

New media in popuworld:
tools, threats and social phenomena



Agnieszka Węglińska, Bogusław Węgliński

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Introduction

In this collection of articles, we are focused on New Media in contemporary world. In modern society, populism seems to be one of the main distinctive features. People live in a very unstable, changeable, hybrid and uncertain environment. Technology is developing faster and faster, social media has given us mirage of close relationships between users, however, they are still lonely and atomized. They are forced to consume large number of news that cause information overload. The new logged human has problems to communicate with old generation. Very often, more traditional, older people are digitally excluded due to the lack of competence and skills. Thanks new media, everyday life is, in certain aspects, more easier and interesting. Art gains new presentation platforms and a numerous new tools. Social groups, events and even movements has been initiated in the net.

The political landscape is also complicated. The politics of idea today have been replaced by pragmatic real politics. Citizens don't feel any connection with political elites. Political elites seems to be lost in the networked world of various tensions. What we mean here are terroristic threats, immigrants, war in Syria, unpredictable Russia and China ect. We listed only some of the contemporary problems. Over the past decades, radical right-wing populist parties have entered national parliaments in: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland and Poland.¹ Yet, we cannot forget about left-wing populist parties, which have gained representation in Germany and The Netherlands, or about Donald Trump election in the USA. Voters are tired of a political correctness and a constant economical crisis. Mainstream politicians demand continuous self-denial from their citizens. Populist candidates promise simple solutions and almost immediate panacea for everything.² There is a need to explain the contribution of non-democratic states in shaping national and international order.

¹ M. Rooduijn, S.L. de Lange, W. van der Brug, *A populist Zeitgeist? Programmatic contagion by populist parties in Western Europe*, "Party Politics" Vol. 20/4/2014, pp. 563–575.

² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

Cas Mudde defines populism “as an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people. Populism, so defined, has two opposites: elitism and pluralism. Elitism is populism’s mirror-image: it shares its Manichean worldview, but wants politics to be an expression of the views of the moral elite, instead of the amoral people.”³

The populism isn’t just right wing politicians’ characteristic – left orientated parties have been infected with populism virus. We can observe a huge transformation occurred in political programs.⁴ Various formations seek for new voters and they offer promises which are hardly possible to fulfill. Therefore, we can agree with Benjamin Moffitt and Simon Tormey statement: “*that populism does not exist in any pure form, but rather is always present in mixed iterations with other ideologies*”.⁵

In our investigation, we are focused on the social and even educational factors of modern communities. Alongside the populism, New Media factor is of the key importance. New technologies, in particular social media enhance populist tendencies. Moreover New Media has triggered profound changes in contemporary society – changes that we cannot evaluate unambiguously.

In this book, populism is rather a premise for presentation of tools, threats and contemporary social phenomena. It is also a useful concept that might be applied to modern society and its characteristic processes. The other distinctive feature is the connection with New Media, which are in the process of the constant transformation.

An article of Jacek Nożewski and Julia Trzcińska focuses on the theoretical aspects of fandoms. They picture fandoms as a perfect example of Maffesoli’s neo-tribes that are the transnational and classless groups of people who are interested in a specific topic or share

³ C. Mudde, The populist Zeitgeist., “Government and Opposition”, Vol. 39/2004, p. 543.

⁴ M. Rooduijn, T. Akkerman, Flank attacks: *Populism and left-right radicalism in Western Europe*, “Party Politics”, Vol. 2015, pp. 1–12.

⁵ B. Moffitt, S. Tormey, Rethinking Populism: *Politics, Mediatization and Political Style*, “Political Studies” Vol. 62/2014, pp. 381–397.

the same passion.⁶ In this chapter authors present the process of fans engagement in the context of social media. Nożewski and Trzcińska created a theoretical model of process of fan community involvement in the prosumption culture.

Agnieszka Węglińska's paper concentrates on Internet memes in political communication. Memes are treated as an element of political infotainment. Infotainment and politicaltainment are key factors in the modern political campaign, particularly in social media. The grassroots of Internet memes as a genre are commonly stressed in media by journalists and PR professionals. The question is, how many professional PR specialists are involved in the process of creation of political memes, especially during election?

Anna Zięty's article concerns an evolution of students media in Poland. The author pictures the student media landscape of Poland but also analyzes it from historical and empirical perspective. In her investigation, Zięty focused upon three key aspects: technology, content and reception. In the research she used three methods: web content analysis, eye tracking and diagnostic poll. She concludes that students media under the influence of new technologies has evolved from a small, single, traditional means of communication to interactive and multimedia platforms.

The subject of a study by Marta Majorek seems particularly interesting. She interprets mobile computer games and gamers both from the perspective of the flow theory and the cognitive absorption theory. Majorek is concerned essentially with understanding the connection between mobile games and immersion theory. The author examined a group of 30 gamers and presented her conclusions in the context of immersion effect.

The next two articles by Agnieszka Janiak and Justyna Wojaniak are focused on educational aspects of New Media. Agnieszka Janiak provides an analysis of a school project using blended learning as a method and new media as tools serving not to increase productivity, but to promote humanization of school. The Author used a methods of six months participation observation and quality research. The blended learning is a new method, that demands new competence,

⁶ M. Maffesoli, *Czas plemion. Schyłek indywidualizmu w społeczeństwach ponowoczesnych*, Warszawa 2008, p. 125.

skills and attitudes from teachers and students. Justyna Wojniak, in her paper, is concerned with using blogs in relation to compulsory education. She conducted an analysis of documents and selected educational blogs. Wojniak presents relations between students – teachers or students –students mediated by educational blogs in Poland. We believe that her research is a significant contribution to interdisciplinary debate on the meaning of New Media.

An article by Maciej Sedlaczek examines the processes involved in formation of misunderstandings in verbal communication. The theoretical framework is focused around cognitive pragmatics relevance theory in particular. The author uses new technological tools to collect the study material and concludes that the emergence of misunderstandings is integrally related to availability and accessibility of contextual assumptions. In her paper, Wanda Krzemińska is focused on theory of communication as well. She investigates various film adaptations of literature, however, she does it from the perspective digitalisation of media and its auditory. Krzemińska draws our attention to a new media recipient and different information flow in digital media.

The next four articles address more political issues. The paper written by Agnieszka Węglińska and Regina Bogucka-Lebiedź concerns the case of Hromadske TV, which was established in the summer of 2013 and became powerful on wave of protests in Euromajdan. It also shows that, when the public service media are not present, then civic broadcasters can take over the tasks of public sector broadcasters. Present influence of Hromadske TV on the shape of mainstream media crucial.

When we investigate modern Europe, the issue of refugees and immigrants can't be ignored. European Union has faced enormous wave of war refugees from Syria and economical immigrants. The paper by Anna Zięty, Agnieszka Węglińska and Maciej Sedlaczek analyses a case of Syrian refugees in Poland and their image in social media. Authors indicate direct connections between the political decision, mass media and nongovernmental organization – the Estera Found, responsible for transfer of refugees to Poland.

The last two papers are focused on the problem of terrorism and media. Bogusław Węgliński examines the relationship between communication forms and terrorism. The author concentrates on the historical

landscape of terrorism and contemporary coexistence new media and terrorists' groups. Waldemar Sobera and Róża Smolak provide analysis of media coverage of the terrorist attacks in Brussels by Onet.pl, Wp.pl and Interia.pl. The conclusion drawn from Sobera and Smolak study corresponds to the article about internet memes by Węglińska. Both papers indicate a recent tendency of journalism to stress emotional and sensational news.⁷

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⁷ B. Moffitt, S. Tormey, op. cit., p. 392.



New Media Theory



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Social Media at the Service of Fandoms - the process of users involvement in the prosumption culture

Introduction

Nowadays, it is impossible to talk about any culture product without mentioning its fans. The Internet has changed the role of fans in the production process. Formerly, the fans' choice was almost as simple as the question "to buy or not to buy", "to watch or not to watch", and so on, but these days, with such a powerful tool as the Internet, fans have gained a way to express their desires and hopes and their voice cannot be disregarded, because it often means "to be or not to be" for many companies. But the issue of the income is only a small part of the vast topic that fan communities (fandoms) are. Fandoms may be a perfect example of neo-tribes mentioned for the first time by M. Maffesoli in 1988⁸. The French sociologist predicted that people would form communities based not on their age or country of origin, but rather on passion and interests they would share. They would form a completely new common identity. In the era of the Internet his predictions are even more real and fandoms may be the most vivid examples of the processes we can observe all over the world. Especially social media, that allow people to form networks, seem to help to build neo-tribes and the so-called "network of networks"⁹ even faster

⁸ M. Maffesoli, *Czas plemion. Schyłek indywidualizmu w społeczeństwach ponowoczesnych*, Warszawa 2008.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

than ever. Those media, however, allow people not only to communicate, and thus form new communities, but also to change the definitions of producers, consumers and A. Toffler's "prosumers"¹⁰. The aim of this paper is to find the answer to the question how fandoms these days use social media's potential and in what ways it can deepen the prosumption processes. We believe that this topic is especially interesting, because if Maffesoli's idea comes true, society will be formed of groups very similar to fandom communities – varying from them only in terms of commitment.

Fandoms in the 21st Century

First generations of scholars, whose research interests focused on fans, tried to find a definition of the word "fan". Firstly, it was derived from the Latin word *fanatic* and also had rather negative connotations. Fans were often called other-worldly or even insane and were forced to focus on "serious things". Critics would often say that such a person is childish, or even that he or she doesn't fit the social norms. It was also very often to associate that notion with women, who were thought to be emotional, while men supposedly were always factual and objective¹¹. It is true, however, that fans were very often people, who for some reason sought alternative approaches to culture, being excluded from the mainstream one, and women were frequently an example of that phenomenon. According to P. Siuda, we can distinguish three phases of the approach to fans among the scholars¹². During the first phase, called the "deviation phase", fans were seen as neurotics and people who were not mentally stable. Researchers from the second, "resistance phase" (starting from 1992) treated fans as a part of the community – fandom. In opposition to the scholars from the "deviation phase" they underlined the creativity and activeness of the analyzed enthusiasts. The "mainstream phase" (associated with

¹⁰ A. Toffler, *Trzecia Fala*, Warszawa 1997.

¹¹ H. Jenkins, *Textual Poachers. Television Fans & Participatory Culture*, New York & London, 1992, p. 64.

¹² P. Siuda, *Od dewiacji do głównego nurtu – ewolucja akademickiego spojrzenia na fanów*, "Media Studies", Vol. 3, 2010, p. 90.

the release of H. Jenkin's "Convergence culture" in 2006) seeks to find the common ground between those two approaches. The scholars analyze fans as a part of the production process and show them as prosumers – producers and consumers¹³. The change in fan studies goes hand in hand with the change in fans' activities that were allowed by the Internet. Thanks to the World Wide Web people from all over the world were able to find others, who shared similar interests to theirs, and interact with them, as long as it was possible, considering language differences and time zones. It allowed for the emergence of large fan communities, even if operating only among people from the same country or even the same region, the interactions were faster and more frequent. Fans didn't have to wait for the next gathering or event to meet and talk – they could do it every day after work or school, not leaving their homes. Of course, the number of interactions and geographical range of fandom differs among many fan communities, and it would be extremely difficult to indicate what are the reasons of fans from one community preferring face-to-face interactions during gatherings over relations via Internet or why some fandoms exist only in a form of small groups rather than homogeneous worldwide networks, but we can certainly say that the Internet has changed those relations and that it offers new possibilities.

Fan communities are often defined by common recognition of its meaning "as a group of people who collectively enjoy and are dedicated to a particular text, genre, or performer"¹⁴. They usually don't demand any kind of formal membership and the membership is not obligatory – it's based on the community of shared interests¹⁵. Fan communities are also very interesting, because they don't fit any definition of different social groups such as subcultures, gangs or neighborhood communities. They form their own codes and norms for their communication, although they don't meet every day¹⁶. Also,

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 90–96.

¹⁴ S. Annett, *Anime Fan Communities. Transcultural Flows and Frictions*, New York 2014, p. 13.

¹⁵ D. Porczyński, *Prosumpcja w polskim fandomie gier fabularnych*, [In:] *Prosumpcja: pomiędzy podejściem apokaliptycznym a emancypującym*, P. Siuda and T. Żaglewski (eds.), Bydgoszcz 2014, p. 104.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

it is worth noting that not every internet portal allowing for communication can be called a community. According to P. Siuda it should exist for some time, its members should talk also about private matters, not only fandom's issues, and support each other. Furthermore, they should be recognizable among their group, instead of changing their identities often¹⁷. J. Fiske, on the other hand, suggests that fandoms can be defined in three spheres, or so-called headlines: Discrimination and Distinction, Productivity and Participation, and Capital Accumulation¹⁸. The author underlines that each fandom differs when it comes to exhibiting those features. Discrimination and Distinction means that the members are very strict in terms of drawing the line between the things that fall within their fandom and what does not¹⁹. People who call themselves fans often stress that a common viewer misses a lot of points of a certain cultural product, while people, who are not fans tend to draw attention to the fact that fans are going too deep into something, looking for meanings that may not be originally there. Fiske talks also about opportunities one can draw from being a part of a fan community and that distinction between this group and the rest of the society. He states that it *"may at times be translated into empowered social behavior (...), but at other times may remain at the level of a compensatory fantasy that actually precludes any social action"*²⁰. The last two spheres are more connected to the leading topic of this paper – prosumption. The sphere of Productivity and Participation means that pop culture is actually formed by the members of fandoms out of the cultural products made by cultural industries²¹. Fiske argues that fans are particularly productive and divides their work into semiotic, enunciative and textual productivity²². The last sphere mentioned by the author – Capital Accumulation – refers to

¹⁷ P. Siuda, *Kultury prosumpcji. O niemożności globalnych i ponadpaństwowych społeczności fanów*, Warszawa 2012, pp. 94, 95.

¹⁸ J. Fiske, *The Cultural Economy of Fandom*, [In:] *The Adoring Audience. Fan Culture and Popular Culture*, red. Lewis Lisa A., London & New York, 1992, p. 34.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34, 35.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 37–39.

knowledge, but also similarities and differences between fans and official culture. While in terms of material capital and its relations with economic they share many similarities, in terms of the non-material capital they differ widely²³. It means that fandoms may offer chances and opportunities for people who for some reason may feel excluded from the mainstream culture. Fans have a dual role within relations with commercial culture – they are something that Fiske calls “excessive readers”, they add to the original product and fill the gaps in it, but on the other hand, they form another, and often more profitable, market²⁴. But they also buy more products, they want things “normal” consumers may even not know about and they provide free feedback for the companies. They add to cultural products and they use it for their own purposes, but they also drive the consumption of cultural products.

Fandoms activity in the prosumption culture

The dual role of the fans reflects perfectly in the definition of a prosumer. Fans buy cultural products, but they don’t just “receive” it, they make something new out of it and the internet and social media only help in doing that.

H. Jenkins, the author of the notion of “participatory culture” writes that “(...) *rather than talking about interactive technologies, we should document the interactions that occur among media consumers, between media consumers and media texts, and between media consumers and media producers*”²⁵. He argues that the aforementioned participatory culture in the 21st century is a mix of new technologies and tools, Do-It-Yourself (DIY) media production and economic trends that “demand more active modes of spectatorship”²⁶. P. Siuda too, states that the said technological advance that allows people to create networks of common interests, is also a cause of

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47.

²⁵ H. Jenkins, *Fans, Bloggers and Gamers. Exploring Participatory Culture*, New York and London 2006, p. 135.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

the domination of prosumption. The tools of creation are now widely accessible and we can see the so-called immaterial labor, which means that the production of cultural goods takes place in the “social factory”, rather than in a secluded enterprise’s factory oriented for economic success only²⁷. Unlike such a factory, that provides things, the social factory provides ideas and thoughts²⁸.

The change in the flow of information can be also seen in the internet communication – Web 2.0 being the best example. A. Bruns observes, however, that we shouldn’t overstate content creation and collaboration in doing it, because such behaviors could be observed since Greek *agora* or even from the beginning of farming²⁹. He argues that the industry age and production companies that forced people to play the mere role of passive consumers should be considered a historic aberration, thus the start of engaging the users or consumers dated for 1980s is only a way of going back to their original role³⁰. It’s worth nothing, however, that nowadays the utopian model of cooperation doesn’t seem to come true. There are still many aspects that make users’ feedback and work into unpaid activities they do just for the sake of the huge companies. It is also hard to differentiate activities that are led by the companies from those who are completely invented and conducted by the users only. What’s more, M. Bauwens states that while in the past we could observe cases of panoptism, where only a few could control the whole production process, while the majority of the participants was being controlled, P2P systems allow for something he’s called holoptism – a situation when every participant has the possibilities to see the whole³¹. The aforementioned A. Bruns thinks that this is exactly why the Toffler’s, industrial-aged notion of prosumption is not enough to explain the complexity of

²⁷ *Prosumpcja: pomiędzy podejściem apokaliptycznym a emancypującym*, eds. P. Siuda, T. Żaglewski, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Katedra, Bydgoszcz 2014, pp. 11–13.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁹ A. Bruns, *From Prosumption to Prodsusage*, <http://snurb.info/files/2014/From%20Prosumption%20to%20Prodsusage.pdf> [access: 30.11.2016], p. 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³¹ M. Bauwens, *Peer to peer and human evolution, Integral Visioning*, <http://integralvisioning.org/article.php?story=p2ptheory1> [access: 01.12.2016].

the information-aged Web 2.0 concept³². He suggests looking at the user-led content creation from their own perspective, rather from the perspective of the companies and its commercial use, proposing the notion of *produsage*, instead of apparently already obsolete prosumption, thus suggesting how profound changes in the network communication we are still witnessing³³.

Although researchers may not comply with one definition of prosumption or its influence on network communication and production cycle, Web 2.0 is still a useful analytical concept in many areas – fan studies being one of them. P. Siuda notes that transmedia storytelling are gaining popularity not only among fans, but companies as well. They use more and more genres and become more complicated and diverse³⁴. He gives the example of the TV series called “Lost” being the first so-called “TV series 2.0” – the first production to rely on audience reaction to such a significant extent³⁵. But although fans and companies are becoming gradually more dependent on each other, it is worth stressing that fandoms’ activities have a rather scarce chance to be appreciated outside of it³⁶. Fanarts and other forms of fan communities’ activities are hard to understand by someone who doesn’t participate in everyday communication between fandom members. If someone doesn’t know the codes, norms or even vocabulary, the community work would be most probably misunderstood or just unappreciated. We have to remember, however, that fans may be the most vivid and the most engaged audience, but they are only a part of a broader phenomenon and companies still must consider “common audience’s” opinion.

Communication context

Social media is a dynamic and slightly open environment where people’s opinions come out. Users very often use web to break the silo of silence and present their individual statements, ideas, feel-

³² A. Bruns, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 4–8.

³⁴ P. Siuda, *Kultury prosumpcji...*, *op. cit.*, p. 141–143.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³⁶ D. Porczyński, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

ings, passions or solutions which are an expression of their imaginations about the reality. Social media understood as a communication space facilitate all attempts to establish the digital fandom. J. Fulk, J. Schmitz and Ch. Steinfeld provided categorization of facilitating factors in relation to social media use including: media accessibility, availability of communication partners, experience in the particular medium, personal style in using media and what is very important, time and costs advantages and disadvantages³⁷. Authors emphasize the meaning of individual decisions of media users leading to create own communication connections with other users in the social media space. The investigation on fans involvement in the prosumption culture requires from us understanding how users take an action aimed to enrich the particular space of fandom and how the process of information contribution looks like. Prosumption activity and participation in both production and consumption simultaneously are a multifaceted and multidimensional processes of constructing mental concepts about past, present and future.

The fact is, that all of social media users have an ability to express themselves in various ways. N.K. Baym stated that there is no difference in “quality” between online and traditional fandoms. The only difference concerns internet which provides possibility to interact freely with another fans via new media³⁸. It has to be mentioned that in the case of social media all fans are users but not every user is a fan. Presumption that “everyone is a fan” is in the colloquial meaning correct, because everyone is a fan of something and people are still fans of television cult in traditional context, outside the social media space³⁹. It of course depends on the actions taken by the users willing or not to be a part of fandom community or those who decide to observe given page in order to gain information or spread knowledge on particular subject. R. Pearson tries to emphasize that the ground rules for being a fan may remain the same in the case of analog and digital media, however, new communication technologies

³⁷ J. Fulk, J. Schmitz, Ch.W. Steinfeld, *A social influence model of technology use*, [In:] J. Fulk and Ch. Stainfeld, *Organizations and communication Technology*, London 1990, p. 118.

³⁸ N.K. Baym, [In:] *Tune in, log on: Soaps, fandom, and online community*, Thousand Oaks, California 2000.

³⁹ P. Booth, *Digital Fandom*, New York 2010, p. 20.

offer many more opportunities to enter the so called “walled garden”, as producers seek to profit from the mass of user generated content⁴⁰.

That is why we should distinguish three categories of actions taken by the fans: (1) related to prosumption based on user generated content which is the most expected form of activity from the group administrators or fanpages owners point of view, (2) thoughtless activities limited only to share already disseminated and well known and popular content and (3) activities which are only an expression of approval or disapproval of discussion or content disseminated within fanpage sphere. It is crucial that the first mentioned category provides all required conditions to fulfil the aim of fandoms which is development and existence in users awareness.

The assumption is that fandom as an analytic unit (from the social media perspective) is a specific kind of data base consisting of information and ideas flows and processes related to exchanging knowledge in particular subject supplied by sets of interrelations between users interested in the selected topic. This kind of information could be interesting and valuable for all members of fandom communities. While one or more people in online community may share these types of information, sooner or later they choose to do so is at their discretion⁴¹. What is more, the communities itself provides strong incentives for creative expression and active participation. The most important here is that development of participatory culture shifted the focal point from individual expression to community involvement⁴². It means that all attempts to share or distribute content is up to individual users and the high or low level of involvement in spreading the discretionary information depends on willingness to contribute for the community. It should be mentioned that online communities grow as more information is contributed by the people who possess that information and experience or knowledge⁴³.

⁴⁰ R. Pearson, *Fandom in the digital era*, *Popular Communication*, 8/2010, pp. 84–95.

⁴¹ X. Li, *Factors influencing the willingness to contribute information to online communities*, “*New Media & Society*”, 13(2) 2011, p. 280.

⁴² H. Jenkins, *Confronting the challenges of participatory culture: Media education for 21st Century*, Massachusetts 2009, p. 6.

⁴³ X. Li, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

Fans involvement in the prosumtion culture

The whole process of users' involvement oscillates around actions taken by particular entities and consists of several stages (Figure 1). User of social media(fan) makes an individual decision and choice when it comes to joining a particular community. The fact is that social media environment is shaped by its users. Thus, their activity within this space led to the emerging of some kind of specified state of reality understood as a picture of society or its culture. Users guided by their interests and expectations select those parts of the whole image which are vivid and actual in a given situation.

The first stage [1] is a moment when user (future fan) starts to establish contacts with other users. The process of selection should be emphasized here because not all elements of the whole information flow are transferred to the users awareness. Media use theory seem to be important here because it proposes that: “ (...) *individuals choose media through a matching process. This matching involves assessing the requirements of the particular communication task at hand and selecting a medium with communication capabilities that match their requirements*”⁴⁴. According to this statement the matching process occurs also in the case of objects capturing when users selectively choose particular elements of the information flow.

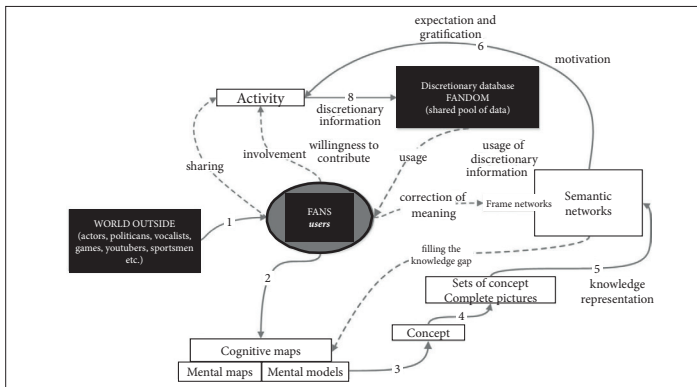


Figure 1. Process of fans community involvement in the prosumtion culture. Source: Own

⁴⁴ J. Fulk, J. Schmitz, Ch. W. Steinfeld, *op. cit.* p. 120.

The next step [2] is strongly connected to the first one and refers to the human perception. Members of particular fandom communities construct their individual – rarely repeatable – imaginations about culture. These imaginations are based on previously observed or obtained information on a particular topic. Cognitive maps which are a reflection of people’s imaginations sometimes do not overlap with the reality. Fans who participate in the individual fandoms or communities try to create appropriate mental models and maps from their point of view. Very often first impressions are deformed by our expectations, needs, feelings triggered by the subconscious. It is crucial to understand that particular online communities or media associate different objects and their attributes and other pieces of information in different ways that have significant impact on how social media users link these elements in their minds⁴⁵. Thus, both first and second stages of presented conception are essential and indispensable parts of the whole process of users involvement. A. Bandura noted that cognitive factors determine which environmental events will be observed, what meaning and labels will be conferred on them and what is more important, what emotional impact and motivation power they will have and how the information they convey will be prepared and organized for future use⁴⁶.

The third [3] and fourth part [4] marked on the graph above are an implication of the aforementioned people’s perception. Users acquire knowledge about culture or its specific parts and construct sets of concepts which in result are their knowledge representation about perceived objects. J. R. Anderson argue that cognition perspective emphasizes that meaning, so our imagination about “world outside” is represented in both the perceptual and motor systems used to interact with others⁴⁷. It means that the cognitive process is an indispensable element of taking any action which in result leads to high or low community engagement. It must be said

⁴⁵ L. Guo, M. McCombs, *The power of information networks. New directions for agenda setting*, New York 2016, p. 19.

⁴⁶ A. Bandura, *Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication*, Inc., Media Psychology, 3, 2001, p. 267.

⁴⁷ J.R. Anderson, *Cognitive Psychology and Its Implications*, New York 2015, p. 109.

that to convert a representation of a picture in our heads into representation of an action, first we should transform the image of an object and its attributes into some kind of an abstraction and its significance representation, and then convert that representation into a specific action⁴⁸.

Very important questions should be answered here: if it is necessary to take the cognitive psychology under the consideration when talking about social media, and whether it is important to explain the process of fans' involvement from the behavior perspective? Due to the fact that all media, including social media, play an influential role in how society understands the mechanism through which symbolic communication imply our thoughts, affects an action⁴⁹.

Social media are a kind of a virtual public sphere where all events and behaviors are reflections of those occurring in traditionally understood public sphere and very often are transferred from one space to another. Z. Pappacharissi assumed that a virtual sphere does exist in the strong tradition of the public sphere, but in a radically different form⁵⁰. Users during the process of cognition are enabled to identify themselves among a group, community or society. Whole relations, actions, behaviors or even groups, communities and fandoms profiles depend on particular and individual choices of users. According to social cognitive theory, it is a network of connected vessels based on interrelations between three elements: personal determinants, behavioral determinants and environmental determinants which together constitute triadic reciprocal causation⁵¹. It seems to be confirmed by G. Ritzer, P. Dean and N. Jurgenson who argued that: “(...) *users are not alienated on social media because they are not disconnected from the content they produce on the site and they are free to create what they choose*”⁵². This assumption emphasizes the role of the environment from which users derive knowledge in various topics.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ A. Bandura, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁵⁰ Z. Papacharissi, *The virtual sphere: the internet as a public sphere*, *New Media & Society* 2002; 4; 9, pp. 20–22.

⁵¹ A. Bandura, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–267.

⁵² G. Ritzer, P. Dean, N. Jurgenson, *The Coming of Age of the Prosumer*, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(4) 2012, p. 389.

The next stage [5] is equally important as the previous ones. Fan communities construct unique and sometimes special set of symbols which are useful in communication. Knowledge and awareness of these symbols allow fans to communicate in a proper way. It protects community members from ambiguous situations arising from differences in understanding the aforementioned rules of the fandom which were created to arrange internal and external ventures. Constructing semantic networks is a process of cognitive maps complementing and is represented in our minds in the form of concepts connected to each other and meaning expressed in language⁵³. Semantic networks play huge role in complementing, expanding and even in modifying our knowledge. Additionally, this stage of the whole process on the one hand facilitates, on the other hinders the transposition of knowledge, experience or ideas from user to another user or from user to community. It all depends on categorical organization of our knowledge which influences the way we code or encode and express our experiences⁵⁴. The fact of how deep our knowledge on particular subject is, diversifies our willingness to contribute any piece of information to community or group we are the member of.

All of the components presented so far(Figure 1) are related to the intrinsic mental constructions and our individual idea of the world which may or may not affect the action we decide to take. Next stages will be strongly determined by the presence in social media environment which gives users many different opportunities to join and participate in a chosen community in an open and active way. Very interesting here is the fact that according to prosumption culture, fans have not only the opportunity to receive stimuli but also to send impulses to another users. It stimulates the process of creativity which is more or less used by companies. There are many examples of fans' ideas usage by companies, for instance, which produce additional levels and stories or whole expansion pack games basing on gamers or fans opinions and claims. Social media intentionally call notions of originality, intellectual property and creative effort into remix understood as a recombination of semiotic resources into new digital texts which are proliferated online⁵⁵.

⁵³ R. J. Sternberg, K. Stenberg, *Cognitive Psychology*, Wadsworth Cengage Learning, Belmont, USA 2012, p. 334.

⁵⁴ J. R. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁵⁵ O. Estrad, O. Gilye, T. Lange, *Re-mixing Multimodal Resources: Multiliteracies and digital production in Norwegian media education*. "Learning Media and Technology", Vol. 32(2) 2007.

The sixth part [6] of the presented process led to conversion the abstract representation of knowledge to representation of an action. Because of the technological advancements, social media users do not depend on time and space and can operate in an open and free way. In the social media sphere people are expected to add, change and interact with the contributions of others, who are involved into the process of information exchange⁵⁶. Social media users are enabled to personalize and shape their information environment internally and externally. It means that all fans can specify and modify all the information they will to share (external personalization) and compose own social media profile according to individual needs or interesting, then the social media profile reminds some type of personal newsroom⁵⁷.

To take an action or not, people need some motivational factors that force them to contribute the information. The expectancy theory explains that in general someone's decision depends on needs for obtain the reward⁵⁸. F.C. Lunenburg stated that a person is motivated to the degree that he or she believes that effort will lead to acceptable performance which could be rewarded and the value of the reward is highly positive⁵⁹. In the case of social media, motivation to take any action leading to contribute to online community may depends on: the value of the rewards from contributing or the reward that users believe to get from contributing⁶⁰. But it has to be mentioned that some aforementioned distortion may occur when it comes to decision-making about taking an action. The cause is that there could be conflict between our perception and expectations. Sometimes there the so called social dilemma could occur, especially: "*when people share public goods and resources that are in short supply and there is excessive consumption*"⁶¹.

⁵⁶ K. Pepler, *Social Media and Creativity* [In:] D. Lemish, The Routledge International Handbook of Children, Adolescents and Media, New York 2013, p. 195.

⁵⁷ J. Nożewski, *Profil użytkownika mediów społecznościowych – osobisty newsroom 2.0?*, "Media Studies" 4 (63), Uniwersytet Warszawski 2015, pp. 35–48.

⁵⁸ V.H. Vroom, *Work and motivation*, Wiley, New York 1964.

⁵⁹ F.C Lunenburg, *Expectancy Theory of Motivation: Motivating by Altering Expectations*, International Journal of Management, Business and Administration, Vol. 15 (1), 2011, p. 2.

⁶⁰ X. Li, *Emerging Media. Uses and Dynamics*, New York 2016, p. 155.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

The last phase [7] is related directly to specific involvement in community communication sphere. Different social media services offer various interfaces which allow users to express their opinions, ideas, humor etc. There are two main interdependent types of involvements in social media: (1) information seeking and (2) information exchange. The information seeking is a typical communication kind of involvement aimed on acquire information for certain purposes. Information seeking is mostly limited when it comes to interaction between user and the community. People establish contacts usually when other users are able to satisfy their needs. In comparison, information exchange is an interactive communication operation involving other users in sharing ideas and experiences with others. Information exchange is interactive in nature so other participants can be involved in the process and the context of information exchange could matter to both sides of this process⁶². It is the main aim of all fandoms to establish and develop complementary information space based on reciprocity and equal access for every member. Users involvement may take different forms especially when we consider social media. Fans are enabled to share their opinions in the form of comments or post own images or videos in particular subject. It has to be mentioned that different communities expect different kinds of fans involvement, since it depends on particular fandom characteristic and to what or whom it is dedicated to.

The considerations about fandom in the social media sphere force us to take into account the issue of information possession. Online community as a kind of organized structure of users is filled by information which comes from fans and is a result of information exchanging between them. If we assess that the involvement of any user in this space is under his or her discretion, then the whole community space should be called discretionary database. This database can be understood as a shared pool of data to which fandom members can, if they want, contribute information⁶³.

The rule is that the higher involvement is, the wider and more capable the database is. If users will be able to find out that being

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 106–107.

⁶³ T. Conolly, B.K. Thorn, *Discretionary databases: Theory data, and implications*, [In:] J. Fulk, C. Steinfeld (eds.), *Organizations and communication Technology*, pp. 219–223.

involved is profitable, they will more likely contribute data for common use. Users create and maintain communication aspects of social media community. It is vivid that fans involvement support all processes aimed to establish communication space for all kinds of debates.

There are also five levels of alternative ways of information transferring related to: (1) sharing without involvement, (2) feeling of knowledge gap, (3) feeling of misunderstanding, (4) use of discretionary information and (5) being strongly involved (Figure 1). It is important that this alternatives may occur only once, simultaneously, repeatable or always when user feel that the experience and knowledge could be not sufficient to make an action. Additionally, it should be mentioned that solid lines represent the main process of users engagement in flow of information and dashed lines represent actions which are secondary to the core process of peoples involvement (Figure 1).

In general, people have two ways to disseminate information among community members. The first one was analyzed above as a complicated, multidimensional and completed process of personalization both internal and external users environment. The second one is related to sharing of information without any knowledge about it – just to share. In an online fandom consideration about taking an action or sharing the information creates similar kind of conflict because there are much more consumers than producers or prosumers.

Another alternatives are the straight implications of community database usage. It depends on fans perception of all the information inside the fandom and processes strongly tied with users activity. The alternative means here that fan who have possessed some knowledge in particular subject may at some point change his mind to information seeking. It means that there are two possible moves to make in that situation. People can involve in community communication basing on the existing knowledge. In that situation, users share their opinions, thoughts about something, and express agreement and disagreement or satisfaction and dissatisfaction with something. They can also practice sharing in that phase. The one of the important things here is that we can recognize some kind of loops consisting of both main and alternative links. In the case of the situation mentioned a moment ago, loop consists of: information usage, involvement de-

gree and main part – data contribution which is the indispensable element of all loops appearing in this schema.

The second way appear when fan who simultaneously is a member of a particular community starts to feel uncomfortable because of the lack of understanding of the basic components of the fandom. Then he or she tries to search the database for information indispensable to complement the gap. It partly explains why social media users participate in more than one communities and observe other users pages. They try to seek appropriate and sufficient information about something. The motivation is one of the key factors here. If user is motivated enough, he will seek information until his or her “mental catalog” is complemented. But there are situations when new item or object occurs, then users must go back to the beginning of the whole process and go through the whole process once again. The return from the semantic network to cognitive maps can occur when users perceived an objector event incorrectly and have problems with definition and categorization of particular event. Before making any next step users go back to previous phase and try to obtain new and more comprehensive information about the subject. The shape of the aforementioned loops and their components depend on how big the amount of knowledge is, ideas or experience possessed by users.

The proposed concept of users’ activity should include one more connection between discretionary database and the world outside. The sequence of processes where actually mentioned “world outside” construct another world outside but with different, modified characteristics. Social media are open so everyone can join in. Thus, things created by one user support the community, which supports other users, who provide information supplies to other communities.

The importance of this kind of analysis lay in the availability of diversification of two processes – production and consumption. Prosumption culture forces users to participate in both seeking and exchanging information processes. Their willingness to contribute to community depends on many of factors with are rooted in people’s minds. Social media as a communication sphere facilitate relations establishing, which is vital, when it comes to content distribution. Social media as an technological solution, give many new possibilities to “be engaged” or “be involved” in the context of whole society.

Nevertheless, as it was stated above, all processes appearing in social media are reflections of those occurring in traditionally understood society. Despite the fact, that communication in social media is actually limited to binary communication, there are so many ways and so many place for different expression.

Conclusions

The prosumption culture emerged when technological, social and economic factors were merged. This processes have led to changes in people's behavior, particularly when it comes to willingness to participate in the flow of information and desires to be a part of community based on information exchange. Technical capabilities allow people to be active users which means that they operate on prosumption and consumption intersection. Social media can be analyzed from different perspectives, but it has to be emphasized, that all signs of activity depend on how users behave in the communication space. Maffesoli's conception of neo-tribes seems to be confirmed, because people always aspire to manifest their social presence in both digital and non-digital space. It turns out that pop culture implies users behaviors in a particular direction and draws their attention to objects they could be interested in. Nevertheless, fan is a user who possess all indispensable sources to change, in small extent, the state of communication space of fandom.

Users, same as non-users, construct their imagination about the world and transfer it through social media to chosen communities. All collective actions taken by them are strongly connected to willingness to contribute. Prosumption culture as a kind of social construction, motivates people to share their thoughts even when the reward is not a material thing. Self-identification and self-efficiency which enhance the individuality of social entities are very important factors of prosumption processes in which users are involved. Social media as a communication space facilitate processes of people grouping around particular subject, but it does not mean that these platforms change the basis of social perception. Social services change only the way how we perceive objects and their attributes because each of us have

grounded imagination about world around us. Nevertheless, pictures in our heads are not stable, but they constantly change. Of course, the internet provides us much more information than we could receive beyond digital interfaces and that is why we should pay more attention to all behaviors focused on selection, creation and contribution data through online communities. However, people are more likely to contribute information and share their experience within social media communication context. Users are forced to take an action very rarely because it is under their discretion. Being a fan means that we have a choice to maintain current state of mind or to supply fandom community with individual, creative and useful data.



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Internet memes in a modern political campaign – communication, language, recipient

The notion of the Internet meme

The notion of the meme was introduced by Richard Dawkins in 1976. It comes from his book “The Selfish Gene” and denotes a unit of cultural development, analogic to a gene in biological evolution. Dawkins claims that life on Earth evolves thanks to varied survivability of genes which have the ability to mutate and replicate. Memetics constitutes an attempt to transfer theories into the area of cultural research. In this context, information becomes a principle factor and its transmission, selection and transformation can be referred to evolution in Darwinian understanding. Dawkins defines a new kind of replicator:

“We need a name for the new replicator, a noun that conveys the idea of a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation. ‘Mimeme’ comes from a suitable Greek root, but I want a monosyllable that sounds a bit like ‘gene’. I hope my classicist friends will forgive me if I abbreviate mimeme to meme.(2) If it is any consolation, it could alternatively be thought of as being related to ‘memory’, or to the French word meme. [...] Examples of memes are tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches. Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperms or eggs, so memes propagate them-

*selves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation”.*⁶⁴

Therefore, memes multiply by copying but their capabilities to replicate are varied. Whether a given entity survives or not is decided by the following factors: longevity, fertility and copy faithfulness. The question is: Are the Internet memes the same as Dawkins's memes? The answer is no. Memes online, of course, mutate but the context in which they appear changes too. It is difficult to talk about a memetic message. In the case of Internet memes, we are not dealing with a simple replication or recreation because the message is completed and processed, part of the content is overbuilt and part – eliminated. We cannot then, like in the case of Dawkins, put an equal sign between a meme and a gene. The Internet memes is also a short-lived phenomenon and it is difficult to indicate which of them would live longer on the net. Internet memes are blamed for making memetics shallower but it is worth considering how they can be described by means of memetics.

At present, memes are analysed from various research perspectives. Wiktor Kołowiecki states that an Internet meme should be distinguished by the fact that it is a unit of information which replicates only by the means of the Internet. We have to remember here that replication in this context does not mean digital copying of given material. Digital replication is in fact perfect and therefore each copy of this type is identical to original – this process only publicises one piece of information in numerous copies, which can only differ in the quality of compression or appear in different colours, depending on the monitor settings.⁶⁵ Kołowiecki expresses doubt regarding the validity of this term, however, due to its popularity he decides to use it.

Magdalena Kamińska claims that the term of the Internet meme is commonly used by Internet users to mark a popular semiotic complex transmitted via ICT, most often as the so-called Internet joke. By some “cyber memes-amateurs” the Internet meme is treated as a peculiar metaphor of Dawkins' meme that is a hypothetical unit of evolution

⁶⁴ R. Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene: 30th Anniversary edition*, Oxford. 2006, p. 192.

⁶⁵ W. Kolowiecki, *Internet memes – new language on the Web*, ”Kultura i Historia“, vol. 21(1), 2012, <http://www.kulturaihistoria.umcs.lublin.pl/archives/3637> [access: 4.8.2015].

of a cultural message, and others, who are supporters of the socio-biological hypothesis, consider an Internet meme as a visualised meme⁶⁶

As Marta Juza indicates, the tangent between Internet memes and Dawkins concept is the form in which they are popularised and perhaps on that grounds the notion “meme” has been adopted to the area of Internet communication. It is important to emphasise such form of popularisation involves no institutional, top-down intermediaries who would otherwise produce and distribute Internet memes (such as editorial teams that prepare messages popularised in the mass media). Messages which people popularise among themselves in this way must be more attractive for them: funnier, more interesting and compelling.⁶⁷

In Dawkins’s concept, the memes carriers were similar to viruses and in fact the English word ‘viral’ is a synonym of the Internet meme. Memes predecessors in communication include messages popularised “by word of mouth” such as gossips, rumours, urban legends, and jokes. They had a wide range and often strong influence. These messages do not reflect reality but rather pose as a commentary. They are also indicators of social moods. Adam Walkiewicz points to evident similarities between memes in biological and cultural context as their functioning in the situation of natural selection⁶⁸. From a memetic perspective, regardless of whether we sanction such theoretical approach, the function of communication on the Internet is not transmission of signs and texts and their storage and creation of connections between them and through this, their durability.⁶⁹

Bradley E Wiggins and G Bret Bowers analyse memes from the perspective of communication genres⁷⁰. “*We define Internet memes*

⁶⁶ M. Kaminska, *Wicked memes – eleven lectures about Internet culture*, Poznan 2011, p. 66.

⁶⁷ M. Juza, *Internet memes – creation, distribution, social meaning*, “*Media Studies*”, Vol. 4/55, 2013, p. 50.

⁶⁸ A. Walkiewicz, *Czym są memy internetowe – rozważania z perspektywy memetycznej*, „Teksty z Ulic”, Vol. 14, 2012, http://www.memetyka.us.edu.pl/dokumenty/pliki/ZeszytMemetyczny14_2012.pdf [access: 4.8.2015], p. 51.

⁶⁹ M. Kaminska, op. cit., p. 51.

⁷⁰ E. Wiggins Bradley, G Bowers, *Memes as genre: A structural analysis of the memescape*, “*New Media Society*”. <http://nms.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/05/23/1461444814535194.full.pdf+html>, [access: 4.8.2015] p.11.

as spreadable media that have been remixed or parodied as emergent memes which are then iterated and spread online as memes. [...] Internet memes progress from spreadable media which have been remixed or paro-died as emergent memes. In that form they are then iterated and spread online as memes. We explore the terms, spreadable media, emergent meme, and meme in greater detail in a subsequent section."⁷¹

In my divagations I will concentrate on Internet memes in political communication. I will treat replicators as an element of political infotainment. In my analysis, I used memes which commented on the presidential campaign of 2015. The grassroots of this genre in the Internet communication is commonly stressed. I use the term genre because, in my opinion, memes constitute a separate Internet genre, which is hybrid but still separate. They are also an expression of creativity.

In this article I aim at showing a tendency in modern political communication by using an example of popular Internet memes which were present in the presidential campaign 2015. I will present these tendencies in the context of the new media communication theory in the area of politics. I am interested in politicalainment and personalisation of election campaigns and also in the fact how much of a possibility there is to comment on campaign events by citizens by means of new technologies. The shape and form of such commentary are also important.

Communication and recipient on the net

Online communication has certain qualities which do not fit to classic theories of communication. The essence of text on the net is modification and replication. Internet memes, due to their distinctive qualities, constitute a representative example. Lew Manovitch points out that⁷²:

"The object of new media mostly exists in many various versions and not repeatable copies. Moreover, these different versions are not entirely created by humans. The computer deals with its automatic assembly." (Manovitch, 2006, p.103)

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷² L. Manowitch, *Jezyk nowych mediów*, Warszawa. 2006, p. 103.

The text on the net is polisemantic, multimedia and multi-optional, therefore it can function in numerous semantic variants. A significant element of creating text on line is editing. The texts can be edited by users from ready-made text modules, be subject to modifications and transformations. A text created and transformed in this way can semantically, medially, stylistically, and branch like, etc. A peculiar hybrid is formed.⁷³

A compelling online communication quality is being hybrid. Various communication practices belonging to different spheres of social life merge together in the digital space. The amount of text, which is to a certain degree based on copying and compilations – that is copying and pasting text that is drawn from an existing one – is growing online. Another significant quality of the Net, which is also expressed in Internet memes, is homogenisation and standardisation of message. Regardless of the country, composition, sets of text, forms are analogue and unified. Thanks to communication technologies, certain universalization of text takes place.

The process of new media reception is asynchronous, interactive and allows for feedback.⁷⁴ It is worth pondering interpretation of relationships between sender and recipient, and the sender's influence on the shape of modern media formats. In the study on communication, we come across many admirers or technological revolution or its absolute critics. The problem of audience participation in creating the content of modern new and traditional media is a widely discussed issue.

Dan Gillmor, an American journalist and blogger, entitled his study on journalistic practices "We the Media". According to Gillmor, Internet media can take the place of the fourth power and become the fifth, as traditional corporate media list recipient's trust by informal connections with the world of business and politics. He stresses that Internet journalism is not subject to such influences; it is grass-root and therefore more independent. The recipient can become the sender and thereby can influence the nature of information. The elites which took part in the selection of information have lost their areas of influ-

⁷³ E. Szczesna, *Wprowadzenie do poetyki tekstu sieciowego*, [In:] D. Ulicka (ed.) *Text w sieci*, Warszawa. 2009, pp. 70–71.

⁷⁴ J. Grzenia, *Komunikacja językowa i Internecie*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 26–27.

ence.⁷⁵ Gillmor claims that the rising of grass-root journalism impacts plurality of opinions in society and frees new channels of information flow into society. That has a destructive influence on the mainstream corporate journalism.

The generation of Internet users is much more active than recipients of traditional media. They are creators, users and senders, and not only passive audience members. In defining the modern role of a recipient, one indicates its interchange ability in the sender – recipient discourse. Internet users create the public which engages, cooperates, expands its knowledge, influences the content, changes, reconstructs and redistributes it.⁷⁶ Therefore, researchers call the audience of online TV or other Internet media active. In the context of new media, Tim O'Reilly also writes about "*participation architecture*" and Henry Jenkins mentions "*participation culture*" which constitutes a distinctive element of the Web 2.0. Generation. It is characterised by using the potential of collective intelligence by means of dividing social and intellectual capital of net users⁷⁷.

In the Internet media, the dictatorship of experts, which was the domain of traditional television, is disappearing. Peter Walsh stated that our traditional understanding of the word expert is outdated. The expert's knowledge is narrower and the knowledge in cyber space is interdisciplinary, concerns interdisciplinary issues that are more open and use knowledge from diverse community.

Pierre Levy claims that people on the net use the previously obtained expert competences for the common goal. Collective intelligence is therefore an ability to use by virtual communities their combined skills and various competences. If we cannot do something individually then we can do it with others. It creates something that is called community of knowledge. Community knowledge will influence the functioning of consumption culture by bigger activation of the audience. New forms of social societies on the net, in a situation when family relations are becoming looser and the significance

⁷⁵ D. Gillmor, *We the Media*, from, <http://www.authorama.com/we-the-media-4.html>, [access: 4.11.2015].

⁷⁶ T. Harrison, B. Barthel B. Fielding, "*New media in Web 2.0: exploring the history of engagement with the collaborative construction of media products*", "*New Media & Society*", Vol. 11/2009, p. 160.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

of nationality is getting less important, can gain a new dimension. Members of social networks can function in various environments. In this context, everybody has an ability to use the new media, create alternative information and become a producer. Internet recipients who actively co-create it are close to social broadcasters and various forms of grassroots journalism.

Gillmor and Jenkins write about *grassroots journalism*, about which we can talk when passionate people tame and then create their own media works which, despite competition from traditional corporate media, are spread by means of new technologies. Grassroots journalism does not always mean lack of professionalism. What mean here, is the change of the perspective from large media corporations and political of financial elites to an average citizen. A defining issue concerning grassroots or social journalism is also the fact that the notion of social broadcaster existed before the appearance of new technologies, which brings a certain degree of chaos in the nomenclature. Therefore, in my opinion, the notion of grassroots journalism is closest to the essence of the described phenomenon. It does not seem to be the most adequate as it concentrates on only one feature of grassroots journalism that is in opposition to something.⁷⁸ In this case we are dealing with an opposition towards mainstream, corporate media. Besides, the owners of Internet projects, such as Google, also form media corporations, which generate huge profits from advertising. The notion of grassroots journalism focuses our attention on qualities that distinguish this phenomenon: locality, independence, and individual perception. Creators of Internet content are also called netizens, a term derived from the word citizen, that means a net citizen. Who are the netizens (net+citizens)? They are active users who introduce content online, sometimes only for fun and sometimes because they want to comment on a certain situation, voice their opinion or ridicule a given part of reality.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ P. Dahlgren, *Online Journalism an Civic Cosmopolitanism. Professional vs. participatory ideals*, "Journalism Studies", Vol. 14(2) 2013, p. 159.

⁷⁹ A. Rastić, *New Language Media: Internet memes manuscript*, "University journal of Information Technology and Economics", Vol. 1 (2) 2014, p. 134.

Politics – politicalainment – memetising political communication

The notion of politicalainment is connected with notions such as infotainment, tabloidisation or mediatisation. The notions of tabloidisation have functioned in the political communication since the 80s and means, referring to the definition of Howard Kurz, quoted by Marta du Vall and Agnieszka Walecka-Rynduch:

lowering journalistic standards,
dominance of soft news over hard news,
personalization of political campaign.⁸⁰

When defining the notion of infotainment, it is worth quoting P. Moy, M.A. Xenos and V. Hess⁸¹: “*In recent years media scholars have noted the blurring of the line between informational programming, or “hard news,” and entertainment content. As traditional hard news has become increasingly driven by consideration of entertainment value, perhaps to combat sagging rates of attention among readers and viewers, and entertainment programs take on more serious topics, the resulting admixture has been dubbed “infotainment”*”⁸².

Media is accused of creating a demand on political tabloidisation because in the fight for viewing figures they fawn over the lowest taste of recipients. The media promotes political entertainment in the place of credible information and objective commentary. It creates the class of political celebrities, who are using PR techniques and political marketing. The fight for a viewer is reflected in the programme’s content. News selection is also subjected to PR techniques. Thanks to all these techniques an entertaining picture of politics is born. News is constructed in such a way so that they are the most attractive and maintain a high level of dramatization.

Relations between journalists and politicians also impact the development of politicalainment. Their function is some form of sym-

⁸⁰ M. Du Vall, A. Walecka-Rynduch, *Politicalainment as a symbol of modern politics*, “Panstwo i Spoleczenstwo”, Vol. 1/12/2012, p. 108.

