

# SCE

Social  
Communication  
Ethics

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Faculty of Communication Sciences  
Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow



# SCE

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Social Communication Ethics

Volume 1, Issue 1, 2025



Faculty of Communication Sciences

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The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow

# SOCIAL COMMUNICATION ETHICS

Journal of the Faculty of Communication Sciences  
The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow

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## **Editorial**

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Social communication plays a key role in the daily lives of individuals, groups and entire societies, and the technological developments that are occurring make it an increasingly complex process. This includes the creation, transmission and exchange of information in various individual and social contexts. Undoubtedly, with the experienced technological development, there are constantly new opportunities for the existence and development of human relations. The process of exchanging and sharing knowledge, information, or ideas has entered a previously unknown level thanks to new media and technologies. At the same time, however, the introduction of human beings into the process deepens previously known dangers and challenges and adds new ones to the mix. The Cracow School of Media Ethics has been noticing these dangers and challenges for years and by conducting scientific research has discovered solutions to preserve the dignity of the person and his or her integral development. For many years, it has been organizing conferences on media ethics, which every year gather dozens of researchers dealing with media ethics. On the occasion of these meetings, the need for a scientific journal to share research results and debate ethical issues of social communication has been recognized repeatedly.

To meet these expectations, the Faculty of Communication Sciences at the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow is putting into the hands of readers the first issue of the journal *Social Communication Ethics*, a quarterly scientific journal devoted to the ethical aspects of journalism, media and social communication. The purpose of the journal is to create a broad platform for sharing and promoting the results of scientific research on media ethics in the world of media practice shaped by media creators, regulators and consumers, as well as all participants in social communication. This includes both theoretical and theoretical-empirical studies. We invite all those interested in this issue to contribute to the journal and submit the results of their research in the discipline of social communication and media sciences, as well as interdisciplinary research that considers our discipline.

The first issue opens with an article by Dawid Kaczmarczyk on the quality of journalistic publications. The author frames the problem in the context of technological development, attempting to identify contemporary approaches of the media community to the role of new media in relation to the quality of news and journalism. At the same time, on the basis of qualitative research conducted among representatives of the Polish media environment, he seeks and identifies the challenges facing the media.



The image of Slovak migrants that is presented in the English press is addressed by Terézia Rončáková and Lenka Môcová. By examining the tone of the published articles, the current stereotypical representations, and especially the specific thematic framework of the image of Slovakia, the authors attempt to capture the perspective of a Great Britain that has received many migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, Slovaks among them. The researchers noted a marked difference in the coverage of the issue between elite and tabloid dailies and a lack of journalistic interest in the lives of Slovaks in the UK, especially the problem of the assimilation of local Roma.

Next is a study by Maciej Nowakowski. The article explores the challenges faced by minority language media, particularly Kashubian and Silesian in Poland, during the rise of digital journalism. It highlights the uneven growth of traditional and digital media due to policy gaps and algorithmic biases, calling for new initiatives to support minority languages in the evolving media landscape.

In his article, Ildikó Pusztai-Varga presents an analysis of the evolution of competency expectations for literary translators covering a period of 40 years (1970–2010) and specifically refers to the Hungarian context, as well as Europe more generally. The findings presented in the article point out that despite significant changes in the way information and experience was collected during the years of the study, the knowledge, skills and attitudes expected of literary translators doing quality work that was tailored to the expectations of readers of the target language and accepted in the literary society did not change radically over the four decades. However, as the author notes, the expectation of certain sub-competencies changed over the years, with some disappearing and new ones taking their place.


As can easily be seen, the thematic character of the first issue of the periodical being placed in the hands of readers is characterized by great diversity. It reflects the intent of the editorial board's wide-open attitude to research diversity. The sole framework of our journal is the ethical aspect of the problems addressed in the field of social communication.





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**New media and news quality.  
Contemporary challenges  
and problems of journalism**

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## Abstract

*New media and news quality. Contemporary challenges and problems of journalism*

The development of media technologies has for many years been one of the more frequently discussed phenomena affecting changes in the media and journalism. Nowadays, both media theorists and practitioners point out that media technologies not only change the form of publication or the journalist's work style but can also affect the quality of journalistic publications. The purpose of this article is to attempt to identify contemporary approaches of the media community to the role of new media in relation to the quality of news, journalism and contemporary media challenges on the basis of qualitative research conducted among representatives of the Polish media community.

**Keywords:** journalism, new media, news quality, media studies, communication

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Questions about the quality of the media, the quality of journalism or the quality of media information itself in contemporary discussions of communication are becoming extremely relevant and topical all the time. News is no longer the domain of only a limited number of editorial offices and professional media organizations, but with the development of new media technologies, Web 2.0 journalism or social media, media information is transmitted (and even created) by journalists, editorial offices, new grassroots initiatives and individual creators. In this changing world of journalism and new media, it is still relevant to analyze how new media and new technologies affect the quality of information and what challenges news journalism will face in the coming years.

## Journalism in the new media

American journalist and new media researcher Mark Briggs begins his book "Journalism Next" with the following words: "What is coming next in journalism? No one knows for sure, but we can all agree that it will be digital" (Briggs, 2019, p. 9). The technological changes seen in recent years and the aforementioned shift to the digital side of communication are presenting journalism with ever-new challenges. Journalism and information occupying

an important place in the whole environment of new media face new technological and communication phenomena, the new role of the audience, or systems of publishing and receiving content that are just emerging. It is worth noting that the term “new media,” commonly used today, is not a new term, and over the years, it has described very different phenomena emerging in the media and communications market. Denis McQuail notes that the term “new media” began to appear in scholarly and journalistic discourse in the 1960s and has expanded steadily since then to include a collection of applied communication technologies (McQuail, 2005).

Today, in the analysis of new media, the Internet plays a key and important role. Maria Nowina Konopka notes that although “new media” is a very broad conceptual category, “today the term is understood mainly in relation to the Internet, which is the most important medium, the most perfect magnum opus of the new media evolution” (Nowina Konopka, 2017, p. 17). The researcher states that the Internet is widely recognized as the essence of the new media, as it becomes the platform for the emergence of further new forms of communication (such as social media, blogs, etc.) as well as brings them all together, becoming the environment for their natural occurrence (Nowina Konopka, 2017).

A key phase of a major transformation in the media world is unfolding before our eyes during the first years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Some call this multifaceted process the change of traditional journalism into Web 2.0 journalism (Briggs, 2007) and Web 3.0 (Dowd, 2016) or call this new phase in the development of the world media environment the era of “new new media” (Levinson, 2013). Moreover, the evolution of media in the last few years has been so deep, clear and multifaceted that, according to some researchers, it deserves to be called a paradigm shift (Dutta & Gangopadhyay, 2019).

## **Problems of journalism in new media**

The main doubt still debated today is the question of the professionalism of user-produced “civic” and grassroots content. Paul Levinson argues that this lack of professionalism is one of the characteristics of the “new new media,” which is a guarantee of the authenticity of the published content (Levinson, 2013). News as a result of the work of professional journalists is losing its importance, grassroots, amateur forms are developing, rooted in the active

attitude of network users, who — according to the title of Dan Gillmor’s work “We the Media” (Gillmor, 2004) — are becoming media.

Researchers note that although the speed of information and the ability to reach the audience is apparently greater than in traditional media (such as print, radio and television), we face a high risk of receiving unprofessional, low-quality content. In media study discussions, there are increasingly voices about the crisis, or even the end, of journalism as we knew it (Palczewski, 2018). The paradigm of journalism based on the message from the newsroom to the viewer, in which journalism is identified with a particular profession and occupation, is beginning to give way to an approach that broadens the definition of the journalistic profession. This definition, under the influence of the new media and the phenomena described above, as Stuart Allan notes, is under constant negotiation, and the concepts of “authority” or “prestige” used in the context of the journalism profession are increasingly fluid (Allan, 2006).

Marek Palczewski also points to the increasingly apparent cognitive relativism about journalism and news itself in the new media:

In the conceptual chaos, the very notion of journalism and journalist has been relativized, which can be anyone publishing on social media. Once unambiguous criteria have been distorted, genres have become hybrids and lost their differentiating features, and previously valid values have been devalued. The news paradigm has changed; the old paradigm no longer sets journalistic standards, and the new paradigm is not strong enough to shape them. (Palczewski, 2018, pp. 205–206)

Palczewski points out the following as the most important problems and issues in contemporary journalism that affect this state of affairs: the expansion of the Internet, the processes of globalization and media convergence, the breakdown of news and journalism paradigms, the disappearance of the division between sender and receiver, the development of the blogosphere, social media and citizen journalism, the production of user-generated-content, i.e., content produced by users outside media institutions, the decline of the printed press and the shrinking audience in European countries and the US, the deprofessionalization of the journalism profession, the personalization of content, the emergence of profiled news and news portals, the dominance of soft news over hard news, the increasing tabloidization of content, post-truth and fake news (Palczewski, 2018).

It can be noted that at the current stage of the discussion of the role and direction of journalism in the new media, there are more and more voices pointing to the challenges and even threats posed by contemporary processes in the new media. However, this discourse is not unequivocal, because despite the diagnoses evident and presented above, voices that treat the contemporary situation as part of the normal process of media development are also justified.

## **Problems and challenges of journalism: qualitative research**

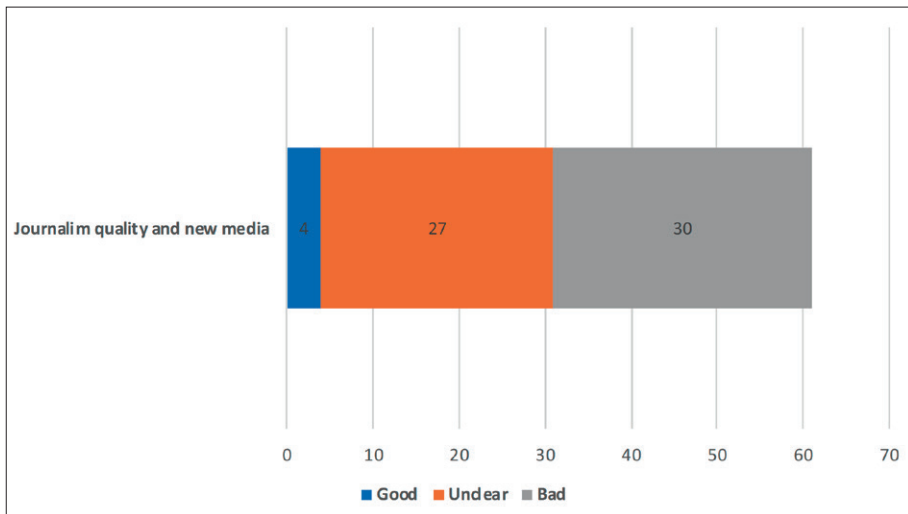
In order to analyze the contemporary problems and challenges of journalism in the new media in relation to the quality of media information, the method of qualitative expert interview collected by the questionnaire method was used. Sixty-one people (30 men and 31 women) participated in the qualitative expert survey. In order to ensure a diversity of perspectives, the experts invited to the survey were divided into five categories relating to the professional and media area they are or have been involved with in the past: media scholars (12 people), media scholars with journalistic experience (10 people), traditional media journalists (14 people), new media journalists (16 people), and public relations specialists (9 people). The survey was conducted in November-December 2022. In their responses, participants specified, among other things, what role they think objectivity plays in the quality of media information and how they understand, define and describe it. The research material obtained was compiled and systematized through appropriate coding of the responses, allowing the statements of individual experts to be compared, and linking—defined during the coding—the categories to each other and looking for connections between them.

## **News quality in the new media**

In a qualitative study, experts were asked for their opinion on the impact of new media technologies on information and journalism. The role of new media and new communication channels in modern journalism is noticeable and important. The emergence and development of phenomena such as, among others, the new architecture of the Web 2.0, which has influenced

the paradigm shift in media and journalism – social media, multimedia and interactivity of content or artificial intelligence, measurably affect both journalism and media information itself. Therefore, an important question is to what extent the changes initiated by the development of the Internet, new or “new, new” (Levinson, 2013) media affect the quality of media information. Experts’ opinions on the impact of new media on the quality of news are divided. Three prominent approaches are drawn in the answers given. The first presents the view that the new media have had a good effect on the quality of information. However, this is an unpopular claim, expressed by only four experts. The second group (27 people) of responses treated new media ambiguously. Survey participants point to both the good and bad sides of the development of new media technologies in recent years. The largest number of survey participants (30 people) expressed the opinion that new media are bad for the quality of media information.

**Figure 1.** How has the new media affected the quality of media information?



Source: compilation based on own research.

Responses indicating the positive impact of new media focus primarily on the new opportunities afforded by modern technologies. Journalist 3 draws



attention to the new media technologies present in the work of a journalist. He says that very positive examples are evident, stressing that “the ease of searching for information and materials on search engines can enhance the quality of a text through the wealth of materials gathered. It used to be necessary, for example, to leaf through yearbooks of old newspapers, but now they are often available, as are useful book publications in digital libraries.” According to Journalist 17, the positive impact of new media on the quality of media information is primarily due to the fact that much more information is now being created:

I think the new media have had a good impact on information. It seems to me that by the fact that now everyone has access not only to receive information, but also to create – this is very important – it has caused one thing: if in the 1980s 20 pieces of information were created in an hour (let’s assume), of which 5 were valuable, now 200 pieces of information are created in an hour, of which 50 are valuable. In percentage terms, the development of new media has had a bad effect on the development of journalism; there is more worthless information. But at the same time, the valuable, qualitative stuff in between is much more than it used to be. (Journalist 17)

A large group of participants (27 people) in the survey believe that it is impossible to unequivocally assess the impact of new media on the quality of information. The development of new technologies has introduced a lot of good changes in the functioning of the editorial office, the work of the journalist, the acquisition of information, the creation of content and diversifying it with multimedia elements. At the same time, they note the negative aspects and phenomena associated with the development of new media technologies. Media Scholar 5 sees a threat primarily in the possibility of publishing information by any user of the Internet:

The development of new media has enabled the rapid transmission of information and its wide access, but at the same time – it has made information as a genre of journalism shallow, for example, by the fact that the provider of information (because probably not the author) can be almost any cell phone user. (Media Scholar 5)

Also, Media Scholar 12 highlights negative but also positive aspects regarding the development of new media:

On the one hand, negatively: time pressure, faster circulation of information, thus less time for checking, rapid spread of false information, displacement of journalism by pseudo-journalism; on the other hand, positively: possible media activity independent of decision-makers balancing the influence of traditional media, possibilities for bottom-up verification of media messages. (Media Scholar 12)

Journalists also note, despite the many negative sides of the new media, the positive phenomena of new media formats present in the Internet space. Journalist 29 points to podcasts as an example of a new kind of qualitative content on the Internet, whose ease of reaching people around the world is incomparably greater than qualitative articles in a newspaper. He points out, however, that one of the apparent dangers of the new media with regard to the quality of information is the “dormancy of the audience,” who get dozens of pieces of information every day and finds it difficult to separate the qualitative ones from the shallow ones. He argues, however, that despite this, “the negative phenomena do not derail the possibility of using (as is already happening) the new media to develop quality journalism” (Journalist 29).

