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The question of identity has been a key issue for Ukrainians since their country gained independence after the fall of the Soviet Union. The common history and Polish-Ukrainian relations have had a significant impact on its formation. After the collapse of the USSR, the Polish democratic government based its policy toward Ukraine on the principles of the “ULB doctrine” developed by Jerzy Giedroyc, which envisaged cooperation with Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus.¹ Ukraine’s foreign orientation and its relations with its closest neighbours, including Poland, influenced its image and the perception of its identity in the latter country. The awareness of how a state’s identity is perceived beyond its borders plays an important role in international political communication and the overall strategy of international relations. In the case of the perception of Ukraine in Poland, there were two vectors of influence – European or Western (embodied in the European Union) and Eastern or post-Soviet (embodied in Russia). Political scientist

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¹ Iwona Hofman, *Szkice o paryskiej “Kulturze”*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2004, 147.

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Beata Surmacz adopted this pattern in her analysis of contemporary Polish-Ukrainian relations.²

In Ukraine, the beginning of the 21st century was marked by several important social and political changes that also contributed to the construction of Ukrainian identity and its perception in the outside world. The year 2004 ended with Ukrainians protesting against fraudulent presidential elections; these protests became known as the Orange Revolution. They also marked the end of the “multivector” foreign orientation of the previous government led by Leonid Kuchma. The newly-elected president, Viktor Yushchenko, promised a pro-Western orientation and declared a strong stance on Ukrainian national identity. However, the lack of political will and the inability to confront the entire post-Soviet legacy soon brought disappointment and uncertainty to the Ukrainian society. Moreover, the economic crisis of 2008 deepened the depression that had followed the euphoria of the Orange Revolution. As a result, Viktor Yanukovich was elected president in 2010. During his time in power, the traditions of the post-Soviet style of state governance were upheld, which resulted in nepotism, feudalism in the bureaucratic system, oligarchy, corruption and political persecution. There were no signs of systemic transformation. In contrast, in foreign policy, Yanukovich declared a European

² She suggested studying Polish-Ukrainian relations through the correspondence between the Poland-Ukraine-Russia and Poland-EU-Ukraine triads. See Beata Surmacz, *Współczesne stosunki polsko-ukraińskie. Polilogiczna analiza traktatu o dobrym sąsiedztwie*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2002, 137–140; eadem, “Scenariusze stosunków polsko-ukraińskich. Próba weryfikacji,” in *Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie 1991–2014. Próba bilansu*, edited by Marek Pietraś, Markijan Malskyj and Beata Surmacz, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2016, 110.

orientation and was apparently willing to sign an association agreement with the European Union.

In November 2013, Ukrainian Prime Minister Mykola Azarov announced his refusal to pursue an EU-oriented foreign policy. And as political scientist Olga Onuch commented, “it happened again!”³ Mass public protests erupted once more as a result of “hijacked expectations.”⁴ This time, the movement was called the Euromaidan because of its main postulates: achieving an institutional rapprochement with Europe and proclaiming identity changes. Later, the Euromaidan was also called the Revolution of Dignity. These two names are metaphors connected with the two main parts of Ukrainian identity – national and supranational. The prefix “Euro-” combined with the Ukrainian word for an open urban space – *maidan* (square) – signifies the introduction of a European identity discourse into Ukraine’s internal situation. The second name – the Revolution of Dignity – refers exclusively to internal issues. The term “revolution” is an indicator of violent changes of the system. “Dignity” is a specific feature of human character that self-conscious, strong individuals possess.

Despite the fundamental differences between the Orange Revolution and the Euromaidan, both were influential in building the national identity of independent Ukraine. The former gave impetus to the emergence of civic society in Ukraine.

³ Olga Onuch, “Maidans Past and Present. Comparing the Orange Revolution and the Euromaidan,” in *Ukraine’s Euromaidan. Analyses of a Civil Revolution in Ukraine*, edited by David R. Marples and Frederick V. Mills, Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2015, 27.

⁴ Jurij Macijewskij, “Dwa kryzysy i rewolucja. Wydarzenia z 2004 i 2014 r. na Ukrainie w perspektywie porównawczej,” *Politeja* 12 (2) (34/1) (2015), 66.

