA	150 630	125 819
Spain	65 893	40 536
France	47 514	29 692
China	46 603	38 026
Italy	41 981	22 505
Germany	40 008	21 616
Russia	21 694	14 026
Poland	6 339	3 622
Ukraine	5 779	3 066
Croatia	4 587	1 353
Czech Republic	3 946	1 320
Romania	3 293	1 323
Hungary	3 172	1 651
Bulgaria	2 019	953
Slovakia	1 755	574
Slovenia	1 525	655
Belarus	612	291

Source: own elaboration based on results from *La Nación* search engine: www.buscar.lanacion.com.ar.

Why does it happen? Why are we interesting to this Argentinean newspaper and to its one hundred thousand readers? The answer to this question can be found in the past more than in the present. Argentina has this sort of tradition which invites and accepts immigrants. According to the data collected in 2010 census there are almost 2 million immigrants who make 4,6 per cent of the population¹⁵. Many of them came from Poland.

¹⁵ Argentina es el país de América Latina con más inmigrantes, 23.04.2015, Ministry of the Interior [www.migraciones.gov.ar; 27.04.2017].

The first group of Polish settlers arrived in Buenos Aires on June 8th 1897. This group consisted of 14 families, together 120 people that came from Galicia, which back then was part of the Austria-Hungary Empire¹⁶. Nowadays the 8th of June is a bank holiday called the Polish Settlers' Day (*Día del Colono Polaco*). The Polish people were a respected and appreciated ethnic group from the very beginning. They assimilated with the local community but at the same time they managed to preserve their traditions. The very first immigrants started to organize and create minority associations that were later merged into Polish Association in Argentina¹⁷. It is estimated that currently there are up to one million Polish Argentinians (fully or partially Polish people living in Argentina). This makes it the third biggest minority of this country. Around 140 thousand of them live in Buenos Aires¹⁸.

Examining the Polish image in the country so distant geographically and yet so close (although in Poland we tend to forget about it¹⁹) can be very meaningful in terms of our *soft power*. It could show what influences it the most, what our strongest and weakest points are. Argentina is a great and interesting example.

In order to discover the main elements of the discursive image of Poland present in the *La Nación* daily in the years 2004–2016 the multi-step analysis was conveyed.

The first step of analysis performed in this research was the lexical analysis of the Argentinean newspaper content gathered in the text corpus. The results of statistical evaluations were the words frequency lists which were used for the analysis of certain words concordances and collocations. The effect of such procedure was the reconstruction of important words co-occurrences and common patterns (regarding certain people, features, activities etc.). In this phase of the survey the units of analysis were words, so the intensity of the analyzed text attributes were measured by the number and percentage range of certain words²⁰. *The next phase* of the survey was the computer-assisted content analysis (CACA). For the research purposes the categories dictionaries were created. Those dictionaries consisted of the set of words gathered on the same semantic basis. The unit of the analysis in this phase of the research was a single paragraph and the results of that analysis were the hierarchy and keyness of collective symbols, themes,

¹⁶ Inmigración polaca en Argentina [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inmigraci%C3%B3n_polaca_en_Argentina; 27.04.2017].

¹⁷ J. Fernández, ¿Por qué hoy es el Día del Colono Polaco en Argentina?, 8.06.2015 [<http://ar.blastingnews.com/sociales/2015/06/por-que-hoy-es-el-dia-del-colono-polaco-en-argentina-00430137.html>; 27.04.2017].

¹⁸ Inmigración polaca en Argentina [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inmigraci%C3%B3n_polaca_en_Argentina; 27.04.2017].

¹⁹ The interest in Argentina in the Polish press cannot be compared to the number of articles about Poland in the Argentinean press [authors' note].

²⁰ The analyses were conveyed by means of software tools (Text Smart, Wordsmith Tools), which facilitate calculations, categorization, and the process of analysis, but what is even more significant, which automate the whole procedure of coding the texts.

actors and places related to Poland. In the *last part* of the research – as a result of factor analysis – the structure of the discourse on Poland in *La Nación* was reduced to the strongest factors determining which different (detailed) categories have the tendency to co-occur and as such create easily distinguishable configuration.

Our goal was to collect most representative texts about Poland between 2004 and 2016. Out of each year we chose 15 per cent of articles that were most relevant in our opinion. It gave us on average 42 articles per year. The analyzed corpus contains 543 articles, 6 658 paragraphs and 293 999 words. In order to find out the dynamics of the changes in the discourse the corpus was divided into four parts corresponding with four Polish governments. We looked for the reasons of those changes in the internal situation of the state.

The first period starts on January 1st 2004 (the beginning of the research) and ends on October 31st 2005. It shows the time of SLD – UP coalition. *The second period* is the period of PiS – Samoobrona – LPR government, which lasted between October 31st 2005 and November 16th 2007. The longest period is the one of PO – PSL government between November 16th 2007 and November 16th 2015. *The last one* begins on November 16th and ends with the end of the material, December 31st 2016. It shows the time of PiS government.

There are common points in our history and in the present day that can give the basis to some hypothesis of how the Polish image can look like. The first topic surely will be World War II, because it was the reason for mass emigration. Most probably only a small percentage of Polish Argentinians remember the war, on the other hand, it is the key element of their identity. This is the reason they were born there. They do not know how modern Poland looks like, they mostly know Poland of the past.

Another factor that can motivate the appearance of Poland in Argentinean press is the catholic religion that these two nations share. Our country has deep Christian fundamentals that supported our culture from the beginning and in Argentina this phenomenon is similar. Around 77 per cent of Argentinians describe themselves as Catholics and another 9 per cent as Protestants²¹. The fact that Argentina has a lower position in the HDI rank than Poland also drew our attention, although it is not a big difference. It is a country of social inequalities. The size of economy is on quite a high level meanwhile a huge part of society is dealing with poverty. We want to check whether they see Poland as a positive example, economic partner or market rival. The last theme is most probably democracy. Both Poland and Argentina were ruled by regimes²² at the similar time and they

²¹ O. Sohr, A. Riera, Los números de los católicos en el país del Papa, 14.03.2013, Chequeado [<http://chequeado.com/el-explicador/los-numeros-de-los-catolicos-en-el-pais-del-papa>; 28.10.2017].

²² It is worth noting that after the years of military dictatorship (1976–1983), which brought with it strong restrictions on freedom of expression, but also an informative and aesthetic impoverishment of day-to-day content, the new democratic government created new incentives and promoted a reviving press landscape. The manifestation of the new situation was, for instance, the publication of new journals addressed to younger readers and the development of an investigative journalism. Thus in 1987 the newspaper *Página 12* appeared (in Buenos Aires) which, compared to earlier stylistic

both overthrew them in the 80s. In the stories about Poland there might be a lot of antisocialist elements (the republican profile of *La Nación* is also the reason).

