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POLARISATION OR DIALOGUE? MEDIA IMAGE OF POLISH-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS DURING THE WAR IN UKRAINE IN THE BROADCAST OF THE POLISH MAGAZINE ON TVP POLONIA <https://doi.org/10.2478/ppsr-2024-0009>

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TVP Polonia adapted its programming to the war in Ukraine, focusing on the conflict's impact, particularly on its compatriots living there, by centring much of its content around the ongoing crisis. As one of the few Polish TV stations, it had the opportunity to work with journalists permanently living in Ukraine. The aim of the study is to describe the media image of Polish-Ukrainian relations during the war in Ukraine in the television broadcast of the program "Studio Lviv" carried out by Polish journalists in Lviv. The material for analysis was selected on the basis of the following criteria: (1) temporal, the year of the war (February 2022-February 2023) a total of 50 archived episodes and (2) issues concerning the war and Polish-Ukrainian relations (in the area of topics and visualisation of communication about the war). The content analysis research is in the nature of a media-culturalist perspective (according to Denis McQualin), in which media communication gives priority to the content and form of the media message. In the area of form, the mechanisms of audiovisual message construction were indicated, while in the area of content, the research material was categorised in four main contexts located in the area of Polish-Ukrainian relations: social, historical, cultural and political contexts. Analysis of the research material showed a clear dominance in the program of the subject matter of the war in Ukraine after the outbreak of war on 24 February 2022. The perspective of Polish journalists determined the way of telling about the situation of Ukraine during the Russian onslaught and Polish-Ukrainian relations. Exposing dialogue and cooperation confirmed the hypothesis that the message of the Polish-American TV magazine on public television created a positive image of Polish-Ukrainian relations.

Keywords

television, Polish media abroad, Polonia, war, Ukraine, TVP Polonia

Introduction

TVP Polonia was established in the 1990s as one of the first thematic channels on Polish public television. The broadcast was to be not only thematically limited but also specially dedicated to a specific group of viewers (Świerczyńska-Głównia 2014, 100). The creators of TV Polonia (its inaugural name) therefore had to pioneer a programme offer, a channel strategy and determine to whom the presented content was to be directed (Oleszkowicz 2013). Broadcasting began in March 1993 for Poles living abroad. The patronage of the channel and its funding has been entrusted by the government to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The station produced its own programmes, but an important element of TVP Polonia was the presentation of programmes previously broadcasted on TVP: documentaries, concerts and reportages that were known to Polish viewers back home. This provided a kind of community between compatriots in front of the TV screens. Over time, the station's production was reduced and TVP Polonia became a broadcaster of the TVP Archive. This resulted in a blurring of the purpose of the channel and dissatisfaction with its functioning. Viewers began to feel a dissonance between the expectations and needs of those living abroad and the content being broadcast. Some have called for a channel for the Polish community abroad to be created and controlled by the community itself, to build a new station, more modern in its message and more oriented to the needs of its viewers. The channel has been broadcasting continuously for 31 years, producing many of its own acclaimed thematic programmes as well as programmes co-created by the Polish community. TVP Polonia has a term-limited Programme Board, which is mainly composed of political representatives, and the demands to introduce people from the Polish community around the world into the Programme Board have gone unheeded. Currently, the former objectives of TV Polonia have been divided between four channels: TVP Polonia, TVP Wilno (Polish for "Vilnius"), Belsat TV and TVP World (POLAND IN).

Belstat TV was launched on the symbolic Human Rights Day on 10 December 2007. The station broadcasts in Belarusian, Russian and Polish. The aim of the station is to strengthen the native culture and language of Belarusians (Świerczyńska-Głównia 2014, 100). TVP Wilno was also launched on a symbolic date – 17 September 2019. Poles living in Lithuania gained a television channel created by their own journalists. The channel aims to introduce the life of Poles in Lithuania and promote a positive image of Poland, popularise the Polish language, and build a sense of cultural and political community between Poland and Lithuania. TVP World broadcasts in English and is ultimately intended to target audiences in the US and Western Europe. Initially, the idea was to create a joint international channel, TV V4, a station of the Visegrád Group countries. The Czech Republic and Slovakia withdrew from the project, and the idea of a Polish-Hungarian channel also failed to materialise. TVP World is a news channel presenting the Polish point of view, like similar channels around the world that are part of the promotional campaign of particular countries (e.g. France 24, Russia Today). A new channel was created on the basis of the existing online publication POLAND IN, which was launched on 11 November 2018 on the centenary of Poland's independence. POLAND IN's productions focused, according to the broadcaster, on showing image and impact on the perception of Poland abroad. Due to the latest changes at Public Television, Belsat TV is to merge into one structure with TVP World (which is also to be renamed) as a channel with feeds in Belarusian, Russian and Ukrainian, in which

“a Ukrainian-language feed will talk about how the world sees Ukraine and what support Poland provides to the country” (Wirtualne Media 2024).

