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THE IMAGE OF PRIME MINISTERS EWA KOPACZ, BEATA SZYDŁO AND DONALD TUSK IN THE CZECH PORTAL IDNES

Abstract

This paper examines public images of Ewa Kopacz, Beata Szydło and Donald Tusk in terms of quantitative and qualitative study of texts published in the Czech portal iDnes.cz. On the example of publications about Polish Prime Ministers, it was analyzed what kind of Polish politicians image was created by chosen Czech medium, what are their media images. The image of politician is understood as his/her perception and what it is influenced by – information, views, assessments or imaginations on his/her subject. Taking into account the general context, the text refers also to the conditions of functioning of the Czech media. This also applies to the images of E. Kopacz, B. Szydło, and D. Tusk in the iDnes portal compared to other leaders of the Visegrad Group countries and Germany.

Key words: image, prime minister, Ewa Kopacz, Beata Szydło, Donald Tusk, iDnes, woman, man, stereotype, Czech media

Wizerunek premierów Ewy Kopacz, Beaty Szydło i Donalda Tuska w czeskim portalu iDnes Streszczenie

W artykule analizie poddano wizerunki Ewy Kopacz, Beaty Szydło i Donalda Tuska, w oparciu o ilościowe i jakościowe badanie tekstów ukazujących się w czeskim portalu iDnes.cz. Na przykładzie publikacji dotyczących premierów Polski sprawdzono, jaki obraz polskich polityków tworzy wybrane czeskie medium oraz jakie są ich wizerunki medialne. Wizerunek polityka jest tu rozumiany jako jego/jej postrzeganie i to, co wpływa na jego kształtowanie – informacje, poglądy, oceny czy wyobrażenia na jej/jego temat. Biorąc pod uwagę kontekst, artykuł odnosi się do warunków funkcjonowania czeskich mediów. Dotyczy również tego, jak wyglądają wizerunki E. Kopacz, B. Szydło i D. Tuska w portalu iDnes na tle innych przywódców państw Grupy Wyszehradzkiej i Niemiec.

Słowa kluczowe: wizerunek, premier, Ewa Kopacz, Beata Szydło, Donald Tusk, iDnes, kobieta, mężczyzna, stereotyp, czeskie media

Introduction

The subject of the people image formation by media in Polish science is well-established. In particular, political scientists and media experts pay a lot of attention to the study of various aspects of the image formation in politics (Cichosz 2003, Dobek-Ostrowska 2006, Giereło-Klimaszewska 2008, Jeziński 2005, Mazur 2002, Ociepka 2002). However, while attention is paid to the national media and political scene, not often is being analyzed the presence of Polish politicians in foreign media – especially non-English. Because the issues of Polish politics in the context of Czech media are not often discussed, it was decided to be taken up.

While researching the subject of image formation in the Czech media, it was assumed that Poland and the Czech Republic might be close to each other not only because of the geographical neighborhood, but also in terms of state cooperation and common experiences in the 20th and 21st centuries. Therefore, the question was stated how much the Czech media pay attention to Poland. There was examined one of the aspects regarding the mutual relations between this two countries, namely how the Czech media present and formates the media image of the prime ministers; Beata Szydło, Ewa Kopacz and Donald Tusk were selected for this. On the example of the publications about Female Prime Ministers and male Prime Minister, it was decided to check what image of Polish politicians is created by the Czech media, what are the media images of the representatives of the executive power (Gackowski, Łączyński 2009). The image of politics will be understood as its perception by the media and what influences its formation, ie. information, views, opinions or ideas about it (Giereło-Klimaszewska 2008: 29–32).

Assumptions of the analysis

The analysis objective was to present the media image of the Prime Ministers of Kopacz, Szydło and Tusk in the Czech media. For this purpose, the analysis

of materials placed on the information website was used. In order to come to conclusions, had to be chosen one of medium which is opinion-forming and widely read by the Czechs. After the initial review of the sources, it was decided to choose the texts from the online portal of the Mladá Fronta Dnes newspaper – iDnes considered in the Czech Republic as the most opinion-forming (iDnes.cz 2017). The analyzed genre were media texts (Wodak 2011: 34). As the research method, the analysis of the content was chosen, which “is about systematic (followed by the specific procedures) analysis of the content in the chosen kind for searching of certain regularities” (Maj 2013: 128). Its tool was a *Categorization key scheme*. A quantitative approach was applied, including “explicit content of the message”, but also “directly unspeakable content” (Maj 2013: 128). The use of this method is advisable in the case of research on media coverage (Lisowska-Magdziarz 2004: 15). Assuming that “the more space is given to a topic (...) the more important is” (Maj 2013: 129) the analysis of the three dimensions of the coverage was used. The first and the second is the dimension of importance that can be combined with the dimension of existence, within is interested whether the given content appears in the coverage. The third dimension of valuation, which concerns the sender’s attitude and the chosen way of saying the content (Maj 2013: 132–133). During the analysis, answers to the following research questions were sought:

- How was the person who function as Prime Minister Ewa Kopacz, Beata Szydło and Donald Tusk: whether more by the position (the understanding of prime minister in various forms and synonyms) or as a person?
- What topics were the analyzed articles dominating and were repeated?
- What context prevailed in descriptions – professional or private?
- What kind of articles appear more: positive, negative, neutral or satirical?
- Are there gender stereotypes?

The image analysis attention was underlined to the following elements: the image and context in which the Prime Ministers were presented. Analyzing gender stereotypes, the focus was on how they were presented in the media, how they influence social and political culture, and what role they have in forming the perception of gender roles in society (Krzyżanowska 2012: 205). As Anna Pacześniak points out, based on UN research in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the elements affecting the role and position of women and men are rather similar. Therefore, it can be concluded that cultural patterns and the perception of gender are comparable in Poland and the Czech Republic (Pacześniak 2006: 50). A comparable cultural profile allows to take into account the role of gender in the area of image formation.

The texts were selected using the *top down approach method* (from above) (Mautner 2011: 61), where the surnames of the female prime ministers were treated as key words, the procedure can be divided into two stages. First, all the texts in which the key words were present and according to quantitative content

analysis procedure of counting the texts was made. Then, the time censorship was applied, within which from the “universe of possible texts” (Mautner 2011: 59), after the initial review of sources, to the corpus of analyzed materials were qualified the following texts, regarding:

- Prime Minister Tusk – all publications in which his name appeared in the period from October 1, 2007 to January 31, 2009 inclusive;
- Prime Minister Kopacz – all publications in which her name appeared in the period from September 1, 2014 to October 31, 2015 inclusive;
- Prime Minister Szydło – all publications in which her name appeared in the period from November 1, 2015 to December 31, 2016 inclusive.

In the case of Donald Tusk, the time of the second government was not examined (2011–2014), because there was no “fresh effect”, ie, as about new people in politics more space is give, as this case the topic was already known. This has been confirmed by the number of texts – according to the adopted criteria, there would be 10 of them.

In the third phase, the corpus was limited and articles were prepared: for a wider quantitative and preliminary qualitative analysis. Those articles were selected that directly concerned the person of Prime Minister Tusk, Kopacz and Szydło – their statements or actions taken by them. Other texts were not taken into account, as only their surname was mentioned. To avoid lack of objectivity in the selection, all texts fulfilling the above criteria in the given period became material for analysis (Mautner 2011: 61). The photos and keywords were removed from the texts, not to disturb the counting process. To the qualitative corpus were qualified twenty-four texts concerning Donald Tusk, seven texts referring to Ewa Kopacz, nine texts concerning Beata Szydło and two texts in which the names of both prime minister. In total there are 42 texts in the corpus, available in a text version, the corpus has been saved in a separate folder, according to the research transparency, can be made available.

The course of analysis

In the first place, 42 texts were subjected to a quantitative analysis of the content. The Maxqda program support (license demo version) was used to implement it. In the texts were omitted: keywords, photos and captions under them, focus was made on the content rather than the form of articles. Because the articles were focused on the image of three people, an attempt of comparative analysis was made, including comparing the volume of texts, and then a preliminary qualitative analysis of the content was made.

Initially, it was assumed that the discussed publications in the Czech media would concern variety dimensions of the presented figures image and Polish politics. As a result, it should be made a description and evaluation of the most

important events, issues and projects in this field. It was set up that the texts will cover issues related to the function performed (prime minister-politician), but also will relate to privacy. It was also assumed that, similarly to what appears in the Polish media, the Czech media will present the specific politicians not only by their function, but also by the appearance or attractiveness associated with stereotyping about their appearance (Jeziński 2005: 298–317), so they will present the figures in terms of also as political celebrities. In addition, it was assumed that stereotypes about nationality or gender would appear in the prime minister's image. To ensure the regularity and objectivity of the done analysis, the operationalization of the categorization key concepts was made:

- positive image – favorable, favorable, indicated, supporting, needed, desired, reasonable, valuable;
- negative image – unfavorable, pejorative, offensive, criticizing;
- neutral image – indifferent, regarding only facts, not commenting;
- satirical image – people are presented in a humorous, grotesque, mocking, “with tongue in cheek”, not directly criticized;
- professional context – all obligations of prime ministers resulting from the Constitution of the Third Polish Republic (for example, representing the country on the international arena, the Council of Ministers, performing the function of the head of the Council of Ministers, etc.);
- private context – family life, members of the prime minister's family, spending free time, interests, hobbies, religious practices.

