

News narratives on migration explained.
A production study on Polish news narratives about Ukrainian refugees.

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, the level of migration in Poland has increased dramatically. Thus, the Polish media has widely started covering the topic of migration. When researching Polish news media, we can see a divergence of narratives on migration. Migration narratives and media messages are vital in shaping the audience's opinions. Thus, it becomes crucial to investigate the news production context of news narratives on migration to determine what factors influence the final image of migration portrayed in the media. Analysing how the Polish media construct and portray this crisis provides insight into how news is communicated, building a narrative that can influence public opinion, shape political debates and even influence diplomatic relations. Therefore, this study aims to identify the nuances of the Ukrainian crisis, offering a comparative analysis based on different news media and contributing to a broader understanding of the underlying news production processes and social context. Thus, our research question is: How do essential production and societal factors shape news narratives about Ukrainian refugees? Expert interviews with Polish journalists (N=7) were conducted to investigate the production aspect of media narratives. In addition, I relied on and contributed to a framework developed earlier to analyse external and internal aspects that influence the production of media narratives, the Hierarchy of Influences model developed by Reesem and Shoemaker (2016, pp. 389-410).

The study will show that the critical influence on how narratives about Ukrainian refugees are presented in the Polish news media is the emotions of journalists. Here, the most crucial aspect of influencing journalists in producing narratives lies at the individual level. The study shows that emotions and personal beliefs are the strongest factors in the production context. Hence, the positive portrayal of refugees in the media is driven by empathy, sympathy, and a sense of cultural and historical closeness to Ukrainians. Such a solid emotion-driven approach negatively affects professionalism and objectivity, and therefore, a routine level in which editorial structures ensure unbiased and reliable narratives becomes crucial. However, as noted, the routine level doesn't directly influence the production aspect as the topic of migration itself is not a primary interest for Polish news outlets. However, political influence is significant regarding journalists' views and media affiliation, but it is not the primary influence.

KEYWORDS: *migration, productional perspective, narratives, Ukraine, Polish news media*

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1. Introduction

Migration phenomena are becoming increasingly prevalent in society and are a broad subject area. We can observe their effects and consequences in various areas of life, be it social, individual, or economic life. Thus, it has become a complex challenge on a global scale, affecting diverse regions of the world and generating complex social, economic, and political implications (Castles, 2010, p. 1568). Currently, this phenomenon is associated with population flows from other continents to the Schengen Area, especially Central Europe. It should be noted that the more the European Union (EU) expands, the more potential flashpoints exist and the more likely it is to absorb the resulting negative externalities (refugees, migration due to poverty, etc.). For example, since 2014, migration processes have been taking place in Ukraine, which is closely linked to political processes and the military invasion of the Russian Federation (Chugaievska et al., 2023, p. 77). Migration flows became particularly intense after the open aggression of 24 February 2022 (Jasiecki & Pacek, 2023, p. 135). Faced with such a dominant force of the Russian invaders, it was only natural for the civilian population to evacuate and flee.

Consequently, one of the most important consequences of the war was the forced migration movements inside and outside the country (Jasiecki & Pacek, 2023, p. 135). As of the end of February 2023, 7.7 million Ukrainian refugees were temporarily abroad, and 6.2 million people were internally displaced (Chugaievska et al., 2023, p. 77). Additionally, it should be noted that Ukraine is currently the most important source country for migration to Poland (Brunarska et al., 2012, p. 4). Several factors foster the popularity of Poland as a destination country for Ukrainians, the key being geographical and cultural proximity (Brunarska et al., 2012, p. 4). The flow of migrants from Ukraine has become the largest such phenomenon in Europe since the end of World War II, causing several socio-economic consequences (Brunarska et al., 2012, p. 4). On the positive side is cultural and community enrichment and economic development, particularly in construction, agriculture, healthcare and services. Population growth increases the demand for products and services. However, Poland must meet the increased demand for housing, school places and medical services, which requires an effective migration policy (Jasiecki & Pacek, 2023, p. 138). Nevertheless, it is important to stress the existence of several social challenges, both external and internal population flows, including problems of social adaptation, interrupted education of children

and young people, issues of efficiency of selected social systems (e.g. health care) in the new place of residence (Chugaievska et al., 2023, p. 77).

The reported increased flow of refugees and migrants from North African and Middle Eastern countries to Europe is one of the most discussed topics in the public space (Al-Shahi & Lawless, 2013, p. 2). The migration crisis is present in mainstream news outlets, on front pages of newspapers or red-hot banners of online portals and services. The discussion about the sense and legitimacy of accepting refugees involves many circles: from politicians, media representatives and celebrities to scientists, social activists, activists and, finally, so-called ordinary people (Jaworsky & Krotký, 2021, p. 330). In this sea of opinions and media messages, one can see an evident polarisation in how the so-called migration crisis is presented in the mainstream media and the independent, civic media (Giorgi & Vitale, 2017, p. 76; Yüksel, 2023, p. 39).

Within this news media trend, one has to consider the role of news media during “migration crises” and its influence on the public. The narratives disseminated by the mass media have the power to shape one's view of the world, to create its interpretation, “the image of the world that manifests itself in linguistic data” (Maćkiewicz, 1999, p. 194). Media messages are essential when the issues relate to the audience’s everyday life. This is especially true of regional and local media, which focus on events in the immediate surroundings. Migration is an issue that has strongly affected emotions in recent years and has been widely commented on in the media (Crawley et al., 2016, pp. 32, 45). In this context, the Polish media, especially the left-wing media, often echo heart-wrenching photographs of hungry children who, seeking refuge in European countries, die exhausted by the tedious crossing. In response, radically conservative portals frequently post videos of riots involving refugees unwilling to assimilate into the local communities of their host countries or photos of vandalised bus stops, buses and streets (Wcisł, 2017, p. 146)

Furthermore, most citizens derive their information on migration from the news media, thus succumbing to the bias created by media-covered themes and news narratives (Jacomella, 2010, pp. 34-41). From a cultural perspective, the mass media are a social institution in developing communities, affirming bonds and sharing common values (Grossberg et al., 1998, pp. 22, 106). Moreover, media coverage can determine agendas by highlighting specific aspects of migration crises that require attention from policy-makers, civil society and the public (Posyliuzhna, 2020, p. 23). Thus, by framing issues and focusing on particular narratives, the media can influence which themes are prioritised in public

discourse. Positive practices can increase migrants' sense of belonging by providing a common language, references, role models, social orientations, and beliefs that enable coexistence in society (Crawley et al., 2016, p. 11). Using humanitarian and personal narratives in the media can promote empathy and understanding towards migrants and refugees (Pantti & Ojala, 2018, p. 1040). However, different types of narratives, e.g., more threat narratives, can also encourage the opposite, such as discrimination, xenophobia and exclusion.

Nevertheless, news narratives surrounding forced migration from the Global South and Polish news narratives on Ukrainian refugees exhibit distinctive representation patterns, reflecting each region's socio-political contexts, media priorities, and specific medium, region, and context (Yuzva & Tashchenko, 2021, pp. 2-6; Свідерська, 2022, p. 29).

However, regarding the identified representations and discourses in news coverage of refugees, current research suggests a prevalence of certain tropes and narratives. Additionally, the Ukrainian crisis has far-reaching consequences for the countries directly involved and the broader European context (Gehring et al., 2017, pp. 727-739).

Forced migration from the Global South is often depicted in news narratives as a humanitarian crisis driven by conflict, poverty, and environmental disasters (Cottle, 2008, p. 1). Common representations include the victimisation of refugees, highlighting their vulnerability and need for assistance (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 98). Security concerns are frequently emphasised, framing migration as a potential threat to stability in host countries (Odeyemi, 2021, pp. 78-80). Therefore, the majority of news narratives visible in news media portray refugees in a negative light, describing them as a threat. Such representations are primarily linked to political and policy debates (Kaarbo & Boswell, 2022, p. 3). Within this framework, refugees from the Global South are often subjected to stereotyping and oversimplified cultural representations in the media, which can perpetuate biases and misunderstandings (Harth, 2012, p. 18). In the news, refugees can usually be seen as a burden on host countries, which consequently depletes their economic and financial resources; as a direct effect, these countries are portrayed as victims of migration due to their need for support to meet their needs, depleted by refugees (Posyliuzhna, 2020, p. 89).

Moreover, media coverage tends to underscore the scale of the crisis and its impact on resources and international aid efforts. Political factors driving migration, such as governance failures and corruption, are also commonly addressed (Castles, 2019, p. 1). These narratives reflect a complex interplay of humanitarian, geopolitical, and socio-economic challenges within the origin and destination regions.

Unlike most refugee populations from the Global South, Ukrainian migrants are less often confronted with negative stereotypes or stigmatisation in the media (Blomberg, 2023, p. 7; Shmidt, 2022, p. 113). Their portrayal is more positive and humane, which may be due to their political and cultural context (Blomberg, 2023, p. 7). Ukrainian refugees are mainly depicted as experiencing wartime violence and conflict, prompting sympathy and support from the public. The media emphasises the cultural similarities and values between Ukrainian refugees and host communities, encouraging positive portrayal and social integration.

As such, Polish *news narratives on Ukrainian refugees* are likely to differ due to the specific context of the Ukrainian crisis and Poland's historical relationship with Ukraine. Representations include narratives of solidarity and support towards Ukrainian refugees, emphasising historical ties and shared identity (Blomberg, 2023, p. 14). Despite discussing border security and management, media coverage often balances security concerns with humanitarian considerations. Additionally, there is a focus on practical aspects such as integration efforts and policy responses. Polish news narratives are expected to be more nuanced and optimistic compared to depictions of forced migration from other regions, reflecting the unique circumstances of Ukrainian displacement and Poland's role as a primary host country (Свідерська, 2022, p. 28).

While there is already much research on news representations of refugees from the Global South and some on news representations of Ukrainian refugees, there is an urgent need for more research on producing news coverage about migration. Nonetheless, there are a few studies regarding news production of news coverage on refugees from the Global South (Cooper et al., 2020, p. 195; Elsamni, 2016, p. 2; Gladkova & Jamil, 2021, p. 1). However, more research is needed on news production covering news about refugees from the Global North, particularly Ukrainian refugees, especially in the Polish context (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 97). This is particularly crucial given the scarcity of research on migration within the Polish media landscape, which has traditionally concentrated on analysing Western countries. Understanding the intricacies of news production reveals the biases, motivations, and influences shaping narratives, especially in sensitive crises like Ukraine (Fisher, 2023, p. 2). Given the media's sway over public opinion and migration policy, this exploration is academically and socially essential. Investigating these mechanisms before delving into news production offers insights into potential biases driving subsequent narratives (Castles, 2010, p. 1568).

Analysing how the Polish media constructs and portrays this crisis offers a glimpse into how information is transmitted, building a narrative that can influence public opinion, shape political debates and even affect diplomatic relations. Thus, this study aims to identify the nuances of the Ukrainian crisis, offering a comparative analysis based on diverse news media and contributing to the broader understanding of underlying news production processes and societal context. Media owners and competition for mass audiences further shape media policy, often translating into simplifying content, sensationalism and over-personalisation, which can affect the quality and reliability of the information provided. This analysis aligns with broader studies in media and business, emphasising the significance of news production studies in comprehending the construction of (or underlying factors that explain) news representations of migration (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017, p. 6).

The media primarily determines the representation of a given community and its members. At the same time, it accepts as credible the findings of many researchers pointing to the difficulties of the media domain in representing and integrating immigrants in EU countries (Yücel, 2021, p. 39). In that case, one must conclude that such findings open up a space for further matters and problems.

With such fast-paced migration, European society is increasingly more multicultural and ethnically diverse. However, this shift needs to be sufficiently reflected in the news media or the mainstream media's portrayal of immigrants in Europe ((Huddleston & Niessen, 2009, p. 28). Thus, it is essential to fill this gap to provide a more accurate portrayal of immigrants and shed existing biases. Studying news narratives reveals essential societal and scientific insights on forced migration, promoting empathy, understanding, and effective responses to humanitarian crises within the Global South and in regional refugee contexts such as Ukraine and Poland.

Studying Polish news coverage of Ukrainian refugees is crucial for understanding how media shapes public perceptions and policy responses during humanitarian crises. By delving into this coverage's production and social context, we can uncover the nuanced narratives that influence societal attitudes and government actions towards refugees. The media plays a pivotal role in framing the discourse on migration, often reflecting and amplifying broader societal views while exerting its influence on public opinion. Moreover, emphasising commercial influences within media production adds another layer of complexity. In today's coverage's production and social context of the media landscape, commercial considerations heavily impact the selection and presentation of news stories, including those related to refugees. This research not only elucidates how narratives around

Ukrainian refugees are constructed but also highlights the broader implications for media ethics and business practices within the industry. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for fostering critical media literacy and promoting responsible journalism that serves the public interest amidst evolving economic and social contexts.

The overarching research objective is to provide a detailed view of the production and social context underlying Polish news coverage of Ukrainian refugees and a clear perspective on the media's role in constructing narratives about Ukrainian refugees in Poland. This dissertation addresses the central research question: *How do underlying production and societal factors shape news narratives of Ukrainian refugees in Poland?* We have, therefore, conducted seven expert interviews with Polish journalists about how news narratives are constructed, framed, and disseminated within the news landscape, shedding light on the role of media entities in shaping public perceptions of migration. The case of Ukrainian refugees in Poland will be used as a central sample, allowing for a thorough understanding of the production of information on migration in the Polish context.

Regarding the theoretical framework, this research adopts an interdisciplinary approach, combining migration theory, media sociology, and news production studies. While centring on the representation of refugees in the context of the Ukrainian crisis, this study centres around examining the processes of news production, encompassing the influence of both micro and macro levels following the *Hierarchy of Influences Model* by Reese and Shoemaker, 2016, pp. 389-410). By clarifying these identified representations, our work aims to contribute to a more refined understanding of why refugees are portrayed in media in particular ways, providing a more nuanced perspective than previous, potentially more generalised research in this area. Hence, this approach stems from the belief that a holistic view of the construction of news about refugees in Poland is essential to understanding the phenomenon fully (Jaskulowski, 2019, p. 38).

Overall, the study of news coverage of Ukrainian refugees in Poland is crucial for understanding the social and media dynamics of migration. Breaking through existing white gaps in the study of Polish media migration narratives can provide valuable tools for a better understanding of the media's influence on society and for more informed migration policy-making.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Relevance of News Narratives

Narratives are a cornerstone of human communication, integral to interpreting and conveying our experiences and understanding of the world. This viewpoint underscores the significance of narratives in making sense of our existence and communicating our stories to others. Moreover, narratives allow us to weave disparate observations and events into coherent meanings and realities (Bruner, 1991, p. 1). Expanding on this idea, Ryan (2002) points out that narratives take on various forms across cultures and societies, from myths and legends to movies and news media (p. 581). He emphasises that narratives are omnipresent, playing a central role in human communication and expression (p. 605). This is particularly relevant when analysing how the media shape stories about refugees. News narratives are instrumental in shaping public perceptions about refugees (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 96). These narratives can influence public attitudes, policies, and even governmental decisions (Jasiecki & Pacek, 2023, p. 135). By analysing these narratives, it is possible to understand what production mechanisms influence how stories about refugees are created and presented.

Further understanding how the social and political context shapes these narratives is also important. For instance, the media may use specific language or images to evoke empathy or fear, influencing public opinion and policy towards refugees (Czachur et al., 2022, p. 63). For example, narratives may portray refugees as victims requiring support and compassion, which may lead to more open migration policies. Conversely, narratives describing refugees as a threat may lead to stricter migration policies (Almustafa, 2021, p. 1065).

