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# THE IMAGE OF CULTURES AND RELIGIONS OF MIGRANTS FROM AFRICA IN THE POLISH MEDIA

Abstract. The media monitoring shows that the stereotypical image of Africa as a poor, politically and militarily unstable continent, in need of mostly humanitarian help, with excellent sportsmen, Catholic missions, and beautiful, wild nature is maintained. While informing about Africa, the media do not specify the national, ethnic or religious affiliation of Africans, except for individual, original, tragic or exotic events. Overall, Poles are still not interested in Africa and its people; a short, often laconic media message does not therefore raise objections or trigger a desire to learn more. African culture, science, and religions are underrepresented in the Polish media, with the exception of Islam, associated with terrorism and fundamentalism.

Keywords: migrants; Africans; ethnic and racial stereotypes

#### INTRODUCTION

Representations of migrants shaped by mass media influence the society's attitudes toward this group. Most recipients specifically absorb the provided information and its uncritical acceptance. This generates new possibilities and conditions for steering societies, as well as new factors of shaping opinions and decisions. The perception of those societies affects attitudes toward migrants, and it is associated with adaptation, integration or assimilation processes within the Polish cultural and social spheres. Nowadays, global consumers (or media society) function within the global network, absorbing the same or similar information or communication products regardless of cultural, social, and political differences. Besides, the increasing number of migrants (economic ones, illegal aliens,

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asylum seekers, refugees) in the general social structure poses a challenge to many specific policies (concerning society, demography, economics, pedagogy, sociology or medicine).

The aim of this paper is an attempt to preliminary explore the process of shaping the content concerning cultures, religions, customs of migrants from Africa in the Polish media in the second decade of the 21st century. The objective is to present a chronological perspective of potential changes in shaping the image of migrants from Africa in Polish media. The paper describes tendencies of constructing the image of migrants from Africa in terms of change and continuity.

The empirical material used for the analysis includes monitoring reports of Polish media by Fundacja "Afryka Inaczej" ["Africa Differently" Foundation] of 2011, 2016 and 2023, as well as a public opinion survey of 2010 concerning integration of citizens of African states in Poland, and a report of 2022 by IBRiS on a public opinion survey. The material was applied to reconstruct the image of migrants shaped by mass media. The paper uses media monitoring reports from "Afryka Inaczej," which covered press titles (931-1200), websites (3045-2000), radio stations (13) and TV channels (16). The monitoring included the following keywords: "Africa," "Negro," "African," "Africa - social situation," "economic situation," "natural situation." The results of quantitative and qualitative research on the content of the TVP (public television) news programmes during the 2015 election period, as well as on politicians of the main political options, and public opinion surveys on Africa and Africans were also used. The research material thus obtained became the basis for the analysis. Media coverage of African migrants, their economic situation, customs and mores, cultures, religions, and national and ethnic identity were analysed. The study applied the methods of secondary data analysis, media content analysis and comparative analysis. The analysis of media content allows to develop a quantitative description of the overt content of media message, and it may be used to explore the image of migrants. The media content analysis may serve as the right method to obtain empirical data related to the correlation between the nature of media messages and their recipients' behaviours and decisions. In this case, perception of specific subjects by citizens depended both on their individual cognitive predisposition and on the degree of media influence. The character of this influence was determined by the strategy and profile of outlets shaping the message in question, which may be consistent with or contradictory to prior opinions of the recipients. The following research questions were asked: what image of migrants from Africa is created by media outlets in Poland? What are the premises of shaping the specific image of this group of migrants by different media outlets?

The paper contains three parts. The first one describes the basic research terms, phenomena and processes of mediatisation of politics, mediatisation of the public sphere, and their impact on modern recipients. By shaping the image of migrants, media allow their recipients to rationalise the everyday life and provide them with a sense of having knowledge about the world. Even though information obtained from media is not complete, the audience is convinced of having acquired knowledge. Among the questions somehow corresponding to the modern world, including the media world, there are questions of migration, migrants, and their image. The increasing share of migrants (economic ones, illegal aliens, asylum seekers, refugees) in the general population is a challenge for many specialist policies (concerning society, demographics, economy, pedagogics, sociology or medicine). Depending on their political and ideological affiliation, media offer variable ways of presenting questions concerning migration.