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Indeed, despite its failure, it resulted in many civic institutions and initiatives being created that contributed to the construction of civic identity. On the other hand, the Euromaidan was not a colour revolution since people were united by the common values of the European idea.⁵

Naturally, the events of the Orange Revolution and the Euromaidan were covered to a greater or lesser extent by foreign media. For the analysis of the perception of Ukrainian identity abroad, I chose contemporary Polish opinion-forming press because Poland is Ukraine's closest neighbour in Europe, and both countries are linked historically and culturally. The former has a measurable influence on the shaping of Ukrainian identity, which makes its insight into Ukrainian identity changes significant. However, as acknowledged by Polish sociologist Joanna Konieczna-Salamatin, Poles are unfamiliar with contemporary Ukraine, basing their idea of it on history and collective memory that is rooted in conflicts from the time of the Second World War. Thus, the perception of Ukraine and its identity in Poland is very often constructed on historical references, going back even to the times of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.⁶ However, the outbreak of the Orange Revolution led Poles to rediscover their eastern neighbours and realise that Ukrainians strive for freedom and democracy.⁷

According to a 2013 study by the Institute of Public Affairs (Instytut Spraw Publicznych), 74% of Poles declared that they

⁵ Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Ignorance Is Power," *Ab Imperio* 3 (2014), 225.

⁶ Joanna Konieczna-Salamatin, "Kontakty polsko-ukraińskie a zmiany wzajemnego postrzegania Polaków i Ukraińców," *Państwo i Społeczeństwo* 16 (1) (2016), 85–86.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

got their knowledge about Ukraine from the media.⁸ Therefore, I decided to see how Ukraine was being presented to the Polish society by journalists and experts writing for the opinion-forming press. The gap or, as Marek Pietraś put it, the “rift” in the development of civic society, respect for human rights or on the social, economic and political level between the post-Soviet states of East-Central Europe and the states of East-Central Europe that are already EU members is widening.⁹ Despite this fact, studying the perception of Ukrainian events in the Polish press allows us to identify what kind of mediatised discourses exist between two East-Central European countries that are now institutionally located in different geopolitical spaces.

As mentioned above, the two social movements – the Orange Revolution and the Euromaidan – dealt with the issues of identity and possible or desired identity changes in Ukraine. It should be noted that the question of identity is not just an internal issue of a group. For effective political and international communication, it is extremely important to know how it is perceived by others.¹⁰ This explains the relevance of studying the perception of Ukrainian identity in Polish media discourse

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⁸ Joanna Fomina et al., *Polska–Ukraina. Polacy – Ukraińcy – spojrzenie przez granicę*, Warszawa: Instytut Spraw Publicznych, 2013, 26.

⁹ Marek Pietraś, “Partnerstwo strategiczne Polski i Ukrainy w ‘pękniętej’ Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej,” in *Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie 1991–2014. Próba bilansu*, edited by Marek Pietraś, Markijan Malskyj and Beata Surmacz, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2016, 59.

¹⁰ Agnieszka Hess and Agnieszka Szymańska have shown that the public is showing increasing interest in events taking place outside its home country. Hence, the mass media are not just a means of conveying information but one of the most important actors in foreign policy, especially in diplomacy. Agnieszka Hess and Agnieszka Szymańska, *Pomost medialny? Międzynarodowa komunikacja polityczna na przykładzie relacji polsko-niemieckich*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2009, 28–30.

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as it allows us to better understand the social processes taking place between Ukraine and Poland and the factors that influence the image/perception of Ukrainian identity in Poland.

According to the discourse theory, identity is always a matter of representation and can be accepted, rejected or negotiated through discursive processes.¹¹ Since representation often appears in media discourse, it seems reasonable to examine the latter and the mechanisms of discursive strategies that media use to construct identity. In addition, the analysis of the perception of Ukrainian identity in the Polish press sheds light on how society functions and perceives others. Last but not least, this study introduces the English-speaking audience to the specifics of the Polish media market and Polish media studies and highlights such concepts as opinion journalism (*publicystyka*) and opinion-forming press (*prasa opiniotwórcza*), contributing in this way to the general scope of the theoretical aspect of media studies.

Therefore, this book consists of two parts. The first one deals with the concept of identity, discourse and the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I provide an overview of the theoretical foundations of identity, covering various theories and approaches, along with a presentation of the main strands of academic research on contemporary Ukrainian identity issues. I also explain the historical connections between Poland and Ukraine to understand the current discourse. The second part of the book focuses on the linguistic analysis of selected articles

¹¹ Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, London–Thousand Oaks–New Delhi: SAGE, 2002, 43.

from the Polish opinion-forming press and its relevance to the analysis of Ukrainian identity in Polish media discourse.