2.1.1 News Narratives and Their Relevance

Narratives in news reporting transcend the simple relay of events; they incorporate symbolic details, atmosphere, and temporal depth. De Luca Picione et al. (2016) stress how news story narratives contribute to constructing meaning through references to time and context (p. 340). Moreover, narratives uniquely engage readers on both cognitive and emotional levels, transporting them into the story world and shaping their perceptions and understanding. Brown (2006) argues that narratives are essential in constructing collective meaning within society, fostering a sense of participation and shared knowledge of societal issues (p. 738). Thus, news can be seen as collectively producing meanings rather than

simply transmitting information (Schudson, 1995, p. 206). Narratives include a sequence of events presented in a logical and chronologically related manner, often depicting a transformation from crisis to resolution (Gotham & Staples, 1996, p. 482). They also convey information about the setting, characters, and motivations (Frank et al., 2021, p. 29). News stories can offer psychologically realistic portrayals of individuals and situations, extending beyond mere reporting to encompass complex issues like politics and international affairs (Harbers & Broersma, 2014, p. 643). This collective reinforcement through narratives reflects and shapes cultural values and perspectives.

Papacharissi and De Fatima Oliveira (2012) explain how journalists blend factual accuracy with storytelling techniques in narrative journalism to convey their perceptions and emotionally engage audiences (p. 267, 277). Such a blend of objectivity and subjectivity in narrative journalism aims to capture events' subjective experiences and emotions while maintaining journalistic integrity (Neveu, 2014, p. 538). By including symbolic details and atmospheric portrayals, narratives in news stories connect dots and provide temporal depth, allowing readers to see beyond the surface of events and engage more deeply with the story (Mattingly, 1998, p. 10). Overall, narratives play a vital role in human communication, particularly in news reporting and journalism. Thus, it is crucial to discuss their particular role in migration.

2.2. Role of News Media Regarding Migration

The role of the news media in shaping perceptions and attitudes towards migration is multifaceted and highly influential, especially during periods of heightened migration crises, such as those triggered by conflicts such as the one in Ukraine (Mouzaki Roumelioti, 2023, pp. 22, 38, 45). The media serve as significant sources of information for the public on migration-related matters, significantly influencing public opinion and policy responses (Horolets et al., 2018, p. 3). Research shows that perceptions of minorities are strongly influenced by media coverage of significant events, which dominate information on migration (Jacomella, 2010, p. 12). Thus, the media may be responsible for promoting a negative image of migrants (Musarò & Parmiggiani, 2017, p. 254). Media narratives often portray migration through the lens of crisis, highlighting security threats or depicting migrants as helpless victims in need of rescue (Milojević & Milić, 2023, p. 14). Such selective framing can elicit emotional responses from the public, shaping perceptions of migrants as a burden or humanitarian concern (Cinalli et al., 2021, p. 39). Such emotional

and technocratic framing contributes to what has been called 'compassionate repression' (Roeser & Pesch, 2015, p. 275), legitimising the dichotomy between citizens ('us') and foreigners ('them'). Such framing sensationalises migration, ignores its impact on communities and fails to inform audiences about migrants' rights under international, regional and national laws. Continued exposure to sensational and stereotypical images of migrants contributes to a climate of fear in which migrants fear rejection and elimination, while residents fear the perceived threat of outsiders (Musarò & Parmiggiani, 2017, p. 247).

The press has a representative (ideational) function, creating images of objects and people. It is also a performative function through which discursive practices bring about meaningful change in the social world (Jacobs, 2021, p. 151). Thus, how individuals and collectives are spoken and written about, giving them specific meanings, influences ideas operating in society and, consequently, actions towards them.

Organisations and scholars advocate for media literacy and ethical reporting practices in response to these challenges. Despite the potential pitfalls of media representation, news media also have the potential to develop empathy and understanding towards migrants and refugees. By providing accurate and nuanced information, the media can challenge stereotypes and misconceptions, contributing to a more inclusive and equitable knowledge of migration in contemporary society (Jacobs, 2021, p. 172). By critically analysing and contextualising media narratives, we can challenge depoliticised migration frames and promote a more informed and empathetic understanding of this complex global matter.

2.3 News Narratives on Migration

As described above, news narratives can be vital in shaping public opinion. Thus, their analysis of the topic of migration becomes crucial. It is worth noting here that when examining migrant narratives, researchers often delve into personal accounts of migrants' experiences, such as life stories or biographical interviews, to uncover the complex factors that influence migration decisions and lived realities (Sahin-Mencutek, 2020, p. 16). Narratives allow individuals and groups to organise and understand complex material in a coherent and accessible way (Sahin-Mencutek, 2020, p. 2). Additionally, they help to create a shared sense of meaning and collective solidarity, linking individual emotions and cognition to broad social discourse (Hammack & Pilecki, 2011, p. 76). This approach, as defined by De Fina and Tseng (2017, p. 383), includes narratives of migrants themselves - accounts that shed light on identities, experiences, values and relationships - as well as

narratives about migrants from communities and institutions that interact with migrants (Boswell et al., 2021, pp. 10-13).

Another strand of research analyses narratives about migrants in a media context, focusing on the construction of migrant identities and discussions of multiculturalism, race and citizenship (Boswell et al., 2021, p. 13). Researchers have observed a shift in boundaries from ethnic or national differences to those focused on religion and religious affiliation (Cadge & Ecklund, 2007, pp. 359–379; Friberg & Sterri, 2021, pp. 718–745). Another side of the research focuses on Polish public discourse on migrants, highlighting the lack of differentiation of migrants according to distinguished demographic categories (Józwiak et al., 2010, p. 32). For example, an analysis of newspaper articles showed that foreigners are not perceived exclusively as a source of danger (Józwiak et al., 2010, p. 32). The dominant images were of migrants as an opportunity (positive impact of foreigners on the Polish economy), as victims of various types of discrimination and as a threat (crime, spoiling the labour market) (Józwiak et al., 2010, p. 31).

Despite the overarching role of migrant narratives, scholarly discourse has highlighted the paucity of migrant voices in mainstream media representations (Boswell et al., 2021, p. 12). Furthermore, there is an urgent need to amplify these 'unheard voices' drowned out by the dominant discourses surrounding the so-called 'migration crisis'. As part of this understanding, let us discuss the emerging information narrative on refugees from the Global South and North.

2.3.1. News Narratives on Refugees from the Global South and North

The academic literature on news narratives about refugees from the Global South reveals a noticeable divide between the portrayal of migrants from the Global South and the Global North (Santos et al., 2018, pp. 461-465). This refers not only to the political-economic concept or the digital divide but also to the portrayal of migration as a phenomenon. In the global news media, migrants from the Global North are often portrayed as the 'other', and their stories are sometimes presented through the lens of security, legality and assimilation (Cisneros, 2008, p. 571). In contrast, migrants from the Global South may portray more nuanced and empathetic, highlighting their humanity, struggles and the socio-political contexts that lead to migration (Grill, 2023, p. 93). Moreover, media in the Global South can focus more on the experiences of migrants themselves, including the challenges they face in their countries and during their journeys. Chouliaraki and Zaborowski (2017) identified various strategies for managing refugee voices in news narratives, including

silencing, collectivisation and decontextualisation, referred to as 'modernisation' (p. 382, 615).

Media scholars have noted the frequent use of humanitarian and securitarian (public order) frameworks in shaping migration narratives. This involves portraying refugees, particularly from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), as threats, victims and heroes (Boswell et al., 2021, p. 12). The most common recurring frames of refugees from the Global South, as mentioned above, focus on the victim frame. This focuses on global economic issues, humanitarianism and racism/xenophobia, while the hero frame evokes positive themes such as cultural diversity and integration. The humanitarian frame highlights the difficulties of refugees and portrays them as victims of war or persecution (Van Gorp, 2009, pp. 484-486).

However, it is essential to recognise that the diversity of information narratives remains. At the same time, it is possible to observe the framing of migrants as villains (especially racist or criminalised migrants, especially Muslims) compared to refugees as fiscal or public order threats and humanitarian migrants as victims of state regulation or racist acts (Eloff, 2022, pp. 1, 4, 21). However, delving deeper into this research, the above narratives can be extended to include frames used in media narratives about refugees, divided into threat, humanitarian, economic, and foreign groups with foreign culture and political frames (Trulsson & Sundelin, 2023, p. 21). Adding to the definition of 'threat' as a frame described above, De Coninck (2020), in this understanding, presents refugees as a potential threat to national security or social well-being, highlighting issues such as crime and terrorism (p. 555, 564).

It is possible to observe different approaches to refugees in media varying by genre: in Romania, a neutral and informative discourse, operating mainly with facts, dominated news agencies, while a discourse based on alarmist news and sensationalist headlines about the alleged threat of migrants dominated tabloids (Rehejeh, 2020, pp. 159-173). In Italy, conversely, Maneri et al. (2023) described cycles of retribution and criminalisation targeting different migrant groups over time, which are largely politically conditioned (p. 6). The Polish news media is dominated by a discourse of security in the context of migration (Firgolska, 2023, p. 121). There is a tendency to construct migrants as potential threats to society, which can shape public opinion. Discourse studies indicate that media narratives often emphasise cultural and social differences, which can perpetuate stereotypes (Skibińska, 2021, p. 49). Thus, looking at existing trends in the narratives concerning

Ukrainian refugees becomes crucial to understanding their position and image in Polish society, among others.

2.3.2. News Narratives on Ukrainian Refugees

As the Ukrainian refugee influx increases, humanitarian and solidarity discourse elements emerge (Mäenpää, 2022, pp. 23-27). With the start of the war in Ukraine and the increasing number of Ukrainian migrants, we can see a noticeable shift in the information narrative about these countries.

Presentations of migration, especially refugees from Ukraine, in the Polish news media are dynamic and evolve depending on the political and social context. The portrayal of refugees from Ukraine in the Polish media was often positive, emphasising the humanitarian need for aid and solidarity (Zawadzka-Palucka, 2022, pp. 105-106). Reports focus on portraying Ukrainian refugees as victims of Russian aggression, highlighting their suffering and displacement due to the conflict (Iberi & Saddam, 2022, pp. 53-57). This portrayal aims to elicit sympathy and support, emphasising the relatable nature of these refugees as Europeans facing unexpected devastation. Unlike accounts of African or Middle Eastern refugee crises (supra), Ukrainian refugees are portrayed as culturally similar and comparable, further emphasising the tragic disruption of their previously stable lives.

Polish media often present images and stories that highlight the personal experiences of Ukrainian refugees, aiming to humanise the crisis (Iberi & Saddam, 2022, p. 55). The media present scenes of destroyed buildings, fleeing families and expressions of despair, highlighting the scale of the humanitarian crisis caused by the invasion (Iberi & Saddam, 2022, p. 53). For example, news clips show families arriving for safety and shelter, while interviews reveal their fears and uncertainty (Iberi & Saddam, 2022, p. 53). These narratives highlight the sudden shattering of normality and the emotional toll of war on individuals and families. Depicting refugees as people 'just like us', with shared values and aspirations.

Moreover, these accounts highlight the efforts of European countries to welcome and integrate Ukrainian refugees, demonstrating a commitment to upholding values of compassion and human rights in the face of adversity (Iberi & Saddam, 2022, p. 55). Moreover, this emphasis on the physical displacement of Ukrainian refugees is in line with previous research on refugee representation, which emphasises the importance of verbs of movement and transport-related terminology in media narratives (Zawadzka-Palucka, 2022, p. 97). By highlighting the logistical aspects of the refugee movement, Polish media

sought to convey the scale and impact of the crisis on individuals and families fleeing the conflict in Ukraine.

Notably, Ukrainian refugees were consistently portrayed as war refugees, emphasising the involuntary nature of their displacement due to the ongoing conflict (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 106). This distinction from economic migrants is essential, as research indicates that labelling refugees as economic migrants can lead to negative social attitudes (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 106). In contrast to previous research that portrayed refugees from the Middle East and North Africa as an economic burden for host countries, Ukrainian refugees were portrayed as a potential contributor to the Polish labour market (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 103). This positive portrayal suggests a shift in media representation, emphasising the potential socio-economic integration and contribution of Ukrainian refugees to Polish society. Furthermore, Polish newspapers avoided sensationalist language such as 'crisis' when referring to the Ukrainian refugee movement, choosing vague quantifiers to describe migration numbers (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 100). This approach contrasts with the portrayal of refugee movements from the Middle East and North Africa, which often emphasise the notion of crisis and evoke fear of overpopulation (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 106). Using more neutral terminology, the Polish media attempted to provide balanced and informative coverage of the refugee situation without exaggerating the scale of the crisis. Additionally, the press demonstrated an increased awareness of fake news, particularly concerning immigration-related discourse, and actively countered racist attitudes and attacks triggered by disinformation (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 104). This proactive response reflects a commitment to ethical reporting and responsible dissemination of information in times of humanitarian crisis.

Most media discourse studies on Ukrainian migrants conducted to date do not differentiate analyses by gender. However, in contrast to the above, one can learn from the few studies in this area that the image of Ukrainian migrant women tends to be negative: they are accused of engaging in illegal prostitution, illicit trafficking and petty crime (Bielecka-Prus, 2020, p. 184). Other analyses show that Ukrainian women are portrayed as hard-working women who prefer the traditional family model (Radzka, 2006, p. 167). Thus, the image of migrants in public discourse is strongly differentiated due to the ideological profile of individual media and the intersectionality of migrants, as well as their ethnicity, cultural background, and gender (Bielecka-Prus, 2020, p. 179). Given the significant influence of the media in shaping attitudes towards migrants, it is worth taking a closer look at what image of Ukrainian migrant women is created and sustained in public discourse.

Moreover, the contrast in media coverage between Ukraine and other refugee crises, especially those in Africa or the Middle East, is remarkable (Iberi & Saddam, 2022, p. 48). While Ukrainian refugees are portrayed as victims of a sudden and unjust conflict, often depicted as 'affluent middle-class people' who could be neighbours, other refugee groups are sometimes subject to different frames and stereotypes. The emphasis on shared cultural identity and proximity reinforced the narrative of commonality and shared responsibility, encouraging viewers to empathise with the plight of Ukrainian refugees. Thus, it is worth looking at how culturally and historically close countries, i.e. Poland, create narratives about Ukrainian migration.

2.4. Polish News Industry

The press market in Poland is ubiquitous and divided into numerous thematic groups, which are divided into subgroups organised according to specific systematics (Свідерська, 2022, p. 6). The primary division of the Polish press can be made based on subject matter and chronology, encompassing the daily media, the specialised press and the opinion or emotional press. The daily press provides news and dailies, while the specialised press deals with various fields of human activity. The opinion or emotion press, also known as the red press, includes dailies and magazines that present news from the lives of public figures and unusual events in the surrounding reality (Górska, 2021, p. 27). Research on the construction of messages in Polish media on migration reveals the complexity of the relationship between media society and politics. This aspect can be analysed within the framework of media framing, which examines how the press chooses some elements of a topic and presents them in a specific context, influencing audience perception (Wathen & Burkell, 2001, p. 134). From a framing perspective, research on Polish media shows that migration is often presented through the lens of nationality, economy and security (Łodziński & Szonert, 2023, p. 6). Nationality frames frequently emphasise the 'otherness' of migrants, which can influence the creation of a negative image (Eberl et al., 2018, p. 210). At the same time, economic frames portray migrants as workers, which fits with narratives about the impact of migration on the economy (Sahin-Mencutek et al., 2020, p. 8). Conversely, security frames, in the context of global events such as terrorism, lead to a link between migration and potential threats (Helbling & Meierrieks, 2020, p. 978)

Moreover, the media framing of migration in Poland is also shaped by historical and cultural contexts, leading to the representation of migration in a specific, sometimes stereotypical framework (Eberl et al., 2018, p. 217). The message's framework is linked to

the political framework, with political parties using migration as a political tool, influencing how the media portrays the topic (Wirth et al., 2016, p. 30). Thus, Zawadzka-Palucktau (2022) noted that the Polish government is much more positively disposed and open towards refugees from Ukraine than those from the Middle East and Africa (p. 99). This attitude is also reflected in the Polish media by attributing particular narratives with negative connotations to refugees from the Middle East and Africa. Despite the vast fragmentation of the Polish media, such relationships are more widely noted in the government media, while the private media remain more liberal and open in their views (Свідерська, 2022, pp. 6-7).

