


**The Way of Presenting Political Events in Mass
Media: Interpretation of the Events at the Poland-
Belarus Border Determined by the Owner of the
Medium (the Media Content Analysis Method)**

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Abstract:

The article analyzes the media broadcasts in the evening editions of the news broadcasts on TVP and TVN (with different ownership forms) concerning the events at the Poland-Belarus border. Examined were the content, its form, visual and auditory messages. The analyzed aspects are enumerated to distinguish the broadcaster of the TV message, showing possible similarities and differences in that message. In this way, the author wanted to answer, if there is a difference in the presentation of the same political event by depending on who is the owner of the medium. As a background for the conducted research, the author presents theoretical issues concerning the mediatization of the political sphere and the agenda-setting theory.

Keywords: mediatization, political communication, political events, mass media.

Introduction

In modern democratic systems, mass media have become entities that actively participate in political communication (Saxer, 1998, p. 25). Currently, the role of the media is not limited to providing information. The potential of modern mass media in terms of communicating knowledge in a creative way and influencing the attitudes of recipients means that now the media are becoming a participant in creating public opinion, as well as a unit controlling the political circulation of communication. Media currently can influence the hierarchy of importance of current problems by the selection of events that are the basis of the message, and the manner of their presentation (Hess, 2011, p. 147). The development of the mass media has had a significant impact on the way politics is done (Piontek, 2009, p. 167). Politics is a system that cannot exist without mass media, thanks to which it achieves its goals and provides information on its activities (Michalczyk, 2009, p. 28). By contrast, the mass media determine how society

perceives politics. The media's ability to "freely" select the content and form of information provided, as well as the very selection of it, is used (Hess, 2013, p. 85).

This paper aims to analyze and compare the media coverage in the evening news broadcasts aired by TVP and TVN (with different ownership forms) concerning the events at the Poland-Belarus border. The author thus wishes to answer whether there is a difference in the media's presentation of the same political event depending on the form of media ownership.

For this research, the author used the media content analysis method. This method enables the systematic examination of collections of messages. Knowing their content, it becomes possible to learn about other conditions and elements of the communication process (Pisarek, 1983, p. 45).

Mediatization

The media play an important role in shaping (and co-creating) public opinion and the attitudes of recipients. The way various events are perceived by society, as well as the understanding of problems in public life, depend to a large extent on how they are presented by the media. The media provide ways of interpreting the presented facts, information about who is an authority and who is not, they also provide patterns of behavior and patterns of "normality" regardless of the meaning of this concept, as well as the desired aspirations due to national affiliation, religion, politics, or political identification or gender (Siemieńska, 1997, p. 9).

Mediatization describes the process of changes that are caused by the process of communication in the cultural and social environment, as well as, in the relations of the participants, both with each other and with the aforementioned environment (Silverstone, 2005, p. 189) within the framework of rules established and imposed by the media (Molęda-Zdziech, 2012, p. 14). Mediatization reflects how mediation (taken as a reference to the process of communication as an intermediary in creating meanings) began to change with the emergence of different types of media. Thus, mediatization is characterized by greater detail in analyzing the role of the media in the process of socio-cultural change (Hepp & Krotz, 2014, p. 3). According to F. Krotz (2009, p. 24), mediatization is one of the four meta-processes (next to globalization, commercialization, and individualization) influencing modernity (or a contemporary novelty).

Pisarek (2006, p. 118) defines mediatization as a process in which the media interfere in getting to know the world. They contribute to how people perceive a reality that is directly

inaccessible to them. This interference, however, means that media constructions can contribute to shaping the image of social reality or the very social experiences. Moreover, the media do not faithfully reflect reality, but distort it under the influence of various media factors, such as technology, culture, or market rules, which result from the assumed logic of the particular media. As a result, journalistic practices regarding the selection of broadcast material, as well as, the construction of the image of the presented world, play a key role in the mediatization process.

Based on a literature review, Molęda-Zdziech (2013, p. 35) indicates three perspectives in which the concept of mediatization is used. According to the broadest perspective, mediatization may itself lead to and constitute an independent research concept. It may also refer to selected perspectives, such as the mediatization of society, consumption, religion, or politics. In the narrowest sense, the concept of mediatization is used to study certain fragments of reality or case studies, such as the mediatization of the global industry of specific products, mediatization of tourist experiences, or mediatization of politics in a specific country. It is in this approach, based on the analysis of a fragment of reality, that it will be treated in this study.

Mediatization may contribute to changes in the perception of reality, and often, even its subjective loss. At the same time, it creates new opportunities in terms of various aspects of communication. As a result, mediatization treated as a scientific category contains a lot of theoretical and analytical potential (Michalczyk, 2009, p. 32). Molęda-Zdziech (2012, p. 11) indicates that mediatization in the context of media theories is part of the trend of theories that describe the one-sided dependence of a human being on the media (agenda-setting hypothesis or the theory of cultivation) and the theory, which indicates relationships based on reciprocity (e.g., the spiral of silence theory or the utility and gratification theory). Regarding this study, the author would like to pay special attention to the theories describing the one-sided influence of media on humans.

The theory relating to the concept of agenda-setting assumes that the media define the scope and hierarchy of importance of media messages, setting the direction of the recipients' thinking, even if they do not directly determine their views. This means that media recipients not only receive up-to-date information about domestic and foreign events, but also gain conviction about the value and importance of individual problems. Thus, this hypothesis emphasizes the ability of the mass media to shape the cognitive structure of recipients (Goban-Klas, 2008, p. 267). McCombs (2008, p. 141) points of view to two levels of the theory's effects: the extent to

which the media devotes full attention to a given issue and how the issue is presented. These elements influence the opinions and point of view of the audience.

The framework theory is considered to be the second level of the agenda-setting theory (Dobrołowicz, 2017, p. 28). The framework theory is based on the assumption that there are different points of view of a given phenomenon (framework) that are determined by the senders of a message. The use of the framework may be the result of the subconscious actions of the sender or the author of the message, as well as deliberate actions, for example, convincing recipients to a specific way of interpreting a given event or the types of decisions made by politicians (Wasilewski, 2019, p. 96). As a result of media messages, society forms an opinion about specific events and the degree of their importance, for example, based on the time devoted to the given information as compared to other information (Napieralski, 2010, p. 26).

The cultivation theory assumes that among all modern media, television occupies a central place in everyday human life, and the (distorted) image of reality has replaced direct experiences and other ways of cognition. Watching television contributes to adopting views related to the nature of the social world, which are selective, stereotypical, and present a distorted picture of reality that is regularly presented in fictional and informative programs. Cultivation is gradual and based on accumulation. Information is pre-acquired, based on which a specific view of social reality is developed (McQuail, 2008, p. 486). Television is a kind of "arm of the official, industrial order aimed at maintaining, consolidating and strengthening conventional views and behaviors" (Gross, 1977, p. 180). As a result, television creates an almost comprehensive symbolic environment for its viewers, providing views on everyday life situations and norms of behavior, thus ceasing to be a reflection of reality in the form of a window to the world, and becoming a reality in itself (McQuail, 2008, p. 486).