In order to test these hypotheses we analyzed the content of the collected text corpus. We will present the results of our research and try to interpret them. We will also describe the most important “narratives” on Poland that emerge from the analysis.

According to Bernard Berelson the media content analysis is a technique used for objective, systematic and quantitative description of the overt communication content. However, complete objectivism is never possible, it is only a postulate. The chosen method is systematic and quantitative and as much objective as it can be. If someone else was to choose 15 per cent of these text, they would obtain similar corpus, with a small error margin. Other researchers could consider one article more important or representative than the others, but after excluding the sport section and the articles in which *Polonia* appears only once, they would have a similar set.

Quantitative analysis of the La Nación daily discourse on Poland: frequency lists

In this part of the analysis the main aim was to indicate the words that appear in the 300-thousand word corpus most often. The highest ranks on the frequency list – despite so-called auxiliary words – are occupied by the words related directly to Poland: e.g. *Polonia* appears 1424 times in the list, and the next one is *Polaco* (Polish) – 661 times. The top five most frequent words also include *país* (country), *Polacos* and *Europa*. This proves that the corpus is representative and describes the country in Europe, which is Poland and its inhabitants.

Table 2. The rank of the most frequent words in *La Nación* articles related to Poland in 2004–2016

Rank	Word (original)	Word (translated)	Number of appearances
1	VIDA	LIFE	365
2	GUERRA	WAR	363
3	PAPA	POPE	353
4	JUAN	JOHN (JAN)	339
5	PABLO	PAUL (PAWEŁ)	337
6	HISTORIA	HISTORY	327
7	PRESIDENTE	PRESIDENT	309
8	ARGENTINA	ARGENTINE	269

forms, wrote its reports in an informally humorous way and quickly gained a large readership with this stylistically novel information transfer. See: (Mastrini) 2009, p. 774.

9	CONTRA	AGAINST	233
10	OBRA	WORK	231
11	GOBIERNO	GOVERNMENT	227
12	KACZYNSKI	KACZYŃSKI	226
13	CIUDAD	CITY	224
14	RUSIA	RUSSIA	197
15	GOMBROWICZ	GOMBROWICZ	190
16	ESTADOS UNIDOS	USA	188
17	UNIÓN EUROPEA	EU	182
18	IGLESIA	CHURCH	180
19	PADRE	FATHER	173
20	MUERTE	DEATH	172
21	HOMBRE	MAN	171
22	WOJTYŁA	WOJTYŁA	169
23	CINE	CINEMA	166
24	PELÍCULA	FILM	163
25	AUSCHWITZ	AUSCHWITZ	160
26	PODER	POWER	159
27	COMUNISTA	COMMUNIST	157
28	JUDÍOS	JEWS	156
29	CAMPO	CAMP	155
30	MÚSICA	MUSIC	154

Source: own elaboration.

In Table 2, we present the most frequent full-meaning lexemes, e.g. excluding auxiliary verbs but – on the other hand – including *nomina propria* (anthroponyms or toponyms). Particular attention is given to the first two words that stand in opposition to each other, that is *life* and *war*. It is clear that the noun *life* has a multi-dimensional function in the language structures. But in the analyzed texts this word is related to the discourse of biographies of outstanding Poles as well as the everyday existence of ordinary people. The second word – *war* – for obvious reasons brings to mind everything that is opposite to *life*, i.e. death, terror and destruction. *Death* is also a very common word in the surveyed bunch of texts (20th place in the rank list). The reason of this high frequency is the recurring theme of World War II, strongly confirmed by its concordance and collocations with such lexemes as *history*, *Auschwitz* and *Jews*.

The important element on the frequency wordlist is the group of nouns referring to the pope, John Paul II. It turns out, therefore, that the pope from Poland is the most frequently mentioned person in the analyzed texts, which clearly reflects the profound significance of Karol Wojtyła for the Argentinians, as well as for

Christians around the world. The presence of John Paul II is related with the vivid subsistence of certain discourse themes which are related to religion and Christianity, which is also confirmed by the high position of the word *church* on the list.

Another group of words which can be distinguished from the list are words strongly related to politics, namely the *president*, *government*, *Kaczyński* and (political) *power*. Thus, one can presume that the performances of Polish politicians as well as current political matters in Poland are closely followed in Argentina. It should be emphasized that the name *Kaczyński* is mentioned most often among the names of all politicians.

Numerous names of certain countries and other political entities have appeared on the frequency wordlist derived from the *La Nación* texts. It can be concluded that in the analyzed articles, the status and role of Warsaw in the international arena – especially in European region – is one of the most important elements of the journalistic discourse on Poland in this Argentinean newspaper. It is worth mentioning that – despite the expression indicating the *European Union* – the international context related to Poland is represented by *Russia*, the *United States* and – of course – the *Argentina* itself.

The frequency list also contains words related to culture, such as *cinema*, *film*, and *music*. One should not be surprised by the high position of the name of the Polish writer – Witold Gombrowicz – who spent most of his life in Argentina and is treated like the national treasure there. However, the word *book* occupies the 35th place on the frequency list, lower than *film* and *cinema*, hence the conclusion that the Polish culture is associated mainly with audiovisual art. In the initial hypotheses, we did not take into account that it is an important topic in the present discourse on Poland, but it turns out that the Argentinians appreciate Polish artistic creativity.

Table 3. The most frequent names in *La Nación* discourse on Poland in 2004–2016

Rank	Name	Number of occurrences
1	JAN PAWEŁ II (pope)	339
2	LECH/JAROSŁAW KACZYŃSKI (politicians)	226
3	WITOLD GOMBROWICZ (and his wife Rita) (writer)	190
4	KAROL WOJTYŁA (bishop, pope)	169
5	FRYDERYK CHOPIN (composer)	119
6	ANDRZEJ WAJDA (film director)	107
7	LECH WAŁĘSA (“Solidarity” movement leader)	103
8	BENEDICT XVI (pope)	79
9	ROMAN POLAŃSKI (film director)	75
10	DONALD TUSK (politician)	70

11	ZYGMUNT BAUMAN (scientist)	68
12	FRANCIS I (pope)	60
13	BRONISŁAW KOMOROWSKI (politician)	58
14	JÓZEF STALIN (politician)	50
15	RYSZARD KAPUŚCIŃSKI (writer)	47
16	BARACK OBAMA (politician)	47
17	WŁADIMIR PUTIN (politician)	44
18	ANGELA MERKEL (politician)	42
19	JOSEPH CONRAD (writer)	41
20	KRZYSZTOF PENDERECKI (music composer)	41

Source: own elaboration.