Poland and prime ministers E. Kopacz, B. Szydło and D. Tusk compared to other states and state leaders in iDnes

The previous prepared text showed that in Czech media interest in Polish politics is quite small, what was demonstrated by the example of Prime Minister Szydło and Kopacz. In the analyzed period, articles were counted not only on the prime ministers discussed, but also on other Polish decision makers, in order to compare whether the results in the search engine would be similar. This was a result of the fact that a very small number of occurrences of texts was identified at the initial stage of the material review. It has been checked whether in the discussed time of 14 months from the nomination as the head of the Council of Ministers, it was performed alongside Ewa Kopacz – Donald Tusk and Beata Szydło – Jarosław Kaczyński. It was assumed that although Kaczyński is not prime minister, he is a significant player on the Polish political scene and it is also worth considering his “popularity”.

It has been clear disproportion indicating that Donald Tusk was the most popular, while Ewa Kopacz, being the next Prime Minister of the PO government and Beata Szydło – the first prime minister of the PiS government, were not so

popular, although it should seem that interest in politics should be proportionally to the validity of the executed function. The reasons for the higher presence of Tusk in iDnes can be found out in the successful cooperation between the governments of Poland and the Czech Republic, the well-functioning Visegrad Group, the issue of the anti-missile shield in Poland and the relatively stable situation of both countries. Today, the coverages are mainly determined by the complicated internal situation of both countries and the global crisis (Ogrodnik 2016, Groszkowski 2017).

Table 1. Turnout of names in the iDnes search engine – from the appointment of prime ministers to the Prime Minister for 14 months

Worf	Period of analysis	Quantity
Donald Tusk	November 2007 – December 2008	59
Ewa Kopacz	September 2014 – November 2015	18
Beata Szydło	October 2015 – December 2016	42
Jarosław Kaczyński	November 2007 – December 2016	18

Source: own study.

Information about Polish Prime Ministers on the iDnes.cz portal

Interesting seems to be, in the perspective of forming, or rather lack of formation of the image, a collection of information about the Polish presidents of the Council of Ministers which is available on the website wikiiDnes. The descriptions placed there may indicate the importance of certain people for the community creating and reading information on the portal.

On this page in the above-mentioned catalog of surnames, the related articles can be found by the keyword (this procedure was used in counting articles). However, in the first lines before the appearance of chronologically searched content, a note about a searched person is presented (if prepared). In the case of Donald Tusk, there is no information, information about Jaroslaw Kaczynski are very few (2 sentences, 3 lines) linking him with brother Lech – they indicate that he played the main role in the movie “About those two that stole the moon”. For comparison about: Viktor Orban was written three lines (two sentences), Robert Fico one and a half (two sentences). The database of names shows that only the German chancellor is “interesting” for the Czech Republic – her biography is much longer (the whole article has over 5,000 characters) and as the only one containing main photos and a gallery reference (30 photos).

For comparison, the Polish Prime Minister Ladies gains 3 lines (2 sentences), in the notes describing them, the authors refer to the maiden names and

give the date of birth. It is worth noting that you can see here that women have always been “stigmatized” for their marital status (Braden 2015: 7). This can be seen when the portal gives information about the family situation of the prime minister and the chancellor, which can not be found in the biographies of the previously described men.

Beata Szydło is presented as a deputy to the Parliament from the Law and Justice party and the head of the electoral staff of Andrzej Duda in the 2015 election. In the note, there is no information about nomination for the function of the head of government (WikiiDnes 2018b). Ewa Kopacz is presented in the perspective of her positions: as the second woman prime minister and speaker of the Sejm (WikiiDnes 2018c). What is interesting, there is no summary about Donald Tusk, only press releases appear.

Analysis of the images of Prime Ministers Kopacz, Szydło and Tusk in terms of titles

The image of these people depends on what kind and how much space is them dedicated. The number of analyzed texts about Polish prime ministers indicates that much more space was dedicated to Donald Tusk than his successors. This may indicate that his person is better known to the Czechs than the other prime ministers and this has affected the perception of the image of not only him, but also Poland.