Political communication

In the science of communication, mass media is usually viewed through the prism of an active subject in the process of political communication that controls the political circulation of communication. Thus, the role of the media ceased to be based solely on providing information and reacting to events. The mass media selects events and also prioritizes current problems. The possibility of presenting the same topics in different ways plays an important role in justifying political decisions (Hess, 2013, p. 84-85).

According to Dobek-Ostrowska (2012, p. 159), as a result of the media's influence mediatization is the modernization and transformation of the public zone as well as changes in the behavior of participants in political communication. Due to the significant position of mass media in the process of shaping political will, media success is a functional condition for success in the politics (Kepplinger, 2007, p. 134-137). Mass media are an irreplaceable tool for the implementation of electoral and government functions and an ally of political parties, as the media is indispensable in the process of social communication. They enable political actors to participate in debates, promote their candidates and program, and inform the general public about their decisions and intentions. At the same time, politicians strive for the media to favorably emphasize the activity of given politicians and speak unfavorably about their rivals (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2011, p. 65).

In a way, the notion of political reality complements the definition of mediatization. Political reality can be defined through the prism of a set of three categories: objective reality, consisting of events in their actual form, subjective reality based on the way political events are perceived by citizens and political actors, and created reality which results from the description of events by the media (Dobek-Ostrowska & Wiszniowski, 2001, p. 126).

The role of television in shaping reality

The essence of the television message is an image, and more specifically a series of images that form blocks, themes, sequences and shots (Zdrowicka-Wawrzyniak, 2012, p. 71-72), which, according to the definition of Pisarek (2006, p. 216), reflects the concept of television understood as "the transmission of light images over a distance using electrical signals, as well as the reproduction of moving images with accompanying sounds at the reception site". The word, on the other hand, helps to understand the meaning of the image or complements it, which adds additional meanings to it (Żórawski, 2004, p. 38).

Television is the basic and greatest source of information not only for viewers, but also for actors of the political scene, being at the same time a link between them. From the point of view of politicians, thanks to television it becomes possible not only to present their programs and ideas but also - thanks to polls - to obtain information about their voters. For the viewers, however, it is a source of satisfying their needs and a tool enabling the formation of an opinion on individual political elites (Giereło-Klimaszewska, 2008, p. 72). For many viewers, television

is the only form of social contact with the outside world. By referring to a specific program and using its content, recipients satisfy their needs for information, knowledge, learning, advice, or finding support for their values (Fiske, 1999, p. 191-193).

The media, which act as a liaison between the sender and the recipient of the message in the case of political communication and political power, become an intermediary between political broadcasters and citizens. The media can also create their political messages through journalists and producers who guided by certain political preferences, prejudices, or stereotypes, can significantly exceed the limits of reporting specific issues (McNair, 1998, p. 90). Therefore, television is not a "window to the world" as it does not show reality directly. The displayed image is not "raw" but "prepared". It is also not "watched" but "peeped on", which means that it may be subject to falsification and even manipulation (Bralczyk, 1990, p. 24).

Television offers the fastest, broadest, and most effective (next to computers) presentation, which makes it the most important carrier of information related to politics in contemporary political systems. The development of technology makes it possible to use a variety of visual, graphic, musical, and verbal elements. It is also possible to use different rhetoric: from debates or discussions to talk shows and interviews. Television must not require the imagination to be activated, as it is replaced by images and sounds which are an attractive form of presenting information to viewers (Giereł-Klimaszewska, 2008, p. 69).

Relationship between media and political power

Dobek-Ostrowska (2011, p. 69-72) points out that there are no completely independent and free media in the world. Even if the media strive to comply with certain norms and try to maintain high standards, they are exposed to influences from the external environment, even in countries with a long democratic tradition. The author points out that the basic determinant of media bias is media ownership. The consequence of this is the dominant visibility of politicians towards journalists and media personnel, as well as the influence of political groups on the content of messages. As a result, as illustrated by the practice of the functioning of public media in Poland, inconvenient messages or their fragments, as well as specific journalists, are eliminated from the broadcasts.

Media bias plays an important role in politics, because the interconnection of media workers and their owners with politicians, especially during the election period, can have a

significant impact on both public opinion and electoral preferences (McNair, 1998, p. 33). Dobek-Ostrowska (2011, p. 86-87) indicates two variants of the asymmetrical relationship of power and media: the weak position of the media with a strong political actor, where the political party dominates over the media that are subordinate to the ruling and highly politicized groups. In the case of private media, we can talk about the second variant, which is the strong position of the media in the face of the weak position of a given political actor. In this case, private media are characterized by a certain resistance to political influences.

One of the main conditions of the proper functioning of public media broadcasters is right supervision and management. Regarding the general theory of public media, an effective system to serve the public interest must have certain structural conditions. They are determined by factors such as: the basis of the activity formulated in the form of a mission and statute, the existence of mechanisms ensuring accountability to the general public of the whole society, at least partial financing from public funds and independence from the government (McQuail, 2008, p. 192).

Since 2013, the Broadcasting Act in Poland regulates the activity of television and radio. According to it, public television is obliged to carry out public missions in the form of offering various programs, as well as other services in the scope of information, education, culture, entertainment, sport, and journalism, characterized by balance, pluralism, independence and impartiality with integrity and high quality, and innovation of the message (Ustawa o radiofonii i telewizji, 1992).

In 2016, the National Media Council was established as a new state body resulting from the media reform (Ustawa o Radzie Mediów Narodowych, 2016). It took over some of the powers belonging to the National Broadcasting Council, such as appointing and dismissing the authorities of public media. Grzesiok-Horosz (2019, p. 105-106), in her work on the legitimacy of establishing a new body, points out that the current method of appointing supervisory and management boards of public radio and television companies has changed (the number of these bodies has been reduced, the term of office of their functioning has been abrogated, the records regarding the need to openly hold competitions for the positions of management boards and supervisory boards in public television and radio broadcasting units have been removed, and the provisions on the length of the member's term of office and the list of grounds for their dismissal have been abolished), which is treated as enabling the Minister of The Treasury considerable

freedom and subjectivity in dismissing the above-mentioned entities without the need to indicate clear premises for these decisions. The judgment of the Constitutional Tribunal of 13 December 2016 indicates the unconstitutionality of depriving the National Broadcasting Council of participation in the appointment and dismissal of the authorities of TVP and Polish Radio in appoint of a new body (the National Media Council), which is associated with the government, thus treating the National Media Council as a politicized organ.

The TV stations analyzed in the study have different forms of ownership. Telewizja Polska (TVP) is a Polish public television broadcaster that is also a joint-stock company of the State Treasury. Since 1993, the Broadcasting Act has obligated Television to pursue a clearly defined public mission (*Ustawa o radiofonii i telewizji, 1992*). The subsequent amendments to the act (*Ustawa o zmianie ustawy o radiofonii i telewizji, 2015*) were allegedly aimed at ensuring the ruling party's control over the National Broadcasting Council (which is an institution regulating the media market), as well as by selecting positions over public broadcasters (*Pallus, 2016*). There was also a noticeable direct relationship between these people and the political party Law and Justice (PiS) (*Sikora, 2017*). The public support from TVP towards Andrzej Duda during the election campaigns was noticed during the election campaigns, who a few months earlier signed the law transferring two billion zlotys to the state media, mainly TVP (*Pawk & mb, 2020*). From 2020, the operation of television is financed mainly from the state budget in the form of compensation for lost revenues from subscription fees (*TVP, 2021*).