The second part of the paper presents thematic areas discussed in media and related to migrants from Africa, as well as discussions concerning the problem of migration and political correctness (e.g. language issues). An attempt was made to reconstruct the media images of African migrants portrayed by various media providers, asking to what extent the created media content included stereotypical approaches to crises and humanitarian issues, and to what extent it referred to knowledge about cultures, religions, and customs of migrants from Africa. The third part discusses changes in creating representations of migrants from Africa in the Polish media in the chronological perspective.

### MEDIATISATION OF PUBLIC SPACE AND ITS EFFECTS

Media are a carrier of knowledge, information, attitudes, behaviours, but also ideology and axiology. They have the classic function of providing information, but they also implement the opinion-forming function and shape the public opinion. Through the mediatisation of society, cultural, political, social and educational trends and behaviours are thus created. Media no longer only present reality, but they also create it. They are an important link in social, political, and cultural education. For most recipients, they constitute the main source of information. A tiny percentage of people verify data obtained from the media, while another small share of the population uses other sources to enrich their knowledge about the world (Marcinkiewicz, 2019, pp. 46-49).

The media space has an impact on shaping the image of migrants from Africa, and it can strengthen or weaken social acceptance of their presence in Poland. In the second decade of the 21st century, the phenomenon of mediatisation of societies and of social and political life is visible (Sobczak, 2014, p. 29). By providing facts, information, knowledge, but also assessments and opinions referring to all areas of human activity, media create the image and the interpretation. They enable most people to learn about phenomena and processes in the modern world. Most often, media create people's images, as well as strengthen, modify or create new stereotypes and phobias. They also decide which topics and issues are publicised and which are omitted. Worryingly, however, huge quantity of information reaches people, and it is usually received and accepted in an uncritical way. The media also shape cultural, political, social and educational trends and behaviours. They no longer represent reality but create and produce it (Melosik, 2012, p. 49). Media give their audiences a sense of being informed, which leads to the belief that the recipients have knowledge about the world and its various dimensions. In fact, the knowledge received from media is not complete (Michalczyk, 2008, p. 14) because the information provided is not always reliable and objective. Most often, the media image of the world displaces the role of other, truer images of reality, such as scientific, common-sense or philosophical ones (Szmyd, 2012, p. 12). Moreover, this image is very scarce and short because the media are dominated by ever shorter journalistic forms.

Issues related to migration and migrants and their image, among others, have become an important part of the contemporary world, including the world of media. The media image of Africa and its inhabitants is crucial for shaping positive, negative, and neutral attitudes of society towards migrants from Africa. In this context, the mediatisation of politics and of the public sphere has an impact on contemporary recipients.

## THE IMAGE OF AFRICA AND ITS INHABITANTS IN THE POLISH MEDIA FROM 1 AUGUST 2010 TO 31 JULY 2011

For many years, the "Afryka Inaczej" Foundation, operating since 2008, has been undertaking numerous initiatives aimed at developing intercultural education, bringing Poles closer to Africa and Africans (Średziński, 2011). The Foundation also takes measures to monitor and counteract discrimination (Ohia-Nowak, 2022, p. 4; Diouf, 2011, p. 10). The systematic monitoring of the Polish media's communication on Africa and Africans, carried out every few years, allows to reconstruct the image of migrants created by the mass media. A wave of media monitoring (press, radio, television, websites and web portals) lasting