The scholarly literature on this particular topic is very scarce. Research on Ukrainian identity in the media in general is also virtually non-existent. Recently, the way in which Ukraine is presented in contemporary Polish media was addressed by Jarosław Jura and Kaja Kałużyńska in the context of the image of foreigners in the discourse of Polish traditional and online media.¹² Much attention has also been paid to the image of migrants in the Polish press. A reliable quantitative and qualitative analysis of several titles of daily, weekly and monthly newspapers from the first half of 2009 was conducted by the Institute of Public Affairs.¹³ It must be noted, however, that the study did not focus solely on Ukrainians. Similarly, Ukrainians appear in Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska's study on constructing the image of the "other" in Poland, in which she included the analysis of the press from 1993 to 2003.¹⁴ In his research on migrants in Poland, Maciej Mrozowski also explored the issue of the representation of Ukrainians as one of the social groups in the Polish press.¹⁵

¹² Jarosław Jura and Kaja Kałużyńska, "Obraz obcokrajowców i imigrantów w polskich mediach tradycyjnych i internetowych," in *Imigranci o wysokich kwalifikacjach na polskim rynku pracy. Raport z badań 2014–2015*, edited by Joanna Konieczna-Sałamatin, Warszawa: ISEE, Fundacja "Nasz Wybór," 2015, 119–174.

¹³ Ignacy Józwiak, Joanna Konieczna-Sałamatin and Michał Tudorowski, *Bez cudzoziemców bylibyśmy ubożsi. Wizerunek cudzoziemców na łamach polskiej prasy*, Warszawa: Instytut Spraw Publicznych, 2010.

¹⁴ Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska, *Konstruowanie 'innego.' Wizerunki imigrantów w Polsce*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2007.

¹⁵ Maciej Mrozowski, "Obrazy cudzoziemców i imigrantów w Polsce," in *Integracja czy dyskryminacja? Polskie wyzwania i dylematy u progu wielokulturowości*, edited by Krystyna Iglicka, Warszawa: Instytut Spraw Publicznych, 2003; idem, *Obraz imigranta na łamach prasy*

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Research on the presentation of Ukrainian issues in the Polish press is less frequent and usually concerns the way in which certain events or actors have been portrayed. For example, Barbara Maria Mazurkiewicz analysed the image of former Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma in the *Wprost* weekly,¹⁶ while Renata Rozbicka studied the portrayal of Ukrainian politicians in the Polish press on the examples of two presidents, Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Yushchenko.¹⁷ Researchers of Polish media have also analysed the presentation of such political events as elections.¹⁸

Nevertheless, academic studies on the perception of independent Ukraine in contemporary Polish press have not been conducted to a sufficient degree. This is evidenced by the fact that only one monograph on this topic has been published. In *Ukrainian Issues in the Polish Press in 1991–1996*,¹⁹ Agnieszka Sawicz presented a wide range of events, mainly political, that took place in Ukraine from its independence to 1996, when the Ukrainian Parliament adopted the constitution. From a methodological point of view, Sawicz's monograph contains a descriptive analysis of the content of selected titles of the Polish press, which presents a wide range of issues

polskiej. Prace migracyjne 1, Warszawa: Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami. Instytut Studiów Społecznych UW, 1997.

¹⁶ Barbara Maria Mazurkiewicz, "Wizerunek Leonida Kuczmy na łamach tygodnika 'Wprost' w latach 1994–2004," *Studia Medioznawcze* 3 (34) (2008), 11–44.

¹⁷ Renata Rozbicka, "Wizerunek ukraińskiego polityka w polskich publikacjach prasowych w latach 1994–2010," in *Sąsiedztwa III RP – Ukraina. Zagadnienia społeczne*, edited by Marcin Dębicki and Julita Makaro, Wrocław: GAJT, 2015, 286–304.

¹⁸ Sylwia Maria Zakrzewska and Maryana Prokop, "Ukraińskie wybory prezydenckie w 2010 r. na łamach wybranych tytułów prasy polskiej, ukraińskiej i rosyjskiej," *Warmińsko-Mazurski Kwartalnik Naukowy. Nauki Społeczne* 2 (2012), 147–163.

¹⁹ Agnieszka Sawicz, *Problematyka ukraińska w prasie polskiej w latach 1991–1996*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2010.

concerning the relations between the two states during this period, political dialogue, economic cooperation and the problems of Polish national minorities in Ukraine and Ukrainian ones in Poland. However, the author did not analyse the issues related to Ukrainian identity.