⁸¹ P. Moy, M. Xenos, V.K. Hess, *Communication and Citizenship: Mapping the Political Effects of Infotainment*, “Mass Communication and Society”, Vol. 8/2/2005, p. 113.

⁸²

biosis. Relations between journalists and politicians are close and lack professional distance.

A new type of journalist has also appeared – a celebrity who appears not in the role of a communicator but as an expert in all subjects who speaks as a party in the political events despite the fact that the ethos of this profession obliges objectivity.

The following premises may denote it:

- lack of contact with the described element of reality,
- lack of clear placement of the comment in time,
- one-sidedness of report,
- focusing on journalist's popularity or celebrity status in order to

attract a larger number of viewers.

Due to these tendencies the phenomenon of using pictorial and meme-orial of modern politics arises. The significance of a picture message in commenting on politics (memes) is growing. Mariusz Janicki and Wiesław Władysław in their article in "Polityka" magazine show that currently a message about politics in news media is memetised ("roz-mem-lany").⁸³

A meme is treated as a short message, a picture or a symbol which perfectly reflects the nature of modern politics and is focused on creating a certain image, personalisation and using the right set of slogans and symbols. A political program becomes a commodity and fulfilment of it is a service that should bring certain profits. Political debate is currently aggressively persuasive, emotional and seemingly ambiguous and consequently excludes a rational debate. Supporters of a given political formation from "believers" and fans of its program transform into clients of certain options. A political program become goods and fulfilment of them is a service that should bring certain profits. Political democracy has been replaced with the public relations rules which poses as an example of colonisation of the political sphere by the media. Currently through society's fragmentation and segmentation we are dealing with multiplication of subjects communicating about politics, creating and distributing their content.

An important element of modern political campaigns is personalisation. Parties are concentrated around a leader and exhibit the person of the leader. Special positions or even teams are created which are

⁸³ M. Du Vall, A. Walecka-Rynduch, op. cit., p. 110.

responsible for contact with the media. Personal attacks on different options' leaders are common and various tools are applied in their case. Picture messages which are expressive and give the possibility of reconfiguration, mutation and reproduction are becoming more popular. Memes still have a status of grassroots messages but marketing specialists have already noticed their advertising potential. A meme, thanks to the aura of authenticity, will become or perhaps it has already become, an effective tool for political or election battle. Memes' creators are anonymous internet users and that increases the value of the memes. The process of appropriating this grassroots activity by mainstream is already taking place. Internet pages of newspapers or TV stations publish collections of memes. This is a method for cheap and popular content.

Memes in Presidential Campaign 2015

Political communication can take a form of discussion between politicians and society by means of available mass media. The Internet, in this context, has a particular significance for political actors for several reasons. First of all, despite the fact that it allows for direct contact with recipients, it also enables the forming of ties between a politician and a voter, and subsequently between voters. The Internet also enables recipients to remain anonymous, which creates danger but allows for greater openness in a public debate. The Internet, thanks to its interactivity, allows the recipient to be an active participant of the message, which in my opinion is one of its most significant features. Thanks to time and space compression, which constitutes a feature of new media, the discussion can take place regardless of time and space restrictions in a virtual reality.⁸⁴

According to political marketing specialists, running a campaign online has many benefits. Online political campaign is characterised by low costs of reaching the recipient, allows for supplying informa-

⁸⁴ A. Starewicz-Jaworska Agnieszka, *Komunikacja polityczna w swietle wybranych aspektów Internetu*, [In:] L. Jonak, P. Mazurek, A. Tarkowski (eds.), *„Re: Internet społeczne aspekty medium”*, Warszawa 2006, p. 244.

tion about the candidate or a party to certain audience. The Net can also be a tool for gathering financial resources. It is also important to remember that the number of people using the Internet is continuously growing and as a result it is difficult to ignore this growing number of potential voters. Another advantage of the Internet is the fact that it observes a continuous drop in citizens who participate in elections, not only in Poland. It forces campaign offices to search for new forms of communicating with the 'e-society'. The Internet can contribute to the increase of interest in politics especially among young people. The new generation of voters, which was brought up on television, is to a large extent resistant to this kind of message, however it is possible to reach them online.⁸⁵

Another, very much-desired effect of an online campaign is the above mentioned effect of authenticity. We have an impression of netizens actions and I think that in the case of Internet memes in the 2015 campaign we can claim that these were grassroots actions, although I am not able to determine their type. Memes as satirical messages are used both by journalists and campaign workers of various political options. It was no different during the characterised presidential campaign. Polish memes online can be found on websites such as: kwejk.pl, demotywatory.pl, jeja.pl, etc. My objective is not to carry out a qualitative or quantitative analysis of memes created for the campaign. However, I would like to show what types of memes appeared in the 2015 campaign. I want to show the nature of a message that is a meme, show meme as an element of politicalainment and personalisation of the election campaign. A meme reflects the nature of changeable Internet communication able to transform and transgress and also replicate. Modern election campaigns are run in mediated reality. Their creators and commentators use a short, symbolic and iconic message. Memes creators also reach for tools from the area of rhetoric, also understood as the theory of verbal communication open to a code on which verbal battle, competition and race for a place in the society are based. The code of these actions is fairly restricted, the number of provisions is also changing quite slowly, however the number of combinations a comprehensive rhetorician can create is endless.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 253–255.

The source literature classifies memes in various ways. Limor Shifman divides memes into nine groups, or nine genres but her classification is rather technical.⁸⁶ Shifman lists nine types of memes: reaction photoshops, photo fads, flash mobs, lipsynch, misheard lyrics, recut trailers, LOL cats, advice animals, rage comics⁸⁷.

In Polish source literature we have at our disposal memes' classification proposed by Wiktor Kolowiecki who divided memes into template, commenting and exploitative⁸⁸. I will use Kolowiecki's classification, although to a great extent it concurs with Limor Shifman's division. It will be simply difficult, in the case of the presidential campaign in Poland, to find equivalents to all groups listed by the researches from Israel.

First template memes in Poland are 'demotivators', below I will present an example of such a meme. The template refers to a hit HBO series. The meme's formula, as Adam Walkiewicz points, alludes to American motivational posters which aimed at creating positive attitude among company employees⁸⁹. Of course, the 'demotivator' contradicts it. Their aim at criticizing reality, in this context politi-

⁸⁶ L. Shifman, *Memes in digital culture*, Cambridge 2014, p. 7.

⁸⁷ I quote after Shifman: "Reaction Photoshops/photo processing – digitally altered photographs as comments on events and official news;
– Photo fads – photos and videos (one of the most well-known examples is "planking")
– Flash mob – a group of strangers gather in a public space and perform a particular act simultaneously. After that they just leave the scene
– Lipsynch – videos in which a person or persons try to match their lip movements to popular songs;
– Misheard lyrics – funny mistranslation of spoken sounds or songs written words;
– Recut trailers – the re-editing or remixing of film footage by the users;
– LOLCats – pictures of cats accompanied by systematically misspelled captions;
– Stock character macros – so-called advice-animals" macros, animals with absurd advice phrases as if uttered by a dog, penguin, etc.
– Rage comics – featuring a set of expressive characters, each associated with a typical behavior or emotion", *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸⁸ W. Kolowiecki, op. cit.

⁸⁹ A. Walkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 53–71.

cal, showing a pessimistic picture of the world and ridiculing it.⁹⁰ In the photograph we can see the top five candidates, out of them the current president is placed in the middle. Associations with the TV series make us think about politics as a phenomenon full of intrigues, unsolved mysteries or felonies. Popular template memes also include animals that give advice or comment on reality.



Figure 1.
Source:demotywatory.pl, 10.06.2015

⁹⁰ M. Sienko, *Demotywatory. Graficzne makra w komunikacji i kulturze*, [In:] M. Filiciak, G. Ptaszek (eds.): *Komunikowanie (sie) w mediach elektronicznych*, Warszawa 2009, p. 135.



Figure 2
Source:memy.pl, 10.06.2015

Another kind of memes are those commenting on the reality.⁹¹

They are drawings or pictures that express emotions by means of a caption which constitutes the punch line. In political campaigns such memes would play an important role. Photographs used in a campaign played a certain role in the debate, however it was rather shallow. Below I will show two similar photographs in which the commentary gives different meanings although both mock President Komorowski, albeit with different qualities.

⁹¹ A. Walkiewicz, op. cit., 57.



Figure 4.

Source: memytutaj.pl, 15.06.2015



Figure 5.

Source: kwejk.pl.15.06.2015

Photographs and graphics used in commenting memes are not so template, more individual. Commenting memes use photographs of pub-

lic people expressing certain emotions, doing certain things. During the 2015 campaign following both the first and second round popular were photographs of Donald Tusk, Grzegorz Schetyna, Antoni Maciarczyk, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Pawel Kukiz. Commenting memes concentrate on known, expressive people who evoke explicit connotations in society, of course depending on political views.

The last group of memes are exploiting ones. When discussing this group, I will refer to videomemes, which I instanced above referring to the "Game of Thrones". It is worth mentioning that on YouTube we can find recut trailers "Game of Armchair" a videomeme exploiting the popular TV series. These trailers presents all important political actors in this campaign. We can see all candidates.

Another videomeme which is present online is a part of the movie "The Fall" from 2004 which talks about the end of Hitler's rule in the 3rd Reich.⁹² Making memes from this movie is simple. The author puts the text of false translation correlated with issues from the movie. On YouTube we can find "The Fall" which comments Bronislaw Komorowski's failure in the first round of election. There appear all accusations of this presidency and campaign but there is no deep commentary or polemics. Using videomemes reflect what is the most characteristic in modern civic Internet communication – the tendency to political satire or pastiche. In the case of "The Fall" the carrier of meaning is the text because the picture is not modified in any way, as it is in the case of the "Game of Throne". This is an expression of the above mentioned participating culture or creating culture.⁹³

Political Internet memes reflect the tendency present in today's politics. Thanks to the content uploaded on social networks, campaign workers of individual parties are trying to reach young voters. Memes popularity gives modern campaign a form of happening, game or a cabaret. Memes pose as a commentary to political reality such as: past political jokes. Political debate mediated by such genres as memes comes down to a show in which the most important is image and doing symbolic politics. Memes shy away from commentary, use slogans, symbols, short and expressive form. Memes reflect mod-

⁹² M. Majorek, *Kod You Tube od kultury partycypacji do kultury kreatywnosci*, Warszawa 2014, p. 162.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

ern shallow political communication. They also point to media hegemony and their entertainment branch. Such modern lifestyle politics replaces idea politics. Political memes are based on short, evaluative and often coaxing messages.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, although the content of memes seems very simple, it requires at least rudimentary political knowledge and competence.

Politics in the era of global mediatisation loses a lot of its essential features. Political decisions are made in unprecedented circumstances. The media, differently than before, are part of very important space for doing politics. The mainstream media are often associated with space appropriated by politicians, therefore new media communication seems to be the alternative. As I pointed out above, the user of new media creates and distributes texts on the net, which gives the impression of grassroots and independence. Media is blamed for the above-mentioned tabloidization and by extension emotionalism of content. Politics and politicians are accompanied by an atmosphere of scandals built by means of media. Memes creators, whether they are professional campaign workers or netizens, are using restricted codes because they want to reach the largest group of recipients, all narrow codes only appear to obtain humoristic effect.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ M. Czyzewski, *Perswazja w tekstach politycznych-spojrzenie socjologa* [In:] Mosiolek-Kłósinska Katarzyna, Zkolka Tadeusz (eds.): *Język perswazji publicznej*. Poznan 2003, p. 123.

⁹⁵ M. Kita, *Czy można nie manipulować? O audiowizualnej retoryce w dyskursie politycznym*, [In:] Krzyzanowski Piotr, Nowak Paweł (eds.): *Manipulacja w języku*, UMCS, Lublin 2004, p. 206.



Education



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Student media in Poland – origin, evolution, the present⁹⁶

Historical context of Polish students media

We can pinpoint two significant stages in the history of Polish student media. The first one pertains to their functioning before so called system transformation (1918–1989) while the second is connected with the expansion of the Internet and the development of new technologies in communication. In this first period numerous student magazines were being created along with student broadcasting centres (in the 1950s and 1960s) as well as proper broadcasting studios (1970s and 1980s). Needless to say the student culture, consisting of young people partaking in artistic festivals, musical, theatrical and cabaret events, was the main force of media development.

Polish student media were mentioned for the first time in the first half of 19th century⁹⁷, when annexation of Poland by Russia, Austria and Prussia was in effect. In the years 1815–1914 student press began its activity and it was releasing materials written, mostly illegally, by students, political parties, as well as different political organisations. After Poland regained its independence, in the years 1921–22 students started to create more and more magazines. In the year 1918 six

⁹⁶ Paper from in: Anna Ziety, *Media studenckie w Polsce, geneza, ewolucja, rzeczywistość*, Gdańsk 2014.

⁹⁷ A. Magowska, *Polska prasa studencka w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Poznań 1994, p. 12.

different student magazines were being published, whereas in 1937 this number increased to 51⁹⁸.

Student magazines appearing in the years 1918–1939 were dominated by ideological, political and historical matters. Newspapers dealing with social and cultural topics were in minority⁹⁹. World War II outbreak (1939–1945) stopped the social, cultural and economical development of Poland along with all the forms of creativity. According to many authors the years 1945–48 mark the first post-war stage of student press development. In that time many schools and universities were reopened. In the beginning of 1945 students of newly reactivated universities (such as, among others, universities of Krakow, Torun and Wroclaw) started their journalistic endeavours.. In years 1945–56 sixty-four student magazines were appearing in eight higher education schools¹⁰⁰. Those endeavours were as dynamic as it were scattered.

The magazines created were mostly periodicals or bulletins functioning only within a specific school. They were frequently short-lived, limited to one-two issues. They were mainly political in nature¹⁰¹. In the years 1959–1968 student press flourished in terms of its quantity. Waskiewicz claims that the reason for this was the need of people to not merely possess a certain magazine, but to belong to a specific social group, to tighten their bonds with others¹⁰². Overall in the years 1945–48 approximately 111 student magazines were being released in schools. In the 1970s and 1980s numerous magazines were appearing unofficially. Historians claim the year 1976 was the beginning of this situation. It was the time of intense development of free trade unions as well as the origins of many illegal political parties and social organisations. The period is said to have ended in 1990 when censorship in Poland ceased to exist. The student maga-

⁹⁸ A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska w latach 1918–1939*, PWN, Warszawa 1980, p. 406.

⁹⁹ A. Magowska, *Polska prasa studencka w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Poznan 1994, p. 21.

¹⁰⁰ J. Gomoliszek, *Uniwersyteckie pisma studenckie w Polsce w latach 1945–1989*, Torun 2011, p. 24.

¹⁰¹ A. K. Waskiewicz, *Czasopisma studenckie PRL*, “Zeszyty Prasoznawcze” 1972, nr 4, p. 20.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

zine which played the most significant role in the years 1976–1981 was “Bratniak” (Pismo Młodych – Magazine of the Youth). It was conceived by the activists of ROPCio (the Movement for Human and Citizen Rights), unquestionable authority figures for the young generation. According to W. Kajtoch 330 student magazines were being published in the years 1980–89¹⁰³.

In the beginning of 1990s (due to social and political changes, disbanding of student broadcasting centres and expansion of commercial radio stations) KRRiT (National Broadcasting Center) – a national institute which according to the Polish Constitution (articles 213 to 215) defends the freedom of speech, gathering and receiving information and the public trust in regard to radio and television¹⁰⁴ – in the years 1994–95 granted first broadcasting licences to student radio stations¹⁰⁵. Since then non-commercial students’ radiostations could work under the same rights as commercial ones. Currently there are ten licensed student radio stations in the Polish media market aiming their programme at young people from the biggest cities (such as, among others, Rzeszow, Lublin, Warsaw, Wroclaw, Poznan, Bialystok, Zielona Gora, Olsztyn, Lodz and Krakow). Modern radio market consolidates two types of student radio stations: licensed stations and unlicensed stations. The latter have to be searched for on-line (their number amounts to approximately 30). Licensed radio stations broadcast both on the airwaves and on-line. Unlicensed ones broadcast only on the Internet. Their key features are: lack of professionalism, low maintenance costs, broadcasting in the afternoons and evenings, lack of commercials, limited number of programmes, low

¹⁰³ W. Kajtoch, *Prasa studencka lat 80. XX w. – agonia czy przemiana*, [In:] *Kultura studencka: zjawisko – twórcy – instytucje*, (eds.) E. Chudzinski, Kraków 2011, p. 292.

¹⁰⁴ *Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji*, http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Krajowa_Rada_Radiofonii_i_Telewizji [access: 12.03.2013].

¹⁰⁵ *Sprawozdanie Krajowej Rady Radiofonii i Telewizji z rocznego okresu działalności wraz z informacją o podstawowych problemach radiofonii i telewizji*, KRRiT, Warszawa 1996, http://www.krrit.gov.pl/Data/Files/_public/Portals/0/sprawozdania/spr1996/spr1996.pdf; *Informacja o podstawowych problemach Radiofonii i Telewizji*, KRRiT, Warszawa 2001, http://www.krrit.gov.pl/Data/Files/_public/Portals/0/sprawozdania/spr2001/inf2001.pdf [access: 20.12.2010].

number of listeners, no payment for employees, school subventions as the only source of income¹⁰⁶.

The first Polish e-magazine created by students appeared on-line on August 2nd 1989. The creators of this initiative were a group of young scientists from the University of Warsaw. Its editor-in-chief was Ksawery Stojda. The primary goal of the magazine, in its first stage of development, was to provide Poles living permanently abroad with information regarding their country of origin¹⁰⁷. The magazine, called "Donosy", was since its beginnings and is to this day distributed via e-mail, currently reaching to approximately 1600 subscribers. In the years 1996–2002 we were observing the expansion of digital student on-line magazines (so called e-zins or electronic magazines). The most popular of those, "Reporter", "Histmag", "Wirtualny komputer", "Bunt", "Słowa w sieci" were mostly created by amateurs, hobbists and students interested in a specific topic. E-zins were non-commercial and hobbistic in nature, were available free of charge and on top of that existed only in electronic form¹⁰⁸. Electronic magazines are the most popular student media. They are created by students of nearly every school of higher education and are most frequently financed by them.. Most of them are copies of printed releases, only few of them are created specifically for the Internet. Student e-zins are characterised by a variety of topics handled, as well as diverse typography and editing. Some of them evolved from static websites into more complex structures resembling in look dynamic platforms or social networking sites created according to Web 2.0 standards. Internet television is the youngest student medium in Poland. It is unquestionably an expression of student social activity, it shows their strong desire to communicate and express their own opinions. Apart from that, according to my research, it is the most attractive tool of communication for young journalists-to-be. First Polish on-line televisions were created in the years 2004–2008. Those were mainly projects by the students of Angelus Silesius University of Applied Sciences in Walbrzych, the Academy of Agriculture and Technology in Olsztyn (currently the University of Warmia and Ma-

¹⁰⁶ U. Doliwa, *Radio studenckie w Polsce*, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 11–12.

¹⁰⁷ L. Olszanski, *Dziennikarstwo internetowe*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 12–13.

¹⁰⁸ J. Grzenia, *Komunikacja językowa w Internecie*, Warszawa 2007, p. 175.

zury), University of Szczecin and Warsaw University of Technology. Currently we can find more than twenty student-run Internet television on the Polish Internet.

Notions of student journalism and student media

There are no stand-alone categories of “Internet journalism” or “student media” in the Polish literature pertaining to media studies. Student press, radio or television are terms without detailed definitions. They are defined and interpreted quite liberally. What is more, not many publications documenting this media space exist.

In American literature the term “student journalism” is vast, since it pertains to all things created by young people on every stage of education. What is more, in the USA most student magazines are distributed on University campuses and aimed primarily at academic community¹⁰⁹. In some countries the notion of student journalism is regulated by law which means that there are certain regulations of amateur journalistic activity. In the United States, the birthplace of student media, the public benefit organisation named Student Press Law Center, protecting rights of student journalism, was created in 1974. It controls fifty states as well as District of Columbia. Its board consists of students, professional journalists, lawyers as well as people interested in supporting independent student media. Said centre offers legal counsel free of charge and provides both journalists and students with publications and educational materials¹¹⁰.

According to Polish media scholar M. Mrozowski, student media are the integral part of global social system¹¹¹. Despite essential differences in the way student media function in various countries, they share at least several common features: (a) their primary goal is to serve the business of an institution controlling them, to promote its values and ideas (b) they are non-commercial in nature, (c) they are

¹⁰⁹ N. McGarity, *Student Journalism*, [In:] *Encyclopedia of Journalism*, red. Ch. H. Sterling, Thousand Oaks: Sage 2009, p. 1348.

¹¹⁰ *Student Press Law Center*, <http://www.splc.org> [access: 09.07.2011].

¹¹¹ M. Gorczyca, *Media studenckie. Rozmowa z prof. dr hab. M. Mrozowskim*, „Patos – czasopismo społeczno-kulturalne młodych”, <http://www.patos.pl/media-studenckie-a139.html> [access: 28.02.2011].

independent from the state, (d) they are engaged in the problems of local community which is their potential recipient¹¹²

Student media currently appear not only in a microscale, but also in a macroscale. Due to their presence in cyberspace they can reach every corner of the world. Nowadays they exist in nearly every school of higher education. They more frequently have got an organisational structure, internal regulations, and offer a diverse range of content. In the digital age student works are much more developed and, above all, interactive. Due to their specific nature and the way of functioning they are described as: community media¹¹³, non-profit media, alternative media¹¹⁴ third sector media¹¹⁵. In conclusion, student media are on the one hand, unprofessional, non-commercial means of communication and on the other organisations / societies (most frequently non-profit ones) dealing with press, radio, television or on-line journalism. The word “student” refers to media created by students graduates and / or research associates of a higher school of education or a specific faculty as well as by Independent Students’ Associations, student councils, students’ scientific associations, students’ organisations and students’ communities of a city in question. Those media exist within organisational structures of universities / schools of higher education. They are most frequently supervised as well as financed by said schools, are created spontaneously which means students can join them freely of their own accord. They possess formalised goals of their actions, organisational rules, as well as internal structure and members. Student media are the forum of intellectual exploration. Nowadays, both traditional (press, radio) and electronic (e-zins, web radio, student radio TV) student media exist

¹¹² U. Doliwa, *Elektroniczne media społeczne w Polsce – stan obecny i perspektywy rozwoju*, „Studia medioznawcze”, Vol. 4(43)/2010, p. 65.

¹¹³ S. Michalczyk, *Media lokalne w systemie komunikowania: współczesne tendencje i uwarunkowania rozwojowe*, Katowice 2000, p. 206; K. Jakubowicz, *Unia Europejska a media. Między kultura a gospodarka*, Warszawa 2010, p. 91.

¹¹⁴ O. Guedes Bailey, B. Cammaerts, N. Carpentier, *Media alternatywne*, Krakow 2012, p. 140.

¹¹⁵ P. Stepka, *Media trzeciego sektora w państwach europejskich*, Analiza Biura KRRiT, Warszawa 2006, <http://www.krrit.gov.pl>, [access: 19.12.2010] p. 3; KRRIT, 2008, p. 34.

within places of education. Virtually every school of higher education has got at least one of those.

Student media on-line: analysis and interpretation based upon personal research

The topic of my empirical research (2010–2013) were so called student “new media” functioning in cyberspace as digital press, web radio and on-line television. The research is focused upon three key aspects:

– **technological** – meaning new media status of student media, ie. optimisation, accesibility, usability and functionality (research sample consisted of seven press releases, ten licensed radio stations, seven on-line radio stations and seven on-line TV stations);

– **content** – based upon three on-line televisions (Kampus TV, TVPW, TVS Styk) I have presented the architecture and diversification of content (in total 1254 audio-visual texts have been analysed, amounting to 64 hours of runtime);

– **reception** – using eye tracking process I have shown the reception of student media among academic youth (40 students of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan took part in the test).

Aforementioned aspects led to the analysis of three primary research matters: *to what degree on-line students media can be considered “new media”?*, *what is the content of on-line student media based upon on-line television?*, *what is the reception of on-line student media among academic youth?*

In my research I have used three methods: web content analysis, eye tracking and diagnostic poll. I have attributed the following research techniques to the methods in question: content analysis, categorisation, poll and observation. My basic research tools were: questionnaire, transfer sheet, non-standard observation sheet as well as Tobii Studio software. In case of usability and accesibility of the chosen media I have used several web applications:

– **Raven Seo Tools** [<http://raventools.com>] – the tool I have used to analyse technical aspects of websites such as quality and appearance of the site;

- **Validator Utilitia** [<http://www.utilitia.pl>] – the tool used to determine the accessibility of the website;
- **Markup Validation Service W3C** [<http://validator.w3.org>] – the tool used to verify the accuracy of XHTML language in website design;
- **CSS Validation Service W3C** [<http://jigsaw.w3.org/css-validator>] – the tool used to verify the accuracy of CSS (Cascading Style Sheets) language in website design;
- **Pingdom** [<http://tools.pingdom.com>] – the application determining the loading times of particular websites;
- **PageRank** [<http://www.page-rank.pl>] – the application which, from technical perspective, marks the relevance of a website.

Raven Seo Tools allowed me to verify on-line student media in regard to their appearance and quality. Two reports were generated for each of the media which amounted to 62 collective protocols. A website could score 100 points top in every analysis. Website functionality was judged upon the following matters (based upon J. Nielsen's directives): information about the website goal, about the medium goal, general readability, up-to-date information, trustworthiness of the content, content archiving, navigational system, hyperlinks, website search system, graphics, animation, interactivity and the amount of multimedia. Each of the websites could score 56 points tops in this analysis.

The accessibility of on-line student media has been analysed using the tool recommended by social enterprise Utilitia. **Validator Utilitia** verifies whether the website fulfills the terms of accessibility determined by W3C Consortium (World Wide Web Consortium). Each of the media could have scored ten points top for fulfilling this criterium. In order to analyse the chosen student televisions I have used a transfer sheet consisting of 48 questions.

The reception of student media has been analysed using an eye tracker process. I have used computer software, Tobii Studio, to analyse the poll results. Eye tracking method has been supported with a questionnaire consisting of ten questions. Recipients had answered the first four questions pertaining to the general knowledge of student media before eye tracking and the remaining six have been answered to after said recipients have been exposed to the chosen media.

New media status of student media

The first research matter relates to new media status of student media. Using various tools and technological applications I have verified the following parameters: optimisation, functionality, usability, accessibility and interactivity of content created by young journalists.

I think that they fulfill new media status only to an average, or even miniscule degree. According to the research, there are certain media on the market which are very well developed in that regard. It is worth remembering that among the worthwhile creative endeavours are UW3D television and Koretowo TV as well as licensed student broadcasting centers, e.g. Radio Akadera. It seems that the biggest problem lies in electronic magazines since they do not keep up with the rapid technological changes and are unable to offer innovative solutions to their demanding audience. Young people do not want to read long journalistic texts. Research shows that they prefer short journalistic forms such as a newsflash or a movie clip no longer than 1,5 minutes.

Another matter pertained to interactivity and the amount of multimedia. Recipients are too demanding in that matter and the student technical know-how cannot satisfy those needs. Advanced interactivity requires a great deal of financial and technological support. Students are unable to deliver due to financial restrictions. According to research half of analysed websites gives users the option to comment a piece of text or a movie clip. It is the only form of interactivity. The remaining forms such as file transfer, layout modification, customising the website (eg. by increasing the font size) are impossible to implement.

69% of websites contain multimedia elements, most frequently photographs, movie clips and pieces of text. Audio-visual content increases in quantity on the websites of student magazines and broadcasting centers.

Student media usability, functionality and accesibility

The analysis of on-line student media in regard to their usability and functionality has shown both their strong and weak points. None of the media gained the highest number of points – 56. The high-

est results are as follows: Uniwerek.TV (38 pts), Akademickie Radio Kampus (37 pts), KontraTV (33 pkt), month periodical "Żak" (33 pts) and "PDF" magazine (33 pts). The lowest results are: "Koszarowa" newspaper (16 pts) and Uniradio (16 pts). The results of remaining media were in between 30 and 20 points.

Among the fortes of students media in question is high quality of information pertaining to the website goal and the medium itself. Each of the websites contains appropriately exposed name, logo and contact information. What is more the websites have got a solid navigational system, file search engine, interactivity and the language suited for and understandable by the recipients. Among the weaknesses are: low quality designs, problems with text placement and formatting, anonymity of journalistic materials, lack of updates or interactivity. Among other shortcomings are: lack of cohesive strategy for directing the website, lack of logic in information architecture, lack of language select option as well as unattractive presentation of the content. It also seems that there is a problem in a lack of people responsible for the general look of the medium, its promotion (internal and external), technical matters and proofreading. What is more, several years worth of student media observation showed that they said media do not develop in a dynamic manner. The free tools and applications that could improve their development are not being used. Furthermore, there are no financial resources for new projects and endeavours. Outdated technologies, antiquated content, old trends and basic usability shortcomings are key reasons for on-line media not being overly popular among young people.

Today we demand a great deal more from on-line media than merely a couple of years ago. The time in which users were passive is long gone. Currently everyone wants to be a creator, to leave a mark in cyberspace. Therefore in case of student media one might ponder how to increase their attractiveness and the amount of recipients.

The lowest results of student media are in the category of accessibility, especially for people with developmental disfunctions. I think that this problem has to be solved immediately since this particular feature is being progressively more appreciated. Kortowo Television (7,8/10), Akademickie Radio Centrum from Rzeszów (7,2/10) and Akadera radio (7,6/10) are the media which fulfilled the accessibility

criteria. On-line student media which have fulfilled the accessibility standards had their greatest share of problems in the following areas: HTML and CSS validation, links accessibility, text elements contrast, links accuracy and language declaration, primitive formatting, presence of form labels.

It is essential to pinpoint that each website contains errors in HTML and CSS codes. It may be due to unfamiliarity with the technology used in creating websites. Twenty-two sites met the rules only in half, whereas six remain utterly unaccessible. The latter six are: SimRadio (4,3/10), KontraTV (4,6/10), Luz Radio (4,7/10), Uniwerek TV (4,8/10), “Kontrast” magazine (4,8/10) and Przystanek Student television (4,9/10). In essence it means that the recipients (e.g. students with developmental disfunctions) will not be able to accurately watch, listen to and read the content on said websites.

Accessibility research has shown that webmasters do not pay a required degree of attention to this problem. The situation may change since on May 16th 2012 the new Regulation of the Council of Ministers has been introduced (National Interoperability Framework) which deals with this extremely crucial problem. The matter of accessibility seems to be unimportant for students creating media since 12 of 19 parameters should be totally modified.

On-line student media content

The second research matter pertains to on-line student television content. Content analysis has shown a great variety of television programmes as well as a variety of genres used, both stemming from traditional and Internet journalism. In this area we may probably perceive the biggest student engagement in the creation and production of multimedia texts. Young people have proven that their creativity, ingenuity and originality knows no limits. Analysis of more than 1000 texts has shown both strengths and weaknesses of student TV journalism on the Internet. Among audio-visual content one may find extremely valuable projects prepared first and foremost by the journalists from TVPW. In some we could perceive curiosity, journalistic determination and an urge to provide recipients with trustworthy information.

On-line student televisions analysed are quite alike in regard to general architecture and mechanisms. From the technological standpoint we are dealing with low-budget systems allowing content management. Audio-visual files are located on external servers, most commonly YouTube, Vimeo or Dailymotion. In broad terms, on-line televisions created by amateur journalistic teams are vastly different from those functioning on professional media market. The differences can be found in every matter: the way of consumption, software, technological capabilities, budget and the programmes themselves.

YouTube plays a key role in the existence and functioning of on-line student televisions. On one hand, it is treated as a way of content distribution, on the other it is a place serving to promote student culture and creativity. All stations existing currently on the on-line market are eager to present their materials in this place. Their creators know that thanks to it they can gain a higher number of recipients. General YouTube statistical data from February and August 2011 as well as October 2012 show the frequency of new content being uploaded by the creators as well as increased interest of recipients in the clips themselves. Month after month televisions gather more recipients as well as shows of both the movies and the channel site itself. It is most notable in case of Kampus TV and TVS Styk. The most popular content on YouTube is that of purely entertaining value. Students are particularly interested in topics popular in professional media. For example a movie clip entitled “U...brudzony stol Durczoka” (“Durczok’s filthy table” – showing the famous TV presenter Kamil Durczok getting mad and swearing due to the table in his studio being dirty) was uploaded by Kampus TV on March 13th 2009 and since then is the top clip both in terms of popularity and ratings. Detailed statistics show that it is, in comparison to other movies, most frequently commented and marked by the Internet users.

Statistics also show that students are mostly interested in entertainment such as “bloopers of the professionals”, coverage of student parties such as Polish “juwenalia” or TV series trivia. They are not overly interested in more serious journalistic problems.

Analysis has shown that 72% audio-visual texts represent genres that can be labeled “low-culture”. Those are: hybrids, new forms created especially for the Internet. According to J. Uszyński’s classification [2004] in a traditional television they would be merely a part of

a bigger programme whereas on the Internet they can function entirely on their own. Only 28% of the shows seems from standard television genres. Among those reportages and commentaries are the least popular.

It seems students know perfectly well what are the rules of the Internet. They realise that longer forms such as, for example, a reportage, do not need the requirements set by on-line journalism. Two other groups – rhetorical and persuasive messages – are undoubtedly used by students. It is now commonplace among televisions to prepare student version of news programmes. TVPW is an exception since it deals mostly with student commentaries. Among rhetorical texts used by students are also cultural or sports magazines. Student televisions contain also commercials or autopromotional clips (10,8%). Along with autopromotion students deal also with creating commercials pertaining to the specific specialty in their higher school of education or particular events (beauty pageants, aforementioned Juwenalia etc.).

Students are most eager to produce short, most frequently lasting no more than a few minutes, movie clips, especially newsflashes or commentaries. They also often prepare polls and interviews. Kampus TV and TVPW specialise also in the creation of specific journalistic forms such as lipdubs, music videos, bloopers, trailers, videotutorials and making ofs. Kampus TV uses also so called event commentaries. Those are most frequently speeches of the rector of the University of Economics regarding important school events or Easter / Christmas wishes. News shows are also popular (they are called “wiadomości studenckie” – “student news”). One can say that they are the basis of student on-line television.

Three student televisions produced in total 532 news programmes. Those are treated by students in a very specific way. First and foremost they may be divided into two groups: stand-alone news and non stand-alone news. Those first have got an intro and outro and constitute a closed, complete form. The latter ones are created for bigger genres only by cutting texts from the magazines or full-scale student news programmes into smaller fragments. Kampus TV deals primarily in creating stand-alone news (103), TVS Styk prefers non stand-alone news (408). Non stand-alone news gathered by Kampus TV and TVS Styk are from the following types of magazines: information (293),

cultural (3) and sports (116). Due to their form news can be divided into: open (lack of intro and outro), half-open (containing intro or outro) and closed (with both intro and outro). In total out of 525 news pieces 416 (79,2%) are open, 20 (3,8%) are half open and 89 (17%) are closed. All analysed news pieces deal with typical student as well as city problems. Majority concern student problems (62,3%). City topics are mentioned in 37,7% texts. Overall 327 pieces of news covered student issues, whereas 198 pieces were about city issues.

Student news pieces were divided into nine areas, whereas city news pieces into eleven. In general, due to interests of TVS Styk, 24,5% pieces of news pertained to, first and foremost, sports events. Most commonly those were non stand-alone news coming from “Wiadomości sportowe” (“Sports News”). 21% of news dealt with school matters such as immatriculation, graduates reunions, conferences, competitions, school projects, building investments, meetings with travellers, student council elections, council debates, scholarships, insurances, student scientific associations, concerts, exhibitions, festivals and jubilees. Third place (19%) belongs to news concerning education and knowledge promotion: educational student endeavours, Wiggor society, charities (“Daj misiaka dla dzieciaka”) or Wampiriada, a nationwide student blood donors event, happenings or student conferences.

31% of city news pertained to culture, 27% to sport, recreation and tourism, 13% to social issues. Culture topics covered: multicultural picnics, movies and cinema, concerts, choirs, art, photography or theater. Sports news were mostly coverages of important games or competitions. There were also coverages of events which may be called “semi-sports” such as video game fans conventions. Social issues regarded especially Wrocław itself and its inhabitants (for example love, sex, social actions, shopping, attractions in Wrocław ZOO garden).

Another popular form used by students on Internet television is commentary. They constitute 23% (283) of all the texts. TVPW prepared the highest number of such materials. It is noteworthy that they are mostly very interesting and original. They are characterised mostly by being unorthodox. They are both creative and specific. One can notice word, image and editing experimentation in them. They are difficult to categorise into a specific genre.

Similarly to news, their topics are divided into student and city matters. Once again student matters are in majority (61,5%). 50% of commentaries deals with entertainment. For example students working for TVPW specialise in video coverage of a beauty pageant taking place in Warsaw University of Technology [*Relacja z Gali Miss PW 2010*, TVPW, <http://tvpw.pl>, 11.09.2011]. Apart from that a lot of commentaries cover student parties (such as Juwenalia). One can tell that students' imagination knows no limits when it comes to commentaries. They utilise and combine various journalistic genres regularly. They contain, however, a lot of mistakes in spelling, punctuation and composition as well as bad framing, lighting, ignoring the background and sloppy editing. Students fail to combine foreground and background shots which stems from misunderstanding or lack of knowledge of visual medium, editing is too fast-paced and illogical which, in effect, results in a montage of random shots. Most city commentaries pertained to culture (31%) and sports (23%).

Among different forms used by students on the Internet televisions reportages are the least popular. One of the reasons is probably the fact that reportage is generally considered to be one of the most difficult journalistic genres to master. Apart from that it seems that this form, due to its specific elements, does not work well on the Internet (e.g. due to overly long runtime). One has to realise that student audio-visual texts which I classified as reportages are not really similar to their traditional counterparts. It seems that only the broadest idea and concept are alike. Apart from that it is noteworthy that students tend to name random journalistic materials “reportages” when in fact they belong to a wholly different genre altogether. In total I have chosen 54 texts which may be named on-line reportages. Similarly to pieces of news and commentaries, I have divided them into two topics: student- and city-related. TVPW has got the highest number of reportages in its archives. Two remaining televisions gathered only a handful of such texts. 58% student reportages cover entertainment whereas 36% of city reportages deal with cultural matters.

All forms and genres are permitted in student televisions. It seems there are no journalistic boundaries for them. Young creators attempt to use genres belonging to traditional journalism at the same time “toying” with new formats used in electronic media. They do not pay much attention to general journalistic rules, formulas or character-

istics of a particular genre. Their journalistic creations rely on mistaking conventions and mixing genres. Apart from that the essential problem for journalists is lack of knowledge when it comes to basic differences between traditional television genres and those used on the Internet.

Reactions to Internet student media among academic youth

Finding the answer to the last set of research problems appeared to be the most inspiring scientific experience. Utilising eye tracker in that process only strengthened that impression. Using this method allowed me to observe and analyse precise behaviours and movements of users. Research has shown that recipients can navigate the website in totally different fashions. Sometimes, they may scan the website in a quick, chaotic manner and other times they may process information very thoroughly. Recipients visiting student websites were mainly focused on their visual aspects such as photographs and movie clips. Evidently a website which is too long does not fulfill its purpose since viewers usually reach only the 50% mark of the site. Therefore the most important elements should be contained in the top part of the website or in the left column. What is more students do not usually know other students media or have a negative attitude towards them. However many of them upon eye tracking have changed their opinion on the matter. They were surprised that student media can be so attractive and interesting. They have appreciated the content of both web radio and on-line television.

Upon merely three-minute viewing of “Slajd” magazine recipients were very positive towards it even though they noticed its shortcomings. They praised an interesting layout, topics covered and the quality of published texts. Apart from that they appreciated the diversity of texts, the quality of photographs and a logical composition (architecture of the information). “Slajd” – among two remaining media – received the highest merit in regard to overall quality (average: 4,47 out of 6). More than 50% of the recipients (23) claimed it was “exceptional” (6 pts), 13 that it was “very good” (5 pts) and only 4 claimed that it was just “good” (4 pts). In terms of visual attractive-

ness the e-zin received the merit 4,6 (out of 6). 26 people marked the layout as “exceptional”, twelve that it was “very good” and two that it was “good”. Unfortunately in terms of typography the magazine fell short receiving 3,9 out of 6 possible points. To eleven users some elements of the websites such as headlines, captions and some parts of the actual text seemed illegible. For a few people (5) the text was difficult to read due to overly dark background and too much of the colour red. Recipients primarily mentioned that the medium is visually attractive (80%), apart from that they praised the content (43%). E-zin was criticised for its lack of interactivity and diversion in presented multimedia (3%). For 18% zin was too static and too student-exclusive (20%). Apart from that 10% noticed lack of professionalism which was a significant flaw.

In conclusion to the research results one has to note that the overall reception of “Slajd” magazine was positive. When the research ended students asked about its founders and the possibility of cooperation. Some people claimed however that these sort of magazines have lost its significance since media allowing for bigger engagement of other senses are more interesting.

Web radio, upon eye tracker research, appeared to be a very interesting medium for many participants. Some students literally said that they did not know there are student media “on such a quality level” [student no. 5]. They claimed that the broadcasted music satisfied their needs and reflects their musical preferences and are willing to listen to it regularly. They have also mentioned they found there a lot of interesting information regarding music festivals they have never heard about. Apart from that they have appreciated the section of musical and cultural news. The merit for the overall quality of content for the radio was 4,05 pts. For 15 people the content was “exceptional” for 12 “very good” and for eleven “good”. Only two recipients claimed that the content is “very bad” (1 point). When it comes to visual design the radio, named SAR, received an average mark of 4,35. According to research students see the enormous potential for the development of this web radio. For 61% it is a very promising way of communication. For 78% it is offering very interesting content. However for a vast majority of students SAR is a typically amateurish medium (18%) and student-exclusive (26%) as well as static (28%).

The content of Kampus TV website was most highly regarded among the recipients. Most students before eye tracking evaluation were unfamiliar with those means of communication. They claimed the TV station is very interactive, useful, interesting and inspiring. Its overall quality amounted to 4,2 pts (19 people claimed it was “exceptional”, eleven that it was “very good”, nine – “good” and only one that it is “very weak”). Kampus TV received the highest merit for its visual attractiveness (4,7). Its overall look and layout was very clear and understandable for the recipients. Apart from that they enjoyed the colour palette (63%). Several people appreciated its simplicity and how it was easy to navigate (38%). For most recipients (90%) the typographical layout (placement of headlines, captions and the actual text) was understandable and easy to read. In this category the result was once again the highest – 4,3. For 90% of users it is the medium with the greatest potential. 93% claimed the content was interesting as well as highly interactive (40%). Apart from that 35% noticed that it is the most professional medium. One of the students said that “student TV is a great idea and she would eagerly involve herself in something like this”. She also added that to her the website offers a lot of innovative programmes such as “Hary & Milton”. Analysis has shown that seventeen (43%) students could join the creators’ team and get involved in its activity. For example 28% wanted to work in Sar radio, whereas only 13% in “Slajd” magazine.

Conclusions

1) Student media evolved from small, single, traditional means of communication to complex, hypertextual and interactive media platforms.

2) Information and communication technology influenced the change in student media functioning. Thanks to them we now have new student media such as e-zins, web-radio and on-line television.

3) Student culture in the broadest sense highly influences the shape of student media becoming the main indicator for their development.

4) The structure of student media functioning is vastly different from that popular before so called system transformation in Poland.

5) Regulations imposed by KRRiT allowed student media to exist in a professional audio space.

6) New cheap or free tools, applications and other means of communication are being used to a great extent by young people.

7) Along with the “new media” a new type of media recipients appeared: prosumers – active, involved in content creation, a port-monteu of consumers and producers.

8) Convergence, digitalisation and expansion of the Internet led to changes in journalism. Many theorists see a great deal of threats in it such as lack of authority figures, lack of journalistic rules, decrease in the quality of publications, law being one step behind the things happening in the media space. Another problems steem from the faulty differentiating the traditional from the cybernetic journalistic genres.



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Diversification of the immersion effect on the example of games designed for mobile devices

Today, along with a dynamic development of new technologies, one can also observe a growing interest in computer games. This is a progressive phenomenon, occurring from the beginning of the computerisation age. The availability of hardware equipped with more and more innovative functionalities leads to a constant growth of the industry of games designed for different devices, including the mobile ones. Games are perceived, first and foremost, as a form of entertainment; however, with no doubt, it is also believed that they can serve a number of more serious purposes¹¹⁶, especially in the field of education. As such, the experiences of a mobile gamer can be contrasted and compared with generally defined positive experiences available to people.

The present paper constitutes an attempt to study the possibilities of achieving such a positive experience, in this case limited to the immersion effect. First, the author tries to explain why and if immersion is actually the most suitable parameter for measuring the level of positive experience of a computer gamer. Further in the paper will be presented the results of the study, allowing to answer the question whether contemporary popular mobile games can lead to the immersion effect, and whether its level is dependent on the use of modern technologies, such as augmented reality or geolocalisation.

¹¹⁶ P. Cairns, A. Cox, A. I. Nordin, *Immersion in Digital Games: a Review of Gaming Experience Research*, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.471.178&rep=rep1&type=pdf> [access: 27.10.2016].

The analyses of the aforementioned positive experiences, due to multiple forms in which they can be obtained, have become the subject of research of many different scientific disciplines other than psychology, as it was in the beginning. Nevertheless, the findings in the field of psychology cannot be ignored, because the field still provides the broadest description and analysis of the mechanisms of positive experiences in humans. Leaving aside for the moment the prominent theory by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi that will be discussed further in the paper, one should take note of his understanding of happiness and human satisfaction. The researcher believes that the feeling of happiness comes from nothing, it occurs independently from any specific factors. In contrary to common belief, it does not result from a fortunate confluence of circumstances, nor can be acquired in exchange for money or thanks to power. In order to achieve the state of joy and be happy we need to get ready for that. People who have acquired the ability of controlling their emotions have a greater influence on their life quality, however, this does not happen as a result of only rational search for satisfaction, and, consequently, happiness as well. It can be achieved through intense involvement of an individual in the key elements of his or her existence, not only the pleasurable ones, and not as a result of an intentional pursuit¹¹⁷.

Trying to simplify the aforementioned positive experience and bring it to a category more appropriate for the context of computer games, one could describe this experience as happiness and satisfaction derived from the process of playing games. It is the feeling of joy which stands as the most important goal of computer game designers. The mechanism is simple – if players do not derive satisfaction from a given game, they will not want to play it; if they get bored, they will not be willing to buy the next edition. Current literature, focused on the analysis of gamers' experience, presents a number of heuristics aimed at proper design and evaluation of games, yet they tend to present utility as the key element, with not enough emphasis put on the positive emotions that a game evokes. In literature focusing on the above analysis one can take note of especially three aspects which can serve as indicators of a game utility. Certainly, they can be

¹¹⁷ M. Csikszentmihalyi, *Flow: the psychology of optimal experience*, New York 1990, p. 2.

used for measuring the joy experienced by a gamer, yet this is not its most important use. They include: the interface (a control device and a display); the mechanics (the model of interaction with the world of the game); the play (problems and challenges)¹¹⁸.

Although many useful and important heuristics are broadly discussed in literature concerning computer games, it is difficult to find an integrated model of defining and evaluating the level of satisfaction and happiness experienced by a gamer. Currently, there is a lot of separate parallel models of evaluating that aspect of games, which often overlap or remain completely contrary. Therefore, the authors believe that it is necessary to review these approaches and attempt to produce their synthesis, or try to point to the model which best reflects the possibilities of evaluating the level of satisfaction derived by the gamer¹¹⁹.

All of the above-mentioned models and theories aim at analysing and understanding the satisfaction experienced by the user, in terms on one specific aspect or concept. It should be noted, however, that such individual approaches are quite narrow and do not allow for a comprehensive answer when it comes to the reasons of the feeling of happiness occurring in gamers. For instance, the achievement of satisfaction cannot be fully explained by reference to a particular type of games¹²⁰ or to the social context alone¹²¹. Nevertheless, it is worth to mention theories which may result in creating a more comprehensive interpretative model.

¹¹⁸ M. Federoff, *Heuristics and usability guidelines for the creation and evaluation of fun in video games*, Bloomington 2002. http://ocw.metu.edu.tr/file.php/85/ceit706_2/10/MelissaFederoff_Heuiristics.pdf [access: 28.10.2016], pp. 29–31.

¹¹⁹ P. Sweetser, P. Wyeth, *GameFlow: A Model for Evaluating Player Enjoyment in Games*, <http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=1077253&dl=ACM&coll=DL&CFID=858353706&CFTOKEN=71764899> [access: 10.11.2016].

¹²⁰ For instance, science fiction, adventure games, etc.

¹²¹ In this context, it is important with whom a given experience is shared.

In search of an interpretative model of positive emotions evoked by computer games

First and foremost, one should mention the flow theory, developed several decades ago. This specific approach is based on the assumption that the elements of satisfaction are universal, providing a more capacious model, which combines the concepts common to most approaches explaining the state of experiencing joy by gamers. For instance, it pays attention to the ability of concentrating on a given task, generated by the game. Due to its comprehensive character, the flow theory is a great basis within the framework of which we can build tools for the analysis and design of games¹²².

Flow stands for the feeling of total presence in a different reality, in this case being the world of the game. It occurs when a gamer is fully involved – in other words, he or she is in a state where the following steps taken by the gamer are in accordance with the game’s inner logic, and no conscious intervention is necessary. The consciousness of an individual involved in a game stays immersed in the game’s reality, it accepts its rules, treating them as natural and absolutely binding, for not only the gamer but also other users¹²³. Gamers in such state become so absorbed by their activity within the game that, in a way, they forget about the real world, and the outer does not count any more.

The precursor of the concept, Csikszentmihalyi, once noted the statement of a respondent who claimed that when taking part in a game he experienced such a deep state of excitement that he was cut off from the outside world, and the senses, especially hearing, were totally dull. In this particular moment, the level of involvement of a gamer is so high, that the only thing that matters is the play¹²⁴. The researcher in question points to eight important components of the flow theory, including: clearly identified goals of the game; high level of concentration of the gamer;

¹²² P. Sweetser, P. Wyeth, *GameFlow*, op. cit.

¹²³ M. Majorek, M. du Vall, *Ingress An Example of a New Dimension in Entertainment*, “Games and Culture”, Vol. 11(7–8)/2016, p. 671.

¹²⁴ M. Csikszentmihalyi, *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety*, San Francisco, Washington, London 1975, pp. 5–11.

loss of the feeling of self-awareness which may be associated with a sense of “detachment” or, in other words, “suspension in a different reality”; distorted feeling of time; direct and immediate feedback; balance between the gamer’s skills and the difficulty of a challenge (task to be accomplished within the game’s scenario); awareness of control (resulting from the previous element); feeling of satisfaction.

While the flow theory was, in a sense, adapted as an interpretative model of the feeling of satisfaction in computer game users, the presence theory was developed in order to explain the experiences directly linked with games making use of virtual reality. The flow theory, in view of the period when it was developed, was employed for the analysis of the emotions of players involved in different kinds of traditional games, with no advanced technologies used (e.g. chess). The presence theory, in turn, is designed to show the aspects and, consequently, experiences of gamers, which make them believe that they operate in an entirely different reality. The assumption is focused on the analysis of subjective experiences of gamers participating in virtual worlds, and especially the analysis of the, so-called, “presence illusion”. The study of these experiences can show if and to what extent a gamer feels as if he or she was somewhere else, and what determined whether that feeling occurs at all¹²⁵.