The 27th place in Table 2 is occupied by the word *communist*. If we look at the rank list presenting twenty most frequent names appearing in the analyzed texts we will find Lech Wałęsa and Józef Stalin. It is clear evidence that one of the periods most often discussed in the Argentinean daily is the legacy of the People's Republic of Poland. The configuration of names on the frequency list of people most often present in the examined set of texts is very clear. The most numerous group contains – which may be a certain surprise – characters representing the historical and contemporary world of politics, both in the national and international dimension (640 occurrences). It is worth noting that in the period under review (2004–2016) the highest-ranked political leaders in the collection of texts about Poland are Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński. But at the same time – what is worth emphasizing once again – people from the world of Polish art, i.e. Polish film directors, writers and journalists appear in the surveyed corpus more or less as often as politicians (620 times). The third group gathers – what is significant – the words representing the names of subsequent popes: from the most frequently appearing Pope John Paul II (339 times, together with the name Wojtyła – 508 occurrences), through Benedict XVI, to Pope Francis. It is worth noting that the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman is the highest-ranked Polish scientist of the international renown.

La Nación on Poland: the computer-assisted content analysis results

In order to reconstruct the image of Poland in *La Nación* daily in the years 2004–2016, various quantitative techniques were used. As mentioned above, in the first stage of the analysis, from the global contents of the quarterly the bunch of paragraphs containing references to Poland was extracted. This collection – which can be called the detailed corpus of Poland references – was subjected to simple statistical operations. This quantitative linguistic survey was the starting point for the

main part of the research, i.e. computer-assisted content analysis (CACA), where the unit of analysis is a paragraph. The empirical material contained approximately 6.5 thousand of paragraphs. The key-code for CACA was constructed to classify profound features of the discourse on Poland present in *La Nación* daily. The basis of key-code were the dictionaries designed for each category to reflect a particular field of reality, so each category included different variants (tokens) and aliases of words indicating names, ideas, concepts, notions, values and actors. In the last part of the research, as a result of multidimensional analysis (additionally supported by Text Mining and Document Retrieval of Statistica software) – the structure of the global discourse on Poland in the Argentinean newspaper was reduced to the strongest factors determining which different categories have the tendency to co-occur and why they create an easily distinguishable configuration. The result of that phase of the research was the thematic map of the discourse.

The key-code consists of several groups. The first group gathers categories representing axiological domain and it consists of – according to Walery Pisarek's concept – political key symbols, i.e. the words which denote something best, most beautiful or most valuable (i.e. the *miranda*) and the words which denote something worst, most unpleasant or most harmful (i.e. the *condemnanda*)²³. Following Pisarek's model, axiological categories were chosen in pairs, combining positive values with corresponding anti-values. It is clear that in a given set of texts the predominance of words from the sphere of values over the ones denoting anti-values (or vice versa) can have various causes. In some texts we can observe the so-called Pollyanna's syndrome, which means that some journalists – just like the main character of a popular novel – see mainly the positive aspects of the reality, and in other media messages – on the contrary – the traditional media negativism gains the advantage. However, despite some reservations, one can accept the general rule that the prevalence of the words of positive connotation may indicate the more positive image of a certain element of the reality.

²³ 'Banner words' can be seen as indicators of values in public discourse. The banner words technique, first used by Walery Pisarek in his analysis of Polish Round Table talks as mediated political communication act, has long been known in Polish tradition of researches on values in the public discourse. According to the author of this method, banner words by virtue of their connotative and denotative values, and above all the emotive one, suit well to be placed on banners and standards, i.e. to substitute x or y in structures like *Long live x! Down with y!*. Thus, I think that banner words analysis becomes especially useful in researches on discourse key elements. The banner words analysis stems from the tradition of research on values propagated, accepted (or rejected, fought against) in the public discourse. Positively or negatively marked 'banner words', which are also called 'important words', or 'megawords', express (or evoke in receiver's consciousness) either positive ideas i.e. *miranda*, or negative ones i.e. *condemnanda*. *Miranda* (i.e. what we should admire, adore, love, fight for, support) and *condemnanda* (i.e. what we should condemn, hate, fight against) represent various values and anti-values. One group of values (or anti-values) may be represented by different *miranda* (or *condemnanda*). Moreover, each *mirandum* (or *condemmandum*) may be and usually is expressed by various means, including also different banner words. *Miranda* and *condemnanda* as well as values and anti-values are theoretical constructs, whereas banner words are empirical elements of the accessible linguistic reality. See: Pisarek (2002).

For example, if the range of the *freedom* category is greater than the category of *enslavement*, it follows from this simple conclusion that the situation of Poland is assessed well and Poland is perceived rather as a free and independent country. In further studies such interpretation is more specific – for example, *enslavement* may be related only to the history, and *freedom* – with the *crisis of freedom*, etc. Nevertheless, the advantage of miranda over condemnanda categories is a good symptom.

So, in our research, the categories representing the axiological discourse on Poland were: *truth vs. lie, beauty vs. ugliness; life (with love) vs. death (together with war), freedom vs. enslavement, humanism (and good) vs. corruption (with decline), tradition (and family) vs. modernity (and globalization), Christianity vs. atheism (with anti-clericalism) and finally development vs. crisis.*

The last pair of axiological categories was chosen on the grounds of reference to one of the research questions: whether Poland is described as a country of development, a place of economic success, or as a country struggling with crises. The remaining pairs were selected on the basis of the classification of instrumental (extrinsic) values (and anti-values) versus ultimate (intrinsic) ones. We subclassify the latter group as cognitive values (and anti-values), represented in the key-code by *truth vs. lie*, aesthetic, i.e. *beauty vs. ugliness*, vital, i.e. *life vs. death*, affective, i.e. *freedom vs. enslavement*, transcendent, i.e. *Christianity vs. atheism*, moral, i.e. *humanism vs. corruption* and – finally – the categories relating to customs and behaviors, represented by *tradition vs. modernity*.