Table 2. Number of words in the analyzed articles

	The sum of words	Number of articles	The average number of words per 1 article (with photo captions)
Donald Tusk	15 838	25	633,5
Ewa Kopacz	2375	7	263,9
Beata Szydło	3644	9	404,9

Source: Own study.

Moving on to the titles of articles, it can be tried to present the image built by the media. iDnes presents Donald Tusk as a politician focused on foreign policy. The Czech portal treated Poland and its Prime Minister in the discussed period a close foreign country – especially when it takes into account the issue of cooperation and negotiations with the USA regarding missile defense. It is clear that there is more interest in the affairs of our country than in the case of the female prime ministers.

Table 3. List of analyzed articles. Titles and the dominant theme – D. Tusk

Title – english version	Original title T - Database designation	Dominating themes
The Polish president nominated Donald Tusk as a Prime Minister November 9, 2007	1T Polský prezident jmenoval Donalda Tuska premiérem 9. listopadu 2007	M
Tusk officially became a candidate for the Polish prime minister October 23, 2007	2T Tusk se oficiálně stal kandidátem na polského premiéra 23. října 2007	M
Tusk became the Prime Minister of Poland November 16, 2007	3T Tusk byl jmenován polským premiérem 16. listopadu 2007	M
Tusk: The decision about the missile defense base should not be taken in rush January 7, 2008	4T Tusk: Rozhodnutí o protiraketové základně by se nemělo uspěchat 7. ledna 2008	PZ
With the main agreement on US bases not have to hurry, agreed Topolánek and Tusk January 10, 2008	6T Hlavně souhlas se základnou USA neuspěchat, shodli se Topolánek a Tusk 10. ledna 2008	PZ
Tusk will not ask Bush to abolish visas for Poles to the United States March 6, 2008	7T Tusk prý nebude prosit Bushe o zrušení víz pro Poláky do USA 6. března 2008	PZ, PRz
The Polish Prime Minister Tusk refused to go to the opening of the Olympic Games in China March 27, 2008	8T Polský premiér Tusk odmítl jet na zahájení olympiády v Číně 27. března 2008	PZ, PRz
Poland: agreement with the US regarding missiles is possible within two weeks July 10, 2008	9T Polsko: Dohoda s USA o raketách je možná do dvou týdnů 10. července 2008	PZ
Poland agreed with the US on the location of the missile defense base August 14, 2008	10T Polsko se dohodlo s USA na umístění protiraketové základny 14. srpna 2008	PZ
We will leave Iraq next year, the Polish Prime Minister confirmed November 23, 2007	11T Z Iráku odejdeme příští rok, potvrdil polský premiér 23. listopadu 2007	PZ, W
For the bases placement, US will modernize the Polish army March 10, 2008	12T Za umístění základny USA zmodernizují polskou armádu 10. března 2008	PZ
The Polish Prime Minister and president at the EU summit argued over chairs October 15, 2008	13T Polský premiér a prezident se na summitu EU přeli o židle 15. října 2008	PZ, UE

The compromise of the EU climate package is constantly at your fingertips December 6, 2008	14T Kompromis klimatického balíčku EU je stále v nedohlednu 6. prosince 2008	PZ, UE
We will handle the preparations for the Euro, Platini was assured by the Polish Prime Minister February 2008	15T Přípravu na Euro zvládneme, ujišťoval polský premiér Platiniho [NO EXACT DATE] únor 2008	PRz
The Prime Ministers of the Tripoint celebrate the end of border control December 21, 2007	16T Premiéři na trojzemí slaví konec hraničních kontrol 21. prosince 2007	PZ, UE
The dismissed management of the football association will not return - says the Polish Prime Minister October 3, 2008	17T Odvolané vedení fotbalového svazu se nevrátí, říká polský premiér říj 3 2008	SW
The government of Polish Prime Minister Tusk received a vote of confidence November 24, 2007	18T Vláda polského premiéra Tuska dostala důvěru 24. listopadu 2007	M
The Czechs want to harmonize negotiations on the [missile defense] shield with Poland January 10, 2008	19T Češi chtějí sladit vyjednávání o štítu s Polskem 10. ledna 2008	PZ
Poland: our negotiations with the US on rockets are not over yet June 2, 2008	20T Polsko: Naše jednání s USA o raketách ještě neskončila 2. července 2008	PZ
Poles rejected the American offer of help dependent on the construction of the base June 4, 2008	21T Poláci odmítli americkou nabídku pomoci, kterou podmiňují stavbu základny 4. července 2008	PZ
Rice will not stop on its way to Europe in Poland June 7, 2008	22T Riceová se při cestě do Evropy v Polsku nezastaví 7. července 2008	PZ
The project ended, said Klaus after Irish NO. Brussels wants to continue June 13, 2008	23T Projekt skončil, řekl Klaus po irském NE. Brusel chce pokračovat 13. června 2008	PZ, UE
Eight questions about the American anti-missile shield August 15, 2008	24T Osm základních otázek kolem amerického protiraketového štítu 16. srpna 2008	PZ
He told everyone that I was just his, says a Pole raped by him September 10, 2008	25T Všem říkal, že jsem jen jeho, vypráví otcem znásilňovaná Polka 10. září 2008	PRz, SW