Taken into account a number of analyses which have been conducted since the popularisation of virtual reality and games based on this technology, one can conclude that the presence theory is too random, and can be ranked among the theories mentioned at the beginning of the paper, that is, it does not permit a comprehensive analysis of the level of involvement and satisfaction of a gamer. The theory is, simply, too general; for instance, it is difficult to talk about the feeling of presence in the reality of a game featuring very simple graphics¹²⁶ (as in first computer games available in the market), which does not, however, make the immer-

¹²⁵ C. Heeter, *Being There: The Subjective Experience of Presence*, “Presence Teleoperators & Virtual Environments” Vol. 1(2)/1, 1992, pp. 263–265.

¹²⁶ D. Weibel, *Playing online games against computer-vs. human-controlled opponents: Effects on presence, flow, and enjoyment*, *Computers in Human Behavior* 24.5, 2008, p. 2275.

sion effect impossible, although its form is probably limited in such case. Looking from a slightly different perspective and assuming that presence is a state of consciousness directly linked with the feeling of being present in a given place¹²⁷, the concept seems to be only one element of the immersion model, or the flow theory described above.

Another concept, which drew a number of its elements from research in the area of individual psychology, was the cognitive absorption theory put forward by Ritu Agarwal and Elena Karahanna. The objective of the theory, in the first place, was to be a holistic analytical tool, helping, in the most general way, to understand the experiences, feelings and emotions of the users of new technologies. The primary assumption made by the authors was that the current pace of technological development leads to a constant improvement of available devices, especially their graphics, which enhances user experience, or, in this case, the experience of a gamer. As a result, the interaction between the users and the device (a desktop computer, tablet or smartphone), becomes a unique experience. The authors suggest that people's relation to the information technology is largely influenced by two important factors. The researchers believe that, first of all, it is linked with the perception and evaluation of utility; second of all – the facility of using a given device¹²⁸. The research on a group of students and its results constitute a very useful study, particularly when it comes to the search of a more general model discussed earlier in the paper. However, in this specific case, such approach may turn out too general, since it refers to new technologies in a wide meaning of the term, and not specifically to the experiences of gamers. Consequently, it can be argued that cognitive absorption is a good research model but, instead of focusing on games, it concentrates on a total experience of a user of new information and communication technologies. Certainly, a person can be highly absorbed and involved in the

¹²⁷ M. Slater, S. Wilbur, *A framework for immersive virtual environments (FIVE): Speculations on the role of presence in virtual environments*, "Presence: Teleoperators and virtual environments" 6.6, 1997, p. 603.

¹²⁸ R. Agarwal, E. Karahanna, *Time flies when you're having fun: Cognitive absorption and beliefs about information technology usage*, "MIS quarterly" 24, Vol. 4, 2000, p. 666.

process of using the Internet, which does not necessarily lead to the occurrence of emotions proper for a specific activity undertaken in the world of the game.

The last approach to be presented in the paper is the immersion theory. Although the concept features apparent similarities to the models discussed above, it deserves particular attention. Immersion is a phenomenon widely analysed and described, especially from the point of view of traditional computer games, that is, games designed for desktop computers, laptops or consoles. Immersion should be perceived as a state experienced by a person (here, a game user), leading to a change in the perception of the surrounding reality, which can be perceived as being transferred to another dimension where the environment experienced by the gamer is entirely different than his or her actual surroundings at the moment. This new reality is so strong, that it totally engages the gamer's perception, transferring him or her to a completely different dimension¹²⁹.

However, this understanding can sometimes be perceived as not extensive enough; some researchers go even further and describe the phenomenon in the categories of strong identification or even emotional attachment with such an unreal environment¹³⁰. Such state makes the gamer forget about the worries of the everyday life and get lost in the reality of the game which, after some time, becomes more real and even more important than the real world. Yet, such a level of involvement can eventually lead to the occurrence of negative, almost pathological effects, such as escapism¹³¹ or dependence¹³².

Today, the notion of immersion is commonly used both in the environment of gamers and the people studying and analysing different facets of games, from psychological, through social, to their technological aspects. Although immersion is more than a construct vague for a wider group of people, over the years it has been difficult to build an interpretative model of the phenomenon. The period of in-

¹²⁹ M. Majorek, M. du Vall, *Ingress... op. cit.*, p. 671.

¹³⁰ P. Świątek, *Immersja w grach MMO, czyli o „farmieniu expa” słów kilka*, „Media i Społeczeństwo”, Vol. 2, 2012, p. 94.

¹³¹ P. Sienkiewicz, *Ucieczka od wolności w globalnym społeczeństwie informacyjnym*, http://scholar.google.pl/scholar?hl1/4en&q1/4eskapizm&btnG1/4&as_sdt1/41%2C5&as_sdt1/4 [access: 8.11.2016].

¹³² R. Agarwal, E. Karahanna, *Time flies... op. cit.*, p. 667.

tensified studies on the phenomenon of immersion was the last dozen or so years, so the concept is considerably younger than the discussed flow theory. The research project by Emily Brown and Paul Cairns, from 2004, did not only confirm the assumption that immersion can be used to determine the level of involvement of a gamer, but also pointed to a number of barriers which may impede the achievement of that state. One should take note of a number of factors which influence the occurrence or the lack of the immersion effect, namely: the human factor linked with a given gamer's preferences in terms of virtual entertainment; the factor directly linked with the hardware used and the formula of the game; and, finally, external factors which may lead to the loss of concentration of a gamer¹³³.

As a result of the research on the phenomenon of immersion, three levels of involvement have been identified. The first level, is referred to as the involvement level – the player has to invest time and effort in order to get to know the rules of the game and, in general, a new environment that he or she enters and starts to control. Having mastered the first one, the player enters the next level, called the engrossment level. In passing from level one to level two, a lot depends on the construction of the game itself; in other words, the stronger emotions a game induces, the faster the player ceases to take note of the activities performed. The user has mastered the technique and acquired skills, so he or she does not think about them or focus on them anymore. At this stage, the gamer starts to lose self-awareness and the surrounding reality becomes less important than at the first level. The third level is referred to as total immersion. At this stage players describe their state as completely detached from reality; they lose the sense of being present in the real world, in fact, losing contact with the reality. Everything which is external in relation to the game loses importance, for the gamer, at this stage, nothing else matters¹³⁴.

In this place, it is important to explain why the immersion model, among from all the models described above, is the best starting point to study the positive emotions of players. The aforementioned flow theory, in its assumptions, seems to be the closest to the immersion model,

¹³³ E. Brown, P. Cairns, *A grounded investigation of game immersion*, "CHI'04 extended abstracts on Human factors in computing systems" ACM, 2004, <https://dl.acm.org/purchase.cfm?id=986048&CFID=858353706&CFTOKEN=71764899> (8.11.2016)

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

but in fact it can only be compared with the last level of immersion. The flow criteria are very complex and one should take note of the fact that in order for the immersion effect to occur not all the criteria conditioning the flow effect have to be met. For there are games where goals are not clearly defined and if they occur at all this does not happen at the initial stage of the game, which does not, however, exclude the occurrence of the state of immersion, or at least its first two levels. Therefore, it is worth to consider the assumption that immersion is similar to the state of flow, it comprises the majority or sometimes all of its vital components, nevertheless, the nonoccurrence of those criteria at once does not mean a total lack of immersion. The presence theory, in turn, is limited to only a part of the gamer's experience, which shows its high level of generality. For immersion can also be observed in games where the players cannot "be present" in the world of the game. When it comes to the concept of cognitive absorption, its character is too general, and that particular model is not designed to study the phenomenon of satisfaction and involvement in playing computer games in particular. It does refer to new technologies in general, which can lead to the occurrence of immersion, but, in fact, do not represent the typical state of immersion. The proper form of immersion is understood as a specific human experience of involvement, which occurs only when playing computer games. Immersion, at the most advanced stage, often constitutes a side effect of the game and occurs independently from the player's intention, in other words, a user does not play the game in order to lose him- or herself and escape from the real world. On the other hand, however, the occurrence of immersion, even in its initial stages, is one of the key aspects of getting satisfaction from playing a game and thinking of it as good fun¹³⁵.

Smartphonisation and "mobilisation" of games

Hitherto, a vast majority of the research on immersive experiences while playing computer games has been conducted based on games designed for desktop computers or consoles. It resulted, directly,

¹³⁵ A.K. Przybylski, C. S. Rigby, R. M. Ryan, *A motivational model of video game engagement*, Review of general psychology, 2010, p. 162.

from little popularity of mobile games, which, now, are in the heyday. From the point of view of the present analysis, the change which took place in the field of computer technology is important, specifically, their progressive miniaturisation and, as a result, growing mobility and availability. From the point when there was one computer in every household, through a growing availability of laptops, we came to the era of popularisation of mobile computers. This is not equal, however, with a progressive miniaturisation of notebooks, because a new tool has emerged, namely, a smartphone¹³⁶.

Even early mobile devices brought a number of measurable profits and noticeable change for the users – in fact, they opened new possibilities, not available to the users of desktop computers and laptops. Miniaturised pocket devices allowed for not only expansion of the physical space by simulated data, but also the transferring of the physical environment into the virtual world. As a result of the new possibilities, the producers started to appreciate the potential of these small mobile devices, which led to the smartphone revolution. A growing availability of the mobile devices resulted in the need to develop a new concept of games that would combine the advantages of traditional computer games with the opportunities offered by the new mobile computers¹³⁷.

The transposition of games from traditional computers to new mobile devices, smartphones in particular, resulted in questions about the possibility of occurrence of the immersion effect in mobile gamers. A vast majority of research conducted so far analysed the reception of games designed for desktop computers, consoles, or laptops dedicated for that purpose. With no doubt, the main element differentiating the traditional from the mobile tools, as it is also underlined by the researchers of the phenomenon of immersion, is the size of the screen. In this context, it is worth to mention the study conducted by Sheryl Bracken and Gary Peety from 2007¹³⁸.

¹³⁶ M. du Vall, M. Majorek, *W stronę nowej kultury gier komputerowych — od komputeryzacji do smartfonizacji*, Replay. The Polish Journal of Game Studies, Vol. 01, 2014, pp. 93–95.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*.

¹³⁸ See: Ch. C. Bracken, and G. Peety, *It is REALLY a smaller (and smaller) world: Presence and small screens*, “Presence” 2007, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.362.6716&rep=rep1&type=pdf> [access: 11.11.2016].

The authors decided to compare the experiences of viewers watching a film on a small-screen mobile device and those who watched it in a traditional way (using a TV). Despite a popular belief resulting from the above-mentioned, as well as other similar studies¹³⁹, that a smaller screen translates into less intense involvement of a user (in contrast to a large TV screen), this comparison is not entirely adequate when discussing the current mobile games market. Given that the situation in the matter is characterised with considerable dynamics, this kind of assumptions have to be verified anew. Firstly, today, we have an entirely new generation of “computerised” individuals, for whom the computer, especially the one without a touchscreen, is a device less natural than a smartphone or a tablet. Thus, this user group will be more eager to reach for mobile devices, also when searching for virtual entertainment. Secondly, and maybe even more importantly, the technologies used for the production of smartphones and other mobile devices rapidly overcome subsequent barriers, which seemed impossible a few years ago. Today, a midrange smartphone is equipped with a powerful processor (taken into account the size of the devices), high-resolution display, camera with the function of making 4K videos and many more features designed to improve the everyday use of the device, but also to encourage users to play games on their mobile devices.

Let's assume, making use of the extremely interesting results of research by Thompson, Nordin and Cairns, that the level of immersion depends not only on the size of the screen, but also the quality (resolution) of the image¹⁴⁰. According to the authors, the immersion tests showed that even using an old generation mobile device does not make the occurrence of the immersion effect impossible, but only makes it weaker (using the three-level classification). This means that technological advancement and a rapid development of this class of devices can lead to the intensification of the immersion phenomenon in users. Further in the paper an attempt will be made to analyse the

¹³⁹ See: M. Lombard, R. Reich, M. Grabe, C. C. Bracken, T. Ditton, *Presence and television: the role of screen size*, “Human Communication Research”, Vol. 26/1/2000, nr 1, pp. 75–98.

¹⁴⁰ M. Thompson, A. I. Nordin, P. Cairns, *Effect of Touch-Screen Size on Game Immersion*, *Proceedings of the BCS HCI*, “People & Computers XXVI”, Birmingham 2012, p. 284.

thesis that games based on the augmented reality technology, dedicated for devices with Internet access and geolocation function, can intensify the immersion effect when compared with more “traditional” mobile games.

Methodology

In order to confirm the research thesis, the author decided to study two groups of people, referred to as mobile gamers¹⁴¹, that is, those who play games using mobile devices. The participants selected employ smartphones with Internet access. During the selection of participants also the types of smartphones and their operational systems were taken into account. It was assumed that the study would be conducted on the users of smartphones not older than 1.5 years, equipped with Android 5.0 (Lollipop)¹⁴² or 6.0 (Marshmallow). Since the two OS versions are very similar, they have no considerable influence on the quality and general reception of a game. Then, two games dedicated for smartphones running Android were chosen (FIFA 17 Companion i Pokemon GO), which enjoy high popularity over the last months¹⁴³.

In addition, a preselection of players was made. Those who declared to be fans of one of the two games were rejected from the study. Given the enormous popularity of the selected games, one can deduce that they are highly attractive from the point of view of the players. Nevertheless, it remains unknown whether the immersion effect in case of mobile games based on AR (augmented reality) is comparable with the level of immersion achieved in games which do not make use of this technology. While FIFA 17 is a typical game for smartphones or tablets, Pokemon GO is a mobile game, forcing the

¹⁴¹ *Mobilni gracje oszaleli na punkcie Pokemon GO. Jak grac w Pokemon GO w Polsce?* <http://www.dziennikzachodni.pl/technologie-i-gry/a/mobilni-gracje-oszaleli-na-punkcie-pokemon-go-jak-grac-w-pokemon-go-w-polsce,10393216/> [access: 12.11.2016].

¹⁴² See: Android version history, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Android_version_history

¹⁴³ <http://www.pcadvisor.co.uk/test-centre/game/best-android-games-best-android-games-2016-60-best-games-for-android-3625745/> [access: 12.11.2016].

players to physically move in space; furthermore, it employs geolocalisation and the augmented reality technology. The study was conducted on a group of 30 young gamers between 18 and 26 years of age, who were divided into two groups and asked to download and install the indicated game. Over a week, they were supposed to play the game for at least one hour per day. Then, the participants were asked to fill out a survey developed based on a questionnaire measuring the immersion level in gamers, first used in the study by Jennet et al., and still remaining one of the most popular tools used by researchers to measure the level of immersion¹⁴⁴.

Results and conclusions

The present study was supposed to show the occurrence and possible diversification of the immersion effect in two groups of gamers playing the new generation of smartphone games, designed for devices running Android.

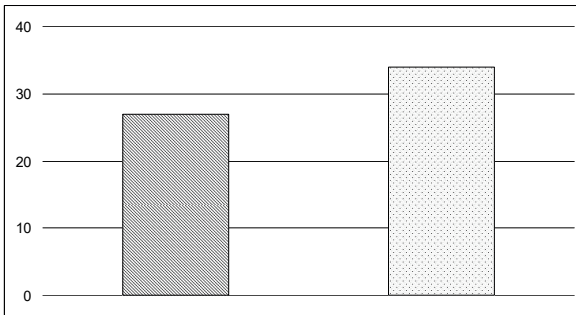


Chart 1. Diversification of the immersion effect

The results show that, firstly, the immersion effect does occur when playing games on smartphones, despite the inherent features of these

¹⁴⁴ Ch. Jennett, A. L. Cox, P. Cairns, S. Dhoparee, A. Epps, T. Tijs, *Measuring and defining the experience of immersion in games*. “International journal of human-computer studies” Vol. 66/9/2008, pp. 641–661.

devices which can possibly weaken the effect¹⁴⁵. We talk here, especially, about relatively small screens¹⁴⁶, as well as poor sound quality. Taken these two vital components into account, one would suppose that traditional devices, namely: desktop computers, laptops and consoles, are naturally characterised with greater possibilities, because they feature larger screens, and sometimes can be connected to a TV screen (or projector) of virtually any diagonal. Also in terms of sound quality, the above-mentioned traditional devices offer better sound cards, or can be connected to a home sound system. When it comes to smartphone games, they certainly offer less additional options like that, but, as it turns out, these aspects do not have such an important influence on the occurrence of the immersion effect.

One can also conclude that, although the popularity of the two games is comparable, it was the one designed based on the augmented reality technology which scored higher in terms of the immersion effect achieved. Interestingly, *Pokemon GO* forces the literal mobility of the player, who has to make longer distances by foot; what is more, users are not allowed to use any means of transport, which can constitute some discomfort¹⁴⁷. In case of *FIFA 17*, there is no need to leave the house and make longer distances by foot – the game can be played in the comfort of one's home or in any other comfortable surroundings. It has to be noted, however, that although *Pokemon GO* scored higher, both games are characterised with high level of immersion, which can constitute an important hint for game designers. One can also conclude that games featuring the AR technology and geolocalisation allow enhancing the immersion effect and, as a consequence, may become much more popular among gamers. It is important to underline that the present study is only fragmentary and require further development and addition of new aspects, such as, for instance, the comparison of the immersion effect obtained while playing games on mobile versus traditional devices, based on the same concept and scenario.

¹⁴⁵ The results have been achieved with the maximal score of 40, representing high level of immersion.

¹⁴⁶ In both groups the average size of the screen was 5 inches.

¹⁴⁷ The game detects the moment when the gamer starts to use means of transport; then, some functionalities are not available.

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New media in classroom of new humanistic school: from Silicon Valey to Trzebnica. Project of Polish – American Academy of Modern Education

The United States are the birthplace, the motherland, the incubator, the source of pop culture¹⁴⁸ – and one of its fundamental characteristics is Americanization, understood as the thoughtless adaptation of American values; customs, behaviors, as well as products and solutions.

On the other hand, the birthplace, the motherland, the incubator, the source of the new media is the Silicon Valley. Here are two statements that are taken for granted in the popuword. My stay in 2013–20014 at Stanford University as a visiting scholar allowed me to confront those axioms. Six months' daily opportunity of personal contact with Howard Rheingold, Esther Wojcicki, Salman Khan- the global propagators of the new media in teaching and so-called blended learning – online learning which is used in conjunction with classroom learning. In her book – popularizing blended learning- Wojcicki

¹⁴⁸ To those interested in a reminder of the certainties of the popular culture, its “founding myths” and various ways of defining pop culture I particularly recommend: *Popular Culture Theory and Methodology. A Basic Introduction*, (eds.) H.E. Hinds Jr., M.F. Motz, A.M.S. Nelson, Madison, 2006.; H.N. V. Parker, *Toward a Definition of PopularCulture*, “History and Society” 2011, Vol. 50, no. 2, pp. 147–170.; J. Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture. FromFolklore to Globalization*, Malden 2003 and D. Strinati, *Wprowadzenie do kultury popularnej*, translate. By W. Burszta, Poznań 1998.

uses the definition blended learning by Michael Horn of the Innosight Institute as “a formal education program in which a student learns at least in part through online delivery of content and instruction with some of student control over time, place, path or pace, and at least in part at a supervised brick-and-mortar location away from home.”¹⁴⁹

The observation and participation in work of Howard, Esther and Salman, being involved in their new – media educational projects, taking part in regular work with students of different school levels, inspiring conversations in the course of our scientific lunches, taking part in public discussions and conferences where they acted as key-note speakers as well as interviews with their students became my fundamental life experience in cognitive and humanistic terms and I am currently trying to put this experience into action.

Presentation of the ideas and actions of my Mentors is not the purpose of this article. May I refer the readers who have not yet had the opportunity to get to know them, to the digital resources and their books – in particular to Howard Rheingold. *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier*; *smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution*; *Net Smart. How to Thrive Online* and Esther Wojcicki *Moonshots in Education. Launching Blended Learning in the Classroom*.

I will allow myself to make only one remark concerning their personal aspect. Howard (70 old), Esther (76 old), Salman (41 old) are representatives of *the culture of gift*, they emanate respect and openness, their curiosity and cognitive insightfulness – inspire. They are an embodiment of the ideas they preach – especially, that the ideas came after their actions.

The article will be a description of a project of a school, which was inspired by my stay in the birthplace of new technologies and by the contact with the evangelists of the new media in education, and it grew from and was an answer to a deep dissatisfaction with the shape of the modern school education, which does not give us what we expect from it: not only does it not cater to the needs of the present time, but it does not prepare to a meaningful – and not only productive – life.

¹⁴⁹ E. Wojcicki, L. Izumi., *Moonshots in Education. Launching Blended Learning in the Classroom*, San Francisco, 2015, p. 8.

I went to the United States, to the birthplace of the new technologies, to do research on the incorporation of the new media in education, how by using them can we make education attractive and effective (applying the rate of passed exams as the measure of its effectiveness). Only on the spot did I unexpectedly discover that new media may serve not as a tool boosting productivity, but as a humanizing element in a school. They can be used in teaching as tools which if wisely exploited, will provide us with educational support for our human existence – they will prepare us to cope with the existential questions, to think in the perspective of sense and motivation, will teach critical and autonomous thinking, but also entering a dialogue and teaching of pragmatic empathy – that is what one should do to help others. This way the intentional use of blended learning may implement the postulates of worried pedagogues, who remark:

„The knowledge I acquired at school is so unrelated to life, so distant from the problems and questions I'm faced with today, that I don't rely on it for help at all.”¹⁵⁰

This is a piece of a „true fabrication” title „A Complaint of a Well-Educated Man” by Robert Kwasnica – one of the greatest modern Polish reflective educator.

Kwasnica defines our present as a time of science and technology, recognizing that „[...] science

and technology are not only instruments of our agency and progress, but also sources of specifically

modern human ways of thinking, evaluation, self-perceptions, understanding of others, and making

sense of one's vocation and existence. Science and technology teach us their (instrumental)

rationality, which constitutes our mode of experiencing the world and ourselves. This rationality

forms our unique pattern of existence, which guides us in planning and organizing both our social

life and our individual fates.”¹⁵¹ The crisis of so understood present time means that we are drowning

¹⁵⁰ R. Kwasnica, *Rethinking school beyond the culturally obvious: an introduction to a conversation*, Wrocław 2015, p. 9.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14

in excess of knowledge and overexploitation of everything that is subject to our control. To abandon

this degrading system of progress, the school should teach critical, creative and innovative thinking.

It should also teach autonomy, independence in describing and explaining of the world – to pull us

out from information overload and imposed answers.

„Because [...] science and technology determine our place in the order of understanding – that is, form us mentally, and thereby constitute our discursive sensibility and enable us to address existential questions”¹⁵²It lead „[...]our pre-critical consent to replace questions about the meaning of life with technical questions about life productivity.”¹⁵³Because crisis defined in this way reaches the principles, the demands from today’s schools turns out to be fundamental:„Given this, school and education as such are faced with one basic task: humanization. [...] humanization in our crisis situation as developing the capacity to live in uniquely human way, which entails asking existential questions.”¹⁵⁴

Kwasnica shows a certain obvious fact. Conveying information is not the role of school in the contemporary reality. Students feel the absurdity of school because access to knowledge, even too much knowledge – is available outside its walls. Split pea soup „*If school is to make sense, it must be reinvented. School must offer something that is unavailable anywhere else: something that requires the presence of others; something that cannot come to pass without other people; something predicated on collective action and unviable beyond it. Thus, school is needed and makes sense not because it transmits knowledge, but because it enables children to be together and learn in ways made possible only in and through collective experience.[...] The essence of its operations lies in stimulating and organizing the type of learning enabled by the presence and participation of others. We assume such learning occurs in three forms of activity: dialog, critique and collaboration.*”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.

Recognizing the validity and insightfulness of Robert Kwaśnica's diagnosis and postulates, in spite of full identification, using my American experience, I decided not to design and start off a school outside of the system, which would cause huge difficulties due to which such projects remain legitimate, but unrealistic and impossible to implement – but, using today's widespread and popular expectations in relation to school, I attempted to try and meet them within the public art education (school of music)-existing in the Polish education system, but unknown in the United States. The fundamental and primary method of teaching in a designed school would be blended learning based on new media. In the concept of the school media are treated as means of communication of people in the social space; each medium shapes so called perceptual pattern – the way of perception, understanding and organizing the world and the pattern of participation in a given communication practice, as well as in the social communication in general. Thus each of them has an impact on the society – on human relationships and relationships between groups, and culturally – on the values and patterns of behavior spread in the group and applying to an individual. The impact of the media understood in this way will allow us to use the new media – consciously and intentionally – in the process of humanization of school. In 2014 I created my original project of an education centre, which, with the support of the institutions and administration will be created in Trzebnica. This project has gained recognition and a grant of The John Ernest Foundation (<http://www.tjef.org/>), evaluated by Stanford University professors in 2014, and a declaration of support of the county authorities from Trzebnica in Poland, but above all it aroused enthusiastic interest of parents. Its founding myth is blended learning. New media are an integral part of whole the education to new tasks in new ways by a new type of teacher. They serve in giving up the model of technical-productivity education for the sake of the humanist model: turned in the direction of the order of understanding, dealing with the existential questions, co – existence and cooperation – creating a community of people jointly responsible and able to determine the sense of your lives. To reconstruct the common educational expectations of frustrated modern Polish children, parents and teachers, I conducted surveys among teachers, parents and students in 2011–2013, in Lower Silesian Voivodeship – the population studied

was 2451. According to respondents the school (at all three levels of education) should be modern and good. In the category of school innovation mainly methods and tools are indicated, such as: the use of multimedia and educational platforms, effective, intensive English language learning, contact with music – mainly for Mozart’s effect, teaching maths, taking into account findings of neuroscience. The category : good school is measured with three variables: the rate of passed exams, students’ willingness to attend classes, security and attractiveness. Category good school is measured with three variables: exams passing rate, attending students, their safety and attractiveness which is measured according to the subjects. Qualitative analysis of the content of education forums, and indications by respondents of problems of Polish education, makes one acknowledge (according to the frequency of indication): school is boring and disliked – the content and teaching methods are outdated, unattractive, not suitable for perception, experience and interests of schoolchildren; lack of commitment, respect, trust and liking in the trilateral relationship of children-teachers-parents; separation/ isolation from the local community; ineffective English teaching – knowledge of grammar and rules without communication skills. Private lessons are a standard in better-off families; ignorance, aversion (mental barriers), and difficulty in understanding mathematics – the problem at all levels of education.; lack of writing skills, particularly of closed, structured forms; lack of self-reflection and critical thinking (both children and teachers); inability to focus, attention deficit of schoolchildren; perceptual and technological gap between children and teachers; lack of media education – lack of education of constructive, informed and critical use of media resources and opportunities; lack of support, incentive and investment in the best, above the average children, the practice of the so-called “leveling-down“; lack of real interaction with children; collective and non-individualized teaching; frequent objectification of children: a child is for the school not the school for a child.;lack of preparation to cope with the life problems such as depression, loneliness, mourning.

I attempted to take account most of research results in a main concept and specific solutions of educational project.

Purpose

Establishment of a model center for education of teachers for musically talented childer, age 6–16, and for local community.

Establishment of a place, where learning will be effective, fun, adapted to ever-changing perception and mediosphere of people in the 21st century, a place which will teach competence necessary for coping with all kinds of creative not work at the Marketplace , but first of all provide meaningful life and dealing with existential problems. (its mean such competences according Esther Wojcicki like; „ability to communicate, to adapt easily to change, to work in teams, to problem solve, to analyze and conceptualize, to reflect on, to manage oneself, to create, innovate and citicize, to learn new things at all time“).

Concept

The school education would take place simultaneously on many levels and, affect many entities, type of peer education. The Polish-American Academy of Modern Education would consist of several interacting departments (described in detail below):

1. Center for Teacher Training
2. Center for Community Education
3. Academic State School of Music
4. Open University

Center for teacher training

The Center for teacher training would serve as supplemental education for: students in training to become teachers and practicing teachers. It would carry out many goals, such as teaching: changing the role of a teacher: instead of a lecturer speaking from a position of authority, a teacher will become a coach motivating students and inspiring them to think independently (as well as giving parents the training and opportunity to take on the same role); forming the basis of interpersonal relations according to the Wojcicki's TRICK¹⁵⁶ model:

¹⁵⁶ More: E. Wojcicki , L. Izumi., op. cit., pp. 17–26.

trust, respect, independence, collaboration, kindness; using methods that leverage the most effective learning modalities for modern students (such as the ability to multitask, being subjected to multiple stimuli, decreased attention span), including the use of the Internet as a source of information, media, and electronic games; emphasizing self-education and collaboration with teachers from other centers; using technology; electronic record keeping; electronic communication with students, parents, other teachers and community members; training and exercises to improve concentration and attention span and provide teacher workshops focused on high yield teaching techniques.

Center for community education:

This center plays a vital and fundamental role in the humanization of school. Designed for all, and open to community members of all ages providing: multiple workshops tailored to community interests, such as communication among generations, advertisement, media, everyday math, use of cameras, languages, technologies of 21st century, etc. ; it contains specialty resources to serve community needs (psychologist, dietitian, lawyer, etc.)

Academic center for music education:

A public primary and secondary school with a concentration in **music**, conforming to an already-established program consisting of learning an instrument, rhythm, and music history combined with an academic program including the following: **math**, including frequent use of Khan Academy; **English**, with emphasis on practical use, conversations with native speakers, and online communication with English speakers; **journalism**, patterned after the work of Esther Wojcicki, would facilitate mastering key abilities for the 21st century including critical thinking, clear and correct writing, effective and reliable research and the ability to work in groups

The proposed program of multi-disciplinary education would be initially introduced to students with musical abilities, since it has been shown that those abilities also frequently correlate with increased ability for math and foreign languages. Our current musical programs are one-sided and neglect the possibility of developing non-musical

talents. Our school would take advantage of all of the students' talents and put emphasis on developing all of them equally in preparation for life in a multidisciplinary world.

Open Univeristy

Open lectures for members of the community given by faculty from universities in Wroclaw.

Location

It was important to me that the school was located in the small town, which will allow students to feel a recognizable part of the community. Students will be easier to establish contacts with the local community; the lack of anonymity will be inclined to engage and interact both sides – the same school to become a laboratory of civic responsibility.

Trzebnica is a small city with population of 12.5 thousand people approximately 20 kilometers from Wroclaw. Trzebnica has several advantages, including proximity to Wroclaw's academic centers, population including a large number of families with school-age children, and having permits given by the Ministry of Education to open a music school. The city has been growing dynamically over the last several years, developing the infrastructure to accomodate the cultural, educational and recreational needs of its citizens, and therefore making it an attractive location for a new and forward-thinking academy.

Financing

This school – as a artistic – is located in the public structure of schooling so it will be financed from the educational subsidy. The using of new media and free educational platforms like Khan Academy by trained teachers will cut operating costs – despite the additional program in mathematics and intensive study of English. The source of financing of the whole school will be: state educational subsidies for music schools; voivodeship (provincial) government: funding of teachers' education; EU structural funds for social activation (Open University and a center for community education); grants of University of Lower Silesia, Wroclaw University and Music Academy for the promotion of knowledge (Open University); local government's

funding: municipal budget on education, culture and regional promotion; establishment of an association, which under Polish tax law would allow donation of 1% of income tax to the Academy; organization of public fund-raising; application for funding for particular projects; external entities, local entrepreneurs.

The educational center will be covered by the patronage of American and Polish university:

American patronage

Its mean use of American methods of teaching: an innovative and tested program prepared by Esther Wojcicki (journalism); use of Khan Academy for work at home and school (math, English).; job offers (one-year contracts) as English native speakers for graduates of American colleges, students and teachers (of English language); online training and counseling sessions via Skype for teachers and students with Esther Wojcicki, prof. Howard Rheingold, Salaman Khan; constant, permanent online contact with their American peers: joint educational projects and social activities, mutual intercultural learning; search for software assistance among American IT and educational companies.

Academic patronage

Lectures (history of music, ethnic music, social and cultural impact of media, etc.), workshops (presentation, media content analysis, cognitive stimulation through music, intergeneration communication, camera operation, etc.), and activities for teachers, local communities and pupils of higher grades will be conducted periodically by academic staff from Department of Journalism and Communication at the University of Lower Silesia, Institute of Musicology at the Wrocław University, and the Music Academy in Wrocław.

The education centre in Trzebnica is not a structurally new school. It has functioned within the existing education scheme, but thanks to the implementation of blended learning in forming new social competences and through invitation of the local community to cooperate,

act and educate together, the centre brings into existence – is in intention an embodiment of a new type of school, a new teacher and a new student – able to deal with the challenges of the 21st century – not only in the technical dimension of productivity, but in the existential sense – an answer to the question what it means to be a human being among other people.

This school educates *a new student*. This student belongs to New-Generation. (...), Net Generation (Generation Y, Net Geners)– born between 1977– 1997 is the first generation to have grown up with ubiquitous exposure to digital technologies adopted these tools as their primary mechanism for communication, education gathering and sharing“ (Dover M., Chen L. Dover, Mike., Chen, Lisa. Net Generation: Strategic Investigation Program Highlights. Keynote Speech presented at NGenera Members Meeting.)

In *the new school* it will be taken for granted that the student’s mind works differently than the teachers’ and that the student’s reality perception pattern is shaped through interaction with new media. *The new teacher* will be able to consciously use this new media perception of reality for the educational ends, but they will also change their role in relation to the student as well as their approach. The teacher will intentionally make use of new media in the individual work at home, at school, in team work they will enter the student’s perceptive area. The teachers’ changed attitude to teaching and to the student will serve the humanization of school.

In the characteristics of *new schools’s, new student’s and new teacher’s* phenomenons I make use of research and findings of Don Tapscot, Mark Parensky, Esther Wojcicki and Manfred Spitzer.

New School

The new school is characterized by the following features: „creative, innovative, exciting, collaborative”, Interactive Learning – not Broadcast Learning; learning by doing; group work, projects, using progressive education with interactive and social linking ICT and blended learning – new forms of education utilizing social networking, games and learning software along with progressive education methods of learning based on student intersets, with interactive and

social linking ICT; increase students proficiency in using the Internet as a source of knowledge; school, which confronts the student with questions of identity and life's problems. As Salman Khan said: „I don't think we are a threat or competition to traditional education in any way. This is not Amazon.com versus Barnes & Noble. We don't believe that you should ever replace physical education. Even in a thousand years, a computer will never be able to do so. Before the Prussians came up with the current educational model 200 years ago, the only people who got an education were the elite, the nobility and usually only the male nobility. So the Prussian model has served us incredibly well, democratizing education, and allowing us to have it at an industrial scale, so to speak. As we ask, “What is the ideal experience?”

The physical classroom should be changed such that learning is not as passive an experience as it has been traditionally. Students shouldn't just be listening to a lecture; they should be interacting with peers; they should be working at their own pace; they shouldn't be isolated from people who are more advanced than they are or people who are less advanced than they are. We ought to use these as opportunities to mentor other people and be mentored by others. This is where Khan Academy comes in. If the computer can give them the right problems at the right time and give the teacher feedback; well, then teachers don't have to use time for homework review.”¹⁵⁷

New Student (concept by Don Tapscott)

As represents of Net Generation (sometimes called Digital Natives, Millennials, Generation Z or Y) they are different in their brain wiring and how their minds perceive the world – the brain changes with the use of information and communication technologies (ITC) and ICT affects the mind or how people think. So they have different perception what means: ability to parallel proces and multi – task; highly developed spatial skills; process rapid – fire visual information;

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.forbes.com/sites/peterhigh/2014/01/06/salman-khan-the-most-influential-person-in-education-technology/#747d02ab7bc6> [access: 15.10.2016].

inability (lack, difficulty) to concentrate; ADD Attention Deficit Disorder – so it is difficult for them to read long articles and books; playful mentality; need for speed and fun; they want entertainment and play in their work, education and social life. Mark Prensky argues that „they want ways of learning that are meaningful to them and ways that make good use of the technology they know is their birthright“¹⁵⁸In *a rich and data- packed atlas of that generation* Don Tapscott¹⁵⁹ lists and describes the eight Net Generation norms:

1. They want *freedom* in everything they do , from freedom of choice to freedom of expression.
2. They love to *customize*, personalize.
3. They are the new *scrutinizers*.
4. They look for *corporate integrity and openness* when deciding what to buy and where to work.
5. The Net Gen wants *entertainment and play* in their work, education, and social life.
6. They are *collaboration and relationship* generation.
7. The Net Gen has a need for *speed* – and not just in video games.
8. They are the innovators, innovation is part of their life

New Teacher (concept by Esther Wojcicki)

The teacher is a person from whom much is required in the school project which uses blended learning to humanization: change the relationship between a teacher and students in the learning process; rethink authority: to be a leader, coach, mentor, facilitator, enabler but in some areas he will be the student and the Net Gen will be the teacher, let them co create a learning experience with you; cut back on lecturing, (besides) broadcasting leaning doesn't work for this generation; listen to student's suggestions, use TRICK for establish the culture in classroom – acronym by Esther- *each letter stands for an*

¹⁵⁸ M. Prensky, *Digital natives, digital immigrants*. „On the Horizon”, 9(5) 2001, 1–6. Retrieved April 30, 2003, p. 3 from <http://www.marcprensky.com/writing/Prensky%20-%20Digital%20Natives,%20Digital%20Immigrants%20-%20Part1.pdf> [access:10.10.2016].

¹⁵⁹ D. Tapscott, *Grown Up Digital. How the Net Generation is Changing your World*, McGraw-Hill, New York , 2009, pp. 34–36.

important part of the culture : trust, respect, independence, collaboration, kindness – empower students by trusting and responsibility, make them feel valued. As she said:

„It turns out that building a culture of collaboration, respect, and trust is key to a successful blended classroom. The first action a teacher needs to take in the fall when school starts is to *set up the culture*. On the surface, this may sound like a waste of time, but in fact its importance cannot be overemphasized. Part as such a culture is understanding that the teacher is not only expert in the room; in fact, students can know more than the teacher about some aspects of what they will be doing together. Computers, tablets, and other electronic devices alone are not going to change the classroom. It is the change in culture that will make the difference.”¹⁶⁰But it is not the end – new teacher should also: focus on teaching student show to learn – not what to know; engaged students for lifelong learning and want to know – not need to know (self learning, rethink); emphasis on student’s interests; use a lot multisensors exercises of focus attention and use social media – focused, customized, collaborative learning environment for a new student.

Don Tapscott proposed in the Bible Net Gen „Grown Up Digital. How the Net Generation is changing your world”¹⁶¹seven strategies helpful „to become a better teacher in this new digital age:

- 1. Don’t throw technology into the classroom and hope for good things.** Focus on the change in pedagogy, not the technology. Learning 2.0 is about dramatically changing the relationship between a teacher and students in the learning process. Get that right and use technology for a student – focused, customized, collaborative learning environment.
- 2. Cut back on lecturing.** You don’t have all the answers. Besides, broadcast learning doesn’t work for this generation. Start asking students questions and listen to their answers. Listen to the *question* students ask, too. Let them discover the answer. Let them cocreatea learning experience with you.
- 3. Empower students to collaborate.** Encourage them to work with each other and show them how to access the world of subject – matter experts available on the Web.

¹⁶⁰ E. Wojcicki, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

¹⁶¹ D. Tapscott, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

4. **Focus on lifelong learning, not teaching to the test.** It's not what they know when they graduate that counts; it's their capacity and love for lifelong learning that's important. Don't worry if the kids forget the dates of key battles in history. They can look them up. Focus on teaching them how to learn – not what to know.
5. **Use technology to get to know each student** and build self-paced, customized learning programs for them.
6. **Design educational program according to the eight norm.** There should be choice, customization, transparency, integrity, collaboration, fun, speed, and innovation in their learning experiences. Leverage the strengths of Net gen culture and behaviors in project-based learning.
7. **Reinvent yourself as a teacher, professor, or educator.** You too can say „Now, I can hardly wait to get up in the morning to go to work!"".

What is basic for humanization is the sense of being a part of the local community, cooperation with it – for its benefit and with its share of the work, immersion, confrontation with the problems of people living in the neighborhood, which poses existential questions. The pupils will organize on a regular basis: concerts in hospitals, nursing homes, kindergartens, hospice in Bendkowo, local orphanage. Each pupil will be encouraged to take up volunteer work, such as: music and language classes in orphanage, nursing homes, rehabilitation centers, kindergartens. Parents will be expected to show engagement in school activities, assistance in classes of first grades, organization of concerts, shows, and festivals, search of sponsors; search for local advertisement sponsors for school media (radio, newspapers), inviting of some interesting persons from different fields (like *the human library*). The scope of duties – and – hopefully – willingness of the teachers will be: conducting public(open for everybody) classes: compensatory classes in math, languages, workshops on journalism. Together students, parents, teachers and neighbors will be working out different forms of *culture of participation*.

The project was prepared based on following sources:

Classes for students specializing in teaching at the Teachers College in Wroclaw in years 2002–2007;

Classes and workshops for students of the methodology of teaching: teachers enhancing their pedagogical education at the University of Lower Silesia in years 2009–2013;

Workshops in journalism and media competence conducted for students of secondary schools of Lower Silesia region in years 2009–2013;

The concept formation, public opinion polls, implementation and initiating activities of the experimental bilingual high school (gimnazjum) in the city of Oborniki Slaskie;

Surveys conducted in Polish schools in the USA and Canada, and the Canadian and American high schools in years 2012–2013 (Toronto, Mississauga, Chicago);

Philosophy and culture of learning in the twenty-first century (theory and practice), the largest US journalism teaching program created by Esther Wojciki: study, interviews and participant observation during the period of October 2013 – January 2014, Palo Alto High School, USA;

Philosophy and culture of learning in the twenty-first century (theory and practice), research by prof. Howard Rheingold: study, interviews and participant observation during the period of October 2013 – January 2014, Stanford University, USA;

Literature and analysis of collected research results in the areas of: neuroscience and cognitive psychology: perception and brain activity, cognitive correlations between music, math and foreign languages; media studies and sociology: new media; pedagogy: educational transformation, new technologies, blended learning;

Activities of Khan Academy;

Conference participation:

1. EdSurge Tech for School Summit: Silicon Valley; Mountain View, USA, November 2, 2013,

2. Blended Learning in K-12 Education; Hoover Institution Stanford University USA, January 16–17, 2014

The project of school in Trzebnica was created with reference to the diagnose of an ailing of the present day education by a thoughtful pedagogue Robert Kwaśnica, the outcome of the survey conducted among teachers and students in 2011 – 2013 (overall population of those asked was 2451 people); observation of the participant of the educational practices used in the Silicon Valley by the innovators and propagators of the new media for the last several decades – Howard Rheingold, Esther Wojcicki and Salman Khan. Blended learning is practiced as the basic teaching method, and the new media as tools, not facilitating collecting of knowledge, not as an ornament or a tribute by digital immigrants to the digital natives, but a wisely used resource in service of different general aims than those hereto chosen – the aims of humanizing a student, which Salman Khan often stands up for in his interviews: „The other reform is we want to see classrooms that are much more human. The people interact with each other. At the conclusion of my education, I should be able to prove to you that I am a critical thinker. I can prove to you that I can write. Here is my portfolio of creative work as evidence of this capability.”¹⁶²

I full of hope, that when the project of the school will be implemented, it will create and consolidate the forms of community communication: talk, coexistence, presence, cooperation ; immersion in the local community (cooperation with the hospice, the care center, the orphanages) will be an exercise for empathy and citizen’s engagement as well as an encouragement and teaching to ask oneself existential questions.

It may also turn out to fulfil a few very important postulates humanizing school, formulated by R. Kwaśnica (pp 31–35): it will change in the relationship teacher – student and thus it will concur to the student agency and security, will allow individualization – even personalization of education and will awaken in the students of so transformed a school a positive motivation to learn, stemming from the change in the image of what education is for. Insightfully and with passion Kwaśnica writes: „[...] a cultural shift in which learning will have its natural meaning restored to it and will designate selfchange – becoming a wiser, better, more perceptive, more resourceful, more self – confident person. If we restored that original sense of learning,

¹⁶² Khan S., <http://www.forbes.com/sites/peterhigh/2014/01/06/salman-khan-the-most-influential-person-in-education-technology/2/#22e9aab3239f> [access: 25.10.2016].

we would understand that intrinsic to learning are values that need no supplementing or reinforcing. Simply discerning them, we realize that **in and through learning we experience the simplest joy of being, available to each and every one of us daily and embodied in two forms: in amazement at and curiosity about the world, and in a sense of self-growth.**¹⁶³

What is left is to wish ourselves and to work in order to implement blended learning and new media in school as giving two forms of joy (our cognitive curiosity and competence – related) and confronting students with existential questions. In every school.

¹⁶³ R. Kwasnica, op. cit., p. 33.

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Web 2.0 in the classroom. Blogging as a tool for education and learning

I. Introduction

Nowadays information, its production, processing, transfer, possession and dissemination are key elements of social life. The more exposed in a given community the role of information and the importance attributed to it, the more it becomes recognized in terms of the information society. Information society, considered in the context of the new technologies is a kind of “product” of change a modern man is facing, and the nature and range of this change is described by the term “information revolution”. The use of such a term is an expression of belief in so high the level of impact of the information and communication technologies, in particular of the internet, on both the daily life of individuals and the structure of social life, that without an exaggeration we can treat this situation as a profound qualitative social change.

A phenomenon of mediated communication, typical for the era of the information revolution, favors to design mediated society. As a result, the processes of “mediamorphosis”, or saturation, and even oversaturation the society with the media, become the kind of human environment, and virtuality becomes synonymous with reality. Therefore, human activities to a significant extent are performed using media and media communications, and media industries repre-

sent a significant and ever more powerful sector of the economy and employment¹⁶⁴.

Every day observed manifestations of information revolution include the presence of information and communication technology in almost all areas of life. In a way, it forces sometimes profound change in daily habits, and the scale and depth of the changes quite dramatically affects the way of functioning of the social system as a whole. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that the internet network permanently changes our lives: we communicate with each other, collaborate, create and learn through it. It appears that online tools are influential in shaping our way of life, and such activities as work, social mobility, the value of life and family, consumer attitudes, leisure time, cultural preferences or participation in public life. The network also plays an increasingly important role in education, becoming a limitless source of information. Regardless of the level of education, it is used on a daily basis as a tool to support the learning process and to communicate with others, including teachers.

The paper attempts to analyze the use of new media in the educational process, in relation to compulsory education. The background for discussion are the assumptions made by the education authorities at a state level and recommendations for the use of media in education, which were included in the legal acts in the area of education law. The analysis of documents is accompanied by an overview of information and communication technology tools used by students and teachers in the educational process. The article focuses on selected category of educational blogs. Based on the available literature on the subject the characteristics of a blog has been made, and educational areas in which it is applied in school have been described. In the further part, the study undertakes content analysis of selected educational blogs, including those ran by teachers and by students. Based on the available data on the activity of students and teachers in the educational blogosphere, an attempt is made to assess the extent of the use of this tool and its potential impact on the nature of interactions between students and between teachers and students. In this context, the potential benefits of the use of this tool in the field of education has been presented, as well as the restrictions that may accompany this process in the classroom.

¹⁶⁴ T. Goban-Klas, *W stronę społeczeństwa medialnego*, <http://www.ap.krakow.pl/ptn/ref2005/goban.pdf> [access: 16.11.2016].

2. Information and communication technologies in the field of education

„Information and communications technologies (ICT) are a diverse set of technological tools and resources used to communicate, and to create, disseminate, store, and manage information. Communication and information are at the very heart of the educational process, consequently ICT-use in education has a long history (...). Much has been written about the use of film, radio, telephones, and television in education. Because access to digital tools, applications, and networks continues to grow worldwide and media are increasingly available in digital form, ICT-use in education can be expected to increase dramatically”¹⁶⁵.

The information revolution and the dynamic development of digital tools, and above all the internet, fundamentally influenced the increase in the level of interactivity, namely the mediation of the relationship between individuals and their social environment. Internet network is meeting the natural form of human activity, which is communication. The communication dimension of the internet allows individuals and even encourages them to bring their own contribution to this medium. For comparison, book favours more individual development of the reader, in a sense, isolates him or her from the environment and there is no possibility of interference in its contents. Internet network, however, due to its openness enables the global flow of information, while giving an opportunity to introduce new content in real time. This is of great importance if we take into account the acceleration of the growth of human intellectual production¹⁶⁶.

In these processes children become more actively involved. In the light of the available data in the European Union already 75% of them use the internet. Of course, we are dealing with different levels of access, depending on the country it ranges from half of the population in countries such as Greece and Cyprus, to over 90% of users in Finland¹⁶⁷. An interesting issue in this context is

¹⁶⁵ C. Blurton, *New Directions of ICT-Use in Education. UNESCO's World Communication and Information Report*, New York 1999, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶ D. de Kerckhove, *Inteligencja otwarta. Narodziny społeczeństwa sieciowego*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 23–27.

¹⁶⁷ S. Livingstone, L. Haddon, *EU Kids Online: Final Report*, London 2009, pp. 1–3.

the purposes for which the network is used by children. It is characteristic that the most popular is the use of the network for preparation for classes (85%), which indicates a significant educational potential of this tool. The following activities are: games (83%), watching video materials (76%), instant messaging (62%). To a lesser extent, the internet is used to upload images (39%) and news (31%), or as a tool to use file sharing services (16%) or blogging (11%). Moreover, 59% of young people aged 9–16 years have a profile on a social network site, this group is the largest among the 15-16-year-olds and it is 82%, however, already 26% of 9-10-year-old also have a profile on these sites¹⁶⁸.

So internet is no longer the space that meets only entertainment features that children and young people carry in their free time. Declared ways of use of this tool demonstrate its significant role in the implementation of the educational needs of children and youth.

It is worth noting that the use of digital information and communication technologies in educational processes assume a few basic forms. Among them should be specified e-learning or online learning, which includes both formal and non-formal education processes, that uses an information network – the internet, an intranet (LAN) or extranet (WAN) for the purposes of the course delivery, interaction and facilitation. Another form is blended learning, which combines traditional classroom practice and e-learning solutions: students during a lesson can use printed and online materials, they can also attend online sessions with the teacher through chat. Such course can be enhanced by face-to-face teacher's instruction. One should mention open and distance learning as well. Its characteristic is a separation of teacher and learner in time or place, or both time and place. In this process a variety of media is used, including print and electronic. Two-way communications allows learners and teachers to interact, including face-to-face meetings¹⁶⁹.

Extensive use of the internet in education, however, should be associated primarily with the perception of this medium as an inexhaustible source of information, and thus – a multipurpose tool for learning. Not without significance here is also the ease and speed with which one can reach such support, because thanks to mobile

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁶⁹ V.L. Tinio, *ICT in Education*, New York 2003, p. 4.

devices today the time and place in which we live in lose their importance. The specificity of virtual space thus allows us a continuous exchange of information, the acquisition, selection and processing. This information largely become complement to the knowledge transmitted by teachers within specific subjects and in most cases it exceeds the standard curriculum. The important thing is also an attractive for young people form: graphics, animations or films significantly increase student interest in the particular issue, and may often be used as a demonstrative measure.

At the same time it should be underlined that contemporary school and the teacher in the conditions of the information revolution are in a very specific and even uncomfortable position. Their role does not consists in familiarizing young people with new technologies, as the children and young people are very proficient in use of these tools, which makes them much fluent than their parents or teachers. That is why the researchers with regard to the representatives of the youngest generation use the term Digital Natives. Students nowadays are all “native speakers” of the digital language of computers and the internet. Their parents and teachers who were not born into the digital world but have adopted digital tools at some later point of their lives are called Digital Immigrants who have to adapt to the digital environment. As Prensky puts it, they were socialized differently from their kids, and are now in the process of learning a new language and new skills¹⁷⁰.