In the context of politics and news production on migration, it is essential to analyse the influence of policymakers on media content (Górska, 2021, p. 38). Research indicates that political parties in Poland actively shape the media narrative around migration depending on their political goals (Dolińska & Makaro, 2024, p. 125). Particularly interesting is how politicians use migration rhetoric during election campaigns, influencing how the media portrays the topic (Eberl et al., 2018, p. 209)

News narratives on Ukrainian refugees in the Polish media, especially in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita* and *Fakt*, initially portrayed refugees in a positive light, emphasising their role as recipients of universal aid and support (Zawadzka-Palucktau, 2022, p. 106). These newspapers showcased the various actors involved in assisting, with *Gazeta Wyborcza* highlighting grassroots initiatives (Свідерська, 2022, pp. 34-45), *Rzeczpospolita* focusing on the contribution of public figures (Свідерська, 2022, pp. 47-50) and *Fakt* depicting the efforts of celebrities to allocate funds for humanitarian aid (Zawadzka-Palucktau, 2022, p. 106). These frames emphasised solidarity and generosity towards the displaced population, portraying Ukrainian refugees as beneficiaries of collective compassion and assistance.

2.5. News Production: the Hierarchy of Influences Model.

News production is studied within the broader field of journalism and media studies. Researchers analyse news production processes to understand how information is collected, constructed and disseminated in different media systems.

The HOI model presents a comprehensive framework with five levels, categorising micro (individual, routine), meso (organisational), and macro (social institution and social system) factors that influence news media production. At the *individual level*, various personal attributes, such as professional roles and adherence to news values and demographics, are thought to shape journalists' media content (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p.

398). The *routine level* includes editorial policies, practices and newsroom structures that influence content production (Anderson & Sun, 2023, p. 90). The *organisational level* refers to media organisations' policies and economic imperatives (Reese, 2001, p. 2). External actors, such as advertisers and socio-political institutions, significantly influence media content at the *social institution level*. The *macro-social system level* encompasses broader societal influences such as ideological processes, cultural norms and values affecting journalists and their work (Duan & Takahashi, 2016, p. 89). At the macro level in the HOI model, we can observe several overlapping levels of social institutions and social systems. Therefore, this dissertation will combine and discuss these two levels together.

However, the empirical application of this model, especially in the context of Polish journalism, needs to be broader. Therefore, using the HOI framework, especially at the micro level, will enhance our understanding of how individual characteristics such as education, aspirations, and motivations shape the content of Polish journalists. Exploring the meso level will illuminate the routine and organisational challenges in reporting climate stories in the Polish media landscape. At the macro level, the model examines how institutions influence journalism in Poland, including government bodies, advertisers and the broader social system (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 404).

Furthermore, extending the application of the HOI model to examine media narratives about Ukrainian refugees in Poland would be insightful, as this model hasn't been applied to the productional aspect of migration narratives. Thus, using the HOI framework, researchers can systematically explore the interplay of individual, organisational and societal influences on media representations of Ukrainian refugees in Poland, providing valuable insights into the dynamics of refugee discourse and media coverage in the country.

2.5.1. *The Individual Level*

The individual level of influence on journalists includes a variety of personal characteristics, primarily demographics such as race, origin, and age, but also views and values and, on a broader level, professional roles. Here, journalists' attitudes, such as political beliefs and values, can shape how they create stories and prioritise news topics. For example, journalists with solid political affiliations may be inclined to present stories from a particular perspective, potentially influencing the tone and emphasis of their reporting (Reese, 2001, p. 175).

Professional roles are understood here as educational background and training that shape journalists' skills, ethical standards and reporting methods. Different levels can lead

journalists to use various approaches to fact-checking, source verification and storytelling (Reese, 2001, p. 175).

Additionally, journalists' backgrounds, including cultural heritage, socioeconomic status and life experiences, can influence their perspectives and priorities in reporting (Reese, 2001, p. 175). Journalists from diverse backgrounds can bring unique insights to their work, highlighting underrepresented issues or communities. As Vos (2016, p. 743) puts it, journalists' predispositions can lead to 'selective attention, selective perception and selective retention of information', influencing journalists' gatekeeping decisions - intentionally or not.

The concept of journalistic objectivity is also relevant to individual influences. Although journalists strive for objectivity, their personal biases and experiences inevitably shape their reporting.

Borden and Pritchard (2001) point out that conflict of interest in journalism occurs when interests unrelated to their professional duties unduly influence journalists' judgements and actions (p. 85). This can manifest itself when a journalist has multiple roles simultaneously, such as moving into politics or public relations while simultaneously practising journalism.

Analysis of the HOI's level highlights that journalists are not isolated from personal interests or external influences. Instead, their professional behaviour is shaped by a complex interplay of individual characteristics, organisational pressures and audience perceptions. Recognising and resolving conflicts of interest is essential for journalists to preserve public trust and maintain the integrity of their profession in this complex ecosystem of media influence.

Additionally, as Reese and Shoemaker (2016) point out, organisational dynamics further complicate the ethical landscape for journalists (p. 404). Thus, when considering influence, journalistic routines also become crucial.

2.5.2. The Working Routines

Journalists operate within specific editorial structures in which their daily tasks are shaped by editorial policies and content creation guidelines (Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011, p. 419). Routines are established patterns of behaviour that shape our perceptions and functioning in society. In media work, these routines consist of ingrained rules, norms and procedures (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 399). Individuals within this framework cannot

act solely on their beliefs and attitudes; instead, they operate within various constraints imposed by technology, time, space and social norms.

Moreover, media outlets set editorial guidelines that prioritise stories. For example, a news organisation with a particular political stance on immigration may emphasise certain aspects of a story about immigrants while downplaying others, aligning coverage with editorial ideologies (Reed, 2021, p. 39). In this case, one of the critical determinants of news production on migration is the concept of timeliness (Ran, 2018, p. 97)

The selection and framing of migrant-related stories also depend on the perceived importance of specific events in the newsroom. Editors and directors are crucial in determining which stories gain popularity and are considered 'significant' enough to warrant coverage (Gemi et al., 2011, p. 14). This editorial perspective shapes the agenda-setting function of the media, influencing public discourse and perceptions of migration issues. Moreover, the media's portrayal of migrants often occurs within broader socio-cultural narratives, with individual migrant stories as examples of more significant societal issues (Gemi et al., 2011, p. 27). This links to the organisational context discussed below, which shapes the framing of migration issues and perpetuates stereotypes and prejudices in media representations.

2.5.3. Organisational Level

The news organisation for which a journalist works can also influence news selection. The organisational level in the HOI model examines how media organisations shape news narratives, thereby influencing news production (Reese, 2001, p. 173). Research has shown that the characteristics of the media - local or national newspapers, commercial or public broadcasters - influence the choice of protest news (Cushion, 2021, pp. 3-20). Journalists operate within larger social structures defined by organisational goals, power dynamics and formal structures. This organisational level considers the imperatives that shape journalistic routines and how individuals navigate their roles within the larger formal structure (Reese, 2001, p. 181). In our case, the ideological position of the media, in particular, is of interest, given the issue (politicised) and the media system (polarised pluralist). Much research has emerged on the issue of 'media bias' (Castro-Herrero et al., 2016, pp. 571–593; Raeijmaekers & Maesele, 2015, pp. 647–663). Given the mainstream political parallelism, the partisan press and the politicised issue (Chaqués-Bonafont et al., 2015, p. 112), we expect that the ideological positioning of news outlets influences the production issues of the migration narrative. Concerning the values-based slant of news

about migrants, the academic literature highlights the strong influence of the medium's editorial line and type of news on the perspective of news reporting. A liberal editorial line and openness towards Europe entail positive, more balanced attitudes towards migrants (Lipiński, 2013, p. 8).

Understanding organisational dynamics is crucial due to the subtle nature of newsroom organisational power (Reese, 2001, p. 174). Power is often exercised covertly rather than overtly to maintain the appearance of objectivity in news reporting (Breed, 1955, p. 227). Decision-making processes and policy enforcement occur behind the scenes, leading to self-censorship among journalists to conform to organisational boundaries (Reese, 2001, p. 182).

2.5.4. Institutional & Societal Level

The social-institutional level examines the influence of external norms, organisations, and policies. It encompasses the influence of news sources, other journalistic organisations, advertisers, and media policies that operate outside the direct structure of a particular media organisation but significantly impact it. The first essential element of this level is the sources of information. The people or institutions that provide information to journalists, such as witnesses to events, experts or spokespersons, play a key role in shaping the news product.

Another element is other journalistic organisations, which can interact with each other. Media often mimic or avoid topics already covered by competitors. Some organisations may act as 'leaders of the pack', setting trends that others follow. Reese and Shoemaker (2016) pointed out that interactions between media organisations can lead to a homogenisation of news content, where smaller media outlets mimic the practices of more prominent industry players (p. 403). Additionally, when considering the competitive aspect of the market, many media organisations reach out to advertisers for monetisation. Advertisers may prefer positive content so that their products are not associated with negative emotions. They can also threaten to withdraw advertisements if the content does not meet their standards or values. Through advertising funding sources, the press has become independent of subsidies from the state or other political forces (e.g. political parties or trade unions) and thus independent of any ideological censorship. Critically, however, the commercialisation of the press meant its subordination to the business environment and, as pointed out, its enslavement to ideas of consumerism and the pursuit of profit (Hallin & Mancini 2004, p. 296). The commercialisation of the media has also led to media

concentration, as the struggle for audiences and the associated advertising revenues has intensified competition in the market and led to its oligopoly. An oligopoly in the media market is characterised by control by a few companies with large shares of both the audience and advertising market. In highly competitive industry markets (e.g. television) or geographic markets (e.g. local newspapers), a reduction in the quality of media offerings has been noted, e.g. homogenisation of products instead of differentiation, trivialisation of content, increased sensationalisation of information, reduced accuracy and credibility (Sjøvaag, 2015, p. 108). Advertiser pressure can lead to self-censorship in the media, where journalists avoid topics that may alienate critical sponsors (Price, 2018, p. 4). Thus, media policy (i.e. rules and regulations governing media activities) also becomes crucial. This can include restrictions on publishing information that threatens national security or rules against 'fake news', which can be used to silence unwanted voices. In some countries, media policies can protect journalists from unfair lawsuits.

Additionally, Reese and Shoemaker (2016) identified here that the dependence on the social system and the influence of politics on the media will be greater or lesser, which, in effect, influences the way migration and migrants are portrayed (p. 402).

Moreover, at the social level, another element of influence is the historical-cultural aspect (Reese, 2001, p. 177). Cultural proximity or cultural connection (understanding because of having experienced similar situations) can positively influence the production of migration narratives. Conversely, negative cultural experiences or beliefs rooted in the history of the countries concerned can distort and negatively affect the picture (Zawadzka-Palucka, 2022, p. 104).

3. Methodology

The thesis is grounded in the discipline of media in a socio-economic-political context. Thus, simultaneously, an interdisciplinary research approach has been applied, using the theoretical framework of the Hierarchy of Influences Model by Reese and Shoemaker (2016), which guides the direction of this study (pp. 389-410). Additionally, an adequate methodological approach was selected to answer the main question comprehensively. Hence, within an interdisciplinary approach that combines migration theory, media sociology, and representation studies, semi-structured in-depth interviews with journalists as the primary research method allow for an in-depth understanding of the information production processes of Ukrainian refugees in Poland.

3.1. Research Method

The decision to use qualitative research is based on the need to understand the subjective experiences, interpretations, and social contexts that shape journalists' work in migration. Qualitative research allows a more holistic view of the topic, considering nuances and social contexts (Willis, 2007, p. 185).

Qualitative research provides an immersion into the realities of journalists' daily work and a better understanding of what challenges and dilemmas they face when constructing news coverage of Ukrainian refugees. Choosing this approach implies a fuller view of the micro-world of journalists, which will bring out the hidden aspects of the production process (Creswell, 2013, p. 22). Semi-structured interviews allow flexibility in tailoring questions to the experts' responses' context while ensuring information-gathering consistency (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 129). This approach will provide an overview of journalistic perspectives on Ukrainian refugees.

Additionally, the purpose of the in-depth interviews is to obtain information on the explored topic of migration. Thus, we chose news media interviewers as our research subjects because they possess in-depth information on media production and the news narratives used. Therefore, we can gain an insight into their field of work from the inside. Additionally, through the attitudes of the interviewees and the language they use, the researcher can familiarise themselves with the topic and then conclude. The in-depth interviews are also the basis for creating personas, guiding the work and making project decisions.

3.1.1 Data Collection

The qualitative method was chosen because the form of research allows for a more comprehensive and complex explanation than can be obtained through other research designs, giving the researcher several different perspectives (Jas-Koziarkiewicz, 2016, pp. 10-11). The interview script was partly structured. The choice of this interview format was driven by the aim of the research, which was to obtain a description of the respondents' world and to find out how they interpret the phenomenon under analysis (Kvale 2010, p. 287). The order and form of the questions varied to elicit the fullest possible responses from the respondents. Sometimes, some questions needed to be included due to the specific nature of the media in which respondents worked.

Furthermore, the interviews were expert but relatively informal due to previous communication. In-depth interview dispositions were created before the interviews. The research sample's small size and the respondents' different experiences are characteristic of

this research technique. The interviews were assumed to be free-directed. They are characterised by joint general (usually open-ended) or specific questions, although not every interview necessarily uses the same questions, and their order may vary. To conduct expert interviews, an interview disposition was prepared in the form of a general list of issues, based on which the interviewer freely formulated open-ended questions. During the interviews, the focus is envisaged to be on different thematic areas, covering the underlying explanatory reasons/contexts of these news narratives on migration, starting with a broad spectrum of framing news on migration in general and focusing mainly on Ukrainian refugees in Polish news media. Moreover, to understand certain narratives and frameworks, the thesis will focus on the importance of news media and the aspects of codependence in media based on the HOI model.

The interviewees were informed in advance on the research issues and the principles of conducting a semi-standardised interview. The research objectives and the interview scripts containing the main research questions, i.e. lists of topics that constituted the research categories, were discussed in detail. After preparing the research tools and providing the training, contacts were established with those selected for the study. Some complications arose at this stage, including problems contacting potential respondents and needing consent for interviews. Notably, some Polish journalists, especially those employed in public media organisations, were much less willing to talk than those from private organisations. Therefore, the initial list of persons selected for the survey was gradually modified to maintain the initially assumed diversity.

3.1.2 Sampling Strategy

The selection of the research sample was purposive and exploratory (non-random). The key criterion for selecting respondents was whether they undertook the topic of migration in their editorial work. Thus, journalists identified in the research conducted so far as being familiar with the issues under study were qualified for the research sample, as in their publications, they took up migration-related topics, particularly the problem of migration of Ukrainian refugees. For the purposes of the study, a list of journalists working in the national media who addressed this particular issue was prepared based on media content analysis. In selecting respondents, the snowball procedure was also used as an auxiliary tool - contacts with subsequent journalists were obtained through the mediation of respondents who had already been interviewed (Jas-Koziarkiewicz, 2016, p. 11). The sample was designed in such a way as to include, among those who most frequently publish articles

on Polish-Ukrainian migration, representations of the leading publishers operating on the Polish media scene. Therefore, the journalists selected for the study included representatives of the so-called traditional media, i.e. local daily press, radio and television, and those writing in popular online information portals.