Nearly half of the survey participants (30 people) said that the new media have had and continue to have a negative impact on the quality of media information. The main arguments cited are the speed of the information provided, which is not sufficiently verified, the focus on titles and headlines that often mislead the viewer, the shift to a video content model (especially short forms) and the shift away from reading information. Experts are also critical of the fact that current information can be transmitted and created by anyone. Media Scholar 6 bluntly states that new media has affected the quality of information “disastrously, mainly because of the misunderstood belief that anyone can be a journalist.” A similar opinion is held by Media Scholar 22, who states that

disastrously affected the quality is the confusion of the texts of professional journalists or even pre-prepared for the profession with the texts of people who write/appear in the new media for various personal reasons; in many cases they are better than average journalists, but it is difficult to come across them in the flood of texts; the reader/viewer is condemned to the method of trial and error. (Media Scholar 22)

The statements also include examples of contemporary phenomena such as information bubbles, confirmation bias, and fake news.

### Media Scholar 13 believes that

the emergence of new media has negatively affected the quality of media information ... Social media has created a world of disinformation in which lies and rumors spread with unprecedented speed. And, as we have been able to observe for a long time, the fight against fake news is an uneven one, which does not mean that it should not be fought. News messages are getting shorter and shallower. Charged with emotion, often aggressive and vulgar. Traditional media, in order to keep up and not fall completely out of circulation, have adapted their offerings to this general trend. So, we observe the pursuit of sensationalism, entertainment, scandal or gossip. The terror of clickbaits means that we are dealing with artificially pumped up sensationalism, titles and headlines that exaggerate or hypocritical content. In addition, social media and its algorithms reinforce information bubbles and social, political and ideological polarization. Emotional content and tribal battles dominate. In the battle for audiences, quality journalism is losing. (Media Scholar 13)

Media scholars point out that the development of new media has negatively affected not only journalists but also the recipients of information. More and more often, information is received “on the go,” thus the focus and completeness of the reception of the content that reaches us also decreases.

Also, in the group of journalists, almost half of the participants (14 people) described the impact of new media on the quality of information as bad. In addition to the development of new phenomena on the Internet, journalists point to negative changes in the journalistic profession itself and the organization of editorial work. As Journalist 15 notes, new media technologies have affected the quality of information

dramatically. I say this from the perspective of a person who created and for more than two decades co-founded one of Poland’s leading horizontal portals. The competition to race for the highest possible viewership, the turning of journalists into mediaworkers, the mixing of advertising interests with social interests and the belief that the Internet will take anything, plus the popularity of social media, meant that quality, ethics and workshop no longer mattered. (Journalist 15)

Journalist 26 highlights the role of social media in the process of lowering the quality of media information. By his own admission, even journalists

themselves and professional, large media outlets are beginning to have problems using social media:

I'm not a hurra-optimist or a big enthusiast of what new media brings to journalism. As I observe Twitter of 2015 and the current one, these are two different worlds. Today it is a toxic world that I don't want to participate in. It used to be the basis for gathering information, sharing knowledge and exchanging opinions. New media have also degenerated. I would say that they have changed us, made us independent, allowed us to break out of the lampshade of large portals and newspapers, but on the other hand they have made it so that anyone can be a journalist, so no one is that journalist. Since everything can be information — because anyone can publish something — nothing is information. Even the biggest media don't know how to use it anymore. (Journalist 26)

The assessment of the impact of new media on the quality of information is not unequivocal, although the survey participants' statements show distance and caution in identifying the positives. Undoubtedly, the new media provide many new opportunities, which the survey participants pointed out, but one should not forget about the disturbing phenomena and limitations mentioned in the responses. However, one view in particular is clear in the responses: the quality of information has been affected by the new media, as Media Scholar 15 put it, "in one word: significantly."

## Contemporary challenges of journalism

The purpose of the qualitative interviews conducted was not only to diagnose the contemporary approaches of the survey participants to the impact of new media on the quality of news and journalism, but also to identify trends and challenges for the coming years. The challenges of journalism identified by the survey participants largely correlate with contemporary media issues, especially those that relate to changes in journalism due to the development of new media. The experts' analysis of contemporary trends and their extrapolation into the future made it possible to identify a list of the most prominent challenges that journalists may face soon.

The most frequently identified (23 statements) challenge for the coming years by experts is fake news, which, according to survey participants' responses, will increase in number and intensity. The problem of fake news is

very complex and involves the emergence of new mechanisms of disinformation, such as deep fake and social media trolling. The challenge for journalists in this area will be, first of all, to be accurate and reliable in verifying information, but also to continue to build awareness in audiences, who often accept false information in new media. Journalist 29 says the problem with fake news will get worse and is a medium's biggest challenges for the coming years:

The importance of fake news, deep fakes, fake accounts, and impersonation is growing and will likely continue to grow. With journalists becoming less vigilant and relying only on social media messages for information, this could lead to disaster. This is already happening, but I fear it will become more frequent. (Journalist 29)

The second most frequently indicated (17 people) challenge about journalism and media information is the observed development of AI and algorithms. The problems indicated concern both generative AI and the creation of increasingly sophisticated algorithms that take on the role of gatekeeper, so to speak, and decide what information reaches specific Internet users. Experts note a growing problem with the generation of content by artificial intelligence, whether textual, graphic or video. Journalist 17 sees the development of artificial intelligence as by far the biggest challenge for journalism in the next years:

Artificial intelligence first and foremost. 10 years ago, artificial intelligence would not have been able to create a journalistic message for two reasons: first, it was too weak, and second, no one needed this type of simple journalistic message. Today AI is better, but it still won't create a good, elaborate journalistic text, but more and more people need such material. (Journalist 17)

At the same time, experts note that a major challenge in this area is the systemic regulation of technology companies, whose algorithms have a strong influence on the quality of the content presented.

The third most frequently identified trend (12 statements) is the deepening of the processes of tabloidization of content, clickbait, tailoring information to low audience expectations and creating coverage journalism at the expense of quality journalism. Experts see a huge challenge in taking any measures to reverse this trend. Social media (using them appropriately but responsibly in journalism; using but not succumbing to all their trends), political

and business influences, and funding for quality content are also cited as further problems journalists will face. Experts point out that editorial quality journalism will face financial difficulties. They note that there is already a shortage of budgets for long-form investigative journalism or reporting. Thus, funding for quality content may be diverted from the public. Media Scholar 13 believes this could change the entire media market:

Media quality will face primarily economic difficulties. They will be looking for an audience that is willing to pay for good content. We will have elite media with valuable information and in-depth analysis, and mass media with sensationalism and entertainment. (Media Scholar 13)

Experts also note a decline in trust in journalists, a crisis of objectivity, information bubbles (largely driven by algorithms and social media) and information overload as contemporary challenges. Survey participants also noted a trend in the gradual “decline” of traditional media. They point to attempts to keep, for example, newspapers on the market, which often feature more quality and in-depth material, as a challenge:

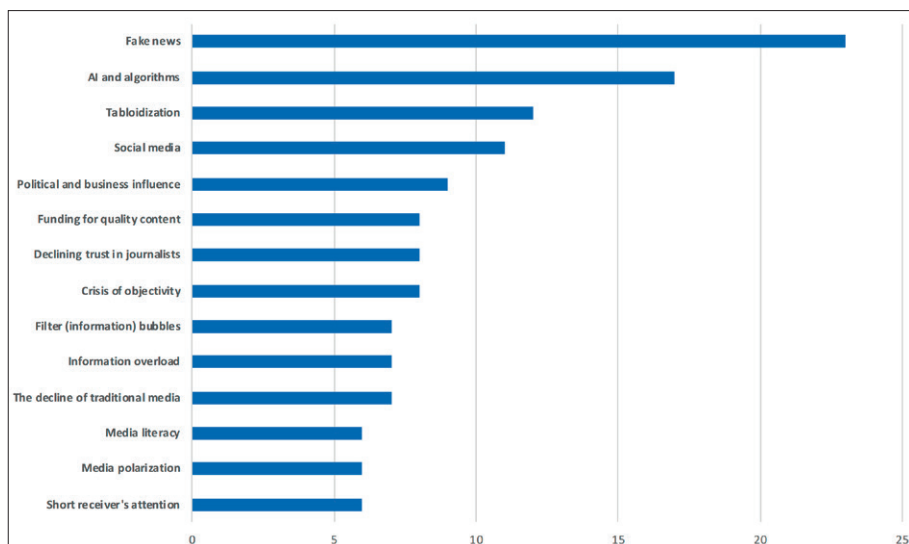
I see one biggest challenge: how to maintain quality journalism. You have to keep the places that remind you of quality at all costs. You have to save the “paper.” Newspapers can have low circulation if they are highly elitist, with the highest quality journalism. (Journalist 2)

The survey also identified (by 6 people) media education (taking steps to educate audiences on responsible use of media content; building digital competence and knowledge of how media works), media polarization or the dominance of economic aspects as trends and challenges. Experts also point to the audience’s increasingly short attention span. Finding a way to keep viewers, readers or listeners (especially those representing younger generations) with longer forms in the media will be a significant challenge for journalists in the coming years. A list of the most important trends and challenges concerning journalism and media information is presented in Figure 2.

Participants in the survey also pointed to the introduction of new technologies (e.g., VR) into journalism, downsizing of editorial staff, confirmation bias, the downgrading of the journalism profession, the increasing pace of work, low audience expectations, hate speech, declining motivation to be

a journalist, and corporatism (target-driven, KPI-driven, etc.) as other trends and challenges.

**Figure 2.** Challenges of journalism in the future



Source: compilation based on own research.

The trends identified by the experts in the study are part of the contemporary analysis of journalism and confirm the noted challenges to journalism around the world. According to research by the University of Oxford and the Reuters Institute, the dominant challenges in modern journalism are the development of algorithms and artificial intelligence, which measurably also causes the appearance of fake news in the media space (Newman, 2024). Loss of trust in the media, information overload (and thus loss of interest due to information fatigue), problems with funding quality content, social media or short attention spans of audiences are also challenges identified in contemporary studies (Newman, 2023). In addition, predictions published by the US-based Nieman Journalism Lab at Harvard University indicate that problems with disinformation, artificial intelligence or the changing way audiences receive content online will be a significant challenge for journalists in the years to come (*Predictions...*, 2024). Artificial intelligence and its impact on the media is also one of the main trends and challenges identified in the

study *Media trends and predictions 2024*. Analysts point out the growing challenges of—on the one hand—the intensive exploration of the possibilities of using AI-based tools, but—on the other hand—the problems and challenges of verifying AI-generated content or copyright violations (Behar & McCarthy, 2023).

## Summary

Research indicates that technological changes and the emergence of new forms of communication, such as the Internet, social media, mobile applications, and Web 2.0 tools, etc., have significantly changed journalism and the ways in which media information quality is defined. At the same time, the research shows the difficulty of simply dichotomizing whether new media have a positive or negative impact on media information quality. In the qualitative survey conducted, although the dominant view (30 responses) defines negatively the impact of new media on the quality of information and journalism, a large proportion of responses (27) identified as ambiguous indicate both positive and negative aspects of new media. The survey unequivocally indicates that the technological development observed in recent years is causing a progressive revolution in journalism involving the content and form of journalistic materials, the style of work and even the definition of the journalist's profession, which, as experts point out in the qualitative survey, is evolving toward "media working," i.e. the blending of the fields of journalism, PR, marketing, new media and the increasingly visible becoming more of a reproducer of information than a creator of information. At the same time, the study points to an important paradigm shift for journalism in communication, which is now based on the many-to-many model (Bruns, 2008), in which the audience has a completely new role. Of course, the theses about the media revolution and the changing media world are in themselves nothing revelatory; they have been operating in the discussion of the media for at least a dozen years. However, it is important to note in this discussion the increasingly critical attitude toward new forms of journalism and information. Phenomena that were initially considered by many as an opportunity (e.g. citizen journalism, speed of information and constant access to it, multimedia and interactivity of the message) today are increasingly treated as threats to quality above all.



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# **Media image of Slovak migrants in Great Britain**

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## Abstract

### *Media image of Slovak migrants in Great Britain*

Central and Eastern European labor migration to the United Kingdom has been one of the major EU phenomena for decades (depending on the time of the accession of specific countries to the European Union). However, the countries of migration origin tend to reflect the experience of migrants rather than the experience and attitude of the hosts. This paper attempts to capture the perspective of the host country through media articles on the topic. It analyses the media image of Slovak migrants, including Slovak Roma, but captures this specific issue only in a given context. It is based on extensive research of the media image of Slovakia in British dailies on a sample of 481 texts from five periodicals (Daily Mirror, Daily Star, The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Financial Times) in 2010–2014. Applying the combined method of quantitative and qualitative analysis, we observe the tonality of the published articles, the present stereotypical depictions and especially specific thematic frameworks of the image of Slovakia (Slovak migrants).

**Keywords:** media image of a country, Central and Eastern Europe, qualitative analysis, Slovakia

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The media image of Slovak migration to Great Britain, with an emphasis on Roma migration, is part of the overall media image of Slovakia in Great Britain. Our paper is based on an extensive study of this media image in 2010–2014. In the given period, the issue of migration and Roma migration proved to be one of the significant ones.

The image of a country abroad is affected by many factors and can be studied from different perspectives. Cultural studies draw mainly from the theory of cultural representation of S. Hall, which is closely connected with cultural identities (Tarasheva, 2014, pp. 7–8). Further studies emphasize the collective cultural memory in the sense that the past of our culture helps us interpret its presence. In this context, D. Berkowitz and Z. Liu (2014) distinguished the so-called *social construction of news* from the *cultural construction of news*. At the same time, they detected the possible influence of media institutions and the system of modern media work in the process. Here, the theory of the narrative construction of reality is particularly beneficial (Bruner, 1991). In its context, creating media texts means retelling the events in a way that resonates with society's values and concepts. The ritual of passing on the story is

currently taking place using modern technology, with the interpretive community playing a key role (Bočák et al., 2010). In the media, we observe the growing popularity of stories, especially *human interest stories*, which can be considered a feature of tabloidisation (Fulton et al., 2005). A specific position is taken by the archetypal mythical narrative (Car, 2019; Lule, 2001), especially the heroic narrative. Booker (2006), under the influence of deep psychology, distinguished the seven basic plots in all stories:

- *Overcoming the Monster*,
- *Rags to Riches*,
- *The Quest*,
- *Voyage and Return*,
- *Comedy*,
- *Tragedy*,
- *Rebirth*.

The image of Slovakia in foreign media is relatively little explored, also because the Slovak Republic was established only recently, in 1993. The only study that deals with the image of Slovakia exclusively in the British media is the work of A. Burgess (1997). His content analysis focuses on the period after the establishment of Slovakia (1993–1994) and identifies the three most frequent topics: the split of Czechoslovakia and its consequences, the problem with the construction of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros waterworks and the rights of the Hungarian minority. A. Burgess noticed the relatively negative tone of the texts and attributed them to the discourse that developed in the West after the fall of communism, which defined the East by “a proclivity for intolerance, extremism, and ethnic conflict” (Burgess, 1997, p. 679). Similarly, other researchers confirm that in the past Slovakia was unknown to the Western media, almost invisible (Henderson, 2002). K. Henderson noticed that the topic of Slovak nationalism was interesting for foreign media in the early 1990s, exaggerating insignificant demonstrations in Bratislava and leaning to the side of Hungary, considering Slovaks to be “faintly ridiculous extremists” (Henderson, 2002, pp. xv–xvii).