So does the presence of digital tools not interfere traditionally perceived scheme, under which the transmission of knowledge took place so far? Until now, this process has been a transmission from teacher to student, today we can say that the student becomes, a kind of guide to the world of ICT for the teacher. Such observation may be justified, given widespread contact of children and young people with technological tools nowadays. This phenomenon, however, in many cases is limited to technical skills and there appears the crucial question whether young people are able to use in an efficient and responsible manner the opportunities provided by these tools.

Dynamic growth of popularity of information and communication tools and their widespread use in various areas, requires certain skills

¹⁷⁰ M. Prensky, *Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants Part 1*, “On the Horizon”, Vol. 9, Iss. 5, 2001, pp. 1–2.

not only in their effective use, but in the understanding of the specifics of these media. A part of general education should be therefore media education concentrated on developing media skills and search for particular content and focused on the development of competencies in the selection of specific content considered as essential and valuable. For this reason the European Commission has put considerable pressure on media education, which consists in shaping the ability to use the media in a conscious and responsible manner. This is also connected with a critical analysis of the media and their role, and a selective approach to the presented content. It should be emphasized that these skills should not be limited to passive use of the media and content reception. Citizens' competences should also be evident in the creation and transmission of media messages, as information and communication technologies available today give the average user such an opportunity¹⁷¹.

Given the role in the formation of the young person the school plays, we cannot ignore the development of the competences in the field of media education by this institution. Teachers should therefore be educated not only to teach children and young people to use information and communication technologies, but rather to focus on ways to use them properly in the process of learning and self-education, preparing students to live in the information society.

In the core curriculum of primary education, one can find fairly general provisions, according to which an important task of the school is to prepare students to live in the information society. What is more, teachers should create for students conditions to acquire the skills to search, sort and use information from different sources, and to use information and communication technologies, in classes of different subjects. The realization of these objectives should be supported with well-equipped school libraries with up-to-date collections, both in the form of books, as well as multimedia resources. Teachers task is to comprehensively prepare students for self-study and deliberate searching for, sorting and using information. Another general remark concerns the increasingly important role of the mass media both in social and individual life, therefore every teacher should devote

¹⁷¹ European Commission, *Culture. Supporting Europe's cultural and creative sectors*, 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/audiovisual-policies/literacy_en.htm [access: 25.11.2016].

a great degree of attention to media education, namely the education of students in the appropriate reception and use of media¹⁷².

At the earliest stage of education (grades 1–3) school is responsible for training in the use of computers and selected programmes, as well as in the search and use of information and the creation of texts and drawings. It is important that at this stage the pupil also knows the risks arising from the use of computers, the internet and multimedia. On the second stage of education which falls into 4–6 grades pupils develop their skills in this field, but they focus primarily on the technical use of the media. So here we have to deal with the safe and correct use of computers and software from an ethical and legal point of view, and following the rules of netiquette, there is also a provision for searching for information from different sources, for its selection and organization, and for its use according to the individual needs of pupils. Provisions on the use of different media, including internet, press and radio as well, are concentrated on the search for information. These issues are also included in history and society lessons, music and foreign languages. A critical attitude to the media is to be developed in lessons of history and society and family life education¹⁷³.

The existing model of information education within the Polish formal education system is implemented in various classes and distributed among different subjects. There is no defined strategy to use the media tools at certain levels of education, and in many cases the implementation of information education happens incidentally and seems to be quite inconsistent. The main condition of effective education in this field resulting in information literacy in society is the creation of a coherent concept of this subject, focused on the future and a comprehensive vision of learners' competencies necessary in a contemporary information society.

Regardless of the core curriculum provisions in the field of information literacy, it is worth noting the significant role in the process of teaching and learning and self-education is played by an intrinsic

¹⁷² Minister Edukacji Narodowej, Rozporządzenie z dnia 17 czerwca 2016 r. zmieniające rozporządzenie w sprawie podstawy programowej wychowania przedszkolnego oraz kształcenia ogólnego w poszczególnych typach szkół, Załącznik nr 2: Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego dla szkół podstawowych, Dz. U. 2016, poz. 895.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

motivation student, understood as the need or desire to acquire new knowledge and to complement the knowledge already possessed. It is not associated directly with the gratification in the form of assessment. Primarily it comes out from the student's individual interests and his or her cognitive needs. New technologies may provide significant support for the efforts of teachers to develop students' intrinsic motivation to acquire knowledge. Their use in the educational process not only meets the expectations of young people, who operate in the virtual space on a daily basis, searching for the interesting content or communicating with their peers. The teachers, in order to follow the changes that brings the information revolution, should introduce new media into the process of teaching in order to enrich their professional skills and to develop their own media literacy.

3. Web 2.0 in the classroom

To meet the needs of students, teachers in their work can benefit from a fairly wide range of tools. Among them we can distinguish websites, forums and platforms. Virtual space provides the information necessary for the functioning of modern schools, including the field of education law or curriculum. Educational and methodological materials can be also easily found, as well as lesson plans, exercises, educational games and videos, and guides used both by teachers and students themselves.

In the analyzes of the functioning of modern virtual space the term "Web 2.0" seems to be crucial. It refers to the second stage of development of the internet. This stage is described as a change from static web pages to dynamic, user-generated content connected with the growth of social media. This term was popularized by Tim O'Reilly and Dale Dougherty in 2004. Web 2.0 refers not to the technical update, but to changes in the way Web pages are designed and used: *„Web 2.0 is the network as platform, spanning all connected devices; Web 2.0 applications are those that make the most of the intrinsic advantages of that platform: delivering software as a continually-updated service that gets better the more people use it, consuming and remixing data from multiple sources, including individual users, while providing their own data and services in a form that allows*

remixing by others, creating network effects through an «architecture of participation», and going beyond the page metaphor of Web 1.0 to deliver rich user experiences”¹⁷⁴.

One of the areas in which the expansion of network 2.0 manifests are blogs. The term web-log, or blog is used to a „*a frequently-updated website, usually built around a certain theme and expressing the personal opinions of one or several contributors*”¹⁷⁵. More specifically it is „*a simple webpage consisting of brief paragraphs of opinion, information, personal diary entries, or links, called posts, arranged chronologically with the most recent first, in the style of an online journal*”¹⁷⁶.

Blogs primarily served and continue to serve as online diaries, and their authors with

some regularity describe and share with the readers via the internet their feelings, interests and thoughts, as well as the experiences of everyday life, both on a personal and professional lives. A specific type of blog is also one of the popular social networking sites, which is Facebook. It slightly differs from a typical blog form in which it operates, but as a rule the practice of use these tools are quite similar. Both in the case of Facebook, as well as other types of blogs, user shares with other messages (so-called posts) which usually appear from newest to oldest. Facebook, like other blogs also allows users to post photos and short films, with the possibility of commenting on the content by the members of audience, who usually belong to the group of the user’s friends. Blogs can be classified according the predominant type of content which is published or form their creators use¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷⁴ T. O’Reilly, *What Is Web 2.0. Design Patterns and Business Models for the Next Generation of Software*, 2005, <http://www.oreilly.com/pub/a/web2/archive/what-is-web-20.html?page=1> [accessed: 22.12.2016].

¹⁷⁵ S. Pimpare, J. Fast, *The Disposable Blog: Using the Weblog to Facilitate Classroom Learning and Communications*, “The Journal of Effective Teaching”, Vol. 8, No. 1/2008, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ P. Anderson, *What is Web 2.0? Ideas, technologies and implications for education*, “JISC Technology and Standards Watch Report”, 2007, p. 7.

¹⁷⁷ R.E. Ferdig, *Examining social software in teacher education*, “Journal of Technology and Teacher Education”, No. 15 (1)/2007, p. 8.

As noted, the most common form of a blog is an online diary, often referred to as a traditional blog. It is characterized by the presentation of content only in written form, and so the use of text, without attaching files, videos and hyperlinks. It is run primarily for information purposes or to initiate discussion around the particular topic. It can also be used to express the views or opinions of the author on the subject, to which the blog is devoted, or can be a platform of the author's confides on various issues, without clearly separated topic. Photoblog will, in turn, contain pictures and videoblog– video materials, while on audioblog one will find audio materials.

Another interesting form of blogging activity is so-called microblog. In many ways it is similar to the traditional blog in its form, as its content is dominated by text, while maintaining the characteristic brief form. It is intended to synthesize the message, and it contains updated information on current topics. From this point of view, it seems similar to another well-known social networking site, which in turn is Twitter. Common function of both of these tools is to maintain constant contact with the reader.

An useful form of a blog, which is devoted to the organization of the content rather than its transmission, is called linklog. It involves the accumulation of links to interesting articles or papers on a given issue and organizes them in a manner that helps the user to locate the content of his or her interest. Linklog can therefore be a tool for creating libraries of content, a kind of map that allows users to navigate the web in order to obtain necessary information.

Thanks to the internet, blogs create immense network of interrelated elements. Through the use of hyperlinks, the authors exchange opinions on a specific topic, comment issues or events. This way they create the specific community referred to as the blogosphere, which is a network of bloggers interconnected with each other, which is also a phenomenon interesting from a sociological point of view. Popularity of blogs is determined not only by their content, but above all by the ability to communicate and interact with each other. In addition, the form of a blog, which is filled with updated, organized information, affects the process of democratization of communication, taking into account the active and involved nature of the content exchange.

In light of the foregoing considerations it seems reasonable to make a distinction between blogs and discussion forums, which are tools

sometimes are treated as identical¹⁷⁸. On some levels a certain similarity is indeed visible, but still we are dealing with quite an important differentiation, which main determinant is the user experience. The specificity of the discussion forum is that it is a space of activity of a virtual community, which of course is created by specific individuals involved in the discussions. None of them however has the possibility of expropriating the space for themselves. It can be said that the forum priority is a group, while in the case of the blog we have a privileged position of an individual embodied by the blog's author. Thus, despite the fact that the blog allows the reader to place comments and even criticism for statements or materials posted by the author, it remains on the plane of author's individual expression. This feature of the blog can be useful in situations where the author of the blog, and users do not identify with a particular group, a sense of belonging or ties of loyalty between them do not exist, or their communication skills remain limited.

Today, thanks to its very nature, blogs are becoming didactic tool used by teachers to enrich the learning process, although it should be noted that often the line between educational and scientific or popularizing blogging is quite fluid. The specificity of a blog allows to turn the learning process elements that go quite far beyond the traditional approach to school activities and student-teacher relationship. In addition to these broadly conceived forms of communication and interaction, we deal here with an element of entertainment and leisure options, which are close to the experience of the modern student.

The latter determinant seems to have a special significance if we consider that it fits into the broader peer culture, understood as a set of practices and standards organizing the social life of certain groups of young people. An important element of peer culture is fun, which is a set of free behaviours, undertaken selflessly, not accompanied by material motivations, and which are beyond the sphere of activity identified with work or school. People involved in such activity do not need external incentives such as rewards or punishments, but are characterized by a strong self-motivation¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁸ P. Duffy, A. Bruns, *The Use of Blogs, Wikis and RSS in Education: A Conversation of Possibilities*, Proceedings Online Learning and Teaching Conference, Brisbane 2006, pp. 33–34.

¹⁷⁹ G. Stunza, P. Peszko (eds.), *Nie boj się bloga! Jak wykorzystywać blog w edukacji*, Gdansk 2013, pp. 9–10.

Blogs are also a space in which users, including students, can post their own music or art works, photos, they can publish their short stories or poems. On the blog, one can also exchange views about watched movies or sports tournaments, share advice on how to use such equipment as computer or smartphone. A blog is also the environment in which a distinctive slang for a group of users, eg. young people, is created and developed.

The specificity of blog allows us to define it also as a place for the development and expression of the “Self” of young people, on the basis of interactions that they establish or maintain a virtual space in parallel or completely independently of the real world. These interactions manifest themselves through the confessions of the daily hassles or reporting the events of their life, which often are not known by their parents, gossiping, talking about things that make users happy and of those which irritate them. This identity-creating nature of blogging can be successfully used for educational purposes. It is possible to achieve if the teacher can effectively instill in students the habit of sharing through a blog the knowledge acquired in school. A blog can become a place of preparing school assignments, not necessarily under the supervision of a teacher. As a result, young people can learn to use the internet network in a more differentiated way, not limited only to a simple search for information, often in very simplified form of cheat sheets or ready-made solutions¹⁸⁰.

Thus, the combination of seemingly distant spheres as learning and fun, in the context of stimulating internal user’s motivation certainly has influence on the variety and attractiveness of the learning process. Still blogs, however, have a fairly limited number of users, which is certainly not conducive to their popularization in mainstream education¹⁸¹.

4. The current state of educational blogging

According *Edublogs*, the largest educational blogging network in the world, established in 2005, “*blogging transforms the educational experience of students and have seen firsthand how Edublogs increases ownership of learning, engages students, and becomes a source of pride in the classroom*”¹⁸².

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁸² *Edublogs*, <http://edublogs.org/about/> [access: 22.12.2016].

In order to investigate international trends in educational blogging, it is worth to consult the data collected by *Edublogs* each year in a survey on how educators are using blogs. In the survey of 2015 a total number of 777 respondents took part via Twitter, Facebook and through blog posts. Among the participants were 47% teachers followed by students (32%). One third of blogs were based in high schools (32,3%) followed by elementary/primary schools (27,4%) and middle/junior (21%)¹⁸³.

The majority of respondents mainly used their blogs for class blogs (40,7%), class blogs with individual student blogs (20,2%) and for student blogs (14,9%). Some of them had also their own personal/personal blog (14,6%). 52,5% of student blogs are public and can be viewed by anyone and 47,5% of student blogs are private restricted to specific group of readers. The ways respondents used the student blogs included assignments/assessments (36,6%), reflective blogging (33,7%), collaboration/discussion (23,5%), practice reading and writing skills (21,8%), encourage peer learning and support (19,3%) and digital citizenship skills (17,7%). Most of class blogs were used for: assignments and class news share (48,4%), share information with families (40,3%), and share links and resources (34,2%)¹⁸⁴.

In Poland an interesting information about the functioning of the school blogosphere is provided by the Centre for Citizenship Education. The inspiration for the development of such initiatives by students and teachers became the project called *A School with Class*, initiated by this Center in 2002. After several years of implementation of this project it has evolved into an initiative *A School with Class 2.0*. The campaign's aim was to make school a place of interesting and wise education, where students want and love to learn, and the teachers in turn – want and like to teach. Such school should also become a community that is created by cooperation of teachers, parents and students with each other. Supplementing the name of the action by a part “2.0” is to refer to educational realities of the era of universal access to the internet and computer, as well as mobile devices, where the teacher and the textbook are no longer the only available sources of knowledge and information. Expanding access to new information and communication technologies makes the teacher is to be a guide in

¹⁸³ *The Edublogger*, www.theedublogger.com/2016/01/15/educational-blogging-2015/ [access: 22.12.2016].

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

this world, explaining the students how to use the information, while maintaining a critical approach to them, solve problems creatively, and to learn throughout life¹⁸⁵.

The project involves active participation of the head master, whose job is to make organizational changes to school work (i. a. E-diary, an educational platform, a website for communication within the school community), and teachers implementing each semester one of the eight educational paths (i. a. students debate, student scientific forum, open resources and copyright)¹⁸⁶.

One of the parts of the project is to create a school blog on the platform provided by the Centre for Citizenship Education, where the project's coordinator must publish reports on the implementation of particular tasks, students and teachers may also run their blogs¹⁸⁷. On the website of the Centre for Citizenship Education dedicated to blogs one can find data on the number of educational blogs maintained by participants in the project (7101), as well as the number of their users (12 540)¹⁸⁸.

School blogs are carried out under very different programs run by the Center for Citizenship Education. As for the number of blogs associated with a particular program, most, besides various editions of *A School with Class* and *Physical Education with Class*, we can accompany the *Students Academy*(152), *Digital School 2012/13* (131), *School Film Library. Action!* (96), *Let me tell you about free Poland* (47), *Lower secondary school education project* (35). Less interest of school bloggers attracted such issues as: *Literary Atlas of Poland* (19) *Good people in a time of evil: I. Sendlerowa, J. Karski,*

¹⁸⁵ Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, *Szkola z Klasa – włącz się!*, <http://www.ceo.org.pl/pl/szkolazklasa2zero/news/szkola-z-klasa-20-wlacz-sie> [access: 27.12.2016].

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* [access: 28.12.2016].

¹⁸⁷ In the current edition of *A School of Class 2.0* project in the school year 2016/2017 the participants can no longer use the platform of the Centre for Citizenship Education. Nevertheless, participants are still encouraged to continue blogging started both in the previous edition, as well as before. Although it will not be under the supervision of the Centre for Citizenship Education, it may serve to coverage of the activities of program participants and the promotion of their school in the virtual space.

¹⁸⁸ Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, *Blogi CEO*, <http://blogiceo.nq.pl/> [access: 5.01.2017].

J. Korczak (13), *A School of Thinking* 2.0 (7), *A School of Solidarity* (5) and *Traces of the Past* (4)¹⁸⁹.

An analysis of data on blogging within project *A School with Class* proves that the extremely active in the blogosphere created for this project, have appeared both primary and lower secondary schools—the former dominated in the *Digital School 2012/13*, in turn, in *Students Academy* an advantage of lower secondary schools can be observed.

Based on the rankings of teacher blogs made by the Center for Citizenship Education in subsequent editions of the project, one can also notice another interesting regularity. The schools located in smaller towns and villages are very strongly represented there. In the 2015–16 edition we can see their definite advantage over capitals of Polish provinces¹⁹⁰.

This pattern leads to the conclusion that in Poland the one of the criteria the digital divide, as the place of residence is considered, has been systematically overcome. Access to new information and communication technologies and the digital competence thus ceased to be dependent on whether their users are residents of the city or village. Undoubtedly it positively proves the efficiency of local governments at the municipal level, which in the Polish education system are responsible for the establishment and operation of primary and lower secondary schools as a part of compulsory education.

Characterizing blogs ran within projects of the Center for Citizenship Education, one should pay attention to the fact that they have a particular topic and, therefore, are devoted to a specific issue, which concerns given initiative. Perhaps this can be identified as the reasons for the suspension of a blog that is treated by the authors as a short-term activity. Furthermore, in accordance with the requirements of the project, each new edition of *A School with Class*, includes the need to set up a new blog. The author is not always enough enthusiastic for such an activity, as it requires for a systematic approach. Bearing in mind a multitude of everyday student and teacher responsibilities it is not always possible to perform.

¹⁸⁹ Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, *Blogi CEO*, http://blogiceo.nq.pl/?page_id=636 [access: 5.01.2017].

¹⁹⁰ Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, *Blog Szkoły z Klasa 2.0*, <http://blogiceo.nq.pl/szkola2zero/2015-2016/> [access: 5.01.2017].

In many cases blogs available on the platform of Centre for Citizenship Education can be treated as a kind of chronicle of activity related to the particular project, supplemented with a photographic material. This was, for example, the case of a blog titled Young Citizen Club, which operated within the framework of the project *Good people in a time of evil: I. Sendlerowa, J. Karski, J. Korczak* in No. 2 Lower Secondary School in Działdowo, which was run by a fairly short period in 2013, with statistics of visitors of 2300¹⁹¹.

Online diaries available on the platform of the Centre for Citizenship Education, both by teachers and by the students, however, have a much more comprehensive in nature. A good illustration can be a blog *A Woman with Class, or Educator's Blog*, initiated in November 2012 by Anna Jędryczko, teacher of primary school in Damice. What draws attention is a significant number of blog visitors (30580) and varied issues, which, as the author states it, applies not only to *A Schools with Class 2.0* project, but also to her work in the field of education, as well as what interesting, inspiring or funny happens in every day school life¹⁹². In this blog the reader can find both texts, as well as photographic and video materials. The author shares with readers her impressions of the visits in attractive places (the National Stadium in Warsaw, the Toy Museum in Prague), describes the social campaigns in the media (*Orzeł może*), encouraging readers to discuss the stereotypical characteristics of Poles, recommends the services Educational (SCIFUN) and the like.

It is worth noting that the author of this blog recommends readers also another blog, run by students of the same school¹⁹³. This is certainly an important contribution to the development of “horizontal” communication between students and teachers, but also an important factor in inspiring virtual activity of students. It can be also perceived as an incentive to develop students’ technical skills related to handling specific communication tool, but most of all – to develop students’ creativity. It can be critical to empower the students, due to the

¹⁹¹ Gimnazjum nr 2 im. Królowej Jadwigi w Działdowie, *Klub Młodego Obywatela*, <http://blogiceo.nq.pl/bohater/2013/01/> [access: 6.01.2017].

¹⁹² A. Jędryczko, *Kobieta z klasa, czyli blog wychowawcy*, <http://blogiceo.nq.pl/kobietazklasa/2012/11/> [access: 6.01.2017].

¹⁹³ M. Niedzwiedz, K. Petlic, *Blogerki i kumpelki*, <http://blogiceo.nq.pl/damiceklasa6/page/2/> [access: 6.01.2017].

fact that their efforts have been noticed and appreciated, which certainly influences their motivation for further activities of this kind. It is extremely important particularly in case of female students, as the support of the teacher to their engagement in the field of new technologies can be an important factor in overcoming the stereotypes that accompany the girls and boys activity in the school¹⁹⁴.

Blog by students, with the statistics of visitors of 24790, also has a very varied nature. One can find the chronical entries which report the events of the school or class life, but also poetry, presentations, various tests or optical illusions, video reports of experiments in the classroom. Advice in spelling and arithmetic can also be attractive and useful to the reader.

As for the scope of these blogs, as it has been indicated, authors meet a relatively wide reception, although the number of comments for each entry is quite limited and ranges from a few to a dozen. There are also entries left without comments. This suggests that the discussion around the issues raised by bloggers is not very lively, which can demotivate the authors, it is also difficult to confront the problem in a broader group of the discussion participants. On the other hand, it is difficult to assess the extent to which individual entries may be an inspiration or even instruction for users, or become the subject of discussion in other social media, which are available today on the Web.

5. Blogs for educational purposes – potential obstacles and benefits

For the current generation of students, the internet is an area of everyday activity. They are already highly socially active in internet-based environments, they interact with and commenting on one another's materials using photo sharing sites and blogging spaces. These activities indicate a growing interest in personal expression and reflection. These personal 'spaces' and various forms of electronic discourse usually are not associated by their users with reading and writing in

¹⁹⁴ J. Wojniak, *Kształtowanie tożsamości dziewcząt i chłopców w przestrzeni szkolnej. Symetria rol czy petryfikacja stereotypów* [In:] B. Popiolek, A. Chłosta-Sikorska, M. Gadocha (eds.), *Kobieta i mężczyzna. Jedna przestrzeń – dwa światy*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 657–658.

an educational sense, but rather are tools for social interaction. But one can ask, if there is a distinct difference between writing for personal expression, and writing for an educational purpose. Can the blog become a new type of learning journal?¹⁹⁵

Some educational researchers identify potential benefits of the use of various web tools in the classroom: promoting critical and analytical thinking, as well as creative, intuitive and associational thinking thanks to use of blogs as brainstorming tool and as a resource for interlinking or commenting on interlinked ideas. These tools can be helpful in developing critical thinking and acquiring creative, communicative, and collaborative skills, as they must read well, respond critically and write acutely, which might be appreciated by their peers¹⁹⁶.

Educational uses of blogs can be consider from different points of view. In a view of a teacher blog can support reflection on and share of teaching experiences, including some teaching tips for other or illustrate of specific technology-related tips. From the organisational perspective a blog enables common online presence for a teaching topic, including calendars, assignments and resources. Students have also an area to post queries relating to the details of the assignment and assessment requirements. Within a pedagogical perspective a blog can provide comments on readings and student responses, can be used as a collaborative space for students to review course-related materials or to show the work progress. It can become a teacher's tool of encouraging the students to develop their reflections and ideas and a space to develop a student portfolio of work.

Further questions to be explored consider blog as a "serious" educational tool. Bearing in mind that blogs are mostly associated with free time activities and entertainment, one can ask if their content and issues discussed can be delivered in a learning context. Namely if blogs are the proper field to encourage deep reflection, formulation of clear ideas, positions or arguments? Another problem is a style of writing, highly informal, colloquial, sometimes with spelling and stylistic mistakes. Students should be provided with clear guidelines to promote blogging for educational purposes to ensure that "new

¹⁹⁵ P. Duffy, A. Bruns, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁹⁶ W. Richardson, *Blogs, Wikis, Podcasts, and Other Powerful Web Tools for Classrooms*, Thousand Oaks 2006, pp. 20–26.

*knowledge is incorporated in, and integrated with existing knowledge*¹⁹⁷. The question is, if the teachers, as Digital Immigrants, are prepared for that and can be students' tutors in this field? Is the school as an institution ready for such change of traditional attitude to an educational process? How the activities to support the participating in the blogosphere can be designed for educational purposes?

To sum up, it is clear that Web 2.0 tools undoubtedly have their educational potential. At the moment, it seems, however, that their role is to complement traditional forms of education or to make them more attractive for the students. However, due to the dynamics of change of social life to a large extent driven by the development of information and communication technologies, Web 2.0 tools cannot be ignored by the school. The role of this institution is in fact to prepare young people for responsible use of these instruments and to support them in creating selective and critical approach, both to the use of media and to the content available.

It should be emphasized that blogs and other Web 2.0 tools enable, above all, teachers who belong to the group Digital Immigrants, to establish communication processes in the virtual space of Digital Natives, who their students are. Blogs as one of the examples of these tools give teachers on the one hand a kind of insight into what their students live and what issues are most important to them. Students, in turn, are provided with an opportunity for self-expression, exchange of information. They are also able to express their views on a variety of topics. This can be seen as part of the introduction to responsible participation in the public debate, and so, with a great deal of optimism – a factor positively influencing the condition of the modern civil society. Noteworthy is also the democratization of communication process in the teacher-student relationship, which may influence relationships within the school community, in terms of the level of integration of particular groups or identification with the institution.

¹⁹⁷ D. Walker, *Writing and reflection* [In:] D. Boud, R. Keogh, D. Walker (eds.), *Reflection: Turning experience into learning*, London 1985, p. 65.



New Media and Communication



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Types of Misunderstandings in Selected Digitally Archived Interviews: Relevance-based Classification

I. Introduction

The main objective of the study is to explain the occurrence misunderstandings found in verbal communication by presenting comprehension procedures involved in the interpretation of utterances. The study proves that the emergence of misunderstandings can be effectively explained in terms of biologically conditioned cognitive procedure of searching for relevance. The research belongs in the domain of pragmatics defined as cognitive description of the processes involved in understanding utterances¹⁹⁸. Pragmatic interpretation requires not only a comprehension of an utterance meaning at the semantic level, but also a facility to draw inferences on the basis of provided contextual assumptions and the knowledge of the world¹⁹⁹.

The study is based on relevance theory by Sperber and Wilson²⁰⁰, the fundamentals of which are presented in the second part of the article. Sources of misunderstandings and relevance-driven interpretation strategies are presented the third part. In the fourth part of the article a definition of misunderstandings within the relevance theory

¹⁹⁸ R. Carston, *Thoughts and Utterances: The Pragmatics of Explicit Communication*, Blackwell, Oxford 2002.

¹⁹⁹ T. Matsui, *Bridging and Reference*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam 2000.

²⁰⁰ D. Sperber, D. Wilson, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition. Second edition*, Blackwell, Oxford 1995.

is given and a taxonomy of misunderstandings proposed by Yus²⁰¹ is presented. The taxonomy functions as a template for the investigation carried out in the following part. The fifth part of the article is devoted to the analysis of particular misunderstandings found in digitally archived media interviews. The purpose of this part of the investigation is to assess whether the approach proposed by Yus is capable of fully explaining the occurrence of misunderstandings and to find out whether the taxonomy can be applicable to all the cases of misunderstandings that may arise in every day communication. The final part showcases the main findings resulting from the analysis.

2. Relevance Theory

The code theory of verbal communication assumes that the communication of a thought is achieved by uttering a sentence identical to it²⁰². The consequence of the above assumption is that the message intended by the speaker should be identical with the message received by the hearer, if they both know the code. Yet, even if interlocutors do know the code, they often face the problem of misunderstanding.

The occurrence of misunderstandings in communication process suggests that apart from the linguistically encoded meaning there must be other sources of information responsible for conveying additional meaning. The inferential theory of linguistic communication by Sperber and Wilson²⁰³ emphasizes the limited nature of the code model of verbal communication and expands the information base used for understanding and interpreting utterances by users of natural language. Although the relevance theory is placed within the tradition in which communication is perceived as a process of coding and decoding, it works out in detail one of Grice's²⁰⁴ central claims that communication is “*a process of inferential recognition of the communicator's intention*”²⁰⁵. Assuming that the extraction of information contained in an utterance during

²⁰¹ F. Yus, *Towards a Pragmatic Taxonomy of Misunderstandings*, *Revisita Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 38, 1999, pp. 218–239

²⁰² J. A. Fodor, *The Language of Thought*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1975.

²⁰³ D. Sperber, D. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 9–15.

²⁰⁴ P. Grice, *Studies in the Way of Words*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989.

²⁰⁵ D. Sperber, D. Wilson, op. cit., p. 9.

decoding process alone is insufficient to understand the message fully, they list four sources which may provide complementary information. These are: general knowledge (encyclopaedic knowledge), discursive knowledge (contained in the discourse proceeding the analysed utterance), index knowledge (facts observed by the interlocutors directly in the conversation) and the information obtained in the inference process (reasoning and deduction based on the above sources which enables the interlocutors to acquire new information which is not contained in the communication). According to the claim, an identical replication of speaker's initial thought is impossible and another level of meaning which may be called "speaker's meaning" or "intended meaning" must be identified during the interpretation process. According to the inferential theory, the only thing a communicator has to do in order to express a thought is to supply the audience with suitable evidence for their intention to express it. A communicator does not have to put the thought into words because a mental state may be sufficiently exposed by ostensive behaviour (a manifestation of speaker's intention to communicate the content of the thought to the audience).

Grice's revolutionary but very imprecise original explanation gives very modest idea of how inferential comprehension processes really work, how influential they are and how they expand the scope of communicable notions. Relevance theory proposes a more precise description of comprehension processes and states that not all communicated ideas can be encoded. The vital notions of the theory are enclosed in a definition of relevance and two other principles. Relevance is characterized as a property of contributions to cognitive processes. The processing of an input (for instance an utterance) might supply some cognitive results (for example adjustments of beliefs). The bigger the effects are, the greater the relevance of the contribution is. The processing of the utterance requires cognitive effort. The greater the effort is, the lower the relevance is. On the foundation of this definition, two principles are offered:

1. Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximisation of relevance.
2. Every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance²⁰⁶.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

The first principle concerns cognition and the other communication. The cognitive principle presents Sperber and Wilson's elemental presumption about human cognition which supports their attitude towards communication. Since relevance is what makes new information worth processing, the offer of information inevitably raises expectations of relevance. It means that the speaker producing an utterance presumes that the utterance will be optimally relevant for the audience. Hence the main claim of relevance theory is that the expectations of relevance derived from an utterance are accurate and foreseeable enough to lead the hearer towards the speaker's meaning. The aim is to explain in cognitively realistic terms what these expectations of relevance aim at, and how they might add to an empirically probable account of comprehension.

Relevance theory claims that what differentiates verbal communication from other sorts of communication is that speakers keenly help their listeners comprehend meanings encoded in utterances. Yet, the linguistically encoded form of the utterances is merely an initial point to deduce speaker's meaning. The procedures that lead to comprehension are:

- deciphering the linguistically encoded meaning to acquire a logical form, which is generally incomplete and partial,
- extracting explicit meanings, through inferential processes (disambiguation, reference assignment and enrichment of the logical form),
- recovering implicatures,
- all through the process of comprehension hearers pick fitting contextual assumptions with which they refine the new information to reach relevance.

3. Sources of misunderstandings

In relevance-theoretic terms, the emergence of misunderstandings may be attributed solely to inferential procedures involved in interpretation of utterances. Grice presumed that inferential processes started at the implicit level, however, relevance theory conclusively proves that, in order for the hearer to arrive at the propositional form encoded by the words uttered, inferencing may start at the explicit base level. According to Carston²⁰⁷, three levels of utterance meaning may be distinguished: linguistic meaning, what is said and what

²⁰⁷ R. Carston, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

is meant. It can also be noticed that linguistic meaning underdetermines what is meant and what is said underdetermines what is meant. Furthermore, linguistic meaning underdetermines what is said. That means that linguistic expressions which encode the meaning underdetermine the expressed proposition. As a result the hearers have to carry out procedures of pragmatic inference that allow them to extract not only what the speaker is implicating but also what proposition they are trying to express. This idea is called the linguistic underdeterminacy thesis. Encoded linguistic meaning may underdetermine the propositional content expressed in speaker's utterance in the variety of ways. These ways in which the content becomes context sensitive are categorized by Carston²⁰⁸ in the following form:

1. multiple encodings
2. indexical references
3. missing constituents
4. unspecified scope of elements
5. underspecificity or weakness of encoded conceptual content
6. overspecificity or narrowness of encoded conceptual content.

3.1 Disambiguation

The process employed to resolve the ambiguities resulting from multiple encodings is called disambiguation. Disambiguation takes place when a single word or a phrase refers to more than one concept. For instance the word "bank" can refer to a financial institution, the offices or building in which such financial institution is located or the slope of land bordering a river, lake, or channel. The process takes a word or phrase and disambiguates it in the context of a given discourse, that is, determines the meaning of the word or phrase as used in the context.

3.2 Reference assignment

In accordance with the approach accepted in formal semantics, reference assignment is plainly a matter of finding a proper object. Even though it is known that this depends on contextual aspects, the context is frequently classified objectively, separately of the speaker or

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

hearer. For example, Lewis²⁰⁹ identifies it as a set of co-ordinates, or times, individuals or places that supply the values for the variable expressions. Lewis approach is non-cognitive in the sense that the effect of assigning reference is the location of the item only. Wilson²¹⁰ notices that such an assumption leaves Lewis with the difficulty of explaining how we can talk about non-existent objects and events. A cognitive approach considers reference assignment as a process that entails accessing (that is, recovering or building) a mental representation which exclusively categorizes the intended referent. The representation is then included in the proposition which is expressed by the utterance. Grice admits that reference assignment and disambiguation are crucial for a complete recognition of what the speaker said, however, he does not explain how the processes are accomplished. According to relevance theory, which is more cognitively oriented, the communicative principle accountable for obtaining conversational implicatures is also involved in identifying the intended meaning of an ambiguous linguistic form and the intentional referent of an indexical.

3.3 Enrichment

The process of enrichment is employed when the used expression does not determine a complete proposition once all essential reference assignment and disambiguation procedures have come to pass. Several types of enrichment processes may be distinguished, however, Carston²¹¹ argues that the same type of inferential activities is involved in all of them.

3.3.1 Filling in missing constituents

According to Grice, “what is said” is completely propositional, and thus accounts for the truth-conditional content of an utterance. However, the missing constituents that enable retrieving full propositional content have to be supplied pragmatically before the utterances

²⁰⁹ D. Lewis, *General Semantics*, [In:] *Semantics of Natural Language*, (eds.) D. Davidson, G. Harman, pp. 169–218.

²¹⁰ D. Wilson, *Reference and relevance*, *Proceedings of the International Semiotics Conference on Reference*, 1992.

²¹¹ R. Carston, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

can be assessed as true or false. Such utterances are described as a subpropositional logical form or a fragment of a proposition²¹².

3.3.2 Free enrichment

Enrichment process is also performed on utterances which are entirely sentential and after assigning reference appear to be fully propositional, therefore for identification of the proposition expressed further contextual supplementation is not needed. For example adjectives used in utterances may display four particular kinds of context-sensitivity in which linguistic meaning might underdetermine the proposition expressed by the speaker: they may be “scalar”, “part dependent”, “relative” or “vague”. The free enrichment might also be performed during interpretation of utterances where determination of the scope of negation is required or while analysing ‘and’-conjunctions that allow a variety of relations between the conjuncts.

3.3.3 Interpretation of trivial truths

Utterances like “*Writing this will take some time*” or “*There’s nothing in the shops*” which express a clichéd obvious truth, illustrate situations when the pragmatic process is necessary to obtain the propositional content intended by the speaker. However, the representation obtained without pragmatic process is entirely propositional, hence, it might be argued to comprise what the utterance says. In the case of utterances that include quantifiers like “something” or “nothing”, it may be purported that there is an implicit factor in the linguistic form, therefore, the quantifier domain has to be supplied contextually. Before the factor is contextually substituted the examples do not convey a proposition, thus the pragmatic procedure does not alter one preposition into another.

3.3.4 Narrowing and loosening

There are other occasions when it seems that the most convenient way of conveying notions is that a lexical concept present in the logical form is “fine-tuned” pragmatically, so that the notion compre-

²¹² K. Bach, *Semantic Slack: What is Said and More*, [In:] *Foundations of Speech Act Theory: Philosophical and Linguistic perspectives*, (ed.) S. Tsohatzidis, London and New York 1994, pp. 267–291.

hended as expressed by the lexical item used in a particular context varies from the idea it encodes and replaces it. The newly created occasion-specific sense may be narrower, broader or a combination of these two, so its denotation only partially superimposes with the sense of the lexical concept from which it originates. In some contexts the utterances like “*I’m tired*” demand narrowing and reinforcement of the notions encoded by the adjectives: the applicable degree of weariness may fluctuate from a medium to large extent. Utterance like “*Her face is square*” engage a reverse process of loosening or extending lexically encoded concept: human face cannot be exactly square. In those utterances a lexically encoded concept is substituted by an ad hoc concept which has to be pragmatically drawn from the lexical one and the newly lexicalized notion becomes part of the proposition conveyed by the speaker. Traditionally, metaphorical extension, narrowing and broadening have been perceived as separate pragmatic processes. For that reason they have been studied distinctly. Relevance theory provides the framework to accept the three phenomena as products of a single pragmatic process responsible for fine-tuning the understanding of virtually every word. Fully inferential account of lexical strengthening and loosening proposed by Wilson and Carston²¹³ within relevance theory may be described as follows:

- search for relevance triggers narrowing and loosening;
- whatever direction, both processes follow a path of least effort;
- they occur through mutual adjustment of explicatures, contextual assumptions and implicatures in order to satisfy the expectations of relevance initiated by the utterance;
- when these expectations are satisfied the processes stop.

3.4 Interpretation strategies

Sperber²¹⁴ distinguishes three interpretation schemes that hearers may employ in dealing with the effort of verbal comprehension. Their

²¹³ D. Wilson, R. Carston, *A unitary approach to lexical pragmatics: relevance, inference and ad hoc concepts*, [In:] *Pragmatics*, (ed.) N. Burton-Roberts, Basingstoke and New York 2007, pp. 230–259.

²¹⁴ D. Sperber, *Understanding verbal understanding*, [In:] *What is intelligence?*, (ed.) J. Khalfa, Cambridge 1994, pp. 179–198.

application depends on whether the hearer considers the interlocutor (communicator) friendly and competent, friendly but not competent or neither friendly nor competent. These strategies can be listed as:

- naive optimism,
- cautious optimism,
- sophisticated understanding.

Each interpretive scheme involves an additional level of metarepresentation, and enables the hearer to cope with more complex interpretive options. Naive optimist has confidence in the speaker and regards the speaker as friendly and competent. The hearer believes that the information presented by the speaker is worth attention and that seeking relevance is not causing redundant effort. This scheme effects in satisfactory comprehension provided the speaker is both friendly and competent. Cautious optimism is regarded as a more competent listener because she believes that the speaker is friendly but not automatically competent. While seeking relevance such a hearer does not stop processing at the first interpretation that seems to be relevant enough but “*at the first interpretation that the speaker might have thought would be relevant enough to him*”²¹⁵. A sophisticated hearer presumes that the speaker is neither competent nor friendly and intends to seem so. Such a hearer does not stop at the first interpretation that appears to be relevant enough. The sophisticated hearer neither stops at the first interpretation the communicator might have considered to be sufficiently relevant to him “*but at the first interpretation that the speaker might have thought would seem relevant enough to him*”²¹⁶. Different interpretive schemes present different possibilities of interpretation.

4. Taxonomy of misunderstandings

Humphreys-Jones²¹⁷ claims that a misunderstanding arises “when a hearer fails to understand correctly the proposition which speaker

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

²¹⁷ C. Humphreys-Jones, *Make, make do and mend: The role of the hearer in misunderstandings*, [In:] *Language for hearers*, (ed.) G. McGregor, Oxford 1986, p. 109.

expresses in an utterance". According to Yus²¹⁸, this definition leads to an initial division between misunderstanding, when false assumptions are drawn in the understanding of a proposition, and non-understanding, when no assumptions are drawn at all (lack of understanding). No definition of misunderstanding within relevance theory is provided by Sperber and Wilson since they purport that "*failures in communication are to be expected: what is mysterious and requires explanation is not failure but success*"²¹⁹. On the other hand, Carston²²⁰ provides a description of what should be considered successful communication which might be helpful in defining misunderstanding: "*Verbal communication is not a means of thought duplication, the thought(s) that the speaker seeks to communicate are seldom, if ever, perfectly replicated in the mind of the audience; communication is deemed successful (that is, good enough) when the interpretation derived by the addressee sufficiently resembles the thoughts that the speaker intended to communicate*".

The definition of misunderstanding which is used for the purpose of this study comes from Yus²²¹. He describes misunderstanding as :

a) "*The addressee's inability to select one interpretation, among all the possible interpretations that a stimulus I can have in a context C, which is precisely the interpretation that the addresser intends to communicate*".

b) "*The addressee's inability to process optimally the contextual information that the socio-cultural environment exudes, as it were, without any prior intentionality in its communication*".

According to Yus²²², all misunderstandings that occur in face-to-face interaction arise from the consolidation of three pragmatic qualities, which Yus denominates as continua. These are:

- the intentional vs. unintentional continuum,
- the verbal vs. nonverbal continuum,
- the explicit vs. implicit continuum.

The three pragmatic aspects are not clear oppositions. They are likely to overlap during the course of interaction. Apart from the consolidation of the three continua, additional overlaying of both ends of each continua may account for problematic processing too.

²¹⁸ F. Yus, op. cit., p. 218

²¹⁹ D. Sperber, D. Wilson, op. cit., p. 45.

²²⁰ R. Carston, op. cit., p. 47.

²²¹ F. Yus, op. cit., p. 218.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

The continuum of intentionality and unintentionality accounts for the fact that intentions are a very important issue in ostensive behaviour which, in relevance theoretic approach, is an indispensable feature of communication process. Very often intentions influence the result of interpretation process. According to Yus, misunderstandings may arise from the fact that in certain situations it is problematic for the addressee to evaluate the extent of communicator's intentions. It is also commonly accepted that the outcome of the communication process depends usually on the hearer's identification of the sender's intention to communicate some information. Sperber and Wilson²²³ describe these as communicative and informative intentions. In terms of relevance theory a stimulus is believed to be intentional when the communicator deliberately aspires to convey some information to the receiver.

Verbal/nonverbal continuum accounts for the fact that the interpretation of the intended meaning may require taking into account not only verbal but also nonverbal stimuli. Message is considered verbal when it is formed by common verbal code. Proxemics, kinesics, paralanguage and other sources of information are usually considered nonverbal. Nonverbal means of communication are another important issue in the pragmatic perspective. Acts of nonverbal behaviour may substitute verbal language entirely. On certain occasions nonverbal means that accompany verbal communication can help the sender to convey the information and suggest the receiver the intended interpretation. On the other hand, nonverbal behaviour may be contradictory to the information put across verbally which can result in misunderstanding.

Explicit/implicit continuum refers to Gricean notion of direct and implicated meaning and general ideas of literal and indirect meaning. Although initially described by Yus as a single continuum, following strong criticism, it was later divided into two separate sub-continua. The continuum is to represent the fact that the communicator may evaluate how much information can be put across in an explicit way and how much information can be conveyed in an implicit way. The evaluation relies on the receiver's ability to draw conclusions from numerous contextual sources. On the basis of the two sub-continua, Yus proposes the notion of gradualness of explicitness vs. gradualness of implicitness. For the purpose of this study a stimulus will

²²³ D. Sperber, D. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–64.

be considered explicit when the intended interpretation requires only a minimal contextualization (deixis, reference assignment, disambiguation) together with the hearer's awareness of specific conventions of use common among the speakers of a particular language in order to perform propositional enrichment. Information communicated implicitly, for the purpose of the study, will be regarded as requiring the speaker's awareness that he has to rely on the hearer's ability to deduce information from additional contextual sources which are not evident (encyclopaedic knowledge, background knowledge, shared knowledge, etc.). The shift between and within the explicit sub-continuum and the implicit sub-continuum is suggested as one of the major sources of misunderstandings.

All sorts of misunderstanding are the result of combining the three (or four) continua. The upshot of the three-way combination results in twelve instances. Several combinations are impossible due to the accepted characteristics of the continua. Since this study focuses on pragmalinguistic aspects of misunderstandings this number has to be narrowed down even further as the cases concerning nonverbal and unintentional behaviour will not be taken into account. Thus we are left with four subcategories. The following sections in this part of the paper provide a brief summary of how Yus²²⁴ describes the categories.

4.1 Faulty interpretation of an intentional and explicit verbal stimulus

In this instance of the taxonomy, the hearer succeeds in locating the stimulus in the explicit sub-continuum, however, the stimulus may be either not understood or its correct location inside the explicit continuum cannot be found. The first possibility may arise from lacking certain background or encyclopaedic knowledge and would come close to non-understanding. The other possibility may occur when the hearer encounters problems during the processes of disambiguation, assigning reference and enrichment. Very frequently the information which is intended to be communicated explicitly is understood differently because words obtain unusual connotations in particular speech situation. In other words, the hearer's insight into conversational

²²⁴ F. Yus, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–236.

demand varies from the speaker's own insight into the conversational demand set by his utterance.²²⁵

4.2 Intentional and explicit verbal stimulus taken as implicit

Frequently, the hearer connotes explicitly communicated stimulus but wrongly assumes that some amount of implicit data is required to arrive at the intended interpretation²²⁶. It is not the shift inside the explicit and implicit sub-continuum that is responsible for misunderstanding, but the initial inability to place the stimulus in the explicit/implicit continuum. Dascal²²⁷ suggests that people have tendency to extract additional and implicit assumption although the speaker intends the information to be explicit. Even if the utterance is very exact and explicit, there is always a possibility to hesitate whether the utterance is to be taken explicitly or implicitly. Cases of unintentional irony, as described by Gibbs²²⁸ also fit this category. Unintentional irony is present in utterances where the hearer is supplementing it with ironical, implicit connotations which are not intended by the speaker.

4.3 Faulty interpretation of an intentional and implicit verbal stimulus

According to Yus²²⁹, the more we depend on the hearer's ability to elicit contextual information outside what may be straightforwardly interpreted from the stimulus, the greater are the chances that a misunderstanding will occur. Blakemore²³⁰ claims that the speaker makes decisions concerning not only how much information they want to

²²⁵ M. Dascal, *The relevance of misunderstanding*. [In:] *Dialogue: An Interdisciplinary approach*, (ed.) M. Dascal, Amsterdam 1985, pp. 441–459.

²²⁶ G. Airenti, B.G. Bara, M. Colometti, *Failures exploitations and deceptions*, "Journal of Pragmatics", Vol. 20, 1993, pp. 303–326.

²²⁷ M. Dascal, *Pragmatics and the philosophy of mind: Thought in Language*, Amsterdam 1983.

²²⁸ R.W. Gibbs, *The Poetics of Mind*, Cambridge 1994.

²²⁹ F. Yus, op. cit., p. 233.

²³⁰ D. Blakemore, *Understanding Utterances*, Oxford 1992.

convey explicitly and implicitly, but also concerning the scope to which they want to limit the hearer's extraction of implicatures. Similarly, Weizman²³¹ purports that indirectness is not only the question of a lack of transparency concerning the use of uncommon words or unclear deictic references, but also a lack of transparency that is precisely and intentionally applied by the speaker to put across a meaning which is somehow different from the utterance meaning. When a particular amount of information is not shared by both of the interlocutors an implicit stimulus will not be interpreted properly, even though, the hearer is able to locate the stimulus correctly in the implicit sub-continuum. Misunderstandings regarding faulty interpretation of idioms and metaphors also fit in this category.

4.4 Intentional and implicit verbal stimulus taken as explicit

In this case the hearer incorrectly locates the speaker's verbal stimulus in the explicit sub-continuum instead in the implicit sub-continuum. The following exchange will help to illustrate this type of misunderstanding.

A: Father Christmas was very generous this year.

B: Do you still believe in Father Christmas?

A: Of course I don't. Aunt Joan buys the presents.

A refers to aunt Joan as "Father Christmas", but B fails to recognise the implicature and interprets the utterance literally.

5. Anatomy of misunderstandings

The original study material comprised 20 interview excerpts, all containing various instances of misunderstanding situations, yet, for the purpose of the paper, only 6 excerpts were chosen. The examined material was collected in March and May 2011, however, the interviews come from different periods. Collection of the material was possible by using Google search advanced options. The search options allowed to use the engine as Google-based linguistic corpus.

²³¹ E. Weizman, *Requestive hints*, [In:] *Cross-cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*, (eds.) S. Blum-Kulka, J. House, G. Kasper, NJ 1989, p. 73.

The interviews were either a part of press, radio or TV publications. The material was chosen at random: the first 20 instances of misunderstandings found were included in the study. The main purpose of the investigation was to examine whether the approach proposed by Yus²³² is capable of fully explaining the occurrence of misunderstandings. The secondary aim of the study was to find whether the taxonomy provided by Yus²³³ could be applicable to all the cases of misunderstandings randomly found in media interviews. The number of the cases proved to be comprehensive enough to satisfy the both of the objectives and allow for further conclusions to be drawn.

5.1. Faulty interpretation of an intentional and explicit verbal stimulus

This example was found in a press interview with the singer and television presenter Louise Redknapp. The lead of the article mentions the fact that Redknapp was voted “the sexiest woman of the decade” by the readers of several style magazines. The singer’s beautiful physical appearance gives rise to a misunderstanding which is related to the use of the concept “naked”.

“The good thing about music,” she explains, rebuffing any all-talk-no-trousers accusations, “is that you can be someone else for three minutes. I mean, when I’m performing naked”. She sees the tabloid headlines flash before my eyes and restarts the sentence. “When I’m performing Naked, the song, it’s like three-and-a-half minutes of getting into character, and I like that – being able to change your image without changing as a person”²³⁴.

In this case the interviewer places the stimulus correctly in the explicit sub-continuum, but fails to perform the process of disambiguation. The hearer fills his interpretation with the encyclopaedic meaning of the concept “naked” (bare, not covered with clothes), while the singer, who probably presumes that the interviewer is conversant with her work, relates it to the title of her chart-topping single. Indeed, the interviewer is familiar with Louise’s achievements, but the view of seeing “the sexiest woman of the decade” naked seems to be

²³² F. Yus, op. cit., pp. 219–229.

²³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 229–236.

²³⁴ Source: <https://louise.brigatti.co.uk/sky1197.html> [access: 03.05.2011].

more appealing, and therefore more accessible assumption. The occurrence of this misunderstanding may also be explained with the notion of interpretation strategies²³⁵. In this case, the interviewer adopts the strategy of a “naïve optimist” who evidently trusts his interlocutor and considers Louise Redknapp competent and benevolent. He is certain that the relevance of the information can be found without unnecessary processing effort. While avoiding additional processing effort, the interviewer forgoes some background discursive data regarding the singer’s career, passes over disambiguation procedure and ends up with the interpretation which differs considerably from the intended one.

Another case of similar misunderstanding was found in ABC television interview with Sarah Palin, an American politician and commentator, former Governor of Alaska and the Republican Party nominee for Vice President in the 2008 presidential election. Palin is interviewed by Charles Gibson. The misunderstanding comes about when the interviewer asks Palin to refer to what he calls “the Bush doctrine”.

Gibson: Do you agree with the Bush doctrine?

Palin: In what respect, Charlie?