TVN is a Polish commercial television station that currently belongs to the Discovery Inc. media group (*TVN, 2018*). Over the years, this station has been punished many times for breaking the provisions of the Broadcasting Act, such as insulting national symbols (*Domagalski, 2013*), presenting drastic and vulgar content at a protected time (*PP, 2015*), or disseminating discriminatory content (*pp, 2015*). In July 2021, the legislative process to amend the Broadcasting Act began the suspension of licenses for entities not belonging to the European Economic Area, if their share in the company that owns a given television medium that broadcasts in the territory of Poland exceeds 49% (*Czermiński, 2021*).

In Poland, hostile relations between the ruling party and the stations belonging to the TVN group can be observed, for example, the boycott of the then ruling party (PiS) lasting many months in the year 2008 caused by the offensive statement made in one of the programs broadcasted by TVN (*TVN, 2008*). The illustrated relations between the media and the authorities

show that to understand the message well, it is important to refer to the knowledge about the sender, recipient, communication context, or other external conditions.

Methods

The research technique used for this study is media content analysis. It serves the objective, quantitative and systematic description of the content of public communication. In this case, objectivity is a postulate rather than a necessary condition and refers to making the method repeatable and transparent through the use of clearly formulated and uniform rules. The quantitative nature of media content analysis comes down to counting specific elements and measuring the intensity of certain features and comparing groups of texts under these aspects, or comparing the analyzed group of texts with an assumed pattern. Systematically, on the other hand, imposes the condition that the selection of the sample should be ordered according to clearly explainable and transparent rules, thus necessitating the organization of research units according to the same criteria and the analysis of messages using the same tools and identical rules identically. Both the process of drawing specific conclusions must be open and the conclusions themselves must be based on the open content of the message (Lisowska-Magdziarz, 2004, p. 13-15).

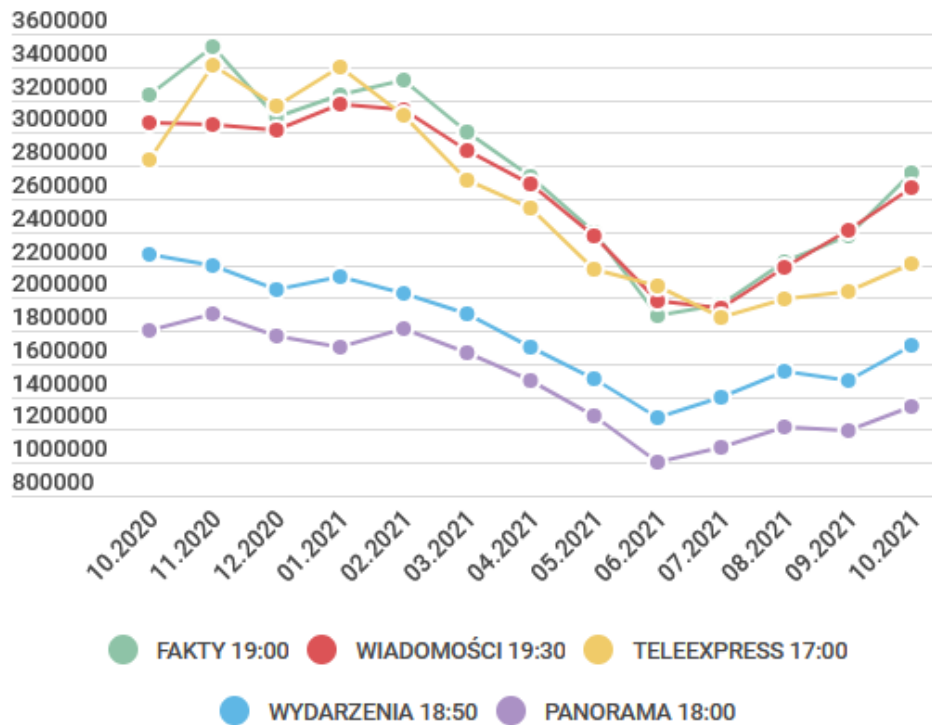
Because the mass media at any time produce a number of materials impossible to be analyzed, the entire content of the media cannot be examined. Media content analysis allows for the examination of only a small part of all messages, allowing for some freedom in designing research activities. Therefore, it enables the description of a certain fragment of reality indicated according to the adopted and defined assumptions.

This study is an overview. The author's goal is to compare media reports on the events on the Polish-Belarusian border in selected news programs using media content analysis, and at the same time, he tries to answer the question of whether the media presents events in different ways depending on the sender (forms of media ownership). It should be noted that the study did not cover the genesis and course of the situation itself, but only the media image that accompanies it in audiovisual messages.

This study will analyze the evening news programs broadcast by TVN and TVP tv stations, i.e., “Fakty” TVN (TVN FACTS) broadcasted at 7:00 p.m. and “Wiadomości” TVP

(TVP NEWS) broadcasted at 7:30 p.m. The selection of these programs is dictated by their highest viewership (Chart 1), as well as the similar duration of individual episodes.

Chart 1: TV audience share between October 2020 and October 2021



Source: <https://www.wirtualnemedi.pl/artykul/fakty-na-czele-programow-informacyjnych-w-pazdzierniku>

The study was conducted on the complete material in the form of video recordings of evening news programs broadcast on TVN and TVP from the period from November 15, 2021, to November 21, 2021. The sample material was selected based on objective conditions related to the subject matter under study, which means that only those blocks related to the situation at the Poland-Belarus border were selected from the news programs. The author will not examine the entire schedule of a given issue of the news, but will limit themselves to presenting and comparing only materials relating to the analyzed situation. The adopted scheme of conduct will be consistently applied in each of the analyzed materials.

The content of the conflict at the Poland-Belarus border was analyzed by analyzing the content, form, as well as, visual and audio content of messages. Thus, the examination covered

both the verbal and non-verbal side, text and image at the same time. The author also indicates the sender of each broadcast (type of broadcasting station).

The type of analysis performed can be described as both synchronous, due to the examination of simultaneously appearing texts, and diachronic, where texts that appeared in the media for a specified period of time were examined. The presented in the article content analysis is based on a statistical model, which is a systematic and organized description of a certain fragment of media reality at a certain point in time. In this case, the emphasis is on the description of the elements found in the message due to the number, frequency, or intensity of the elements contained in the material examined.