Profiling the Polish viewer is not an easy task, and programme offers should reach a wide audience (Mielczarek 2013). The TVP Polonia website reads: “TVP Polonia’s rich programme offer includes the latest productions of the Polish Television (TVP), as well as its own magazines, which are created for Poles living all over the world. Our programmes will attract the attention of both the ‘old emigration’, i.e. Poles who left the country in the middle of the last century, as well as those who left after the opening of European labour markets” (TVP Polonia 2018). It was decided to build up a network of Polish correspondents in order to develop media coverage created by Poles abroad. Several community news magazines were created, reporting on the life of the Polish community in various places around the world. Thanks to this, the programme offer of the TV broadcasting for the Polish community is today very diverse. It builds the image of Poles living abroad, creates a space for the exchange of experiences between Polish communities, upholds traditional values associated with patriotism and ensures the development of the cultural area while teaching the Polish language.

Context of the war in Ukraine and research determinants

Polish-Ukrainian relations, especially in the context of a shared history, are characterised by strong dynamics of change, as confirmed by numerous political and social studies (see Hurlak 2016, Rotfeld 2018, Długosz, Marzęcki, Kamionka 2021, Konieczna 2002). The outbreak of war in Ukraine has definitely affected Polish-Ukrainian relations both at the state and social levels (Scovil 2023). Researchers of the Polish community in Ukraine note that, despite the many difficulties that still remain, “at present, relations between Ukraine and Poland are dominated by a policy of strategic partnership, the search for avenues of mutually beneficial cooperation” (Osikowicz 2017, 114), and in terms of improving the situation of the Polish community in Ukraine, increasingly effective legislative measures are being developed for social and cultural cooperation in the international sphere. “Poland is an important partner of Ukraine on the international stage; from the very beginning of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, the Polish authorities have been taking concrete measures to help war refugees, and the war in Ukraine and the influx of refugees from Ukraine are, in the opinion of the Polish public, the most important events of 2022” (Musiał 2023, 54). The Polish minority in Ukraine has also actively joined the armed struggle against the invader (Bonasiak 2023).

According to researchers, “the media associated with the Polish presence abroad have, throughout their existence, been the essence of the culture-forming efforts of many intellectual circles (...). The spectrum of issues that require constant scrutiny (...) is still very wide and requires additional research engagement” (Kalczyńska 2014, 49). The Polish community media are part of a tripartite organisational and social system at the national, foreign and Polish community levels. They fulfil many functions (informational, opinion-forming, controlling, culture-forming or educational) with an emphasis on shaping national, patriotic and identity attitudes. “These media express the needs of Poles, integrate, build group memory and strengthen identity” (Kalczyńska 2014, 40). TVP Polonia, fitting into the critical situation of the war conflict, also because of the compatriots living in Ukraine, has gradually built media coverage on the war through most of its programme

offer. As one of the few Polish TV stations, it still has the opportunity to work with Polish journalists permanently living in Ukraine.

The research material for this paper is a programme aimed at Polish community viewers called “Studio Lviv,” a weekly magazine about Poles living in Ukraine, which was included in the autumn lineup of TVP Polonia in 2020. “The magazine is prepared by Polish journalists residing in Lviv. It is a look at the situation and events in Ukraine through the eyes of Poles who live there. The programme will include reports on what is happening in Ukraine, what the people of Lviv are concerned with. The topics covered (...) are important for Poles – the situation of the Polish minority, education in Polish schools, culture, remembering heroes and taking care of important Polish historic sites in the [Eastern Borderlands area]” (TVP Polonia 2020).

The examined media coverage focuses on the context of the war in Ukraine in the light of the lives of Poles living abroad and allows to show a specific perspective of the media discourse and narration about the war on public television (Bednarek 2017). The main research problem was formulated in the form of the question “what is the media image of Polish-Ukrainian relations portrayed in a Polish television programme (“Studio Lviv”) carried by Polish journalists during the first year of the war in Ukraine?” The study is therefore intended to show how Polish-Ukrainian relations were covered by TVP Polonia during the war in Ukraine. The mass communication in which a public broadcaster on television is embedded presupposes the construction of a message with a specific narrative. The communication of traditional television broadcasting is seen in this case as a unidirectional and linear process (Lasswell 1948). Lewin’s model of communication, assumes an incomplete flow of information to the viewer, regulated by media broadcasters, publishers or editors-in-chief (gatekeepers) according to their own purpose (Lewin 1947).

Due to the public broadcaster, supervised by authorities, the journalistic environment from which the media materials come, and the context of the war conflict, it can be hypothesised that the analysed research material will show a positive image of Polish-Ukrainian relations. The hypothesis also stems from the fact that the programme, since the outbreak of the war, has focused on the actions taken by the authorities of the Republic of Poland and Polish and Polish society in relation to Ukraine, which was plunged into war, and Polish-Ukrainian relations in the Polish community during the war conflict.