Gibson: The Bush – well, what do you interpret it to be?

Palin: His world view?

Gibson: No, the Bush doctrine, announced September 2002, before the Iraq War.

Palin: I believe that what President Bush has attempted to do is rid this world of Islamic extremism, terrorists who are hell-bent on destroying our nation. There have been blunders along the way, though. There have been mistakes made, and with new leadership, and that’s the beauty of American elections, of course, and democracy, is with new leadership comes opportunity to do things better.

Gibson: The Bush doctrine as I understand it is that we have the right of anticipatory self-defence, that we have the right to a pre-emptive strike against any country that we think is going to attack us. Do you agree with us?

Palin: Charlie, if there is legitimate and enough intelligent and legitimate evidence that tells us that a strike is imminent against American people, we have every right to defend our country²³⁶.

²³⁵ D. Sperber, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–198.

²³⁶ Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ibPV5XtxqQQ> [ED 03/05.2011].

The phrase “the Bush Doctrine” was first used by Charles Krauthammer to describe the Bush Administration’s withdrawals from the Kyoto Protocol and the ABM treaty. Initially, the phrase referred to the policy giving the United States the right to protect itself from countries that give shelter and aid to terrorist organisations, which was to justify the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. Since then it has been used extensively to denote various foreign policy principles of the former United States president George W. Bush. It has to be mentioned that this interview took place in 2008, when the troublesome phrase, which could initially be considered in terms of ad-hoc concept creation or metaphorical extension, had already become formalised through its widespread use in media. So by the time the interview was conducted, “the Bush doctrine” had been functioning as a fixed expression and, theoretically, Palin should not have encountered problems with recognising it as such. However, the exchange between the interlocutors suggests that Palin does have serious difficulties with the comprehension of the expression. Palin’s replies actually show a lack of understanding as described by Humphreys-Jones²³⁷: the hearer does not draw any assumptions from the proposition expressed. The interviewer, who takes a perverse amusement in embarrassing Palin, persuades her to define the term herself. Her guess is wrong and although this time Gibson mercifully gives her some clues, she still cannot figure the meaning out. Palins’ attempts suggest that she perceives “the Bush doctrine” as a sort of metaphor. Only when Gibson has provided a brief definition, Palin is able to arrive at the intended meaning. The reason for the occurrence of this misunderstanding is twofold. First of all, the interviewee’s encyclopaedic knowledge does not include the concept of “the Bush doctrine”: Possibly, she correctly presumes that the nature of this expression is explicit, however, the term is unknown to her so she draws common-sense implicatures. Secondly, the term is over-general, as it can relate to numerous issues connected with either principles of Bush’s foreign policy (if we consider the phrase to be a formal dictionary entry), or Bush’s views and beliefs in general (if we consider the phrase to be an ad hoc, occasion specific concept or a metaphor). In terms of the taxonomy proposed by Yus²³⁸, Palin supposes that the

²³⁷ C. Humphreys Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

²³⁸ F. Yus, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–236.

stimulus should be placed in the explicit sub-continuum, but she is unable to find its precise location within it. It is also worth pointing out, that the initial non-understanding could have easily evolved into successful communication, leaving out the misunderstanding stage, if only the interviewer had provided Palin with the definition.

5.2. Intentional and explicit verbal stimulus taken as implicit

The following misunderstanding was found in a press interview with Caroline Kennedy, the daughter of the U.S. President John F. Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, an attorney and an author. In 2008 Kennedy declared her interest in becoming a member of the United States Senate after Hillary Clinton had been appointed the Secretary of State. New York Governor, David Paterson was to choose the person to fill the vacant seat. As in the previous example, the cause of misunderstanding lies in extracting unnecessary implicatures.

New York Times: Let's talk a little bit about some of the other candidates who are interested in this job. Andrew Cuomo: he's been attorney general, he's been a cabinet secretary, he's been a close adviser to a governor. He has an extensive record and knows upstate like the back of his hand. Tell me why the governor should pick you over Andrew Cuomo.

Caroline Kennedy: I'm, you know, actually, Andrew Cuomo is someone I've known for many, many years and we've talked, you know, throughout this process, so, you know, we have a really good relationship and I admire the work he's doing now and what he's done, so I'm not really going to kind of criticize any of these other candidates, because I think there are a lot of people with great experience, and, you know, any one of which the governor could easily pick and they'd do a good job.

New York Times: I'm not asking you to criticize; I'm saying, why should he pick you over any of these other ones, what makes you the best candidate?

Caroline Kennedy: Well, it obviously depends what the governor is looking for²³⁹.

²³⁹ Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/28/nyregion/28kennedytranscript.html> [access: 03.05.2011].

As may be seen, the question why Kennedy should be chosen over Andrew Cuomo is posed in a fully explicit manner. Additionally, the interviewer mentions briefly Cuomo's advantages wanting Kennedy to present hers. However, Kennedy misreads the question and interprets the journalist's intentions as an incitement to criticise her competitor. Technically, the interviewee places the stimulus at the implicit end of the explicit/implicit continuum while the interpretation intended by the speaker requires locating the stimulus at the explicit end of the continuum. After Kennedy has expressed her unwillingness to criticise Cuomo, the journalist explains that he doesn't ask her to criticise her competitor and poses the same question. He also adds an additional leading question. Only then Kennedy is able to locate the stimulus correctly and she formulates her response again.

This case of misunderstanding was found in an interview with a Romanian supermodel, Silviu Tolu, done for "See Like Me" style website. The interview was conducted by Trey Taylor. Misunderstanding comes about from deriving an implicated conclusion which was not intended by the speaker, however, the case is more complex here and we believe it somehow falls outside the proposed taxonomy.

TT: Is there anyone you look up to? Somebody you take inspiration from, or want to be like?

ST: If you're thinking another model, nope. But I think, I take inspiration from everything I see around me, people, nature, objects.

TT: So no one person has had an effect on your life?

ST: I didn't mean that. At least, my parents definitely had an effect on my life. But you mean an idol, right?

TT: Yeah, sort of.

ST: Cause I mean, I told you, everything I see around me affects me in one way or another²⁴⁰.

The interviewer wants to know whether the model has an idol or someone who inspires him. Misunderstanding starts off with Tolu's reply, in which he reveals that there is no particular model that he looks up to, but he finds his inspiration in everyday life, people he

²⁴⁰ Source: <http://www.seelike.me/post/568626803/silviu-tolu-interview> [access: 28.04.2011]

meets, nature and objects that surround him. Although the meaning of the utterance is fully explicit, we may notice that it is still slightly understated, especially if we consider the question Tolu was asked. On the one hand, he says that no other model inspires him in his life, but on the other hand he does not disclose whether there are other particular individuals, not connected with modelling profession, that has influenced his life. It is probable that Taylor's expectations regarding a definite answer were not fulfilled therefore he derives an implication that no one has had an effect on Tolu's life. As it has been said in the previous part of the paper, many utterances have several possible explicit meanings and several possible implicit meanings, so the same stimulus can be both explicit and implicit. In case of this misunderstanding, it is clear that the interviewer correctly understood the explicit part of the message, but since the model's reply was incomplete, Taylor, in his search for relevance, resorted to extracting implicatures. Despite the fact that the implicated conclusion derived by Taylor was incorrect, we cannot say that the implicature was unnecessary. Tolu's next reply suggests that his previous utterance indeed had an implicit meaning which was "Many individuals, including my parents has had effect on me but I don't have an idol". Although the troublesome stimulus seems fully explicit, it is implicit at the same time, hence the interviewer places the stimulus correctly in the implicit sub-continuum, but fails to extract an implicature which was intended by the speaker. This misunderstanding could have easily been avoided if the interview had repeated his question in a modified way indicating he requires a yes/no answer (e.g. "So do you have an idol who inspires you?"), instead of deriving implications.

Although we place this misunderstanding within the second category of the proposed taxonomy, we believe that the description provided by Yus²⁴¹ has to be modified in order to explain this misunderstanding thoroughly. What is important here is that the stimulus the interviewer is exposed to is not only explicit and implicit at the same time, but the fact that information conveyed explicitly and implicitly is equally relevant to the hearer. If it is so, we cannot state the implications extracted by the interviewer are unnecessary, as they supplement the message conveyed explicitly with additional and relevant data.

²⁴¹ F. Yus, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–239.

5.3 Faulty interpretation of an intentional and implicit verbal stimulus

This case of misunderstanding is taken from an interview with the former UK prime minister, Gordon Brown. The interview was conducted by Piers Morgan and was aired on his ITV1 program „Life Stories”. Piers Morgan talks with his interviewee about his time at university and the misunderstanding occurs when Gordon Brown draws an implicature which was not intended by Piers. Only after the presenter have put the question across less implicitly, Gordon brown is able to arrive at the intended interpretation.

PM: “Were you a big boozier then?”

GB: “Drank a bit, yeah...”

PM: “What could you knock? In a big night what would you do?”

GB: “I don’t know, a few pints of beer, but it was only beer.”

PM: “It’s the late Sixties, you must have been knocking back...”

GB: “Probably half a dozen.”

PM: “And what about... I mean it was the Sixties. Know where I’m going here, Gordon?”

GB: “University in the Sixties was a very exciting place.”

PM: “Let me spell it out for you – there were a lot of narcotics washing around in universities.”

GB: “No, I’ve never touched cannabis. Never, never touched any hard drugs.”

PM: “Never inhaled, exhaled?”

GB: “Never... I’ve always hated drugs, I’ve always thought they’ve done huge damage to people.”²⁴²

The interviewee places the stimulus correctly in the implicit end of the explicit/implicit continuum but he is still not able to draw the intended implicated conclusion. When the interviewer emphasises the concept of “the Sixties” he is implicating the information that the Sixties are commonly associated with the widespread use of drugs. Perhaps, Gordon Brown does not share this knowledge, or more likely, since the conversation concerns university life, the scope to which the

²⁴² Source: <http://www.inthenews.co.uk/comment/news/politics/gordon-brown-itv1-interview-full-transcript-1359820.htm> [access: 28.04.2011].

interviewee should limit the extraction of implicatures is not allocated clearly enough for him to arrive at the intended interpretation. As the result, Gordon brown comes up with an implicated premise that universities in the Sixties were exciting places, while the intended interpretation is the question “Were you taking drugs while you were at university?”. The scope becomes more limited when the interviewer leads Gordon Brown towards the intended question saying that drugs were commonly used in the universities during the Sixties. Although this suggestion is still implicit, this time the interviewee arrives at the intended interpretation.

The following case of misunderstanding was found in ABC Television Australia interview with the philosopher, professor Peter Singer, the author of the controversial book entitled “Practical ethics”. The misunderstanding occurs when the interviewer, Andrew Denton, tries to summarize Singer’s statement in a form of a metaphor.

Andrew Denton: Welcome, Peter. Can we start at the beginning? What’s the difference between an ethic and a moral?

Peter Singer: A lot of people use the terms now so that they really don’t have a difference, but I think, in standard ideas, morality is a system of prohibitions, usually often something to do with sex or something like that, something that’s fun to do that you shouldn’t be doing. Ethics is a broader term that really covers the whole range of possible answers to questions, “how ought I to live?” So I think ethics is the broader thing that’s less focused on prohibitions and is more perhaps looking at principles and questions and ideas about how to live your life.

Andrew Denton: So, the moral is, you know, “Should I be doing this sexual act,” the ethic is, “Should I have been doing it with that person?”

Peter Singer: Well ... I think ... you know...

Andrew Denton: I’m just trying to give a metaphor here to get us kicked along.

Peter Singer: Oh, OK. Is it part of a good life? Let’s put it that way.²⁴³

²⁴³ Source: <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/enoughrope/transcripts/s1213309.htm> [access: 03.05.2011].

As might be seen, Singer has considerable problems with the interpretation of the interviewer's utterance: he strays and attempts to start his response several times. Denton notices the confusion his comment has stirred and explains his interviewee that his utterance has not been meant to be taken literally, but it has been sort of a metaphor. Only then Singer is able to locate the stimulus correctly and arrives at the intended meaning. Theoretically, at the beginning, the interviewee is not sure whether the stimulus should be located in the explicit or the implicit sub-continuum. However, Singer's attempts to comment on Denton's utterance suggest his hesitation, hence eventually the stimulus must have been recognised as implicit, but still he is not sure what implicated conclusion should be drawn. The most apparent cause of this misunderstanding lies in the change of register. Denton begins his interview with relatively serious question concerning the nature of applied ethics, but the follow-up remark may be considered as rather trite and trivial. This modification of register entails the shift inside the explicit/implicit continuum which hinders the interviewee from arriving at the intended interpretation.

5.4 Intentional and implicit verbal stimulus taken as explicit

The following case of misunderstanding was also found in ABC Television Australia interview with the Australian singer, Jimmy Barnes. The singer talks to Andrew Denton about his crazy life with the band the Angels in the Eighties and the circumstances of meeting his wife, Jane. The misunderstanding arises when Barnes uses a slang expression, which the interviewer interprets literally.

Jimmy Barnes: I was...it was in Canberra, and I went to a hotel. We were doing a show in the evening called 'Pooled Resources', which was a tour with Icehouse and the Angels and the Mentals. It was a great, great thing. And we were in Canberra, and we were staying at this hotel, and in the afternoon everybody's friends were around at the hotel, everybody's sort of having something to eat, and the Angels were, you know, throwing frisbees around and all that. Jane knew some of the Angels...her and her friends knew some of the Angels, and they were there...

Andrew Denton: Sounds like a garden party. All having something to eat and frisbees!

Jimmy Barnes: Did I say...? I mean doobies.

Andrew Denton: Oh, right, yes.²⁴⁴

While describing the party Barnes uses the phrase “throwing frisbees” which is a slang expression denoting smoking marijuana. The journalist notices that the party Barnes speaks of is a regular garden reception, not a mad, rock and roll bash he expected to hear about. Denton’s assumption stems from the fact that he relates “throwing frisbees” to a throw-and-catch game played with the use of a plastic disc called frisbee. This interpretation surprises the singer who realises that the expression he has used is confusing, so he replaces it with another slang expression “doobies”, which denotes a marijuana cigarette. This time the interviewer obtains the intended interpretation. As in the previous example, the misunderstanding occurs due to incorrect placement of the stimulus in the explicit sub-continuum, while the intended interpretation requires placing it within the implicit sub-continuum. Although the slang expression “throwing frisbees” might have been known to Denton, the context in which it appears leads to its literal interpretation.

The last case of misunderstanding was found in an interview with a former member of S Club 7 pop band, the British singer, Rachel Stevens. The interview was done for her fan website. The conversation goes about the singer’s single, entitled “Some Girls”. As in the examples above, this misunderstanding occurs when redundant implications are extracted by Stevens.

Interviewer: “Some girls” is quite rude, isn’t it?

Stevens: It is quite rude. When I asked Richard X, the producer, what it was all about, he went all coy and wouldn’t tell me.

Interviewer: It is about giving sexual favours in exchange for getting on in the business.

Stevens: Yes. I know where you’re going...

Interviewer: What?

Stevens: It isn’t something I’ve ever had to do. I’ve not heard

²⁴⁴ Source: <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/enoughrope/transcripts/s1218159.htm> [access: 03.05.2011].

of that going on personally, but I'm sure it happens all the time.

Interviewer: I'm not suggesting anything. That's just you and your dirty mind!²⁴⁵

If we take a closer look at this excerpt of the interview, we may actually notice that it includes not one, but two instances of misunderstanding fitting into two different categories of the proposed taxonomy. When the interviewer defines the lyrics of the song as rude, he probably does not expect a yes/no answer, but an account of the contents of the lyrics. If that is the case, the meaning behind the journalist's statement is highly implicit and Stevens fails to recognise it as such. In this circumstances, arriving at the intended meaning requires locating the stimulus within the implicit sub-continuum, however, the singer's response suggests that the stimulus has been located within the explicit sub-continuum. As may be noticed, the conversation is not disrupted by this misinterpretation yet. More apparent misunderstanding occurs when the interviewer comes up with the synopsis of the lyrics. Stevens agrees with the journalist's interpretation but she also suspects that he alleges her of doing the things she sings about in the song. The interviewer is surprised by this interpretation as probably he has still hoped for a response in which Stevens discusses the song thoroughly. This case is reverse to the prior one. Since the implicit stimulus has not succeeded, the journalist employs an explicit stimulus to provoke the chanteuse to discuss the lyrics. Also this attempt goes unsuccessful because instead of placing the stimulus in the explicit side of the explicit/implicit continuum Stevens places it on the implicit side and extracts redundant implicatures. This type of misunderstanding constitutes case four in the taxonomy.

6. Conclusion

Relevance theory is believed to provide explanation of comprehension procedures utilized in understanding various discourses and, as the study reveals, it may also be capable of explaining the cases when these comprehension procedures go wrong and communication fails.

²⁴⁵ Source: <http://www.rachelforever.com/interviews/3015> [access: 28.04.2011].

Although Sperber and Wilson²⁴⁶ suggest that “*failures in communication are to be expected: what is mysterious and requires explanation is not failure but success*” the mechanisms suggested by their theory can account for the fact that there are instances where utterances are understood unsuccessfully or that they may be understood in various ways and to various extents by different hearers.

The analysis of the study material suggests that availability and accessibility of the context in which the stimulus is relevant to the hearer, in the way that it is presumed by the speaker to be relevant to the hearer, can be the most important factors responsible for the occurrence of misunderstandings. Since the most accessible interpretation is the most relevant one, the responsibility for guiding the hearer flawlessly towards the intended meaning lies with the speaker and is based on inferencing. First of all, the speaker is required to use his conjecture to evaluate the cognitive abilities of the hearer and contextual resources which will be reflected in the manner of communication. These assumptions will also influence the choice of appropriate stimulus and will determine how much information can be conveyed explicitly and implicitly. A communicator who wants an utterance to be understood in a certain way must also predict whether his interlocutor will be able to supply an appropriate context in which the recovery of the interpretation is possible. On the hearer’s side, the organization of his encyclopaedic memory, but also the mental activities in which his processing memory is involved limit the set of prospective contexts from which the accurate context may be selected at any time. This suggests that factors such as pressure of time, weariness, complexity of vocabulary and structure may limit the ability to retrieve the context. Additionally, relevance theory assumes that there are multiple levels of comprehension with inference process required at both explicit and implicit level, which also increases the already high probability of misunderstanding occurrence. For those reasons it seems obvious why Lavín and Cruz²⁴⁷ describes communications as a “risky business” and Green²⁴⁸ calls it “an act of faith”.

²⁴⁶ D. Sperber, D. Wilson, op. cit., p. 45.

²⁴⁷ D. E. Lavín, V. B. Cruz, *Modern Pragmatics*, “Grice and Relevance Theory, Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses”, Vol. 26–27, 1993, p. 155.

²⁴⁸ G. Green, *Pragmatics and Natural Language Understanding*, Mahwah, New Jersey 1996, p. 1.

When it comes to the taxonomy proposed by Yus²⁴⁹, it is clear that it classifies misunderstandings only according to the placement of the stimulus within the proposed continua during the comprehension procedure, leaving out the mechanisms which determine such a placement. The study material suggests that the cognitive reasons for the incidence of misunderstandings may be fourfold:

The context for locating the stimulus in the way intended by the communicator is unavailable. Although such cases may end up with non-understanding, in many instances the relevance-driven mechanism guides the hearer towards other contexts which may seemingly appear to be the context intended by the speaker. For that reason communication breakdown is avoided.

The context for locating the stimulus in a way intended by the speaker is available, but it is not accessible in the given circumstances. In this case the hearer unconsciously places the stimulus in another available and most accessible context.

The context for locating the stimulus in the way intended by the speaker is available and accessible, however, it is not the most accessible one. In this case, the discursive and encyclopaedic knowledge, but also the mental activities in which the processing memory of the hearer is engaged, suggest the hearer a context that is not intended by the speaker.

There are several available and seemingly equally accessible contexts which the hearer presumes to be intended by the speaker. The hesitation over the choice of the context is manifested in the request for additional data.

Incorporating these reasons to the taxonomy would make it more complicated, however, we believe, it would be more useful, for example, in studies over artificial intelligence.

On the other hand, not all the instances of misunderstanding can fit within the existing taxonomy. The economical effort/effect idea of communication proposed by the relevance theory assumes the existence of situations where a single utterance produced by the communicator conveys at least two different pieces of information: one requires recovery at the explicit level and the other requires recovery at the implicit level, both are intended by the communicator and both are presumed by the communicator to carry some relevance to the

²⁴⁹ F. Yus, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–236.

hearer. There are three potential cases of misunderstandings that may arise from such a situation:

- The explicit part of the message is recovered in the way intended by the speaker, but the implicatures drawn by the hearer differ considerably from the implicatures the speaker expected the hearer to draw.
- The hearer arrives at the implicated premise intended by the speaker, but fails to recognise the information conveyed explicitly in the way intended by the speaker.
- The hearer's interpretation fails simultaneously at the explicit and implicit levels. Both interpretations differ considerably from the interpretations intended by the speaker.

The resulting situation leaves us with the possibility of analysing the same incidence of misunderstanding in terms of two classes proposed by Yus²⁵⁰. However, such a solution requires introducing some significant modifications to the descriptions provided and, in our opinion, causes unnecessary ambiguity which renders the taxonomy imprecise. In order to maintain the precision and complexity of the taxonomy, incorporation of the cases mentioned above should be considered.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

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Film Adaptations of Literary Works as Compressed Multimedia Messages

A few words of introduction

Before we pass on to the subject proper, let us propose a hypothesis to validate our further reflection. The proposition is as follows: a film adaptation of a piece of literature is a form of compression of this work within the social space; in a new, secondary, multimedia and synthesized format, it is a form adjusted to the new type of audience and the new conditions of information flow in the digital society.

The hypothesis is somewhat risky and requires painstaking efforts to be proved, because both media products – a literary work written on paper (meant to be read or listened to) and a film (chiefly meant to be watched) – are not equivalent at all as media messages. They share more differences than similarities. And a comparative research requires, after all, comparable data.

However, there is one common feature which provides a solid and multi-layered foundation for comparisons in the subject area of our choice: *how much time we spend indulging in a work of art*. It is this feature that allows us to treat film adaptation as compressed form of literary work. There is also one more aspect which reinforces the effect of the main feature, namely *time saturation* – ultimately meant to condense the audience's emotional experience. This can be accomplished by a simultaneous use of multiple codes.

Therefore, the above hypothesis assumes the following dual dimension:

- 1) *shorter time spent with a literary piece;*

2) *saturation of the time* by multiplying the number of channels through which the viewer's sensitivity can be reached.

The second dimension appears to be obvious in the light of a principle of psychology and perception, according to which the more information channels are in operation, the greater the chance that the information will be perceived and remembered. And also the faster is the process. This aspect will be discussed later. What needs to be explained and substantiated now is the first dimension, i.e. the shorter time spent with the work.

This part of the hypothesis involves the belief that a film is a time shortcut vis-à-vis a book; we will spend less time watching a film than reading its literary original, thus we save time by doing so. For a long time, the volume of the time saved was indefinable, as nobody would read a book with a stopwatch or look at their watch to measure how long it took to read the book, as this would serve no purpose at all. It was only the digital age that introduced – and then enforced – the obligation to give the duration of all marketed media products recorded on electronic carriers. Today, the determination of the duration of any recording is child's play, because each of them contains information about the time – to an accuracy of one second, be it a book read by an actor, interpretation of a piece of music, or film screening.

However, the most interesting aspect of our hypothesis is to answer the question how this compression (i.e. the screening of a book) was conducted, what kind of decisions and strategies it involved, at what cultural cost and, finally, what ultimate communication effect it achieved.

Challenges of screen adaptation

Every filmmaker beginning work on a chosen literary work is faced with a number of questions. What has to be changed? What can be omitted? What should be added? What may be abridged? How should accents be distributed throughout the structure of the work? How far can you interfere in the delicate matter of the literary work with the changes? Where are the boundaries and what draws them? Which boundaries can be crossed, and which must not be trans-

gressed? What in the work of art is absolutely inviolable?... The answers to these questions are accompanied by a number of measures taken to translate the code of the written language into the code of cinematic idiom.

Screen adaptations – success stories and failures, ‘right’ and ‘wrong’
in terms of communication

If a literary work is filmed by a highly experienced director, with a feel for cinematic idiom and the skill of selecting a professional crew, then we get an excellent, artistically refined film. Such films soon start to live the lives of their own, winning praise of the media and receiving film awards and distinctions. Internationally acclaimed adaptation hits include films like *Gone with the Wind* (USA 1939), *War and Peace* (USA 1954) or *Doctor Zhivago* (USA 1965), or more contemporary adaptations of the *Harry Potter* series. As far as the Polish cinema is concerned, *Krzyżacy [Knights of the Teutonic Order]* (1960) had a viewership of 32.3 million,²⁵¹ succeeded by *Potop [The Deluge]* (1974), running close with 27.6 million viewers.

The history of cinema shows that screen adaptations may often become more popular than their respectable literary predecessors. This was the case with the film *The Guns of Navarone*²⁵² (UK/USA, 1961).

But the reverse may happen, too. Even if the director is competent, shoots a good adaptation, makes decisions consistent with the cinematic idiom, but fails to satisfy the viewers’ tastes, the film ultimately becomes a failure, anyway. Simply because the viewers may have had various preconceived ideas about the film, or their communication habits were different from what the director believed them to be. Sometimes even master filmmakers lose to the audience, for example Jerzy Kawalerowicz in his screening of Henryk Sienkiewicz’s novel *Quo Vadis*, who clashed with a religious reception of the content, or Sergei Bondarchuk, a Soviet director, whose adaptation of Leo Tolstoy’s *War and Peace* chained cinema audiences to their chairs for 431 minutes!²⁵³

²⁵¹ A figure no Polish film has achieved ever since.

²⁵² Based on the novel by Alistair MacLean.

²⁵³ Which, even in 1960s, was the abuse of the viewers’ patience.

Screen adaptations of literature – a significant trend in the cinema

The world cinema uses two sources of texts: 1) screenplays specially written for a film, and 2) literary works.

Adaptations of pieces of literature for the film is a significant trend in the world cinema. It started very early, in the silent cinema era, but a real boom in such productions was in the 1920s and 1930s. Unforgettable adaptations were created then, based on novels like *Anna Karenina* by Leo Tolstoy (USA, 1927 and 1935), or *Gone with the Wind* by Margaret Mitchell (USA, 1939).

This trend has survived until today, constituting an inexhaustible source of texts for the cinema.

In his review, Dominik Kubacki says that among literary works *there are evergreens which, despite the passage of time, are popular with younger and younger generations. One of them is most certainly Jane Austen's "Pride and Prejudice" which has already been screened [...] ten times [...]. The latest adaptation of the nearly 200-year-old book was made in [2005], gained popularity all over the world and won as many as four Academy Award nominations.*²⁵⁴ A love story of all times, i.e. *Romeo and Juliet*, is a timeless hit of film adaptation.

In the English-language Wikipedia, the internet user can find a list of 40 direct film adaptations of the drama, and even longer lists of other adaptations (sic!).²⁵⁵ It is worth noting that the first adaptation was made as early as in 1908, i.e. at the dawn of cinematic art.

With time, cinema ceased to play an ancillary role towards literature and started to impose its own requirements related to the cinematic idiom, not to mention the audience's expectations. Writers today often write their books with future screenings in mind. This is done, for example, by American female authors writing for women readers.²⁵⁶ The most eminent example of the tendency, however, is a series of books about Harry Potter by Joanne Kath-

²⁵⁴ cf. Dominik Kubacki's review <http://www.filmweb.pl/Duma.I.Uprzedzenie>, written on 19.06.2006, [access: 15.06.2015].

²⁵⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romeo_and_Juliet [access: 15.06.2015].

²⁵⁶ E.g. Danielle Steel or Nora Johnson; their earlier books were published in millions of copies and then screened; they write their further books with future screening in mind.

leen Rowling. Although the initial volume of the cycle was written with the reader in mind (and meant for reading), the stunning success of the film versions resulted in a complete reversal of media priorities and the composition of subsequent volumes with regard to future filming.

Polish cinematic art also has an ample resource of adaptations of literary works. This contains top-of-the-range literature written by authors from the Polish cultural pantheon as well as pieces of lesser popularity, but equal value, and even those which, although scorned by critics, gained considerable popularity and readership at one time, leading to their screening.

Below is a list of best known Polish books made into films. This shows that filmmakers dealt with many books even before World War II, and then returned to them in more recent times. Some literary works were so potent for media that were filmed two, three or even four times. Most recently, the film version for the cinemas was supplemented with a version for the TV.

List 1: Film adaptations of literary works:

Potop [The Deluge] (by Henryk Sienkiewicz) – 4 times (1912, 1915, 1973–4²⁵⁷, 2014)

Szatan z siódmej klasy [The Devilish Seventh-Grader] (by Kornel Makuszyński) – 3 times (1939, 1960, 2006 + TV series 2006)

Tredowata [The Leper] (by Helena Mniszkówna) – 3 times (1926²⁵⁸, 1936, 1976 + TV series)

Ziemia obiecana [The Promised Land] (by Władysław Reymont) – 3 times (1927²⁵⁹, 1974 + TV series 1978, 2000²⁶⁰, 2012²⁶¹)

Wierna rzeka [The Faithful River] (by Stefan Żeromski) – 2 times (1936, 1983)

W pustyni i w puszczy [In Desert and Wilderness] (by Sienkiewicz) – 2 times (1973, 2001 + 2 TV series 1974 and 2001)

Pan Tadeusz (by Adam Mickiewicz) – 2 times (1928, 1999)

²⁵⁷ Pan Wołodyjowski – adaptation in 1969.

²⁵⁸ silent film, not preserved.

²⁵⁹ silent film, not preserved.

²⁶⁰ re-editing and first showing of the version.

²⁶¹ digital reconstruction and first showing.

Kariera Nikodema Dyzmy [*The Career of Nikodem Dyzma*] (by Tadeusz Dolega-Mostowicz) – 3 times (1937, 1956, 2001)
Znachor [*The Healer*] (by Dolega-Mostowicz) – 2 times (1937–8, 1981)

The same applies to writers when viewed in terms of how often their books were filmed. Those most popular with the filmmakers include the great masters of Polish literary tradition – Mickiewicz, Sienkiewicz, Zeromski, which is natural from the point of view of the mission of public media. However, the record-holder of film adaptations in the Polish cinema is Dolega-Mostowicz, a pre-war writer. Most of his novels²⁶² were filmed not only in his time, but also after World War II.

Cinematic potentialities of literature – difficulties of adaptation

Not all literary genres can be made into films with equal ease. Novels and (short) stories cause relatively little problem, thanks to clear narrative, sequential events and colourful language. And because they are written in prose. In this situation, the compression is fairly simple – the director makes cuts. Much more challenging for the filmmakers are literary works containing an aspect that is not cinematic at all. Pieces written in verse (like *Pan Tadeusz*) are hard to film, because poetry is not everyday language. So are works with a plot confined to a single location (like *Wesele*), because watching the same interior for a long time inevitably carries the risk of monotony. Then, there are pieces in many volumes (like *Potop*) because of the far-reaching plot compression, which may render the work shallow. Literary pieces with lengthy dialogues should be mentioned, too (e.g., *Dziady* [*Forefathers' Eve*] by Mickiewicz), as there is hardly anything cinematic in talking heads, as well as those set in the distant past (e.g., *Stara basn* [*An Ancient Tale*] by Jozef Ignacy Kraszewski) because the language of the characters sounds peculiar and the customs and traditions look bizarre. The difficulty of transformation may sometimes be deep-hidden in a piece considered to be cinematic and materialise only during the filming process.

²⁶² e.g., *Doktor Wilczur*, *Doktor Murek*, *Kariera Nikodema Dyzmy*, *Pamiętnik pani Hanki*.

The latter may be exemplified by the filming of *Quo Vadis* (2001) by Jerzy Kawalerowicz. Sienkiewicz's primary goal in writing the book was to describe the fortunes of early Christians in the decadent Rome and he reached it with the language of the text, of course. But was the goal equally easy to reach with the language of the cinema? To answer the question, we must recall the sharp visual contrast between the cultures of the ruling elites of contemporary Rome and of the Christians. The former was highly refined both at a macro-level (e.g., architecture) and at the micro-level (luxury items of every-day use), so it was radiant with colours, sophisticated beauty and richness; the latter was clad in rags and the events connected with it took place in caverns and hideous mud huts, in which the Christians sought refuge, so it was an emanation of poverty and ugliness. So in terms of media language, it was visually much less attractive. Therefore, satisfying the requirements of the cinematic language, Kawalerowicz shifted the focal point towards visuality, i.e., showing Rome in all its lavish splendour and leaving the gray world of the protagonist (the Christians) in the shade. And although he conformed to the rules of the cinematic language, he was met with strong censure from film critics and indignation of some of the viewers.

Another difficulty, inherently connected with cinematic visuality, is what the characters look like. The text of a book, despite the descriptions of the characters' appearance, leaves a lot of room for the reader's imagination. None is left on the screen. When Andrzej Wajda was preparing for the film version of *Pan Tadeusz*, he asked the public a question, "What did Zosia look like?" This provoked stormy debates in the media and among Poles, while legions of Polish females appeared for the casting – slim, less slim and really obese; short, medium-tall and really tall; with fair, brown or black hair, straight or curly; romantic or intellectual; teenage girls and women in their forties (sic!)...²⁶³

The final effect of the screening can be credited to many specialists; members of the film crew, notably the director, cameramen, editors, sound engineers, make-up artists... They all put their talents and skills into the complex task. A single-medium message becomes a multi-media and multi-channel message of image, sound, motion and text.

²⁶³ The casting was won by the candidate with most of the characteristics mentioned by respondents: Alicja Bachleda-Curuś.

Compared with its book original, the cinematic story told with picture and sound is very short indeed, but very condensed. And better-suited for modern times.

The nuts and bolts of film adaptation

The nature of changes

Let us now ponder the question of what are the mechanisms of changes and how they work. How do filmmakers adapting a literary piece work? What do they abridge, delete and how much, if at all, do they change the character of the piece? What ultimate effect do they achieve? Let us reassemble the answers they gave to the previously asked questions relating to the change of the language of text to the language of cinema. In the case of at least two films,²⁶⁴ we are going to be assisted by Andrzej Werner, a long-standing explorer of the cinema and the author of the book, *To jest kino [This Is Cinema]*.²⁶⁵ His special interest is in the relations between cinema and literature. In the book, he has devoted separate, valuable essays to the issue of film adaptation of selected literary works.²⁶⁶ He believes cinema has its own, distinctive language, with its specific grammar and film adaptation of literary works should be viewed as a process of translation from one language to another. A film, in his opinion, is told primarily in the language of images. Therefore, *a plot transferred from literature may only be a framework, on which a picture tale is stretched*. (Werner A., *To jest kino...* p. 43). Let us say that looking at it from the communication perspective, we fully agree.

Let us now have a close-up of the process of adaptation presented by two films, *Przedwiosnie* by Filip Bajon and *Wesele* by Wajda. We

²⁶⁴ i.e., “Przedwiosnie” and “Wesele”.

²⁶⁵ Andrzej Werner *To jest kino*, Warsaw 1999.

²⁶⁶ Other studies devoted to film adaptation of literary work deserve to be recommended, too, e.g., *Arcydzieła literatury polskiej. Adaptacje*. Vol. III, edited by S. Grzeszczuk, A. Niewolak-Krzywda, Rzeszow 1990; *Film i literatura*, by W. Wierzewski, Warsaw 1983; *Żeglowanie po filmie* by M. Jakubowska, Rabid, Cracow 2006, or the constantly valid essay by R. Ingarden *Kilka uwag o sztuce filmowej*, 1946 [In:] *Estetyka i film*, Warsaw 1972.

will leave other literary works to describe the processes of reconstruction and digitisation a little later.

Filip Bajon and Zeromski's "Przedwiosnie"

In the film version of *Przedwiosnie*, Bajon has retained many of the plots from the novel (war, love, crossroads of ideals), but none of them is fully consistent with the book plots; all have undergone lesser or greater modification. Bajon has highlighted the motif of adventure, in this way making the young his target audience. The chain of events is swift in the film, a lot is happening – often concurrently, and the love thread has been extended (becoming more important than in the novel). The greatly symbolic motif of glass houses (always present in Polish classes at school) has practically been bypassed, while the motif of revolution – of prime importance in the book – has been moved to the background. Bajon has also changed the end of the story, in a way which surprises the viewer familiar with the book. Instead of overcoming all the adversities, Cezary Baryka is shot from a handgun and dies. By introducing this change, the director stimulates additional reflection, updating the message of the film; Why has this happened? Is there no room in society for the young hero?

Andrzej Wajda and "Wesele" by Stanislaw Wyspiański

Wesele was a major challenge for Wajda and his crew. The drama is full of long dialogues, it is confined to a single, stuffy, closed room (the cottage at Bronowice near Cracow) and packed with fantastical figures (Wernyhora, the Straw Men) and their somnambulant dance. It is also packed with symbolic meanings, both evident and disguised, referring to the Polish ethos and its social dilemmas. Moreover, it is written in verse. A genuine narrative, cinematographic and intellectual tightrope walk for the director, extremely high expectations of the actors, the cameramen and the set designer combined with hermetic cultural content...

And yet, Dear Reader, Wajda made this seemingly uncinematic material into a genuine masterpiece, an outstanding film fully approved by the Polish audience. It also received a warm reception in France and an award at San Sebastian Film Festival.

How did he do it? To begin with, he made a series of cuts in the text of the drama (going further than directors putting it on stage did

before him) and shortened the lengthy dialogues, breaking some of them into smaller units and inserting additional scenes – interludes – between them. In doing so, however, he retained all the important threads and characters. Next, he cast the best Polish actors and actresses as the major characters, invited the cooperation of outstanding set designer and cameraman and commissioned an experienced composer to write the music. As far as set design is concerned, Wajda took the action out of the Bronowice cottage and moved it outdoors, to Bronowice and Cracow, where some of the action takes place outside St. Mary's Basilica. In this way, he put a prestigious, Cracow element into the film and gave the action more dynamic. All this resulted in large audiences and success with the media – quite surprising in the case of a dusty, old literary piece.

Andrzej Wajda and "Pan Tadeusz" by Mickiewicz

An even greater success with the media was the film version of *Pan Tadeusz*. The director owes it to a similar recipe, and the beautiful locations of Lithuania (and beautifully filmed, too). The difficult choices to make here were not about the number and the nature of cuts in the text, but about cinematographic care for the detail as well as about finding the right key to the text layer. The focal point for the actors and the actresses taking part in the project was non-verbal communication: the forceful gestural and facial expression and contrasting movements. In this way, they helped with the understanding of the difficult text. Wajda was successful in his operation on the text of the epic, i.e., freeing it from the straitjacket of verse and giving the word a feel of naturalness. And the role of music? The composer's mastery made it permeate the fabric of the film.²⁶⁷ As for the final polonaise, it has taken over from the once immortal polonaise by Michal Kleofas Oginski as school prom opener.

Compression endeavours

Indispensability of elisions

Let us now answer the question; To what extent, how far and in

²⁶⁷ Ennio Moricone claims that the best film music is when you do not hear it while watching the film. Something like this happened with Wajda's *Pan Tadeusz* thanks to Wojciech Kilar's mastery.

what way may film material be compressed in comparison with its literary original?

We need twofold information to compare the time parameter of contact with the work: 1/ the time spent reading the book; 2/ the time of screening the film. We now have a full set of data on films (even pre-World-War-Two oldies, digitally remastered and accessible on the Internet), but at the same time the data on books are incomplete – not all books have been digitised yet. We will, therefore make use of highly approximated but satisfactorily probable conclusion, namely that the showing of any film adaptation takes less time than the reading of its literary original.²⁶⁸ Perhaps with the exception, on the side of literature, of genres like short story, in which case the time spent with the work is reduced, and on the side of film adaptations, of serials meant for the TV, which increasingly often accompany film adaptations now and certainly extend the screening time. Let us focus on the information illustrating the type and the volume of elisions.

Types of compression

Extremely interesting compression examples are offered by film adaptations from the silent movie era. In the absence of sound, filmmakers had to devise other solutions than today. The 1928 *Pan Tadeusz* was based solely on image supported by a touch of text, the touch appearing occasionally in the form of quotes on the screen, ‘pushing forward’ the plot and helping with the understanding. One may resolutely claim that the main character of the film was non-verbal communication between the actors and the carefully arranged design set of the frames supporting communication.²⁶⁹ Similar means of expression were (out of necessity) employed in the American adaptation of *Anna Karenina* filmed in 1927. When the problem of sound recording, however, was resolved, world cinema immediately included it in the inventory of film techniques.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Cf. OnetFilm reviewer Dagmara Romanowska, who maintains that a film which would fully reflect the 900 pages of *Potop* would have to last twenty hours...

²⁶⁹ Those who wish to embark on this intriguing journey may see the film at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tya3ayutaxM.

²⁷⁰ Acting in the silent film required different means of expression than acting in the sound film. Silent movie actor and sound movie actor were

The notion of compression may be approached from various perspectives, not only the image vs. text alternative; the distribution of media proportions and priorities, the dosage of colour, but also as fidelity (or lack of fidelity) to the vision of the author of the book. The scale of fidelity may be an imaginary axis, the poles of which are 1/ total fidelity at one end and 2/ total departure from the chief idea of the literary work, at the other. A perfect example is provided by two film adaptations of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*: Frank Zeffirelli's (UK, Italy 1968) and Australian Baz Luhrman's (USA 1996). The former transferred Shakespeare's drama to the screen with utmost reverence, preserving the authenticity of the site (Verona), the time (Renaissance), set design (interiors and costumes) and the language.²⁷¹ The latter moved the story to modern times, into a multicultural environment of present-day pop culture. He saturated the film with TV and computer game ingredients and placed it between the conventions of a thriller and a musical. Zeffirelli won the hearts and minds of Shakespeare's connoisseurs, Luhrman – of the young, growing up with the new media, who may not have read the guy, Shakespeare, before.

Compression technique of today goes towards retaining the essential parts of the text and their emotional compaction. To this extent, the director's intent is assisted by digital technologies linked with sound and image processing, digital framing and, last but not least, by highly competent people: actors, set designers, cameramen, music composer and others, capable of making good use of the technologies.

The degree of compression

In the paragraphs above, we have been pondering the question *How?* In other words, how a successful adaptation is affected. Let us now focus on the quantitative aspect and search for the answer to *How much do filmmakers abridge a literary piece?*

nearly different professions. With the advent of sound, only few were able to shift to the new style of acting. The careers of most ended together with the silent movie era. The only one to take the challenge was Greta Garbo. After starring in silent *Anna Karenina* in 1927, she undertook the same part in the sound version of 1935.

²⁷¹ Zeffirelli's is considered to be one of the best film adaptations of the drama.

As Poland has a long tradition of filming literary output, let us first ask if post-war film directors make shorter adaptations than their pre-war colleagues. To put it differently, is it true that film shows are getting shorter and shorter, historically speaking?

A comparison of screening times of pre-war films with their present counterparts shows that this is not the case. The duration of an average film show oscillates around 90 minutes and has remained at this level since the emergence of cinema. This is because the length of a film show is affected by the concentration span of the viewer (While it is true that much shorter feature films are now produced,²⁷² the deviations do not interfere with the general rule).

Compression is conspicuous in subsequent adaptations of a film already made by the same director. Jerzy Hoffman's *Potop* filmed in 1974 was abridged twice after its release. The first time was in the 1990s, on the occasion of film conservation, the second time – when the film was converted to digital version in 2014. The former intervention was designed to protect the film against destruction and even though it was a matter of importance for the national culture, it received little coverage. Unlike the digitisation, which hit the headlines and made Polish public aware, that the old *Potop* had not only been revived, but re-emerged as a new film as well. The outcome was new quality of the old piece. Even the title was changed, to reflect the re-birth: *Potop Redivivus*...

Digital remastering – the extent of cuts

Jerzy Hoffman's *Potop Redivivus*

At first, let us quote film reviewer Dąmbara Romanowska of OnetFilm. She says: *In the history of Polish cinema, "Potop" takes pride of place. It is among top-scoring films in terms of audience figures – in cinemas it was watched by 27.5 million people, which is unattainable for a present-day film. /.../ Hoffman took as many as five years to prepare. /.../ The crew comprised a few hundred actors and production staff and a few thousand extras. /.../ This new "Potop" is still a captivating story, which meets all the rules of narrative art, /.../ "Potop Redivivus" crushes a statue and brings a legend to life /.../ it is also a piece of fantastic reconstruction work.*²⁷³

²⁷² e.g., *Bogowie* (2014 – short version 55:48),

²⁷³ (bold-typed by the reviewer); the whole text at: <http://film.onet.pl/recenzje/potop-redivivus-wielki-powrot-kmicica-recenzja/qpqz2>, [access: 04.12.2014].

And in terms of volume? Of the 316 minutes of the first version of *Potop*, nearly a half was cut out, leaving 185 minutes of film, which was later digitised. Hoffman himself was in favour of such radical abridgement, which was performed by editor Marcin Kot Bastkowski, in close cooperation with the director. The effect is a film for a modern viewer. The two gentlemen tell us how hazardous, yet fascinating the digital reconstruction job was, at:

<http://www.repozytorium.fn.org.pl/?q=pl/node/8408> [Access: 5.01.2014]

Wajda's *Ziemia obiecana*

The first cinema version of the film, dating from 1974, is 179 minutes long. The second cinema version, i.e., re-edition from 2000 – only 138 minutes. This suggests the film was made 41 minutes shorter, but as some previously absent scenes were transferred from the TV serial, the new version is effectively about 30 minutes shorter. On the occasion of feature film restoration, a TV series was made. Sound and image remastering was also performed.²⁷⁴

Cultural significance of film adaptation and digital reconstruction

We are going to take Poland as an example as film adaptations of literary works have been plentiful here and digital reconstruction of films started earlier than anywhere else.

The cultural significance for Poland of film adaptations and their digital reconstruction is difficult to overestimate.

Firstly, many film reels have, at the last moment, been salvaged from complete destruction; after being used in cinemas, they were committed to the shelves of frequently unsuitable, damp storerooms, where they remained for a long time. If the work had not been undertaken, we would, in the era of all-powerful media, paradoxically be deprived of the treasure of Polish film classics – a brand which for many years enjoyed high recognition and is still valued today. They would not have been saved.

Secondly, thanks to the digital reconstruction effort supported by re-editing, the films have resumed their media circulation in a form adjusted to the expectations of present-day audiences. With their tempo, content saturation and condensation of emotions, they are ef-

²⁷⁴ Source: <http://filmpolski.pl/fp/index.php?film=12101>. [access: 04.12.2014].

fective in capturing the attention of the viewers, whatever their age. The technical quality of digital copies is up to the highest standards;²⁷⁵ reconstruction experts have been able to restore the palette of colours originally planned by the cinematographers and transcripts in foreign languages have also been provided for.

And thirdly, the remastered films are now distributed in many of the formats a digital society may require, like

- cinema formats, to be shown in cinemas;
- HD television formats, and
- on DVD and Blue-ray discs;
- the films are also accessible on the Internet, within the *Kino klasyka* series.

Reconstruction efforts have become more systematic since the establishment of Cyfrowe Repozytorium Filmowe in 2008. The CRF performs reconstruction of Polish feature films, documentaries and animated films and also ensures their safe archiving and distribution. Until 2016, about 180 films were saved from destruction and their distribution resumed. CRF catalogue has been in operation since 2010, in which films are filed after their digital reconstruction.

Summary

It is absolutely legitimate to say in conclusion that present-day attempts at film adaptation of outstanding works of literature, coupled with re-editing and digital reconstruction:

firstly, are fully within the realm of new media, because of both the content and the methods of its processing;

secondly, constitute their typical, characteristic (as highly compressed) media-attractive product, and

thirdly, as the typical and media-attractive product, they are successful within the global circulation of digital information.

²⁷⁵ eg., *Ziemia obiecana* – sound encoded in 5.1 system, image in 1,68:1 format.



Politics



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Phenomena of “Hromadske TV” - internet television - Ukrainian revolution -public service media.

Introduction

Divagations on the role of media in a conflict should start from an analysis of its influence on social and nationalistic movements. This is an interdisciplinary approach because media influence is a topic of interest of many disciplines in the area of social science and humanities. Lyrics of a famous song by Gil Scott-Heron “The Revolution Not Be Televised”(1967/70) paradoxically indicated something completely opposite. The author of this protest-song presented television as a media of passive, Western and consumptive culture. On the other hand, though, it was in those times that it became clear how much protests, social movements and revolutions needed media to win favour with the general public. The role of media in a protests and social movements has been known since the Ancient times but the development of the audio-visual media in the second half of the 20th century has radically changed the political discourse. The development of television changed political communication and forced politicians to take actions aimed at adjusting to the requirements of society which had been influenced by television. The supremacy of television in the 20th century constituted one of the factors in the development of social movements in the West in those times. It is worth mentioning the pacifist, women rights or environmental movements. These movements impacted on the shape of western society, not only on its conscious but also on political culture, values, the law and so

on. However, the role of media in such situations or during a revolution is much more complex. It is worth taking into consideration the relationship between the media and individual actors of the protest. Media are shaping public opinion in their reception of the revolution or a social movement. They are motivating actions and also interpreting the political and social situation. They define social movements goals and tasks for public opinion. It is worth adding that journalists and media workers also get involved in protests, they stand on one side because in such situation one cannot remain passive.

It is worth noting that, in times of traditional television, public broadcasters performed functions of communication platforms for new social movements.²⁷⁶ It is inscribed in the ethos of the public service and it is an essential element of the obligations of public broadcaster in various media systems. Of course, in closed systems media could not fulfill this function until the technological revolution. Burma was the first thoroughly analyzed case when new media became a platform for opposition activities and helped to change the system. This case was analyzed fully by Tiffany Dantiz and Warren P. Strobel.²⁷⁷

The role of media in a social movement

Let's focus on the well-served concept formulated by Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge that negative information is the most popular in the mass media. Paradoxically, negative information is easier to report due to the relative ease of interpretation. People identify more willingly with negative information. Negative information is also more unpredictable in continuation than positive and as a result they are more attractive from the journalist's point of view.²⁷⁸ It is also significant that the research by Norwegian scientists referred to conflict and crisis situations.

²⁷⁶ J. Blumer, *Public Service Broadcasting Before the Commercial Deluge*, J. Blumer, (eds.) "Television and The Public Interest". London 1992, pp. 7–21.

²⁷⁷ T. Dantiz, W.P. Strobel, *Networking Dissent: Cyber Activists Use the Internet to Promote Democracy in Burma*, https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1382/MR1382.ch5.pdf, [access: 20.01.2016] pp. 129–169.

²⁷⁸ J.Galtung, M. Ruge, *Structuring and selecting news*, S. Cohen and J. Young (eds.) *The manufacture of news. Social problems, deviance and the mass media*, London 1981, pp. 53–61.

The classic concept of Galtung and Ruge was developed and modernised by Tony Harcup and Deirdre O’Neill by slightly modifying factors which make news out of an event.²⁷⁹

They isolate the following factors that determine an event becoming the news:

1. THE POWER OF THE ELITE – the event concerns opinion-forming people, institutions and organisations.
2. CELEBRITY – the story concerns contemporary famous people.
3. ENTERTAINMENT – the story concerns show-business, animals, sex and it has entertainment or humorous elements.
4. SURPRISE – in the story the first place take unexpected or contrasting elements.
5. BAD NEWS – stories concerning a conflict, a war or a tragedy.
6. GOOD NEWS – stories connected with a positive element and also with a positive ending of a conflict.
7. MAGNITUDE – stories that can trigger a reaction of a large group of people.
8. RELEVANCE – stories concerning issues and groups connected with the public.
9. FOLLOW-UP – stories concerning issues raised before, complementary to them.
10. NEWSPAPER AGENDA – stories that relate to the program line of a magazine or another medium.