The sample included journalists from nationwide media - press, radio, television, news agencies and portals. Most respondents worked or cooperated with more than one media institution simultaneously. Most respondents combined employment in press, radio and/or television. The sample included journalists working in both public and commercial media. Each respondent had at least ten years of professional experience in the media. Such a selection of initiative representatives from various media organisations allowed for a comparative examination of the situation and a potential bypassing of the limitation of what could have been one-sidedness caused by the outlet of media organisations. Thus, selecting journalists from various media outlets with different ownerships, subject matter, and political views became crucial.

The sample has been carefully constructed to ensure diversity and representativeness among interview participants. Furthermore, to ensure diversity and avoid bias, we selected journalists from politically diverse newspapers (however, the names of the newspapers will not be disclosed to protect the anonymity of the journalists). Furthermore, based on existing literature, there is a tendency to diversify news narratives and frame news about immigrants concerning geographical location. Journalists from different areas of Poland will be included to ensure everything is balanced. This will reflect possible regional differences in approaches to migration. We can rationalise that the politicisation of Poland's regions largely determines this difference, so in selecting journalists, we will ensure a diversity of their political views as individuals and consider the political views of the news media they work for. Furthermore, the professional experience of the interviewees is crucial when considering media narratives and media production. This will allow us to explore possible changes in approaches to migration topics as careers evolve and to compare old and new narratives that have emerged in the media from a historical perspective.

Table 1: List of Interviews (Appendix A)

Interview #	Pseudonym:	Age:	Gender:	Nationality:	Media Outlet:	Length of interview:	Comments:
1	Monet	60	male	polish	newspapers, radio; private (now), public	1h 14min	retired
2	Klimt	52	male	polish	private telewizion (now), before public	52min	journalist, reporter and presenter
3	Pollock	63	male	polish	radio, newspaper, website portal; public and private	60min	Worked both in conservative and liberal media
4	Warhol	63	male	polish	television station, network media entertainment group private sector	1h 07min	award-winning journalist
5	Matisse	49	male	polish	television station, network media entertainment group private sector	47min	
6	Rembrandt	51	male	polish		39min	Editor-in-Chief
7	Vermeer	48	female	polish	television, radio and press public sector	59min	Educational series on migration

3.2. Data Analysis

Data analysis in the context of research on journalists' accounts of migration plays a crucial role in understanding the main themes and perspectives in the field. This section discusses data analysis methods, focusing on interviews as the primary information-gathering form. Transcribing interviews is the first step, ensuring the accuracy and completeness of the data (Wilson et al., 2016, p. 1564). This careful preparation will enable a more comprehensive interpretation of the content of the interviews. Research reflexivity is also an essential aspect of data analysis. Researchers, conscious of their perspectives, eliminate potential biases and the impact of their presence on the analysis process (Berger,

2013, p. 222). This approach ensures fairness and reliability in the interpretation of results. Analysis of the interviews, as a central element of the study, will bring out subtle nuances in journalists' accounts of migration matters. Supporting theoretical analysis based on scientific concepts will facilitate interpreting the results in the context of broader theories of media and migration communication.

The data analysis used a qualitative approach and a coding process (Konecki, 2008, p. 89). The interviews were subjected to thematic analysis as a systematic process that requires recursion and immersion in the data set, thus ensuring the validity of the collected data. To systematise this process, Braun and Clarke (2006) proposed a three-step Thematic Analysis procedure for qualitative researchers, which we followed in our analysis (pp. 77-101). Here, the interview transcriptions themselves were crucial for the analysis itself. This was a crucial step, as Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasise that this process requires researchers to take copious notes, annotate transcripts, underline, highlight, and group and ungroup documents (p. 77). With the resulting transcriptions, we can begin to 'read our information as data', which means going beyond the 'superficial meaning of the words on the page' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). Thus, the analysis of the transcription also required the creation of timestamps during the data transcription, which enabled me to go back to particular parts of the audio files and listen to them again, which is crucial when studying the dataset.

Thus, the collected interview contents were organised according to their themes during the coding process. These themes were assigned to principal codes and sub-codes - detailing the meaning of the respondents' statements, which then became the basis for analysing the links between them and creating interpretative categories. The principal codes to which most references were made during the expert interviews were based on the HOI model by Reese and Shoemaker (2016, pp. 389-410), which is at the individual, routine, organisational, institutional, and social systems levels.

Furthermore, the semi-structured interviews were analysed using qualitative thematic analysis, allowing for inductive and deductive approaches. The interviews were extensive and provided comprehensive research material. Throughout this dissertation, the expert statements were analysed solely to reveal the main aspects of media content production and migration narratives, constituting the research approach's theoretical framework. The thematic analysis procedure consisted of five components. In the first phase, all respondents' answers to the open-ended questions were analysed to identify the thematic threads taken up. In the second phase, codes were identified, and a list of codes was created. In the third, key

codes were assigned to individual statements, and in the fourth phase, the relevance of the measures from phase three was checked and corrected. The final phase was grouping codes into larger clusters - categories and subcategories. Based on the codes made up of the words that appeared most frequently in the interviews, thematic categories were distinguished.

However, our research analysis was guided through the HOI model framework, as mentioned above; however, we remained open to new insights. Thus, prominent categories and recurring codes were matched to subordinate levels according to the HOI model (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, pp. 389-410). However, the research procedure consisted of three phases of thematic coding. The first phase referred to generating initial codes, i.e., open codes, to identify thematic threads raised concerning media content production on migration. According to Braun and Clarke (2012), these codes are the building blocks of analysis (p. 79) that help researchers make sense of the data in light of the initial research questions. According to Rädiker and Kuckartz (2019), researchers select a piece of data and assign a code to it, which can be done in two ways: deductively (concept-driven, deductive approach) or inductively (data-driven, inductive approach)(pp. 67-84). In thematic analysis, coding can be carried out both ways, and the coded fragments can coexist and merge. Hence, in our analysis, we paid particular attention to this aspect, trying to find and demonstrate the relationship and connections between the individual codes, both at the initial level of coding and in the final element.

In the second phase, the coding results from the first phase were linked to the theoretical approach adopted for analysing migration narratives. At this stage of our study, we began to identify themes. In our case, the main focus was on linking the obtained codes to the HOI model. Through a secondary closed coding, thematic threads on different types of narratives were extracted: humanitarian, economic, political, cultural and integration narratives.

In the final phase of the empirical material analysis, the general codes were divided into sub-codes corresponding to particular aspects of migration narratives. Additionally, passages indicating different media strategies used in migration narratives were coded based on previous empirical research.

Ultimately, seven interviews were carried out with journalists from different media organisations. Still, due to the problem of obtaining experts, the research sample consisted mainly of male journalists (six males and one female) aged between 48 and 63. All interviews were conducted in the national languages, and interview protocols were drafted in English. Questions were divided according to the four dimensions of interest in the study:

media content and news production. Interviews were conducted in the form of meetings via the Zoom or Teams platform, depending on the journalists' preference, lasting between 39 minutes and 1.2 hours. This length of the interviews will allow the journalists' experiences and perspectives to be thoroughly explored while not overloading them with time. With the respondents' consent, research team members recorded, transcribed, and contextualised the interviews.

3.3. Ethics and Credibility

In the context of qualitative research on journalists' accounts of migration, ethical and credibility matters are essential to determining the integration of professional ethics and the effectiveness of the study (Seale, 1999, p. 465).

Thereby, we have carefully followed procedures to protect the confidentiality and privacy of participants. As recommended in the ethical literature (Mertens & Ginsberg, 2008, p. 484), each participant was informed of the complete confidentiality of their identity. All identifying information was replaced by identification numbers. Additionally, before the interviews, journalists were notified via email on the day before the interview itself about the purpose and method of the study and the purpose and further use of their input. Such measures were designed to ensure that an informed decision was made regarding their participation in the study. In this sense, participants were provided with a form containing information about the survey (see Appendix B). Related to obtaining informed consent for participation in the study (both oral and written) are dilemmas regarding how to tell the subjects in detail about the study objectives, methods of analysis, and theoretical assumptions. As researchers, we are responsible for providing comprehensive information if the subjects need it. At this stage, the researcher must convey enough of a message so that the respondent understands the purpose of the study. The theoretical assumptions (unless the respondent asks) and details related to the analysis do not need to be presented. Only enough information is required to enable the respondent to give informed consent to participate in the study. Thus, the principle of voluntary consent will be a crucial element of the research process. Participants will be thoroughly informed of the study's aims and procedures and their right to opt-out.

Thus, as the investigator, we had to meet several conditions to obtain such qualities of consent from the subject - informing them of the purpose and duration of the study, the research method to be used, as well as the possible consequences of the study, the confidentiality of the information obtained during the research and the possibility of

withdrawing from the study at a freely chosen moment (Marzano, 2007, p. 417). Informed consent is similarly defined, for example, according to which a sociologist is supposed to explain to a potential respondent, in a way that is understandable to them, what the research is about, who is conducting it and how its results will be used and disseminated, as well as instructing them on the possibility of refusing to take part in the research or withdrawing from it at any time without being obliged to give a reason (Świątek-Młynarska, 2019, p. 214). Separate consent should be obtained to record the course of the study on any audio and/or video recording medium. We addressed the abovementioned doubts by informing all interviewees before the interview that I am interested in how migration news is produced in the Polish press and what factors substantially influence the journalists who create these narratives. We informed the subjects we were most interested in their viewpoint and subjective narrative. Each time, we further communicated to the subjects that they could stop the interview at any time or refuse to answer specific questions without giving a reason for their refusal and that we left them entirely free to shape their statements.

Furthermore, we requested their consent to record the interview using a dictaphone. We explained the fate of the recording further while assuring them of the confidentiality of the interviewees' data. Since the interviews involved the narrators' biographies and concerned their professional lives, thus information that was difficult to predict could emerge during the interview; we decided before the research to keep any information that could in any way contribute to the identification of our interviews to ourselves (in the description of the research results, if we considered it necessary for their welfare, we omitted such information or, if possible, altered it), which we also informed the subjects of prior to the research. Prior to the start of the recordings, participants were also asked to express a preference for revealing their identity, i.e. using their real names or remaining anonymous. However, in the end, to ensure complete journalist anonymity, we decided to assign each journalist a pseudonym when analysing the interviews and discussing the results (see Table 1). In line with research ethics standards, this practice minimises the potential risk of violating participants' privacy (Mertens & Ginsberg, 2008, p. 484). Before the interview, we allowed interviewees to ask questions about the expected course of the interview, which some people took advantage of, while after the interview, we answered questions (if any) about the next research steps. Each time, we ascertained whether the person agreed to participate in the study and whether they were comfortable with our proposed rules. All this information was aimed at obtaining such consent to participate in the survey, which can be considered voluntary and informed.

Collaboration with journalists will be based on the principles of Research Ethics, considering moral and ethical professional guidelines (Vanclay et al., 2013, pp. 243–253). Ethical decisions will be theoretically informed, and any ethical dilemmas will be analysed in the context of the philosophy of research ethics (Vanclay et al., 2013, p. 250). Additionally, one of the key ethical considerations that must be considered in this study is the choice of an appropriate sampling methodology. First and foremost, there will be other options than random selection, especially in the context of the researcher not aiming for statistical representativeness, which is somewhat characteristic of quantitative research methods. The person to be interviewed should, therefore, know why they have been selected to take part in the research and what the purpose of the study is, what the course of the research and the follow-up of their biographical story will be, as well as what kind of narrative is expected of them and why it is essential to the researcher. We followed the snowball method to avoid the underlying problems (see 3.1.1. Data Collection).

Furthermore, this thesis follows the guidelines of Lincoln and Guba (1985), which assessed the reliability (pp. 317-318) and validity (pp. 301-316) of qualitative research. To increase the study's validity, we used feedback from the respondents (Cheung et al., 2023, p. 11; Creswell, 2013, p. 240). Here, we consulted the results with the respondents, and if the respondents agree with the conclusions reached, this speaks to the relevance of the findings. However, we remained sceptical of the method, considering that sometimes conclusions may be inconvenient for the respondents, inconsistent with their self-image or questioning it. Therefore, to increase the relevance of the research, we tried to refer to the existing literature. If our results are consistent with those reported in publications, this can be used to argue the study's relevance. If, conversely, the results obtained differ from those reported in the literature, the latter can be used to point out the differences and to search for the source of these differences. Unfortunately, one limitation in this context is the need for more extensive literature covering the topic of migration in terms of production. As in the case of relevance, several recommendations indicate how to increase the reliability of the research we have tried to apply.

First and foremost, we relied on consulting the findings and progress of the study with the thesis supervisor. Additionally, aware of the potential biases from our side as a researcher, we tried to conduct quality checks on the research carried out internally. Thus, as a researcher, we recorded all actions and decisions and described our feelings and observations, aware that these could shed valuable light on the results obtained, allowing a better understanding of them or spotting the subtle traces of biases caused by the researcher's

subjective attitude. By the same token, we considered that the researcher himself is the source of the data and that his opinions, views, and beliefs may distort the picture of the reality under study.

4. Results

Our analysis has shown that the most relevant level from the HOI model is the Individual level. Here, personal experiences, beliefs and emotions have the most significant influence on the productional aspect of migration. On a second level, we can place the Socio-Institutional level. However, this level's impact is visible only in particular aspects. The most prominent aspect here is the socio-cultural aspect, which refers to the historical and cultural closeness of research countries. We can state that positive news narrations about Ukrainian refugees are created based on solid empathy and compassion and a sense of closeness to Ukrainian people and their culture and historical connection. Organisational or institutional levels play a role in political aspects such as ownership or more enormous political structures. However, we have established that the ownership and political beliefs of the organisation align with individual beliefs, binding those two levels. Lastly, the routine level didn't show a direct influence on productional aspects of narratives, as our analysis revealed that the subject of migration isn't correlated with any routines or practices in the organisation. However, the routine level itself, in a productional aspect, overtook the role of a "watchdog", ensuring the published news is non-biased, accurate and truthful.

4.1 Individual Level

Our analysis has shown that the personal experiences of journalists are most significant in shaping the narrative, especially in the context of reporting on Ukrainian migration. As ordinary people, journalists come into contact with the injustices of Ukrainians, which strongly influences their approach to the topic. Six of the seven journalists interviewed emphasised that their worldview, personal values and political views were decisive in creating material. Hence, the critical aspect that has the most significant influence in shaping the narrative is the journalist's emotions, which come from their personal experiences. We have found that the difficulty of being completely detached from current events and the governmental narrative is particularly evident when journalists describe topics that stem from their personal experiences (Maneri et al., 2023, p. 30). Such a finding goes hand in hand with research exaggerated by Reese and Shoemaker (2016), who

emphasise that the media are not neutral channels but active participants in creating social reality (p. 406).

Furthermore, we conclude that aspects such as political views, education or background can be altered and counterbalanced in a certain way to avoid bias. Emotions and personal experience, conversely, are more complex to suppress and thus have the most significant impact on productivity (Maneri et al., 2023, p. 34).

Therefore, we concluded that the individual level has the most decisive influence on the productive aspect of the migration narrative.