from 1 August 2010 to 31 July 2011 focused on Africa and its inhabitants. The report shows that this area of issues was not a popular topic. In general, mentions of Africa and Africans were statements with negative overtones. Admittedly, there were stories of people of African descent who became famous due to their achievements in their professions. Their biographies were described in the Polish media. However, in the years 2010-2011, Africa was portrayed in general as a continent of poverty, crises, wars, natural disasters, political and economic disasters, and epidemics (HIV, AIDS, West Nile fever) (Średziński, 2011, pp. 29-31). A negative image of Africa, presented by the majority of Polish media, regardless of their political or ideological provenance, prevailed. Only the natural world of Africa was complimented as beautiful and wild, both fauna and flora. Even information about the need to provide humanitarian aid - which usually triggers sympathy and generates activity in the public perception strengthened the negative image of Africa as a poor and backward continent that constantly needs help. This information was also short and vague. The slogan "famine in Africa" did not specify whether the famine predominated on the entire continent or in specific regions or countries, and what its cause was. As a result, the Polish recipient received little information on this subject.

Media campaigns organised by Catholic missions under the slogan of helping Africa to raise material and financial resources had emotional overtones to stimulate public interest and generosity. Furthermore, they formed part of the image of poor Africa. The topic of Africa has also served as an instrument of political manipulation for various political groups, depending on the role they play (in power or in opposition). At that time, comparisons appeared in the media to convince Poles that in some areas their country was not placed at the bottom of the rankings (implying that there were worse countries, e.g. in Africa) or that it was in the last position of the ranking, even behind African countries. Some articles also presented selected African ethnic groups in the process of civilisational changes. Jedrzej Winiecki drew attention to the case of a Maasai politician who, on the one hand, was against circumcision and, on the other hand, agreed to the institution of polygamy (Winiecki, 2011, p. 44). No explanation was provided for this apparent contradiction. Meanwhile, such an attitude results from the cultural specificity of Africa, and Kenya in particular. Most often, the Polish reader received information about social problems, but without any comment on the cultural differences between Europe and Africa, and between Poland and selected countries.

On the other hand, there were enunciations devoted to drastic events, for example, in Rwanda (genocide), Somalia (famine), or Sudan (rape of women). Interest was also drawn to countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, or Morocco due to their tourist values, pointing to African exoticism, tribal traditions, original rites or practices. The information on specific countries, nations, ethnic groups, and African tribes was fragmentary and rare. Sometimes it was shown from a historical perspective or in what was called a period of change. However, even such reports often lacked a detailed explanation of cultural or religious specificity. Little attention was also given to African Nobel Prize winners and artists, while African athletes received much more coverage. In 2011, the prevailing view was that the scarcity of information on Africa and of thematic diversity results from the Poles' lack of interest in this continent.

This was partially due to limitations existing in the media – airtime and little amount of space for news from this continent. According to the public opinion poll report, in the years 2010-2011, the greatest interest in Africa was shown by young, educated people living in large cities (Średziński, 2011, p.10).

## MEDIA IMAGE OF AFRICA AND AFRICANS FROM 1 MARCH 2015 TO 29 FEBRUARY 2016

The period from 1 March 2015 to 29 February 2016 was dominated in the media by discussions of the use of the words "Negro," "black," "Africa," "Africa," "the Black Land." In more liberal-leftist media, it was proposed to give up the Polish word "Murzyn" ("Negro") and replace it with "Afrykanin" ("African"). In more conservative media, the old name was defended, pointing to its origin from the word "Moorish," as well as the lack of connotations with colonialism and slavery. The research shows that the word "Murzyn" was still used in the Polish media much more often (153,781 times) than the word "Afrykanin" (14,394). The Media Monitoring Institute also focused on media racist statements made by public figures. The discussion was sparked by the behaviour of a TVN journalist who insulted Africans using the word "Negro" on air, giving it an additional negative, offensive connotation (Duński, 2015, pp. 17-18).