The concept presented above can also be used in analysis of media in the case of a conflict because it was originally formulated with reference to conflict, but I think it is also possible according to contemporary social movements. Of course, it underwent deep criticism and in journalist practices appear information which in no way can be connected with Galtung and Ruge’s hypothesis.

Social media and the Internet constitute a very important sector for social movements, revolution in the context of self-organisation. On the one hand, the Internet media can be used to attract public opinion, but on the other hand they have more autonomy than traditional media. In the first two decades of our century we can observe an increase in the significance of Internet media, especially social networks.

²⁷⁹ T. Harcup, D. O’Neill D, *What is News? Galtung and Ruge revisited*, “Journalism studies”, Vol. 2/2, 2009, pp. 261–280.

It is important to note that currently protests participants can shape information about it themselves. As Ralph Negrine notes they are no longer passive recipients, but have an opportunity to actively influence the report or create and broadcast it themselves.²⁸⁰ Modern coverage from a protest is conditioned by the increase of popularity of Internet media, difficulties of traditional media and audience fragmentation. Moreover, Negrine notes that everyone who undertakes revolutionary actions is still dependant on traditional media and is subject to the law of a given country.²⁸¹ He also points out that possibilities of modern media are not always used by the actors of a protest.

New technologies create new opportunities for the actors of a conflict, which were not available in the times when other forms of communication were dominant. Social movement can today have a looser organisation. Leadership of movements mediated by the Internet is often dispersed and undetermined. They have an opportunity to operate on a local level as well as on a global scale; they can undergo an immediate transformation depending on circumstances. Supranational availability of information and its speed enable taking immediate actions within an organisation. Social media support or even create modern revolutions and they are also the source of actions, constitute chain links which connects people into a network. Very often, as I mentioned above, in contemporary movement and revolutions there is a lack of one-man leadership, centre but there are numerous centres and groups connected by a network. This is called polycentric communication network. New media are the element that bonds the movement. Forming relationships regardless of time and space allows revolution participants, at the moment of protest, combine the desire to be together with new identity (defined by Internet media) with the strength of the protest. The strength of the protest is manifested in social support and this support is measured in the media by its popularity. In the case of Internet media it will be restricted to the network users, regardless of the carrier.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ R. Negrine R. *Demonstration, protest and communication. Changing media landscapes – changing media practices?*, K. Fehlenbrach, E. Sversten, R. Werenskjold (eds.) *Media and Revolt. Strategies and performances from the 1960s to the present*, Oxford 2014, pp. 59–74.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.74.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

In this place, another important aspect appears – currently we are witnessing the increase in significance of civic initiatives, grass-roots in Internet media. Currently, individuals have, incomparable with previous times, influence on the media content and have at their disposal new creative and communicative possibilities. The user becomes broadcaster. This phenomenon is determined by the notion of networked public culture.²⁸³ Networked public culture concerns individual messages, which thanks to the nature of modern media make their way to mainstream Internet to impact on the audience and stimulate mass imagination. The environment of modern media constitutes a rather complicated organism that consists of individual and group actions, which shape us as audience, users and consumers. Actions on the macro-system and macro-individual level are reflected on the net. They cross, co-exist with each other and permeate on all levels. Modern digital technologies offer a wide range of tools to coordinate and direct people, who are often dispersed, even on different continents. Nowadays, it is much easier than twenty years ago to organise a protest on a mass scale, coordinate public actions and activities and publicise alternative information. Digital technologies impact on modern protest in the following way:

1. Net technologies with all their tools allow coordinating great, loose social structures regardless of time and space.
2. Net space also allows social movement or revolution present itself, the net can become space of the protest.
3. Social media provide numerous possibilities of actions for revolution, from an average participant to its leaders.²⁸⁴

A separate group of people was formed who support not one, but various social movements and revolutions by its activities on the net or technical skills. These Internet activists teach movements participants how to avoid obstacles placed there by the authorities, familiarise them with technical tools, and often even supply them.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ Rossi L., and G. B. Artieri. *Cyberprotest. Protest in digital Age?* [In:] K. Fehlenbrach, E. Sversten, R. Werenskjold (eds.) *Media and Revolt. Strategies and performances from the 1960s to the present*, Oxford 2014, CA: Berghan, pp. 336–360.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

²⁸⁵ E. Schmidt, J. Cohen, *The new digital age. Reshaping the future of people, nations and business*, London, 2013, p. 128.

It seems that the development of Internet media carries only positive aspects, as I mentioned earlier, it enables social mobilisation and creates new communication platforms. However, on the other hand, as I said above, modern social movements have looser structure and decentralised leadership.²⁸⁶ This may result in serious consequences. First of all, lack of leaders does not signify the egalitarianism of the movement but it means that modern revolutions rather concentrate on fighting than on economic plans or political programs. What is more, network mediated social movement often mobilise for common actions organisations that are completely different with regard to their programs. A problem appears when the protest is coming to an end. Arab Spring had similar structure of a “revolution” without leaders. Lack of leadership is connected with program weakness of the protests mediated by the mass media. Those who became stars of the movements are not always able to bear the consequences for the “to be continued” part. Net leaders rather do not enter into public life after the protest is finished, they don’t have the skills, willingness or simply realistic social legitimisation. As Mahomud Saled wrote, an Egyptian blogger and an Arab Spring activist:

“If you are revolutionary, show us your capabilities. Start something. Join a party. Build an institution. Solve a real problem. Do something except running around from demonstration to march to sit-in. This is not street work: real street work means moving the street, not moving in the street. Real street work means that the street you live in knows you and trusts you, and will move with you.”²⁸⁷

Thanks to the development of new media a role of a journalist has also changed. It does not mean that a journalist no longer plays the role of a gatekeeper in his/her everyday work. The way of working has changed.²⁸⁸ The nature of modern media requires the most up-to-date news, which should be dramatic in agreement with public expectations.²⁸⁹ There appear concepts of reporting military conflicts like

²⁸⁶ J. Nowak, *Kryzys, protest i social media, Nowe media narzedziem organizacji protestow spolecznych*, I. Hoffman, D. Kępa-Figura (eds.) *Wspolczesne media. Kryzys w mediach*, Vol. II, Lublin 2012, pp. 131–148.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

²⁸⁸ S. Allan, *Newsy w sieci*, Kraków 2008, p. 48.

²⁸⁹ S. Cottle, *Journalists witnessing disaster*. “Journalism Studies”, Vol. 14/2/2013, pp. 232–248.

a television show, full of drama, action turns and unexpected solutions. The nature of the net does not interfere with it.²⁹⁰

On the other hand, though, publicising information by means of the Net is unlimited when it comes to the size and amount of the news or source availability. They are connected by disparate types of media, publicised news merge horizontally and vertically on levels from local to global ones.²⁹¹ Undoubtedly, changes in publicising information connected with the development of the Net in journalism are: possibilities of unlimited and easy access to a great number of materials and opportunity to update materials already existing on the Internet. The advantage of the Net is also enabling recipient to have a wider choice and richer content.²⁹²

All the elements which we mentioned before can be identified by presenting the Ukrainian social movement 2013–2014. The role of social media in this protest is unquestionable. However, we would like to picture another aspect of the protest whose important element constitutes Hromadske TV, a civic internet station which appeared in the media mainstream. It is impossible to understand all phenomena characterised in this text without anchoring them in Ukrainian television system.

Television in Ukraine – public service media?

Taking into account the transformation of Ukraine’s political system, in the context of shaping contemporary television one can distinguish several stages of the transformation:

1. 1989–1991 – freedom of speech time as part of liberalisation of Soviet system;
2. 1992–1994 – enacting institutional-legal basis regulating market functioning and economic crisis;
3. 1994–1998 – media market revival and beginning of restricting freedom of speech;

²⁹⁰ S. Cottle, *Reporting demonstrations: The changing media politics of dissent*. “Media, Culture & Society”, Vol. 30(6)/ 2008, pp. 853–872.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Reporting demonstrations: The changing media politics of dissent *Ibid.*, pp. 853–872.

²⁹² J. Van Dijk, *Users like you? Theorizing agency in user-generated content*, “Media Culture & Society”, Vol. 31(1), 2009, pp. 41–58.

4. 1998–2004 – oligarchisation of the media market and continuation of censorship; (Tymar,2009)????

5. 2004–2010 – attempts at returning freedom of speech on the wave of Orange Revolution;

6. 2010–2014 – freedom of speech restrictions connected with presidency of Wiktor Janukowicz, development of social media;

7. 2014 –transformation towards democratization.²⁹³

The functioning of Television in Ukraine is determined by the following acts: “On Television and Radio Broadcasting” – 1993, “On the system of public Ukrainian radio broadcasting and television” – 1997, “On National Council for television and radio broadcasting”. Contrary to Poland, in Ukraine introduction of the Act “On Television and Radio Broadcasting” was not preceded by deep public debate. There are controversial provisions that state that parallel to established private ownership of media there remains government ownership of channels that have the greatest territorial range and most regional channels. This legal act did not lead to true democratisation of media in Ukraine because the political elites wanted media to remain in their area of influence. This was not changed by the Act passed in 1997 “On the system of public Ukrainian radio broadcasting and television” because it only remained as a dead provision as this act was never enacted and formation of real public television was postponed. We can state that the Ukraine carried out statutory changes of media ownership rather fast albeit ineffectively.²⁹⁴

Mainstream television in the Ukraine is in the private hands with the exception of Piervyj Nationalnyj (more then 75%). Situation is very changeable, we are presenting condition from 2014. In the hands of Dmytro Firtasz an oligarch and a politician connected with Janukowycz and Gazprom, is the Inter Group.

In turn, 1+1 Media Group (owner –Ighor Kołomojski) has a very interesting ownership structure. It is correlated with national television for which it produces some programmes. 1+1 Media Group is the owner of channels 1+1 and TET.

²⁹³ M. Ratajczak, W. Baluk, *Media System of independent Ukraine*. [In:] Z. Oniszczyk, M. Gierula (eds.), *Malo znane systemy medialne*, Sosnowiec 2007, p. 134.

²⁹⁴ J. Palagniuk, *Specyfika reformowania rynku medialnego Ukrainy: Osiągnięcia, problemy I perspektyw*. „Rocznik Prasoznawczy 2008”, p. 40.

Another private broadcaster is Star Ligh Media Holding of Wiktor Pińczuk, an oligarch and a son-in-law of former president Leonid Kuczma that owns stations such as: ITCV, STB and Nowyj Kanal. The owner of “Ukraina” is Riniat Achmetov. An owner of Kanal 5 associated with the Orange Revolution movement of 2004 is Petro Proszczenko, the President of Ukraine, connected with Wiktor Juszczenko.²⁹⁵

Below, we present, the indicator the most watching channels in Ukraine and audience structure according to type of TV signal: analog, digital, cable or satellite.

Tab. 1. TV channels watching indicators for five months, 2015 (January – May)

		People of age 4+, all Ukraine	
		Rate, %	Quantity, %
Total	18,85	100,00	
OTHER	3,20	16,98	
Inter	2,51	13,36	
1+1	2,15	11,38	
Ukraina	1,80	9,53	
STB	1,42	7,51	
ICTV	1,37	7,25	
New channel	0,91	4,83	
NTN	0,89	4,74	
TET	0,57	3,03	
2+2	0,54	2,88	
Pulsplus	0,42	2,25	
K1	0,32	1,68	
Pixsel	0,31	1,65	
112Ukraina	0,29	1,51	
Mega	0,28	1,50	
Enter Film	0,21	1,12	
Kanal 5	0,20	1,08	
NLO-TV	0,18	0,97	

²⁹⁵ Ukrainian media landscape 2015, http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_43639-1522-1-30.pdf?160629160453 [access: 20.08.2016].

New media in popuworld: tools, threats and social phenomena

The First/Era	0,17	0,90
M1	0,15	0,79
QTV	0,12	0,61
24 channel	0,09	0,48
K2	0,09	0,46
Espresso TV	0,07	0,38
Tonis	0,07	0,37
Bigudi	0,07	0,35
Zoom	0,06	0,34
UBR	0,05	0,26
Indigo TV	0,04	0,23
Sontse	0,03	0,18
Malyatko TV	0,03	0,17
UNIAN	0,03	0,15
Ru Music	0,03	0,14
M2	0,03	0,14
Football 1	0,03	0,14
Discovery Channell	0,02	0,12
O-TV	0,02	0,11
Football 2	0,02	0,10
Music Box UA	0,01	0,07
TLC	0,01	0,06
The First Automobile	0,01	0,03
The First Business	0,00	0,02

Source: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_43639-1522-1-30.pdf?160629160453, p.25

Table 2

Basic reception type	% of TV household in Ukraine
Analog broadcast	24,4%
Digital broadcast	8,0%
Cable	36,3%
Satelite	29,4%
IPTV/MDMS/other	2,0%

Source: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_43639-1522-1-30.pdf?160629160453, p.25

According to table above most of citizens use cable, satellite and analog broadcasting, digital one is much more rare. Mainstream television in Ukraine does not enjoy the trust of the citizens. Each of the above mentioned channels, except for national ones, correlated with 1+1 media is in the hands of some oligarchs and politician at the same time. Such strong political affiliations of mainstream media does not give them credibility in the eyes of the public. National media do not fulfil its mission function and serve the rulers as a platform for publicising top-down controlled content.²⁹⁶ The crucial question is, maybe is the place in Ukrainian media system for real, trustworthy public media. It seems, that one step toward public service broadcasting has been done in 10.04.2015, when the amending law on the establishment of the Natsionalna Suspilna Teleradiokompanija Ukraini (NSTU) came into force. The new broadcaster will be a public company, owned one hundred percent by the Ukrainian state.²⁹⁷ For this, the state-owned television and radio stations must first be merged. It is worth to add, that starting of this broadcaster is constantly delayed, because the broadcaster only receives money from the national budget and has no other income. Under the new law the broadcaster could set up a subscriber system, but all that is still a long way off.²⁹⁸ So it seems, that nobody from political class cares about the condition of the public media in Ukraine.

What does term public service broadcasting mean? In the work of a British organisation the Broadcasting Research Unit from 1985, on which M. Tracey quotes, three basic rules were distinguished that characterised the mission of a public broadcaster, they are:

- Universal availability – public media should reach all citizens of a given country regardless of the place of residence. In the case of this quality, it is important to treat recipients as citizens who have the full right to information from public media;

²⁹⁶ H. Korozow, *Oligarchia jako model ograniczonej modernizacji*, “Ukraiński socjizm: Socjologia. Polityka. Gospodarka. Pedagogika”, Vol.1/2007, pp. 108–109.

²⁹⁷ Journalists and media in Ukraine, https://rsf.org/sites/default/files/journalists_and_media_in_ukraine_-_rsf_2016.pdf, [access: 1.09.2016]

²⁹⁸ <http://satkuriier.pl/news/153028/nowe-publiczne-media-na-ukrainie-rusza-1012017.html>, [access: 20.11.2016].

- Broadcasted programmes should cater for all tastes and interests - public broadcasters should realise that citizens have different interests and preferences and so public media should cater for them by presenting a varied offer of programmes;
- There should be special provisions for minorities –a public broadcaster has a task to represent interests of minorities, not only national but also sexual, religious and interests of the disabled because interests of these social groups are usually ignored by commercial broadcasters;
- Focus on national and communal identity – public media create the sense of national community in society by presenting the national culture and arts. Public media play a part of a culture creating role, support national arts and culture, and also build national identity;
- Broadcasting should be distanced from all vested interests, especially from political and business interests – public media should be politically independent, and in contact with politicians public broadcasters should follow the rule of political impartiality;
- Direct funding system and common licence fee – public media should be characterised by a stable system of funding, which provides the broadcaster with resources to fulfil their mission. This is a very important element in the activities of a public broadcaster. The best situation is when public broadcasters are funded only by means of a licence fee. A Licence fee is understood to be a common tax for an institution that is important for the effective functioning of a democratic country;
- Competition with other broadcasters in the quality of programming not competition for numbers –a public broadcaster should attract viewers with high quality productions. Here, I mean quality in terms of technical quality and a high level of programmes broadcasted by a public broadcaster;
- The public guidelines for broadcasting should not limit the freedom of creators too much; here I mean provide creators with independence from politicians, the business environment and other interest groups.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ M. Tracey, *The Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting*, pp. 26–32.

The above-mentioned elements comprise a public broadcaster's public objectives. The public tasks are performed in various ways and various parts of society. The remit poses as a very important element in the public services. A public broadcaster's objectives involve tasks, to the performance of which are carried out before the citizens of the country. Beata Ociepka, when defining a public broadcasters mission in Western European countries, recalls T. Coppens' research that analysed tasks of public broadcasters in individual countries of the European Union and distinguished the following areas:

- Democracy – public broadcasters should safeguard democracy. This postulate is differently understood and carried out in different European countries. Public broadcasters fulfil this task by: promoting multiculturalism, tolerance towards ethnic minorities, equality of the sexes, promoting peace and justice, respecting human dignity;
- Broadcaster's independence – public broadcasters need to be free from any political interfering or any other influences;
- Universality and diversity – public broadcasters should be influenced by the care to maintain pluralism, objectivism and variety of form;
- Quality – this notion means maintaining basic technical standards, professionalism and creativity;
- Innovativeness – a public broadcaster's programmes should be innovative. It means that their creators should be looking for new talents and formats;
- Information – in all definitions of mission there appears a postulate to broadcast reliable and objective information;
- Culture – cultural goals are mainly associated with respecting the native language and commitment to cooperate with national film producers (Spain);
- Regional and international tasks – the group of commitments regarding regional communities is in place in Great Britain, Belgium, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. International tasks concern maintaining relations with a country's citizens who live abroad;
- Education – educational goals are traditionally attributed to a public broadcaster, however, it is difficult to precisely define them;

- Children and youth –the broadcasting of programmes for children and teenagers constitutes an important element of a public broadcaster’s mission, with some creating dedicated channels for them;
- Digital bridge – public broadcasters should support the development of digital technology.³⁰⁰

Therefore, it is clear that the public broadcaster’s mission is a widely discussed issue not only in European Union countries. The main issue undertaken in such discussions is the fulfilment of the idea of public mass media. Karol Jakubowicz indicated that discussion revolving around the tasks of public broadcasters focuses on three approaches: clear objectives, new tasks for new times and a complete offer.³⁰¹

The first approach emphasises the tasks which, due to commercial reasons, no broadcaster would ever fulfil. Jakubowicz claims that such perception of the objectives brings the broadcasters down to the role of a peculiar cultural-educational ghetto.

Another point of view stresses changeability of the surroundings of public broadcasters and the necessity to adapt to fluid conditions, expansion of tasks and changes of goals for modern public broadcasters.

The third approach representing the broadcasters and international organisations is founded on the aspiration to restrict the tasks and the role of public broadcasters, allowing for wider possibilities for the development of commercial activities. The assumption, though, is the presence of public broadcasters on all technological platforms and also expands to cover personalised services.³⁰²

It seems that one can propose a thesis that in the case of the Ukraine the statement of Jo Barodel and Gregory Farrel Lowe that in new Internet media and with the help of multimedia an ethos and mission of public service broadcasters is reborn, seems justified.³⁰³ But there

³⁰⁰ B. Ociepka, *Dla kogo telewizja? Dla kogo telewizja. Media publiczne w postkomunistycznej Europie*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 76–78.

³⁰¹ K. Jakubowicz, *Media publiczne. Początek końca czy nowy początek*, Warszawa 2007, p. 75.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, s.76

³⁰³ J. Barodel, G. Farrel Lowe, *From public service broadcasting to public service media*, J. Barodel, G. Farell Lowe. (eds.), *From public service broadcasting to public service media*, Goteborg 2007, p. 10.

are no consolidated public TV stations but only media which fulfil a public service.

However, there are still Internet media which are strongly correlated with social networks and civic broadcasters on the net take over tasks assigned to public service media. I mean here functions such as: following high journalist standards, impartiality, political neutrality, egalitarianism, respecting rights of minorities, etc.³⁰⁴ Public media in Western-European models strongly influence on public debate by treating as priority issues connected with politics, reporting election campaigns, transmission of political debates or the development of investigative journalism.³⁰⁵ J. Blumer is a representative of this point of view, who believes that through the activities of public service media the civic sphere benefited because television has taken over the role of public debate animator.³⁰⁶ However, he also noted that serious political discussions would not attract large audience in front of TV screens.³⁰⁷ In the Ukrainian society the gap caused by the lack of public service media is being filled with independent Internet media.

Hromadske TV, established in June 2013, poses as an example here. It gathers former journalists of TVi stations, whose takeover in April 2013 was accompanied by an atmosphere of political scandal connected with the change of station ownership. TVi’s problem was the fact that the new owner was unknown, so when the station was sold nobody knew who had bought it and the new owner took over the station with Militia assistance. It is worth noting that the whole editorial team left the station and it was forced to transmit only repeats of programs. The whole situation shows that all independent mainstream media were persecuted in the Ukraine during Wiktor Janukowicz’s presidency. And it seems that journalists disappointed with traditional television decided to transfer their broadcasts onto the net. The creators of this undertaking explained that they are moving to the net because it is the last free space for Ukrainian media. The

³⁰⁴ A. Weglinska, *Brytyjski model mediow publicznych*, Lodz 2007, p.

³⁰⁵ B. Lodziński, *Powinnosci misyjne Polskiego Radia SA w zakresie rozwoju techniki i uslug 2005–2009*, Bielawski, A. Ostrowski (eds.) *Media publiczne. System medialny w Polsce – pytania dezzyderaty*, Wroclaw 2010, p. 83.

³⁰⁶ J. Blumer, *Public Service Broadcasting Before the Commercial Deluge*, J. Blumer, (eds.) “Television and The Public Interest”. London 1992, p. 12.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

editorial team consisted of: Roman Skrypin, Mustafa Nayem, Serhij Andruszko and Danyło Janewskij. The Station's founders undertook to follow high journalistic standards and the rules of political neutrality. And the station was supposed to be financed by donors.

Hromadske TV in the Euromajdan Protest – Public Service Media

In our article we wish to take a closer look at the role of grass-root media in shaping the protest in the Ukraine. As an example we can take the case of Hromadske TV, which was established in the summer of 2013 on the wave of protests in Majdan. Our focus here is on the period that spans from the autumn of 2013 to the parliamentary elections in October 2014. We will also show that when the public service media are not present then civic broadcasters can take over the tasks of public sector broadcasters. We will also present the influence of Hromadske TV on the shape of public mainstream media. Our observations are complemented with one intensive interview (18.05.2015) conducted for the needs of this article with Olga Shalayska – from the non-governmental organisation IMT, which monitors the freedom of media in the Ukraine.

Media in the Ukraine during the time preceding protests and then conflict were under strict censorship. The most popular channel in Ukraine Inter was taken over by the son of Wiktor Janukowicz, of course, illegally. In Ukraine media ownership is not transparent and sometimes its owners can be kept a secret, like in the case of TVi. Journalists who wanted to remain independent moved to the net because it was not subject to such strong restrictions from the government.³⁰⁸

Mustafa Nayem, a journalist from Hromadske TV and Internet newspaper “Ukarinskaja Prawda” gave the impulse to start protest in Majdan, in Kiev following the rejection by the Parliament of the Ukraine of pro-European acts and Prime Minister Azarow stopped integration with Europe. Nayem proposed to Arsenij Jaceniuk, one of the opposition leaders at that time, that it was on that day 21.11.2013 they should call a demonstration. Jaceniuk thought it was impossible and then Nayem decided to try to call the demonstration online.

³⁰⁸ Interview with Olga Shalayska, 18.05.2015.

He announced on FB that if there are 1000 entries under the post, which called citizens to Majdan, of “I am ready” then the community will meet “in real”. There were more and more posts and at 10:30pm when it already had 500 entries, the journalist invited Internet users to Majdan. In Majdan people decided that they would be meeting everyday at 6pm. The assumption of the first days in Majdan was complete political neutrality. Political parties showed up on the first evening. Kliczko from UDAR came, Jaceniuk from Batwischczyna and Tiahnybok from Swoboda.³⁰⁹ The leaders of the meeting declared that the condition for being present in Majdan was no political flags or emblems. Some politicians, e.g. Kliczko, agreed to this but others, e.g. from nationalistic party Swoboda started building their own, separate Majdan. Hromadske TV journalists, from the very beginning, actively transmitted events from Majdan. Already, on 29.11.2013 investigative journalist Dmytro Gnap was brutally beaten up by the so-called tuzszki, that is hooligan troops financed by Janukowicz’s regime.³¹⁰

The profile of protest initiator is very interestingly presented in the context of the development of this medium. Mustafa Najem is an immigrant from Afghanistan. His father left Kabul in 1989. His Afghani origins give the lie to accusations of his contacts with the nationalistic Swoboda. When it comes to his attitude regarding deepening connections with Europe, the journalist presents it in the following way:

“It is best to explain it with an example – he answers with the ease of a born speaker. My father has a car, an old Lada four. I tell him: ‘Buy a new western car’. But my father doesn’t have money for a new car and he would have to take a loan. ‘Besides – my father says – Lada is cheaper to run and a new car consumes a lot of fuel, its parts are more expensive’. I cannot disagree with my father. A new car would cost him much more money, however the comfort, safety, speed and reliability are incomparable. If I was buying a new car, I would have enough money for an old Lada, but I would take a loan. I don’t want to waste my life driving an old banger. I would have to tighten my belt, pay off instalments, fill it up with petrol but comfort in the new car would be guaranteed. It is the same with the international choice of Ukraine. Russia wants to renovate the old Lada, and

³⁰⁹ O. Onuch, *Mapping Mass Mobilization Understanding Revolutionary Moments in Argentina and Ukraine*, London 2014, pp. 2–29.

³¹⁰ Interview with Olga Shalayska.

even if they repaint it with a new colour, replace windscreen wipers then it will still be the old four. On the other hands, we have a choice of a good European car which will be much more expensive but we will be able to increase speed. Both of them have some advantages but I choose comfort and safety.”³¹¹

In the case of e-mobilising activities in Majdan, two aspects move to the first plan. First of all, the local character of protest, quoting Manuel Castels.³¹² The locally planned protest covered most part of the country and spread, thanks to the nature of social media, all over the world. Another important quality mentioned above and revealed in the case of events in Majdan was decentralised, grass-root style of organisation. Protest leaders did not assume official positions, leadership, as it was indicated by the presence of two, parallel protests: civic and political, was dispersed.

How Hromadske TV has been financed? The station was founded as a completely non-profit undertaking. The television is supported by private and institutional donors contributions. So far, journalists have been able to avoid political and business affiliations, which is guarantor of impartiality.

The Station’s participation in the events in Majdan in 2013 brought fruit to the fact that the station moved into the mainstream. Hromadske TV begun terrestrial broadcasting on 28.02.2014 on the initiative of the Ukrainian Parliament in the I Channel of the Ukrainian National Television. In accordance with an agreement, HTV broadcasts was non-profit programmes at set times from 10:00 to 12:00 am, from 3:00-5:00 pm and from 7:00-9:00pm. During these transmissions the program rating increased 2.5 times over 5 days.³¹³

Another positive factor could be the change of the director of First National, Zurab Alasania, connected with Euro-majdan, became the new director. All of these factors would seem to favour cooperation, however it’s not working correctly. In 2014, disagreements started between Hromadske TV and Savik Szuster, a popular journalist and a TV presenter, a supporter of Batviszczyna. Szuster Studio, which belongs to

³¹¹ http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,134731,15049385,Mustafa_odbija_Ukraine, [access:10.01.2016]

³¹² M. Castells, *Galaktyka internet*, Poznan 2003, p. 94.

³¹³ <https://www.facebook.com/hromadsketv?fref=ts>, [access:12.01.2016].

Szuster, produces for the IN political talk-show: “Szuster Life”. Journalists of Hromadske TV asked the authorities of First National an official question regarding the rules on which Szuster can broadcast on the First National. Journalists did not receive the answer on ways of financing this programme. First National is standing behind trade secrets. Despite personnel changes the system remained the same, but it was the system that was supposed to have changed. If the First National will to become a real public service broadcaster than it should make, at least, a step towards financial transparency.³¹⁴ Zurab Alsanian declared the necessity to exclude broadcasts by Szuster Studio as too commercial for a public service station. The new programme line of the First National didn’t allow commercialisation but only classic informative journalism.

Thanks to cooperation with public television, Hromadske TV can also, in a very fundamental way, impact on the system of mainstream media. It is indicated by Alsanian’s comments regarding Savik Szuster, or the fact that Hromadske TV carried out pre-election debates transmitted by First National.

We can talk about public functions served by Hromadske TV, however it is not a full public model. It functions Hromadske TV fulfils by mobilizing the society in the protest area by creating objective public debate and revealing misuse of power and crime, and credibly reporting. *Ukrainska Prawda* laid hands on a Russian scenario of separating Luganski district from Ukraine. It was prepared by Russian political experts and the material was broadcasted by Hromadske TV and the level of investigative journalism was on a high level of objectivity and it fulfils its tasks.³¹⁵

In the sphere of politics, Hromadske TV fulfils its tasks although it is not a public service broadcaster, even when it broadcasts its material on the new public channel. Public service media seems to be more than reliable political communication. The model of public broadcaster also consists of elements such as entertainment and education. In the scope of political and civic education Hromadske TV also carries out a huge job creating a model of a non-profit broadcaster that fulfils its public functions. Scrutiny conducted for Reporters Without Borders says about disappointment among receivers of Hromadske TV:

³¹⁴ Interview with Olga Shalayska.

³¹⁵ Interview with Olga Shalayska.

“Today a sense of disappointment prevails at Hromadske TV because the website’s major triumphs seem to lie in the past. Hromadske TV is still seen as an important media project but it has lost a lot of users and in Kiev’s media community there are many who are now critical of the station. Some of the channel’s staff are also gradually realising that even in Ukraine Hromadske TV is perhaps little more than a niche channel. Thanks to a franchise system a few Hromadske offshoots have been launched in regional areas, but they tend to cultivate their own separate identity. Opinions are divided about how much appeal the media project has outside Kiev: «It’s more of a Kiev phenomenon,» says Lviv-based journalist Yuri Durkot. «Here in Lviv it doesn’t really count for much.» During the revolution the station was very successful, but critics say the editorial team has failed to move forwards and offer new formats. Commentators from Kiev point out that nowadays people want background and solid analysis rather than the fast-paced news reports and studio interviews on «streaming TV».”³¹⁶

In Ukraine there is a need for a system of public service media regardless of the carrier. Hromadske TV journalist seem to understand the notion of public service, responsibility towards viewers, special need for credibility and political objectivity if media. Will they continue to create mainstream media or will they merely function on the net? It depends on the law-makers. The creators of TV Hromadske take an active part in reforming Ukrainian media system, they seem competent and credible. It should be noted that the activists of the Majdan Hromadske TV begin to cross to the other side of the mirror. Mustafa Nayem became a member of the Verkhovna Rada of the seventh term and is now trying to reform the system from the inside.³¹⁷ The question thus arises as to whether the political activist is now an effective politician. However this question will be answered by his voters.

The case of Hromadske TV is significant for the modern media landscape, in which the boundary between niche and mainstream

disappears. When actors other than professional politicians become more important in the political system, these are NGOs. Thanks to

³¹⁶ Journalists and media in Ukraine, https://rsf.org/sites/default/files/journalists_and_media_in_ukraine_-_rsf_2016.pdf, [access: 1.09.2016].

³¹⁷ J. Pogorzelski, “Po drugiej stronie lustra”, *Nowa Europa Wschodnia*, Vol. 1/1–2/2015.

social media, the presence of grassroot reform movements may be increasingly felt, even without the mainstream media involvement. However, this raises the question regarding effectiveness of such movements in dismantling the old order. Hromadske TV journalists leave the stage of revolutionary activities, enter the stage of evolution and permeate traditional media. There is no doubt that the station performs public functions. Hence, in this case, widening the definition of public broadcaster seems to be incontestable. Activity of Hromadske TV also proved that there is a demand on free media in Ukrainian society. Media which are free of any relations with oligarchs, politicians or Russia.



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A case study of Syrian refugees in social media – political actors journalists and NGOs in Poland

Introduction

Discussion regarding problems with refugees in Poland reflects the processes which took place in the same period. Situation of Syrian refugees was gradually deteriorating and the conflict was deepening. This resulted in various reactions of the international community. It is generally agreed that the Polish society may be regarded as homogeneous. This uniformity is visible on many level (i.e. religious, cultural etc.) and is a result of political and historical processes. Before the Second World War, Poland was much more diversified from ethnic, religious, cultural and languages perspective. In the 1930's large national minorities of Ukrainians (16%), Jews (10%), Belarusians (6%), Germans (3%) resided in Poland³¹⁸. After World War II, Poland lost huge territories in the East (modern Ukraine) and gained former German territories in the West. A large number of Polish people was relocated from eastern provinces of the Second Polish Republic which were incorporated into the Soviet Union. However, Poland did not have any colonies, therefore, Polish society is very sceptical about European obligations to emigrants and refugees, but usually supports the idea of helping war victims. According to UN Convention, a re-

³¹⁸ A. Rykała, 2014. *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne z perspektywy geografii politycznej*, "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Geograficasocio-Oeconomica", Vol. 17/2014, Lodz, pp. 1–49.

fugee is: „A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”³¹⁹. During last 15 years, Poland has taken 90 thousand refugees from Chechenya who were settled in Łomża ³²⁰. From May 2015 in two thousand fifteen increases the percentage of Poles opposed accepting refugees from areas affected by armed conflicts. Still, the majority of the population (54%) supports the provision of assistance to people fleeing war, though usually only until the end of the conflict in the country of origin of refugees (46%) [Figure 1].

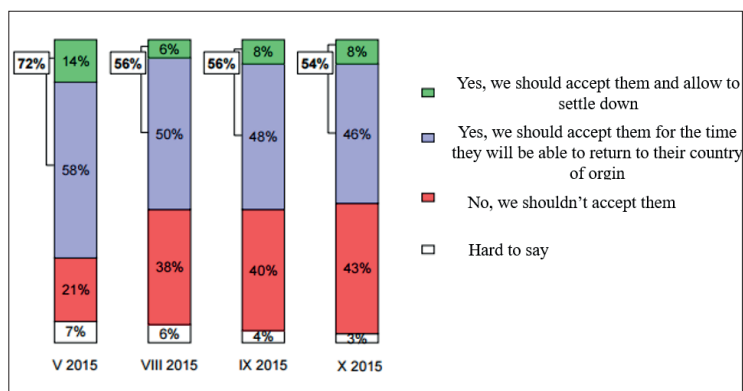


Figure 1.

Do you think Poland should accept refugees affected from conflict area?

Source: *Stosunek do przyjmowania uchodźców w Polsce i w Czechach*, CBOS Survey, Warszawa, April 2015, http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2016/K_054_16.PDF, p.2 [12.04.2016].

³¹⁹ UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency. <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c125.html> [access: 10.01.2016].

³²⁰ Centre for Research of Prejudice, *Stosunek do uchodźców, możliwość zmiany*. http://cbu.psychologia.pl/uploads/aktualnosci/%C5%81om%C5%B-Ca_RAPORT_2011.pdf [access: 5.01.2016].

According to another CBOS survey, 76% of Poles have positive attitude towards refugees (CBOS, 2011). They overwhelmingly approve of the help for the people from the war conflict areas. In our paper we focus on the case of a Polish NGO organization, Estera, which is responsible for the transfer of Christian Syrian refugees to Poland. The mission of Estera Foundation, as its founders say, comprises activities that are aimed at, among others, “saving lives and health of refugees”³²¹, as well as providing the refugees with support in adjusting to a new life in exile. Estera Foundation also aspires to contribute to the change of attitudes Poles have towards refugees who are Syrian Christians. In order to achieve this goal the foundation hopes to “raise the awareness of the dramatic situation these people are placed in”³²². The objectives of the foundation were to be implemented through lobbying among Polish politicians for changes in the law regarding immigration. Miriam Shaded, a highly controversial president of the foundation and a politician, is also a very important actor this story. At this point, an interesting question emerges as to whether homogenous Polish society is able to accept Syrians. In the paper we investigate the relationships between the media, political actors, journalists and NGO.

Methodology

In the investigation into the issue of Estera Foundation, we used two research methods: web content analysis and interview, and three research techniques: content analysis and coding sheet. In addition, several tools were used: interview questionnaire, code book, and Brand24 (brand24.pl)³²³ – an analytic tool for social media monitoring. Application of frame analysis and Brand24 tool allowed for obtaining information regarding social media users activities related to Estera foundation. From 1 June to 17 November 2015 the follow-

³²¹ Fundacja Estera, <http://bazy.ngo.pl/search/info.asp?id=230970#> [access: 14.01.2016].

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ In the article the attention is focused primarily on the presentation of the general trends arising from the subject undertaken. Detailed quantitative data that we have collected will be presented in a more detailed report on refugees in Poland.

ing internet spaces were monitored: Facebook profile of the foundation, microblogs, internet fora, twitter, blogs and videos. Analysis of the content of online publications was performed in late November and December 2015. The analysis comprised 120 articles which included “Eстера Foundation” phrase and were published on various sorts of Polish portals. Single article constituted a research unit. The interview with Przemyslaw Kawalec was conducted on 10 November 2015. Kawalec was employed by Eстера Foundation and was in charge of public relations and communication with refugees.

By using qualitative content analysis we obtained a multi-dimensional picture of the problem associated with the activities undertaken by Eстера Foundation. The results obtained from the analysis of media messages appearing in the mainstream media and on the internet revealed multi-subject approach to the question of Syrian refugees. This resulted in the construction of fluctuation model which presents all the actors who are directly or indirectly linked to the foundation. The research confirms John Van Dijk’s thesis that that the influence of Internet on culture seems destructive. Van Dijk juxtaposes internet journalism with a professional one. According to Van Dijk citizen journalism is very often characterized by a lack of specialized knowledge, incompetence and gossip characteristics. Due to the overload of information which we experience on the net it is difficult to distinguish between the checked and credible ones³²⁴. In the research procedure we formulated four hypotheses:

There is a relationship of mutual interaction between the activities undertaken by non-governmental organization (NGOs) and mainstream media, social media, journalists and politicians.

- Intense aggression against any symptoms of otherness and escalation of xenophobic on Polish internet can be seen in a specific way (Thompson’s theory of media visibility).
- Facebook is not representative of the entire Polish population, however, certain mistrust towards otherness is visible.
- Eстера Foundation activities lack strategy regarding dealing with refugees, as well as PR and e-PR. This resulted in a negative image of the foundation and its activities. In addition, the figure of Miriam Shahed has a negative impact on the foundation.

³²⁴ J. Van Dijk, *The Network Society. Social Aspects of New Media*, London 2006..

War in Syria

In 2011, “Arab Spring” triggered the events in Syria. The country houses a variety of religious denominations: a diversity of Sunni and Shia groups (with the Alawites being the most important Shia branch), Druzes, and a wide range of Christian denominations. Data on religious structure of the population in Syria reports that 77% of the population are Muslims, 10% are Sunni, and 8% are Alawite; Christians from different churches and denominations constitute 3% of the population, Druze, Ismaili, and Shias constitute 1% and Yazidis constitute 1%³²⁵. Christians are very divided community, we can distinguish the following denominations: Arab Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Arab Greek Catholic, Assyrian Orthodox, Syriac Orthodox, Maronite Catholic, Chaldean Catholic, Syriac Catholic Christians and Protestants.

Christians are particularly under the threat due to the fact that they are suspected of fostering Assad regime. This increases the aura of hostility around this religion. However, Christians are very well educated and rather rich community but, as we mentioned before, a very diverse one. For that reason they aren't organized well enough to defend themselves. Some Christians claim that they are forced to take a part in protests organized by Sunni or Assads supporters³²⁶. Before 2011, Syria was a secular country. For that reason religious differences started to grow when the war broke out. Christians are trapped in Assad regime. The main problem seems to be the lack of democracy, however, the future country governed by Sunni could be Muslim and religiously uniform³²⁷. The very difficult question is to whether Christians support the Assad regime. They are some Christians who are linked with government, and Christians who are engaged in the opposition's activity. However, most of Christians, just as other minorities like Druzes or Yazidis, don't support any side of conflict.

³²⁵ C.C. Sahner, *Among the ruins – Syria past and present*, Hurst and company, London 2014, pp. 81–83.

³²⁶ D. Pipe, *Syria beyond the peace process*, Washington DC 1996, p. 150.

³²⁷ Otłowski, T. *Pierwsze ofiary rewolucji. Bliskowschodni chrześcijanie w czasie Arabskiej Wiosny*, „Biuletyn Opinii FAE” / Vol.12/2012, Warszawa 2012, pp. 2–18.

Estera fund and the media case

“Estera Fund” was established in response to a cry for help of the Syrian Christians who are currently the most endangered minority in the region. For the sake of their religion, followers of Christ are savagely tortured and exterminated. Their religious affiliation often prevents them from seeking help in the neighboring countries. Estera transferred to Poland 173 refugees from Syria. They are Christians, mostly from Damascus. Convincing the Polish government to this undertaking was a very difficult task. The president of Estera is a very controversial activist and politician – Miriam Shaded³²⁸. Miriam Shaded has appeared in media in April 2015 and she has been introduced as a daughter of protestant Rev. Monir Shaded, a Syrian priest. In last parliamentary election she ran in parliamentary elections on the list of the Korwin – a party with extremely conservative and nationalistic program. Shaded has never been in Syria. On Spring 2015, in various media she described the situation of Syrian Christians as a very hazardous and demanded help from Polish political elites. She didn’t achieve any positive results. The turning point in this particular case has been the presidential debate which took place and was broadcast live on 21 May 2015 on TVN (mainstream, private television). The presidential campaign is considered very crucial in Polish political system. President is partially responsible for international relations, army and Constitutional Acts. In May, two completely different candidates, from opposing formations were competing for the post. In order to convince the voters, both candidates made numerous campaign promises. Bronislaw Komorowski supported by Citizen Platform, the governing party, was fighting for reelection. Andrzej Duda from Law

³²⁸ Her activities in Estera Foundation to help Christian families from Syria and her statements related to the migration crisis in Europe were reported by numerous foreign news services. These included, among others, Financial Times, Agence France Presse, Euronews, Der Spiegel, Die Welt, Berliner Zeitung, Tages-Anzeiger, The Times of Israel, The Blaze, and politics.co.uk, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miriam_Shaded; M. Mazus, *Kim jest Miriam Shaded, ktora chce sprowadzac do Polski syryjskich uchodzcow* http://www.polityka.pl/tygodnik_polityka/spoleczenstwo/1627435,1,kim-jest-miriam-shaded-ktora-chce-sprowadzac-do-polski-syryjskich-uchodzcow.read [access: 10.01.2016]

and Justice was meant to be the modern face of so far strictly conservative party. Presidential debate is usually broadcasted in prime time. Typically the debate comprises sequences of questions which are divided thematically. Justyna Pochanke, one of the the journalist who moderated the debate, was responsible for international relations segment. Her question related to Syrian Christians was:

So gentlemen, a precise request. Syrian Christians are asking Poland for mercy. They are asking for visas and transfer to Poland. There is money, however, political decision is necessary. Visas or decapitation? Will you do everything to bring these 300 families, 1500 people, to Poland. Poland that is proud of its Christian roots, John Paul II, and the Solidarity movement . I'm asking because it is possibly the most feasible election promise. The answer to the question might not be worth one's electoral victory, but for these people it might be a question of life?³²⁹ It was a crucial moment when both politicians made public declaration to help to Syrian refugees. Since then, during the spring and the summer of 2015, activities of Estera Foundation we becoming highly visible in the public space. This may be described in terms of Thompson's visibility theory. According to Thompson, mediated visibility is a double-edged sword that creates new risks for the actors on the public scene., who are exposed to new kinds of dangers. The progression of the Internet and digital technologies has intensified the importance of the novel forms of visibility produced by the media. It has also made media more complicated. Thanks to the Internet the flow of audio-visual content into the networks of communication has increased. The New Visibility enables more people to produce and distribute such content.³³⁰ Furthermore, because of the nature of the Internet, the flow of symbolic content it hard to control. Thompson notices that those in power need to be aware that their images made available to individuals are not always the ones they wish to circulate as it is impossible to control the new kind of visibility completely and to shape it entirely to their liking³³¹.

³²⁹ <https://n-13-1.dcs.redcdn.pl/file/o2/tvn/web-content/m/p1/f/253f7b-5d921338af34da817c00f42753/dc453e08-b4ea-4ffb-b4f4-7c55b4766fae.pdf>, [access: 10.01.2016], p. 26.

³³⁰ J.B. Thompson, *Media i nowoczesność. Społeczna teoria mediów*, Wrocław 2001, pp. 137–142.

³³¹ J.B. Thompson, *The new visibility*, "Theory, Culture & Society", Vol. 22(6)/2005, pp. 31–51.

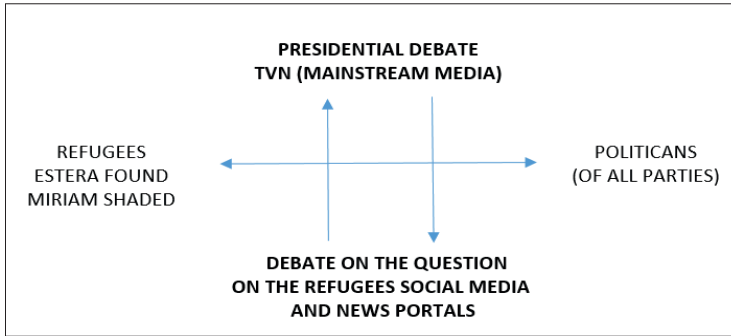


Figure 2 Fluctuation of interactions between actors
Source: Own

The main platform for the discussion was mainstream and social media where, as the situation developed, the debate was becoming more and more brutal. In the internet, users used vulgar language, slogans and symbols, and very often their utterances had very expressive and rude form. The problem of Syrian refugees was widely discussed not only in Poland, but in whole Europe. The Internet can contribute to the increase of interest in social and political problems especially among young people. The new generation of voters was brought up on television and, to a large extent, resistant to such messages, however it is always possible to reach them online³³². On the one hand, we could assume that the discussion which took place in mainstream media and on the Internet reflects social attitudes towards refugees in Poland, but on the other hand, we need to come to realize that that such rhetoric's do not represent views of the whole Polish society, but rather of a particular group, namely the FB nation³³³.

³³² L. Goode, *Social news, citizen journalism and democracy* "New Media & Society" 11(8) 2009, pp. 1287–1305.

³³³ N. Lee, *Facebook nation, Total information awarness*, NY 2013, p. 221.

Activities and the image of estera foundation based on an analysis of articles found in the internet and social media

After the foundation had transferred to Poland the first group of refugees (50 Syrian Christian families) on 13 July 2015, the Polish media (radio, television, news portals, social media) published many reports, interviews and articles related to the activities of the Foundation and its president, Shaded Miriam. This sparked off a heated debate over the presence of refugees in Poland, the means to finance their stay (despite the fact the foundation provided necessary financial assistance), acclimatization problems, as well as issues related to the fear The Poles have for foreign people who might be supporters of Assad regime. Journalists began their investigation and revealed some significant facts, which strongly influenced the image of the foundation, its credibility, as well as the way of dealing with refugees in general. Estera Foundation was accused of among others the following:

- a) bringing supporters of the dictator al-Assad, and even people who working for him, to Poland – since the people come from Damascus which is not affected by war, their lives were not threatened directly³³⁴,
- b) the refugees are Muslims, but they were given baptism certificates by the Syrian church³³⁵,
- c) the families transferred to Poland were not given the previously promised financial and living support³³⁶,
- d) the activities of the foundation come down to the so-called forced exile, which is financed by a Jewish person who lives in the UK. This person is trying to implement a plan to make Syria a second Palestine (opinion of Nabil Al Malazi head of the Syrian Club in Poland)³³⁷,

³³⁴ J.B. Thompson, *The new visibility*, op. cit. pp. 31–51.

³³⁵ *Nabil Al Malazi o działalności Fundacji Estera: to wymuszona emigracja*, http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/kat,1342,title,Nabil-Al-Malazi-o-dzialalnosc-i-Fundacji-Estera-to-wymuszona-emigracja,wid,17852576,wiadomosc.html?ticaid=1164c1&_tictsn=3 [access: 13.01.2016].

³³⁶ *Syryjczyk: wolimy umrzeć w Syrii, niż z głodu w Polsce. Fundacja Estera: nikt ich na siłę nie ścigał*, <http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/1490845,Syryjczyk-wolimy-umrzec-w-Syrii-niz-z-glodu-w-Polsce-Fundacja-Estera-nikt-ich-na-sile-nie-sciagal> [access: 13.01.2016].

³³⁷ Nabil Al Malazi about Fundacji Estera, op. cit.

- e) the foundation acts on behalf of the Islamic State, which, a few years ago, was quoted saying: “we want to send you people.” Now, half of people with Syrian passports are undercover ISIS supporters – said Nabil Al Malazi³³⁸,
- f) the foundation did not help the families who decided to host refugees at their homes (opinion of the activists of Estera Foundation)³³⁹,
- g) the transfer of Syrians to Poland was chaotic and lacked organization (an opinion of B. Kapuscinski, a former employee of the foundation)³⁴⁰,
- h) despite the fact that the foundation assured in media that the Syrians in Poland integrate very well, the actual activities of the Estera Foundation did not reflect their assurances. The blame for such situation was laid with the foundation’s poor personnel and management decisions³⁴¹,
- i) the president of the foundation, Miriam Shaded, did not cooperate with other activists from the foundation and her decisions, as well as the opinions she expressed in the media, had a negative effect on the image and operation of the foundation³⁴².

An analysis of articles reveals that the transferred the refugees can be divided into three groups depending on your needs and expectations. The first group consists of the so-called “non-problematic” people who are grateful for bringing them to Poland because in their homeland they were in a very difficult material situation. They seek security and they want to live with dignity, they openly deny being terrorists. Another group is represented by people against whom no major objections can be raised, however, they treat Poland only as a stop on their way to the country they would like to live in. For instance, they treat Germany as their final destination. The last group

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ *Sryjczyk: wolimy umrzeć w Syrii, niż z głodu w Polsce, op. cit.*

³⁴⁰ M. Gašior, *Gorzka prawda o Fundacji Estera. Były pracownik: „Integracja chrześcijan z Syrii w Polsce to całkowita porażka”*, <http://natemat.pl/152141.prawda-o-fundacji-estera-byly-pracownik-integracja-chrzesz-cijan-syrii-w-polsce-to-calkowita-porazka> [access: 13.01.2016].

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² *Ibid.*

comprises persons who decided to leave Syria just because they had the opportunity or they were persuaded to leave their home country. These people have great expectations regarding financial support, accommodation and other needs. Unfortunately, Estera Foundation was unable to meet these expectations completely, and, for that reason, they are unhappy with their stay in Poland. It seems people in this group find their refugee status hard to accept and experience acclimatization problems³⁴³.

Internet articles about the foundations were widely commented on. Most of the comments were offensive and expressed hatred and aggression directed directly at the refugees, their identity or nationality.



Figure 3. Negative comments of Polish internet users below an article about Syrian refugee

Source: <http://strajk.eu/wolimy-umrzec-w-syrii-niz-tutaj-z-glodu-dramat-uchodzcow-w-polsce/> [12.01.2016].

³⁴³ „*Wolimy umrzeć w Syrii, niż tutaj z głodu*” – the dramatic situation of the refugees in Poland, <http://strajk.eu/wolimy-umrzec-w-syrii-niz-tutaj-z-glodu-dramat-uchodzcow-w-polsce/> [access: 12.01.2016].