4.1.1 Importance of Emotions

Practically, journalists often portray refugees as victims or heroes, shaping narratives with a solid humanitarian dimension. This is because their involvement in the topic, resulting from their daily contact with the suffering of Ukrainians, leads them to produce more empathetic and emotional messages. Journalists are often personally involved in the stories they report on, which leads them to create material with solid humanitarian messages. We have identified that narrative changes mainly relate to journalists' emotional and empathetic zone. For example, Klimt notes that a large part of Polish society has daily contact with Ukrainian culture, and journalists are not some group excluded from society or alienated. Thus, everyone is aware of the refugee situation and becomes more connected because we see injustice with our eyes, notes Veermer.

The analysis revealed how difficult it is for a journalist to remain cool-headed and professional in topics as emotional and sensitive as migration, which aligns with Maneri et al. (2023) findings (p. 30). Wahl-Jorgensen (2019) also emphasises that one cannot wholly detach oneself from emotions (p. 13). Regarding the migration of Ukrainians to Poland, the evoked impact of the personal experiences of Polish journalists not only concerns what they experienced during the first migration period but also touches upon the cultural-historical aspect, which will be discussed further in section 4.4 Institutional & Societal Level. This means that journalists are not only guided by emotions triggered by events in real-time but also derive emotions from events from the past (i.e. by basing their experiences on what their parents or grandparents experienced). Here, Monet describes emotion as a potential factor in handcrafting narratives:

"I think the first experience is that a very falsified picture can be had by a journalist who, for example, has gone to a war zone once because it seems to him then that he already knows a lot more; of course, he knows more than if he were only writing

from an agency, but it is such a very fragmented picture." (personal communication, 12.05.2024)

Thus, some journalists interpret emotions as obstacles (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 4).

In this context, journalists described how the journalist's position at the event scene and the time elapsed since the event can strongly influence narrative change. The analysis of the interviews showed that journalists are more likely to change the narrative and describe Ukrainian refugees as victims or heroes when they have seen the situation at the border or on the front line or experienced a similar situation as the migrants in question. Journalists, witnessing the injustices and harm suffered by refugees, often portray them as victims of the conflict or heroes fighting for survival. Maneri et al. (2023, p. 34) support this line of results in his research, who emphasise that journalistic work has always considered emotions, shaping the approach to storytelling and presentation. Additionally, he points out that even conventional 'hard news genres' are shaped by engagement with emotions, thus supporting our findings.

In such an emotional aspect, our research showed that for Polish journalists, the creation of narratives about migrants from Ukraine is mainly based on humanitarian narratives. However, as noted by the two journalists, narratives guided by emotions can also be harmful, describing them as a threat. This happens at the moment when an individual has experienced harm at the hands of a given group of refugees, as mentioned by Pollock (personal communication, date of interview). This aligns with Zawadzka-Palucktau (2022), pointing toward narratives describing migrants as aggressors. However, she argues that this is usually fake news designed to exploit the public's negative attitude towards non-European immigration to raise suspicion about any movement across the Ukrainian-Polish border (p. 104). Similarly, both Pollock and Rembrandt emphasise that the wave of empathy, compassion and willingness to help in Polish society is more significant. Thus, we often see positive humanitarian narratives about Ukrainians in the Polish news media.

Furthermore, each journalist underlined the essence of professionalism and experience as necessary for emotional influence. For example, Siancki emphasises that it is difficult to maintain complete professionalism in the face of personal experience, confirming that emotions can affect the quality of coverage (Peter et al., 2015, p. 8). These types of narratives aim to arouse empathy among the audience and draw attention to the humanitarian side of the migrant crisis. However, further analysis of the interviews showed that professionalism is one of the aspects that can dampen the emotional solid impact on production.

4.1.2. Professional Approach as the Key to Objectivity

We have concluded that although it is difficult to detach from the emotional and empathetic side and remain cold and unemotional in a context such as Ukrainian migration, journalists working with an excellent editorial structure/professionalism are nevertheless able to produce credible and non-emotional narratives (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 4). However, journalistic discourse is still sceptical about the emotional aspect of news production. As Richards and Rees (2011) point out, professional standards of objectivity do not consider that journalists are emotionally moved by the events they cover and feel empathy towards those involved in the story (p. 864). Five of the seven journalists emphasise their role as objective journalists who, following certain journalistic principles, try to deviate from accepted prejudices and present objective and nuanced narratives on migration. Here, three of the seven experts mentioned the influence of professional experience, describing it as "irreplaceable and necessary" because it influences "hearing social matters, language that, especially in the field of reportage, is paramount". Pollock argues that having sufficient experience in the media, i.e., on the production and handling sides, is critical. This goes hand in hand with the findings of Wahl-Jorgensen (2019), who points out the essence of objectivity in creating a narrative, emphasising that such an aspect is closely linked to professionalism and journalistic experience (p. 13). According to Schudson (2001), the norm of objectivity leads journalists to separate facts from values and report only the facts-objective reporting is supposed to be cool rather than emotional (p. 149).

Thus, we identified that professional experience is essential to understanding and presenting social issues, which is related to the level of professionalism and objectivity of journalists (De Burgh, 2009, pp. 100-101, 265). Journalists agree that work experience influences the quality and accuracy of the narrative. Pollock emphasises that media experience is significant on both the production and media handling side, which aligns with previous research on professional experience's impact on journalism's quality. Here, Veermeer notes the importance of background and experience in producing narrations. He stated that those with higher education (higher/broader culture) are in a much better position to understand the multifaceted nature of the problem. Individuals with a lower cultural behaviour are more susceptible to manipulation and populist and xenophobic views. Thus, our analysis concludes that professionalism as a factor plays a crucial role as it helps avoid potential biases that directly affect the production aspect of news, making sure that

migration narratives are accurate and truthful. Furthermore, our analysis showed a strong relationship between individual and routine levels, especially in the context of professionalism.

The interviews revealed that journalists aware of personal experiences' impact on narratives identify these emotional narratives as falsified and seek objectivity in editorial structures. Six of the seven journalists emphasise that a well-structured editorial board helps control emotions and ensures a professional approach to material preparation. Warhol notes that in a war context, where emotions can dominate the coverage, preparing the coverage requires special care, as confirmed by the literature on war reportage. Such a professional approach allows for a balance between personal experience and professional requirements. Therefore, it is essential to identify the level of journalistic routine as a potential factor influencing narrative production (see 4.2 Routine level).

4.1.3 Influence of Personal Beliefs and Values

Our analysis showed that political views also influence the creation of narratives in media production. However, they have much less impact on creating narratives than personal experiences and beliefs. In the analysis of the interviews, political views matter more at the level of the organisations themselves than the journalists, as will be explained further in section 4.3 Organisational level. Six of the seven journalists stated that their political views influence their perceptions and reporting of topics, which aligns with previous research indicating the influence of politics on journalism. Pollock points out that political discussions at home affect the perception of the topic of Ukrainian refugees, confirming that it is difficult to free oneself from one's views completely. The analysis of the interviews showed, however, that despite the strong influence of political inclinations and beliefs, personal experiences have a strong enough impact to change given beliefs and values. Such a situation is particularly aptly described by Warhol, who gives himself as an example of a journalist who, after arriving at the border with Belarus and seeing with his own eyes the injustice of migrants, changed his outlook on the situation. The analysis of the interviews, however, notes that journalists with more conservative views are more likely to describe Ukrainian migrants as a threat with particular reference to the Polish economy as taking away jobs from Polish people (however, such a correlation is strongly linked to political affiliation and ownership of the newspaper). As our analysis shows, the political views of the journalist, for the most part, reflect the political views of the newspaper.

Furthermore, Vermeer highlights age as a potential factor influencing narrative production. He states that journalists of younger age groups (21-35) are more empathetic towards the plight of migrants and more honest in their reporting of public opinion. Conversely, older people (35+) feel more threatened, as they are more burdened by experiences from much earlier years or from the stories of their grandparents or parents.

4.2. Routine Level

Our analysis revealed that, at a routine level, the factors influencing the production of narratives are journalistic routine, editorial structure, time pressure, verification procedures and editorial policy, all of which have a crucial impact on shaping the migration narrative (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 399). The most important aspect is the editorial structure, which largely determines how information on migration is presented and protects the objectivity of journalists, as demonstrated above. Here, we identified the level of routine, i.e. relevant structures, rules and laws at the editorial level, as having a strong influence. Additionally, our analysis demonstrated that the primary purpose of the editorial office at the routine level is to implement rules and structures to provide factual and non-biased narratives on migration. Thus, a correlation between positive or negative images of migration in the news media and the routine level cannot be seen.

4.2.1 Editorial Structure

We found that editorial structure is the most critical factor influencing the creation of migratory content. However, as the interviews showed, this mainly relates to the structures of the editorial board and the editorial processes that ensure reliable information. In this sense, editorial policy and institutional preferences are less important. Monet noted that the liberal media differ from the right-wing media in their approach to stories and choice of sources. However, the interviews established that editorial policy matters little at the routine level, while institutional credentials become more influential at the organisational level.

Five of the seven journalists stressed that the presence of experienced editors and the team's diversity are vital to ensuring objectivity. Monet points out that an excellent editorial team helps nullify journalists' emotionality, which is crucial for producing reliable material (Simpson et al., 2000, p. 271). Similarly, Klimt noted that his editorial team allows much freedom in choosing topics and how they are presented, allowing for journalistic independence. Thus, we have established that the influence of editorial structures on migration narratives is only a factor that plays a role in producing independent and objective

narratives. According to the literature, editorial structure is the cornerstone of professional journalism, which enables reliable and objective reporting (Caswell & Dörr, 2017, p. 477). He argues that by using structured narratives, reporters can ensure consistency and transparency in reporting events (Caswell & Dörr, 2017, p. 494). This method reduces the ambiguity and variability that often arise in traditional narrative forms or eliminates the bias from journalists' personal experiences (see section 4.1.1). In such a narrative, Monet states:

"in Poland and most European countries (...) the information rush is enormous, (...)it is necessary to write several texts at once because the number of journalists is decreasing because revenues are decreasing, so these teams are minimised, the number of editors is reduced to one and sometimes to zero, and here one can say that there is a monstrous array of such movements" (personal communication, 12.05.2024).

As the interviews revealed, the editorial structure understands the importance of time pressures and production speed in creating narratives. This aligns with research by Usher (2017), who talks about the mass production of media information and focusing on getting a given news story out as quickly as possible (p. 22, 30). Additionally, three of the seven journalists stressed that the rush for information and the need to publish material quickly reduced the quality of work. Monet points out that journalists are forced to write and complete texts rapidly, making verifying information difficult. The reduced number of journalists and the increased workload further exacerbate the situation. These findings corroborate previous studies that indicate that time pressure negatively affects the accuracy and quality of journalism (Realgo, 2021, p. 12). In this sense, the editorial structure becomes more important as it creates rules or teams responsible for producing neutral and verified news (Pratelli & Petrocchi, 2022). Furthermore, as Matisse notes, the editorial structure is legally structured in advance at the routine level. He notes that "the law itself enforces and the quality of Polish law enforces certain standards to the extent that there is a knowledge problem".

4.2.2 Journalistic Ethics

At the level of journalistic routines, an influential matter becomes journalistic ethics at the editorial level, which, as described above, is also regulated by law. Five of the seven journalists stressed the importance of vetting and ethics in their daily work. Matisse is particularly vocal about such ethical reclamation. Thus, he infers that the editorial structure does not shape the narrative but is more protective of the objectivity and ethics of news

stories. He notes that "the law itself enforces and the quality of Polish law enforces certain standards; there is just a problem with knowledge". Drawing attention to the negative impact that the level of routine can have on the effects of narratives through news values and news presentation styles, he reasoned that editorial routine is critical to maintaining an objective news process. Monet remarks:

"The most important thing is the editorial structure, i.e. the presence of good editors, the diversity of the team, well this is the basis of a good journalist, well that and experience (...) well-experienced media (...) have a whole system of reporting that somewhat balances this individual emotionality and makes a given text objective"(personal communication, 12.05.2024).

Furthermore, the analysis of the interviews showed the particular importance of the existence of a standards department in its editorial department, which deals with matters of compliance and equality. These findings align with the literature emphasising that ethical standards and vetting procedures are essential to maintaining integrity in journalism (Quinn, 2018; Taczkowska, 2012).

However, the research analysis notes that this understanding of routine-level impact is not specific to migration but applies to journalism. Monet highlights that "routines have not changed because of the war, but I think they are changing primarily because of the changing reality of a media that is fighting for the reader's interest" (personal communication, 12.05.2024).

Nevertheless, the interviews revealed that journalists have a relatively high degree of independence at the level of routines. Editorial structures can be described more as guidelines for journalists than standards that directly influence what narratives about migration are produced. Here, Monet says that free media gives journalists a chance to express their views, which needs to be very well-founded and requires more courage from the editors to oppose others. However, the interviews show that structures in the editorial office and the introduction of special procedures are not standard. Klimt and Vermeer highlighted that no special routines were implemented regarding migration as it simply needs to be covered/popular enough topic in Polish news media. Here, journalists argue that there is a correlation between the frequency of migration coverage and the quality of the content. They describe this phenomenon as 'topic exhaustion', suggesting that migration narratives on Ukraine were more prominent at the beginning due to the urgency of the crisis, which became secondary to the Polish public and media due to its duration. Thus, they unanimously concluded that the aforementioned link could not be found here.

Conversely, two journalists considered that presenting information, such as narrative style or point-analytic style, was a decisive factor. The analysis of the interviews showed that language can be regarded as influential at the production level. Here, diversity has been attributed mainly to the context of traditional, contemporary, and social media, referring, among other things, to slang. However, the analysis shows that media language on migration is mainly based on an emotional style at the end of the day, which is related to the individual level described above (see 4.1.1 Importance of Emotions). However, at the broader level of narrative production, these factors cannot be attributed to changes in the migration narrative.

4.3 Organisational Level

Our research has shown that various factors at the organisational, geographical and economic level have an indirect impact on how media narratives are reported and shaped. However, our analysis revealed that the overall organisational level could have a more substantial effect on how narratives about migration are produced. In contrast to the results of Reese and Shoemaker (2016), several organisational-level factors have been shown not to affect the production aspect (p. 400). Here, we identified that editorial policy and media ownership have the most significant influence, with geographical location playing a secondary role (it is directly linked to media ownership and policy, i.e. media in smaller cities tend to be conservative and in larger conglomerations more liberal), and economic factors playing a niche role. Such a relationship is noted in their research by Prabowo et al. (2024), emphasising that the aim of media owners in creating migration is to produce benefits only for producers, thus emphasising producing profit for media stations (p. 11). Thus, the author proxies an economic factor in the production of migration that we have yet to identify in our research.

4.3.1 Importance of Media Affiliation and Politicisation.

Our analysis has shown that media affiliation influences not only the production aspect itself but, above all, editorial policy (which is also a factor in the production process), which is in line with previous research (Dobrek-Ostrowska, 2020, p. 38; Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 405). These findings show that media outlets often tailor their content to their owners' preferences, influencing how topics such as migration are presented (Horonziak 2022, p. 219). However, the influence of media ownership on productions is strongly influenced by a country's level of democracy, and interference by owners in the production of narratives is considered a violation of media freedom (Głuszek-Szafraniec,

2023, p. 75). In this sense, Kocoń (2012) emphasises that whether a media outlet will be inclined to support an enemy for financial or ownership reasons, in turn, requires an in-depth legal and economic analysis (p. 173). Monet emphasised that the media represent different political sides, influencing their messages. In this case, the type of media influences the type and strength of influence. Thus, the analysis of the interviews allowed a trend to emerge, which shows that more liberal media are more inclined to portray the immigration process more softly and positively.