To analyze the content of selected materials, categorization was used, which is an activity consisting in combining into specific groups of elements, objects that meet the criteria common for a given group. The category is understood here as an abstract concept that is a set of elements that share common features, distinguishing them from other elements that do not have these features (Lisowska-Magdziarz, 2004, p. 54). The conceptual grid superimposed on the reading of the material will make it possible to indicate how the messages in the analyzed material are grouped based on the features that are connected on the one hand and distinguishable on the other. In practice, the categorization key will be a questionnaire containing a set of issues that are important from the point of view of this study and will apply to each unit under study. This means that the questionnaire will be the same for each of the tested materials, which will allow the results to be summarized and presented in a statistical form.

Results

As part of the evening news of TVP and TVN, thematic blocks concerning the situation at the Poland-Belarus border were analyzed. Within each block, individual sequences (the so-called hundreds and offs) were analyzed, thus constituting the smallest messages recorded in the study. The threshold of detail of the analysis determined in this way meant that the given information was not broken down into smaller parts. The following content aspects were taken into account in the analysis:

- length of time in the publication of the message which was allocated to the presentation of issues related to the topic in question,
- the order in the schedule of the show,

- people appearing in the material,
- the nature of the statements of individual people,
- pictures and sound effects to accompany the statements,

which constitute the research corpus.

In the analyzed material, the frequency of the above-mentioned elements was counted (i.e. the frequency of occurrence of the elements significant from the point of view of the research objective), their intensity was measured and compared with one another in order to find similarities and differences (distinguishing between the broadcasting station). The results are given as a percentage.

The time in the publication of the news which was allocated to the presentation of issues related to the situation at the Poland-Belarus border, varied depending on the day and the broadcasting station (ranging from 5.27 to 12.09 minutes in the case of “Wiadomości” TVP and 3.10 to 11.56 minutes for “Fakty” TVN). Detailed data are presented in Chart 2. Chart 3 presents the percentage share of materials devoted to the situation on the Polish-Belarusian border in the scale of the entire news release. It is worth noting that while in the case of TVP stations the news lasted about 30 minutes, in the case of TVN this time was shortened with each release (from about 31 minutes in the case of the first four analyzed periods to 26-21 minutes in the last days of study).

Chart 2: Total duration of the thematic blocks devoted to the situation at the Poland-Belarus border

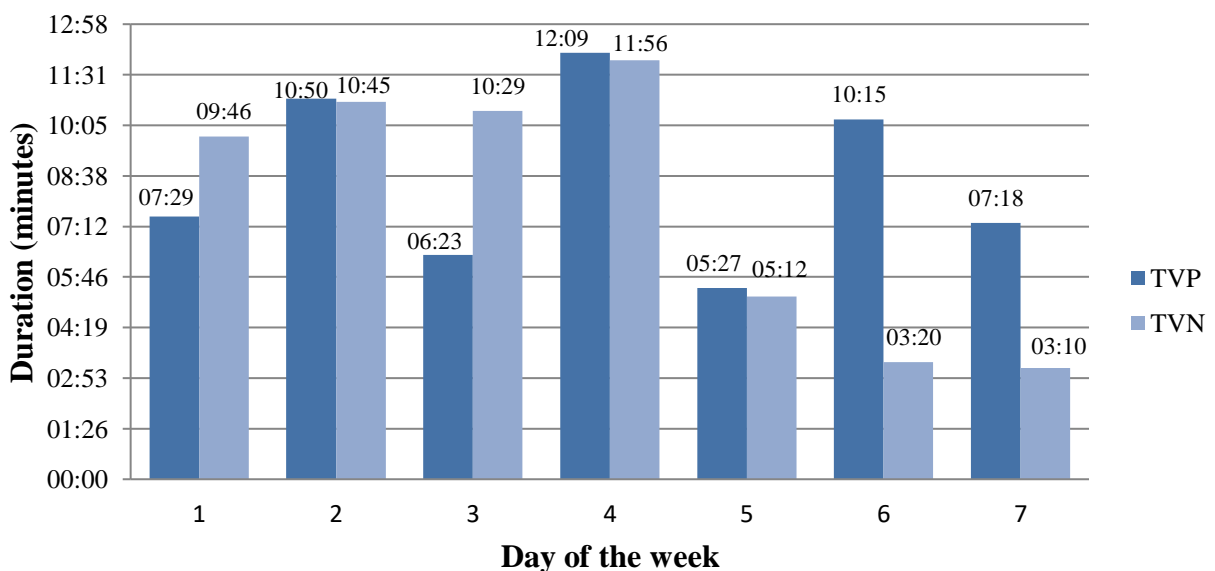
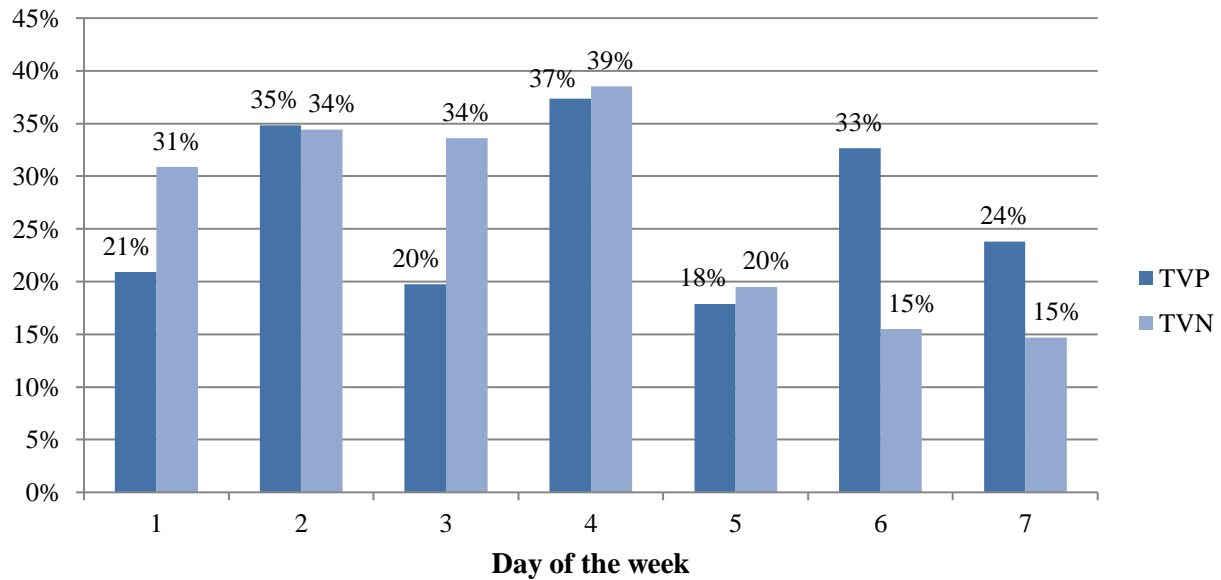


Chart 3: Percentage share of blocks devoted to the situation at the Poland-Belarus border in the scale of the entire news episode