The analysis of the phrase “Eстера Foundation “ in social media in the period from 1 June to 15 November 2015 revealed what Polish Internet users say about the foundation and what is their opinion about the transfer of Syrian refugees to Poland. From this period, 291 results with the search phrase were generated (159 came from Facebook, 71 from microblogs and from 20 news portals). Most of them (63%) had a negative character, and only 37% had a positive connotation. The most frequent comments included the following statements:

- Syrians are “pathology and cattle, wherever they are they bring problems”;
- “Get out of our country ... get the f*** out of here to Germany ...”;
- “Who cares if they are Christians or not? Terrorist will be among them. If the price for not letting the terrorists to Poland is the death of some Syrian slobs, then it is worth paying! I’m sorry! Life is brutal ...”;
- “Send them immediately back to Syria and let them take the lunatic who brought them here”;
- „STOP islamisation of Europe!!!”.

Comments related to the following issues were the most common:

- Eстера Foundation is accused of: disorganization, incorrect activities, islamophobia, interest in politics, indifference to already transferred refugees etc.,
- Eстера” divides people: good – Christians, bad – Muslims,
- FB users are against hosting any Syrian refugees, regardless of whether they are Christians or Muslims,
- FB users are afraid of outlanders, they are angry that media and public institutions are focused on “strange” refugees rather than on serious problems Poles have,
- some FB users think that Miriam Shahed shouldn’t run the foundation in Poland,
- the refugees receive money for nothing,
- FB users think that Eстера workers haven’t verified people from Syria properly , and some terrorists have got through to Poland,
- FB users accuse Miriam Shahed of being a protestant, not a catholic.

Interview

An extensive interview was conducted with Przemyslaw Kawalec from Estera 10 November 2015. The main objective of the interview was to investigate relationships that occurred between the foundation and the refugees, social and mainstream media

In the interview, Przemyslaw Kawalec described details related to process of transferring refugees from Syria to Poland. The selection took a place in Syria. Candidates for repatriation were selected by representatives of parishes in Damascus. Despite the fact that the situation in Damascus was getting worse and worse, the people weren't directly endangered by extremists – ISIS, Al-Qaeda or Sunni military opposition. In Damascus Christian are forced to hide themselves but their situation is incomparable to the one Christians from Mosul or Aleppo are in. Estera didn't transferred Christians from more problematic areas:

“The Attacks of extreme groups are targeted on Christian people. Old friendships, marriages doesn't matter anymore. Since the beginning of the conflict Christians have received hostility, threats and advice to leave Syria. Christians community members are forced to hide at their homes, they are afraid to go outside.”

Kawalec said that they did their best to help, but it was a first attempt and they made several mistakes (see: Activities and the image of Estera Foundation based on an analysis of articles found in the Internet and social media).He also justifies why “Estera” was only focused on helping Syrian Christian minority:

“We rescue Christian because they are most under the threat. In my opinion this is similar to car accident, the most badly injured victims get the help first.”

Kawalec noticed, that the language on the FB is very brutal and he isn't able to defend the foundation against such attitudes because he doesn't have time for it:

“There are some very brutal, vulgar comments on FB. Sometimes we have an impression that we transferred many more people than we actually did, a crowd ... We've only managed to transfer 173 people“

In the interview, Kawalec reveals that the atmosphere on the Internet clashes with real-life situation – refugees are treated very friendly in their new neighborhoods:

“People from Syria are treated in a very friendly manner by their neighbors, without any prejudices. We were afraid the situation would be worse. They have been here for 4 months and we are very nicely surprised.”

Kawalec accused mainstream media of looking for sensation. *„Mainstream media look for sensation, they don't verify information. For us Christians, they are closer from cultural and religious perspective. Sometimes I have an impression, that politicians and journalists seized this action and they attempt to use refugees to their own advantage.”* Media is accused of creating a demand for political tabloidization because pursuit of high viewing figures they need to cater even for the poor taste of their viewers. Media promote political entertainment and leave out credible information and objective commentary. The fight for a viewer is reflected in the programme's content. News selection is also subjected to PR techniques. News is constructed in such a way so that they are the most attractive and maintain a high level of dramatization³⁴⁴. Kawalec blames media by for tabloidization and emotionalism of content³⁴⁵. Politics and politicians are accompanied by an atmosphere of scandals built by the means of media³⁴⁶.

Conclusion

FB users are against the transfer of Syrians to Poland. This particular community embodies all the negative features of Poles. Polish people, in the context of this case, could be defined as a very hermetic, closed and ethnocentric society. However, we need to remember the

³⁴⁴ P. Moy, M.A. Xenos, V.K. Hess, Communication and Citizenship: Mapping the Political Effects of Infotainment, *Mass Communication and Society* 2005, 8(2), pp. 11–131.

³⁴⁵ T. Harrison, M. Barthel, B. Fielding, “*New media in Web 2.0: exploring the history of engagement with the collaborative construction of media products*”, *New Media & Society*” 2009, 11(2), pp. 155–178..

³⁴⁶ E. Schmidt, J. Cohen, *The new digital age. Reshaping the future of people, nations and business*, Jon Murray, London 2013, p. 12.

results of CBOS research mentioned at the beginning of the paper. Therefore, brutal, extreme and controversial comments and reports are more visible on the Internet. We also can connect some brutal comments to Miriam Shaded and her political engagement. As a representative of NGO she should be aware the influence media have. Her controversial comments in media were influenced the image of her organization significantly. Perhaps, she used the question of refugees to emerge on the political scene. Finally, the image of Estera in mainstream media and social media was negative as the result of uncoordinated PR activities. Social media are very precious trophy of the modern society, however, it may also be used by extremists to build the atmosphere of hostility around innocent people, namely, refugees.



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Terrorism in a mediated world

Introduction

The article is an English translation of a chapter from the book *The threat of terrorism in a modern world vs. notional security system*. I'm analysing here the co-existence of media and terrorist organisations, suggesting at the same time that this permanent relationship has not changed much but the tools used by the media and their new types (referred as the New Media) are subject to evolution or sometimes even a revolution. Modern terrorist organisations take advantage of the media to the same extent as they have used modern inventions over the last several decades.

I. The interdependence of media and terrorist organisations – genesis of the phenomena

The relationship between media and terrorism is not a new phenomenon. In this article I will attempt to show the mutual interdependence of media and terrorist organisations. The latter could not exist without its actions being publicised by the media, and terrorist attacks or even the threats of attacks constitute perfect food for the widely understood mass media.

In the first part of the article I will attempt to show this interdependence from the very beginning. In the second part, I will analyse media evolution and its influence on a certain specific symbiosis with terrorists. In this part, I will also research procedures worked out by

media concerning presenting information on terrorist groups' activities, or concerning procedures for reporting terrorist attacks or other terrorist activities. In the final part, I will follow through on how modern media can be used by terrorist, but I will focus on them being used more for purposes of spreading information and propaganda.

The beginning of mass media dynamic development falls very much at the second half of the 19th century. As Tomasz Goban – Klas notes “*Circulation of large, mass newspapers were increasing in a flash – in the United States from several tens of thousands in the middle of the 19th century to a million by the end of the century*”³⁴⁷. In Europe, the situation was similar. The size of circulation was in fact smaller but the number of Europeans reading them was higher. The growth dynamics were comparable. The possibility of such great growth in the circulation of the published press was caused by the invention of the rotary printing machine in the second half of the 19th century. This device enabled the publishing of newspapers with advertisements and announcements in large numbers at a small unit price. It was also then, where the current division into elite and popular media started to form. Popular media, based on information presented in a sensational way, has its beginnings in the times of newspapers published by the William Hearst press corporation. He became famous for the fact that in order to increase sales he published sensationalised material, and what is more, he did not hesitate to even carry out complicated provocations on an international scale³⁴⁸. This mechanism is confirmed by the case of Winston Churchill and his report from the Boer War.³⁴⁹

As an alternative to those represented by tabloids today, some TV stations and popular media websites are known as the so-called elite media. Joseph Pulitzer, a media tycoon, who in his work was driven

³⁴⁷ T. Goban-Klas, *Media i terroryści, Media i terroryści*, Kraków 2009, p. 69

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ The later Prime Minister of Great Britain travelled to South Africa as “Morning Post” correspondent in the Autumn of 1899. The train was attacked by Boars, passengers were taken hostage, however Churchill escaped and described his experiences. The report became a huge success. The newspaper’s circulation increased significantly – „*Duży Format*” *Gazeta Wyborcza* 03.04.2003, p. 4.

by the conviction of fulfilling “public mission”³⁵⁰ by the press publishers, is considered as the founder of elite media. Nowadays, we consider some prestigious newspapers as the elite media with long traditions (e.g. British “The Times), or broadcasters of an agreed reputation and renown (e.g. British BBC – with regard to the high level of credibility, journalist ethics and the product itself). It does not change the fact that even the elite media can make mistakes. In Poland, the media considered to be part of the second group are “Gazeta Wyborcza”, “Rzeczpospolita” and the news channel “TVN24”. They are supposed to be the most credible and impartial sources of information, although there can obviously be found certain political or ideological affiliations.

Journalists have long discovered that violence and human tragedy sells better. Media researchers M. Kunczik and A. Zipfel say that an event, in order to become news, must fulfil a set of certain criteria. Kunchik and Zipfel in their quest for formal qualities of news point to the research of J. Galtung and M. Holmboe Ruge “*The Structure of Foreign News*”, which they broaden. As a result of their study, the researchers extracted twelve factors which make an event become news:

- Brevity – if an event is happening at a time close to the media presentation, then it has a greater chance to be reported;
- Intensity – the higher intensity of an event then it has a greater chance to become news;
- Univocity – news can become events that may be easily and unambiguously assessed;
- Importance – it is about importance in the meaning of cultural proximity and familiarity of a given event in a society, its influence on social life;
- Concurrence – the more a given event meets recipients’ expectations, the bigger chance it has to become news;
- Surprise – the more surprising or unique a given event is, the bigger chance it has to become news;
- Continuity – if an event has become news, then most often it becomes a subject of further reporting;

³⁵⁰ T. Goban-Klas, *Media i terroryści*, op. cit. p. 69.

- Reference to the elites/elite nations – an event where important people or influential nations participate has a greater chance of becoming news;
- Complementarity – in relation to other events and personalisation, that means connecting an event with an activity of certain people. It also makes it more attractive to the media;
- Negativity³⁵¹.

Most terrorist acts meet these criteria which definitely increase their attractiveness to the media. Terrorism (national and other) and war have been of interest to news recipients for many years. I will try to recall at least several important cases, from historical, political or media aspects, concerning conflicts and events referring to war and terrorism.

The forerunner of war reporting from the Mediterranean culture circle was Herodotus (born 484 B.C.). He preference was not objective information but always trying to stress the merit of Athens – a city-state where he had come from. The aim of his writing was the unification of Greek city-states against Persia and his work had, in fact, more of a propaganda characteristic. An example of Herodotus bias could be the description of Persians' sea voyage against Thrace. Herodotus suggests that the Persians wanted to invade Athens, but along the way a storm sent by the gods destroyed their ships, when in fact the storm devastated the Persian fleet after a victorious battle. Similar practices, in the area of distorting information, took place in Sparta and were practiced by Alexander the Great.

Another writer who brought closer the issue of war practiced by the Ancient Greeks was Thucydides, born around the year 460 B.C. In *"The History of the Peloponnesian War"* he describes the military struggles of nations of the city-states. Since he had personally taken part in the events he described, he could use his own observations and deepen them by witness reports. *"The History of the Peloponnesian War"* is full of warnings for future politicians as Thucydides attempted to extract the rules that govern history. Thucydides as an author was exceptionally careful and diligent in gathering information and recreating the past, which resulted in him being named the "gatherer of historic critique" by future generations of researchers.

³⁵¹ M. Kunczik, A. Zipfel, *Wprowadzenie do nauki dziennikarstwie i komunikowaniu*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 219–221.

German emperor Maximilian, during the conflict with Venice at the beginning of 16th century, also practiced information manipulation. Maximilian not only communicated with the people of the Reich, but also attempted to influence Venetian citizens. Napoleon, who was aware of the importance of public opinion, also referred to Maximilian's tradition. During his campaign, Napoleon also conducted a regular propaganda war. During the Napoleon Wars, for the first time, soldiers drew attention to the dangers of press information to strategic actions. Prince Wellington noted that newspapers gave information about the war in detail and by this opponents were able to receive exact information about the location of British troops, the morale and atmosphere in the camp.³⁵²

The classic of Military Theory, Carl von Clausewitz noted in his flagship work "*On War*" that success during a war is not only dependant on war activities but also on the involvement and mobilisation of public opinion and freeing within them the spirit of resistance. Clausewitz believed that Napoleon owed his successes mainly to favourable public opinion. According to him, victory involved not only military destruction of the opponent but on breaking his morale. Mass media, therefore, constitutes an important element in conducting a war because it can be used to mislead the enemy³⁵³, and what is more, one can be tempted to weaken it by means of smartly directed propaganda at the fighting spirit in the enemy's army as well as its society³⁵⁴.

Winston Churchill said "*In wartimes truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies*"³⁵⁵. Relating this thought to modern times, in which the war is ongoing, we should draw our attention to the fact that a modern society expects from the media and its informers true and reliable information. Therefore, most certainty, it will not treat with understanding the media or authority activities that is aimed at hindering access to information³⁵⁶.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 266–267.

³⁵³ Clausewitz wasn't here especially insightful, Sun Tzu wrote about misleading the opponent as one of the most important tasks in wartime 2500 years ago – see Sun Tzu, *Sztuka wojny*, Gliwice 2008.

³⁵⁴ C. von Clausewitz, *O wojnie*, Lublin 1995, ks. I.

³⁵⁵ M. Kunczik, A Zipfel, *Wprowadzenie do nauki dziennikarstwa i komunikowaniu*, op. cit., p. 273.

³⁵⁶ The authorities of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India introduced restrictions for live reports from terrorist attacks justifying their decision by the danger of informing terrorists on special services activities- <http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/184639,Nie-bedzie-pokazywania-terrorystow-w-telewizji> – [access: 05.03.2011].

Over recent decades when terrorists and their actions often provided topics for the media, many broadcasters worked out their own internal guidelines concerning reporting attacks and contact with terrorists. I will touch this in more detail later.

The invention of the rotary printing press posed as a milestone in the development of the press. Reporters and correspondents' reports from the battlefields and places of terrorist attacks constituted a perfect magnet for readers. However, the golden era of the press was slowly becoming the thing of the past. Radio was becoming more and more popular. It was the radio that showed the possibilities that resided in a greater flexibility in providing information or in creating reality. It was proven most distinctively by the stage version of "*The War of the Worlds*" by H.G. Wells created by Orson Wells and broadcasted by American CBS on 30th October 1938. Radio listeners were convinced that CBS was reporting live the invasion of Martians on the United States. The confusion caused by the radio program was only contained after several hours when people try to escape New Jersey in panic learned from police officers that it was only a radio play.³⁵⁷

As Tomasz Goban Klas writes – one of the consequences of the media evolution is "*the transfer of the media auditorium (the audience) into a target group for commercials; simply speaking, the media do not only produce information for the recipients but also the audience (auditorium) which they "sell" to advertisers, depending on their size and potential buying power, and consumer orientation*"³⁵⁸.

Quoted previously, Bruce Hoffman notes that all terrorist groups, despite differences, follow one common rule concerning the purpose of their actions. None of the groups make senseless steps which do not lead to achieving their main goal – obtaining publicity and intimidating opponents.³⁵⁹

The above-mentioned elitism is unfortunately connected with a limited auditorium or a group of readers, hence even the static are convinced about the position the media must, to some extent, adapt their message to the preferences of potentially new recipient groups.

³⁵⁷ W. Kalicki 30 X 1938. *Nalot Marsjan* – <http://wyborcza.pl/1,86176,2991236.html> – [access: 15.03.2011].

³⁵⁸ T. Goban-Klas, *Media i terroryści*, op. cit. pp. 69–72.

³⁵⁹ B. Hoffman, *Oblicza terroryzmu*, op. cit. p. 125.

The media market, just like our civilization, is evolving intensively. Whereas previously the press drew income from the sale of circulation only and complementing this by placing advertisements and announcements, then today, there is a number of newspapers distributed free of charge that make money only on advertising. Apart from public media networks supported by licenses, modern commercial media also have a voice, and they operate based on income received from various business activities.

2. Transformation of media system vs. terrorist activities

The media is playing a more and more important role in the modern world. Some researchers even claim that the role of the media is too great. It is worth quoting an opinion of an active journalist Paweł Kwiatkowski: *“We are revolving in a vicious circle being subjected to media that only focuses on profit and which, even though they try to meet our needs, in fact they first shaped these needs showing us the world in a distorting mirror. This vicious circle is spinning at such dizzying speed that we no longer have a chance to go back to the source, this is a situation in which media did not create anything, they didn't try to meet our needs, but simply told us what had happened in a simple and understood language. Unfortunately, today's formatted media tell us only what we are willing to pay for – us or the advertisers”*³⁶⁰. I think that the quoted passage, in a slightly apocalyptic way, diagnoses modern media, however it does not change the fact that their influence on the surrounding reality is undoubtedly big. It is a consequence of a developing society and continuous media evolution.

Bruce Hoffman distinguished several events/processes that are the turning point in mass communication:

- the first one is the inventions of steam and then the rotary printing press described earlier,
- another significant point in the media development history was the launch of the first television satellite by the USA in 1968³⁶¹,
- the third revolution in passing information was not only connect-

³⁶⁰ P. Kwiatkowski, *Przedsiębiorstwo Apokalipsa – o etyce dziennikarskiej*, Poznań 2003, p. 223.

³⁶¹ B. Hoffman, *Oblicza terroryzmu*, op. cit. p. 130.

ed with new technologies. According to Hoffman “*it was born rather from the correlation of technological facilities which by overlapping each other have changed not exactly the mechanics of presenting news, but its style*”³⁶².

The invention of the telecommunication satellite as one of the more important events in the history of media reporting and terrorism development, can be confirmed by the dynamic appearance of spectacular forms of terrorism such as: commercial plane hijackings. This kind of actions became the favourite activity of Palestine terrorists. We can, of course, connect their activities with the loss, by Arab countries, the Six Day War, but in fact over the next few decades reports from further air pirate acts often attracted the interest of viewers all over the world. I will expand on the phenomenon of air terrorism in the next chapters of this book³⁶³.

Whereas terrorists cannot function without media publicity, the media also benefit from this specific symbiosis. According to Robert Borkowski, it is them “*that find a topic that is in the centre of viewers’ attention, which in turn delivers commercial success*”³⁶⁴. By the same researcher, during the asymmetric war the use of the media constitutes an important element of activities. Pictures of violence, destruction and civilian sufferings are done to show public opinion the price for ignoring terrorists’ demands. News creators willingly participate in this kind of a show, creating a new quality of “*war as infotainment*”³⁶⁵ out of the conflict report.

The best example of such co-existence is widely described, i.e. by Bruce Hoffman, the case of holding by Arab terrorists passengers of TWA airlines in 1985. For the reporters and special correspondents (also for the owners of stations delegating them) who reported this event, the basic goal of their activities was to attract and keep in suspense the highest number of viewers, and not credible journalism. By means of very emotional, on the edge of manipulation, reporting

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³⁶³ The year 1968 is considered as the beginning of new wave of terrorism. It was then that Palestine fighters for the first time hijacked an El-Al plane flying from Rome to Tel-Aviv.

³⁶⁴ R. Borkowski, *Terroryzm ponowoczesny*, Toruń 2007, pp. 261–262.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

journalists, in fact, were influencing the activities of American and Israeli administrations, whose attitude had to evolve during the crisis. Despite the initially irreconcilable approach towards terrorists, American mediators, in time and under pressure of public opinion, had to exert influence on Israel in order to meet the hijackers' demands – release from Israeli prisons of over 700 Shiite terrorists held there.

It is important to note here that the power of television was discovered much earlier. During the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, when in the of American Embassy Building in Teheran 52 hostages were held, and this event was accompanied by a large number of protesters. Alex P. Schmid noted that when a team from Canadian television CBC appeared under the embassy and started reporting “*protesters started shouting ‘Death to Carter’ and raising their fists, they looked angry and were burning American flags. After 2 minutes, the camera operator indicated that he had shot all the necessary material. The same scene was repeated for the team of Canadian French speaking televisions, and the crowd was shouting then „mort a Carter’*”³⁶⁶.

The co-existence of the media and terrorists cannot of course be evaluated and presented in such a one-sided way. Most media corporations and journalist organisations have worked out their own procedures in reporting terrorist attacks and contact with terrorists' representatives. The British BBC has a model solutions for these issues. We have to remember that Great Britain has the most restrictive law on national security, which has undoubtedly influenced the shape of internal corporate regulations.³⁶⁷ Undoubtedly, terrorist activities of the Irish Republican Army, which had conducted terrorist activities in the area of the United Kingdom for several decades, also had significant impact on the development of such regulations.

³⁶⁶ A.P Schmid *Terrorism and the media: The ethics of publicity*, [In:] *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 4/1989, p. 559.

³⁶⁷ System „D Notice”, which is guarded by the Defence Advisory Notice, means that media can, in justified cases, agree to stop broadcasting material, which in, a particular way, could threaten national security. Information on state security and foreign intelligence, army secrets, information that could harm important interests abroad, facts on official investigations, and correspondence control are all top secret. British law on state secret, even though toned down in 1990 is still one of the strictest ones in Europe., *Gazeta Wyborcza*, [access: 01.13.1994], p. 10.

When conducting interviews with terrorists, BBC journalists should adhere to the following rules:

- *“It is not allowed to record an interview with a terrorist, in a British or international context, without reporting it officially to the Program Policy Director.*
- *If we want to include an interview in the program text or to reporter or correspondent’s report, first we must obtain permission from the news management.*
- *A BBC journalist who is not able to report such interview to his/her superior must make a decision compliant with BBC strategy and report it to the management as soon as possible, who, if needed, will consult it with the Program Policy Director.”*³⁶⁸

Referring to the reliability of information promoted by the broadcaster, Agnieszka Węglińska notes: *“BBC journalists are aware of the weight of terrorism related issues. If public television does not inform society in a credible and impartial way about terrorist attacks, then other media might fill in this gap. Therefore, the BBC should inform viewers and listeners about terrorist attacks in a credible and impartial way in order to prevent the spread of rumours and gossip. However, the BBC should always have in mind national security and the safety of individuals (terrorists’ threat victims)”*³⁶⁹.

The ban on showing a terrorist organisation in a positive light, or even the use of words that in any way could justify terrorist attacks is also connected with reporting terrorist activities³⁷⁰. Such words include: *to execute a sentence, operating unit, court martial.*³⁷¹

Following the events of 11th September 2001, in the context of terrorist matters and armed conflicts, we cannot avoid the problem of Islamic terrorism. The result of such activities is the war in Afghanistan. The BBC pays special attention to these issues not only as a British public broadcaster but also as international television. With regard to the war in Afghanistan, the BBC prepared special instructions concerning reports of this conflict. The main message of

³⁶⁸ *Vademecum Dziennikarstwa BBC*, Warszawa 1989, p. 171.

³⁶⁹ A. Węglińska, *Brytyjski model mediów publicznych*, Łódź 2007, p. 144.

³⁷⁰ *Vademecum Dziennikarstwa BBC*, op. cit. p. 172.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

such conflict report should be information that the war is not directed at Islam and it appeals to journalists and producers not to ignite the atmosphere of intolerance and prejudice.³⁷²

Michał Tabisz draws our attention to another issue. The BBC can stop a given report or withdraw its journalist upon a request of army authorities or the Minister of Defence, if it is justified by national security concerns. Another important rule in reporting a conflict or terrorist organisations' activities is for the families of victims not finding out about a death or injuries to relatives from radio or television. The BBC recommends hold off publication of victims' personal information until gaining confirmation that families have actually been informed. The British corporation allows for earlier publication only if dictated by higher national interest, or if the information regarding victims were previously widely publicised by other broadcasters³⁷³. The following pages present an analysis of journalistic ethical conduct in Polish public television. There are ethical postulates assigned to other dimensions of a journalist's occupation. In the issues that are of interest to us connected with presenting violence and misfortune (and terrorist attacks should be considered as such), the TVP authorities postulate:

On the website of *Telwizja Polska SA* are placed: "The Rules of Journalistic Ethics at TVP SA".

1. *"When showing scenes of violence and cruelty it is required that each case maintain the right balance between a report's precision and weakening of a viewer's sensitivity.*

2. *In reports from wars, riots or protests a journalist should maintain the attitude of an uninvolved observer, so as not to become a subject of manipulation.*

3. *In programs for children, issues of physical or psychological violence journalists should undertake with extreme care, tact and restraint; and only in the case when they do not endanger physical, mental or moral development of a child.*

³⁷² <http://www.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines/page/guidelines-war-principles/> – [access: 21.03.2011].

³⁷³ M. Tabisz, *Komunikowania politycznego w BBC zasady i tło historyczne*, *Studia Medioznawcze* nr 1/2003, pp. 110–111.

4. *A journalist is not allowed to show close-ups of death scenes, people suffering physically or mentally, drastic consequences of catastrophes, crimes and wars.*"³⁷⁴

On another TVP SA internet sub-page, a very synthetic canon of ethical attitudes bear more expanded comments. I considered two issues as being very interesting mentioned there: "*There is one absolute ethical ban: it is unacceptable to show in close-up scenes of death, pausing at especially bloody, cruel aftereffects of violence. It is, in fact, difficult to see in such behaviour something other than pandering to thoughtless, cruel starring. Finally, it is important to remember about an adequate proximity of tragic topics: they should not be directly preceded or followed by commercials or entertainment issues*"³⁷⁵. In the similar spirit a majority of Polish news television stations operate which can sometimes refrain from broadcasting commercials, in the case of important or tragic events.³⁷⁶ Journalists associated to various professional organisations also have their codes of conduct.

In the *Journalist Code of Conduct* adopted by the Stowarzyszenie Dziennikarzy Rzeczpospolitej (Broadcasting Press Guild) one can read as follows:

"The main responsibility of an ethical journalist is obtaining and publishing the truth. Fact manipulation is unacceptable. [...]

V. *There is an absolute ban on publishing information presenting war propaganda, violence, rape (...)*"³⁷⁷.

Ethical rules proposed by a competitive syndicate (Stowarzyszenie Dziennikarzy Polski) state, among other things:

"15. In reports of war, riots and protests journalists should maintain an attitude of an uninvolved observers, so as not to become subject to manipulation.

³⁷⁴ <http://www.tvp.pl/o-tvp/komisja-etyki/podstrony/zasady-etyki-dziennikarskiej-w-telewizji-polskiej-sa-informacja-publicystyka-reportaz-dokument-edukacja/105729/page9/105739> – [access: 24.03.2011].

³⁷⁵ <http://www.tvp.pl/o-tvp/komisja-etyki/podstrony/rozwiniecie-zasad/105763> – [access: 24.03.2011].

³⁷⁶ An example of such behaviour was reporting Smolensk Catastrophe and its aftermath i.e. on TVN 24.

³⁷⁷ <http://www.dziennikarzerp.pl/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/kodeks.pdf> – [access: 24.03.2011].

16. *It is unacceptable to show close-up scenes of death, and the bloody after effects of war and catastrophes; displays of cruelty and violence can only be shown on the condition of maintaining balance between the accurateness of the report with regard to the sensitivity of recipients, especially victims' families and their close ones*"³⁷⁸.

Ethical codes proposed by individual broadcasters or journalist syndicates do not significantly differ from each other. It is more important as to whether journalists actually abide by them. Sometimes, reality exceeds the frameworks of events that were assumed when writing such moral canons. The behaviour of Polish media following terrorist attacks in the USA in September 2001 were analysed by Paweł Kwiatkowski. He does not question the continual work of television news channels or publishing by weekly magazines special issues, but issuing special supplements by magazines associated with fashion and lifestyle seems to the researcher as an act vaguely ethical³⁷⁹. According to Kwiatkowski, it was a bizarre behaviour of telecommunication operator – Polska Telefonia Cyfrowa (Era), which cancelled a series of concerts for their 15th anniversary (which in itself was a nice gesture adapted to the gravity of situation), which decided to place full-page announcements in leading national newspapers that events in the United States “*affected many of our friends, clients, shareholders, investors and us personally*”³⁸⁰.

One can, of course, feel ethical distaste because of such media behaviour, however it is worth remembering that such varied approach to the dramatic events in the United States results from freedom that the media has enjoyed in our country since 1989. As an example of the media which on the one hand have (because of information monopoly) a huge influence on its recipients, and on the other half can only place opinions and news approved by the authorities, such as newspapers in China. Their attitude to the tragedy in the USA was researched by Wei Wang³⁸¹. The information was laconic, in accordance with the attitude of official Chinese authorities.

³⁷⁸ <http://www.sdp.pl/Kodeks-etyki-dziennikarskiej-SDP> - [access: 24.03.2011].

³⁷⁹ P. Kwiatkowski, *Przedsiębiorstwo Apokalipsa...* op. cit. pp. 83–85.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.85.

³⁸¹ W. Wang *Intertextual aspects of Chinese newspaper commentaries on the events of 9/11*. “Discourse studies” Vol. 10/2008, pp. 361–381.

Another important determinant of such actions is undoubtedly the mediatisation of modern social-political life. According to Michał Drożdż “*Mediatisation in its strict sense is not a uniform process but rather a platform for expressing many individual processes of media transformation. It is worth mentioning some of them: globalisation, cartelisation, digitalisation, divergence, virtualisation, transformations in the lives of individuals and societies (media consumptions), changes of criteria and evaluation systems. These changes touch upon almost every sphere of human life, even the political one*”³⁸².

The specifics of media evolution and its impact on politics – mediatisation – is described by Jesper Strömbäck. It is worth stressing that the researcher refers his concept rather to traditional media, that is the press, radio and television, excluding the Internet and other new media.

On the first level of mediatisation of politics, the mass media are the most important source of information and a crucial communication channel³⁸³ between citizens and political actors. The media become an intermediary between both citizens and authorities.

The second level of mediatisation could be characterised, according to Strömbäck, by increasing independence of the media from government administration and/or other political bodies. What is more, politicians in their activities would follow media expectations to a greater extent, than, for instance, reason of state. We are observing a reversal from current trends where the media broadcasts a politician’s messages to citizens to a new one where politicians communicate only that which would look and sound good in the media and would positively influence their image.

The third level of mediatisation only takes place when the media are the dominating source of information and a channel of communication for all parts of society. On the third level of mediatisation society adapts to the behaviour and values created and promoted by

³⁸² M. Drożdż, “Być” to znaczy być w mediach – aksjologiczny wymiar medialnej produkcji wizerunków polityków, [In:] M. Sokołowski (eds.) *Za kulisami spektaklu. Medialne wizerunki polityki*, Toruń 2009, p. 61.

³⁸³ Channel – physical means of communication through which a signal is sent i.e. radio waves, light waves, sound waves, telephone cables. – T. Goban-Klas, *Media i komunikowanie masowe. Teorie i analizy prasy, radia i Internetu*. Warszawa 2000, p. 25.

the media. This canon of values is becoming binding for politicians also, who no longer have an influence on the media and they are not able to appear with their own (not modelled by the media) message. It is the media that are beginning to create reality, even by setting the agenda³⁸⁴.

We can talk about the fourth level of mediatisation only when all social life participants start to function based on models mediated by the media, adopting them as its own at the same time.³⁸⁵

The weakness of this concept is narrowing the subject of divergences only to traditional media. In the modern media system, we cannot ignore the influence of new information – communication technologies. It is difficult to understand in Strömbäck's analysis the claims that the media create their own system of values both for political actors and the public. The researcher seems not to notice the fact that the media do not present a unified system of values, but they are varied. A modern democracy, due to the development of broadband Internet, is characterised by external and internal pluralism in the media area. It is worth adding that media operate in varied political systems and in an international environment and are also dependent on these factors. Jacek Żakowski shares his comments about modern media. According to the journalist and publicist "*their nature is obviously anarchic (...). In this sense that they are subject not only to the unstructured market, but also anarchic fluctuations in views shaping culture, and the interest of recipients and authors*"³⁸⁶.

Thus, how can we understand mediatisation of politics? Michał Drożdż lists several factors which constitute the result of media activities in relation to politics:

1. the media model's viable reality,

³⁸⁴ According to the agenda-setting hypothesis, the press may point to the importance of a message by placing it on a page, making it the news of the day, size of heading, size of an article. Television agenda has much less leeway, however a mention on the evening news may also indicate the weight of the news. M. McCombs, *Ustanawianie agendy. Media masowe i opinia publiczna*, Kraków 2008, pp. 1–2.

³⁸⁵ J. Strömbäck *Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics*, "The International Journal of Press/Politics", Vol. 13/2008, pp. 228–246.

³⁸⁶ J. Żakowski, *Prasa i sprawiedliwość*, Polityka 2006, No. 41 (2575), p. 24.

2. in the media world, the borders of reality are becoming blurred, regardless of whether the world/event is real or virtual,

3. the media's impact on reality by shaping it,

4. the media is changing time – space conditions for a human. Thanks to the media there occurs the impression of a recipient's ubiquity – (at the same time we can follow favourite sporting events and a plane crash on the other side of the world),

5. we evaluate and accept reality by means of a matrix which is borrowed from the media,

6. all these changes are taking place thanks to digital technology³⁸⁷.

These factors presented by Michał Drożdż can also be used to create a terrorist threat. The first one of them reads as: “the media model (contemporary) terrorism” seems to be true. For decades, terrorists have adapted their activities to media operations by:

- Using them to widely send information about committed acts;
- Placing their demands to the authorities in the media – it was especially popular in the stream of the so-called leftist terrorism, although Arab terrorists (of different provenance) readily used the media also;
- Terrorists usually quickly announce which group had carried out the act (such information is very often sent to the media – what is more, it happened that the media mediated in passing information onto the authorities) – modern terrorists are moving away from this solution (Osama bin Laden confirmed participation of Al-Qaeda in the 9/11 attacks only several years later³⁸⁸), and many terrorist attacks are not claimed by any terrorist organisation. Terrorist groups operating in the area of pro-Soviet countries readily use such solutions.

If, by the above described activities terrorist organisations seem to marginalise or decrease the role of the media, it can be explained only by these organisations conducting their own information and propaganda policy, which I will describe in the next sub-chapter.

³⁸⁷ M. Drożdż, “*Być*” to znaczy być w mediach, op. cit. p. 58.

³⁸⁸ Modern organisations do not always admit to carrying out an attack. They often form, for the purpose of media policy ‘new’ entities, or they don't admit at all. It is happening more and more often that organisations claim that they had an influence on the attacks carried out by the so-called lone wolves.

Another of the described factors would concern the disappearance of the border between reality and virtuality in reporting terrorist acts, and threats (I think especially) that they carry. This factor would be connected with the third dimension mentioned by Michał Drożdż that the media is changing the world – in this case, terrorism would make this change. It is worth to pertain to the effect caused by reports from the widely reported TWA flight hostage crisis. Owing to the threat atmosphere created by the media about 850 Americans cancelled their trips and holidays (including foreign travel). Another 200 thousand Americans changed their plans for their holidays abroad to holidays in the USA. The losses of, for instance, Italian hoteliers or restaurateurs who lost over 50% of their American reservations were measurable³⁸⁹. Results of a research carried out in 1988–1989 by Theodore Downes-Le Guin and Bruce Hoffman concerning the influence of terrorism on public opinion in the USA in these times are very interesting. One of the researched issues concerned the feeling of threat from detailed dangers. Table no. 1 includes research results.

Table 1. Perception of chosen threats in the USA in 1988–1989

Threats	Percentage of respondents feeling the threat (in %)			Probability of threat occurrence
	very probable	probable	in total	
Participation in a car accident	28	43	71	19.2/100 000 people
Participation in a plane crash	20	27	47	1.5/100 000 hours of flying
Flight in a hijacked plane	4	10	14	Approx. 1/100 000 passengers
Being hurt in an explosion of a bomb left by terrorists	3	11	14	Unknown – in 1988 there were 2 explosions and 518 attempts

Source: T. Downes – Le Guin, B. Hoffman, *The Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion, 1988 to 1989*, Santa Monica 1993, p. 15

³⁸⁹ B. Hoffman, *Oblicza terroryzmu*, op. cit. p. 143.

Indicators for the probability of participation in the above-mentioned events obviously refer to the time of the research (1988–1989). Current indicators concerning hijackings or plane crashes show even smaller chances of participation in such events. Planes are getting better, and safety regulations decrease the probability of smuggling explosives, or plane hijacking. I will write more about the evolution of safety regulation in civil aviation in another chapter of this book. It is worth noting that the research carried out at that time also includes reaction to the terrorist attack on PAN AM plane, which was torn to pieces by a bomb, over the Scottish town Lockerbie. Even if we compare the number of Americans who died in those years as a result of terrorist acts (in total 226 people, 190 of them in the above-mentioned plane) to the 90 thousand people who died in plane crashes in the USA in these years³⁹⁰, then the threat shown in this research seems to be acquiescent to the real threat. The media, of course, play their role in building such perception of threat, and as a result we can say that terrorists, in some way, shape the reality.

Another issue researched was the liking for the phenomenon of terrorism in general and also towards activities of particular groups. The research was carried out on a group of 1100 respondents. Table no. 2 includes research results.

Table 2. Liking towards terrorist organisations in the USA in 1988/1989

Terrorist organisation	Support (in %)		
	strong	weak	in total
Terrorism as a method	1	1	2
Jewish Defense League	3	10	13
Irish Republican Army (IRA)	1	7	8
Palestine Liberation Organisation	1	5	6
Ku Klux Klan	1	1	2
Islamic Jihad	0	1	1

Source: T. Downes – Le Guin, B. Hoffman, *The Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion, 1988 to 1989*, Santa Monica 1993, p. 16.

As we can see, support for terrorism as a method is very small (only 14 out of 1103 people expressed any form of liking for such

³⁹⁰ B. Hoffman, *Oblicza terroryzmu*, op. cit., p. 142.

acts³⁹¹). The Jewish Defense League or the IRA received relatively high acceptance of their actions. It can be explained by the ethnic origins of some respondents and US policies (especially regarding the Israel State). It is important to note that the research was carried out in 1988/1989 when the threat from Islamic terrorists was disproportionately lower than now. I believe that if the same questionnaire was carried out at the end of 2001 it would bring a completely different set of results.

The media – as suggested by Michał Drożdż – give the recipients an illusion of ubiquity, and constitute incredibly important instrument or even a weapon in the hands of terrorists. Each attack is reported by news televisions all over the world, almost in real time. This, with all certainty, makes it easier for terrorists to promote their demands and convictions. However, on the other hand, recipients might already be resistant to barbaric acts that accompany them in the media on an almost every day occurrence. We can safely say that for an average European, nearly daily reports on bomb attacks in Iraq or Pakistan are no longer the media event of the day. The results of another research carried out by Downe-Le Guin and Hoffman, who analysed terrorist threats for specific places in the world, shows the perception of terrorist threat. Respondents were by far afraid of terrorism as a global phenomenon, however the threat to the United States or their neighbourhood did not seem great. Such perception of the United States must have changed after 2001, but the research results showed that stereotypes concerning safety at the place of work or living are still alive. The question, “is Wrocław a safe city” most respondents would respond negatively, but when asked about their neighbourhood they will evaluate it on a definitely higher level. Table no. 3 presents results of the research.

³⁹¹ T. Downes – Le Guin, B. Hoffman, RAND Corporation, *The Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion, 1988 to 1989*, p. 16.

Table 3. Perception of terrorism as a threat to specific parts of the world

How serious is the terrorist threat?	Threat (in %)		
	serious	occurring	in total
in the world?	64	34	98
in the Middle East?	86	13	99
in Europe?	46	47	93
in South America?	45	46	91
in Asia?	23	53	76
in the USA?	12	45	57
where I live or work?	3	7	10

Source: T. Downes – Le Guin, B. Hoffman, *The Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion, 1988 to 1989*, Santa Monica 1993, p. 13.

The fact that we are not impressed (in majority) by a tragedy affecting hundreds or thousands of people (and the victims of attacks in Iraq are often counted in the tens of killed and injured, which when adding their families gives hundreds of people directly connected with the attack) is undoubtedly the result of another factor described by Michał Drożdż. We perceive the tragedy in the media as categories and are only affected by an event which is created as one standing out from a group of everyday distant dramas that usually does not touch us in any way. It could be a terrorist attack whose victim is our fellow countryman or even a European. Every day news agencies present information about losses among coalition soldiers fighting in Afghanistan, Iraq or in other places, where there is an intervention of the UN, NATO or other international organisation and the news becomes important only when there are Poles among the victims³⁹². We are generally indifferent to other tragedies as they become common and are not attractive to the media at all. In 2010, 3900 people died in 38 thousand accidents³⁹³ on Polish roads. News recipients are only aware of a few of them where several dozen people died in total. The remaining tragedies are usually anonymous to us and we do not realise that they happened. Not taking anything away from the tragedy in the

³⁹² Polish army losses constitute approx. 1 % of the coalition fighting with taliban in Afghanistan losses- <http://www.tvn24.pl/0,1686872,0,1,na-jkrwawszy-rok-koalicji-w-afganistanie,wiadomosc.html> – [access: 31.03.2011].

³⁹³ http://www.policja.pl/palm/pol/1/61723/Mniej_wypadkow_mniej_zabitych_i_mniej_rannych__2010_rok_na_polskich_drogach.html - [access: 31.03.2011].

Smolensk airport, it is important to note that on Polish roads died a group of people that could fill over 30 government Tupolevs, and still this fact did not impress on anyone. This is the result of thinking in the media categories which already gained a foothold in our society.

Referring to the final indicator of politics mediatisation listed by Michał Drożdż, there is no doubt that mediatisation of terrorism started in the pre-digital era (from the middle of 19th century to the 1970s) but new possibilities readily used by terrorist organisations were brought by the digital revolution. It is thanks to digital television platforms, the Internet and WWW pages they can make propaganda on the net and television stations and widely report their activities. I will elaborate on this thread in another sub-chapter. A short analysis of factors in mediatisation of politics proposed by Michał Drożdż confirms the thesis on mediatisation of modern terrorism. Contemporary terrorists use media in a professional way, realise their impact on society and even conduct their own information and propaganda policy.

3. New media as tools for terrorist organisations

The specifics of today's world are well represented by the words of Paul Virilio. He claims that *"this that we witness today is the beginning of 'the end of space' of our small planet drifting in electronic ether of modern means of communication"*³⁹⁴. If we connect this prognosis with the changing character of modern terrorism diagnosed i.e. by Anthony Giddens³⁹⁵, it is impossible not to notice how great changes are accompanying our times. We can obviously question the

³⁹⁴ P. Virilio, *Bomba informacyjna*, Warszawa 2006, p. 13.

³⁹⁵ Anthony Giddens proposes four distinction of modern terrorism:

1. new terrorism aims (on Al-Kaida's example) are geopolitical and concern halting modernisation and regress of the modern world.
2. organisational abilities – modern terrorism can't do without new technologies, especially communication one,
3. ruthlessness – Bin Laden talks about murdering millions of his enemies,
4. ordnance – using the Internet opens the way to to seize power and production of ordnance unavailable for the previous generations of terrorists.

From the speech of A. Giddens at the House of Lords in March 2005 – www.parliament.uk/mansard/hansard2.cfm – [access: 07.03.2011].

characteristics of modern terrorism³⁹⁶ proposed by Giddens but we cannot agree with the thesis that terrorism is evolving just like the whole modern West, or North civilisation to participation in which we feel obliged.

Researchers of terrorism are attempting to forecast the development of this ever-present phenomenon. Some restrict modern terrorism to dominating in its Islamic element. Referring to the previously quoted thesis posed by Samuel Huntington³⁹⁷, modern terrorism is perceived in the context of conflict caused by the clash of civilisations³⁹⁸. When analysing the history of terrorist acts, Kuba Jałoszyński concludes that religious terrorism manifested in our times is much more dangerous than previous terrorist acts. The possibility to use weapons of mass destruction by terrorists is a great threat. Another threat, according to this researcher, is the change of priorities that accompanied previous terrorist acts. They have abandoned the trap of “more viewers – less corpses” in favour of higher effectiveness

³⁹⁶ If we look at terrorists's goals as a departure from the Civilization of the West and entry into a civilisation of specifically and fundamentally understood Islam, then we can of course agree with the researcher. However, if we treat the same Islam as one from the rich array of ideologies, then how would Al-Kaida that offers Islam differ from the the wanting to change the world Marxism and Maoistic leftist terrorism of the 1960s and 70s.? When it comes to the modern technological advances used by terrorists, then we have to note that they have always used in their activities civilisation solutions available presently (time bombs of anarchists, hijacking planes by Palestines). The accusation of ruthlessness can be referred to countries which in their operations implemented ideals and ideas for which left wing terrorists were fighting. Kambodia, or totalitarian China and the Soviet Union led repressive policy towards its citizens with premeditation, what's more, in the time of the “cold war” for all that time they were preparing for further, (including armed) expansion for the preached ideas to other countries. When it comes to the last distinction proposed by Anthony Giddens, it is impossible to deny that such wide access to the Internet has significantly enabled access to information and knowledge by terrorists. However, it is important to note that at the early stage of development, there were printed manuals for terrorists – anarchists. I wrote about it in the chapter devoted to the history of this phenomenon.

³⁹⁷ Zob. S. Huntington, *Zderzenie cywilizacji*, op. cit.

³⁹⁸ Zob. K. Jałoszyński, *Koncepcja współczesnych działań antyterrorystycznych*, op. cit. p. 98.

of their actions. The number of victims and value of losses inflicted on terrorists' enemies constitutes sufficient premise to carry out an attack.³⁹⁹

Robert Borkowski argues with Jałoszyński's thesis claiming that much more important in terrorist activities is the psychological effect achieved by them.⁴⁰⁰ Agreeing with the fact that, for instance, the 9/11 attacks in 2001 were directed at causing the highest material losses and killing the highest possible number of people, then however, the most important goal for them – the propaganda effect. Borkowski claims that terrorism it is some sort of communication strategy that aims at popularising certain messages: "*Terrorism has the character of an offensive strategy which aims at showing weaknesses of the attacked and signalling readiness to repeat attacks, and therefore causing losses to the enemy if he does not fulfil posed political demands. At the same time, a terrorist organisation addresses its message to 'the third party' on behalf of which it appears or which it tries to recruit against the attacked side*"⁴⁰¹.

Another opinion on this issue is presented by Marek Madej, who noticing in modern terrorism there acts an increasing role of activities inspired by religion, suggests that these acts are aimed at not forcing concession of the opponent (countries or societies), but its physical annihilation. Therefore, the role of the media as a messenger of such demands is decreasing.⁴⁰² This thesis can be confirmed by the fact that the number of terrorist acts to which no organisation admits is growing, or new organisations are formed for the purpose of casual information. Such activities would confirm the position of Jałoszyński and Madej that for modern terrorists, the media in their current form are starting to lose their attractiveness.

According to the author of this study, in the views of all three researchers we could find the description of contemporary terrorist attacks. However, the evolving terrorists' tactics in the direction of more "efficiency", and also the change in perceiving the role of the so-called traditional media by terrorists seems to confirm the views of Madej and Jałoszyński. Maybe, it relates to the fact that meeting the

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, s. 101.

⁴⁰⁰ R. Borkowski, *Terroryzm ponowoczesny*, op. cit. p. 262.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 262–263..

⁴⁰² Madej M., *Międzynarodowy terroryzm polityczny*, op. cit. p. 17–18.

demands of some organisations is for modern societies unthinkable (it is impossible to create countries everywhere based on the Koran or accepting Islam by most of Western societies). Expectations that the media will pass on such demands make no sense, and their role in the communication process is decidedly different than in the 1970s. when plane hijackers with joy announced their lists of demands. Contemporary terrorists sometimes use traditional media to present their demands but more and more often they prefer to create their own information distribution channels.

Observing the means of communication used by terrorists over the last 150 years we can see that terrorists used communication technologies available in their times:

- underground press, leaflets, publications – beginning stage of terrorism development;
- illegal radio stations;
- conventional, official media (mass press, radio, television) – in the time of state terrorism and (more television) in the time of flourishing leftist terrorism. Contemporary terrorists sometimes take advantage of the development of satellite television.⁴⁰³

The first two categories were characterised by a very narrow range of impact. Even legal, anarchic newspapers or manuals were restricted by the possibilities of distribution. Leaflets often printed in primitive conditions for sure could not have been a regular and widely available channel of information. Similar inconveniences concerned independent radio stations. During the martial law in Poland it was rare that the same transmitter could be used twice. In most cases, theoretical time for its location and interception by the security services did not exceed a dozen or so minutes. Even if transmitters suspended under balloons were used, their range remained limited. Another solution was using a network of several lower power devices simultaneously emitting a signal, which allowed for increasing the range of potential impact. It was incomparably smaller than the scope of official media and in relation to today's possibilities offered by the Internet – almost none. It was, however, an example of creative attempts to break the state's information monopoly, more risqué as the

⁴⁰³ T. Goban Klas, *op. cit.* p. 198.

underground radio programs were broadcasted on the same frequencies as state television programs.⁴⁰⁴

The dynamic development of digital technologies accompanying our civilization also influenced terrorists' communication methods. Tomasz Goban – Klas draws attention to three most important communication channels of contemporary terrorists:

- computers and the Internet;
- cheap, simple audio-video production;
- private Arab TV stations.⁴⁰⁵

It is the Internet, as per the researcher, that is becoming the most important and the fastest medium for sending information, which with time, due to its range and accessibility, and problems with content control, will replace all current channels for sending information. In this context, it is worth noting that the Internet allows for not only spreading propaganda but also recruiting supporters and collecting funds for further activities.

In further parts of this article I will try to bring closer three most popular means of communication used by Islamic terrorists.

In the face of a digital technological revolution, which we are witnessing, the first two forms of communication can be considered as identical, as the Internet allows for the placing all kinds of films, online guides, or other visual media forms.

Tomasz Goban – Kals notes that Al-Qeada and other terrorist organisations very effectively take advantage of any possibilities awarded to them by new mass media, including the Internet. With great skills, they upload films from prisoner executions, reports from attacks on the coalition forces in Iraq or Afghanistan, or even manuals for constructing bombs and preparing biological weapons.⁴⁰⁶

One of the first successful uses of the Internet by a terrorist organisation was its use in Mexico by Zapatistas. Revolutionaries from the Chiapas state by sending to journalist all over the world electronic reports from riots with the authorities, ensured for themselves media

⁴⁰⁴ http://www.radios.org.pl/historia_radia_s/historia/wroclaw/ – 14.04.2011; <http://www.radiosolidarnosc.pl/> – [access: 14.04.2011].

⁴⁰⁵ Goban Klas op. cit. p. 199.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 200–201.

interest.⁴⁰⁷With the help of their supporters they were able to carry out acts of civil disobedience that involved blocking the communication infrastructure of the president's or minister of internal affairs offices by sending emails and faxes.

Hezbollah, another Islamic terrorist organisation, created during the war with Israel in the territory of Lebanon a special internet site in the Hebrew language where they posted propaganda materials, films from anti-Israeli actions and some chosen information.⁴⁰⁸One of its leaders, Brahim Naser al-Din later claimed that “*thanks to the Internet Hezbollah entered Israeli homes creating an important psychological breach in their minds*”.⁴⁰⁹ Such actions are a model example of psychological warfare conducted on the Internet pages. Al-Qaeda as a network organisation standardises content of its internet pages. On the discussion forums, set up by individual links, we can find similar content structures:

- current affairs section,
- information on Jihad,
- set of multimedia,
- poetry,
- current discussions.

The page also includes a logo of the group that administers the forum, and multimedia are marked with logos of groups producing them.⁴¹⁰This may indicate that there is a high level of specialisation among terrorists, who commission the production of propaganda or training materials to their specialised cells.