Between 2015 and 2016, the migration crisis in Europe became one of the leading topics in the media. This was undoubtedly influenced by terrorist attacks, as well as the deterioration of the sense of internal security in individual EU countries. The Western media reported on the refugee crisis, claimed that refugees had been "dehumanised," but they also managed fear and shocked with images of dead children. In general, it was believed that mainstream media in Western countries often failed to "cope with objective coverage." Instead of presenting facts, emotions were aroused (Adamczyk, 2018). In Poland, this topic was also used during the election campaign. The right-wing, conservative media emphasised the negative image of immigrants – a supposed threat to the European civilisation and to internal, economic, and social security – whereas liberal and left-wing media appreciated all immigrants. Touching on the issues of the humanitarian crisis, tragic stories were quoted in an emotional way, especially about the children of immigrants. Aggressive behaviour of immigrants in Western countries (Germany, France) was not revealed. At the same time, these media were not directly pro-immigrant.

Few media outlets and few journalists tried to convey neutral information and to maintain a balance between showing the need to provide help and dangers posed by incomers (Graduszewska, 2018, pp. 282-286). The Polish recipient received different, contradictory messages, most often based on slogans and word labels. There was a lack of reliable, proven and specific knowledge about immigrants. The topic of the 2014-2016 Ebola haemorrhagic fever epidemic in West Africa (including Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone) was discussed, but much less often than in 2011 (Średziński, 2016, p. 48).

It is important to observe statements and actions organised by Polish celebrities and artists of African descent (Omenaa Mensah, Patricia Kazadi, John Godson). (Średziński, 2016, pp. 9-21). Speaking about difficult Polish-African relations, experiences of reluctance, stigmatisation at school and in the public sphere, they motivated people to fight stereotypes. These were single, isolated activities, but they also thematically formed part of the area of helping Africa and therefore perpetuated a negative stereotype. Actors (Artur Żmijewski as a UNICEF ambassador, Małgorzata Foremniak) and athletes (Robert Lewandowski) called for help for children. Despite the noble goal, the stereotype of a hungry and poor Africa was reinforced. The exception can be found in statements of Szymon Hołownia, who supported humanitarian aid actions for children but also promoted the image of happy African families. The positive portrayal of Africa was most often visible in travel programmes and articles (of Martyna Wojciechowska or Wojciech Cejrowski). Cejrowski, who is knowledgeable about Africa, at the same time did not hide, in an interview with Dariusz Rosiak, his contemptuous attitude towards Africans (Średziński, 2011, p. 5). However, spreading information about rapes, fighting prejudices about vitiligo or albinism formed part of the pejorative image of Africa. There were certainly no articles, pieces of news or even mentions about African cultures and religions. General dominant way of communication about Africa was still the same. There was rarely a distinction between countries and ethnic and religious groups. A football player Jacek Magdziński wrote favourably about Africa, especially Angola, delighted with the landscape and

business development opportunities in this country, but paradoxically, topics of positive character were not often publicised in the Polish media.

The media focused on historical figures who had an impact on shaping positive relations between Poles and Africans. As a curiosity, it was reported that a Pole named Tomasz Sadowski, the president of Fundacja Pomocy Wzajemnej "Barka" [Mutual Help Foundation "Barge"], became a member of the elders of a Congolese tribe. These were individual events, and they did not deepen the knowledge about Africa, but they showed the connections of outstanding Poles with Africa (Średziński, 2016, pp. 42-47).

The report on the monitoring of Polish media in 2015 and 2016 confirmed the results of previous surveys from 2010-2011, namely African issues still occupied little space. Despite the little knowledge of Poles about Africa and declarations of willingness to learn about it, there was visible reluctance to read long texts, which makes it impossible to broaden and deepen knowledge in any area (Średziński, 2016, pp. 42-47).

What distinguishes the media image of Africa from its images from previous years is the inclusion of information devoted to the native culture (especially African writers) in the thematic areas related to Africa, in addition to difficult living conditions, numerous dangers and beautiful nature. An increase in tolerance towards the "other" was observed, especially among the younger generation, who worked in multinational corporations and had more personal contacts with representatives of different ethnic groups.