In contrast, conservative media present a more negative image of refugees, focusing on narratives such as refugees as a threat. Here, interviews have shown that private media in Poland tend to represent more liberal views, while the public ones remain more conservative. However, this adherence is subject to constant change in the Polish media market due to the recent change of the ruling party and the introduction of a process of depoliticisation of the media. However, as Burkhanov and Chen (2016) point out, the division of the media into state and private indicates that the state plays the role of a regulator and an essential participant in the media market (p. 2133). Here, Warhol emphasises that ownership of a media station matters, but he needs to be more sceptical about its direct impact on the narrative. Matisse pointed out that media owned by global corporations may be more open to migration issues due to the owners' interests. Some owners are quite independent (as long as economic objectives are met).

Conversely, others are more active in dictating coverage priorities and may even be directly involved in shaping the reporting of specific matters (Reese, 2001, p. 108). Similar observations were noted during the interview analysis. Some journalists are sceptical of the claim that editorial policy shapes the narrative. However, as Warhol notes, this can be influenced by various factors, such as fear. He argues that the pressure only becomes apparent after leaving the editorial office, claiming that it is caused by a potential fear of exposing oneself to the owners of the editorial office and one's superiors, which may directly affect not only the earnings of the journalist in question but also their future career. Therefore, this aspect should be considered part of the study's limitation and is a potential direction worth exploring in future research (see 5.3 Limitations and Future Research).

However, despite the fact that political influences on the creation of the narrative are visible, four of the seven journalists stress that these influences cannot be described as undue. Here, Vermeer states that "the direct influence on the media from the position of global concerns, on policy-making here in Poland, is either minimal or that it occurs in a not very significant way". He argues that despite the strong political influence, these rules and

requirements are not imposed from above but lightly suggested or sometimes even unconsciously executed. In addition, he states that any political influence stems more from cultural experience than direct influence, linking these two levels. A stronger form of this phenomenon appears at the macro level, i.e. the Institutional and Societal level discussed below, as at the micro level, as Vermeer states, Poland is too small a market or media.

4.3.2. Impact of Economic Pressures

Furthermore, as mentioned above, the influence of media owners on the production aspect depends mainly on the economic aspect of the organisation. However, we have identified that the production of narratives on migration topics in a given scope does not vary according to economic influences. The analysis of the interviews showed that economic aspects influence the production side of the narrative but not necessarily in topics such as migration. Four of the seven journalists indicate the importance of economic motivations in shaping content. Still, each of them stressed that this topic is not crucial for Polish media organisations to produce narratives based on economic influence.

Conversely, as the interviews showed, economic influence can be seen in the production of narratives on migration at the institutional level, as companies and enterprises are interested in migrating to Poland and thus can influence the media to communicate in a certain way. At the organisational level, the interviews showed that the belonging of the organisation and the politicisation of the media in question are much more important than how the economic interests of the owners can shape editorial decisions (here, financial organisations). Owners with different business interests can influence a media organisation to adjust its political coverage in a way that protects or promotes those interests. Still, as mentioned above, this is mostly about economic topics rather than migration. However, we have identified that in the economic aspect, budget constraints may be a factor affecting the production of narratives as they may lead to fewer field reports or fewer journalists specialising in migration, which may result in superficial coverage of the topic. Ultimately, in the face of competition, the media may present migration to increase viewership or click-through rates, even if this means simplifying or dramatising the issue. This is particularly relevant in today's era of mass information production, where larger teams guarantee better verification of information and professionalism (see 4.2.2 Journalistic ethics). Media organisations can, therefore, tailor content on migration to the preferences of their audiences, which can lead to presenting the topic in a way that is in line with audience expectations and not necessarily in line with reality (Barreto & Ellemers, 2003, p. 152). However, the

interviews showed that although these factors can potentially influence the creation of narratives on migration, they are not crucial or decisive.

Furthermore, as the interviews showed, media ownership and economic pressures gain influence depending on geographical influence, which aligns with the findings of Reese and Shoemaker (2016, p. 401). As Głuszek-Szafraniec (2023) notes, the geographic location of media outlets has a significant impact on their operations, as regional and local media are often more dependent on local authorities and advertisers, which also affects access to and verifiability of information (p. 93). Consequently, this affects how information and narratives are presented in these media. Interviews revealed that larger global media corporations are more open to reporting on migration, but also, due to greater capacity and access to information, they produce more credible and diverse news.

Journalists have to balance commercial and professional issues. This balancing is often most difficult for profit-oriented organisations, as they are expected to generate profits, even if influential journalism is often unprofitable.

Finally, however, it is worth highlighting that the analysis of the interviews showed that despite perceiving such pressures, four out of seven journalists stressed that they do not face them in their organisations. This is where the journalistic independence demonstrated in the interviews is particularly strong, describing journalists as the ultimate medium for deciding how migration news will be reported (see 4.1. individual level). In the same vein, Monet states:

“In my 26 years of experience, I have never encountered an obligation to write something (...); no one ever told me as a journalist, as an editor, as a department head, and myself as an editor-in-chief, that you could write about this and you could not write about that” (personal communication, 12.05.2024).

However, as noted by Vermeer, it is worth pointing out that influences at the level of routines and organisations can differ from institutional influences where we do not feel them directly but indirectly, sometimes without even realising them.

4.4. Institutional and Societal level

As shown in the previous chapter, there is a strong relationship between the influence of external norms, organisations, and broader societal norms on the context of migration narrative production. As the analysis of the interviews showed, the economic aspect as an influence on narratives is more strongly noted at the broader institutional level, i.e. particularly at the level of advertisers and media policy. However, despite noticing

influential relationships between factors such as norms, media policy, economics, and advertising, none of the journalists attributed vital importance to these factors. In this case, the analysis of the interviews shows that although we can see correlations at a broader production level when it comes to creating the migration narrative, they are not very important. Here, however, the critical aspect is the historical-cultural aspect, which not only influences the formation of narratives at the more significant Institutional and Societal level but also directly affects the behaviour and feelings of journalists (see 4.1. Individual Level).

4.4.1 Institutional Influence from Politics and Commercialisation

The interviews' analysis showed that the only aspect at the institutional level that can influence the creation of narratives on migration is that of advertisers (with the potential inclusion of media policy). In line with the findings of Reese and Shoemaker (2016), the interviews revealed that advertisers may require positive coverage, while media policies may restrict or protect journalistic freedom (p. 393).

Thus, we identified that essential aspects of economic impact are monetisation, subsidies, and the issue of media commercialisation. As Dobrek-Ostrowska (2020) notes, the commercialisation of the media leads to a situation where editorial offices are forced to make decisions to maximise profits, often at the expense of journalistic quality (p. 26). As part of larger corporations, the media must adapt their editorial policies to the expectations of advertisers and owners, leading to narratives that align with these entities' economic interests. Commercialisation, however, can lead to prioritising sensational content at the expense of in-depth analysis and fairness (Brennen, 2018, pp. 7-8). This way, stories and narratives about migration can be bent to meet reader expectations and gain clicks and popularity for organisations. In such a context, it is crucial to consider the broader social constitutionality at a more meaningful level to recognise the strength of influence that social factors can have on narratives (see 4.4.2 Social norms in narrative production). However, our analysis of the interviews showed that only one of the five journalists identified the influence of advertisers on media content as noticeable, although this varied across media.

Furthermore, we found that the impact of advertisers on the creation of migration narratives is similar, as migration itself is a niche (side) topic for Polish media. This aspect highlights that for many media outlets, especially commercial ones, the critical factor is click-through rate and capturing the audience's attention, directly translating into advertising revenues. Here, such a factor is supported by Dobrek-Ostrowska (2020), who emphasises that the concentration of media in the hands of a few large market players leads to a

homogenisation of content aimed at maximising advertising profits, often at the expense of journalistic integrity (p. 29). In the Polish media system, there is a strong link between the media and politics, which frequently leads to the instrumentalisation of the media for political purposes (Dobrek-Ostrowska, 2020, pp. 35-39). The author emphasises that pressure can take many forms - from direct orders to subtle signals and narratives that editors must consider in their work. Six of seven journalists note that pressure is present but is often subtle. Governments may promote certain narratives to justify migration policies (Sahin-Mencutek et al., 2020, p. 13). In the case of Polish government media, such narratives mainly portray refugees as a threat. It is worth emphasising here that such portrayal of migration as a potential threat is driven by the desire to achieve political and economic benefits at the national level. Monet, Mattise and Vermeer recognise a trend whereby the more conservative media are generally more opposed to these refugees, focusing on the bad things that are happening, such as examples of negative impacts, as opposed to the more open, liberal, left-wing media, which continue to focus mainly on the crosses faced by Ukrainian refugees, presenting them in a more humanitarian and positive narrative. Each of the experts interviewed perceives such a trend in the media. Klimt mentions government television as depicting migration issues inconsistently with reality based on emotions such as fear.

However, this change was noticed after the last elections, as the Polish news media are gaining more and more freedom from government control. In this context, the interviews showed the importance of free media and its influence on migration narratives. As Rembrandt points out, we cannot speak of free journalism where the only influence in shaping the narrative is at the individual and editorial level when the country is not democratic. In this case, we cannot speak of free media, as it is subject to governmental or economic influence. Therefore, the institutional level plays a more significant role in shaping the migration narrative. In this sense, as stated by Mattise, we have identified that journalists are ultimately bound by press law regardless of who owns the media and what political views a station holds. In doing so, we recognise that the influence of the legal environment (i.e., the laws and regulations governing media operations) is more important than the origin of capital and political and economic factors.

Recognising politics' influence on narratives, Klimt notes the link between political and social impact. He argues that politicians and political parties always follow these social moods individually, linking the institutional level to the social system level.

4.4.2. Social Norms in the Creation of Narratives

The analysis of the research findings on the media narrative on migration from Ukraine to Poland highlights critical aspects influencing how migrants are portrayed as being influenced by historical and cultural factors. Each respondent highlighted the strong influence of Polish and Ukrainian history and culture on how migrants are portrayed in the media. In addition, we found that societal values significantly impact how migration is portrayed. The Polish press perceives Ukrainians more positively due to their shared cultural code with Poland, as highlighted by Warhol and Mattise. This coincides with Posyliuzhna's (2020) research on the image of Ukrainian migrants in the Polish media. The media are more likely to favour Ukrainian immigrants due to cultural (linguistic and historical) and geographical proximity (p. 13).

The migration history in Poland provides an essential context for understanding today's media narratives. As mentioned above, migrants are first and foremost human, and it is difficult to switch off their emotional side (see 4.1 Individual level). In this case, this has implications for shaping and creating a more empathetic narrative about Ukrainian migration. Additionally, Mattise notes that: "We have accepted refugees in the past, which builds a certain sensitivity to their situation. In this way, we are building a friendly narrative between Poles and Ukrainians. "We don't look at them as intruders but as neighbours with whom we share a long history," says Pollock.

Thus, a critical aspect that the interviewees focused on is cultural proximity. Warhol and Mattise note that "Ukrainians look like us; they have a similar cultural code to us", which facilitates a more positive image of this immigrant group in the media. Our analysis has established that such cultural proximity helps to portray migration from Ukraine positively, in contrast to migration from countries with a different culture, such as Muslim countries. Social norms and values deeply rooted in the national culture influence how the media portrays migrants (Levy & Wright, 2020, pp. 53-58). The press often reflects dominant national narratives that are more sympathetic to culturally similar groups. Thus, as six of the seven journalists noted, the issue of positive portrayal of Ukrainians in the Polish media, and above all, the difference in narratives between the global south and the global north, is due to social factors.

In addition, the positive or negative image of migration that shapes narratives on the topic is, to some extent, also the result of public education. This is particularly important given the growing importance of migration and the need for the public to understand the phenomenon. Global Education Week Network and Mihai's (2008) research highlights that

appropriate educational programmes can significantly influence public attitudes towards migrants, promoting tolerance and understanding (p. 10). Public education on migration is essential to counteract misinformation and encourage understanding and acceptance of migrants (Pécoud, 2010, p. 186).

5. Conclusion

This thesis examines the relationship between media and migration, analysing how individual factors may have influenced the production of narratives about Ukrainian migrants in Polish media. The research was based on the framework of the HOI Model to show which influences on migration narratives are the most significant and which factors are at the forefront of this level. Additionally, results were obtained by conducting semi-structured interviews with experts to answer the following question: How do production and social factors shape information narratives about Ukrainian refugees in Poland?

The results indicate that the most significant influence on the creation of narratives about migrants is at the individual level, i.e. journalists as individuals. At the same time, they are subject to political, economic and social influences. In this sense, the interviews also identified historical and cultural influences at the level of social institutions as the second key factor. Consequently, it was noted that the Polish news media are more likely to create more positive narratives about migration by portraying Ukrainians as victims due to the personal feelings of journalists (i.e. empathy) as well as the cultural proximity that Poles share with Ukrainian migrants.

5.1. Summary of Findings

The analysis of media narratives on migration, with a particular focus on migration from Ukraine to Poland, revealed several key factors influencing the creation of information narratives. The analysis reveals that the personal experiences and beliefs of journalists have the most significant influence on the formation of news narratives about Ukrainian refugees in Poland. Our research showed that it is difficult for journalists as individuals to completely detach themselves from their beliefs, especially their feelings about an emotional topic such as migration (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 4). This personal involvement has led to more empathetic and emotional messages. Thus, driven by emotions such as sympathy and empathy, journalists tend to portray Ukrainian migrants as victims or heroes based on their emotional involvement and witnessing the difficulties faced by refugees. This aligns with

academic literature highlighting the significant impact of journalists' personal experiences in shaping migration narratives (Boswell et al., 2021, pp. 4-26; Dennis & Sampaio-Dias, 2021, pp. 1608–1626). Such emotional engagement and empathy by journalists with the plight of Ukrainian refugees often lead to the portrayal of migrants as victims or heroes, reflecting their subjective perspectives. This can result in a fragmented or biased portrayal of the situation, as journalists may need help to remain objective in their reporting. Such a point is highlighted by Wahl-Jorgensen (2019) in their research, saying that journalists find it difficult to disassociate themselves from their emotions and feelings, which is the biggest problem when it comes to their objectivism (p. 13). Journalists who have personally interacted with refugees or witnessed their suffering may find it difficult to detach themselves emotionally from the narrative, leading to a subjective portrayal of the situation (Briciu, 2020, p. 2).

This raises questions about the coverage's reliability and neutrality and the journalists' emotional involvement. Emotionally charged situations such as migration require exceptional professionalism from reporters by, among other things, maintaining the 'right' distance (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 183). Analysis has shown that, despite their apparent scepticism about the impact of emotions, journalists acknowledge that a certain level of emotionality and subjectivity is necessary for their work and professional identity (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012, pp. 129-145). However, the degree of emotional involvement needs to be measured accurately as it is a factor that determines the bias of a given news medium, which can result in a falsified or inaccurate portrayal of migration

On the individual level, conversely, the research underlined that only the emotional aspect, i.e. the personal experiences and beliefs of the journalists, have a strong influence. When comparing the impact of personal experiences, beliefs and political views on news narratives, it becomes clear that individual factors play a more significant role in shaping coverage of Ukrainian refugees in Poland. While political ideologies may have some influence, the emotional connections and first-hand experiences of journalists largely influence the narratives presented to audiences. Additionally, the analysis shows that political views are one of the factors from which a journalist can free himself, among other things, through an excellent editorial structure. This highlights the complexity of journalistic objectivity and the need to critically reflect on the subjective elements that shape news narratives.