The research material is archived episodes of the programme “Studio Lviv” (<https://studiolwow.tvp.pl/53261183/wydania>) on the website of TVP Polonia. The material for analysis was selected on the basis of the following criteria: (1) temporal, the year of the war – from February 2022 to February 2023 – a total of 50 episodes and (2) topics concerning the war and Polish-Ukrainian relations (regarding the themes and visualisation of communication about war). The research adopts a media-culturalist perspective, in which media message gives “priority to the content and form of media coverage and the subjective reception of media messages conditioned by the individual’s immediate environment” (McQuail 2008, 33). The method of media content analysis is divided into two main areas (the substantive and visual content):

1. Formal analysis of the TV coverage (see Lisowska-Magdziarz 2018, Wawer 2018, Sosnowska 2023, Rose 2010, Pagel 2019) aims to show audiovisual mechanisms of war content: mechanism of authoritarianism (building the message through the statements of opinion leaders), mechanism of image warming (building a positive image of the presented person), mechanism of visual exposure (domination, inten-

sification of certain images), mechanism of narrative (building the stories of media heroes), mechanism of rhythmisation (recurring cycle of topics addressed and images and sounds used), mechanism of contrast (coverage presenting oppositions), mechanism of assigning meanings/symbolisation (highlighting meaningful elements in the coverage);

2. Content analysis of the TV coverage on the war (see Wodak, Krzyżanowski 2011, Musiał 2023, Bednarek 2017, Pavlichenko 2022) will show the domains of the protagonists of the TV war narrative and the topics addressed; the role of ecclesiastical, secular and state institutions; the importance of NGOs and Polish community organisations; cooperation between Poland and Ukraine. The research will be categorised in four main contexts within Polish-Ukrainian relations: social, historical, cultural and political.

The media studies analysis is focused on the media portrayal of dialogue or conflict in Polish-Ukrainian relations during the war in Ukraine in the TV coverage of the magazine for the Polish community on TVP Polonia. The selection of research material thus provides a framework for Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in the face of war.

Research results

1. Thematic contexts of the portrayal of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the TV programme for the Polish community – „Studio Lviv”

The analysis of the research material showed that after the outbreak of the war in Ukraine on 24 February 2022, the programme was clearly dominated by the issue of that war. “Studio Lviv” became an informational and journalistic war magazine. The perspective of Polish community journalists determined the way of reporting on the situation of Ukraine during the Russian invasion and Polish-Ukrainian relations at that time. The emphasis on dialogue and co-operation confirmed the hypothesis that the coverage of the Polish community TV magazine on public television created a positive image of Polish-Ukrainian relations:

- a) *Cultural context* was visible in four main thematic areas:
 - *Building a cultural community between the Polish community in Lviv and Poles* – despite the ongoing war in Ukraine, Polish organisations and societies and diplomatic missions organised joint events: the day of the Polish anthem (ep. 93), the 11th edition of the National Reading (ep. 100);
 - *Providing encouragement from Polish community cultural institutions during the war* – events created by cultural institutions: performances by the Polish People’s Theatre in Lviv (ep. 83) the concert “Solidarity with Ukraine” and the 104th anniversary of the restoration of Poland’s independence at the Lviv National Philharmonic (ep. 111);
 - *Polish assistance in protecting cultural heritage by Ukrainians* – activities coordinated by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage: equipment for securing the collections of, among others, the Library in Lviv, armoured cabinets (ep. 85);
 - *Establishing shared cultural icons between Poland and Ukraine* – referring to Polish cultural figures in the programme: Zbigniew Herbert and the evocation of the

poem “Report from the Besieged City” (ep. 89); promotion of the figures of patrons of schools in Lviv: Maria Konopnicka (ep. 90), Adam Mickiewicz (ep. 100);

b) *Political context* strongly linked to the goal of building a positive image of Polish-Ukrainian relations during the war, visible through:

- *The establishment of the leaders of Polish-Ukrainian dialogue and cooperation* – President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and President Andrzej Duda as leaders of the nations, statesmen during the war conflict; an image is created that shows them not only as leaders of neighbouring, cooperating nations, but also as friends. For example, Duda’s visit to Kyiv and speech in the Ukrainian parliament (ep. 86); Duda as envoy for the Ukrainian cause in the EU (ep. 75,89), with Pope Francis (ep. 90); during his meeting with Joe Biden (ep. 79); during the Three Seas Initiative Summit (ep. 90); during the NATO Summit (ep. 92); within the Weimar Triangle (ep. 123); honoured in the Walk of the Brave (ep. 99); Duda as the most popular world leader in Ukraine (89% of the votes ahead of Joe Biden) (ep. 118); multiple statements by Zelenskyy assuring in the Polish parliament that Poland and Duda are friends of Ukraine: “When there is someone who beats you like a brute, you need to have someone you can count on, who will lend you a helping hand – on 24 February I had no doubt who that person would be; I am grateful for that, Polish brothers and sisters are with us, from the first day of the war it was clear that there are no borders between us” (ep. 77); Zelenskyy’s regular acknowledgements (ep. 91,99,105,110); Zelenskyy’s statement in Polish on the day of Poland’s Independence celebrations: “Our friendship forever – Your friendship forever. Our love forever, together we will be victorious” (ep. 110); highlighting the figure of Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki as a representative of the government strengthening Ukraine’s position in negotiations for EU accession (ep. 90) and systemic support on the international stage; hosting foreign visits in the context of the war in Ukraine (ep. 75); a statement on the Russian genocide in Ukraine (ep. 80); speeches in the EU on the war in Ukraine (ep. 122); Morawiecki’s visit to Ukraine on the first anniversary of the outbreak of the war (ep. 125); and individual situations related to statements made by Jarosław Kaczyński and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zbigniew Rau.
- *The establishment of Poland as a world leader in aid to Ukraine* – accumulation of accounts of military, medical and political aid from Poland, statements by President Zelenskyy emphasising Poland’s role, e.g.: “Poland is one of the leaders in the defence of Ukraine” (ep. 86); the creation of an image of Poland as an intermediary genuinely influencing international support for Ukraine, e.g. Joe Biden’s visit to Warsaw and the US Secretary of State’s visit to Poland (ep. 79); Duda’s New Year Address: “Polish aid to Ukraine is a phenomenon talked about by the whole world, of which we can be proud” (ep. 117); Zelenskyy’s statement during the commemoration of the anniversary of the outbreak of the war in Ukraine: “Poland has been one of the leaders in helping Ukraine during the war (...) the country’s leaders could not have done so if they did not have the support of the people” (ep. 125).
- *Polish politicians as humanitarian and military aid envoys* – creating a positive image of the dialogue between Poland and Ukraine by repeatedly showing Polish politicians arriving in Lviv with humanitarian convoys, e.g. Michał Dworczyk (ep. 78,80), press conferences summarising Polish aid (ep. 79); Minister of National Defence Mariusz Błaszczak attending the training of Ukrainian soldiers, handing over mil-

itary equipment, and handing over Leopard 2 tanks as the first country to do so (ep. 87,113,125); Błaszczak's visits to Ukraine, meetings with President Zelenskyy and Minister of National Defence of Ukraine, and Błaszczak's decoration by Zelenskyy (ep. 94,122); Małgorzata Gosiewska's hospital visit and arrival with medical aid in Ukraine (ep. 94).

c) *Historical context* linking the contemporary war context with the Polish-Ukrainian historical background:

- *Joint commemorations of important historical anniversaries* – building community and respect for historical remembrance: commemoration of the victims of the massacre of Polish professors in Lviv (then Lwów) – (ep. 92); celebration of the Polish Armed Forces Day in Ukraine with Polish and Ukrainian delegations, statement by the head of the Chancellery of the Prime Minister: “in the past, Ukrainian volunteers fought alongside Polish soldiers, today Polish volunteers appear alongside Ukrainian soldiers”, wishes of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine for the Polish army (ep. 98); commemoration of the 102nd anniversary of the Battle of Zadwórze (ep. 99); commemoration of the anniversary of the Battle of Dytiatyn (ep. 103); celebrations of restoration of Poland's independence (ep. 110); Prime Minister Morawiecki laying flowers at the monument commemorating the Great Famine in Ukraine (ep. 112); commemoration of the 192nd anniversary of the outbreak of the November Uprising (ep. 113), Presidents Duda and Zelenskyy jointly paid tribute to the Lwów Eaglets and fallen Ukrainian soldiers (ep. 119); and the 160th anniversary of the outbreak of the January Uprising (ep. 120);
- *A new narrative of Polish-Ukrainian conflicts of remembrance* – an important element in building Polish-Ukrainian relations during the war in Ukraine was opening a dialogue on historical conflicts between the states, with Duda's statement on the anniversary of the Volhynian massacre: “We want to be able to pray on the graves of our loved ones and our compatriots, but we also want to offer the same to Ukrainians, so that there is a grave where Ukrainians are buried on our land as well” (ep. 93); the unveiling of the lion monuments at the Cemetery of the Defenders of Lwów in Lviv – Dworczyk's statement: “Poland is a country that has been fully involved in the fight for Ukraine's freedom since the first day of the war, and we are glad that we can bring closure to even the most painful issues” (ep. 86); consent of the Ukrainian authorities to search for the graves of Poles murdered by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in Podolia (ep. 110); the help of Ukrainian volunteers in cleaning Polish gravestones in Ukraine: “one must forgive and move on, especially now that Poland is helping Ukraine so much” (ep. 119); and the commemoration of the massacre of the Polish inhabitants of the village of Huta Pieniacka (ep. 125).
- *The Smolensk myth and the figure of Lech Kaczyński as a common denominator of Russian violence* – citation of Lech Kaczyński's statement in Tbilisi about Russia's imperialist inclinations, and the symbol of the Polish cemetery in Kharkiv shelled by the Russians during the war in Ukraine; joint prayer of Poles for Poland and Ukraine (ep. 87); and unveiling of a monument to the late Polish presidential couple (ep. 100).
- *Highlighting the common enemy in the history of Poland and Ukraine* – Russia as a common enemy in the history of both nations, comparisons of Russian crimes at Katyn, the mass murders with the mass graves found in the forests in September 2022 in Ukraine (ep. 103).