In the media space, the ongoing discussions of politicians on immigrants and refugees were of a general nature, most often boiling down to criticising opponents and promoting a closed or open attitude. They lacked specific concepts related to the creation of conditions for adaptation or integration of the incoming and receiving groups. The vast majority, as many as 77%, still got information about Africa from the media. For the remaining 23%, the main source was articles on the Internet. In 2015, only about 8% of Poles encountered any information about Africa. Around 1/3 of Poles have come across offensive comments about Africans on the Internet, especially racist statements uttered by public figures. Only 4% of Poles obtained information about Africa from friends who had been there, 3% referred to their experiences from their own contacts with Africans, and 2% attributed their knowledge about Africa to their stay on this continent. Still, most Poles did not look for information about Africa. Only extreme news, disasters, tragedies, and catastrophes reached the Polish audience (Średziński, 2016, p. 5).

## PORTRAYING AFRICA AND AFRICANS IN THE POLISH MEDIA IN 2021

The image of Africans in the Polish media in 2021 can be seen in the Opening Report on media monitoring from January 2022, developed by the foundation Instytut Dyskursu i Dialogu [Institute of Discourse and Dialogue] (Górska, Rączkowiak, and Gołębiewski, 2022). It did not differ significantly from the conclusions from the previous reports. It confirmed the low interest of Poles in the inhabitants of Africa, and Islam. Poles also know little about various groups of Africans and their sometimes complex identity. Intersectionality, i.e. the process of intersection of distinct identities, such as African, Polish or other ones, is unknown to the Polish audience. Education on these topics is also marginal. Traditional and online media were dominated by short information, devoid of context. Most often they concerned drastic, dramatic events that arouse emotions. Such material not only increased the attractiveness of the message but also the popularity of individual media. The facts provided were interpreted in order to shape the views of the audience and make them stick with particular media.

The multitude of negative images of Africa, Africans and Islam, repeated many times, could translate into aversion to these groups, considering them a threat, and identifying them with aggression. Ultimately, those portrayals may have reinforced prejudice against these groups. Images of the continent and people living there created in this way could shape a false image of Africans, far from reality.

Stereotypes functioning in the media could be transferred to Africans living in Poland, Afro-Poles or followers of Islam, regardless of their ethnic affiliation. This was facilitated by a simplified message and treating Africa as one country, without taking into account the ethnic, national and state affiliation of individual Africans. Creating a unified, undifferentiated image allowed the media to make unauthorised generalisations. In this way, individual groups were deprived of their differences and identity. In the mainstream media, religious and cultural threads were omitted or not visible. The more liberal media drew attention to the need to provide humanitarian aid to immigrants and refugees, especially in the face of the crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border (Jas-Koziarkiewicz, 2023, pp. 341-360). There was a lack of in-depth information on cultural and religious diversity.

Public opinion polls show that, in contrast to the second half of the 20th century, the attitude of contemporary Poles towards Africans resembles structural racism and soft racism. In the opinion of Africans living in Poland, women more often experienced unconscious and unintentional microaggression (such

as touching hair, saying: "you speak Polish very well"), and men more often encountered physical aggression (Ohia-Nowak, 2022). Migrants are making increasingly high demands of Poles. Neither group seems prepared to coexist. Lack of previous contacts and ignorance of culture, rules, moral norms, and cultural codes make both groups feel uncomfortable. Specialists working in corporations rarely had contact with Poles and, like students, did not feel a connection with Poland. With poor knowledge of the Polish language, they did not integrate with Poles and did not belong to the community. However, they also expressed their fear of aggression, admitting that they liked nature, hospitality, safety, lack of wars, and cheap life in Poland (Duński, 2022b, p. 9).