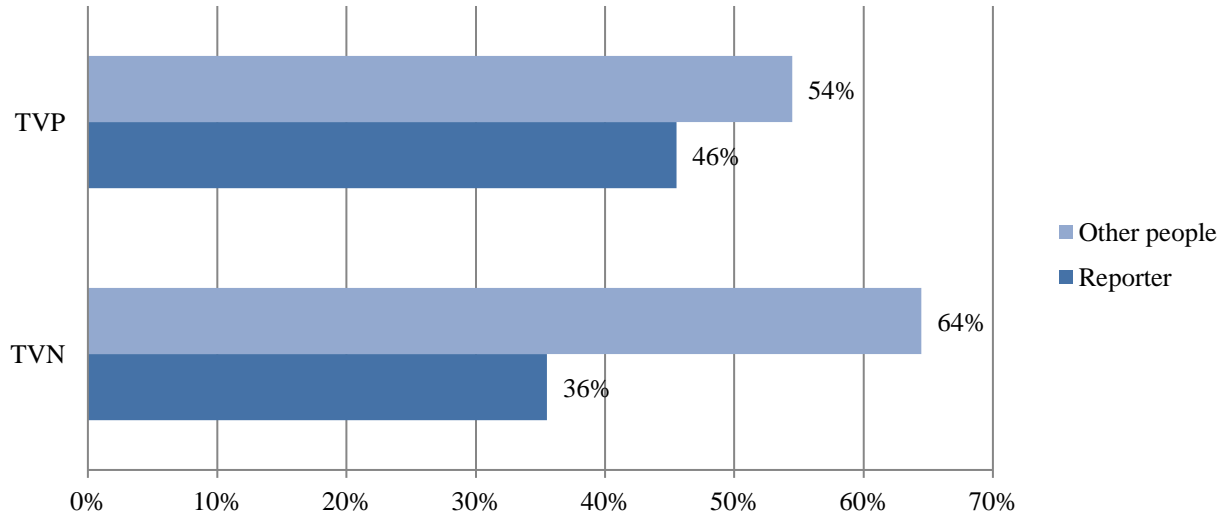
Throughout the analyzed period, the discussed subject matter occupied the first place in the editions of news broadcast by the TVP station. In the case of TVN, it was the first to be presented for only three days (the first two and the last), and on the remaining days, it was ranked second (Table 1).

Table 1: Order of the topic in the schedule

	15.11.2021	16.11.2021	17.11.2021	18.11.2021	19.11.2021	20.11.2021	21.11.2021
TVP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
TVN	1	1	2	2	2	2	1

In the case of both analyzed TV stations, the statements of individual persons dominated the statements of the reporter. In the case of TVP, the discrepancy was smaller (54% of people's statements compared to 46% of the reporter's statements) than in the case of TVN (64% of various people's statements compared to 36% of the reporter's statements), as illustrated in Chart 4.

Chart 4: The entity speaking in the material depends on the broadcasting station



The most common comments in the analyzed material were made by the government representatives (TVP: 24%, TVN: 22%). The next most spoken group was politicians, whose presence dominated the materials broadcast by TVN (29%) compared to TVP (5%). Due to the party affiliation of the most frequently speaking politicians, the following can be indicated: PiS (11 statements), Koalicja Obywatelska (6 statements), PO (5 statements), Nowa Lewica (4 statements), and Koło Parlamentarne Polska 2050 (3 statements) in the case of TVN and 5 statements made by PiS representative in the case of TVP (Chart 6), where the main speaker was the president of the political party. The presence of statements by a representative of uniformed units accounted for 18% (TVP) and 9% (TVN) of all appearances. Both stations had a similar percentage of journalists' statements in the studio compared to the statements of all people appearing in the material (TVP: 13%, TVN: 12%). The statements of foreign politicians were cited to a lesser extent (TVP: 14%, TVN: 10%). Journalists conducting an in-person interview in the field were more often shown on TVN (7%) than on TVP (1%). Statements of ordinary citizens (TVP: 5%, TVN: 2%), and people belonging to other social groups, were the least cited. In the case of TVP, they were mainly industry specialists, scientists, and journalists, while on TVN - social activists and entrepreneurs (Chart 5).

Chart 5: People who most often express themselves in the broadcasted materials

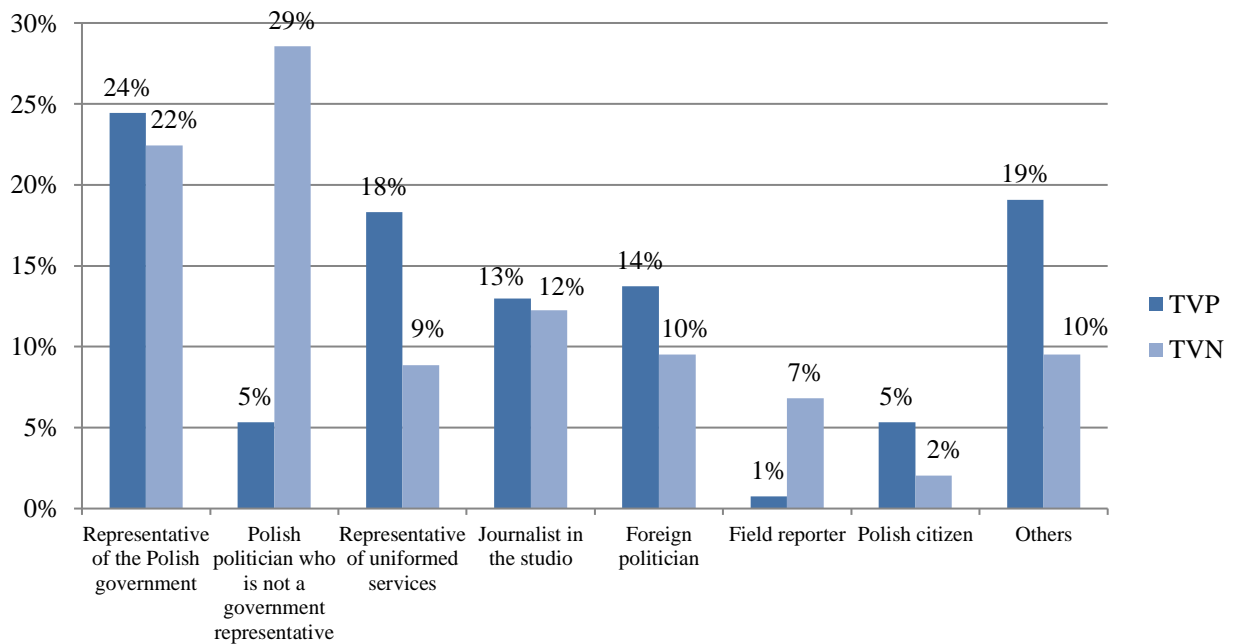
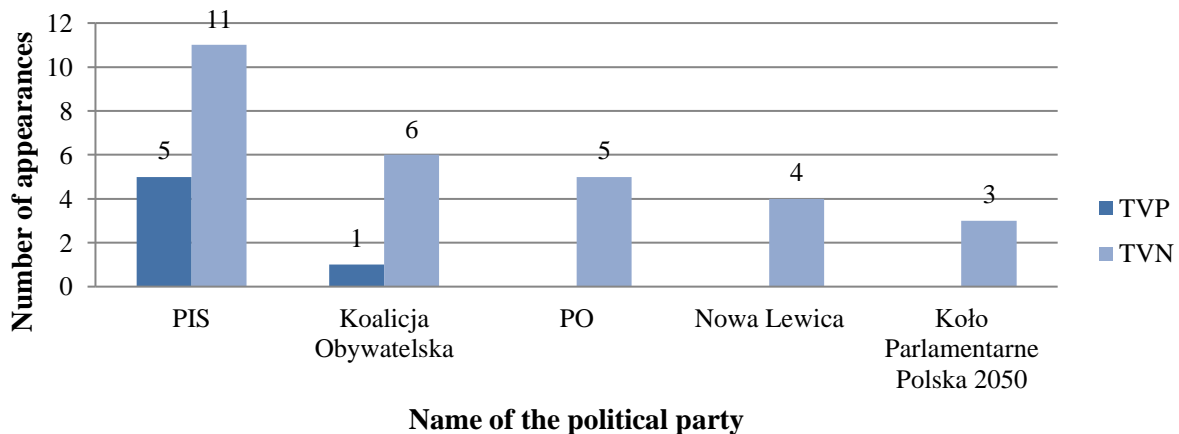
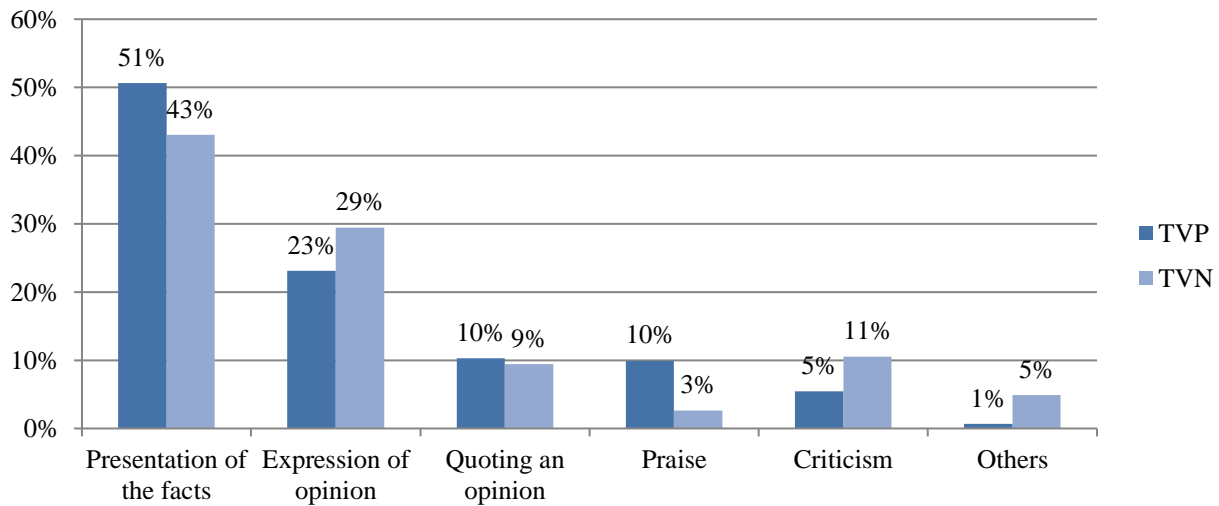