d) *The social context* was the most widely reported in the programme, showing the dominant role of the Polish-Ukrainian fellowship and aid:

- *Highlighting the role of Polish schools in Lviv as institutions supporting the young generation of Poles living in Ukraine* – Polish language teachers as a bridge between Poland and Ukraine: “My task is to support the students and ensure that they receive help from their compatriots from Poland” (ep. 74); remote teaching, under difficult wartime conditions; medals of the Commission of National Education of the Republic of Poland for Polish teachers in Ukraine for their work in support of pupils during the war (ep. 106); special Christmas packages from Poland for teachers (ep. 116).
- *Showcasing public protests in Ukraine and Poland* – protests in support of struggling Ukraine in Poland (ep. 74); demonstration of gratitude for Poland organised by the Ukrainian consulate in Poland (ep. 87).
- *Highlighting gratitude for Poles* – by quoting frequent statements of thanks: “Poles helped, prayed for Ukrainians, and it was fantastic”, said a former soldier (ep. 74); “I plan to go to Warsaw after the war and have a drink with my friends who are supporting me so strongly now”, said a resident of Kyiv (ep. 81); “I don’t think we fully realise how much help we receive from Poland”, said a paramedic (ep. 81); “I would like to say a sincere thank you to the Poles, for everything they do for our children”, said a doctor from the children’s hospital in Lviv (ep. 81); “we can confidently call Poland our sister” – statement of a policewoman (ep. 84); “Thank you very much, we are sisters and brothers”, said a mother (ep. 108).
- *Polish community organisations as leaders in supporting the Polish community, liaison officers between Poland and Ukraine* – humanitarian and voluntary aid, support for families: Odessa branch of the “Adam Mickiewicz” Union of Poles in Ukraine, the “Wołyń” Scout Troop in Rivne, Centre for Polish Culture and European Dialogue, Polish Cultural and Educational Association in Zviahel, Polish House in Sambir (eps. 80, 84, 86, 91, 93); first aid workshops organised by the T. Padura Ukrainian-Polish Alliance in Rivne, the House of Polish Community in the East, “Polska Nuta” Polish Association in Odessa (ep. 78, 79); Easter gifts for soldiers from the Odessa branch of the Union of Poles in Ukraine (ep. 82); Association of the Polish Culture of the Lviv Land, Kolping Family University of the Third Age – sewing camouflage nets for soldiers (eps. 86, 98).
- *Creating a positive image of volunteers from Poland* – Poles as caretakers of refugees from Ukraine, as teams transporting food (ep. 76); members of the local government as volunteers (eps. 75, 88); Polish NGOs, humanitarian organisations in Ukraine (eps. 75, 98, 94); Ukrainian students as volunteers cooperating to help refugees in Poland (ep. 78).
- *Catholic Church as protector of the needy* – assistance to refugees, mainly mothers with children by Caritas organisations – in Poland, the Diocese of Rzeszów (ep. 77); in Ukraine Caritas Spes-Lviv (ep. 81); parishes in Ukraine cooperating with Poland to support the needy: the parish of Christ King of the Universe in Ivano-Frankivsk (ep. 80); support of religious orders: Foundation of the Dominican Sisters, the Franciscan Association in Lviv (eps. 80, 81); visits by Polish clergyman cardinal Konrad Krajewski as an envoy of Pope Francis, praying together, gifts for the needy (eps. 77, 82); highlighting the figure of Metropolitan Archbishop of Lviv Mieczysław

Mokrzycki and his gratitude to Poles (eps. 77, 79); visit of bishops from the Vatican and Poland to Ukraine, statement of Wojciech Polak, Primate of Poland: “We want to show solidarity with those suffering” (ep. 86).