In 2022, fewer negative feelings related to the African population were observed compared to 2015, when the threat of terrorism seemed to be greater. The reason was the increase in mutual contacts, especially among young people, and there was low unemployment. However, it is not known whether such attitudes will prove to be permanent, for example, in a situation of economic crisis. The number of people who consider African culture to be as valuable as European culture has increased (Duński, 2022a, p. 42). The common opinion was dominated by the stereotype of a wild, exotic Africa, which was also backward and needed help. This stereotype aroused fear and a sense of strangeness. In addition, Africans transferred to new conditions may experience cultural stress, and adaptation processes take time. The knowledge of Poles about Africa was also superficial and stereotypical, but a group of people interested in this continent, its culture and development opportunities has appeared. Poles willingly participate in music, dance and culinary festivals presenting the achievements of the African culture. The number of people convinced of the possibility of a full integration of Africans with Poles is growing. The increased interest in Africa since 2016, observed in the years 2021-2022, has brought greater openness towards the Other, as well as acceptance of people of African descent, and the sense of insecurity associated with them has decreased. There are fewer people against mixed marriages, especially if the man is Polish. Fewer and fewer people believe that African culture is at a lower stage of development. Empathy towards people of different skin colour has increased. Poles began to realise that there are cases of racism and intolerance in Poland. The young generation of Poles have more and more contacts with Africans. There is also a process of worldview change, an increase in liberal attitudes (Duński, 2022a, pp. 42-50).

Monitoring of the Polish media in 2021 shows that despite the tendency to change the approach to Africans and people from other cultures, ideas still prevail over knowledge about Africa. The stereotype of poor Africa dominates, as do schematic images of nature, safari, political instability of countries, colonialism, athletes, especially athletics, and tourism. Descriptions in the Polish media show the belief that Africans have the same values as Europeans, they are cheerful, they like to have fun and sing. On the other hand, more and more Poles are aware that it is a continent full of extremes, with very rich and very poor countries. They also lack knowledge about the life of the inhabitants in individual African countries, about scientists, writers, poets, and artists, so the interest in Africa is still weak. There is a constant discussion in the media about the legitimacy of using the words "Negro" and "African." Most Poles are convinced that there is no violence against Africans in Poland. On the other hand, there was a belief that Africans were sensitive to any manifestation of different treatment.

## AFRICANS IN THE POLISH MEDIA SPACE FROM JUNE 2022 TO MAY 2023

The media monitoring shows that the stereotypical image of Africa as a poor, politically and militarily unstable continent, in need of mostly humanitarian help, with excellent sportsmen, Catholic missions, and beautiful, wild nature is maintained. The media, while informing about Africa, do not specify the national, ethnic or religious affiliation of Africans. The exceptions are individual, original, tragic or exotic events, such as the case of Janusz Waluś, a Pole who killed Chris Hani, Nelson Mandela's competitor, one of the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, and was to be released on parole in 2022. Overall, Poles are still not interested in Africa and its people; a short, often laconic media message does not therefore raise objections or trigger a desire to learn more (Sredziński, 2023, pp. 48-49). The increase in interest in Africa appeared with Russia's war with Ukraine in the context of problems with the supply of grain to Africa. The topic of Russia transporting gold from Sudan also electrified the media and public opinion. The issue of the migration crisis on the Belarusian-Polish border appeared in the media mostly when dramatic events occur, such as the death of an Ethiopian citizen. Even then, however, the opposition used the issue of the humanitarian crisis to attack the government in the media. The discussions lacked reliable information, and emotional suggestions dominated. There were no proposals for legal solutions that would protect immigrants' health and lives and, conversely, ensure the safety of Polish citizens, but also no proposals concerning the development of universal intercultural education for Poles and Africans.

Thematic areas related to culture – especially writers, poets, creators, artists – science, and philosophy are almost non-present in the media space, except for scientific studies. The issues of African traditional and modern religions also do not appear in the media. The exception is Islam, which is associated with terrorism and fundamentalism. African culture, science, and religions are underrepresented in the Polish media. Poles, who mostly use media sources to obtain information, do not have knowledge in the areas mentioned and are not interested in deepening it. In this way, the stereotypical image of the continent and its inhabitants, which has been perpetuated for years, is strengthened, and so are the prejudices that also apply to people of African descent (Afro-Poles). The lack of visible interest in Africa may also be due to no interest in African countries on the part of individual governments. In the period of the Polish People's Republic, the governments of that time established contacts with the countries of this continent. Many students from Africa studied at Polish universities. Currently, only the President Andrzej Duda has visited a number of African countries.