Dominating themes – key: M – Prime Minister nomination; W – elections; ZR – changes in the government; PRz – government policy; EU – European Union; PZ – foreign policy; SW – internal affairs.

Source: own study.

As the headlines presents – Prime Minister Tusk acts as a leader, a policy maker. Unlike the female prime ministers, D. Tusk does not have any tutelage in the form of another leader, patron, it is not signaled anywhere. The texts do not also anyhow refer to the private sphere of the prime minister or his sex. They are mainly informative, concerning “hard policy”. Prime Minister Tusk “says,” “will not ask,” “refused,” “gained,” “confirmed,” “celebrates,” “wants”. The words – verbs used in the titles – indicate responsibility, efficiency and activity.

As mentioned, in the texts on D. Tusk’s subject, foreign policy prevails, not the national policy. However, this does not affect the presentation of the prime minister. In both cases he is described as the leader of the country and political party. He is the one who makes decisions, he is unhesitating (vide: punishing pedophiles). Unlike the female prime minister, there are no personal elements in them. He is presented as prime minister, head of state, the boss.

When it comes to Prime Minister Kopacz – as the headlines indicate – “has no time”, “replaced”, “chose”, “wants”. Because Kopacz “chose” and “wants” it can be concluded that from the media perspective she has a bit more agility as a decision-maker and having her own will. She is presented as the successor of Donald Tusk, (Grzegorzczuk 2017: 337). The name Kopacz falls in the titles once in the same set of titles, the name Tusk is mentioned twice. Ewa Kopacz in her exposé placed a strong emphasis on relations with neighbors (Grzegorzczuk 2017: 344), but this was not visible in her policy for 100 days, and did not find reflection, for example, by the Czech media. As Agnieszka Grzegorzczuk points out, although the Kopacz was more expressive than, for example, Hanna Suchocka, she made “more technical leadership than charismatic” (Grzegorzczuk 2017: 344).

Prime Minister Kopacz is perceived by iDnes mainly through the prism of elections in Poland and the “anointing” by its patron, Donald Tusk. Foreign subjects are discussed only as a reference to EU affairs. In contrast to D. Tusk, E. Kopacz is described as a fairly passive participant in decision-making processes (e.g. on EU decisions regarding refugees). However, when it comes to describing national issues – it is done through specific problems (e.g. health care reform).

While analyzing the titles concerning Prime Minister Szydło, can be conclude that in general the main subject presented in iDnes concerns events in Poland and not the Prime Minister herself. The second topic is foreign policy, also described in the context of national policy. There are no texts regarding the conduct of the international policy not directly related to the crises in Poland, i.e. opposition protests and the threat of introducing sanctions by the European Commission regarding the limitation of human rights or changes in the justice system in Poland.

Table 4. List of analyzed articles. Titles and the dominant theme – E. Kopacz

Title – polish version	Original title Database designation	Dominating themes
Poland is going to establish a second government, Tusk has resigned because of his departure to Brussels 09/09/2014	1k. Polsko míří ke druhé premiérce, Tusk kvůli odchodu do Bruselu rezignoval 9. září 2014	M
Three ministers leave the Polish government, the head of the Parliament [Sikorski] has resigned 06/10/2015	2k Z polské vlády odchází tři ministři, funkci složil i šéf Sejmu Sikorski 10. června 2015	ZR
The Polish Prime Minister wants officials to speak in a more understandable language 08/01/2015	3k Polská premiérka chce úředníky naučit mluvit srozumitelným jazykem 1. srpna 2015	PRz
Polish eurosceptics create one-color power [the government], and the rocker has also succeeded 10/27/2015	6k Polští euroskeptici sestaví jednobarevnou vládu, uspěl i rocker 27. října 2015	W, ZR
At the head of Poland stands a woman, Tusk has replaced the speaker of the Sejm 09/15/2014	7k V čele Polska stojí žena, Tuska vystřídala maršálka Sejmu 15. září 2014	M
The new Prime Minister Kopacz chose the conservatives. Abortion and war 22/09/2014	8k Nová polská premiérka Kopaczová vytáčí konzervativce. Potraty i válkou 22. září 2014	W
Sobotka at the summit on refugees will replace Poland. Prime Minister [Kopacz] has no time 11/11/2015	9k Sobotka na uprchlickém summitu zastoupí i Polsko. Premiérka nemá čas 11. listopadu 2015	PRz, UE, PZ