Then we checked which political doctrines function in the texts devoted to Poland in the Argentinean newspaper. It is particularly important in the case of a country like Poland, where the political transformation began only a quarter of a century ago. In relation to this issue, a dictionary of selected political ideologies was developed, which were organized also as the antonymous pairs: *socialism vs. capitalism, liberalism vs. conservatism, and nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism.*

Twelve categories referring to the main areas and selected topics present in the analyzed discourse were created. The thematic elements of key-code consist of such categories as *religion, culture, politics, tourism, economy, history, World War II, fall of communism, law, terrorism, solidarity and conflict.* The categories relating to the main actors of events include *artists, politicians, scientists, entrepreneurs, clergy, officers, military, journalists, ordinary people, women and Jews.* The last group of categories gathers names of selected countries and regions of the world: *Western countries, former Eastern Bloc, Visegrad Group, Middle and Far East and Central and South America.*

The results of CACA are presented in subsequent tables consisting of the range of categories in percentage data and the number of units of analysis (paragraphs) fulfilling the condition of each category. The “strongest” category of analysis – by the amount of appearance as the criterion of extraction – is *life (together with love)*. Moreover, the miranda, especially the categories representing positive vital values, clearly dominate over anti-values. So, among the axiological categories,

the most significant ones remain *life* (with *love*) and *death* (together with *war*). It must be pointed out here that the *life* category, however, is a very capacious category which co-exists with almost all others (see: Table 4a and 4b).

Table 4a. *La Nación* on Poland (2004–2016): the range of categories referring to selected positive values (MIRANDA)

MIRANDA	1 JAN 2004 – 31 OCT 2005	31 OCT 2005 – 16 NOV 2007	16 NOV 2007 – 16 NOV 2015	16 NOV 2015 – 31 DEC 2016	AVERAGE (%)
	N = 1560	N = 1438	N = 3255	N = 409	N = 6662
LIFE, LOVE	26,5	26,1	28,8	30,6	28,0
HUMANISM, GOODNESS	5,4	5,5	6,4	5,1	5,6
TRUTH	9,2	7,2	10,1	7,8	8,6
PROGRESS	8,2	7,0	8,3	6,9	7,6
FREEDOM	5,8	5,0	5,7	6,1	5,7
BEAUTY	2,0	1,8	2,8	1,2	2,0

Source: own elaboration.

We can observe the biggest difference in favor of miranda in a pair: *humanism* (with *good* in general) vs. *corruption* (with *decline*). One of the reasons of such high presence of the latter category is the fact that information about scandals in Poland, which have taken place in recent years, did not reach Argentine or did not gained enough interest. The similar mechanism can be observed in the case of the *true* versus *lie* pair of categories. On the contrary, there is a very small difference between *freedom* and *enslavement*. Poland is still not perceived as a fully-free country in the eyes of distant outsiders. One of the reasons of such perception – which cannot be accepted by the Poles – is the fact that the discourse on Poland to some extent is “haunted” by the specter of the tragic past.

The anti-value which is the most visible in the texts, except previously mentioned *death*, is *crisis*. One can easily find confirmation of that in many texts. In one of the articles, all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were severely criticized for their budget policy and for spending more money than they could afford during Europe’s crises, threatening the rest of EU countries with a new economic slump. According to *La Nación*, half a year earlier, the decrease in the value of the Polish currency should have been an impulse for Poland to adopt the euro faster. The Argentinean newspaper also covered the problems with gas supplies from Russia. In the controversial conclusion of this article, Poland remains rather a weak country in terms of economy and becomes dependent on other states. On the other hand, the words from the *development* category diction-

ary appear quite often in the analyzed articles and refer to openness to the West (as the civilization progress flywheel) in many aspects such as *tourism* – claims an Argentinean foreign correspondent in an extensive reportage from Warsaw²⁴.

Table 4b. *La Nación* on Poland (2004-2016): the range of categories referring to selected anti-values (CONDEMNANDA)

CONDEMNANDA	1 JAN 2004 – 31 OCT 2005	31 OCT 2005 – 16 NOV 2007	16 NOV 2007 – 16 NOV 2015	16 NOV 2015 – 31 DEC 2016	AVERAGE (%)
	N = 1560	N = 1438	N = 3255	N = 409	N = 6662
DEATH, WAR	17,9	17,4	20,9	24,0	20,0
CORRUPTION, DECLINE	1,2	1,6	1,3	1,0	1,3
LIE, FLASEHOOD, UNTRUTH	0,9	1,7	1,9	1,7	1,5
CRISIS	5,6	4,6	6,2	6,1	5,6
SLAVERY	5,1	4,9	4,4	4,2	4,6
UGLINESS	1,9	2,5	2,1	2,9	2,4
INTOLERANCE	0,3	0,5	0,3	2,4	0,9

MEDIA ZA GRANICĄ

Source: own elaboration.

The least was written about aesthetic values. *Beauty* and *ugliness* are categories of similar and very small range, despite the fact that the most frequently discussed topic is *culture* (see Table 6). *Beauty*, together with *artists*, *life* and *women* is most correlated with *culture*. *Ugliness* co-occurs with such categories as *World War II*, *conflict*, *enslavement*, but also with *truth* and *solidarity*. It should be emphasized that within the opposing structures – condemnanda versus miranda – there was no single case of the anti-values predominance over positive values: *modernity* obtained almost the same result as *tradition*, however, *Christianity* appears almost ten times more often than *atheism* and anti-Christian categories.

As far as political doctrines or ideologies are concerned, *socialism* has gained the greatest coverage. *Capitalism* suffered a defeat, it appeared in less than

²⁴ A. Sack (2009), Varsovia, tour para desandar la historia, 25.03.2009 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 30.04.2017].

2 per cent of paragraphs. *Conservatism* won clearly over *liberalism*, so one can presume that the former doctrine to some extent defines Poland. On the other hand, one can notice that another pair of opposite categories – *cosmopolitanism* versus *nationalism* – which both denote significant attitudes towards the reality create the visible configuration, especially if the pass of time is taken into consideration. Comparing the discourse on Poland in the Argentinean daily in subsequent periods of time, one can observe that cosmopolitan ideals, i.e. openness, globalization, tolerance for other cultures become more and more visible. However, *nationalism*, whose range of appearance decreased between 2004–2015, in the last period of analysis (2015–2016), increased more than twice.

Table 5. *La Nación* on Poland (2004–2016): the range of categories referring to political doctrines

CATEGORIES	1 JAN 2004 – 31 OCT 2005	31 OCT 2005 – 16 NOV 2007	16 NOV 2007 – 16 NOV 2015	16 NOV 2015 – 31 DEC 2016	AVERAGE (%)
	N = 1560	N = 1438	N = 3255	N = 409	N = 6662
SOCIALISM	8,5	5,3	5,8	3,4	5,7
COSMOPOLITANISM	4,0	4,1	5,4	6,6	5,0
NATIONALISM	5,2	2,9	3,4	8,3	5,0
CONSERVATISM	3,1	1,7	1,9	5,1	2,9
CAPITALISM	2,2	1,4	1,7	0,5	1,4
LIBERALISM	2,2	1,2	1,1	3,2	1,9

Source: own elaboration.