Among domestic researchers, A. Školkay (2014) studied the topic of Slovakia’s image in foreign media, analyzing the activities of foreign correspondents in our country and highlighting the three most common topics: the Roma minority, the Hungarian and partly Jewish minorities; economic problems and reforms; and population migration. A similar occurrence of topics was reported by A. Salner and M. Beblavý (1999). J. Žilinský (2007)

recorded negative mentions in the three most common areas: the financing of science in Slovakia, discrimination of the Roma and the populism of the government of R. Fico. O. Gyarfášová, M. Bútorá and Z. Bútorová (2012) examined the strengths and weaknesses of the image of the Slovak Republic abroad. They identified a strong story, proximity and potential as its key features and stressed an insufficient country brand. The multi-author study *Slovakia – a country with potential* (Bán et al., 2012) emphasized the status of Slovakia as a little-known country and the need to disrupt cultural myths and stereotypes by enforcing new attributes such as development, genuineness, innovation, adaptability, creativity, and energy.

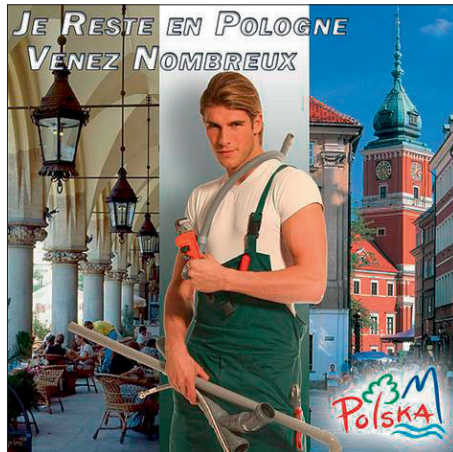
J. Rozenfeld's research (2011) confirmed a markedly negative image of Eastern Europe in the British media. At this point, it is worth recalling that the term "Eastern Europe" is not geographical, but rather historical and socio-political; the countries of Eastern Europe are perceived as countries of the former Eastern bloc (Ostblock). The research of the British press by A. Azarova (2017), for example, demonstrated that in all the articles in her sample, Europe was identified with the European Union before 2004, and Eastern Europe was excluded. The image of Eastern Europe in Western perception faces several stereotypes. Based on the work of N. Kaneva (2012) and R. Saunders (2012), we can identify the following basic ones:

- nationalism,
- mysteriousness and lack of information,
- violence,
- backwardness and poverty,
- migration,
- sexualisation.

As B. Korte (2010) points out that after the fall of communism, Western Europe, including Britain, faced immigration from Eastern Europe, refugees from the Balkans, and economic migrants. Following the great territorial expansion of the EU in 2004, the British press became very concerned about the flood of Eastern Europeans who would "flood cities and steal labor from the locals" (Korte, 2010, p. 2). V. Veličković (2010) observed that the images of flooding and swamping have historically always been very typical of the British public debate on migration. Previously, they were used with African and Asian migrants. Eastern European immigrants are most often depicted as Polish plumbers and masons, confirming the classic stereotype of Eastern European uneducated but hardworking male migrants. A special phenomenon

in this context is the exodus of Eastern European Roma to Great Britain. J. Krokusová (2007) from the Institute of Regional and National Studies of the University of Prešov states that after the year 2000, due to the departure of the Roma, Slovakia was presented as a racist country in many European countries, e.g. Belgium or Finland. Roma migration began spontaneously but grew into organized, economically motivated departures. This has brought about many problems related to the crime – the activities of usurers, forgers, traffickers, etc.

**Figure 1.** Visual of the Polish campaign to support tourism from 2005



Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4115164.stm>

## Methodology

Our paper is based on research into the image of Slovakia in the British media in 2010–2014. 481 media texts from five British periodicals (their online versions) were examined. In accordance with the procedures of C. Newbold et al. (2002, pp. 80–81) the criteria for selecting the periodical were their type diversity (two tabloids and three elite dailies), periodicity (dailies due to the expected higher number of texts) and general availability of data in the given period (e.g. the possibility of searching in the online archive periodicals after purchasing a subscription).

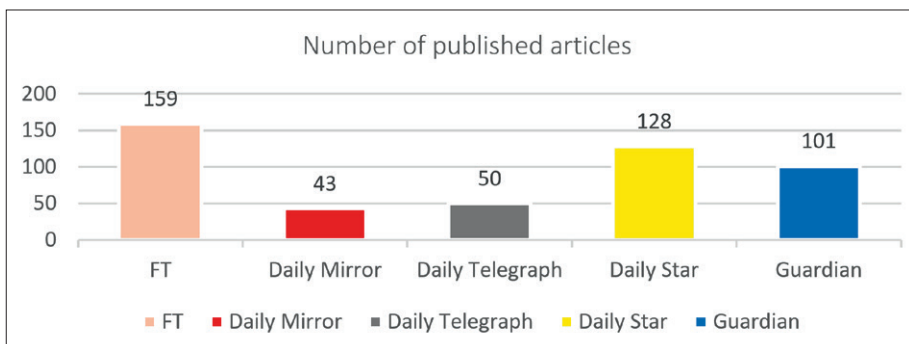
**Table 1.** Basic information about the researched dailies

Periodical	Year of est.	Orientation	Webpage	Circulation 2014 Mon-Fri	Type
Daily Mirror	1903	leftist, populist	mirror.co.uk	831 052	Tabloid
Daily Star	1978	conservative	dailystar.co.uk	428 036	Tabloid
The Daily Telegraph	1855	right wing, conservative	telegraph.co.uk	439 098	Elite
The Guardian	1821	center-left, social-liberal	theguardian.com	147 786	Elite
The Financial Times	1888	economically liberal, politically centrist	ft.com	63 279	Elite

Since our goal was the most comprehensive characteristic of the media image of Slovakia in Great Britain, we decided on the simplest method of choosing a sample, the so-called census (Macnamara, 2011), i.e., the selection of all units in the chosen framework, which in our case was the connection of texts with Slovakia. The selected texts were considered relevant if they contained the following words: Slovak, Slovakia, Slovakian.

Most of the 481 texts were published in *The Financial Times*, the least in *Daily Mirror*.

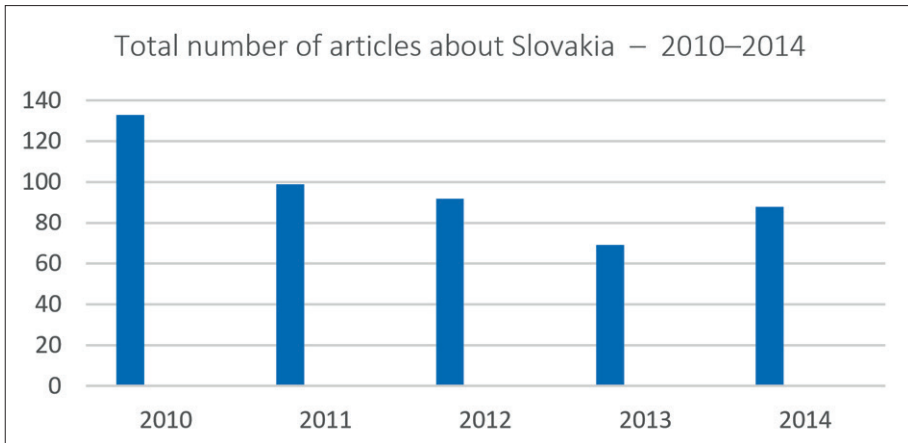
**Figure 2.** Number of published articles by periodicals





In terms of time distribution, we noticed a declining trend in the number of texts with a slight increase at the end of the period under review.

**Figure 3.** Number of published articles by year of publication



We examined the texts included in the sample using the method of content analysis. This method is interdisciplinary and, in addition to the analysis of media content, it is used in the whole spectrum of scientific disciplines from pedagogical sciences through psychology, marketing to mass media communication (Neuendorf, 2002). This method was first applied by H. Lasswell in 1927 to study propaganda and subsequently became very popular in the research of film content and later the mass media, with researchers focusing on violence, racism, and the status of women (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Neuendorf distinguishes four main tasks of content analysis: descriptive, psychometric, deductive and predictive (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 53). We applied descriptive content analysis.

It is important to distinguish between quantitative, qualitative and combined content analysis. Qualitative analysis better covers factors that affect the audience and their beliefs or behavior (Macnamara, 2011, p. 2). In the case of media texts, it makes it possible to better understand their deeper meaning and possible interpretation by the recipients. The key elements that are monitored in such a case include e.g. tone of utterance, point of view, the gender of verbs, metaphors, comparisons, adjectives, etc. (Macnamara, 2011, p. 17).

A possible research method here is to study the media text framing. The theory of framing has been continuously evolving since the 1970s. It is an integral part of the study of cultural and social discourse. As J. N. Capella and K. Jamieson (1997) explained that frameworks enliven the rules and concepts present in culture, creating the context. D. McQuail points out that in media practice, frames are necessary to convert information into a meaningful form in a short time (2009). Z. Pan and G. Kosicki (1993) identified the frame with the central motif of the text (*theme*) while making a special distinction between the *theme* and *topic*. J. Kuypers (2009) understood the frame as the “central organizing idea” of a narrative event. S. Iyengar (1991) distinguished between episodic frames (in the context of an event) and thematic frames (in a more general, abstract context).

According to R. Entman (1993), frames determine the aspects of events and phenomena and their interconnection to promote a certain interpretation, evaluation and/or solution. He explains that their functions are as follows: defining a problem, interpreting causes, expressing a moral attitude, and promising a solution, remedy, or response. Various factors are involved in creating the frames, such as societal norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, the influence of interest groups, professional routines and procedures, and the ideological and political orientation of journalists. Among these influences, some authors include the cultural context of society. For example, E. Goffman (1974) claims that frames are rooted in cultural reality, and in the case of the dependence of the media frame on culture, it is the so-called cultural resonance.

In our research, we adopted the frame as one of the variables. We determined a total of six variables:

- topic,
- genre,
- tonality (positive, negative, neutral),
- the element of assessment (adjectives and adjective collocations),
- frame,
- mention of Central or Eastern Europe.

When evaluating the text frames, we used pre-identified frames (Lewis & Weaver, 2015):

- *conflict*,
- *attribution of responsibility*,
- *economic consequences*,

- *human interest,*
- *morality,*
- *character,*
- *performance.*

At the same time, we left room for possible new frames.<sup>1</sup> The issue of migration and the Roma were present mainly in connection with the variable topic and frame, partly in connection with the variable element of assessment. Before the research, we identified five hypotheses; migration and the Roma were related to the two of them:

**H1:** We assume the dominance of topics related to the life of Slovaks in Great Britain, especially the problem of the assimilation of local Slovaks of Roma origin.

The mass departure of Roma to Great Britain was intensely discussed in the Slovak media. A. Mušinka et al. (2014) and K. Matlovičová et al. (2012) estimated the number of Roma citizens in Slovakia to be 350,000 to 400,000, which represents 6–7% of the total Slovak population. The media image of the Roma in the Slovak press is primarily negative. As stated by T. Podolinská (2017, pp. 140–141), Roma are often portrayed as people with a negative attitude to work, abusing the social system, with a high birth rate, inappropriate sexual behavior, poor personal hygiene, low intelligence, high crime rate, etc. As migration is one of the most pressing issues in the UK (Duffy & Rowden, 2005), we anticipated that the issue of Roma immigration and assimilation would receive increased media attention.

**H2:** We assume that the media image of Slovakia in Great Britain will show stereotypical characteristics of the image of Eastern European culture — nationalism; mysteriousness and lack of information, violence; backwardness and poverty; migration; the sexualization of women.

As reported by N. Cingerová and K. Motyková (2017, pp. 117–118), discourse analysis perceives cultural stereotypes as collective symbols that assist in the interpretation of social events. They also include various typical clichés and metaphors. We also tried to identify these stereotypes in our research sample.

.....  
 1 Using the *Other* category, we identified another 18 frames in our sample, namely: growth and development, discrimination, David and Goliath, economic advantage, innovation, populism, corruption, threat, change, crime and punishment, cruelty, sadness and loss, outrage, apathy, unknown, evaluation, sustainable development and concern.

## Findings

The topic of migration in relation to Slovakia appeared in: *The Financial Times* (n = 2), *The Guardian* (n = 5), *The Daily Telegraph* (n = 3) and *Daily Star* (n = 7).

**Table 2.** Topic frequency in the examined dailies

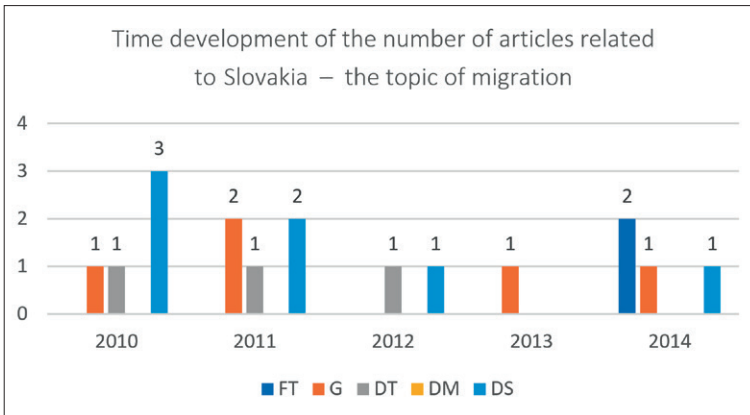
TOPIC	The Financial Times	The Guardian	The Daily Telegraph	Daily Mirror	Daily Star	Totals
EU Economy	69	8	0	0	0	77
SR Economy	7	2	1	0	4	14
Bailout fund	25	4	4	0	0	33
EU Politics	21	6	0	0	0	27
SR Politics	17	4	3	0	0	24
Global politics	0	1	1	0	0	2
Nationalism	5	2	0	0	0	7
Tourism	1	8	6	2	0	17
Migration	2	5	3	0	7	17
Roma	3	2	0	0	4	9
Crime	0	1	11	9	11	32
Sport	3	24	15	29	93	164
Education	1	2	0	0	0	3
Healthcare	0	3	0	0	0	3
Culture	1	5	0	1	4	11
Environment	0	5	0	0	0	5
Other	4	19	6	2	5	36
Totals	159	101	50	43	128	✕

Migration is a particularly sensitive issue for the British public, with the main source of concern being job losses due to the flooding of the market with cheaper labor from Eastern Europe. Slovaks were described as the “fastest-growing foreign-born group” (Bingham, 2011).

The analysis in *The Daily Telegraph* includes the statement of the leader of the Migration Watch: “The eastern Europeans have been extremely good workers and therefore very welcome to employers.” At the same time, however, he admits that “they have been paid below what a Brit would have been

paid, they have often been on very low wages and accepted difficult working conditions” (Bingham, 2011).

**Figure 4.** Development of the number of articles on the topic of migration



A similar picture of hard-working and diligent Eastern Europeans is provided in an article in *The Financial Times*, with an explicit headline that states that “Employers like EU migrants for their commitment” (Odell, 2014). In this and a similar article, also in *The Financial Times* (McDermott, 2014), the authors agree that these migrants pay more in taxes than they receive in social benefits and are less likely to receive social benefits than native Britons. The hard work of workers from Eastern Europe is also emphasized again.