Dominating themes – key: M – Prime Minister nomination; W – elections; ZR – changes in the government; PRz – government policy; EU – European Union; PZ – foreign policy; SW – internal affairs.

Source: own study.

Prime Minister Szydło based on iDnes titles rather “can start”, “she says”, “lead”, “she replied”. This prime minister did not *take the fuction of* prime minister, she also did not *become* prime minister, but “she may start to form a government” – low modality in a sense indicates uncertainty (Mautner 2011: 68). According to the text, the president “gave her” a mandate – so she did not build the government and did not get the required support, but only if she received the presidential permission to begin her work. The name of Prime Minister Szydło is mentioned rarely, in the titles of the analyzed articles – twice. It is worth noting that Kaczyński’s name also appears twice. The words used in the titles rather do

not assume efficiency. It should be noted that one word stands out against the background of the titles, because Prime Minister Szydło “replied”, “she says,” she said, “maybe”. Only once appears a word indicating activity, because will “lead”, so she will be responsible for the actions of the government, while in the background of this article the name of Jarosław Kaczyński is written. In the case of other titles, but also the content of articles, there is no description of the actions taken.

In the described cases, there is an indication of connection with another politician, these are not close emotional relations, but always a certain dependence, subordination, service, work for the benefit of. In the above-mentioned texts concerning E. Kopacz, the name of D. Tusk appears 36 times, in the texts concerning B. Szydło, the name of J. Kaczyński appears 23 times. The situation is different in the case of men: in the examined period, in the texts concerning D. Tusk – the name E. Kopacz does not appear, in J. Kaczyński the name B. Szydło appears 4 times. This allows to state that women in politics function in the shadow of a politician. As in the note about B. Szydło – is describing her work in the election team of Andrzej Duda, but without indicating that she was the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The same example appears in Kopacz: a woman in the shadow of a man – Kopacz in Poland was perceived as a continuator of Tusk’s policy, as it is presented in the analyzed texts. And although she herself emphasized in her Polish public space “her independence and responsibility” (Grzegorzczuk 2017: 344), this was not noticed by the Czech portal.

Another way of presenting women in the media is first referring to the appearance and aspects of non-verbal communication and later “posting a description of her professional skills” (Krzyżanowska 2012: 221). In selected titles, however, there is no concentration of notable elements such as the appearance and dresscode, etc. From the perspective of selected titles, the image of both women is less influential than the function indicated. It was difficult to recreate the expressive image of the heads of the government. What is more, in the cases Kopacz and Szydło word *šéf and šéfká* (eng. boss, female boss) occurs much less often than in relation to men. Most often, both women were entitled the word *premiérka*. In the case of Tusk, apart from the word *premier*, the term *šéf* was often used. And although gender issues were not directly in the focus of iDnes, it can be observed that the perception of the Prime Ministers discussed here was determined by this paradigm. In the qualitative analysis of the content, it is important to be able to read meanings that are related to the social and cultural background. Understanding the context allows “to interpret, understand and remember language behavior” (Wodak 2011: 22) and this is important in reading examples of stereotyping.

To sum up – in contrast to D. Tusk, the image of the prime minister’s ladies is “unremarkable”, there are no clear personality characteristics, there is neither clear picture of a person nor a way of exercising authority. One example of this invisibility is to name Szydło by name Ewa in one of the articles (iDnes 2016).