- *Polish NGOs as humanitarian support* – mainly humanitarian aid from the Freedom and Democracy Foundation (eps. 84, 97); St Jadwiga Foundation – 400 tonnes of donations, humanitarian aid and a camp for children from Ukraine (eps. 91, 100).
- *Creating a positive image of Polish medical assistance* – evident in the cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian doctors and hospitals: transports of children to Poland for oncology treatment (ep. 81); Polish aid to the children’s hospital in Lviv, Polish doctors train medics in Ukraine and donate disposable surgical kits (ep. 91); donation of medical ambulances (ep. 92); special birthing kits for Ukrainian hospitals (ep. 100); Polish doctors help wounded civilians and soldiers in hospitals in Poland and Ukraine (ep. 106); humanitarian aid from Polish firefighters to a Ukrainian hospital (ep. 113); the Human Milk Bank Foundation from Poland helped to open an outpost in Lviv (ep. 118); convoys of medicines (ep. 81).
- *Cooperation between the Polish and Ukrainian scientific communities* – a “round table” by the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Lviv and the Centre for East European Studies of the University of Warsaw to work out how to deal with a possible attack on Ukraine from Belarus (ep. 93); Polish-Ukrainian meetings of scientists in Yaremche (ep. 105); the fight against disinformation and Russian propaganda as the subject of the «Ossoliński Meetings» of scientists from Ukraine and Poland (ep. 106); the joint project of the Precarpathian National University in Ivano-Frankivsk and the University of Warsaw “Ukraine-Poland International Academic Youth Exchange Center” (ep. 108); the International Scientific Conference “Security in Crisis Situations in the Border Regions of Poland and Ukraine” (ep. 113).

2. Mechanisms of the TV coverage in portraying Polish-Ukrainian relations in the Polish programme „Studio Lviv”

The analysis showed that the way in which audiovisual message is created in the television programme is consistent with the thematic material. In terms of visual media communication, all forms of audiovisual techniques can be observed:

Mechanism of authoritarianism – building the message through the statements of opinion leaders, strongly highlighting presidents of both countries and key defence politicians; presentation created by means of official statements, press conferences, and dedicated media recordings.

Fig. 1. Official speeches by politicians on the war in Ukraine



Source: Programme “Studio Lviv” TVP Polonia, <https://studiolwow.tvp.pl/49597795/wydania>

Mechanism of image warming—displaying unofficial situations that emphasise the familiarity, sympathy and support of Polish politicians and citizens towards Ukrainians.

Fig. 2. Cordial relations between the Polish and Ukrainian presidents



Source: Programme “Studio Lviv” TVP Polonia, <https://studiolwow.tvp.pl/49597795/wydania>

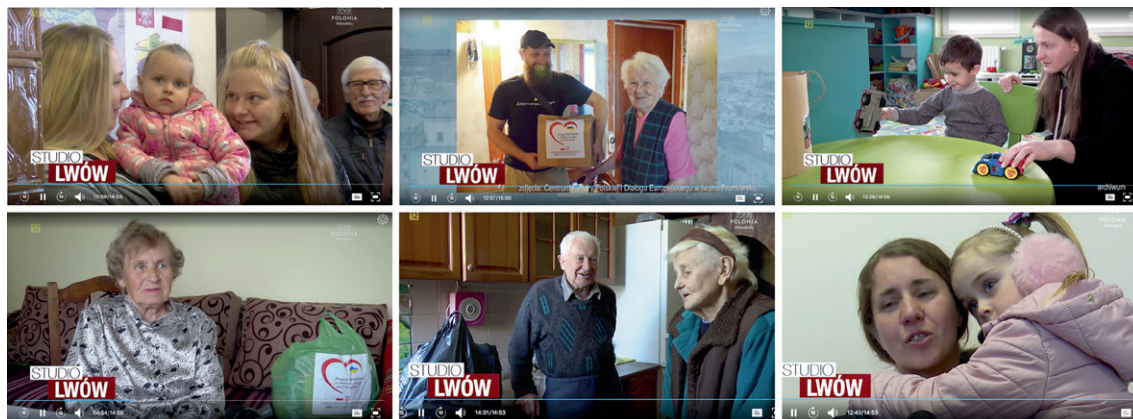
Mechanism of visual exposure—prevalence and intensification of images highlighting Poland’s support during the armed conflict, repeated magnification of aid through general (total) plans emphasising the extent of aid (e.g. medical ambulances, food halls).

Fig. 3. Exposing the amount of medical and humanitarian aid



Source: Programme “Studio Lviv” TVP Polonia, <https://studiolwow.tvp.pl/49597795/wydania>

Mechanism of narrative—presenting the stories of media protagonists, *human stories* (mainly people harmed by war), whose individual fates become a symbol of the whole nation; building a narrative of the victim being helped by the Polish nation; visual portrayal of mothers with children, the elderly, and the sick expressing their gratitude for the help they have received.