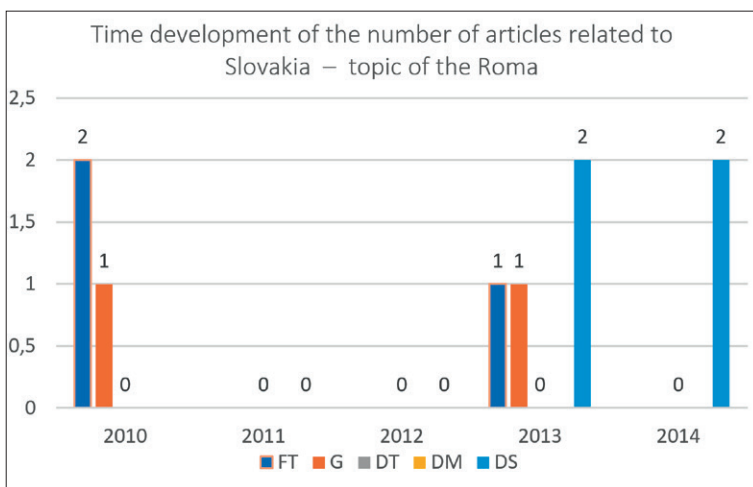
Articles in tabloids are more critical. For example, an article in *Daily Star* warns that after the adoption of new laws, people from the new accession countries, including Slovakia, can claim social benefits after only 12 weeks and not 12 months as before. However, the author also brings the statement of the relevant authority (*Department for Work and Pensions*) that “most migrants do not claim benefits” (Coyle, 2010).

Even more critical is the *Daily Star* article from 2011, which sees migrant workers as a cause of growing poverty in the UK. It contains a direct statement by Ian Duncan Smith, an MP, who said that “the wave of Eastern Europeans who flooded into the country from 2004 has led to poverty in adults being at its highest levels in 50 years” (Hughes, 2011).

The topic of Slovak Roma was addressed in *The Financial Times* ( $n = 3$ ), *The Guardian* ( $n = 2$ ) and *Daily Star* ( $n = 4$ ). As Figure 5 demonstrates, the highest

number of articles was published in 2013, with three of the four texts being more extensive and addressing the aggravated situation of the coexistence of the British population with Slovak Roma in and in the vicinity of Sheffield.

**Figure 5.** Development of the number of articles with the topic of Roma



An article by J. Ciensky from *The Financial Times* deals with the segregation of Roma children in Czech schools. Their frequent placement in special schools is criticized here. At the same time, however, Slovakia is explicitly mentioned in a quote by the manager of the Roma Rights Center in Budapest, R. Kushen, who stated that the Roma in Slovakia and elsewhere are also facing this situation (Ciensky, 2010).

T. Nicholson talks about the difficulties that the Roma are experiencing in the labor market. The author attempts to look at the problem from several points of view. He brings the testimony of a university-educated Roma woman, who in the Slovak conditions seems to be a “rarity.” In addition, he admits that Roma children are still sent to *special* schools regardless of their cognitive abilities. However, the innovative strategies of the new Slovak government toward the Roma minority are evaluated positively here (Nicholson, 2010).

The author of a letter from the reader, J. A. Goldston from the *Open Society Justice Initiative*, New York, describes the living conditions of the Roma throughout Europe, including Slovakia, in a similar way. They are portrayed

as “massive unemployment, widespread poverty, separate substandard education,” as well as “outburst of violence” against them (Goldston, 2013).

*The Guardian* published two articles about the Roma, probably the most critical article ever by S. Drakulić, who also provoked an emotional discussion of readers in the discussion forum (131 posts). Slovakia is mentioned here as one of the countries you are likely to hear about when the Roma have been “stabbed, burned or shot,” the Roma being perceived as the most discriminated and poorest European minority (Drakulić, 2010).

An extensive reportage on Slovak Roma in Sheffield is already very expressive in the headline, see the term “boiling pot ready to explode” (Hall & Pidd, 2013). The main topic here is various problems caused by the “huge influx of Slovakian Roma.” The most prominent are garbage, noise, and street gangs. The article brings colorful testimonies of the affected locals, such as the owner of a bistro to whom a young Roma couple allegedly offered to sell a child for £250. The locals even organized a voluntary neighborhood patrol. There is also a statement by a local MP, who warns against the escalation of the current problems with Slovak Roma. The terms used associate fear and impending danger – *escalating*, *explosion*, etc. According to this article, the local community of Slovak Roma is not making sufficient efforts to integrate into British society. However, the article also acknowledges that crime rates have not increased significantly since Roma immigration, but rather antisocial behavior, such as street rubbish, overcrowded housing, related falling house prices, theft of garden furniture as well as alleged consumption of cats. Local Slovak Roma complain of discrimination and lack of job and other life opportunities in Slovakia and express satisfaction with their life in Britain.

The narrative of the articles in the *Daily Star* is quite explicit: the Roma are abusing the British welfare system. The article by B. Francis (2014) describes Slovak Roma from Sheffield who spend their social benefits playing on slot machines (Francis, 2014). They speak only broken or no English and live in crowded houses. The language used to describe them is sharp: “Some can rake in as much as £23,000 a year with jobseeker’s allowance, housing and child benefits.” The author also compares their living conditions in Slovakia and the United Kingdom: “They love England. In Slovakia, they live in villages and camps with no electricity. Here they have a house and money for nothing.” The article also contains a warning from a member of the British Parliament for Sheffield about the danger of unrest due to the anti-social behavior of Slovak Roma. There is also a statement from a spokesman of the local Roma

community, who claims that the Roma have the right to be here and they like to bet because they are bored.

F. Cross's article from July 2014 offers a very similar picture (Cross, 2014). It describes a Roma family with a woman smoking at a table. The family has 13 members, with only one of them having a job, but they are enjoying a comfortable life thanks to social benefits. The woman sadly describes her life in Slovakia: "We didn't have flats like this council house in Slovakia. "We didn't have electricity or radiators, we didn't have anything." Also: "My country does not have a job, no food, nothing. I'm not going back there, never." The father of the family also compares these conditions with the British ones in broken English: "I like England. England give me a house, give me a doctor, give me a school, benefit. England good, thank you so much England." According to them, the authorities tried to remove their benefits several times, and the mother reacted as follows: "It's not fair to suspend money like this. Every time I go to sign on, they come up with something! I am cross! So cross!" The author of the article cites an official statement from the respective authority, briefly stating that benefits cannot be a "replacement for work."

**Figure 6.** Illustrative images for articles about Slovak Roma in *Daily Star* in 2013 and 2014



Two other articles in *Daily Star* from 2013 also describe the anti-social behavior of the Roma (Perkins, 2013; Walker, 2013). They stressed that the anger of the locals intensified after 4,000 Slovak Roma moved into Sheffield's Page Hall district. They warn readers against a flood of Roma people about to move



to the UK. The behavior of the 200,000 Roma already living in Britain is often antisocial and has required e.g. publication of a leaflet on decent behavior. Samples from it can be considered extreme—for example, they warn the Roma that the streets must not be used as a toilet.

We also found minor mentions of the Roma in the topic categories of EU politics and nationalism. The articles on EU politics in the given period were dominated by the so-called bailout fund and the evaluation of the European Commissioners, including the Slovak representative Maroš Šefčovič. His extensive profile stated that he answered the questions competently, but his “Achilles’ heel” was a five-year-old statement “despising the Roma,” which he tried to justify and refute (Pignal, Barber, Chaffin, & Tait, 2010). In connection with nationalism, the Slovak politician Ján Slotka was included in N. Farage’s portrait in *The Guardian*. His well-known statement about Roma who need a “big whip and a small yard” was quoted (Harris, 2012).

Another large category monitored was the adjectives characterizing the people in Slovakia. Slovak Roma were perceived as a “mostly poor Roma minority.” Their integration into society is a “long-running problem.” In terms of education, the Roma children are pushed into an “inferior system.” The characteristics of Slovak Roma in Britain mention “anti-social behavior” (anti-social behavior of 4,000 Roma from Slovakia who flooded into Sheffield’s Page Hall district); the whole situation resembles “a boiling pot ready to explode.” The descriptions include the terms “gambling problem,” “unemployed” — “her husband and 10 of her 11 children are also unemployed,” “huge influx of Slovakian Roma,” “stained mattresses and sofas are piled up in gardens,” “noisy groups congregating outside their houses at 1 am,” “scantily clad teenage girls,” “unsavory claims about cat-eating newcomers.”

In relation to the monitored topics of migration and the Roma, negative tonality prevailed in the monitored texts, especially in the articles on the Roma.

**Table 5.** Relationship between the topic and tonality

Topic	Tonality		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Migration	2	6	8
Roma	0	8	1

In the articles on the topic of migration, we noticed obvious differences in the assessment of Central and Eastern European migrants between the

elite dailies (2 positive, 2 negative, 2 neutral articles) and tabloids (4 negative, 3 neutral articles). Broadsheets provide a picture of a hard-working migrant who is paid less than a Brit, and in the articles it was possible to identify the frames of economic consequences and populism. The tabloids frame this topic as an economic consequence and threat, there are “water metaphors” as expected, e.g. the “wave of eastern Europeans,” “flooded into the country from 2004” (Hughes, 2011).

Similarly, on the Roma, we noticed a marked difference depending on the specific daily. Articles in *The Financial Times* focused exclusively on coexistence with the Roma minority in Slovakia and were of a critical nature with an emphasis on the discrimination of the Roma in the school environment and the labor market. One of the articles in *The Guardian* was a critical commentary, and a reportage also occurred. The first case was an article that assessed discrimination against the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, including Slovakia, while Slovakia was portrayed as a country where the Roma were treated cruelly and unfairly. These articles were framed as discriminatory. The second article in *The Guardian* described the tense coexistence of locals and Slovak Roma in and around Sheffield and critically assessed the behavior of Roma immigrants. The narrative in *Daily Star* reportages highlights the abuse of the British social security system by the Roma immigrants. The language used is expressive, the expressions used evoke danger, anger and fear — a bubbling pot ready to explode, escalation, explosion, flood, Roma army, the applied frame is the threat. There are frequent contrasting images of Roma life in Slovakia and Britain, favoring Britain, although there is a clear criticism of Roma behavior and expressed dissatisfaction of the local population. The discourse on the Roma problem contains, in particular, the image of an Eastern European country that discriminates against its fellow Roma citizens.

## Conclusion

In our research sample mapping five British dailies over five years, we examined 26 texts on migration (17) and the Roma (9). Here, we applied a qualitative analysis. Out of all our variables defined for broader research, tonality, frames and assessment using adjectives can be considered significant.

One of the basic findings is the obvious difference between elite and tabloid dailies: both in the focus and the framing of the issue. In connection with migration, elite periodicals paid particular attention to the hard work and diligence of Eastern European migrants, as well as their lower salary, and in relation to Roma, their discrimination and segregation in the home country. On the topic of migration, tabloid periodicals emphasized the threat to the British labor market and the abuse of social benefits; which was even more pronounced among the Roma, perceived as antisocial abusers of the social system.

The differences between elite and tabloid periodicals were also reflected in the framing of topics: while in elite dailies the frames of economic consequences, populism or discrimination prevailed, in the tabloid press there was a significant frame of threat. The tabloid means of expression were also more emotional, confirming the occurrence of “water metaphors” (Veličković, 2010) and expressive adjectives.

Our findings correlate with those presented by other authors dealing with the topic of the image of Slovakia in foreign media in the past. We can state that dominant topics are still significantly present, including the topic of Roma and migration (Beblavý & Salner, 1999; Žilinský, 2007; Školkaý, 2014).

Out of the two hypotheses related to the topic of migration and the Roma, none was confirmed. H1 assumed the dominance of topics related to the life of Slovaks in Great Britain, especially the problem of assimilation of the local Roma. This hypothesis was not confirmed, as the articles on migration and the Roma were rather marginal in number. H2 assumed the presence of Eastern European stereotypes in the British media image of Slovakia. This hypothesis was only partially confirmed. In connection with the topic of our study, it is necessary to mention the stereotype of migration, or frequent migration. This topic was present in our research sample, but not significantly and not identically in various types of media. We noted a significant difference between the image of a migrant abusing the British social security system in tabloids and the image of a hard-working Eastern European migrant in elite dailies. The topic of migration also touched on the problem of Roma and Roma migration, where Slovakia was portrayed significantly negatively, articles in the research sample provided images of a country that discriminates its fellow Roma citizens, and Roma living in the UK were depicted as people who demonstrate anti-social behavior and sometimes abuse social benefits.

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**Framing modern challenges for minority language media distribution. A case study of Kashubian and Silesian in the Polish context**

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## Abstract

*Framing modern challenges for minority language media distribution. A case study of Kashubian and Silesian in the Polish context*

This article examines and discusses the challenges faced by minority language media outlets due to the rise of online media. It questions whether the representation and sustainability of minority languages in the European Union's evolving media landscape can be effectively supported in light of rapid digital advancements in modern journalism. This study explores the traditional (press, radio, TV) and digital media systems in Kashubian and Silesian, the two most-spoken minority languages in Poland, examining their distribution and relative weight among their speaking populations from 2006 to 2024. The results showed an asymmetrical growth of traditional outlets as opposed to digital ones among both communities, owing largely to a lack of public policy initiatives within the free-market digital space and subsequent algorithmic prioritisation of majority languages. The article thus calls for new policy initiatives to enhance and develop new media services in minority languages.

**Keywords:** European minority languages, media, media density, media policy, language revitalisation policy, sociolinguistics

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This study addresses the contemporary challenges to minority language (ML) media posed by the unstoppable rise of internet media. The emphasis of this research is to longitudinally observe the exact changes that have affected the media landscapes among Poland's two largest and most spoken MLs, Kashubian and Silesian, collectively comprising over half a million speakers. Between 2006 and 2024, the media distribution among these ML groups witnessed substantial changes due to a dramatic acceleration of the digitisation process (Franklin, 2014; Moring, 2013) and significant changes to each group's respective media landscape due to Poland's 2005 Language Act (Skóra, 2021; Olszewska et al., 2022).

The primary topics under consideration thus include the existing structure and variety of traditional and digital media sources across varying factors (media type, density, and ownership) and the sociopolitical phenomena that have influenced such structures in the modern day. The significance of this study stems from its comparative nature and that ML media systems are indeed critical for the development of such native languages and communities.

Indeed, these initiatives reach beyond standard responsibilities of information, transmission, and amusement (Siebert et al., 1956), as they also provide fundamental services to said community to further develop a public sphere, construct an identity (Cormack, 1998), enhance the long-minoritized language, and make available public access to media creation and distribution by democratic means, a process considerably bolstered by the spread of digital journalism and user-produced content. The findings will also disclose the most timely challenges for these media systems in the ever-digitalising era, allowing researchers, specialists, and institutions concerned with ML and media policy to have a credible information base for further effective policy implementation.