Table 5. List of analyzed articles. Titles and the dominant theme – B. Szydło

Title – polish version	Original title Database designation	Dominating themes
The united opposition is scandalous, responded to the Polish Prime Minister's protests 12/17/2016	2 Jednání opozice je skandální, reagovala na protesty polská premiérka 17. prosince 2016	PRz
The Polish Prime Minister speaks about the wave of hatred, the opposition accuses the Marshal of the Sejm 19/12/2016	4 Polská premiérka mluví o vlně nenávisťi, opozice žaluje maršálka Sejmu 19. prosince 2016	PRz
Poland wants to reform financing of non-governmental organizations, activists are afraid of persecution 28/11/2016	5 Polsko chce reformu financí pro nevládky, aktivisté se bojí perzekuce 28. listopadu 2016	PRz
We do not have a law on abortion, said the Prime Minister. The minister downplayed the protests 04/10/2016	6 Zákon o potratech nechystáme, řekla premiérka. Ministr zlehčoval protesty 4. října 2016	PRz
The Polish government will be led by Szydło, Kaczyński cut the rumors that he will lead it 09/11/2015	7 Polskou vládu povede Szydlová, Kaczyński utnul fámy, že by ji nahradil 9. listopadu 2015	W
Szydło may start to form the Polish government, the president gave her a mandate 11/13/2015	8 Szydlová může začít sestavovat polskou vládu, prezident jí dal pověření 13. listopadu 2015	W
The sanctions are harmless, the commission can not punish us, says the Polish Prime Minister 01/14/2016	9 Sankce nám nehrozí, komise nás trestat nemůže, tvrdí polská premiérka 14. ledna 2016	UE, PZ
The Council of Europe criticized Poland for the weakening of democracy and human rights 03/12/2016	10 Rada Evropy vytkla Polsku oslabování demokracie a lidských práv 11. března 2016	UE, PZ
The law in Poland will combine the function of minister and prosecutor, the opposition criticizes it 01/29/2016	6 Zákon v Polsku sloučí funkci ministra a prokurátora, opozice to kritizuje 29. ledna 2016	PRz

Dominating themes – key: M – Prime Minister nomination; W – elections; ZR – changes in the government; PRz – government policy; EU – European Union; PZ – foreign policy; SW – internal affairs.

Source: own study.

Table 6. Articles regarding both Female Prime Minister's

Title – polish version	Original title Database designation	Dominating themes
Poles choose between two women. Kaczyński threatens refugees. 10/21/2015	4k Poláci volí mezi dvěma ženami, Kaczyński straší uprchlickými prvoky 21. října 2015	W, UE
Poland chooses the prime minister. If the opposition wins, it will drift away from the EU 10/25/2015	5k Polsko vybírá premiérku. Pokud vyhraje opozice, země se odkloní od EU 25. října 2015	W, UE, SW

Dominating themes – key: M – Prime Minister nomination; W – elections; ZR - changes in the government; PRz – government policy; EU – European Union; PZ – foreign policy; SW – internal affairs.

Source: own study.

The titles rarely include female names, more often male, strongly emphasized being a woman and not a predisposition to the functions performed. The focus was on the information function rather than the analytical function and the report of events related to the function performed by the politician. Comments were a minority (three in total), one related to Kopacz in the article Polští euroskeptici sestaví jednobarevnou vládu, uspěl and rocker (iDNES.cz & ČTK, 2015a), two about Beata Szydło: Szydlová může začít sestavovat polskou vládu, prezident jí dal pověření (iDNES.cz & ČTK, 2015) and in the article Sankce nám nehrozí, komise nás trestat nemůže, tvrdí polská premiérka (ČTK & iDnes, 2016b). These comments were not about the Prime Ministers but about the situation in Poland.

Mainly there were The descriptions of prime ministers activities, and there were no longer journalistic forms like reportage or reports. In the texts, the most frequently was a summary, not a citation of the direct statements of the quoted figures. Articles in a positive or neutral way described the prime ministers and for the most part in a professional context. The texts did not raise the subject matter related to the privacy of the quoted figures. It was rare to find personal threads describing profiles or personality traits – only one text was devoted to the profiles of both ladies and notes the private threads (aba & iDnes, 2015). There were also no photographs, infographics or drawing illustrations, which concerned the privacy or unofficial dimension of events. Photographs in the form of photo galleries most often presented not so much the politicians themselves as the context, events that were discussed in the text. In some cases, the same photographs were reproduced in photo galleries in various texts. It most probably results from savings made by the editorial office.

One of the reason why so few texts were written could be also the situation of politicians in the country. In the case of those women, they were not perceived as charismatic leaders, but rather officers, who had the position the head of the

government as a result of competitions and procedures of their organization. This is also proven by the listed above titles. Ewa Kopacz became prime minister after the departure of Donald Tusk, and Beata Szydło, who was previously unknown, took over after Jarosław Kaczyński's anointing. Perhaps that is why there were so few texts about E. Kopacz in comparison with D. Tusk – perceived as a real political leader.