The Orange Revolution and its frequent portrayal in the Polish press have increased the scholarly interest in the presentation of Ukraine in the Polish media. A substantial collective work edited by Robert Potocki, Agnieszka Stec and Leszek Kucz analysed the coverage of these events in various Polish daily and weekly newspapers.²⁰ In addition, several articles on this topic appeared in Polish and Ukrainian academic journals. Beata Kapinos presented the image of Ukraine during the Orange Revolution in the Polish press from the perspective of political discourse,²¹ while Henryk and Mikołaj Stroński described the general perception of these protests in the Polish mass media.²²

The most comprehensive collection of scholarly works on this topic was published in 2014. Iwona Hofman and Justyna Maguś, the editors of *The Image of Contemporary Ukraine in the Polish Media*,²³ gathered more than a dozen articles devoted to various aspects of Ukrainian issues presented in the Polish media (not only the press): history and the present, Polish-Ukrainian relations,

²⁰ Robert Potocki, Agnieszka Stec and Leszek Kucz, eds., *Lekcja Majdanu. Polskie czasopiśmiennictwo wobec pomarańczowej rewolucji*, Częstochowa: Instytut Geopolityki, 2008.

²¹ Beata Kapinos, "Wizerunek Ukrainy i Ukraińców w polskim dyskursie publicznym," *Spoleczeństwo i Polityka* 2 (31) (2012), 15–51.

²² Henryk Stroński and Mikołaj Stroński, "Rewolucja Pomarańczowa na Ukrainie w polskich masmedia w 2004 r.," *Zbiornik prats TO NTSH 3. Ukrainsko-polski vidnosyny vchora i sohodni* 3 (2007), 211–225.

²³ Iwona Hofman and Justyna Maguś, eds., *Obraz współczesnej Ukrainy w mediach w Polsce*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2014.

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politics and elections, society and culture. The contributors to the volume described the image of Ukraine and the Ukrainians in selected media, the image of certain politicians and political events, such as the 2012 parliamentary elections, and social movements, including the Orange Revolution and the activity of the feminist organisation “Femen.” Therefore, they provided solid background information on Ukrainian issues discussed by Polish journalists but did not expand our knowledge about how the identity of the independent Ukrainian state is perceived in the Polish mass media.

A part of the academic literature on the subject is devoted to the analysis of stereotypes about Ukraine and Ukrainians in the contemporary Polish press. This topic is particularly popular among researchers because the media, along with culture and family histories, contribute significantly to the creation of stereotypes about other nations.²⁴ Such analyses have appeared in both Polish and Ukrainian academic circles.²⁵ These studies

²⁴ Konieczna-Salamatin, “Kontakty...,” 77.

²⁵ Dariusz Baran, “Wizerunek Ukraińców na łamach wybranej polskiej prasy,” *Państwo i Społeczeństwo* 16 (1) (2016), 97–116; Renata Radzka, “Wizerunek Ukrainca w prasie polskiej na wybranych przykładach. Medialna struktura stereotypu narodowego,” in *Nowe zjawiska w języku, tekście i komunikacji*, edited by Alina Naruszewicz-Duchlińska and Mariusz Rutkowski, Olsztyn: Instytut Filologii Polskiej Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2006, 169–177; Mirosława Czuczupaka, “Obraz Ukrainy w regionalnej prasie lubelskiej,” *Naukovi zapysky natsionalnoho universytetu “Ostrozka akademiia”* 16 (2010), 372–375; Bogdan Brydak, “Stereotyp Ukrainca w prasie Polski południowo-wschodniej po 1989 r. na tle polskich doświadczeń historycznych,” in *Polska i Ukraina po II wojnie światowej*, edited by Włodzimierz Bonusiak, Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1998, 273–286; Maryana Prokop, “Stereotyp Ukrainca w polskim tygodniku ‘Polityka’ oraz stereotyp Polaka na łamach ‘Dzierkało Tyżnia. Ukraina,’” *Warmińsko-Mazurski Kwartalnik Naukowy. Nauki Społeczne* 3 (2013), 47–66; Mariia Pavliukh, “Stereotypy i obrazy Ukrainy ta ukrainsia u suchasniï polskii zhurnalistytsi,” *Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Serii Zhurnalistyka* 30 (2007), 253–261; Liubomyr Khakhula, “Stereotypy polsko-ukrainskykh vidnosyn u polskii presi 90-kh rr. XX st. – pochatku XXI st.,” *Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist* 17 (2008), 618–622; idem, “Ukraina i ukrainsi v ofitsiinomu