## Literature review

### Minority language revitalisation in the digitisation age

The rise in questioning the effectiveness of minority language revitalisation policies stemmed from a single statistic affirmed by Krauss (1992), that the twenty-first century “will see either the death or the doom of 90% of mankind’s languages” (7). Kornai (2013) provides a more worrisome, modernised estimation: of the approximately 7,000 languages spoken today, only 250 will remain as “digital survivors” (10) beyond the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

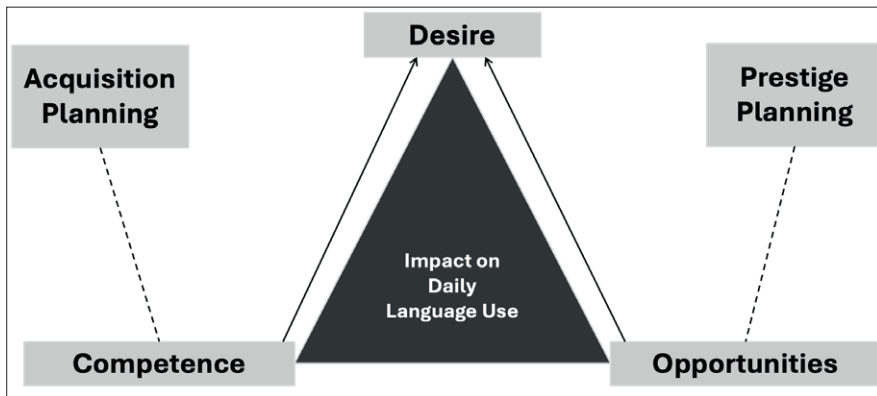
To resist this impending threat of language extinction, several sociolinguistic studies (Crystal, 2000; Cantoni, 2007; Haarmann, 1984; Sallabank, 2010) have attempted to propose macro-level solutions in the form of policy practice. Through merging concepts from previous studies, Sallabank (2010) insisted that effective revitalisation planning falls under two main policy strands:

- i) Prestige planning** (enhancing the desirability of the language)
- ii) Acquisition planning** (improving proficiency and creating new speakers, primarily through teaching)

This duality of planning initiatives is also complementary to Dörnyei’s (2005) theory that the motivation (or desire) for language use stems from a symbiotic relationship of personal competence in said language, as well as the instrumental motivations that said language can provide; as Figure 1 illustrates, both acquisition and prestige planning lay a potential foundation

for increasing the competence, opportunities, and subsequent desire for the use and perseverance of a language in the modern landscape.

Figure 1. An illustration of Sallabank's (2010) language planning typology and its influence on Dörnyei's (2005) motivational factors regarding language revitalisation



Source: Author's own work.

In the case of prestige planning, the role of media in ML revitalisation and development is critical in the modern context (Zabaleta et al., 2010). Indeed, the construction of a specialised public realm in the respective language may reinforce these attitudes and beliefs towards specific language use. Such an initiative may be framed under the construct of linguistic vitality, which is described as “a community’s ability to conserve and enhance its own language, culture, sociopolitical identity, and institutions” (Ehala, 2015, p. 553) and can be measured using a variety of referential indicators (Fishman, 1991; Landry & von Bourhis, 1997; UNESCO, 2009). In each typology, the media is acknowledged as having a critical role, which helped to inspire a state-supported conventional media uptake throughout the European Union in the 1990s (Lewis & Simons, 2010). Subsequently, in 1992, the European Union inducted the 1992 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), which ensures EU nations preserve and promote historical regional and minority languages throughout Europe.

However, this regulation (which has yet to be updated) was established before to the Internet’s rise to prominence (Kornai, 2013). What’s more, the digitalisation of the media market has led to a further divergence in

content distribution between majority and minority languages, as Zabaleta et al. (2014) found that around 30% of traditional minority language news providers in the EU did not have a website. As such, since the 1990s, all media in countries with high levels of Internet usage have been influenced by a progressive process of digital convergence, which has resulted in numerous changes in the economic model of media firms, consumer channels and patterns, enterprise structure, news generation, dissemination, and consumption, and many other areas of journalism and convergent culture (Deuze, 2009). There is little more scholarly material available to measure the gap between minority and majority media in terms of digital adaptation. As Riggins (1992) pointed out, ML populations are rarely mentioned in academic work compared to dominant languages.

Nonetheless, numerous scholars have contributed to the study of how digitisation has impacted the media landscape of language group's communities. For some of them, Internet-based and mobile digital media put minority languages in an "asymmetric position [which] leaves them particularly vulnerable to negative shifts in the media environment" (Moring, 2013, p. 34). Despite challenges, numerous studies emphasize the significance of "electronic technology" usage (Crystal, 2000, p. 141) and the function of the Internet and social media in revitalizing endangered languages (Lema-Blanco & Meda González, 2016). When the outlets belong to majority language areas, some researchers confirm that through the use of social media by journalists, "no links exist between the number of forms of social media utilized and the size of the organization" (Gulyas, 2013, p. 276). Cormack (1998) emphasized, however, that "in any examination of minority language media, particular attention must be paid to the unique setting, including the political situation" (pp. 48–49).

In recent years, the potential for ML audiences has been explored in addition to their use of social media, notably Twitter and Facebook. This focus is closely tied to the role of networks in preserving healthy ML communities (Moring, 2013). Recent studies on minority language use on the Internet include Mensching (2000) for Sardinian, Micó and Masip (2008) for Catalan, and Paricio & Martínez (2010) for Aragonese in Spain. In the instance of Frisian and Limburgish, a German-Dutch variant, a study by Nguyen, et al. (2015) revealed that 7.5% of tweets were in those two languages. In congruence with prior research (Dyfrig et al., 2006), Jones, et al. (2013) discovered that 41.2% of the tweets published among Wales-based users were written in Welsh.

Nonetheless, the vast range in population and economic resources among ML communities suggests that many language groups rely on political intervention to aid in their tongue's media revitalisation efforts. Regarding the link between media and political systems, Engesser and Franzetti (2011) claim that the four aspects of freedom, variety, centrality, and tradition are at the relationship's centre. Similarly, Hallin and Mancini (2004) developed a media system typology containing three models for European states that took into account media market growth, political parallelism, journalistic professionalism, and the degree of official interference. However, Humphreys (2012, p. 172) stated that "it is better to study in depth a more complete range of significant political, legal, and economic elements that measure the media system," but only considering that the appropriate variables are present. Such scholarship is motivated by a state-framed perspective, which serves as both the object and subject of evaluation in the empirical investigation of media systems.

Scholars have also frequently emphasized the relationship and influence of media systems on nation-building (Barker, 2005; Louw, 2005) and community development (Jaffe, 2007; Schramm, 1964). Some argue that the process of national culture formation is primarily based on four elements: localization and territory, language concerns and usage, cultural representation, and historical and structural references (Castelló, 2009). Nonetheless, this initiative is especially difficult among ML groups, considering the inherent risk associated with linguistic, cultural, and/or political autonomy.

Using the nebulous but necessary notion of public interest (Habermas, 1989) as a factor, there is a large variety of academic study into the issue of duties, roles, and functions, yet most of the media discourse remains normative in nature. McQuail (2000) identifies four primary purposes (monitoring, critique, access and participation, and shared community development), while Croteau & Hoynes (2001) emphasize the need to promote active citizenship in the sense that overreliance on government-led (top-down) initiatives may lead to public compliance and a lack of community initiatives.

In terms of research literature concerning minority language media, there are a variety of publications that address the situation in specific communities, usually combined to provide an indirect comparative framework. Thus, Riggins (1992) examined media models for Indigenous survival as well as immigrants and native people's quest for media space. Hogan-Brun & Wolff's paper (2003) investigated the frameworks and possibilities for native and diasporic languages in Europe. More recently, against the theoretical backdrop

of institutional, functional, and genre completeness (Moring, 2007), substantial scholarly studies have been produced that reflect on the evolving role of minority language media in the context of the growth of the digital media market (Moring, 2013) and online social media (Jones & Uribe-Jongbloed, 2012).

Nevertheless, to develop a European framework of minority language media systems, it is likely that direct and systematic cross-community comparisons will be required, rather than indirect comparisons or the accumulation of experiences. One comparison that remains particularly understudied in the case of ML media distribution in the EU is among the native ML groups of Poland, namely Kashubian and Silesian. These groups are of particular worth, as they have received extremely different governmental treatment in terms of revitalisation efforts (as well as even acknowledgement as a language rather than a dialect), which has led to discrepancies in terms of language planning initiatives and, subsequently, the media landscape of each language group. The comparison between Kashubian and Silesian in Poland's current sociolinguistic landscape is discussed further in the following section.

## The case of Poland: Kashubian and Silesian

Kashubian, native to Poland's Pomeranian Voivodeship in the north, and Silesian, spoken in Poland's Upper Silesia Voivodeship and also native to regions spanning modern-day Poland, Czechia, and Germany, are the two most spoken languages in Poland after Polish itself (Dołowy-Rybińska, 2021). However, these ML groups, both of which are classified under the Lehitic language family alongside Polish, have been different in recent times regarding political officialisation and medical implementation. As Table 1 illustrates, despite having roughly one-quarter the amount of claimed native speakers as Silesian, Kashubian remains the only language of the two to be officially recognised in Poland as a regional minority language. The Polish government granted Kashubian this status through the "Act of January 6<sup>th</sup>, 2005, on national and ethnic minorities and on the regional languages," which allows a recognised language to be taught in schools and utilised in local administration in municipalities where at least 20% of the population declared in the last census that they speak it (Olszewska et al., 2021).

By contrast, the status of Silesian remains an admittedly more disputed subject, as linguists (Ozimek-Hanzlik, 2021; Skóra, 2022; Kamusella, 2005)

are often divided on whether Silesian is a standalone language or simply an ethnolect of Polish. The subject is especially contentious considering some Silesians view their culture and community as a separate nationality within Poland. Indeed, Kamusella (2005) explains that when Czechs, Poles, and Germans each claimed significant portions of Silesia as vital to their respective nation-states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the language of Slavic-speaking Silesians became a politicized entity unto itself.

This viewpoint has led to many grassroots initiatives to further the autonomy and prestige of Sielsian, among the most noteworthy being Óndra Lysohorsky’s (a Czech-Silesian poet and author) endeavour to develop a literary standard and orthography for the tongue that remains in use today (Stern, 2024). Subsequent planning initiatives from Silesian language communities have been implemented in the form of press, television, radio, and websites, with no national government involvement or recognition. Conversely, Kashubian has received further government support for its revitalisation efforts but remains underserved by comparison with regard to a media landscape fit to serve its language community.

**Table 1.** A comparison of Kashubian and Silesian by demographics, political status, and current media distribution as of 2024

	Kashubian	Silesian
L1 speakers (est.)	88,000 (2024 census)	457,000 (2024 census)
Recognised regional/minority status?	Yes (Since 2005)	No
Taught in schools?	Yes (By Gmina)	No
Press	6	17
Radio	7	24
TV	1	5
Cyber	4	7

Source: Central Statistical Office-Poland, 2024.

Such stark demographic, political and medial contrasts between these ML groups hold particular significance as of 2024. With regard to Kashubian, despite its officially recognised status and educational initiatives, the population of native (L1) speakers decreased from 110,000 in 2011 to 88,000 in 2023 (CSO,



Poland, 2024). This demographic winter may be partially attributed to the lack of prestige planning attributed to the 2005 Act. As Dołowy-Rybińska (2021) explains, whilst Kashubian has been taught in regional mainstream education since 2006, the language's media planning has asymmetrically focused on catering, almost exclusively, to the older "native-speaking" demographic, especially with regard to traditional media outlets over modern, digitised varieties. This phenomenon leads to a 'generational gap' in language use and prioritisation, with Olszewska et al (2021) claiming that the younger generation of Kashubians may have little instrumental motivation to utilise the language beyond school or familial domains, thus entailing the sheer lack of prestige planning to complement the Act's acquisitional component (Sallabank, 2010).

Conversely, Silesian's status and perceived growth have gravitated towards the opposite trajectory. In January 2024, a bill to officially recognise Silesian as a regional language was submitted to the Polish Parliament. In April of the same year, in a vote conducted in the Polish parliament (Sejm), a majority of 236 MPs voted in support of the bill (Tilles, 2024). Although this bill was eventually vetoed by President Andrzej Duda, the opposition-led government persisted in publicising their plans towards the revitalisation of Silesian as a regional language. As is exemplified in the Polish state budget for 2024, approved by parliament earlier in the year, it includes 2 million PLN to prepare teaching programs for the Silesian language in educational domains (Stern, 2024). According to Tilles (2024), the donation is likely to increase to 500 million PLN by 2025. Despite such significant systematic advocacy for potential Silesian recognition and revitalisation, it is clear that this government initiative is almost entirely based on acquisition planning. This asymmetry raises questions as to whether the governmental development of Silesian will result in similar intergenerational and inter-demographic discrepancies as is perceived with the Kashubian Act. Such perceived discrepancies within the Kashubian media context must also be analysed from the practical implementation of said Act in 2006 to view in what ways the initiative may have helped or hindered the prestige of Kashubian revitalisation (compared to that of Silesian, with no governmental involvement in that time frame). Lastly, despite the Silesian ML community's relative success in creating a media landscape without institutional interference, questions also arise, as of the 2024 Language Act proposal, as to whether said current landscape could cater to all generations of speakers and learners, particularly with regards to the language's digital trajectory.

## Hypotheses and research questions

**Hypothesis 1:** It is plausible to hypothesise that, between 2006 and 2024, a period of significant legislative recognition and digitisation, the media structure of Kashubian and Silesian-language media systems underwent significant changes and transformations.

**Hypothesis 2:** This study further hypothesises that, between 2006 and 2024, the media planning initiatives among Kashubian and Silesian were supported by contrasting organisations and groups; whilst the former underwent more governmental, public media initiatives, the latter underwent more grassroots, private initiatives.

**Research Question 1:** How, and to what extent, have the Kashubian and Silesian media landscapes changed in terms of media type (i.e., traditional and cyber) and distribution between the 2006 Kashubian Language Act and the 2024 Silesian Language Act?

**Research Question 2:** How did the ownership structure of key media outlets (across all types) develop between 2006 and 2024, and what is their current state?

**Research Question 3:** What do the similarities and differences in Kashubian and Silesian media distribution imply regarding the challenges and necessary solutions in minority language media revitalisation in Poland and Europe en masse?

## Methodology

This study employed a quantitative methodological approach, via operational replication and a longitudinal design inspired by Wimmer and Dominick (2000), marked by two temporal points: 2006, which marked a full year since the Kashubian Language Act's implementation (as well as a preliminary upsurge in digital mainstream media in the pan-European context), and 2024, the year of the Silesian language recognition referendum (and its potential subsequent language planning initiatives).

The research design followed a standard two-step process involving a coding sheet developed with categories complying with the research questions. The study employed both nominal and ordinal measurement levels.

The current media landscape and complimentary transformations were calculated by investigating the Polish media census among both ML groups

in 2024 and updating the census from 2006 (CSO-Poland, 2006; 2024). Implementing and analysing the context's full media landscape, rather than merely a sample of media outlets, is an especially crucial asset, as it allows for figuring out the true size of the ML group's media systems and obtaining more accurate results and recommendations.

Data collection was thereby a multi-step process, in which all media outlets were coded individually according to the different category groups of the variables and research questions posed. A monolingual media outlet was described in line with Ramallo's (2017) classification of a media source with 70% or more of material/programming in the minority language; published more than once a year; with broad or specialised content; open to the general or local public and not simply affiliates or members of an organisation. Given the sociolinguistic complexity of the communities under study (especially considering that even education in Kashubian-language contexts is not provided at a 100% rate), the rationale for defining an outlet as 'monolingual' entailed that a minimum of 70% could properly provide a complete information service with content in the minority language. It also corrected a number of difficulties that had arisen on certain radio and television channels.

The media outlets in question are categorised into two macro-categories, traditional and cyber, with the former being made up of 3 noteworthy sub-categories: press, radio, and television. Cybermedia, its own standalone macro-category, is described as exclusively online information distribution. Ownership of such media falls under three possible categories: (i) public, which is owned or governed by public institutions; (ii) private, which is held by for-profit corporations; and (iii) social, which is owned by non-profit social organisations (Pickard, 2016).