Prime Ministers do not appear as direct creators, they do not build a communication strategy understood as building a brand-product (Giereło 2002: 30–31). What is more, they do not even try, because their influence on foreign media is quite small and the most important medium related to the personalization of politics are dedicated to their own citizens. They had possibilities of managing their image and researching whether they meet the expectations of foreign public opinion. The conscious creation of the figurest image was not questioned. Their image was “mediated” by how correspondents and other content creators presented it, whose visions and beliefs shaped this content in the Czech Republic.

Conclusions

The analysis of the image of Polish prime ministers in the Czech media suggests that in iDnes publications did not appear conscious image control or stereotypes about nationalities. However, gender stereotypes were noticed, which were most visible in the titles, where (unlike men) the woman's attitude is strongly emphasized, not the predisposition to the functions served, not being the politician.

In comparison with Donald Tusk, both female prime ministers are perceived by iDnes rather as passive participants of media content, almost secondary characters. Not as the leaders of the state, or even experts, creators, but participants of a given content. From the examined texts, it is created a image of women who do not exercise power alone, have little agency, are in the shadow of men. Both the image of Prime Minister Ewa Kopacz and Beata Szydło is “unremarkable” – it lacks clear personality traits, there is no clear picture of person or the way of exercising power. There are stereotypical male and female roles come up which define the roles of group members and create their image at the same time. Therefore, Lippmann's definition applies, that stereotypes create a simplified image of social reality, according to predetermined patterns, without a thorough knowledge of the actual state, which affects the final shape of public opinion (Piontek 1993: 20–21).

This way of portraying women in the Czech portal is a sequent of stereotypical gender representation in traditional roles: women who are rather connected with education, health and social care or private sphere, men – with public functions administration, fulfillment of ambitions, implementation of the so-called a hard policy related to foreign policy, terrorism, economy or finances, etc.

Unlike D. Tusk, contents about women are more marked by emotions and topics concerning women's roles. However, in none of cases can be pointed about conscious creation of an image by politicians. This probably comes out from the fact that the prime ministers had no direct influence and could not create a planned image through content that appeared in the Czech media. As mentioned above, their image was managed by correspondents and other content creators. In addition, iDnes is an opinion-forming portal, which political articles are not presented to entertain, in which it is much easier to use, for example, national stereotypes or stories from private life. Thus, the examined articles very rarely contained direct statements of prime ministers, most often they were abstracts with positive or neutral and mostly in a professional context. The focus was more on informative function rather than on analytical and the discussion was about events connected to the function performed by politicians. In four articles, comments appeared, but they did not concern the prime ministers themselves, but the general situation in Poland. There were almost no texts related to private sphere. Only one text was dedicated to the profiles of both ladies and points out the private issues. Taking into account the researched texts, it can be concluded that in all three cases it is a neutral image, emotionless, non-commentative, taking into account only facts. The Czechs do not get too much about the people in power in Poland. Prime Ministers are mainly described through the lens of foreign policy.

The analyzed texts indicate that the surveyed prime ministers and Poland related subject did not gain much interest in the Czech Republic. The texts in iDnes for obvious reasons concerns topics that are closer to their readers. Thus, the topics discussed in the Czech Republic concerning the anti-missile defense, refugees, corruption and relations with the European Union dominated. It was confirmed by analysis of the slogans content related to the Presidents of the Council of Ministers, but also by comparing the frequency of slogans related to other leaders of the Visegrad Group countries. Angela Merkel and Germany were the most popular. Poland is not a strategic partner of the Czech Republic, so compared to Germany there were few texts dedicated to us. It can be concluded that our country is not seen as an important neighbor, hence there are so few texts about us.

Such a way of presentation Polish Prime Ministers influences the perception of reality by recipients of those messages. It is a source of information not only about the Prime Minister, but also about Poland. It can be assumed that it is important for foreign policy formation. In the analyzed texts there is few information about the people themselves and the country: the fact is that women became at the head of the government, but the reader finds it difficult to learn more – especially about the internal situation in Poland or strategic decisions. Only in the case of B. Szydło there was more information due to context of protests and changes introduced by the PiS government. Therefore, the focus was more

on the administrative functions and events in Poland, and not on the personal characteristics of the prime ministers. Consequently, the Czech public opinion is not especially interested in the neighbor, and the image of Polish prime ministers, and what follows other decision-makers, is at least incomplete.

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