Socialism most often occurs together with the theme of the *fall of communism*. It turns out that the recent past of Poland comes back very often and at every possible opportunity. An example is an interview with a well-known journalist dealing with Latin American issues, Artur Domosławski, entitled “There are no worse and better cultures”. The main topic of the conversation is the mentality of Poles and the way they perceive the world, especially dictatorships in Latin America after winning the fight against communism. Domosławski appears as a journalist and media expert who characterizes *Gazeta Wyborcza* as “the most important daily in Poland, created by the democratic opposition against the communist dictatorship”²⁵.

²⁵ No existen culturas peores o mejores, 8.10.2008 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 27.04.2017].

Table 6. *La Nación* on Poland (2004–2016): the range of categories referring to selected themes

CATEGORIES	1 JAN 2004 – 31 OCT 2005	31 OCT 2005 – 16 NOV 2007	16 NOV 2007 – 16 NOV 2015	16 NOV 2015 – 31 DEC 2016	AVERAGE (%)
	N = 1560	N = 1438	N = 3255	N = 409	
FALL OF COMMUNISM	25,2	19,8	22,3	28,6	24,0
CULTURE	18,7	13,8	22,0	17,1	17,9
POLITICS	16,7	14,2	14,2	16,4	15,4
RELIGION	15,5	12,8	8,2	13,7	12,6
HISTORY	12,5	10,5	13,7	10,5	11,8
WWII	9,6	9,7	12,3	13,0	11,1
TOURISM	6,9	7,9	5,6	5,6	6,5
CHRISTIANITY	7,2	5,5	3,7	6,9	5,8
LAW	4,4	6,7	4,1	6,9	5,5
“SOLIDARITY”	5,5	4,9	5,6	4,7	5,2
ECONOMY	4,9	4,2	5,1	2,9	4,3
CONFLICT	3,1	3,1	3,1	5,1	3,6
TERRORISM	2,3	2,6	2,6	3,9	2,8

Source: own elaboration.

Another dimension of the socialist legacy of Poland may be exemplified by an interview with the pianist Adam Makowicz, who talks about how he learned jazz in the 1950s, listening to the radio, because playing avant-garde music in public places – or even at home – could be the object of denunciation to the communistic secret police (The Office of Security, *Urząd Bezpieczeństwa*)²⁶. In 2005, the large article was focused on the 25th anniversary of the birth of “Solidarity”, the first free trade union under the communist regime. Numerous articles were devoted to communism, and one may notice that this period is well covered in the Argentinean press²⁷. There were also many texts about the leader of “Solidarity”, Lech Wałęsa. The data presented in Table 3 proves that the legendary trade union leader remains in the top ten of the most-often-mentioned names. It is worth adding that the category of *socialism* is most strongly correlated, in ad-

²⁶ Jazz, clásica y Polonia on my mind, 8.07.2011 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 27.04.2017].

²⁷ A 25 años del nacimiento de Solidaridad, el primer sindicato libre bajo el comunismo, 31.08.2005, [www.lanacion.com.ar; 27.04.2017].

dition to *the fall of communism*, with *enslavement*. It is usually accompanied by the bitter assessment of totalitarian ideology, which Poland – in the eyes of the Argentinean journalists – was one of the greatest victims.

As one can see in Table 7 the main characters of the articles devoted to Poland are usually *ordinary people*. It is clear that this category is fairly spacious, nevertheless, the fact is that *La Nación* very often reaches for the opinions of common people, i.e. citizens such as Polish immigrants, war veterans, and/or random participants of historical processes. From time to time the stories of ordinary people are the main topic of long reportages. On the one hand, it may be caused by curiosity of the Argentinians, who are focused on receiving the first-hand witness experience of profound events, and/or on gaining knowledge about a different culture. On the other hand, this focus on “Polish human stories” may also attract the Polish-origin readers in Argentine.

Artists, entrepreneurs and journalists also reach a relatively high range of appearance as important characters of articles devoted to Poland. Ryszard Kapuściński seems to be a universal master of journalism for *La Nación*²⁸. The daily devoted several large articles to the author of “The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat”. Another Polish descent journalist present in *La Nación* is Julián Gorodischer who published the comic book “The Road to Auschwitz”. The range of the journalists category also increases in *La Nación* because of the regular presence of several foreign correspondents who systematically cover current events from Poland. Among these positive or neutral contexts of the media and journalism categories, one can also read critical opinions about the media system in Poland where “ultra-conservatives are launching a campaign of persecution of public and private media journalists, which raises concerns about the state of freedom of expression”²⁹.

Table 7. *La Nación* on Poland (2004–2016): the range of categories referring to the main actors of events

CATEGORIES	1 JAN 2004 – 31 OCT 2005	31 OCT 2005 – 16 NOV 2007	16 NOV 2007 – 16 NOV 2015	16 NOV 2015 – 31 DEC 2016	AVERAGE
	N = 1560	N = 1438	N = 3255	N = 409	(%%)
COMMON MEN	22,7	18,7	20,9	24,0	21,5
ARTISTS	5,0	2,7	6,5	2,9	4,3
BUSSINESMEN	4,2	4,4	5,5	3,2	4,3
JOURNALISTS	3,9	3,1	3,6	7,6	4,5

²⁸ J. Palomar, Al maestro con cariño, 11.02.2007 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 30.04.2017].

²⁹ I. Domínguez, Cruzada del gobierno polaco contra los “medios traidores a la patria”, 21.01.2016 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 26.04.2017].

PUBLIC OFFICIALS	2,4	3,3	4,0	2,7	3,1
ARMY, MILITARY OFFICIALS	3,5	2,0	3,6	2,2	2,8
WOMEN	1,7	2,9	3,3	5,6	3,4
SCIENTISTS	2,2	2,7	2,5	4,2	2,9
CLERICS	3,4	1,4	0,9	1,7	1,9
POLITICIANS	0,9	0,8	0,7	0,5	0,7
JEWS	0,3	0,9	0,7	0,5	0,6

Source: own elaboration.

Looking at the very end of the list in Table 7, it can be seen that the selected actors of the articles were the *Jews*. It is important to notice that in the collective configuration of categories, the *Jews* category tends to co-occur with anti-values of *intolerance*. It is also necessary to notice the low position of the general *politicians* category, however, the names of leading actors of Polish politics appeared very often (see Table 3).

If the quantitative range of categories concerning different regions and countries is taken into consideration, it appears that Poland is most often presented together with western countries. The core countries of that category are the Western European states together with Anglo-Saxon countries, especially the USA, as well as international institutions such as the European Union and NATO. Representatives of this category appear as often as in 17 per cent of paragraphs, while other regions of the world do not even exceed 5 per cent. This category, and especially *the United States*, is very closely correlated with the thematic category – the *fall of communism*. Poland – from the Argentinean perspective – is also strongly connected with the USA and Europe by political ties and joint military operations, especially in the Middle East.