The analysis of the number and distribution of public, private, and cyber media outlets among both ML groups in 2024, as well as the comparison with 2006, was based on the same comprehensive census of media organisations storing monolingual media systems among both language communities. In the Kashubian language community, a sample of 16 media outlets was collected from the 2024 media census, with a margin of error of 0.73% at a 95% confidence level. In the case of the Silesian community, a sample of 49 media outlets was collected from the same census, with a margin of error of 2.44% at a 95% confidence level. With regard to the regional and dialectal variety of the Silesian language en masse, the context's data collection technique was stratified sampling, with numerous strata created by cross-referencing media

type data, reach, and content. In the case of local media, voivodeship-based subgroups were created to correspond to the distribution of Silesian media, and outlets were selected at random from each region. Overall, percentages were practically identical to those of the region's entire media system.

Additionally, the concept of media density, also termed 'relative media weight' (Napoli et al., 2017), was established as the ratio of speakers per media outlet and/or significant news organization. This measurement allows for quantitative and comparative correlations between media systems and the ML-speaking population. One manner to frame such density is to calculate the number of media outlets per 10,000 speakers, in accordance with Napoli et al.'s (2017) method to assess the media infrastructure metrics in local journalism communities.

In both ML contexts, the rationale is to measure the relative media weight based on the widely recognised notion that, in media systems with comparable settings and factors, more news outlets under a more diverse ownership range may imply, though not always, better conditions for greater variety and, hence, more room for prestige language planning.

## Results

### Media variation 2006–2024

In Table 2, comparing the 2024 landscape with that of 2006, we can notice a considerable quantitative loss in Kashubian-language traditional media (press, radio, and TV) since the language act was implemented, with 9 outlets less (minus 23.7%), from 21 in 2006 to 12 in 2024. This decline was most noteworthy in the television sector (minus 66.6%; 6 fewer television channels), followed by radio (minus 2.2%; 2 fewer radio channels), and finally the press (minus 11.1%; 1 fewer outlet). Although the category of cybermedia has significantly increased by a sheer percentage (50.0%), this jump is only capitalised by an increase from 2 outlets to 4 in an 18 year span.

Conversely, Silesian outlets increased significantly in distribution, particularly in the traditional media category (322.4%), going from 8 to 46 outlets. Whilst radio (80.0%; 21 new outlets) enjoyed particular surges within this 18-year span, cyber-based media outlets have also significantly grown (57.1%). However, similarly to the Kashubian case, the sheer quantity in variation has

only increased from 4 to 7 Silesian cyber outlets, stemming from a traditional channel turning to cybermedia.

**Table 2.** Difference in the number of outlets between 2024 and 2006; Percentage difference between 2024 and 2006

		<b>Kashubian</b>	<b>Silesian</b>
<b>Variation N</b>	<b>Traditional Media</b>	-9	26
	<b>Cyber</b>	2	3
	<b>Net Total</b>	-7	29
<b>Variation %</b>	<b>Traditional Media</b>	-23.7%	322.4%
	<b>Cyber</b>	50.0%	57.1%
	<b>Net %</b>	-18.4%	11.7%
<b>Variation % (Traditional Media)</b>	<b>Press</b>	-11.1%	16.3%
	<b>Radio</b>	-22.2%	80.0%
	<b>TV</b>	-66.6%	26.7%

Source: Author.

## Media density

In 2024, the two ML communities had a collective media density of 8,398 speakers per outlet, a value on relative par with the average among ML groups in the EU (0.8 outlets per 10,000 speakers), indicating a varied and diverse range of media systems (De Korne, 2021). Nonetheless, the Kashubian context saw a relative decline in density compared to its initial figure following the Language Act, going from 4,782 speakers per outlet in 2006 to approximately 5,500 speakers per outlet in 2024; this is owed to both the decline in traditional media outlets as well as the significant decline in native Kashubian speakers since the Act took place.

The Silesian context saw a significant surge in media density, despite the lack of mainstream governmental influence or recognition: in 2006, the media density among the Silesian ML community was one outlet for approximately 20,000 speakers; in 2024, the figure nearly halved to one outlet per 9,344 speakers. Also in contrast to Kashubian, Silesian saw no significant demographic decline or increase in proclaimed native speakers within this

time frame, entailing that the increase in media density was owed to an increase in private, local investments, as well as the initiative of cybermedia engagement among the context's younger demographics.

Compared to other ML communities in the European Union, both Kashubian and Silesian contain media densities that are above average in distribution relative to their respective populations. For instance, their densities are comparable to those of Catalan, Basque, Welsh, and Saami (each with a density of around 7,500 speakers per outlet) and significantly more dense than in contexts such as Irish and Scots Gaelic (each with a ratio of approximately 140,000 speakers), and especially compared to that of Galician, Breton, and Frisian (at approximately 300,000 speakers per outlet), all in accordance with Ferré-Pavia et al.'s (2018) estimates.

Nonetheless, despite such promising density rates, there remain concerns regarding the medium and content of said outlets, especially with regard to the region's demographic trends and the inevitably necessary adaptation to the cybermedia market.

## Media ownership

As Table 3 indicates, from the Kashubian perspective, between 2006 and 2024, the private media sector was the only one to see any increase (12.5%; up by 2 outlets), whilst the public (N = 11) and social (N = 5) owned outlets remained static in distribution throughout the 18-year span.

Public ownership of Silesian outlets among regional governments also remained unchanged between both years (15 outlets), while socially owned outlets saw a significant decrease (N = 12) in this span. Conversely, the Silesian region saw a significant surge in private media ownership, containing 22 new private organisations (23.7%) in 2014, a 200% increase from 2006. Regarding such developments, the current position of media ownership among both ML groups suggests that while publically owned outlets have remained untouched, private ownership has made the biggest increases (though the increase among the Silesian community far surpasses that of its counterpart).

**Table 3.** Ownership of Media Outlets among ML groups in 2014; Ownership Variation of Media Outlets among ML groups between 2024 and 2006

		<b>Kashubian</b>	<b>Silesian</b>
<b>Ownership, 2024</b> [N = 60 outlets] (%)	<b>Private</b>	12.5	44.8
	<b>Public</b>	68.75	30.6
	<b>Social</b>	31.25	24.6
	<b>Total</b>	100	100
<b>Variation</b> 2006–2024 (%)	<b>Private</b>	100.0	200.0
	<b>Public</b>	0.0	0.0
	<b>Social</b>	-33.3	-33.3
	<b>Net Total</b>	20.0	20.0

Source: Author.

In terms of cross-contextual comparison, the overall ownership landscape in 2024 could be summarised along the following categories:

- I. Divergence in private media: the number of private outlets in Kashubian is significantly low (below 15%) despite the minor increase, while almost half of all media outlets in Silesian (44.8%) are privately owned.
- II. Divergence in public media: In the Kashubian context, publicly owned media (68.75%) is fundamental to the ML's media landscape, implying reliance of governmental intervention. Conversely, publically owned outlets in Silesian (30.6%) remain noteworthy but constitute far from its landscape's majority.
- III. Relative similarity in socially owned media: Both Kashubian and Silesian communities share a proportionally similar distribution (31.25% and 24.6%, respectively) in socially owned media. This may be viewed as a positive indicator of social revitalisation movements among both ML communities.

These categories and concerns are contextualised further in the Discussion and Implications section.

## Discussion and implications

Between 2006 and 2024, despite the fact that both the Kashubian and Silesian ML communities maintained their core media systems, there were numerous diverse movements that occurred throughout the 18-year period since the 2005 Language Act's implementation. According to the results, a total of 40 movements (outlet closures, mergers, internal transformations, and new start-ups) occurred over that timespan, which is a considerable turnover in proportion to the collective total of 60 media systems with a ratio of 23 print outlets, 31 radio channels, and 6 TV channels, each of which has a digital version that makes up part of the 11 total cybermedia platforms.

However, the changes in distribution differ significantly between the Kashubian and Silesian contexts. The former has seen a noteworthy loss in traditional media outlets (Net Variation  $N = -7$ ), while the latter context experienced a surge in traditional media channels (Net Variation  $N = 29$ ). The only shared expansion level among both ML communities occurred in the cybermedia category, where several online sources developed, suggesting the start of a digital media paradigm. Nonetheless, the relatively low net variation among both communities (Kashubian  $N = 2$ ; Silesian  $N = 3$ ) equally demonstrates that the simultaneous phenomena of economic shortcomings and the rapid digitalisation of the majority Polish language within this time frame impacted the potential for further digital growth among both groups. Overall, however, the contextually bound contrast in the respective decline and uptick in traditional media outlets gives plausibility to accepting the first hypothesis.

In addition to distributional discrepancies, the Kashubian and Silesian contexts also differ heavily about ownership, thus supporting the veracity of the second hypothesis. Public governmental ownership continues to dominate the Kashubian media landscape since 2006, despite also undergoing a majority of the closures within the ML community in that span. It is therefore apparent that those public authorities failed to implement suitable policies appropriate to the Kashubian-language context, necessitating a critical examination of community needs and desires. Conversely, private and socially held media increased dramatically within the Silesian landscape within the same 18-year frame, implying a collective initiative among the public to implement Silesian-language media content without governmental aid. According to press and scholarly sources (Guyot, 2007; Moring, 2013),



this contrast in public outlet closures and private outlet increases is a microcosm of the phenomenon in Europe en masse, caused by the 2009 Western economic crisis, which led to a budget contraction in many local and/or regional governments, coupled with spending cuts applied to culture and media within the framework of neoliberalism (Franklin, 2014).

Based on these results, the most noteworthy challenges for effective minority language media implementation in Poland and Europe are categorised into three major findings:

## I. Both languages lack digital media implementation initiatives

As is the case with most minority languages, their presence in digital mediums is often overshadowed by the larger repertoire of the context's dominant major language. This discrepancy continues to be furthered due to the so-called internet digitalization rush (Franklin, 2014) from the mid-2000s onwards.

One plausible solution to this challenge involves Lane et al.'s (2017) algorithmic standardisation proposal, which entails the increased implementation and availability of the MLs orthographies, keyboards, and interfaces within popular digital spaces to ease and motivate online use and publication. One such noteworthy innovation from this year has been the official induction of Silesian into the Google Translate engine, albeit with mixed reception regarding accuracy (Pachelska, 2024). An additional solution stems from content creation, as Paricio & Martínez's (2010) study of Aragonese in online spaces emphasises the importance of basic strategies to cater to a range of potential media users, ranging from entertainment to instrumental to advanced online users.

## II. Asymmetry in generationally bound catering regarding acquisition and prestige planning

The overwhelming proportion of traditional media compared to digital outlets among both ML groups implies that the majority of media content remains more catered to the older demographic of speakers. This is in stark contrast to the educational systems (initiated in Kashubia and proposed in Silesia), as both are more catered to younger demographics (i.e., under 18) in turn suggesting a planning discrepancy in terms of which community can experience prestige motivations compared to acquisitional motivations (Crystal,

2000). As Robie (2019) explains, this intergenerational planning dichotomy creates a potential generational gap in language maintenance and sheer intelligibility, considering the inevitable process of language change. As such, revitalisation policies and efforts need to consider implementing both prestige outlets and acquisitional programs that cater to a range of demographics, thus opening the possibility for ML use across a range of domains and age groups.

### III. Overreliance on state-sponsored media and initiatives creates complacency

As evidenced post-2005, state and regional public services sponsored and supported the growth and planning of Kashubian, a measure which may have led to compliance with supposed language growth. This interpretation is in line with that of several contemporary sociolinguists (Fishman, 1991; Cantoni, 2007; Carreira, 2004) who have discredited an overinvolvement of top-down state processes in language revitalisation, with the central concern regarding a loss of responsibility among older generations to use the language with their younger counterparts. One similar example to the Kashubian case example took form in the 1983 Bilingual Education Act in Spain's Basque Country (Harrison, 2010), where, after nearly five decades of having to speak their language in secrecy, the eventual officialisation of Basque has been theorised to relax the burden of parents nurturing the language. By contrast, before 2024, the Silesian relied heavily on their own private media implementations to maintain sociocultural identity. This entails that successful ML media policy is seldom state-controlled, as encouraging media plurality (in domain, content, and ownership) is vital to creating a motivating language-based media landscape.

## Conclusion

Based on the numerous characteristics used in this study (media distribution, temporal variation, startups, closures, media density, and the degree of public and private media), this study concludes that the media landscapes among Poland's Kashubian and Silesian ML communities have evolved very differently in light of the 2005 Language Act implementation, though both

contexts share similar challenges regarding economic viability, demographic catering, and the ongoing digitalisation of the contemporary media sphere.

Overall, this study's findings indicate that three primary elements remain fundamental to effective minority language media policy: (i) Cybermedia growth as a signal of a necessary digital era adaptation for ML media systems, (ii) the thorough discussion on the renovation of both acquisition and planning initiatives to cater to a range of age groups, and (iii) the new endeavours and difficulties of ML organisations and socially owned media to continue nurturing pluralism and diversity via democratic means, entailing public access to media production and distribution (AMARC, 2014). To help broaden the understanding of further potential problems in ML media implementation in the digital age, this paper extends the following research plans for further study on this and similar topics: First, a content distribution analysis of the ML group's media landscape to observe whether a particular content category outweighs others (e.g., cultural education over news and entertainment). Second, qualitative interviews with journalists, editors, and L1 speakers to contextualise the media landscape and timely market demands, in turn encouraging bottom-up planning in tandem with subsequent top-down implementation.

Lastly, I hope that this research, as well as others on ML media initiatives, will carry social and political implications for maintaining cultural identity and linguistic and cultural traditions within the Polish, EU, and democratic public sphere en masse.

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# **Competence in literary translation in the past and today. With reference to two specific examples covering a period of 40 years in Hungary**

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## Abstract

Competence in literary translation in the past and today. With reference to two specific examples covering a period of 40 years in Hungary

Literary translation remains a debated topic within translation studies. While consensus exists for technical translation regarding competence and training, opinions differ for literary translation. This research places the concept of literary translation competence in historical context by analyzing two examples spanning 40 years. In 1975, István Bart initiated a discussion in the Hungarian magazine *Élet és Irodalom* on the status of literary translation and translators in Hungary. The study reviews contemporary ideals from that period. It then presents the PETRA-E Framework, a recent project outlining the knowledge, skills, and attitudes expected from literary translators at different career stages. As both a competence model and educational guide, PETRA-E defines qualification criteria for evaluating translation competence. The aim is to summarize evolving views on literary translation competence through these two case studies.

**Keywords:** *Élet és Irodalom*, PETRA-E Framework of Reference, literary translation research, literary translation competence, literary translation training

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In this study, I discuss a range of issues dealing with the concept of competence in literary translation and the ability to define this concept (Sohár, 2024). Applying the method of discourse analyses, I integrate information gleaned from the analysis of three primary sources. The analyses and the conclusions made from them take us on a journey through time and space. They encompass a period of 40 years and apply in particular to the context of Hungary as well as Europe in a wider perspective.

The first source materials are the texts from a series of debates that occurred in the pages of the periodical *Élet és irodalom* (*Life and Literature*) in 1975. The discussion was initiated by István Bart's column entitled *Kihaló mesterség* (*Dying craft*) published on the 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1975 in the series *Vita a műfordítókról* (*Debate on literary translators*). As a response to this, articles from the pen of János Benyhe entitled *A fordító bére* (*The wages of the translator*) and *Ami nélkül nincs könyv* (*Without which there is no book*) written by János Domokos appeared on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February. Both the article introducing the debate and the responses to it triggered such a fierce reaction from the members of the

community in question that commentaries by Katalin Mezey, Pál E. Fehér, Sándor Rákos, László Antal, László Kolozsvári Papp, Ottó Orbán, László Ódor, József Világhy, György Szabó és Dr. István Timár appeared in succession in the next four issues (February 22<sup>nd</sup>, March 1<sup>st</sup>, March 8<sup>th</sup> and March 15<sup>th</sup>).