Fig. 4. Portrayal in narrative of war victims

Source: Programme “Studio Lviv” TVP Polonia, <https://studiolwow.tvp.pl/49597795/wydanie>

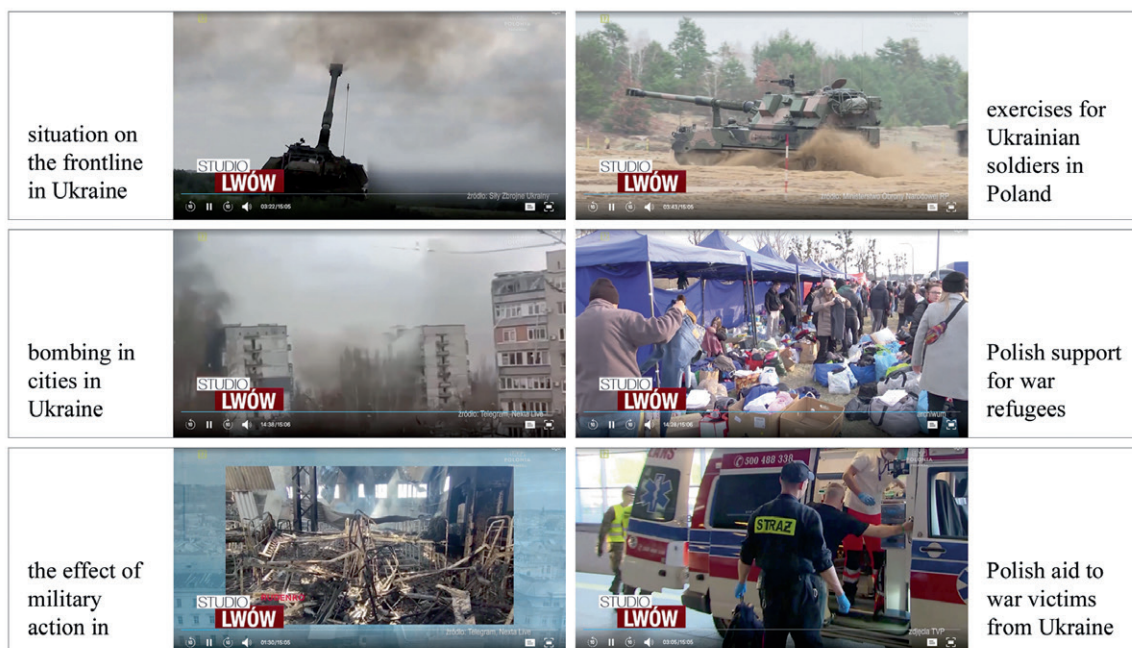
Stories of tragically deceased young Poles and citizens of Ukraine fighting not only for their homeland but also for Poland’s freedom (Marian Matusz, Witalij Świncicki – soldiers of the Armed Forces of Ukraine).

Fig. 5. Seriality of visual narrative about war heroes

Source: Programme “Studio Lviv” TVP Polonia, <https://studiolwow.tvp.pl/49597795/wydanie>

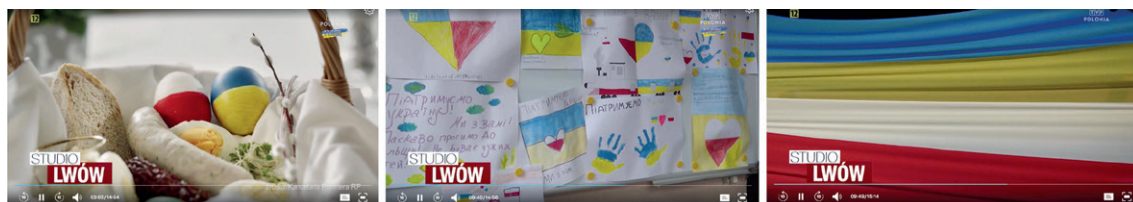
Mechanism of rhythmisation – a fixed way of presenting war news, the so-called “report from the defence of the country”, a recurring cycle of topics addressed and visualisation of similar sets of war images, where each episode of the cycle began with a compilation of events from the war, statements by President Zelenskyy and war statistics as well as information on Polish support.

Mechanism of contrast – coverage presenting opposing situations related to the threat and consequences of war as well as Polish aid, contrasting situations edited side by side to strongly highlight the importance of Polish support for Ukraine.

Fig. 6. Examples of contrast visualisation

Source: Programme “Studio Lviv” TVP Polonia, <https://studiolwow.tvp.pl/49597795/wydania>

Mechanism of assigning meanings/symbolisation – the coverage’s visible emphasis on meaningful elements referring to the national symbols of Poland and Ukraine in the formula of dialogue and cooperation.

Fig. 7. National symbols as a visual form of Polish-Ukrainian dialogue and cooperation

Source: Programme “Studio Lviv” TVP Polonia, <https://studiolwow.tvp.pl/49597795/wydania>

Summary

The outbreak of war in Ukraine caused the media coverage in Poland to be dominated by the topic of the Russian Federation’s aggression against our eastern neighbour. Public media presented the situation at the front, the activities of the Polish government and the Polish nation, and the international resonance. TVP Polonia became an exceptionally important communication channel due to the specific nature of the broadcaster (Polish community journalists in Ukraine) and its audience (Polish community and Polish viewers in Ukraine and Poland). The “Studio Lviv” programme went from being a cultural and informational magazine to a war reportage magazine to one whose aim became to present Polish-Ukrainian relations in the face of the war conflict in Ukraine.