In an interview with Artur Domosławski, Poland is presented as a country that feels threatened by Russia and is looking for its security in an alliance with the United States³⁰. The USA was also a place of emigration of many eminent Poles, a place where artists could freely pursue themselves artistically. This contrast between the East and the West is even better illustrated by a fragment of the history of priest Karol Wojtyła. The author of the article writes that the Polish Pope had a lot of adversities to overcome, as he came from an environment that “with the utmost contempt” referred to the latest technical and scientific discoveries that were coming from Western Europe and the United States³¹.

³⁰ No existen culturas peores o mejores, 8.10.2008 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 29.04.2017].

³¹ A. Gómez, El papa que abrió la puerta al siglo XXI, 29.04.2011 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 29.04.2017].

Therefore, for *La Nación*, the West (in the political, economic, cultural dimension) is more valuable than others, and is the model worth pursuing. It is remarkable if one takes into consideration the attitude of many Latin American newspapers of the strong leftist, and visible anti-American attitude. However, it cannot be forgotten that a large number of Argentinians were not the supporters of Peronism (and then Kirchnerism)³², that is why in the recent election right-wing Mauricio Macri was successful and, hence *La Nación's* sympathy for the Polish right, especially the liberal-conservative one.

As mentioned above, the text corpus was divided into four periods according to how the governments changed in Poland. The results, however, indicate the existence of two main periods, separated by repeated tendencies. Periods of the rule of Law and Justice (PiS) – The Polish Families League (LPR) – Self-Defence Party (Samoobrona) coalition governments and independent PiS governments in the last year clearly stand out from the periods of The Alliance of Democratic Left (SLD) – Work Union (UP) – Civic Platform (PO) and Polish Peasant Party (PSL) governments.

Some profound changes may be observed in the last period of the rule of the Polish right. The years 2015–2016 can be characterized by more intense coverage of *conflicts* and *terrorism*, which is probably associated with tragic events in the world. The greatest ranges of appearance – compared to other periods – are gained by such categories as *conservatism*, *nationalism* and – what is extremely notable – *intolerance*. However, the PiS-government period is the time when the press articles concerning *corruption*, *fraud* and *scandals* play the least important role. Polish scientists are also more visible in the last period of analysis. The results show a steady decrease – since 2004 – in the number of words representing the categories of *socialism* and *enslavement*.

During the longest period of analysis, that is the governments of the center parties, the smallest importance was played by *tradition*, *religion*, *Christianity*, and the *clergy* category was almost absent. These categories were most visible in 2005–2007 and 2015–2016, while during the PO-PSL coalition governments the number of words representing these categories dropped significantly. A visible predominance received the texts devoted to *development*, the articles in which the main actors of events were *entrepreneurs* and/or *businessmen*. This period, as well as the times of the SLD government can also be characterized by more numerous references to *culture*, *artists* and the category of *truth*. There is a vivid difference between the press image of Poland in times of PiS governments and other periods.

An interesting phenomenon is also the fact that the initial period, that is the years 2004–2005, passed, according to *La Nación*, under the sign of *capitalism* and *modernity*. Probably the Polish hopes related to accessing the European Union were the reason for the reference to these values.

On the basis of presented quantitative analyses it can be concluded that in *La Nación* daily, the leading agenda of issues present in the articles, as well as fram-

³² From the names of left-wing leaders Juan Peron and Kirchners family.

ing the narrative on Poland – i.e. the way of presenting the country, the selection of vocabulary representing certain thoughts, values or ideologies – are conditioned not only by objective events in the world independent of media, but mostly by the situation on the political scene. Changes in the internal situation of Poland are visible and they meet with certain reactions. The world of conservative references dominates in the Argentinean daily when the right-wing parties rule and – on the contrary – during the times of liberal or/and left-wing parties governments, one can observe a significant axiological and thematic turn: the cultural and economic agenda replaces the dominant narrative about Polish tradition (including religion).

In the last part of the research – as a result of correlation analysis – the structure of the discourse is reduced to the 15 strongest narratives extracted on the basis of the co-occurrences of key-code categories. The strong correlations show which different (detailed) categories have the tendency to co-occur and that is why – as we presume – they create easily distinguishable configuration of thematic categories, as well as axiological ones, i.e. what we should admire, adore, love, fight for, support or what we should condemn, hate, fight against, which represent various ideas and values vs. anti-values in the discourse on Poland in 2004–2016.

The 1st narrative, the discourse on 20th century genocides experience in Europe is most visible if measured by the presence of the words and expressions related to Poland in *La Nación* in 2004–2016. It is represented by a collection of those paragraphs (analysis unit) in which there are numerous references to the tragic legacy of genocidal crimes against humanity, especially the Holocaust. Another (2nd) group – a vivid configuration of categories – gathers those parts of the texts which are related to the growth of the importance of Poland in the world after the fall of communism. The 3rd collection of texts is characterized by a reflection on the attractiveness of Poland's history, culture and landscape, including the image of our country as a wonderful tourist destination. Another – 4th – force grouping the categories of analysis is associated with those words and phrases which denote Poland as a country of the conservative heritage, including the tradition and religion, but challenged by the globalization processes. The immense victory of the liberal democracy and – most of all – market economy in Central-Eastern Europe is 5th bunch of categories indicating this part of *La Nación* content which is related to our country. Poland towards multi-dimensional threats is 6th bundle of categories. The 7th cluster includes the categories denoting the discourse on “the rivalry of the ideologies”, including the political and economic doctrines. A separate group are those texts in which one can find precise references to the – let us say – the “humanitarian imperative of solidarity” i.e. the discourse on ordinary people and their compassion to others (8th bunch of categories). The numerous references to the revealing the truth about history is the 9th cluster of categories. The elements of coding procedures related to the transparent – especially media – debate on public life in Poland are another (10th) trend in *La Nación* focused on Polish issues. Multi-faceted struggle for freedom and liberation from totali-