In addition to the writings published on this debate in the strict sense, the transcriptions of the series of interviews entitled *Műfordítók műhelyében* (*In the literary translation workshop*) published in *Élet és irodalom* (*Life and Literature*) at the same time in 1975 also serve as materials in my analysis. In this series, the writer, literary translator and publisher István Bart talks with the literary translators Tibor Bartos, Miklós Szentkuthy, Miklós Vajda, Ede Szabó and Geyza Bányay (January 11<sup>th</sup>, February 1<sup>st</sup>, March 22<sup>nd</sup>, May 7<sup>th</sup> and August 9<sup>th</sup>), asking them about their work, their credo, the essence of literary translation and more generally about the role that translations play in literature.

The second source material is the lecture by the translator, literary historian, editor and publisher Dr. Éva Pap entitled *Fordítás egykor és ma* (*Translation in the past and today*), which was presented to an interested audience on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May 2017 at the Finno-Ugric department of Eötvös Lóránd University as a part of the conference *Kaukovertailuja / Kaugvõrdlusi – Magyar–balti finn nyelvi és kulturális összehetése 2017* (*Kaukovertailuja / Kaugvõrdlusi – Hungarian-Baltic Finnish Linguistic and Cultural Comparisons 2017*) that was related to the *Suomi 100* series of programs.

In the case of the first and second source material, a common aspect should be highlighted: both reflect the context of Hungarian and literature. Hungarian is a language of limited diffusion, similar to its related languages, Finnish and Estonian. The number of Hungarian native speakers is relatively low. In the case of Hungarian, we can even speak about language isolation, since it is a language that cannot be understood only if one is a native speaker or learns it as a foreign language. In understanding the phenomena of translations from and into the Hungarian language, we should clearly see that Hungarian literature is marginal compared to literature written in dominant languages, such as English, Spanish and German (Pusztai-Varga, 2022). Consequently, translation plays a fundamental role in the Hungarian language community: it is, for them, the umbilical cord to the rest of the world.

The third source material for my examination is the *PETRA-E Reference Framework for the Education and Training of Literary Translators*, which was created within the context of an Erasmus+ project. The PETRA-E project completed a competence model for literary translators between the 1<sup>st</sup> of September

2014 and the 31<sup>st</sup> of August 2016, including the creation of a model course of study. In addition, the project also formed a PETRA-E Network, whose task it was to maintain, disseminate and further refine the competence model following the completion of the project.

## Methodology

This study employs qualitative research methods, combining discourse analysis and comparative evaluation to examine literary translation competence across three primary sources: the 1975 debate series published in *Élet és Irodalom*, Dr. Éva Pap's 2017 lecture and the PETRA-E Reference Framework (Lesznyák, 2024). Spanning 40 years, these sources provide historical and contemporary perspectives on translator training and professional roles. A textual analysis of *Élet és Irodalom* identifies key themes in the discourse on translator status, while Dr. Éva Pap's lecture examines changes in translation practices. The PETRA-E Framework is assessed as a structured competency model. The comparative analysis highlights continuities and changes in the perception of literary translation competence, with a particular focus on education, professionalization, and translators' responsibilities. This interdisciplinary approach ensures a comprehensive understanding of the evolving competence frameworks in literary translation.

### Source Materials 1: *Élet és irodalom* — Vita a műfordítókról (Life and Literature —debate on literary translators)

The observations from the general assembly of the Hungarian Writers' Union on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January, 1975 inspired István Bart to write the column initiating the debate, which was published on the 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1975. The debate organized under the title *A műfordítás és a műfordítók helyzete ma* (*The situation of literary translation and translators today*) discussed the literary translation profession in detail, as well as the status and prestige of literary translations in society and literary life.

A depressing picture unfolded at the Hungarian Writers' Union. Although they stressed that translated literature played an important role — in part due to the high ratio of translated literature that was read and in part due

to the characteristics of a new era with uniform translation practices that had developed in the past decades – the profession of literary translation in Hungary was struggling with serious issues and problems. The fees for literary translators were very low and it was only possible to make a living from this vocation under great stress, which quickly led to burning out and thus lower quality. This also made it difficult to ensure the supply of new professionals. This was also true because there was no proper training that would prepare future generations of translators for their careers. Although there were seminars here and there that may have dealt with literary translation at the universities, this was primarily an opportunity for language students if they were interested. Respect for the profession was low, and there was a lack of both objective, constructive criticism that was properly based, as well as a theoretical framework that was uniform, organized, teachable and learnable.

István Bart provided a summary of the Hungarian Writers' Union section meeting in his initiation of the debate, then evaluated the situation that had developed. He quotes Imre Makai, according to whom it was aptitude, ability, preparation and conscientiousness that made him a good literary translator. He also touched upon the issue of linguistic isolation, which fundamentally determined how Hungarian society related or should relate to the range of issues in literary translation and the profession of literary translators. He stated that literary translation was a mission for public education, which therefore must be supported, encouraged and developed. Literary translation was a kind of umbilical cord through which Hungarian cultural life could be connected to the world at large.

## **Source Materials 2: Éva Pap–A műfordító egykor és ma (Translation in the past and today)**

The literary translator, literary historian, editor and publisher Dr. Éva Pap, in her lecture given at the invitation of the Finno-Ugric department of Eötvös Lóránd University, provided a report that was factual, while at the same time was of a personal nature, looking back upon her several decades of editorial, literary translation and publishing work. She had worked as an editor at the Corvina and Európa publishing houses, including in the area of Hungarian language publications of Finnish literature. Then, in 1997, she created the

Polár Foundation, which had the objective of publishing Scandinavian literature in the Hungarian language. Thus, Éva Pap is familiar with every step of the translation-editing-publishing process through her own experience, understanding every detail from the time when the source text to be translated is selected through to its placement on store shelves. Her summary is also a perspective that allows for comparison over time.

In her presentation, Éva Pap delved in detail into the differences between the practices in the publication of translations before the fall of communism and today. A thorough inspection from sentence to sentence was characteristic of the period before the change in regime. During the process, the translator and the proofreader reconciled the details working together as a team, resulting in the creation of the most precise translation possible. According to the concepts of the study of translation, this would fulfill the criteria for an authentic target-language text for the reading audience (Touy, 1995) or the criteria for communitive equivalency (Klaudy, 1996). An important characteristic of the period in question was that the text suggested for translation was recommended to the publishers by the translators or the editors themselves. They did this with a kind of missionary zeal, through their efforts they wanted to familiarize the Hungarian-language reading public with works that were of value according to their own judgment. This was because they knew the eras, main characteristics and current innovations as well as works canonized as classics in the source literature. Thus, it is possible to speak of a process of adding value in relation to the publication of translations before the fall of communism.

In contrast, it was typical in the period following the fall of communism that it was the publishers themselves that selected a greater portion of the works to be translated, and they were not necessarily guided by the goal of adding value, but instead took into account considerations of marketability to a much greater extent in their choices. In Éva Pap's words, the book became a commodity. This context encouraged a different kind of attitude from the translators and engendered translation strategies in accordance with this even on the micro-linguistic level of the text. The time provided for the task of translation was also reduced, which eventually could also be to the detriment of quality. In addition, the background knowledge and the number of sources providing linguistic solutions available to translators has increased to an astonishing degree in recent decades, and this demands a different kind of work process from these literary translators as well. The easily accessed

repository of background knowledge and linguistic solutions demands an attitude of critical evaluation from the translator, while at the same time providing quick and effective assistance.

In her lecture, Éva Pap highlighted the following elements of literary translation competence as the most important. The translator should be liberated in their work and in their solutions, as well as broadminded. A perfect translation that is exact in all ways to the source work does not exist. It should always be the impact of the individual words on the reader that is conveyed in the target-language text, and less so the denotative meaning of the words. In this way, they should be faithful to the original work and perform their task responsibly and conscientiously, since the translator is the representative of the original author and literature to the Hungarian reading public. They should have proper self-awareness, for example, knowing and understanding the limits of their own abilities. At the same time, their work should always reflect on them. They should care about the task of translation and understand that they are doing good work when the task gives them a good feeling inside and if they can personally relate to it.

## **Intersections: Élet és irodalom (Life and Literature) — Éva Pap**

By comparing and collating the elements of competence highlighted in the two source materials related to the Hungarian context that bridge a period of 40 years, the following knowledge, skills and attitudes take shape as the characteristics expected from a literary translator.

*Perseverance:* A literary translator must have perseverance, so that even through a work process that may stretch over a long period, they are able to persist at the same level of quality throughout. Perseverance is also needed for the completed translation to find its publication platform, and in actuality, it must perform its own marketing. Literary translation, for the most part, cannot be performed as a communal effort, but instead is a solitary work, and this often challenges translators.

*Self-reflection:* A literary translator must be constantly able to self-reflect. On the one hand, the nature of the work demands constant self-assessment, and on the other hand, they must clearly see their own place within the community of literary translators. They must recognize their own value and

develop their own style, they must consciously make and commit to decisions in translation, and they must understand their own limitations.

*Missionary drive:* It is expected that a literary translator will have a kind of missionary zeal while practicing their profession. They must perform their work in a committed manner, knowing that they are mediating between cultures, literary canons and intellectual phenomena. This kind of activity to enlighten the community is often guided by an objective for improvement; it generates understanding between the two worlds. The work of a literary translator is fundamentally motivated by the goal of allowing the reading public of the target language to have access to texts that would not reach these readers without the translator's activity.

*Motivation:* Being motivated is fundamentally necessary for the work of a literary translator; they must identify with the status of the translation and the goal of the translation activity. Due to its nature, it can only be performed at a high level if the translator sets out to perform the work with attachment and in a liberated, open manner. Quality literary translations cannot be created with a routine, disinterested attitude.

*Creativity:* The work of a literary translator is a constant re-creation. It is not by chance that in many cases literary translators themselves are authors or poets in their own right, or in other words, creative individuals. It is not absolutely necessary that a literary translator must also be an artist, but it is expected that every literary translator should develop their own style of translation, have the ability to construct texts and have imagination. Thus, literary translation demands creative activity. However, the question comes up again and again whether the translation in large numbers and in a short time of works that can be categorized as literature for amusement should be considered an artistic or an industrial process.

*Responsibility:* Related to this is the next element of competence, the issue of responsibility. Every literary translator must perform their work responsibly, since the image of the author and the prestige of the literary work in the source language depend on the translator. If they do not translate with proper care, they will produce weak quality texts. In these cases, the target-language reader criticizes the author of the source-language work, not the translator, because the reader turns to the translated works with a fundamental trust. They have faith that they are receiving the experience, style and content of the source text. The retention of these qualities is the responsibility of the translator.



*Cooperation:* Another important element is being cooperative. During literary translation work as a professional activity, translators must work closely together in various contexts and with representatives of various professions. It may occur that they have to check with the authors of the source-language texts themselves, or the process may demand cooperation during communication with the publisher, the editor and the proofreader as well. If the translator is not open to this, the process bogs down and the publication does not come out.

*Initiation:* At the same time, initiative is also expected of literary translators. This is particularly the case in relation to marginal literature and languages that are not as widespread, where most of the time it is the translators themselves that come up with the idea of making a translation and have the thought of its utility, and they themselves select the source text that is worthy of translation. This demands proper preparedness and a persistent stance.

*Reliability:* A fundamental element of the literary translator's work is being reliable. Readers turn to the translated works with trust, assuming that they have in their hands a target-language version that is identical in all ways to the source-language work. This responsibility is placed upon the translator; they must translate precisely and faithfully, or in other words be loyal, to the source text. Naturally, this loyalty does not mean literally transplanting the words, but instead conveying their meaning, associations and impact in a manner that is attuned to the expectations and knowledge of the target-language audience.

*Erudition:* All of this requires outstanding erudition and knowledge from the literary translator. It is not only familiarity with the literature of the source and target languages that is expected, but also a thorough knowledge of the two cultures as the contexts within which the texts are created and function. This demands constant self-development, reflection and self-assessment.

*Qualification:* Emerging from what has been said, a qualified literary translator is needed. Only an individual who has ordered knowledge, is well informed on a broad range of subjects and is always prepared to further educate themselves can cope with the demands of being a literary translator. This demeanor also includes an attitude of constant inquiry. Strategies and decisions must be professionally justified when necessary.

An important expectation is that literary translators must always be able to translate while keeping in mind the expectations of the *target audience*.

They should not translate words, but messages and impacts, and the standard for every decision should be adaptation to the target-language culture.

The *ability to analyze* is also important. Delving into details and making parallels and conclusions are the firm foundations of translation work and serve as the conditions for coherence. Translation, as an intermediary activity, demands a constant analytical attitude.

The ability to *comprehend the text* is essential. If the translator does not fully understand the content or the impact that they must convey, it is not possible to talk about a functioning translation. This does not only mean proper knowledge of language but also the ability to interpret.

It is extremely important that literary translators can see the value of their own work and that of others. Proper *evaluation* demands self-understanding and humility toward the work of others, as well as a positive but critical attitude. The columns published in *Élet és irodalom (Life and Literature)* several times mention the lack of quality and reliable criticism of literary translation as a problem that guides the young generation of literary translators down the wrong path.

A fundamental knowledge that can be expected from literary translators is familiarity *with the genre*. This reinforces another element of competence, the importance of education, since literary translators can gain the most thorough and conscious knowledge through systematic education. If they are not thoroughly familiar with the characteristics and expectations of the genre in relation to both the source and target literature, then they cannot perform quality work.

Possessing acquired knowledge and creative ability is not enough by itself, if the translator does not have knowledge *of the process*. They must understand the entire process of editing, proofreading and publication, from the submission of the manuscript until its placement on the shelves of the bookstores, so that they can clearly see their own place in the greater whole. Therefore, they will see the place of their work and the tasks and responsibilities of the other actors precisely in the given phases of the process. This also contributes to the development of the aforementioned self-reflection and proper evaluation skills.

An indisputable element of competence in the case of literary translators is a thorough knowledge of the *two languages*, the source and target languages. In addition to the knowledge of an average language user, this also includes

an in-depth knowledge of different linguistic versions, as well as an ability to use the native language constructively and creatively.

Supplementing the expected linguistic knowledge is a mastery of the *two literary* canons, the source and target literature, and familiarity in the area of the stylistic characteristics is also a fundamental expectation of literary translators for them to perform their work at a high level.

### Source 3: PETRA-E reference framework

#### Objectives

The PETRA-E reference framework provided the following considerations as a starting point for its creators. Good training is fundamentally important for a literary translator, and following this, time brings the proper maturity to perform quality work. There is no a single perfect path, and it is possible to reach the zenith of a career as a literary translator through diverse routes. We also receive diverse answers when trying to map out the fundamental knowledge and skills necessary for literary translation. During the project, it was primarily European literary contexts with traditions of translation stretching back a long way that were examined, and the differing educational systems that had been developed over the years.

The goal of the project was essentially to systematically map out the skills necessary for translation, as well as examining the opportunities for the manner in which these skills can be further developed and transmitted during a career in literary translation.

However, the reference framework functions as an open system, so it only draft possibilities, not expectations. Nor is its objective to restrict translators or make them uniform. Its conclusions can be used in varied ways in differing literary translation contexts, since diverse viewpoints that may even be contradictory are present in it. The reference framework is intended to promote the debate about the quality of literary translation work and the expected skills and knowledge of literary translators.