Chart 6: Party affiliation of the most frequently speaking politicians



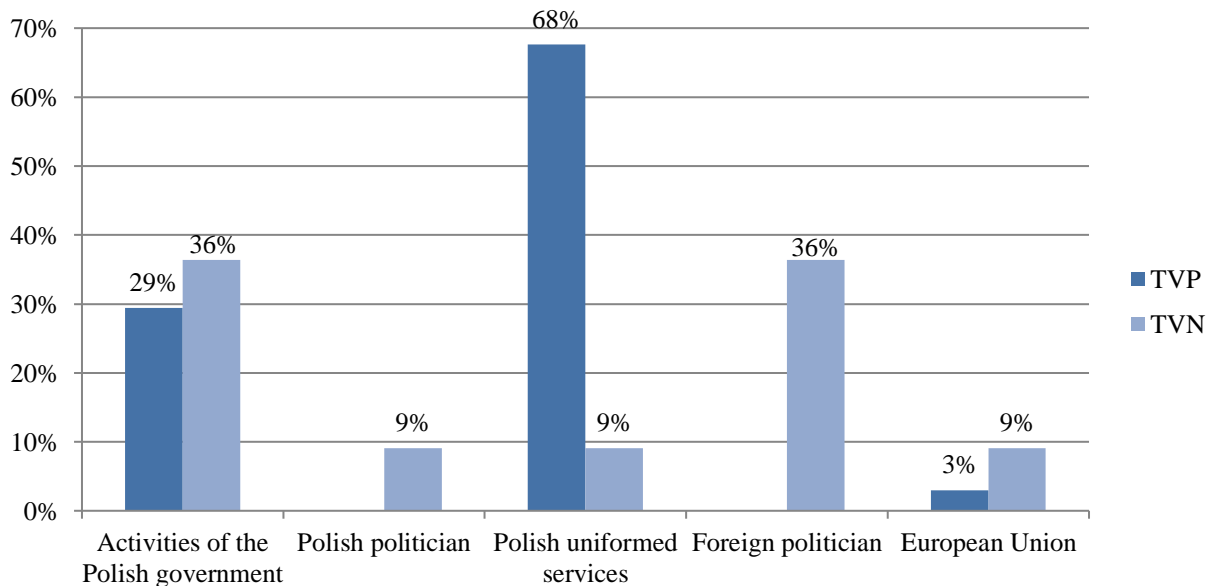
In the analyzed editions of news, facts were most often presented, which accounted for 51% of the character of all statements on the air of TVP and 43% in the case of TVN. Opinions were presented more often in the news of TVN (29%) than TVP (23%). Opinions of other people were cited to a lesser extent (TVP: 10%, TVN: 9%). In the analyzed materials, praise statements appeared more often on TVP (10%) than TVN (3%). The opposite was true for criticism (TVP: 5%) and (TVN: 11%). Among other statements in the TVP news, there were appeals, while in the case of TVN, allegations of telling the truth, attempts to ridicule, threats, and offers of help (Chart 7).

Chart 7: General nature of the speech



In the “Wiadomości” by TVP, the most frequent subject of praise were the Polish uniformed units (68% of all praise), the actions of the Polish government (29% of all praise), and the European Union (3% of all praise). In the case of "Fakty” by TVN, the Polish government and foreign politicians (36% each), as well as Polish politicians, Polish uniformed units, and the European Union (9% of all praise) were praised equally, as shown in Chart 8.