A similar relationship exists regarding personal influences. However, the analysis showed that journalists are more likely to move away from their political and economic

convictions than to change their emotional views. On the contrary, as Reese & Shoemaker (2016) note, our study found no direct correlation between factors such as age, gender, race, sexual orientation or class status and the production aspect of the migration narrative (p. 398). In contrast, with such solid personal influences on production issues, the research showed a pivotal element of editorial structure. However, in comparison to Reese & Shoemaker's (2016) findings, the level of routines does not directly influence whether migration is portrayed negatively or positively (p. 399). Here, organisational structures in the media were found to be crucial in producing credible and non-emotional narratives, and the presence of good editors and a diverse team was essential for journalistic integrity. Thus, the level of routines is only influential in correlation with the individual level, acting as a guardian of journalistic ethics. This goes hand in hand with a study by Brown (2006), which highlighted the importance of organisational structures in maintaining journalistic integrity and credibility in reporting on migration issues, confirming the paper's emphasis on the critical role of editorial guidelines and diverse teams in the media. Here, in line with academic literature and the line of our study, we identified that journalistic ethics and editorial standards are essential to maintaining objectivity in the news process.

The second fundamental level of influence, as shown by the research, is the Social Institutional Level, especially at the social level in the historical-cultural context (at the macro level). Poland has a long migration history, from refuge for religious and political refugees to emigration and immigration of Poles and other nationalities. This migration experience is critical to assimilating the knowledge of migrants from Ukraine. As a society, Poles have experienced different waves of migration in Poland, both as immigrants and immigrants. We assimilate with the feelings of migrants because we have lived and gone through similar experiences. Our findings are in line with the observations made by Reese and Shoemaker (2016) in their study, highlighting the importance of historical and cultural context in the creation of migration narratives (p. 404).

Furthermore, another study by Seufferling (2017) highlights the influence of historical narratives in shaping contemporary media representations of migration (p. 24). Historical events and societal attitudes influence how migration is portrayed in the media, highlighting the importance of considering broader historical contexts in creating narratives (Eberl et al., 2018, p. 209). The research indicates that the shared history of migration between Poland and Ukraine and similar cultural values are conducive to a more positive portrayal of migrants in the media. Poland has a rich history of migration, which influences how the

media report on migration from Ukraine, particularly by building empathy and understanding towards migrants.

In contrast, migration from countries with different cultures may be portrayed differently, demonstrating that societal norms and values have an essential influence on media narratives. Eberl et al. (2018) suggest that cultural influences affect how journalists approach and present migration stories, influencing the overall framework of these narratives (p. 207). Thus, it links the individual level to the social-institutional level. Furthermore, research by Jacomella (2010, pp. 34-41) and Boswell et al. (2021, pp. 10-13) highlights the role of cultural norms and values in shaping media narratives on migration. Thus, as our research has shown, social education has become a key factor at this macro level. Our analysis has shown that this level of education in the public sphere is crucial as it promotes tolerance and understanding in media representations of migrants. Appropriate educational programmes have a significant impact on changing the media narrative and public attitudes towards migrants.

Economic influences were only considered relevant at other levels if the production context was about economic topics. However, at the level of influence, commercial pressures were found to influence institutional practices more noticeably than thematic practices. Additionally, in line with the findings of Reese and Shoemaker (2016), we can trace geographic influences on the production aspect (p. 403). Our research identified that the geographic location of media also significantly influences their operations and information dissemination. Global media corporations are more open to migration-related topics and produce more credible news content. However, as noted, these factors influence how a given media outlet produces different information. Still, journalists could not identify a direct correlation between changing narratives and frames on refugees depending on the level of commercialisation or monetisation of a given media outlet. Thus, this could become a topic for potential future research.

Political influences appeared to be more relevant at the production level of migration news. In terms of the political context, the research showed the potential impact of ownership of the conglomeration on the production of narratives. Ownership is understood here both on a private or public level but also in terms of the media organisation's affiliation to a particular political camp (Okocha et al., 2018, p. 141). The research showed that the more liberal media are more likely to portray Ukrainian refugees and the topic of migration in a more positive way, using a humanitarian framework and portraying refugees as victims or heroes (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 103). Conservative media, conversely, were

identified as those portraying migrants in a negative light, especially using frames such as refugees as a threat (Zawadzka-Paluckta, 2022, p. 105). As identified, no such correlation can be seen when talking about private or public media today. However, according to journalists, such a correlation could have been seen only a year ago. This is due to the depoliticisation of the Polish public media and, thus, their separation from government influence (Bielecka-Prus, 2020, p. 195). Hence, research has shown that government policy and media interests influence media content.

5.2. Theoretical and Practical Implications

The theoretical implications of the study in a broader context suggest that understanding the influence of personal experiences and beliefs on news narratives about Ukrainian refugees in Poland can contribute to a more nuanced analysis of media representations of migration issues worldwide. By acknowledging the complexity of individual perspectives and their impact on journalistic objectivity, researchers can shed light on how subjective elements shape coverage of refugee crises in different international contexts (Karatysz, 2014, p. 86). This broader perspective underscores the importance of promoting critical reflection among journalists worldwide to mitigate biases stemming from personal experiences and beliefs, ultimately aiming for more balanced and informed news narratives on migration. In terms of practical implications on a global scale, the study highlights the importance of implementing guidelines or training programmes for journalists around the world to encourage the separation of personal biases from reporting, ensuring a more objective and diverse representation of the refugee population. Media organisations worldwide could benefit from considering the influence of social and cultural factors on news narratives on migration issues and adapting their coverage to provide a comprehensive and nuanced picture of the refugee experience in different regions. By overcoming personal biases and social influences in reporting on migration issues, media professionals can strive for greater understanding and empathy towards displaced populations worldwide.

Additionally, our study has broad academic implications. Firstly, the contribution is empirical and theoretical, contributing to developing the HOI model. This relates to the application of the model itself. Many academic sources explore the impact of the factors and levels presented in the HOI model on the context of media production (e.g., Anderson & Sun, 2023, p. 90; Walvaart et al., 2017, pp. 901-917). However, in the scholarly literature, this aspect is rarely examined concerning a phenomenon such as migration, especially

concerning the Polish news media. Thus, our study not only fills a gap in research, but also offers new insights as well as the use of the HOI model for potential future research.

Furthermore, the analysis of historical-cultural influences and education on the presentation of migration in the media is essential due to the need for previous research that combines these fields in the context of migration. Our study highlights the importance of social norms and cultural values in shaping the media narrative on migration. Previous research has often omitted this perspective, focusing mainly on political or economic aspects. Our findings indicate the relevance of including social norms and cultural values in media analysis, which can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of how migration is presented.

In an international discussion, the study's results may contribute to an intercultural dialogue on the representation of migrants and refugees in the media. By exploring how personal experiences and beliefs influence news narratives in the context of Ukrainian refugees in Poland, media researchers and practitioners can engage in discussions that transcend national boundaries and explore the universal challenges of reporting on migration issues. Such international discussion can facilitate knowledge sharing and collaboration among journalists and media researchers worldwide, fostering a more inclusive and informed approach to reporting refugee crises worldwide.

5.3. Limitations and Future Research

One of the critical limitations found in the study was identified by one journalist. This is related to journalists' fear of the direct consequences of describing organisational or political influences on their media organisations. As noted in the interviews, journalists may block their opinions as they fear being dragged into professional consequences and are thus more willing to talk about the pressures or influences an institution or organisation has on them when they leave. In this case, the results obtained at the organisational level must be questioned concerning potential external influences on the journalists' responses and opinions. Thus, it becomes crucial to refer to the existing literature and investigate the topic further with a more extensive research sample. In our study, another critical limitation is precisely the small research sample that was conducted. Although treated as being of secondary importance, the sample size in qualitative research is nevertheless subject to questions of both a practical and theoretical nature. Typically, it is assumed that the sample

size in qualitative research is determined by the state of theoretical saturation of the categories generated, which relies on the replicability of the information obtained when working with empirical material (Creswell, 2013, p. 240; Konecki, 2008, p. 89)

Additionally, another limitation may be the sample's representativeness in the research, as only seven interviews were conducted, of which six respondents were men and only one were women. Even though the media market in Poland is heavily male-dominated, the question of the group's representativeness in the broader context arises. However, seeking representativeness is not a question of organising a sample that is a miniature of the population, i.e. one that reflects all the features of the population with their characteristics and structure. Representativeness conceived in this way is considered unreliable even in statistical research, and the idea of a sample being a miniature copy of the population is identified with the so-called myth of the representative sample (Pasikowski, 2016, p. 202). Representativeness is usually sought in terms of selected characteristics that are important for the purposes of the study and the questions posed (Pasikowski, 2016, p. 202).

Moreover, representativeness is treated as the approximate convergence of the distribution of a characteristic in the sample with the distribution of the same characteristic in the population (Pasikowski, 2016, p. 202). This means a trait's range of values or variants need not be identical. However, this is what would be preferred. Thus, representativeness in this small sample has been met. However, this must still be considered as a potential limitation of the study.

Additionally, as noted in the research, journalists are unwilling or unable to criticise or point to a media organisation's control over the production aspect of the migration narrative when employed by the organisation, with the fear of potential consequences. Thus, it is crucial to consider that organisational influences on narrative production may be stronger than the abovementioned research analysis. To fill this gap, future research can build on the research of Deuze (2008), who highlighted the role of editorial structures in shaping news content and the importance of understanding how journalists overcome organisational constraints in their reporting (pp. 4-24). By examining how editorial policies interact with individual experiences and beliefs, researchers can gain a more nuanced understanding of the factors influencing news narratives about Ukrainian refugees in Poland. Moreover, examining the long-term impact of personal experiences on journalists' coverage of migration issues can provide valuable insights into how perspectives evolve over time and

shape the construction of narratives. Deuze's (2008) research on the changing role of journalists in the digital age can provide a theoretical framework for understanding how personal experiences intersect with professional practices in shaping migration narratives (pp. 4-24). By combining these perspectives, future research may shed light on the complex relationship between individual influences, editorial policy and the representation of Ukrainian refugees in Polish news. Moreover, although many academic sources are investigating the influence of HOI model factors on the production aspect, no sources focus on the migration aspect in this sense, particularly in the Polish news media. Thus, it seems essential to address the topic in future research not only on the production counter-issue of Ukrainian migration in Polish media but also to study other news media in different crises, for example, how citizens or refugees interpret and give meaning to these news narratives.

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Appendix A: List of Interviewees

Interview #	Pseudonim:	Age:	Gender:	Nationality:	Media Outlet:	Length of interview:	Comments:
1	Monet	60	male	polish	newspapers, radio; private (now), public	1h 14min	retired
2	Klimt	52	male	polish	private telewizion (now), before public	52min	journalist, reporter and presenter
3	Pollock	63	male	polish	radio, newspaper, website portal; public and private	60min	Worked both in conservative and liberal media
4	Warhol	63	male	polish	television station, network media entertainment group private sector	1h 07min	award-winning journalist
5	Matisse	49	male	polish	television station, network media entertainment group private sector	47min	
6	Rembrandt	51	male	polish		39min	Editor-in-Chief
7	Vermeer	48	female	polish	television, radio and press public sector	59min	Educational series on migration

Appendix B: Consent Form

CONSENT REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATING IN RESEARCH

FOR QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY, CONTACT:

W przypadku pytań dotyczących badania prosimy o kontakt:

Name/Imię: Marcelina Gajewska

Adress: Tulpstraat 19A03, 3071VR, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

E-mail: 568194mg@eur.nl

Phone number/ Telefon: +48507703777

DESCRIPTION

Opis

English: You are invited to participate in research on the productional aspect of news narratives regarding Ukrainian refugees. The study's purpose is to understand how news narratives are constructed, framed, and disseminated within the news landscape, shedding light on the role of media entities in shaping public perceptions of migration.

Your acceptance to participate in this study means you accept being interviewed. In general terms,

- the questions of the interview will be related to the productional aspect of media, migration as well as the socio-political and economic aspect of its narratives on migration
- your participation in the experiment will be related to the relation between narratives on migration and productional aspects in terms of influences that might change those images of refugees
- my observations will focus on how news narratives on Ukrainian refugees are constructed, framed, and disseminated

Unless you prefer that no recordings are made, I will use a tape / video recorder for the interview.

You are always free not to answer any particular question, and/or stop participating at any point: Every time I want to accompany you in any activity, I will ask you your permission again.

Polish: Zapraszamy do udziału w badaniach nad produkcyjnym aspektem narracji informacyjnych dotyczących ukraińskich uchodźców. Celem badania jest zrozumienie, w jaki sposób narracje informacyjne są konstruowane, kadrowane i rozpowszechniane w krajobrazie informacyjnym, rzucając światło na rolę podmiotów medialnych w kształtowaniu publicznego postrzegania migracji.

Wyrażenie zgody na udział w tym badaniu oznacza zgodę na przeprowadzenie wywiadu. Ogólnie rzecz biorąc,

- pytania w wywiadzie będą związane z produkcyjnym aspektem mediów, migracją, a także społeczno-politycznym i ekonomicznym aspektem ich narracji na temat migracji
- Twój udział w eksperymencie będzie związany z relacją między narracjami na temat migracji a aspektami produkcyjnymi pod względem wpływów, które mogą zmienić te obrazy uchodźców.
- moje obserwacje skupią się na tym, jak narracje informacyjne na temat ukraińskich uchodźców są konstruowane, kadrowane i rozpowszechniane.

O ile nie życzy Pan/Pani sobie, aby wywiad nie był nagrywany, użyję magnetofonu / magnetowidu.

Zawsze możesz nie odpowiedzieć na żadne konkretne pytanie i / lub przestać uczestniczyć w dowolnym momencie: Za każdym razem, gdy będę chciał Ci towarzyszyć w jakiegokolwiek czynności, ponownie zapytam Cię o zgodę.

RISKS AND BENEFITS

Ryzyko I Korzyści

English: I am aware that the possibility of identifying the people who participate in this study may involve risks for the participant's reputation, help, and social relations, as well as the government reciprocations and sanctions For that reason—unless you prefer to be identified fully (first name, last name, occupation, etc.)—I will not keep any information that may lead to the identification of those involved in the study. I will only use pseudonyms to identify participants.

I will use the material from the interviews and my observation exclusively for academic work, such as further research, academic meetings and publications.

Polish: Zdaję sobie sprawę, że możliwość identyfikacji osób biorących udział w tym badaniu może wiązać się z ryzykiem dla reputacji uczestnika, pomocy i relacji społecznych, a także wzajemności i sankcji rządowych. Z tego powodu - chyba że wolisz być w pełni zidentyfikowany (imię, nazwisko, zawód itp.) - Nie będę przechowywać żadnych informacji, które mogą prowadzić do identyfikacji osób zaangażowanych w badanie. Do identyfikacji uczestników będę używać wyłącznie pseudonimów.

Materiał z wywiadów i obserwacji wykorzystam wyłącznie do pracy naukowej, takiej jak dalsze badania, spotkania akademickie i publikacje.

TIME INVOLVEMENT

Zaangażowanie czasowe

English: Your participation in this study will take 45 to 60 min. You may interrupt your participation at any time.

Polish: Udział w badaniu potrwa od 45 do 60 minut. Możesz przerwać swój udział w dowolnym momencie.

PAYMENTS

Płatność

English: There will be no monetary compensation for your participation.

Polish: Za udział w konkursie nie przysługuje żadna rekompensata pieniężna.

PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

Prawa Uczestników

English: If you have decided to accept to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. If you prefer, your identity will be made known in all written data resulting from

the study. Otherwise, your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

Polish: Jeśli zdecydowałeś się wziąć udział w tym projekcie, pamiętaj, że Twój udział jest dobrowolny i masz prawo wycofać swoją zgodę lub przerwać udział w dowolnym momencie bez ponoszenia kary. Masz prawo odmówić odpowiedzi na poszczególne pytania. Jeśli wolisz, Twoja tożsamość zostanie ujawniona we wszystkich pisemnych danych wynikających z badania. W przeciwnym razie prywatność użytkownika zostanie zachowana we wszystkich opublikowanych i pisemnych danych wynikających z badania.

CONTACTS AND QUESTIONS

Kontakt i Pytania

English: If you have questions about your rights as a study participant or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact –anonymously, if you wish - the supervisor of this MA thesis David Ongenaert at:

E-mail: ongenaert@eshcc.eur.nl

Telephone: +310104081270

Visiting address: Burg. Oudlaan 50 3062 PA Rotterdam

Postal address: Postbus 1738 3000 DR Rotterdam

Polish: W przypadku pytań dotyczących praw uczestnika badania lub niezadowolenia z jakiegokolwiek aspektu tego badania, użytkownik może skontaktować się - anonimowo, jeśli sobie tego życzy – promotorowi niniejszej pracy magisterkiej David Ongenaert pod adresem:

E-mail: ongenaert@eshcc.eur.nl

Telefon: +310104081270

Adres odwiedzin: Burg. Oudlaan 50 3062 PA Rotterdam

Adres pocztowy: Postbus 1738 3000 DR Rotterdam

SIGNING THE CONSENT FORM

Podpisanie formularza zgody

English: If you sign this consent form, your signature will be your only identity documentation. Thus, you **DO NOT NEED** to sign this form. In order to minimize risks and protect your identity, you may prefer to consent orally. Your oral consent is sufficient.

I give consent to be audiotaped during this study:

Name

Signature

Date

I prefer my identity to be revealed in all written data resulting from this study

Name

Signature

Date

This copy of the consent form is for you to keep.

Jeśli podpiszesz ten formularz zgody, Twój podpis będzie jedynym dokumentem potwierdzającym Twoją tożsamość. W związku z tym **NIE MUSISZ** podpisywać tego formularza. Aby zminimalizować ryzyko i chronić swoją tożsamość, możesz wyrazić zgodę ustnie. Ustna zgoda jest wystarczająca.

Wyrażam zgodę na nagrywanie mnie podczas tego badania:

Imie i Nazwisko

Podpis

Data

Wolę, aby moja tożsamość została ujawniona we wszystkich pisemnych danych wynikających z tego badania

Imię i Nazwisko

Podpis

Data

Niniejszą kopię formularza zgody należy zachować.

Appendix C: Interview guide (English - translation)

This topic list contains the questions and topics that were used to guide all interviews translated from Polish to English. Some questions may have been asked differently or not at all depending on the competence of the participants and how the interviews progressed.

Interview guide:

Introduction:

Review and sign consent forms or discuss and ask oral consent (in case of digital interview)

Interviews on the production and social context of news narratives on refugees from Ukraine. The aim of these interviews is to gain a deeper understanding of how underlying production and social factors shape media stories on migration, with a particular focus on the case of Ukrainian refugees in Poland.

Your consent to participate in this study means that you agree to be interviewed. In general,

- the interview questions will be related to media narratives and their impact on public perceptions of migration
- Your participation in the experiment will be linked to your understanding of the media perspective on migration and refugee crises in Poland
- my observations will focus on how production and social factors shape information narratives about Ukrainian refugees in Poland

Unless you wish the interview not to be recorded, I will use a tape recorder/recorder.

You are always free not to answer any specific question and/or to stop participating at any time: Whenever I want to accompany you in any activity, I will ask your permission again.

General Info:

1. Can you tell me a little about yourself?
 1. Where do you come from?
 2. Where do you work/what type of work do you do?
 3. How old are you?
 4. What is your profession?
2. What is your relationship with the media in Poland?
3. In your opinion, How do narratives contribute to the depth and insight of news on migration, especially in the context of reports on Ukrainian refugees?

Individual level (Micro)

1. How do your personal experiences and background influence your reporting? For example, how do these factors influence the way you report on migration and refugee topics?
2. How does your role as a journalist and journalistic principles shape the stories you write about migration?
3. How has your education and training influenced your approach to reporting on migration?
4. How much do your political views and personal values shape the way you present information on migration to the public?

Routine Level (Micro)

Routines are established patterns of behaviour that shape our perceptions and functioning in society. In the context of media work, these routines consist of ingrained rules, norms and procedures. Individuals within this framework do not have complete freedom to act solely on their beliefs and attitudes; instead, they operate within various constraints imposed by technology, time, space and social norms.

1. What are the typical routines and procedures in Polish editorial offices that affect the coverage of migration topics?
2. How do editorial policies and guidelines in your editorial board influence your approach to reporting on migration issues?
3. Are there specific procedures in your editorial office for selecting migration topics to cover? That is, guidelines for developing the narrative and structure of articles on migration in your editorial board?
 1. What factors determine the priorities for reporting these stories?
 2. What factors determine the final shape of the relationship?

Organisational Level (Meso)

1. How does your media organisation influence the narratives and ways of presenting migration stories in your coverage?
2. What organisational goals and imperatives shape your journalistic routines for covering migration topics?
3. How do economic and commercial factors influence the way migration issues are reported in your media organisation?
4. How important is the ownership and control of your media station to the way in which migration issues are presented?
5. Does the main medium, i.e. print newspapers or the internet, have any influence on reporting?
6. Can geographic localisation affect changing narratives of migration?

Institutional Level (Meso)

1. How do institutional factors, such as politicians and political agendas, influence media content on migration?
2. In your opinion, is there an influence between other journalistic organisations and the way in which narratives are created (rivalry)?
3. How do globalisation and political tensions affect the ways in which migration is portrayed in the media?
4. Can you explain how economic considerations influence the adoption of narrative forms compared to other reporting styles in migration accounts?

Social Institution Level (Macro)

Access to information guaranteed by regulations in democratic states, legal protection of the journalistic profession and practice have allowed journalists not only to act in the public interest, but also to influence public opinion, shape the directions of political discourse, build public awareness around specific issues and ideas, and conduct public debates.

1. Can broader social norms, values and beliefs influence how the migration narrative is produced?

For example, the dominant economic and political systems (such as capitalism and democracy in the US) shape the way issues are framed and the perceived role of journalism in society, whether it is promoting private property or informing citizens about self-governance.

2. How does the social contract between journalists, the public and the authorities influence media narratives on migration in Poland?

3. How does the historical and cultural context influence the portrayal of migration issues in the media?

Information narratives on Ukrainian refugees (focus on Polish media)

1. How have narratives about Ukrainian refugees evolved in the Polish news media since the beginning of the conflict?

2. How does your media approach the portrayal of Ukrainian refugees in terms of humanitarian stories and a collective response to the crisis?

3. What framing strategies are used by Polish media to portray Ukrainian refugees and how do these strategies differ from other refugee narratives?

Additional questions:

1. What are the attitudes of Polish society towards migrants from Ukraine?

2. How has the attitude of Poles towards migrants from Ukraine changed in the last five years? 3. What is the image of migrants from Ukraine shaped in the Polish media?

4. What influences the negative and positive attitude of the Polish media towards migrants from Ukraine?

Ukraine?

5. What stereotypes about migrants from Ukraine are most prevalent in the minds of Poles? What are the reasons for this?

6. To what extent are migrants from Ukraine discriminated against to the greatest extent in Poland?

7. What solutions/proposals do you see that could help to shape the image of Ukrainian migrants in Poland?

Ukrainians in Poland in a more objective manner?

Appendix D: Interview guide (Polish - translation)

Lista tematów zawiera pytania i tematy, które zostały wykorzystane do przeprowadzenia wszystkich wywiadów tłumaczonych z języka polskiego na angielski. Niektóre pytania mogły zostać zadane inaczej lub wcale, w zależności od kompetencji uczestników i przebiegu wywiadów.

Interview guide:

Introduction:

Review and sign consent forms or discuss and ask oral consent (in case of digital interview)

Wywiad dotyczący produkcji oraz kontekstu społecznego narracji informacyjnych na temat uchodźców z Ukrainy. Celem tych wywiadów jest głębsze zrozumienie, w jaki sposób podstawowe czynniki produkcyjne i społeczne kształtują opowieści medialne na temat migracji, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem przypadku uchodźców z Ukrainy w Polsce.

Twoja zgoda na udział w tym badaniu oznacza, że zgadzasz się na przeprowadzenie z Tobą wywiadu. Ogólnie rzecz biorąc,

- pytania wywiadu będą związane z narracjami medialnymi i ich wpływem na postrzeganie migracji przez opinię publiczną
- Twój udział w eksperymencie będzie związany ze zrozumieniem perspektywy mediów na temat migracji i kryzysów uchodźczych w Polsce
- moje obserwacje skupią się na tym, w jaki sposób czynniki produkcyjne i społeczne kształtują narracje informacyjne o ukraińskich uchodźcach w Polsce

O ile nie życzy Pan/Pani sobie, aby wywiad nie był nagrywany, użyję magnetofonu / magnetowidu.

Zawsze możesz nie odpowiedzieć na żadne konkretne pytanie i / lub przestać uczestniczyć w dowolnym momencie: Za każdym razem, gdy będę chciał Ci towarzyszyć w jakiegokolwiek czynności, ponownie zapytam Cię o zgodę.

General Info:

1. Czy możesz opowiedzieć mi trochę o sobie?
 1. Skąd pochodzisz?
 2. Gdzie pracujesz/Jaki rodzaj pracy wykonujesz?

3. Ile masz lat?
4. Jaki jest twój zawód?
2. Jak jest Pana połączenie z mediami w Polsce?
3. Twoim zdaniem, W jaki sposób narracje przyczyniają się do pogłębienia i wglądu w wiadomości na temat migracji, szczególnie w kontekście doniesień o ukraińskich uchodźcach?

Poziom Indywidualny (Micro)

1. W jaki sposób Twoje osobiste doświadczenia i tło wpływają na Twoje reportaże? Na przykład, w jaki sposób te czynniki wpływają na sposób, w jaki opisujesz tematy związane z migracją i uchodźcami?
2. W jaki sposób Twoja rola jako dziennikarza i zasady dziennikarskie kształtują historie, które piszesz na temat migracji?
3. Jak Twoje wykształcenie i szkolenie wpłynęły na Twoje podejście do reportażu na temat migracji?
4. Jak bardzo Twoje poglądy polityczne i osobiste wartości kształtują sposób prezentowania informacji o migracji publiczności?

Routine Level (Micro)

Rutyny to ustalone wzorce zachowań, które kształtują nasze postrzeganie i funkcjonowanie w społeczeństwie. W kontekście pracy w mediach, te rutyny składają się z zakorzenionych zasad, norm i procedur. Osoby w tych ramach nie mają pełnej swobody działania wyłącznie w oparciu o swoje przekonania i postawy; zamiast tego działają w ramach różnych ograniczeń narzuconych przez technologię, czas, przestrzeń i normy społeczne.

1. Jakie są typowe rutyny i procedury w polskich redakcjach, które wpływają na pokrywanie tematów migracyjnych?
2. W jaki sposób polityka redakcyjna i wytyczne w Twojej redakcji wpływają na Twoje podejście do relacjonowania tematów migracyjnych?
3. Czy w Twojej redakcji istnieją określone procedury dotyczące wyboru tematów migracyjnych do pokrycia? To jest wytyczne dotyczące opracowywania narracji i struktury artykułów na temat migracji w Twojej redakcji?
 1. Jakie czynniki decydują o priorytetach w relacjonowaniu tych historii?
 2. Jakie czynniki decydują o finalnym kształcie relacji?

Organizational Level (Meso)

1. W jaki sposób Twoja organizacja medialna wpływa na narracje i sposoby prezentowania historii migracyjnych w Twoich relacjach?
2. Jakie cele i imperatywy organizacyjne kształtują Twoje rutyny dziennikarskie związane z pokrywaniem tematów migracyjnych?
3. Jak czynniki ekonomiczne i komercyjne wpływają na sposób relacjonowania problemów migracyjnych w Twojej organizacji medialnej?
4. Jakie znaczenie ma własność i kontrola Twojej stacji medialnej dla sposobu prezentowania kwestii migracyjnych?
5. Czy główne medium to jest gazety drukowane albo internet mają wpływy na raportowanie?
6. Czy lokalizacja geograficzna może mieć wpływ na zmianę narracji o migracji?

Institutional Level (Meso)

1. Jak czynniki instytucjonalne, takie jak politycy i agendy polityczne, wpływają na treści medialne dotyczące migracji?
2. Czy Panskim zdaniem istnieje wpływ pomiędzy innymi organizacjami dziennikarskimi a sposobem w jaki kreowane są narracje (rywalizacja)?
3. W jaki sposób globalizacja i napięcia polityczne wpływają na sposoby przedstawiania migracji w mediach?
4. Czy możesz wyjaśnić, w jaki sposób względy ekonomiczne wpływają na przyjęcie form narracyjnych w porównaniu z innymi stylami raportowania w relacjach z migracji?

Social Institution Level (Macro)

Dostęp do informacji gwarantowany regulacjami w państwach demokratycznych, prawna ochrona zawodu i praktyki dziennikarskiej pozwoliły dziennikarzom nie tylko działać w interesie publicznym, ale także wpływać na opinię publiczną, kształtować kierunki dyskursu politycznego, budować świadomość społeczną wokół określonych zagadnień i idei, prowadzić debaty publiczne.

1. Czy szersze normy społeczne, wartości i przekonania mogą mieć wpływ na to jak produkowana jest narracja o migracji?
 - Na przykład dominujące systemy gospodarcze i polityczne (takie jak kapitalizm i demokracja w USA) kształtują sposób, w jaki kwestie są formułowane i postrzeganą rolę dziennikarstwa w społeczeństwie, niezależnie od tego, czy chodzi o promowanie własności prywatnej, czy informowanie obywateli o samorządności.
2. W jaki sposób umowa społeczna między dziennikarzami, opinią publiczną i władzami wpływa na narracje medialne na temat migracji w Polsce?
3. W jaki sposób kontekst historyczny i kulturowy wpływa na przedstawianie kwestii migracji w mediach?

Narracje informacyjne na temat ukraińskich uchodźców (koncentracja na polskich mediach)

1. Jak ewoluowały narracje o ukraińskich uchodźcach w polskich mediach informacyjnych od początku konfliktu?
2. W jaki sposób Twoje media podchodzą do przedstawiania ukraińskich uchodźców w kategoriach historii humanitarnych i zbiorowej reakcji na kryzys?
3. Jakie strategie ramowania są stosowane przez polskie media w celu przedstawienia ukraińskich uchodźców i jak te strategie różnią się od innych narracji o uchodźcach?

Dodatkowe pytania:

1. Jakie są postawy polskiego społeczeństwa wobec migrantów z Ukrainy?
 2. Jak zmienił się stosunek Polaków do migrantów z Ukrainy w ciągu ostatnich pięciu lat?
 3. Jaki jest wizerunek migrantów z Ukrainy kształtowany w polskich mediach?
 4. Co wpływa na negatywny i pozytywny stosunek polskich mediów do migrantów z Ukrainy?
 5. Jakie stereotypy na temat migrantów z Ukrainy najczęściej funkcjonują w świadomości Polaków? Co jest tego przyczyną?
 6. W jakim stopniu migranci z Ukrainy są w największym stopniu dyskryminowani w Polsce?
 7. Jakie widzi Pan/Pani rozwiązania/propozycje, które mogłyby pomóc w kształtowaniu wizerunku migrantów z Ukrainy w Polsce?
- ukraińskich w Polsce w bardziej obiektywny sposób?