The primary aim of the PETRA-E reference framework is to address literary translators and training institutions, making them conscious of the contexts of literary translation as a profession, as an activity and as a product. In addition,

it facilitates the comparison of the programs of educational and training institutions with one another as well as their possible harmonization. Both literary translators in the profession and students who are only preparing for this work can place themselves within the system outlined by the framework, and reflecting upon themselves can enable them to become informed and make plans about their own objectives and the paths that will lead to them.

## Elements of competence

The PETRA-E reference framework collects the knowledge, skills and attitudes encompassed by the competence necessary for literary translation with the aid of an open structure model. The concept of competence employed in this model is defined (CEN 2006) on the basis of the specifications of the EN 15038 standard. At the same time, it determines the steps and levels leading to acquiring these, such as beginner (LT<sub>1</sub>), advanced student (LT<sub>2</sub>), beginning professional (LT<sub>3</sub>), advanced professional (LT<sub>4</sub>) and expert (LT<sub>5</sub>).

It provides sub-competences, which are defined with the aid of descriptors. These are the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that a literary translator at a given level must possess. The specifically worded descriptors, which are therefore easy to apply in practice, define the individual sub-competences, which together provide the competence of the literary translator. Due to its transparent and flexible structure, it can also be easily used as an educational course model.

Eight sub-competences are differentiated by the model:

1. Transfer competence, the descriptors of which are the understanding of the source text, the recognition of translation problems, proficiency in translation strategies, employment of translation strategies, creation of target-language texts and the justification of the translation.
2. Linguistic competence, the descriptors of which are competence in the source language, competence in the target language, literary competence and linguistic variation.
3. Written competence, the descriptors of which are the analysis of texts, proficiency in literary genres, proficiency in the stylistic characteristics of the source text, employment of literary techniques, creation of target texts containing stylistic characteristics and editorial knowledge.
4. Heuristic competence, the descriptors of which are the finding of background materials, searches on the internet, use of background

materials, documenting of source texts, differentiating between texts and the employment of the critical apparatus.

5. Literary-cultural competence, the descriptors of which are the arrangement of source-language texts, arrangement of target-language texts, understanding of culturally specific elements, intercultural skills and intertextual skills.
6. Professional competence, the descriptors of which are the familiarity with professional organizations, knowledge of publishers, knowledge of the basics of literary tenders, knowledge of financial, ethical and legal considerations, knowledge of current translation approaches, skills in relationship building and didactic skills.
7. Evaluative competence, the descriptors of which are evaluative skills, selection of types of evaluation, comparison of translations, evaluation of the skills of the translation profession and self-reflection.
8. Research competence, the descriptors of which are knowledge of research methodology and translation technology, knowledge of theories of translation, scientific skills and knowledge of the theoretical systems of the science of translation.

## Conclusion

If we review the elements of competence provided in the Hungarian literary translation context from the period 40 years ago and compare these with the survey performed in the European literary translation context in the 2010s, and then with the elements of competence determined in the reference framework that was created in the wake of this, we see that there is a great degree of correspondence. That is to say, the knowledge, skills and attitudes that are expected from literary translators performing high-quality work adapted to the expectations of the target-language reading public and that have been accepted in literary society (Parkko, 2012), have not changed radically in the past decades. This has not occurred despite the fact that in the past four decades examined in this study, the methods of obtaining information and experience as well as generating knowledge have been revolutionized throughout the world.

However, differences were found in relation to the two periods. The only sub-competence determined in the PETRA model that did not appear in the

discourse 40 years ago is the sub-competence of research. If we look at the descriptors of this in detail, perhaps the knowledge of translation technologies is the only one that was expected from literary translators at that time as well, but these were learned within the context of less systematic training, such as in a master-apprentice relationship or during joint group work. Research methodology, knowledge of translation theories, scientific skills and knowledge of the theoretical systems of the science of translation do not appear at all. However, today, with the acceptance of the science of translation as an independent field, as well as with the commencement of systematic research activities linked to this and the appearance of university-level institutional translator training programs, it has merited a place as an independent sub-competence. Naturally, the PETRA-E reference framework, which is a model to be interpreted as open and flexible, does not provide this as an essential sub-competence, but as something that the given literary translator or translation student must take into account and decide the extent to which this knowledge will be necessary during their career. According to this, they choose and evaluate, while measuring their own aims.

Naturally, with the broadening of the training of translators, and literary translators in conjunction with this, a uniform knowledge and theoretical framework distributed and transmitted by all has become an important element. This presages the making of translation criticism more uniform as well as providing a more reliable and predictable quality level, a problem that was prominently indicated in the discourse in the columns of *Élet és irodalom* (*Life and Literature*) 40 years ago.

If, however, we look at which elements of competence are not present in the PETRA-E model but constitute important parts of the expectations from 40 years ago, then we find three attitudes: perseverance, responsibility and reliability. The elements related to knowledge and skill amongst the points of discourse at that time — erudition, training, target audience, analysis, linguistic comprehension, evaluation, knowledge of genres, familiarity with process, and knowledge of the two languages and two literatures — were all present in the reference framework set up at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century without losing their significance. However, three of the elements that could instead be categorized as attitudes — perseverance, self-reflection, mission, motivation, creativity, responsibility, cooperation, initiative and reliability — were missing from the model created by the project. The reference framework studied did not clearly emphasize the importance of perseverance, responsibility,

and reliability. Perseverance being left out can perhaps be explained by the fact that the toolkit for translation work today – thereby considering actual technical means, such as in terms of access to information – has been developed in a direction that decreases the time for the translation process. Due to this, perseverance as an attitude does not appear as prominently, while it played a prominent role in the discourse in 1970s Hungary. Reliability and responsibility are attitudes that can be linked, and they should be given a place in the profession of translation today as well, in my opinion.

However, due to the objectives and open structure of the PETRA-E reference framework, it is a type of model that is being constantly formed and shaped and it awaits the addition of new competence elements and descriptors. In my opinion, the creation of the model answers many of the questions brought up in the discourse 40 years ago and analyzed in the present essay, and it provides a systematic list of competence elements that affords a basis for educational institutions as the critics of translation as well as for the translators themselves. It is also important to point out that the conclusions and focal points of research into the science of translation are also integrated into the systematized elements of the reference framework (Orozco & Albir, 2002; Lőrincz, 2007; Pusztai-Varga, 2008; Jones, 2011; Kahrizsangi & Haddadi, 2017; Percec & Pungă, 2017). Its strength and applicability is certainly also inherent in the fact that it is a consensus model that has been created encompassing several European countries and their traditions of translation, and its intentions are always aimed at finding common voices and points of emphasis.

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## In the circle of interdisciplinary reflections on artificial intelligence

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Review of the monograph: Dąg, K. (ed.) (2024). *Artificial intelligence — real challenges. New technologies in social communication*. Biblos Publishing House, pp. 344.

Undoubtedly, artificial intelligence is now and will remain in the near future one of the key topics in the context of its functions, role, and threats in various areas of social life. A particularly important field for these considerations seems to be the media sphere or, more broadly, social communication. These issues are discussed in an interdisciplinary publication *Artificial intelligence – real challenges. New technologies in social communication* edited by Katarzyna Drąg. This is the 23rd volume in the “Media Ethics” series, resulting from the 18th Media Ethics Conference. The monograph consists of a total of 15 articles, which are divided into three thematically coherent parts: “Artificial intelligence as a source of fear, fascination, reflection;” “New technologies – new media phenomena” and “New technologies – new competencies.”

Part one begins with an article by Jerzy Głuchowski, Aleksandra Popiel and Katarzyna Zdanowicz-Cyganiak of the University of Economics in Katowice, entitled *Technological and ethical sources of fear of Artificial Intelligence*. The authors conducted an empirical study based on an analysis of statements made by users who expressed fear of AI in social media. From the collected research material, which consisted of several thousand posts published on X (formerly: Twitter) between December 2022 and April 2023, 180 tweets of an anxious nature were distinguished. Based on this, five main areas of concern for users of X related to the negative impact of artificial intelligence were identified: education, job market, security and privacy, disinformation and manipulation, and the future of humanity. The social portal users most often described concerns about the negative impact of AI on the future of humanity, while the fewest worries were about its effect on the quality of education. In conclusion, the researchers divided fears about artificial intelligence into two groups: technological (related, for example, to the automation of work) and ethical (related, among other things, to new possibilities for manipulating society).

In the text *The evolution of informationism towards a technological singularity*, Mirosław Lakomy of Ignatianum University highlights some concerns about the human-artificial intelligence relationship. The author notes that the fear about the use of artificial intelligence is that, for the first time, the technology created aims to compete with the human intellect, and perhaps even, as a consequence, to possess a man. Thus, it may lead to the removal of man to the margins as *homoredundans* (redundant, unnecessary man).

Maja Bednarska of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow in her article *Some philosophical and communicative reflections on AI. On the example of*

*the digitalization of education* analyzes artificial intelligence technology from a philosophical perspective, developing a reflection on the ontological status of AI. On a practical level, she presents the possibilities associated with the use of new communication technologies in the field of education.

The paper by Wojciech Misztal of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, *The artificial intelligence in the light of Pope Benedict XVI's attitude to the development of the mass media and the communications*, presents the teaching of Pope Benedict XVI related to the development and new technologies. The author points out that although Benedict XVI's pontificate ended in 2013, and therefore it was impossible for him to address the topic of artificial intelligence at that time, the Pope's indications on the development of modern media and civilization can be considered helpful, or even universal, also in the context of the emergence of AI.

The role of ethics in artificial intelligence technology is emphasized in the article titled *Interreligious cooperation of ethicists relating to the issue of artificial intelligence* by Małgorzata Gruchoła of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. The author analyzes the initiatives that representatives of monotheistic religions have taken so far in favor of the ethical dimension of artificial intelligence. In doing so, she stresses that the global dimension of AI requires interreligious cooperation among ethicists around the issue.

The second part of the monograph begins with the text *Innovation and creativity in political communication. Development prospects and negative aspects of new Internet tools* by Żaneta Wełna from the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow. The author discusses the subject of the application of new forms in the field of political communication. The main axis of consideration is the analysis of the TikTok application and podcast platforms in the context of their informational and marketing potential for political actors. Attention is also drawn to the negative aspects of the new Internet tools, such as the deepfake technique, fakenews and the progressive polarization of society because of those phenomena. Therefore, the researcher advocates treating the new Internet tools as a kind of double-edged sword – on the one hand, they develop further forms of political communication, while on the other, they can result in subsequent negative effects for the general public.

An interesting combination of the media studies perspective with the sociological perspective in the study of the use of influencers as tools in promotional-image communication is made by Urszula Dyrzcz, Joanna Urbaś and Marcelina Kalemba from the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow

in the article *Objectification of Man in the Industry of Violence on the example of Polish freak fighting federations*. The media studies context includes an analysis of the media communication of selected freak fight federations, while the sociological context contains an analysis of the phenomenon of social pathologies in the area of the sports world. The added value of the study is the researchers' use of the participant observation method (which was taking part in one of the freak fight events).

The text by Barbara Leja of the University of Silesia in Katowice, entitled *Analogue yesterday, digital today and Artificial Intelligence tomorrow? Processes changing the face of radio* describes the impact of technological developments on the changes occurring in the area of traditional radio broadcasting. The author lists the main developments in radio, which include the transition from analog to digital technology, the multiplicity of radio platforms, the multiplicity of radio broadcasting standards, the start of on-demand services, the transition from broadcasting to narrowcasting, and the possibility of active selection of program offerings. She also explains the idea of RadioGPT, which is based on artificial intelligence technology, and presents the opportunities and threats arising from the application of AI in radio broadcasting. Leja rightly notes that while new technologies are entering the media market increasingly boldly, this does not mean that traditional media will be marginalized.

Faustyna Zaleśna of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow attempts to develop a universal catalog of new qualities of sports journalism in the article *New quality of sports journalism in the context of the development of communication technologies. Example of Kanał Sportowy*. For this purpose, she uses the analysis of a selected sports medium, which is Kanał Sportowy on YouTube. Through the study of the content of this medium, the author presents the aforementioned catalog, which includes: the need to constantly be in touch with the audience, the speed of action and reaction, the informality of the language, the multichannel nature of the message or the sociological need to be a companion in cheering.

In the text *TikTok as a space of political communication*, Anna Sadkowska of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow analyzes the process of political communication in social media, especially in the context of the potential of using the TikTok platform. The author made a valid point that TikTok can be a channel used to reach the group of people previously uninterested in political issues. In doing so, she outlines the politically useful

features available on this application, including adding a duet with another creator, stitch (cutting out a portion of a video with the ability to add it to one's own footage), live streaming or using real-time marketing (also known as trending).

In the third and final part of the publication, Marta Woźniak of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, through her article *Development of communication competence in the context of digital change*, presents the concept of Industry 4.0 along with the competencies necessary in the third decade of the 21st century. In this connection, she emphasizes the need for ongoing media education in the era of the development of artificial intelligence. In her conclusions, the researcher notes that in the context of communication, it is crucial to preserve its human character (based on the relationship between man and machine, not machine and man). She also rightly highlights the ethical principle: the machine must serve the man, not the man to the machine.

In her article *Infographic. Phenomenon and manipulation* Joanna Dukalska-Hermut from the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow focuses on the manipulative function of infographics, presenting the key functions and particular manipulative procedures used in this form of communication. Thus, the author discusses, while presenting relevant examples, mechanisms such as perspective effect, change of scale or sequence manipulation. Conclusions from this analysis can be treated as a contribution to the tasks that Dukalska-Hermut sets for readers in the last part of the text, namely understanding the manipulative mechanisms in infographics and gaining the ability to look critically at the world of visual data presentations.

The impact of artificial intelligence on the work of media professionals (copywriters, journalists, marketing specialists, social media content managers or researchers) is considered in the article *Copywriting in the age of chatbots* by Katarzyna Wysocka from the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow. The author takes an empirical approach to the topic, conducting a survey of respondents in the above-mentioned professions. In her conclusion, she presents interesting findings: copywriters now appreciate chatbots for their assistance in the most time-consuming elements of their work, and (despite some concerns about the possibility of AI replacing them entirely) they hope that artificial intelligence will continue to have a positive impact on their daily duties.

Anna Miśkowiec of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow in her study *Use of new media by seniors – a reconnaissance* points to an important

area of the situation of the elderly in the context of their digital competence. The relevance of this issue is conditioned primarily by the process of progressive population aging, which requires constant and long-planned activities in this field. For this reason, the author calls for reflection on four topics: media competence of seniors, practices related to their functioning in social media, measures against digital and social exclusion, and verification of tools and methods of teaching seniors.

Paweł Małek of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow in his article *The responsibility of the media in presenting drastic information: media, ethical dilemmas, and the boundaries of reporting* takes up the important topic of the responsibility of journalists in the skillful and professional way of reporting and presenting drastic information in the mass media. The issues are highlighted from an ethical and legal perspective. The author presents a catalog of violent content and the mechanisms of exerting influence using it. He also discusses the issue of journalists' responsibility for the publication of undesirable and prohibited content under current legal regulations in the Republic of Poland.

The reviewed publication entitled *Artificial intelligence – real challenges. New technologies in social communication* edited by Katarzyna Drąg is undoubtedly an interesting proposal for those who are interested in expanding their knowledge of the impact of artificial intelligence mechanisms on the areas of communication axiology, communication theory and media practice. Both researchers of the media space, ethicists, marketers or journalists, as well as students of social sciences and all those who want to explore the theoretical, practical and ethical point of view on the tools of artificial intelligence can reach for reading the valuable texts contained in this monograph.







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