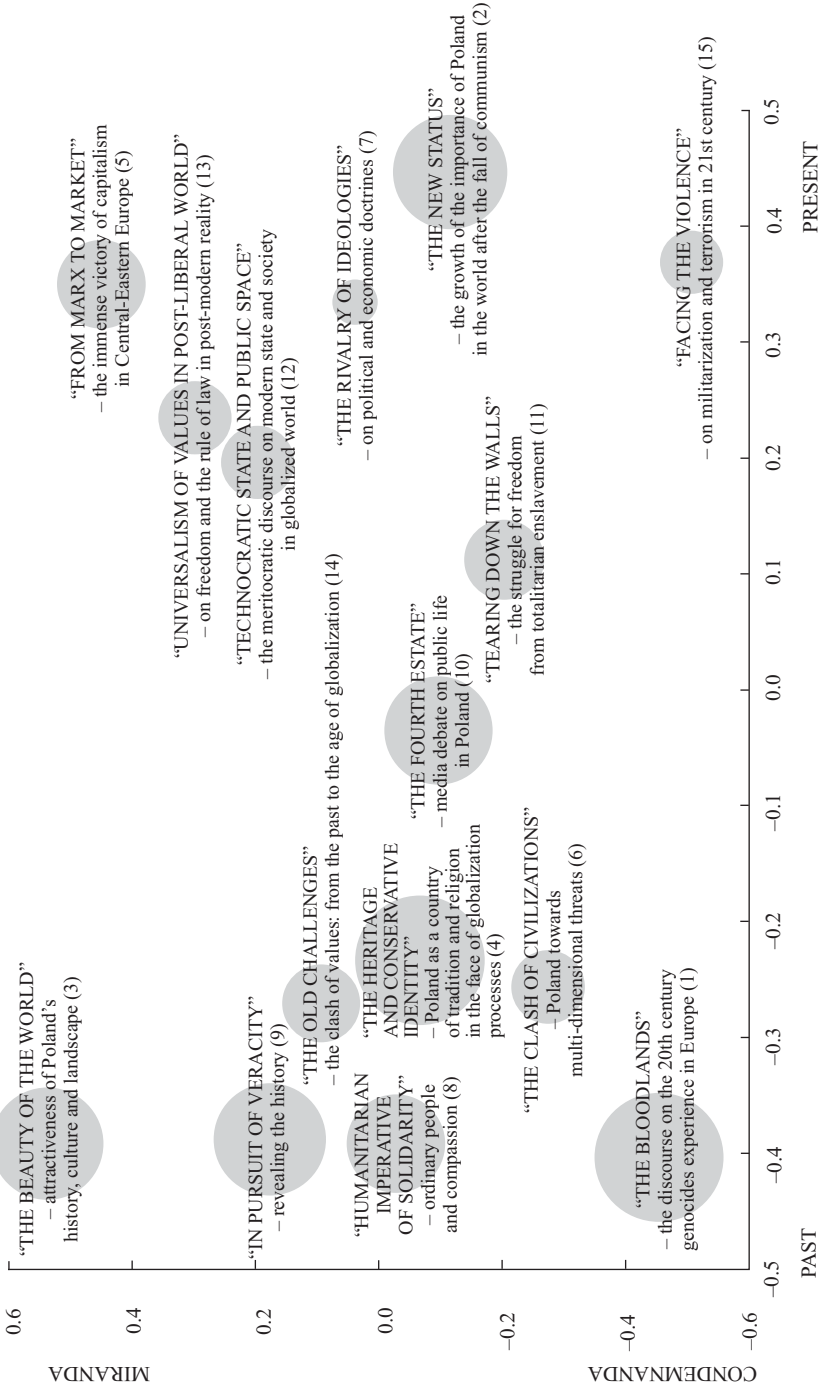
tarian enslavement is 11th trend separated from the content of the Argentinean daily. It is possible to isolate from the general content of *La Nación* – especially in the later period of publishing the newspaper – those parts of texts in which there are clear references to the meritocratic discourse on modern state and the open society in globalized world (12th cluster). The universalism of values in post-liberal world, i.e. the discourse on freedom and the rule of law in post-modern reality is 13th thematic trend separated from that part of the *La Nación*'s content, where references to Poland in 2004–2016. The old challenges in the present-day and the future, especially the disputes on axiological dimension in the age of globalization is 14th set of categories. The last vivid configuration (15th) can be described as the discourse on Poland, as well as the rest of the world, facing the new kind of violence, related to the militarization and new terrorism in 21st century.

As presented above, the correlation matrix of key-code elements has led to the separation of 15 clusters of categories which represent the detailed narratives on Poland present in the Argentinean daily. Finally we decided to sketch the “map of the discourse” as the result of the 2-factor analysis procedure. The Figure 1 presented below should be considered as an indicative graphical map of the discourse, in which the distance between objects illustrates the strength of relationships between them (trends of co-occurrence), while the size of objects informs about the intensity of occurrence of particular threads (topics, heroes, values, places, etc.) and which is measured by the frequency of words from the dictionaries of each category of analysis.

After multi-step analysis, we already know the general tendencies that appear in the text corpus, also have knowledge about the range of appearances and configuration of content analysis categories. On that basis, we can presume how the Argentinians – in the result of long-term media influences – may perceive the Poles, how they feel about them and how they are judged. It is not a plain homogeneous image, it is composed of many different plots. As the final remarks of that texts let us undertake an attempt at a general synthesis and check out what are the most general dimension that we can see in the media mosaic of Poland in *La Nación* in 2004–2016. To find out we used text mining³³ analytics software to extract – so called – main concepts – i.e. recurring motifs that helped to sort the articles into different groups. The results of that procedure may also serve as a means of verification (in other words the triangulation) procedure of previously used techniques of analysis.

³³ The method of deriving high-quality information from the text, called text mining, allowed us to select important statistic information like the most frequent lemmas, repeated collocations and the number of units (paragraphs in this case) in which they appeared. This technique combines all this data with the software algorithms. However, it works when based on the so-called black box theory, which means it can lead to mistakes and the result has to be checked. It is worth noting that black box is defined as device, system, object or law, whose mechanisms of actions are not known. Only the results of these actions can be observed. This theory was inspired by Isaac Newton's works. See: <http://www.new-science-theory.com/isaac-newton.php>; 28.10.2017.

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principal factor analysis, factor 1 vs. factor 1; no rotation

Figure 1. The Main Narratives on Poland in 2004–2016 in the light of the Factor Analysis results

Poland in La Nación daily in 2004–2016 – An Attempt at Synthesis

Some of the concepts generated by the program were repetitive, some of them were too general, but careful selection and merging the most similar ones resulted in gathering and describing five most important aspects of the general discourse on Poland.