The research hypothesis was confirmed. The program showed a positive picture of Polish-Ukrainian relations. At the same time, the magazine fitted into the theory that “the media, i.e. the information space in which both regional and local armed conflict are reported, is at the same time an area in which the political views of state leaders are presented [...] the positions of governments and social groups are presented” (Bednarek, 2018, 31).

The analysis of the media material showed that the TV coverage focused on dialogue, social and governmental assistance, cooperation between Poland and Ukraine and creating a positive image of Poland and Polish politicians as leaders of support for Ukraine during the war. Four contexts were distinguished in terms of the broadcast content: cultural, political, social and historical, with a clear dominance of the political and social context depicting Poland’s extensive support for Ukraine. The cultural context was manifested in the building of a cultural community of Poles and the Polish community in Lviv, the portrayal of Polish cultural institutions as providing encouragement during the war as well as Polish assistance in protecting cultural heritage by Ukrainians, and the establishment of shared cultural icons between Poland and Ukraine. The political context was dominated by the establishment of the leaders of Polish-Ukrainian dialogue and cooperation – Presidents Andrzej Duda and Volodymyr Zelenskyy as well as, to a lesser extent, Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki. Poland was portrayed as a world leader in helping Ukraine during the war, with explicit declarations of mutual assistance and friendship. Polish politicians were repeatedly presented as humanitarian and military aid envoys, mainly Michał Dworczyk, Mariusz Błaszczak and Małgorzata Gosiewska. The historical context, which is extremely important, focused on joint commemorations of important historical anniversaries and building a new tradition between the nations. There was also the reframed narrative of Polish-Ukrainian conflicts of remembrance and with it statements and actions by Polish and Ukrainian authorities and representatives of social institutions on the subject of the Volhynian massacre or cemeteries of Polish soldiers in Ukraine. The Smolensk myth and the figure of Lech Kaczyński were invoked twice as a common denominator of Russian violence. The social context showed the strength of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation both in the Polish community in Ukraine and indirectly in Ukraine as a whole. The role of Polish schools in Lviv as institutions supporting the young generation of Poles living in Ukraine was highlighted, social protests in Ukraine and Poland were referenced, and gratitude to Poles for their help was repeatedly emphasised. Polish community organisations were portrayed as leaders in supporting the Polish community and liaison officers between Poland and Ukraine. There was a positive portrayal of volunteers from Poland and the Catholic Church as a protector of the victims with a presentation of actions by churches and religious orders. Similarly, NGOs were depicted positively as humanitarian support for compatriots in Ukraine. A clear element of the cooperation was the presentation of Polish medical assistance, both by medical personnel themselves and through actions with donated life-saving equipment. There were also materials highlighting the cooperation between the Polish and Ukrainian scientific communities in the face of the war in Ukraine.

The formal analysis made it possible to identify the most distinctive mechanisms of the TV (audiovisual) coverage highlighting the positive dimension of Polish-Ukrainian relations during the war. The mechanism of authoritarianism created strong opinion leaders by means of official images of Polish and Ukrainian politicians. At the same time, the mechanism of image warming portrayed the authorities, especially Presidents Duda and Zelenskyy, as great friends in the face of war and a common enemy. Humanitarian aid issues were emphasised by the mechanism of visual exposure, e.g. the way in which do-

nations brought in were filmed, and the mechanism of narrative by presenting the stories of media protagonists: the human story – mainly people harmed by war. An important technique proved to be the mechanism of rhythmisation, i.e. cyclical reporting on war activities at the beginning of each edition of the programme featuring elements of the Polish government's actions, which at the same time introduced regular information on Polish-Ukrainian cooperation at a given stage of the war. The mechanism of contrast made it possible to highlight the positive image of Polish aid in opposition to the cruelty of the war. Another constant practice the mechanism of assigning meanings, symbolisation, i.e. the coverage's visible emphasis on meaningful elements referring to the national symbols of Poland and Ukraine in the formula of dialogue and cooperation.

The assumptions that the media image of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the "Studio Lviv" program is an image focused on a specific goal of the broadcaster (Levin's concept) were confirmed. TVP Polonia and the Polish community magazine "Studio Lviv" fitted into the overall narrative of the public media, which was overseen by the Polish government, and at the same time highlighted the aspect of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation during this difficult and very politically and socially dynamic time in Poland and Ukraine. The aim of the programme was not to polarise. On the contrary, the overall coverage presented a dialogue and a strongly positive picture of Polish-Ukrainian relations during the first year of the war. One can see an improvement in the political relations, a change in the attitudes of Polish and Ukrainian society in a social and historical context. The coverage of the war determined certain visual and content icons, which became the basis of the TV message for viewers in both Poland and Ukraine.

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