In such a context of using the net, in a civilised manner, we can consider the activities of Internet users. During the Israel's war with Hamas in 2009, several thousand Israeli websites became the target of coordinated hacker attacks from Iran, Turkey, Lebanon or Morocco. The Israelis did not remain passive and carried out revenge action.

⁴⁰⁷ M. Castells, *Sila tożsamości*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 80–87.

⁴⁰⁸ G. Weimann, *Online Terrorists – Modern Terrorism and the Internet* [In:] S. Glaab (red.) *Medien und Terrorismus- Auf dem Spuren einer symbiotischen Beziehung*, Berlin 2007, p. 55.

⁴⁰⁹ A reprint from a Hezbollah page in an Israeli newspaper Yediot Aharonot 16.12.1998, p. 7, see also *Ibid.*, p. 55

⁴¹⁰ D.Kimmage *The Al-Qaeda Media Nexus: The Virtual Network Behind the Global Message An RFE/RL Special Report*, Washington 2008, pp. 21–22.

On one of the sites they posted a file, which when downloaded by a large number of people at the same time, blocked websites connected with Hamas.⁴¹¹

Fighting this type of activities is not simple. Some media allows access to some multimedia only after logging in, and the access paths to particularly “encriminating” materials such as terrorist manuals are made secret and are made available only after prior identification of those who want to use it. Such materials are also sent and exchanged between discussion forum users. The authorities are obviously following (as much as possible) the net content, but its huge capacity makes this task difficult. Great mobility that concerns content transferred to other servers poses as another difficulty for services fighting such activities. Access for the interested is therefore virtually unlimited, and the content that aims at fighting the West and its culture is often placed on servers that belong to its territory.

Unfortunately, it is only a matter of time when the Internet will be used for purely destructive purposes. It is easy to imagine a transport paralysis of a large city with its traffic light system attacked in this way. Equally troublesome could be the paralysis of an airport terminal (passenger or cargo). It is sufficient to infect a luggage sorting system, which at large airports amounts to hundreds of thousand of pieces daily, or to paralyse the system directing passengers to the right gates. It is rather impossible that the control tower system could be hacked as these systems operate autonomously. However, all systems that have to communicate with other external systems are vulnerable.

As an example of a private Arab television station is Al-Jazeera that broadcasts from Qatar. Its beginnings reach back to 1996 and it is connected with modernising the country represented by the ruling family.⁴¹²The idea of the media sent by satellites became especially valid following Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait in 1991. It is sufficient to say that

⁴¹¹ T. Goban Klas, op. cit., p. 221.

⁴¹² In Qatar, since regaining its independence in 1971 Al Thani family has been ruling, and the function of the Emir, the Leader of the Armed Forces and the Minister of Defence serves Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani. The remaining members of the cabinet also come from this family – see H. Miles, *Al.-Jazeera. How Arab TV News challenged the World*, London 2006, p. 13, compare also <http://www.qatar.com/Page/About/41/> – [access: 18.04.2011].

for the first few years from launching the first satellite in 1985 it mainly served to send Arab newspapers written in London to printing houses located in the region. Only after the first war in the Gulf, Arabs noticed that they could use this channel for their TV programs. An increasing number of countries in that region started to broadcast their own programs by means of satellites. As an example, we can present Egyptian “The Egyptian Space Channel” that aimed at building an image of the country as rich and safe with its shots of happy Egyptians against a background of beautiful landscapes. Taking into account the fact that in most countries in that region the full control over the ownership and content of media is in the hands of state authorities (directly or by shareholders that come from the government circles). Such programs presented by other broadcasters dominated the offer for recipients. Following Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait, Qatar authorities noticed the need to influence Arab public opinion in the region in the context of improving state security⁴¹³. In the first version of the concept of creating the station – in 1994 this role was to be played by Qatar’s public television but with time this idea underwent some changes and in February 1996 it took the form of the Al-Jazeera channel convened by the decision of Qatar’s Emir. A diplomatic incident with Bahrain caused by an interview with two leading opposition representatives shown by public television in Qatar undoubtedly contributed to creating this separate media entity. Following the Emir’s decision on the new television supported by a subsidy of 137 million dollars, it began broadcasting on 1st November 1996. The profile of the station was changed slightly and instead of information – entertainment role it became a typical news station. It is important to add that commencing operations by the Qatar station coincided with the closure of BBC Arabic, which had previously broadcasted from Qatar. It was the staff trained by the British that swelled the ranks of the newly created station. Despite its governmental – state roots, Al-Jazeera from the beginning enjoyed a large dose of independence. The Emir agreed for the activities of the editorial team not to be the subject of censorship. Taking into consideration the fact that it was headed by a supervisory board appointed by government institutions, the Emir’s quandaries were not so deep.

⁴¹³ H. Miles, *Al-Jazeera*. op. cit., pp. 27–28.

The station's independence significantly increased after 1998 when media censorship was abolished in Qatar, however Al-Jazeera was only available for Qataris from terrestrial transmitters. Despite abolishing censorship, the ban on using satellite dishes was not rescinded and the ban on using large aerials is still in place there today. Availability of only small aerials means that Qataris have access to a limited offer of television only directed at this part of the globe. This does not change the fact that the Emir of Qatar made the decision to abolish censorship as the first head of state in the region.

Researchers differently interpret the station's goals, activities and target group. Muhhamad El-Nawawy and Shown Powers believe the activities of Al-Jazeera English (AJE) are distinguished against the competition by its target group, which until now was treated as unattractive by existing broadcasters. They are the people of lower social status who come from the South treated in accordance with Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilisations*⁴¹⁴. Previous news TV stations (CNNI or BBC) preferred to concentrate on the elites and upper classes of this region.⁴¹⁵

Tine Ustad Figenschou claims that only AJE can balance previous information imbalance in the area of the South civilization. Offering the "southern" way of perception, directed at the elites means that the vision of the world promoted on-air is full of political bias.⁴¹⁶ What complements this picture is the fact that the information presented concerns over 60% the South regions.⁴¹⁷ It seems that the second approach is emerging from the observations of stations much more, which makes its picture somewhat "reversed" geopolitically CNNI.

Al-Jazeera's activities were met with a number of reservations from the side of governments in the region. This has reached the point where some countries have banned the station until current times⁴¹⁸.

⁴¹⁴ The station wishes to appear as „the voice of the voiceless”.

⁴¹⁵ M. El-Nawawy, S. Powers, *Al-Jazeera English. A conciliatory medium in a conflict-driven environment?* "Global Media and Communication", Vol. 6/2010, p. 62.

⁴¹⁶ T.U. Figenschou *A voice for the voiceless? A quantitative content analysis of Al-Jazeera English's flagship news*, "Global Media and Communication", Vol. 6/2010, p. 86.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁴¹⁸ Algeria might pose as an example of such an attitude.

Thanks to its attained renown, it can impact today in a real way on the region's politics, with the best example being the involvement of the station's journalists in reporting the Egyptian revolution at the beginning of 2011⁴¹⁹.

When it comes to perceiving the station in the contexts related to international terrorism, we must admit that its platform has been used many times⁴²⁰ to publish recordings with Osama Bin Laden. The station broadcasted his pre-recorded message in the time before Christmas in 1998, when as the main suspect of organising attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania (where over 200 people were killed) he made the call to kill Americans, Brits and Jews. Such messages concerning Arabs' fight with the evil of the world, represented mainly by the United States and Israel, were dangerous also for the internal politics in some countries of the regions, which had chosen military cooperation with the USA. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were especially unhappy about such calls. In particular, the first one had its problems with armed Islamists and external stimulation of such movements was unsuitable⁴²¹. It got to the point that Saudi clerics issued a fatwa (Muslim religious order) on watching this station's programs. The greatest reservation directed at the station by citizens of the Western world related to presenting activities of Arabic, Islamic terrorists by an Arab TV station or presenting by the station's journalists Arab optics for the perception of i.e. international politics

⁴¹⁹ Al-Jazeera broadcasted from a centre Cairo hotel a protest and riots in this city continuously. What's more, they used a juxtaposition of two simultaneously shown broadcasts. One of them was a direct broadcast from the riots in the area of one of Cairo's Bridges, where on the other screen there was a picture shown by public television in Egypt that was showing live pleasant images of smiling people walking lazily on the same bridge. The author followed the development of this revolution in the media and must admit that Al.-Jazeera and its reporting had undoubtedly an impact on the behaviour of Egyptians.

⁴²⁰ The station broadcasted an hour-long interview with Osama Bin Laden in 1998, in September 2000 it presented materials sent by Bin Laden following the attack on the USS Cole. It is not a coincidence that one of the station's journalists was invited to the wedding of one of Bin Laden's sons. It was Al.-Jazeera that reported blowing up Buddha's monuments by Talibans in Afghanistan, and it was on its air that following films sent by Al.-Kaida were presented – see – zob. H. Miles – op. cit., pp. 108–114.

⁴²¹ H. Miles, *Al.-Jazeera*. op. cit., pp. 53–54.

concerning this region. Such activities could have in fact deepened stereotypical perceptions of this region as an ideological monolith focused only on confrontation with Western civilization.

When comparing Al-Jazeera English (AJE) to CNNI or the BBC, we easily see that these stations differ significantly with regard to values promoted on-air. At AJE the support for American activities in Afghanistan or the Middle East (with particular consideration for the Israeli-Palestine conflict) is much smaller. The two remaining stations promote American view on these conflicts and report them in the light of popularizing American politics and its allies.⁴²²

The reporting by the station of the Second Intifada (Palestinian uprising against Israel, which started in October 2000) attracted new recipient groups who identified with the pro-Arab profile of the report, which resonated with brutal scenes recorded in the streets of rebellious West Bank and Gaza Strip. In the similar spirit the war in Afghanistan following the 9/11 attacks was reported. It is important to point out that Al-Jazeera was becoming a more and more serious provider of visual reports for Western media networks because without any problems it reached areas and people impossible to reach by Western journalists. The station kept signing co-operation agreements and a stream of US dollars was flowing into its bank account.⁴²³

Showing bloody conflicts by television stations is connected with the general trend in modern journalism, which focuses on exposing conflicts and human tragedies instead of on time consuming, relentless negotiations and boring peace talks. Besides, a successful peace process reduces the much-loved tensions, instead of escalating them.⁴²⁴

Today's Al-Jazeera is the media undertaking which does not depart from other news channels in the world when it comes to its impetus. Its signal is emitted 24/7⁴²⁵, and the program is broadcasted from 4 studios:

⁴²² S. Powers, M.el-Nawawy, *Al-Jazeera English and global news networks: clash of civilizations or cross-cultural dialogue?* Media, War & Conflict 2/2009, p. 277.

⁴²³ H. Miles, *Al.-Jazeera*. op. cit., pp. 136–138.

⁴²⁴ S.Powers, M.el-Nawawy, *Al-Jazeera English and global news networks*, op. cit., p. 267.

⁴²⁵ Since 1, February 1999.

- from Doha, the station's headquarters – 12 hours per day,
- from Kuala Lumpur – 4 hours per day,
- from London – 4 hours per day,
- from Washington – also 4 hours per day.⁴²⁶

65 correspondents' offices, out of which the vast majority is located in the widely understood South (per S. Huntington), over 3000 employees including over 400 journalists from over 60 countries⁴²⁷ are to assist in building the station's new image – the biggest, state-of-the-art and the most objective Arab television station, or even of the whole South.

It is important to note that Al-Jazeera English (AJE) over the last ten years full of emerging media undertakings, has become one of a few news stations which enjoyed global success, overcoming stereotypes of Western information monopoly⁴²⁸ at the same time (and maybe the North understood in the above mentioned way).

Of course, we can have objections to the fact that Al-Jazeera knowingly or unknowingly has to some extent become a propaganda tool for terrorist organisations, but on the other hand, we cannot forget that from an Arabic point of view some conflicts have completely different dimensions than we think. Regardless of whether we perceive this station as one that has the right to uphold its profile due to media plurality, whose existence we tolerate, or we treat it as an unofficial and committed voice in the Southern civilization⁴²⁹, we must respect the achievements of this broadcaster in the arena of international media. Adding a series of questions on the freedom of journalist speech and reliability in doing this job, we can use the example of the characterised news TV station, among many others in the world that is fighting for the highest number of viewers and advertisers. Al-Jazeera, due to its extensive network of correspondents and local conditions is a leading provider of materials for press agencies and other television networks. We should only consider how big an influence on its operations have the Qatar authorities who,

⁴²⁶ <http://english.aljazeera.net/aboutus/2010/11/20101110131438787482.html> [access: 18.04.2011].

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ S.Powers, M.el-Nawawy, *Al-Jazeera English and global news networks*, op. cit., p. 269.

⁴²⁹ T.U. Fingeschou *A voice for the voiceless?* op. cit., p. 87.

despite the fact that since the beginning the station enjoyed a degree of independence, are still financing it.

Ryszard Kapuściński noted that towards the end of the 1970s and the beginning of 1980s. most countries of the so-called Third World with pride promoted their national tongues broadcasting i.e. on the radio and on TV news programs.⁴³⁰ Nowadays, in the global world we can observe an opposite tendency. More and more countries, which are not giving up on broadcasting programs in the native languages, are adding English speaking programs, only to be noticed in the global awareness of viewers. In this way, by pursuing current news from a given region we can search for it in one of many English-speaking news stations broadcasting from that part of the globe. Genuineness of this news will be something completely different as we cannot assume journalist freedom and credibility of all broadcasters, but we can analyse and process the same piece of news obtained from various stations (representing an opposing points of view), and after rejecting its ideological imports we can keep for ourselves some kind of knowledge, which to a certain degree we will be able to say is objective for our needs.

In this way, when looking through the sources of a satellite decoder, not moving from our seat we can compare information presented by European and American media (in their diversity of nations and points of view), Russian, Arabic with AJE out front, or Asian. If someone is looking for direct news from countries considered as supporting terrorism, they can watch an English language program broadcasted by the state authorities of Iran or North Korea. In the global conditions of information flow, all rulers realise the power relating to creating news.

Ryszard Kapuściński noted that “*Technological revolution in communication, passing on of information is a phenomenon so new that so far we have only managed to be charmed by it. We are at the stage of simple fascination with a new toy, which can give us huge possibilities. We haven't had a chance yet to think what content these incredible tools should pass on*”.⁴³¹

⁴³⁰ R. Kapuściński, *Szachinszach*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 13–14..

⁴³¹ K. Strączek, *Ryszard Kapuściński – Autoportret reportera*, Kraków 2003, p. 132.

Conclusion

As I have shown in this article, terrorists are managing very well in our mediated world full of new technologies. When analysing Ryszard Kapuściński's statement we can conclude that when our civilisation (or at least its part) is thinking about how to harness these new technologies to further development of mankind, unfortunately, there are people, who are using these possibilities in their activities directed against this that civilisation carries. Treating the media and new technologies as tools to which we can freely use, terrorist use them in such a way to benefit their activities, and if possible, harm the global society which does not share their point of view. A reaction to terrorist acts is also the evolution of a national security system accompanying our civilization, which I will present in another chapter of my book⁴³².

Regardless of the level of mediatisation of the social life or even a political system, we must note that despite the use of modern technologies and state-of-the-art devices by terrorist organisations, they only play a supporting role in terrorist acts carried out by terrorists. The fundamentals and bringing of publicity method of terrorist impact still remains attacks on the IT infrastructure of modern countries. It probably results from the fact that the critical IT infrastructure (and business and legal entities co-existing with it) are quite effectively protected from such attacks, and many IT systems managing i.e. air traffic function independently of external networks, which limits the possibilities of attacks by means of widely available Internet resources. We cannot rule out that terrorist will one day use modern technologies on a wider scale by making them the primary tool for spreading chaos and destruction, however their activities today are still concentrated around more traditional scenarios (although undoubtedly considering the change of tactics as well as the use of modern communication technologies).

In my opinion the biggest change in the activities of contemporary terrorists is the transformation in the structure of their organisation into a network, which makes in more difficult to fight them, and

⁴³² B. Węgliński, *Zagrożenie terroryzmem we współczesnym świecie, a system bezpieczeństwa państwa*, Wrocław 2016.

pursuit of new forms of combat (i.e. using a plane as a flying bomb). With the appearance of new forms of communication (the widely understood Internet and the new media) it was possible to foresee that terrorists would also learn how to use them. The fact that they can use them in a well-thought way (i.e. for promoting their ideas, collecting funds, and so on), means that maybe they will adapt to the new reality faster and more effectively than the rest of society. Terrorist organisations operate like well-managed companies with a well-developed logistics department, planning department, training department and promotion (propaganda) department. They can also successfully apply new methods, especially the ones cheaper and easier to execute. Cyber terrorism can be considered as one of them. At the same time, we should remember that a modern terrorist can potentially cause more harm by using cyber space than by means of a classic explosive device. However, using such a device is much easier and the scale of media hype and social reception is much higher.

A more and more popular model of terrorist activity has become the so-called “lone wolf” attack. Terror acts carried out by single people, more or less connected to terrorist organisations, who draw their knowledge and inspiration from the Internet. Investigations conducted after attacks very often show the fact of undergoing practical-ideological training at one of the training camps run by terrorist groups in places ensuring safety for carrying out such activities. The training is not the only factor required for carrying out an attack. As an example we can take the case of the attack carried out by Tsarnaev brothers during Boston Marathon in 2013⁴³³.

Most of the previously described methods of terrorist warfare is used by Al-Qaeda’s biggest competitor aspiring to rule the hearts and minds of Muslim world – the Islamic State⁴³⁴(Muslim)⁴³⁵. By using “lone wolf” attacks or dedicated to perform a task terrorist group this organisation does not shy away from presenting a regular, paid army

⁴³³ see. B. Węgliński. *Analiza wybranych aktów terrorystycznych w roku 2013. op. cit.*, pp. 184–188.

⁴³⁴ Present Islamic State was known earlier as Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.

⁴³⁵ J. Danecki, *Uwaga terminologiczna*, [In:] O. Hanne, T. Flichy de La Neuville, *Państwo Islamskie. Geneza nowego kalifatu*, Warszawa 2015, p. 7.

that can fight in Iraq or Syria with their state armies.⁴³⁶It obviously comes out of different philosophy of this organisation which is striving to create, firstly in the areas inhabited by Muslims, a global Caliphate – a state based on the Koran. The structure of the organisation is a result of the task placed before its members and which departs from net structures which are so popular among modern terrorist organisations. The Islamic State is organised hierarchically which enables governing controlled territories.⁴³⁷This organisation has also mastered to perfection the use of modern technologies which enables it to recruit fighters all over the world, and also run a propaganda campaign on an unprecedented scale, both when it comes to the range and professionalism.⁴³⁸A relatively short period of operations and unstable, still being formed the structure of the Islamic State does not allow for a thorough analysis of this organisation, hence only a short mention about it.

⁴³⁶ O. Hanne, T. Flichy de La Neuville, *Państwo Islamskie. Geneza nowego kalifatu*, Warszawa 2015, p. 93.

⁴³⁷ J. Neriah, *The Structure of the Islamic State*, <http://jcpa.org/structure-of-the-islamic-state/> [access: 30.10.2015].

⁴³⁸ P. Cockburn. *Państwo Islamskie*. Warszawa 2015, pp. 168–174.

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Communicating about the asymmetrical threats.
The coverage of the terrorist attacks in Belgium by the online
media in Poland

Introduction

In the time of commercialization, the media must look for opportunities to survive. In order to attract attention media organizations should present interesting content. The question is: what events are the most interesting? How to present information to attract attention? What mechanisms can be used by journalists and editorial staff to increase profits? Answers to these questions will be presented in the chapter.

The authors focus their considerations on the terrorist attacks in Brussels. The terrorist attacks are only the starting point for the presentation of why these types of events are interesting for the audience. The nature of contemporary conflicts and the lack of stability can cause an increase of such events. The question is: do the media need more terrorist attacks or terrorists need more media attention?

The chapter will consist of several parts. Reflections on the phenomenon of terrorism in contemporary world will be presented in the first section. This quote from Noam Chomsky will serve as a basis for discussion: “(...) *Everyone’s worried about stopping terrorism. Well, there’s really an easy way: Stop participating in it (...)*”⁴³⁹. This opinion seems to be most fully responding not only to the actions of politicians but also the media. The authors will try to examine the

⁴³⁹ N. Chomsky, “*How To Stop Terrorism?*”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kPj89C7bzO0>, [access: 02.12.2016].

definition of terrorism (together with their references to the media) and characterize the course of the attacks in Belgium. It should be noted that the list of news factors structured by W. Schulz⁴⁴⁰ will be used to answer the question: why are the media so interested in the terrorist attacks?

The strategy of domestication and the framing theory will be characterized at the beginning. It is important from the perspective of understanding the social interest building by the Polish media in relation to foreign events. After theoretical considerations and presentation of research methodology, the authors proceed to the analysis of research material and presentation of the results. Attention will be paid to the analysis of the three Polish web portals (Onet.pl, Wp.pl, Interia.pl) the use of headlines, technical construction and issues presented in the content. As a result it will be possible to see if there are any similarities and differences in the information created by the Polish media about the terrorist attacks.

1.1. The phenomenon of terrorism

There are many studies on terrorism which characterize this phenomenon from multiple perspectives. The aim of the article is to focus on the analysis of the media. Therefore, it was decided to present the selected definitions that indicate the significant role of the media in the terrorists achieving their goals.

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 showed that terrorism can be a big threat to developed countries in the contemporary world. Although terrorism is not a new phenomenon⁴⁴¹, after the attacks in New York many societies drew attention to the effect of this process. Earlier acts of terror often related to a smaller scale of operations and caused a smaller number of victims. In this case, we can refer to examples of attacks on J.F. Kennedy, Duke F. Ferdinand in Sarajevo or Polish President G. Narutowicz. Interestingly, after the attacks in New York, the Security Council of the United Nations clarified the definition of terrorism in its resolution from 2004. According to the defini-

⁴⁴⁰ M. Chyliński, S. Russ-Mohl, *Dziennikarstwo*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 122–123.

⁴⁴¹ W. Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism*, New Brunswick, New Jersey 2012.

tion contained in the resolution, terrorism is: “*criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act*”⁴⁴². It seems that this definition includes all key elements of terrorism. Terrorist activities can be performed using a variety of tools: weapons, bombs, poison or, normal objects used every day. The result of the operation is to injure or kill a large number of people. However, the purpose of terrorists is inaction or action by the State or organization. For example, one of the purposes of the Madrid attacks was to force the Spanish authorities to withdraw their troops from Iraq. Indirectly the attacks led to a change of authority in Spain in parliamentary elections.⁴⁴³

The purpose of terrorist attacks is to provoke fear. This factor may affect specific actions of the public. On the other hand, it identifies a different definition of terrorism: “*The unlawful use of violence or threat of violence to instill fear and coerce governments or societies. Terrorism is often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs and committed in the pursuit of goals that are usually political*”⁴⁴⁴. Invoking fear seems to be the most important feature of terrorist activities. Fear causes people to make quick decisions, without careful thought. It can also cause difficulties to control panic. As a result, terrorists can easily force a specific reaction of politicians or society. It seems that the cited definitions represent all the fundamental aspects of the explanation of terrorism. The most common features of terrorism that appear in the definitions of the phenomenon are: violence, force, political, fear, terror emphasized, threat, (psych.)

⁴⁴² Security Council of the United Nations Resolutions, nr 1566 (2004), [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1566\(2004\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1566(2004)), [access: 2.12.2016].

⁴⁴³ R. Chari, *The 2004 Spanish Election: Terrorism as a Catalyst for Change*, “West European Politics Journal”, Vol. 27/2004, pp. 954–963.

⁴⁴⁴ *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, Joint Publication 1-02, 8 November 2010 (As Amended Through 15 February 2016), p. 241, http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp1_02.pdf, [access: 2.12.2016].

effects and (anticipated) reactions, victim-target differentiation, purposive, planned, systematic, organized crime.⁴⁴⁵ As can be seen, the role of the media in the process of achieving the terrorists' targets has not been presented in the described definitions.

The mass media play the intermediate role during the terrorist attacks. Media are intermediaries between the terrorists and the politicians and society. The September 11 attacks were broadcast live around the world. Everyone could see the scale of material and personal destruction and the fight of emergency services who rescued the victims. It was also possible to observe that the media has become a new tool in the hands of terrorists in order to increase the public fear. At this point we can go back to N. Chomsky's quote contained in the introduction of this chapter. Media want to attract the public's attention and increase financial profits. Therefore, journalists dedicate a lot of broadcasting space to the places of terrorist attacks or interviews with the victims. It brings benefits both to the media and the terrorists. The more people will find out about the attacks, the more likely it will cause a lot of fear and panic among the public. Access to the latest information constantly increases with the new media, the social media, the internet and the mobile technology development. The research data indicate that this process is still going to grow.⁴⁴⁶ As a result, the public may have the impression that acts of terrorism are now more common than ever. These events are simply more covered than before. Scientists even suggest that the media coverage of terrorist attacks is causing the increase in the number of attacks in recent times.⁴⁴⁷ The Islamic State itself publishes videos of executions in social media. It may be noticed that, thanks to the specific participation

⁴⁴⁵ A. Spencer, *Lessons learnt. Terrorism and the Media*, Arts and Humanities Research Council, 2012, Public Policy Series No 4, <http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/documents/project-reports-and-reviews/ahrc-public-policy-series/terrorism-and-the-media>, [access: 2.12.2016].

⁴⁴⁶ W. Sobera, *Changes in the use of media in the internet and mobile devices era. Traditional vs. digital media in Poland*, [W:] *Media & Journalism in the Digital Era*, (eds.) Konarska K., Szynol A., Wroclaw 2016, pp. 11–23.

⁴⁴⁷ J. Doward, *Media coverage of terrorism 'leads to further violence'*, "The Guardian", 1.08.2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2015/aug/01/media-coverage-terrorism-further-violence>, [access: 02.12.2016].

of the media in the terrorist attacks, the terrorists will not stop their actions, and the occurrence of violence may be more and more often.

It is not possible to conclude that terrorism exists and develops because of the media. The emergence of terrorism is more related to the conduct of politics and cultural, religious or ethnic differences. Terrorism may have different basis, but today the most significant is that associated with the Islamic religion. It has many causes, but the researchers suggest that it connects to a certain frustration of people living in Islamic states, historical resentments and perceptions of the rich West as a source of evil.⁴⁴⁸ The armed actions taken in the fight against terrorism after 2001 have not changed the relations between the West and the Islamic states (Afghanistan, Iraq). After the overthrow of the regime of S. Hussein, Iraq is in chaos, and its territory became the cradle of the Islamic State. The creation of such an entity caused a new threat to democratic countries. Especially those countries where there were no terrorist threat on such a scale as in New York (2001), Madrid (2004) or London (2005). Many governments pointed to the reduction of the risk associated with this phenomenon. Compare with the earlier documents the Polish Security Strategy of 2014 recognizes the terrorist activities as less of a threat than other factors (possibility of a regional conflict)⁴⁴⁹. The international situation connected with the terrorist threat was changed by the war in Syria and the influx of refugees to Europe. Fear made a group of Muslims migrate to Europe. Muslim communities and their radicalization in some districts have become a fast-growing problem in many European countries. After a period of relative calm, there was an organized and carefully planned attack in Paris in November 2015. In a series of attacks in the Bataclan Theater, in restaurants, on the streets of the city and in the area of a football stadium 130 people were killed and many were injured.⁴⁵⁰ These events, in fact, were just the beginning of other attacks, for example in Belgium.

⁴⁴⁸ R.J. Estes, M. J. Sirgy, *Radical Islamic Militancy and Acts of Terrorism: A Quality-of-Life Analysis*, "Social Indicators Research", Vol. 117(2)/ 2014, pp. 628–629.

⁴⁴⁹ W. Sobera, *Strategia Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego jako element polityki państwa*, "Rocznik Europeistyczny", Vol.1/2015, pp. 186–187.

⁴⁵⁰ S. Almasry, P. Meilhan and J. Bittermann, *Paris massacre: At least 128 killed in gunfire and blasts, French officials say*, <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/13/world/paris-shooting/>, [access: 02.12.2016].

The bombing in Belgium will be used as a case for the analysis of the coverage of the terrorist attacks by Polish online media. For this reason, we make a brief characterization of the events connected with it. The attacks took place in Brussels on March 22, 2016. The terrorists did two bombings. The first at the Zaventem airport and second in the Maalbeek metro. The first two attacks were synchronized and occurred almost simultaneously. The explosion in the subway occurred almost an hour later. The explosions killed 32 people and more than 300 were injured. Both bombings undermined the security of Europe, but were also made in the city where there are many important European institutions. Especially the underground station was near to them. The Islamic State admitted to the attacks. The nature of the events alluded to a number of previous attacks perpetrated by Islamists. They attacked the crowded places in rush hours. Earlier bombings in the subway have been carried out in London (2005) and the suburban railway in Madrid (2005). After the attacks of September 11 airports around the world were especially guarded, but the terrorists were able to detonate the bombs even there. This caused an increase in fear among the societies of European countries, especially, that a few months earlier there had been attacks in France. Another problem was that some of the attackers came from Belgium. They were born and raised there. Public debate returned again to the reception of refugees and the development of extremist groups in European countries.⁴⁵¹

For the purpose of this work, the bombings in Brussels had two important meanings. Firstly is the relative proximity of the Polish border. There are many European institutions in Brussels and many Poles use the airport and the subway in the city. Belgium and the Netherlands are also the places where a lot of Poles are working permanently. Secondly, at the beginning the TV stations from around the world used materials created by the witnesses that were published in social media. Later they broadcast the event directly from the bombing site. The case of the bombings in Brussels showed very well what power is hidden in the online media and how quickly they can provide information about the event to a wider audience. Therefore, this chapter will concentrate on the Polish online media and the coverage methods of the terrorist attacks.

⁴⁵¹ *Brussels explosions: What we know about airport and metro attacks*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35869985>, [access 3.12.2016].

1.2. The news factors

After the presentation of characteristics of the terrorism incidents and the impact of the media on this process, now we should think about why the attacks are so willingly presented by the media? Some researchers even say that thanks to the development of mass media the number of attacks increases. Some proposed that the explanations for this phenomenon are the news factors created by W. Shultz and changed in the M. Chylinski and S. Russ-Mohl book.⁴⁵² According to the authors, these are the perfect news factors that will attract the attention of readers and help to increase sell. The news features are: time, proximity, status, dynamics, valence, identification, processability in the image. Each of them requires a brief explanation of their significance.

Time is a broad category. It includes such aspects as timeliness, duration, continuity. The event, which is expected to attract attention, must be current. Media must quickly provide the information in question to achieve a competitive advantage over other media organizations. In this case, the Internet and electronic media have more advantages. Information should have a specific structure. It should have a beginning and an end. The news will cease to be attractive if they will have a lot of topics and will describe many events. For this reason the duration of the event is so important. Some events are continuous – return to the agenda from time to time and always arouse interest (continuity). Considering these characteristics, the terrorist attacks are the perfect news, because they are up to date, occur from time to time and are of short duration. A large number of events are accumulated in a short period of time.

The proximity is associated with a direct reference. Geographical proximity means that the events that take place in the area are more interesting than events far away. The political closeness – incidents in the countries politically associated with “us” are more important than in other countries. Cultural proximity – the audience of the media identify with the people who share the same values. Relevance – the actual significance of the event for the public, despite the physical distance from the country. Terrorist events that take place in the Western states are always interesting for the countries of our cultural circle.

⁴⁵² M. Chylinski, S. Russ-Mohl, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–133.

Status includes: a regional/national reference, personal influence, a reference to celebrities. Events in areas important for international policy are much more interesting. Speeches of the significant decision-makers are always more important than others. The life of celebrities have always attracted attention. During terrorist attacks the media often report that important people have been injured or killed. On the other hand they are looking for specific people participating in events. Because of the status the media say less about incidents in Africa or Asia, and more about the attacks in Western countries - the most important from the perspective of international politics.

Another factor is the dynamics of information. The dynamics can be perceived as unexpected and sensational event. The more unique an event is, the more likely it is that it will be noticed. Terrorist attacks have very high dynamics. Their aim is to cause surprise. The constantly changing number of victims provides the high intensity for a long time.

The information can be good or bad. This determines the valence of a particular phenomenon. In the case of the issues described in this article, bad news is the terrorist attack associated with death and devastation. The good news can be the information about surviving victims or the capture of the attacker. However, it seems that bad news sell better.⁴⁵³

Personalization, ethnocentrism and emotional value are the factors connected with the identification. The first of them is related to the locating of the human being in the center. The whole story should be built around that person. Ethnocentrism indicates that information from your own cultural circle is more attractive. The value of information increases when human emotions are engaged. Perhaps for this reason, journalists who describe the terrorist events are trying to bring the story closer to ordinary people. Their struggle for survival involves emotions.

M. Chylinski and S. Russ-Mohl added one more factor to the elements mentioned by W. Schulz. They have created the processability in the image.⁴⁵⁴ Modern society requires images. In the press, text get less and less space and pictures more. Presentation of the previously mentioned factors depends on the good cuts and journalist choice.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Perhaps because of this the media encourage the audience to upload their own videos from the event to show them on the air before the TV crew and photographers will arrive to the bombing site.

The presented factors can be used by journalists in order to attract the attention of the audience. The appropriate presentation of information can increase profits.

1.3. Methodology

The aim of the article is to present the characteristics of non-military and asymmetric threats in the context of their use by the media. It was decided to make an analysis of information on terrorist attacks in Brussels that appeared on the Polish web portals (Onet.pl, WP.pl and Interia.pl) from March 22 to March 29, 2016. Due to the large amount of information about the event it was decided to analyze the materials that appeared within 7 days. The authors focused only on the articles that have been published in the news section. As a result, it will be possible to observe how the selected media presented the examined event.

On this basis, it will be presented how the media formed the issue's life cycle. That is to say, how much information about the attacks in Belgium was presented by the media. The authors wanted to check how the Polish media domesticated this event. The content of materials has also been analyzed in terms of the use of news factors created by Schulz.

Comparative studies will allow finding differences and similarities in the way of creating information about the terrorist attacks by the Polish web portals.

1.4. Methods of shaping information about terrorist attacks by the media

Terrorist attacks, as well as armed conflicts are among the events that due to their dynamics and severity are presented by the media in a certain way. An important role in the process of covering these phenomena play techniques by which journalists can shape the information in such a way that it becomes interesting and understandable

for the recipient. It is important to give a specified meaning to the material by which the audience will classify it as relevant or not. This is largely due to the fact that recipients look for connections between the event and their country. The level of commitment of recipients in the presented issues is based on this, despite the fact that they do not concern them directly.

1.4.1. The role of framing in the coverage of terrorist attacks

Framing theory seems to be one of the most important concepts in the context of shaping information and its impact on society. This is due to the fact that the mechanisms by which the materials receive a certain meaning are developed based on the socio-cultural processes. An important role in this process is played by frames which are a kind of cognitive schemes that serve the interpretation of certain issues and allow taking an appropriate behavior⁴⁵⁵. Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to two effects of framing – a way of understanding problems and respond to them. On this basis, the action of the individual is somewhat automatic. This is because of the frames which have a narrative character and are formed on the basis of information transmitted within the community⁴⁵⁶. As a result, attention is drawn to the fact that meanings created by the certain group can help to understand information made by the media by members of the community⁴⁵⁷. There are different types of frames, for example the historical, economic or political frames. However, it seems that the most effective ones are the socio-cultural frames, due to their roots in the minds of the consumer.

Importantly, information is created based on the framing mechanisms such as headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions or quotes⁴⁵⁸. These elements are both visual and descriptive. They can be used with varying intensity depending on the media sector. Importantly, reci-

⁴⁵⁵ E. Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, 1986.

⁴⁵⁶ S. E. Cox, *Metaphor and Memory: How Metaphors Instantiate Schemas in and Influence Memory of Narrative*, BA, 2016.

⁴⁵⁷ E.N. Ben-Porath, *Framing*. Thousand Oaks, 2009, pp. 619–622.

⁴⁵⁸ C. H., de Vreese, *News Framing: Theory and typology*, “Information Design Journal”, Vol. 13(1)/2005, p. 54.

ipients are able to read the information in a certain way through the framing mechanisms. Frames and framing mechanisms are selected and applied by the media depending on the nature of the presented event. The question is: how does the media frame terrorist attacks?

One of the important issues in the analysis seems to be a use of specific naming that allows to identify the perpetrators of the attack and gives an event a certain rank. In the case of terrorist attacks, journalists typically use such frames as “militant” or “terrorist”⁴⁵⁹. Very often there are also phrases related to specific groups, for example religious groups, such as “Islamist”. However, we should ask whether such action of the media is appropriate. That is to say, it means that these terms now have a pejorative meaning. Recipients understand them in a simplified manner. Therefore, it is an expression of media bias. According to Steuter and Willis, the additional risks arising from the naming is the dehumanizing of certain entities which was visible after the September 11 attacks⁴⁶⁰. Metaphors used by the media, such as the “war on terror” meant that the recipient can read the event in an unambiguous manner. It seems that a similar situation took place in the case of the coverage of the attacks in Brussels.

Another factor is framing using references to emotions, especially fear and violence. This can be reinforced both by a language and images. However, it seems that the visual aspects speak to the recipient to a greater extent. This is due to the fact that by presenting the consequences of a terrorist incident, including personal and material losses, the recipient is able to understand the scale of the phenomenon and its impact on the international or national situation. It seems that in the case of terrorist events, the presented images have a quite drastic nature, which results from the tabloidization and desire to influence the emotions of the recipient. On this basis it is possible to make the audience sense compassion and fear⁴⁶¹. These emotions in fact will decide how the event is perceived by society.

⁴⁵⁹ I.K. Rabe, *Be prepared for bad news. Framing Terrorism in Norwegian News Media*. MA, 2015, p. 108.

⁴⁶⁰ E. Steuter, D. Willis, *Discourse of Dehumanization: Enemy Construction and Canadian Media Complicity in the Framing on War on Terror*; “Global Media Journal – Canadian edition”, Vol. 2(2)/2009.

⁴⁶¹ A.H. Garrison, *Terrorism: The nature of its History*, “Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law, and Society”, Vol. 16(1)/2003, p. 40.

In summary, the degree of intensity of framing is different for different countries. However, it seems that the framing mechanisms are important elements of the coverage of terrorism and they determine the society's perception of the event.

1.4.2. Domestication as a form of involvement of the audience in the presented content

Another important theory in the case of the coverage of terrorist attacks by the media is domestication. Although domestication can be understood differently, for example as a way of integrating technologies into everyday life⁴⁶², most important seems to be drawing attention to role of the method in the process of reading selected information. It should be noted that domestication typically refers to interpretation of foreign information by the national media. Domestic media organizations by the use of selected materials are trying to point to the existence of links between the covered event and the audience⁴⁶³. The effectiveness of the strategy is higher if there are actual links, such as historical or cultural ties, between customers and presented situation. The question is what the essence of the strategy of domestication is. It seems that the main purpose of domestication is to create a situation when the audience will interpret foreign information in the same way as national⁴⁶⁴. That is to say, the time that the recipient chooses to devote to understand the information is important. It should be noted that in the case of domestication, just as in the case of framing, references to specific elements, such as historical, cultural or political issues, are very important. On this basis it will be possible to understand the background of events and find connections between the situation and the recipient.

It seems that the most effective mechanism which is used by the media to domesticate terrorist attacks is victimization. Firstly, it is important in the case of our "own" citizens. It seems that if among

⁴⁶² T. Berker et al., *Domestication of media and technology*. Maidenhead, 2005, pp. 1–2.

⁴⁶³ R. Smolak, *Rola polskich mediów w procesie domestykacji konfliktu rosyjsko-ukraińskiego. Analiza nagłośnienia medialnego kryzysu na Ukrainie przez „Fakt”, „Gazeta Wyborcza” oraz „Wiadomości” TVP*, "Media Studies".

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

the victims of terrorist incident are citizens of the country of the recipient, this event can be seen as relevant for the audience⁴⁶⁵. This is due to the fact that the recipient feels a real connection with the event and its victims. In this case, the audience can look for more information on the attack, because they want to learn about the situation of their fellow citizens. Interestingly, victimization can also be an effective tool of domestication even when we are not directly connected with the wounded. This is due to the fact that by presenting so-called human stories that allow the recipient to identify the victim, the consumer may be more interested in the life of the victim. This is an example of domestication by emotions⁴⁶⁶. Such an approach seems to be especially important in terms of coverage of terrorist attacks by the international media.

Equally important in the case of the domestication of terrorism is the possible impact of these events for the economic, political or military security of the country. It is noted that in the case of terrorist events that may take place in different areas and because of different reasons, such fear is well founded. Besides, it is worth mentioning that in so-called “war on terror”, participation in reducing the phenomenon of terrorism has been announced by a number of different countries. Therefore, such a connection within the antiterrorist coalition may cause that any terrorist incident will be important for the global audience. On the other hand, it indicates that the processes which result from globalization are also contributing to domestication. International links causes international events to very often be transmitted to the local level.

As can be seen, both domestication and framing can be successfully applied to the media coverage of terrorism. The effectiveness of these techniques depends on different variables. However, it should be noted that they are essential in the case of the analyzed event.

⁴⁶⁵ A. Qadir, P. Alasuutari, *Taming terror: domestication of the war on terror in the Pakistan media*, “Asian Journal of Communication”, Vol. 23(6), 2013, p. 583.

⁴⁶⁶ Joye, S., *Domesticating distant suffering: How can news media discursively invite the audience to care?*, “The International Communication Gazette”, Vol. 77(7), 2015.

1.5. Coverage of the terrorist attacks in Brussels by selected web portals in Poland

This section will present a detailed analysis of the portraying of the terrorist attacks in Brussels by Onet.pl, WP.pl and Interia.pl. On this basis it will be possible to observe how the coverage of this event was characterized by Polish web portals.

The issue life cycle

From March 22 to March 29, 2016, 1499 materials in the analyzed portals were published on the attacks in Brussels. Most information about the event appeared on WP.pl: 590 materials (Figure 1). Interia.pl published 563 articles and Onet.pl created 346 materials about the attacks (Figure 1).

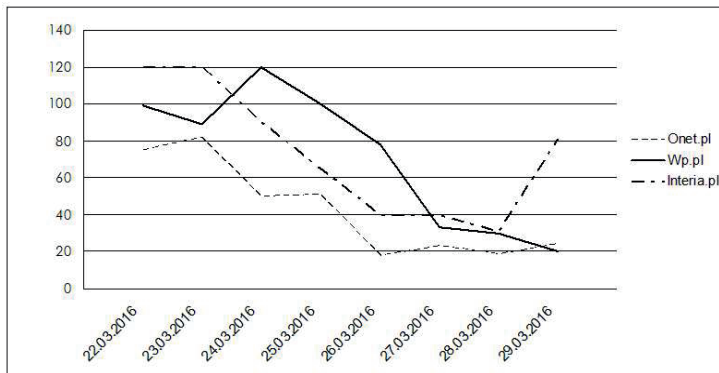


Figure 1. The issue life cycle

Source: Author's. Based on the information presented by the web portals.

Importantly, in the case of the media coverage by WP.pl and Onet.pl, most information about the incident was published just at the beginning, on March 22 and 23 (Figure 1). This shows that the event attracted the greatest interest from the media shortly after the attack. This situation seems to be quite clear, because the media were interested in the development of the events. Moreover, the dynamics and nature of the event meant that it was necessary to monitor the situation. This was due to the increasing number of victims of the attacks and information on the perpetrators.

Interestingly, it is worth noting that information on the attacks in Brussels was presented in an uneven way. It is possible to observe several growth phases (Figure 1). In the case of Interia.pl, a growth phase took place on March 24. That is when the portal published the most information about the event (Figure 1). Importantly, a growth phase for WP.pl was visible on the penultimate and the final day of analysis (Figure 1). This is probably due to the fact that on March 29 the air traffic in Belgium was to be opened. This seems important for the Polish audience, because then the Polish citizens who were forced to stay in Brussels could return to the country.

1.5.2. Analysis of selected headlines

Headlines are one of the most important framing mechanisms through which the media are trying to draw the recipient's attention to the presented problem. Moreover, the titles give the general shape and tone to the material. The title largely determines whether and, if so, how the information is received by the public. In the case of this research it was decided to make an analysis of selected headers. On this basis it will be possible to identify common elements, which have been used by the media when describing the attack in Brussels.

One of the common elements of the coverage was a reference to fear connected with future ISIS attacks. A good example is the title: "ISIS threatens with further terrorist attacks: That what is coming, is even worse" (Onet.pl). A similar mechanism has been used by WP.pl: "ISIS triumphant recording: Belgium is a part of the coalition". Additionally Interia.pl pointed to the fact that it was possible to prevent attacks: "Turkey: We had one of the bombers. We gave him to the Belgians". As can be seen all analyzed titles used a mechanism that caused a sense of danger in the recipient. In this way the audience could feel a real interest in the subject because it concerned them directly (personal security). On the other hand, the headers indicated the perpetrators of the attacks (ISIS). On this basis it was possible to identify the bombers. This is important, because identification is one of the elements that determine the value of news.

Headlines were also used to inform about the fate of the victims. Importantly, WP.pl used the mechanism of personalization. "19 year old missionary among the injured after the attacks in Brussels. He cheated fate for the third time". It seems that on this basis the media

wanted to bring the recipient to the topic by referring to the specific individual. Besides, it is possible to indicate an element of sensationalism (“He cheated fate for the third time”), which often occurs in the case of portraying of terrorist events. Another interesting observation relates to the brutality of the attacks and their impact on vulnerable citizens. Interia.pl wrote: “Bombings in Brussels: Doctor showed shrapnel removed from the bodies of victims”. Onet.pl took similar action: “Shocking reports made by the witnesses of the attacks in Brussels. The first thought was to get away from there”. The way of describing the situation of victims shows that in the case of the coverage of the terrorist event, the presented information is brutal and sensational. It is worth noting that such action is the result of tabloidization. Therefore, it is possible to say that tabloidization and the mechanisms resulting from this process are important in the context of portraying terrorist activities by the media.

1.5.3. Technical analysis of articles based on the Winfried Schulz classification

Elements of the information presented by W.Schulz were analyzed for their presence in the coverage of the terrorist attacks in Brussels. Interestingly, each of the factors has been used by Polish web portals (Table 1).

In the case of dynamics, it is possible to note that the media have used this mechanism mainly through the element of surprise (“He cheated fate for the third time”) and intensity (human stories) (Table 1). On this basis, they wanted to draw the recipient’s attention to the dramatic nature of the event and its uniqueness for the individuals.

Valence was manifested in the negative coverage and the effects of the attacks for civilians. The media wrote about the wounded, corpses and lost people (Table 1). It is worth noting that negative coverage is often found in the portrayal of wars, disasters and violence.

Another of the analyzed factors was status. In the coverage were present such elements as personal influence (Sebastian Bellin) and regional and national reference (Table 1). Regional and national references seem particularly important from the point of view of the strategy of domestication. This is due to the fact that the recipient is unable to locate the crash site. In addition, by the victimization of Polish citizens, the web portals could cause that the recipient could

feel that the terrorist attack in Brussels was also an attack on Polish citizens.

The presented materials contain accurate information about the time and place of the event (Table 1). Journalists wrote about people who were at the airport and on the subway at the moment of explosion. On this basis, it can be said that the information about the attack was related to the current situation which is important in the case of covering dynamic events.

Proximity is another factor that is important in the process of portraying terrorism. In the case of the attacks in Brussels, it was possible to observe the geographical (location of the attack), political (metro station located close to the European institutions) and cultural proximity (Polish citizen) (Table 1). On this basis, it can be said that the event could be particularly relevant for the Polish audience. This is also an example of domestication.

Most of the materials contained photos (Table 1). A significant part of the photos came from Twitter. For example, from the victims' or witnesses' accounts. Thanks to that the recipient could see what the event actually looked like. Besides, it is worth noting that information that contains images is more interesting for the audience. On the other hand, it is also an example of tabloidization. This is due to the fact that some of the presented images contained violent and sensational content.

The last factor is the identification. Especially important in this case is personalization and emotionality of information. Examples indicated in the table show that the media tried to bring the situation of specific individuals to consumers (Table 1). On this basis it was possible to create an emotional bond between the recipient and the victim of the attack. Consequently, the recipient may be more interested in the information about the attack.

In summary, the Polish Internet portals try to bring the event to the national audience through the personalization of information, regional and national references and geographical, political and cultural proximity. The presence of these elements confirms that the analyzed media applied the strategy of domestication. In addition, information was characterized by a high level of tabloidization, emotionalism and sensationalism. It does not seem surprising since terrorist attacks, just as armed conflicts, are usually presented by the media through these mechanisms.

Table 1. The Role of News Factors in the coverage of the terrorist attacks in Brussels

Factor	ONET.PL	WP.PL	INTERIA.PL
DYNAMICS	38-year-old Brazilian player was captured on one of the dramatic images taken shortly after the attacks.	He cheated fate for the third time.	Belgian services are still looking for a Pole who went missing in Brussels on the day of the attacks.
VALENCE	He was lying on the floor, and around his legs appeared a puddle of blood.	Despite the fact that he was slightly injured, he should be happy to be alive in the face of the tragedy that claimed the lives of 34 people.	Two of the victims are officers of the Polish Customs Service, who were on the delegation in Brussels.
STATUS	Sebastian Bellin, a former representative of the basketball national team of Belgium was wounded in the terrorist attacks in Brussels.	Belgian authorities raised the terrorism alert across the country to the fourth and highest level.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs is in contact with the families of three Poles who were wounded in Tuesday's attacks.
TIME	Yesterday morning there were two explosions at the Zaventem airport in Belgium.	Mason Wells was in a group of Mormon missionaries who were at Brussels airport during the explosion.	There was a coordinated suicide attack on Tuesday.
PROXIMITY	After a few minutes there was another explosion near to the Maelbeek metro station, which is located close to the EU institutions.	There were two explosions at the Zaventem airport in Brussels. Another explosion shook the metro station in the European district	Polish citizens who were wounded in Tuesday's bombings are still hospitalized.
PROCESSABILITY IN THE IMAGE	Twitter.com	Twitter.com	Twitter.com
IDENTIFICATION	The basketball player was identified by members of the team, who posted a special message on Twitter.	Son told us that he was close to the explosion. It's a blessing that he's still alive – said Mason's father	Consulate is in contact with the family of the Pole who was in the subway during the attacks, but she wasn't included among the victims.

Source: Author's. Based on the information presented by the web portals.

Summary

The analysis of media coverage of the terrorist attacks in Brussels by three Polish portals (Onet.pl, WP.pl and Interia.pl) allowed drawing the following conclusions. The information presented by the media was characterized by high severity, emotionalism and sensationalism in the process of presenting the attacks. It was noticeable at the level of the title of information and into the content of materials. The web portals wrote about the possibility of other attacks by ISIS and described the effects of the event on civilians. The media presented pictures of the victims, which very often had a dramatic character. Pictures usually came from social media and therefore they had a more direct nature. This is due to the fact that they were made by the victims or eyewitnesses. It seems that in this way the media wanted to draw the public's attention to this problem. Importantly, the strategy of domestication was visible in the coverage of the attacks by the Polish media. Journalists tried to connect the receiver to the presented event by reference to the Polish citizens who were among the victims. In addition, it was possible to observe the cultural, political and geographical links. This was particularly noticeable through the location of the attack, which occurred near the Polish border. What is more, many of the described materials related to specific individuals, and therefore the personalization of the coverage was visible. This is also important for the efficiency of domestication. A citizen who can identify the victim of the attack feels a real bond with that person. As a result, the recipient is interested in the victim's fate and will follow most of the information about the event. Importantly, both tabloidization and domestication were the result of mechanisms used by the media related to the elements of the news proposed by W. Schulz. All factors described by the German researcher were used by Polish journalists during the process of covering the terrorist attacks in Brussels.



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