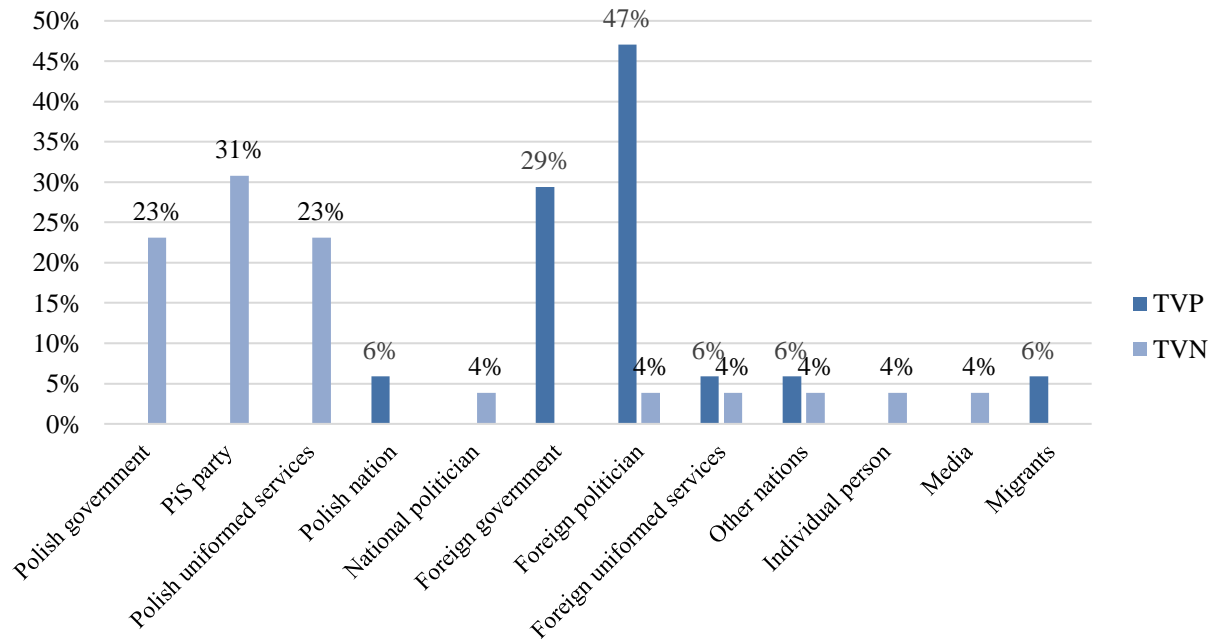
Chart 8: The item of praise



Criticism on TVP was most often the subject of foreign politicians (47%) and foreign governments (29%) and to a small extent migrants and the Polish nation (6% each). The dominant subject of criticism in the TVN news was the PiS party (31%), the Polish government

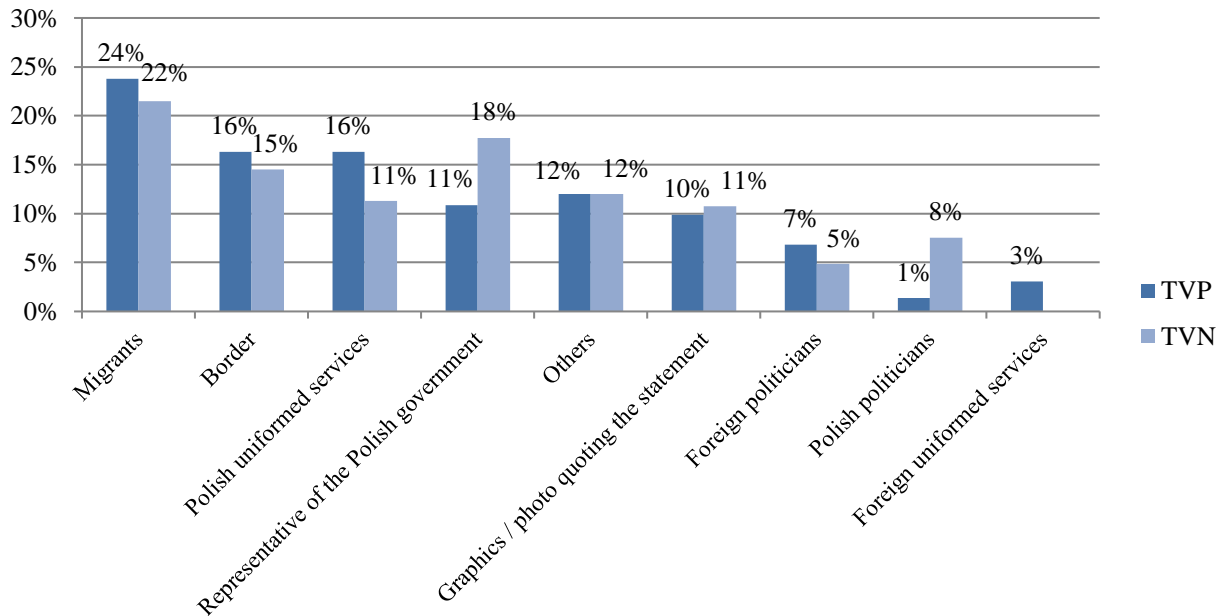
and Polish uniformed services (23% each), as well as, to a small extent, other nations, domestic and foreign politicians, foreign uniformed units, the media and individuals (4% each) as shown in Chart 9.

Chart 9: The subject of criticism



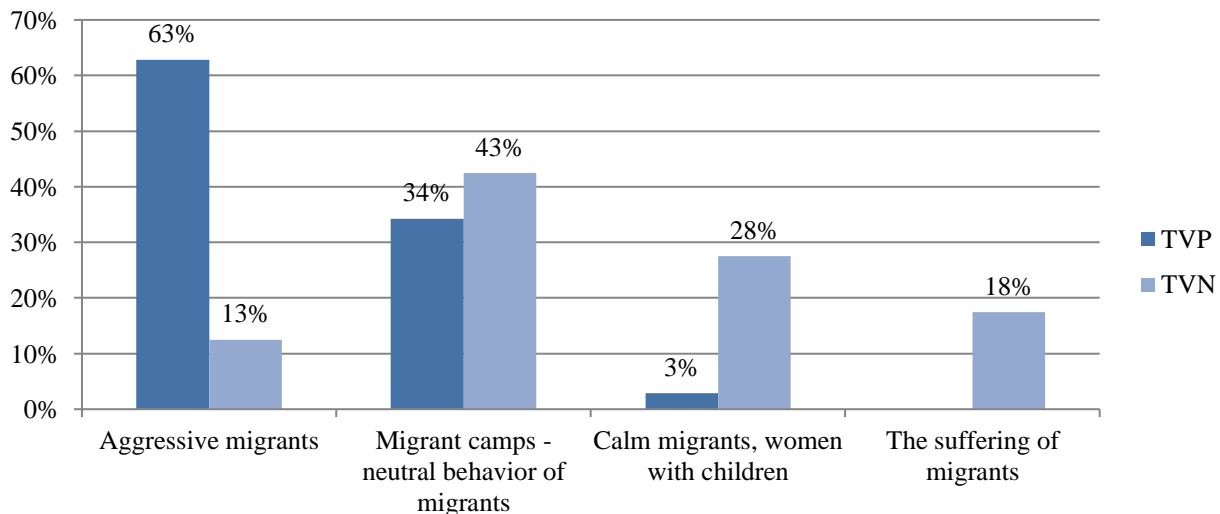
The most common images in the material are photos and videos of migrants, which in the case of “Wiadomości” by TVP accounted for as much as 24% of all images, and in the case of “Fakty” by TVN - 22%. The materials also featured shots and photos of the Poland-Belarus border (both in the form of barbed wire fences and border crossings), accounting for 16% of all images presented in the TVP news and 15% in the TVN news. In the case of news broadcast on TVP, the uniformed units constituted 16% of all images, while in the case of TVN 11%. This station showed representatives of the Polish government much more often (18%) than TVP (11%). Other presented images include shots of airports, government buildings, military training grounds, churches, children, agritourism farms, nature, etc., but their great diversity combined with low repetition would disturb the transparency of the presented data, so they were not listed in the chart. All discussed news programs also featured graphics and photos citing various statements (10% on TVP and 11% on TVN), as well as, foreign politicians (TVP: 7%, TVN: 5%) and Polish non-government representatives (TVP: 1%, TVN: 8%). Foreign uniformed units were shown only on TVP (3%). These data are illustrated in Chart 10.