A visible change in the media market has been caused by the presence of the young generation of people of African descent, especially in social media and on YouTube. Among them, Ogi Ugonoh's statement on the Red Lipstick Monster's channel drew attention. She stated that "wearing afro hairstyles by a white person is a cultural appropriation," and "if you want to wear braids, make sure you support dark-skinned people." She considered the inscription "for normal hair" on shampoo bottles to be a manifestation of racism (Średziński, 2023, pp. 48-49). This example shows that immigrants and Afro-Poles should also benefit from intercultural education. Building negative opinions towards both parties, as well as demanding attitudes, will not be conducive to mutual knowledge or understanding, nor will they change negative stereotypes. It may happen that the distance as well as the sense of hostility and injustice among Poles and Africans will increase. Both groups will thus begin to isolate themselves, creating closed enclaves, conducive to the emergence of conflicts, creating closed communities.

## CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the article was to show the image of cultures and religions of migrants from Africa in the Polish media space. Analysis of media monitoring reports indicated a small number of articles on the subject. The question arises about how to build a constructive opinion about migrants, if it is "embellished"

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or whether its negative aspect is reproduced in media messages. The image of migrants was presented in an exaggerated way. The liberal-leftist side focused on the humanitarian aspect, pointed to the need to provide help to migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. They were treated en bloc, thus depriving them of their ethnic, cultural, and religious identity. Issues of internal security, legal regulations and procedures were omitted, the same as cultural, axiological and behavioural differences, which can sometimes result in unpleasant or dangerous experiences for immigrants and Polish citizens. The other side – most often conservative and right-wing – referred to the extremely negative stereotype of migrants as poor, aggressive people without education, terrorists, social policy beneficiaries, a potential economic threat, people with no possibility of adapting to Polish norms, values and culture because of a too large cultural distance. Groups of migrants, including those from Africa, were marginalised and stereotypically portrayed, which distorted their true image.

The clichés concerning Africa and Africans, combined with their status as immigrants, perpetuated and transmitted by either liberal or conservative media, perceive migrants primarily in terms of deficiencies related to education, financial resources, health, morality, and providing humanitarian aid. The Polish media still fail to provide information about the richness of their cultures, religions, and creativity but also about different types of culture and value systems. Journalists, media recipients, state and local government officials, as well as Poles and Africans face the challenge of expanding knowledge in the field of the host country's culture, the cultures of immigrants, different cultural codes and customs, but also the real demographic, economic, and social situation, education, problems, and expectations.

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#### WIZERUNEK KULTUR I RELIGII MIGRANTÓW Z AFRYKI W POLSKIEJ PRZESTRZENI MEDIALNEJ

#### Streszczenie

Z monitoringu mediów wynika, że podtrzymuje się stereotypowy obraz Afryki jako biednego, niestabilnego politycznie i militarnie kontynentu, potrzebującego pomocy, zwłaszcza humanitarnej, znanego również ze znakomitych sportowców, misji katolickich oraz pięknej, dzikiej przyrody. Informując o Afryce, media nie precyzują przynależności narodowej, etnicznej czy religijnej Afrykanów, z wyjątkiem jednostkowych, oryginalnych, tragicznych lub egzotycznych wydarzeń. Polacy wciąż nie interesują się Afryką i jej mieszkańcami. Krótki, często lakoniczny przekaz medialny nie budzi więc obiekcji ani nie wyzwala chęci dowiedzenia się więcej. Afrykańska kultura, nauka i religie są niedostatecznie reprezentowane w polskich mediach. Wyjątek stanowi islam, który kojarzy się z terroryzmem i fundamentalizmem.

Słowa kluczowe: migranci; Afrykanie; stereotypy etniczne i rasowe