The first aspect is based on the human stories. This is the narrative about people who survived World War II. It emphasizes humanitarian attitudes while facing the danger. The Polish people in *La Nación* suffer a lot, but they manage to overcome the horrible experiences. They can resist war, military occupation and Stalinist terror. They never give up and they cherish even the little positive aspects in their lives. Moreover, they do not forget their history, heritage and family³⁴. *The second* aspect consists of the stories of Polish culture and people associated with it. Here the journalists explore their creations and personal experiences. We already mentioned that the Polish cinema is appreciated in Argentina. Andrzej Wajda, Krzysztof Zanussi, Jerzy Skolimowski, Agnieszka Holland are well-known. They and other artists are the main characters of these stories. They are shown as talented, creative and capable of wonderful things. The journalists talk with them, describe the esthetical values of their works and their personal stories, which show them not only as intelligent but also sensitive³⁵. *The third* visible dimension of the discourse on Poland just like the first one is about difficult Polish history. However, in the first one the scheme was different. Poles were the people with personal tragedies, but they managed to overcome them with their determination. These stories, on the other hand, are mostly about the pogrom in concentration camps. In this case, there is no hope or catharsis. *The fourth* element of the discursive image of our country shows Poland and Polish people as a religious and traditional nation. The analytics text mining software generated two concepts that indicated this kind of image. We are the nation who gave the world pope John Paul II and two years ago hosted World Youth Day. But it is

³⁴ This beautiful image can be seen, for example, in an essay written by a famous Argentinean actor, director and writer Enrique Pinti. The text was published in Sunday special and is entitled “Aquella polaca (That Polish woman)”, E. Pinti, *Aquella polaca*, 29.11.2009 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 1.05.2017]. It tells the story of some elderly woman who the author met briefly in the 50s when he was a child. The adults were reminiscing ‘the good old times’ when she interrupted this discussion with her “horrific story from her Polish homeland”. The little child remembered all the misery that had happened to that woman, so the grown-up writer can tell it all in one breath in a sentence that takes eighteen lines. However, the ending is surprising because the woman is happy in the end. She managed to escape from war and find a new life in a foreign country. Her heroic attitude had made an impression on the author that lasted fifty years.

³⁵ “*Ida*” directed by Paweł Pawlikowski particularly gained a lot of space in *La Nación*. Four articles were published including a big interview with the director. It is not surprising because while winning the Oscar “*Ida*” beat Damián Szifron’s “*Wild Tales*”, an Argentinean movie that had also been nominated. Perhaps showing “*Ida*” as a cinematographic masterpiece that was “rejected in its homeland” (see: *Ida, resistida en su propia tierra*, 27.02.2015, www.lanacion.com.ar; 23.04.2017) was a way of compensating for the loss.

not only about such events or personalities. It can be seen that Christian values are part of the Polish mindset, it is something that makes us different from other countries³⁶. *The last* facet of the discourse shows the attractiveness of Poland as a tourist destination. Poland is a beautiful country with picturesque landscapes and interesting places that are great targets for trips. Argentinians seem to realize that in their texts, but practice shows something different. Like one of the authors, Ana Ventura, noticed herself: “It is not common to visit Poland. My friends who heard about my voyage were surprised”³⁷.

Concluding Remarks

The media in Argentina, as well as in entire Latin America, played a significant role in forming the national consciousness of its people. The press is one of the most important factors in this still ongoing process and *La Nación* is one of the oldest Argentinean titles. This journal is liberal-conservative and contains general information. It focuses mainly on politics, economy and foreign news. Poland is relatively important part of the image of the world in *La Nación*, as it appears twice as often as other countries of East-Central Europe. One of the reasons behind this phenomenon is big importance of the Polish community in Argentina. Poland is also a representative of its region and of certain processes that are characteristic for it. Many times Poland is used for reference and gives example of different solutions. When Poland became the member of European Union it was characterized as a modern, democratic, free market country. The general image of Poland improves with time, excluding the political aspect where criticism is strongest in years 2015–2016. This brings us to an important conclusion that internal political events in Poland influence its image abroad. The key elements to build narratives about Poland are: culture, especially cinema; tragic events from the past and immigrants who found new life in Argentina; religion and the role of Church in Poland; and last but not least – cultural attractiveness and beauty of Poland as tourist destinations. It is clear judging on the press image of Poland in *La Nación* that its *soft power* potential is strong. We can influence other nations with

³⁶ “Despite the fact that Poland is more and more ‘European’ some of the traditions are still there. Families gather together for a shared meal at least once a week, the weddings are festive and people keep attending the masses in this strongly catholic country, in which 90 per cent of population is baptized” (V. Shapira, Camino al andar, 14.12.2008, www.lanacion.com.ar; 3.05.2017) says *La Nación*, putting the equal sign between religion and Polish tradition. It is also meaningful that the newspaper places this attitude in opposition to Europe in general. Argentinians also identify themselves with their traditions. The coverage ends with the scene in a Polish town, where they talk to a casual passerby about Gombrowicz and go to drink vodka. This complies with the stereotype but, at the same time, is perceived in a positive way.

³⁷ A. Ventura, Caminos, plazas, cafés y recuerdos en Varsovia, 29.10.2007 [www.lanacion.com.ar; 3.05.2017].

our culture and values. It is worth considering how we can develop this potential and what to do to maintain it.

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STRESZCZENIE

Ponieważ zewnętrzna recepcja – zwłaszcza medialna – polityki wewnętrznej danego kraju może mieć kluczowe znaczenie dla jego wizerunku za granicą, a to z kolei stanowić może kluczowy element siły (lub słabości) jego *soft power*, autorzy artykułu podjęli próbę rekonstrukcji dyskursywnego obrazu Polski obecnego na łamach jednego z najważniejszych dzienników argentyńskich. W artykule zaprezentowano wyniki analizy przekazów o Polsce na łamach dziennika *La Nación* w latach 2004–2016. Materiał badawczy zebrany na potrzeby badań stanowiły teksty opublikowane w prestiżowej argentyńskiej gazecie (łącznie 3622 artykuły), które uporządkowano w korpus tekstowy. Ilościowa analiza leksykalna, tj. pomiary frekwencyjności, badania konkordancji określonych wyrazów wraz z ich kontekstami, wybrane kolokacje najistotniejszych wyrazów, a następnie komputerowa analiza zawartości posłużyły do rekonstruk-

cji wzorów współwystępowania określonych wyrazów i kategorii analizy, a tym samym były podstawą rekonstrukcji wzajemnych związków i wzorów współwystępowania określeń odnoszących się do osób, przedmiotów, cech, czynności, stanów jako podstawowych elementów różnorodnych narracji o Polsce na łamach *La Nación*. Zmiany obrazu Polski w argentyńskim dzienniku zostały zestawione w ujęciu dynamicznym, czyli na tle czterech kolejnych rządów RP po 2004 roku.

Słowa kluczowe: obraz medialny Polski, media w świecie, prasa w Argentynie, komputerowa analiza zawartości, *La Nación*