Chart 10: Images appearing in the news about the situation on the Polish-Belarusian border on TVP and TVN



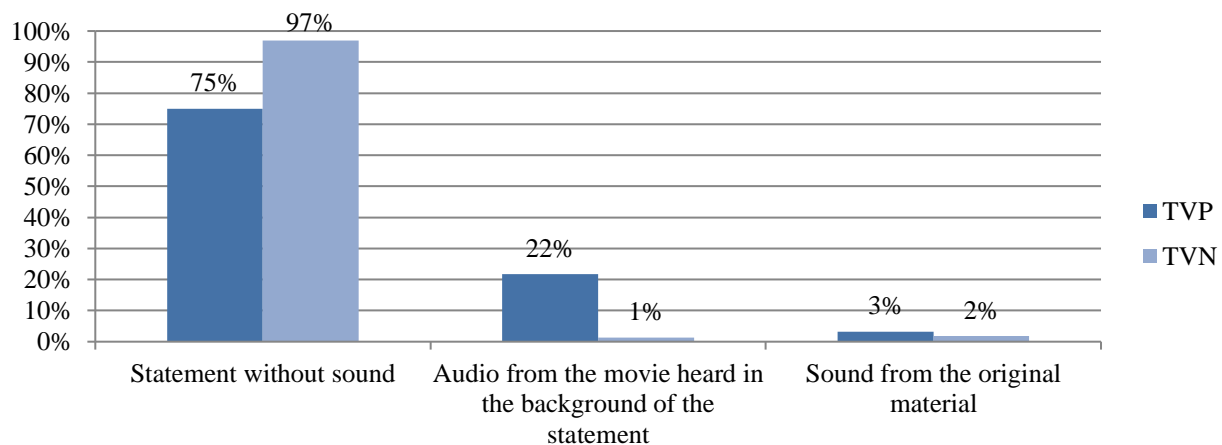
Migrants on TVP were mostly presented as aggressors (63%), where they were shown as such on TVN only in 13% of all materials. The materials also featured films of migrant's camps or presented them in a neutral character (TVP: 34%, TVN: 43%). Films of migrants shown as calm people or women with children constituted only 3% of the images broadcasted on TVP materials and as much as 28% on TVN. The TVN station also showed migrants as suffering people who secretly receive minimal help from border residents in 18% of all images presented (Chart 11).

Chart 11: The way of presenting migrants



In the case of news from both stations, statements with no background sound dominated (75% on TVP, 97% on TVN). The reports presented both photos and video materials. The sounds in their presentations that could be heard in the background of the reporter, were much more frequent in the case of TVP (22%) than in TVN (1%). It is worth adding that while the reporter's statements were often accompanied by photos without any background music, the films in the case of TVP always had an audible sound from the recording (for example, in the materials depicting the situation at the border, screams or stone hits were heard), while in the case of TVN they were almost completely muted (Chart 12).

Chart 12: Type of soundtrack



Conclusion

The media plays an important role in learning and shaping reality. The process by which the media mediate in getting to know the world was described by Pisarek (2006, p. 118) as mediatization. Due to various factors, the images conveyed by the media may be distorted and thus not reflect reality. According to Dobek-Ostrowska (2011, p. 69-72), one of these factors, as well as the basic determinant of media bias, is media ownership. The cited agenda-setting theory assumes that the information presented in the media is selected and assigned by a different hierarchy of importance. At the same time, the way of presentation may be different. Thus, media coverage concerning the same information, but constructed by different broadcasters, may contribute to the shaping of different directions of thinking and the cognitive structure of recipients, as well as society's opinion on specific topics.

TVP and TVN are the most important television stations on the media market in Poland, which are characterized by various forms of ownership. The most-watched news programs are "Wiadomości" by TVP (public broadcaster) and "Fakty" by TVN (private broadcaster).

Summarizing the results of the research carried out using the media content analysis method, one can notice differences in the presentation of the same event (the situation on the Polish-Belarusian border) on the discussed TV stations.

The news releases had different duration in individual TV stations (they were similar only in two cases) and lasted for TVP stations from 5.25 to 12.09 minutes (the percentage share in the entire issue ranged from 18% to 37 %), and in the case of TVN from 3.10 to 11.56 minutes (the percentage share in the entire edition ranged from 15% to 39%). In the case of TVP, the problem of the situation on the Polish-Belarusian border was presented as the first one in each news issue, while on the air of TVN three times as the first and four times as the second.

The materials were dominated by statements of various people (including representatives of the Polish government, politicians who are not representatives of the government, representatives of uniformed units (such as police, army, border patrol), or journalists in the studio) over the voice of the reporter, but the discrepancy was greater in the case of TVN (lower number of statements by the reporter than on TVP). It is worth mentioning here that the reporter can provide a specific framework for interpreting the fragmentary statements and images that appear after his announcement. The materials most often cited statements by representatives of the government and uniformed units in general terms, and they dominated the air of the TVP station. TVN, on the other hand, more often cited statements of politicians who are not representatives of the government.

The dominant nature of statements for both stations was presenting facts and then expressing opinions about them. TVP most often praised the Polish uniformed units and the activities of the Polish government, while TVN praised foreign politicians and also the activities of the Polish government. Criticized, on the other hand, were most often the foreign governments and foreign politicians in the case of TVP, and in the case of TVN, the PiS party, the Polish government, and domestic uniformed units were censured.

The most common images in the analyzed materials were migrants, the border, as well as Polish uniformed units. The TVP station mainly presented migrants as aggressors, while TVN was dominated by images of calm, often suffering people and women with children. While in most cases the statements were not accompanied by any sounds, it is worth noting that when video materials were used as a background for the reporter's statements, in the case of TVN they did not have any audible sound, while in the case of TVP the sounds were audible, and sometimes projecting come to the fore.

From the example of the analyzed event, one can observe the considerable difference in presenting the same topic concerning political events. In the analyzed editions of TVP and TVN news, the most significant difference was the image of migrants (accompanied by the media shots to increase the credibility of a given message), as well as, the special setting created for the activities of Polish uniformed units (on the one hand praise and showing expressions of support, on the other hand, criticism).

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