

Agnieszka Węglińska

Dolnośląska Szkoła Wyższa [University of Lower Silesia]
ORCID 0000-0002-2573-5981

PUBLIC TELEVISION IN POLAND (TVP) AND JOURNALISTS – A TECHNOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

Abstract

This paper addresses the place of Poland's public television network, Telewizja Polska (TVP) within the country's media system. The role of journalists is an important element of public media. In an author view Poland's public media as part of a system of polarised pluralism, as described in Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini's classification. The main aspect of this research is that of TVP's transformation in its approach to technology. Journalists who started working in the 1990s have different attitudes from younger staff to the network's public objectives. They are usually less competent in new media and less concerned about technological convergence and social media. The research involved unstructured interviews with TVP journalists.

Key words: public service media, TVP, journalism, media system, social media, new technology

Introduction

This article considers increasingly visible trends affecting Poland's public media, pointing to the technological revolution which strongly influence the operations and content of the public broadcaster, Polish Television (Telewizja Polska – TVP).

After 1989 Poland's media system – much like the entire country – was transformed. During the first months and years of this transformation, a competitive press market developed; after the Broadcasting Act took effect in 1993, a dual media system came into being and took shape, based on the co-existence of public and commercial media.¹

¹ K. Pokorna-Ignatowicz, *Polish Public Television as "Political Loot"*, "Studia Medioznawcze" [Media Studies] 2010, no. 2(41), pp. 39–48.

Economic and social transformations also began, in parallel with constitutional change.² A media market arose, at first without a suitable legal mandate. In those times, the most important processes affecting the mass media were the commercialisation of the press, the inflow of foreign capital, the appearance of private audiovisual broadcasters and increased competitiveness. At the beginning of the twentieth century the technological revolution was initiated in media system of Poland.

The most important features that distinguish a public broadcaster include the way in which the public system is financed, its general accessibility, a distinct set of legal regulations within the media system and the fulfilment of its mission – pursuing public objectives.³ The public media's remit is a key argument for their existence: if the public broadcaster has no objectives to fulfil, it is hard to argue that its financing is legitimate.⁴ In European democracies, citizens pay public broadcasters – through subscriptions, taxes or other means of support – to pursue public objectives.

Polish media system was classified as one of polarised pluralism and justified this classification with reference to literature. Research into TVP journalists – those who prepare network programmes and take responsibility for their content, influencing what is covered – may give us an idea of how TVP functions and what factors influence programme content. It was essential to ask whether TVP journalists recognised the advent and development of the technological revolution. The Polish public television network, TVP, served as the starting point for the research. The network pursues public objectives, which can be also refer to as its remit, including accessibility throughout Poland. Poles pay a licence fee for the network and TVP hires journalists who take responsibility for broadcast content. Legislation involving the media affects the network's efforts. The analysis that has been carried out allows the thesis to be put forward that the work of TVP journalists has experienced bottom-up change – initiated by themselves – as a result of the technological revolution (RH).

The Polish PSM in the media system

The transformation of government media into public media has been attributed to various causes, in particular, the paternalistic motivation, aiming to carry out educational work.⁵ A further stimulus, the democracy-freedom motivation, has been

² B. Klimkiewicz, *Between Autonomy and Dependency: Funding, Mechanisms of Public Service Media in Selected European Countries*, [in:] K.A. Ibarra, E. Nowak, R. Kuhn (eds.), *Public Service Media in Europe: A Comparative Approach*, London: Routledge, London 2015, p. 113.

³ P. Scannel, *Public Service Broadcasting: The History of Concept*, [in:] A. Goodwin, G. Whannel (eds.), *Understanding Television*, Routledge, London 1990, pp. 11–30.

⁴ M. Różycka, *Media publiczne – państwo, społeczeństwo, rynek*, “Zarządzanie Mediami” [Media Management] 2013, no. 1(1), pp. 11–32. DOI:10.4467/23540214ZM.13.003.2294.

⁵ H. Van den Bulck, *Public Service Television and National Identity as a Project of Modernity: The Example of Flemish Television*, “Media, Culture and Society” 2001, no. 23(1), pp. 53–70;

present in countries such as Germany or Spain, as well as in post-Communist countries which have been shedding the heritage of totalitarianism.

Direct reference may be made to Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini's classification of media systems,⁶ which assumes that the state is important in shaping a country's media system. Hallin and Mancini observed that a basic form of state influence has been public media. In Western Europe, public media have long operated on the principles governing public monopolies, while in the former Soviet bloc countries, they have functioned as state media. The authorities in various countries, as the media's legislators and funders, could exploit the public media for political ends. In the 1980s, ongoing technological developments changed this situation markedly. Decision-makers had to allow commercial entities to enter the market, which led to both a shrinking of the broadcasters' audience and to commercialisation; these trends are discussed in more detail below. Over the years, various researchers have made use of Hallin and Mancini's classification, taking further the research results which they published in 2004.⁷ Hallin and Mancini's classification has been broadened, widely discussed and also frequently criticised, if only for its initial version miss the countries of the post-Communist bloc.⁸

Hallin and Mancini's classification of media systems was marked by variables such as the level of media market development in a particular country, its level of print media readership, the extent of political parallelism, the degree of journalistic professionalism and the extent and nature of state intervention. Hallin and Mancini also identified three models of media systems: polarised pluralist, democratic corporatist and liberal.⁹ Investigating public media, the researchers distinguished four basic management models: the government model, the professional model, the Parliamentary or proportional representation model, and the civic or corporatist model. Figure 1 presents management models for public service media (PSM).¹⁰

J. Skrzypczak, *Spór o media publiczne w Polsce w świetle standardów europejskich*, "Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne" 2015, no. 4, pp. 91–112.

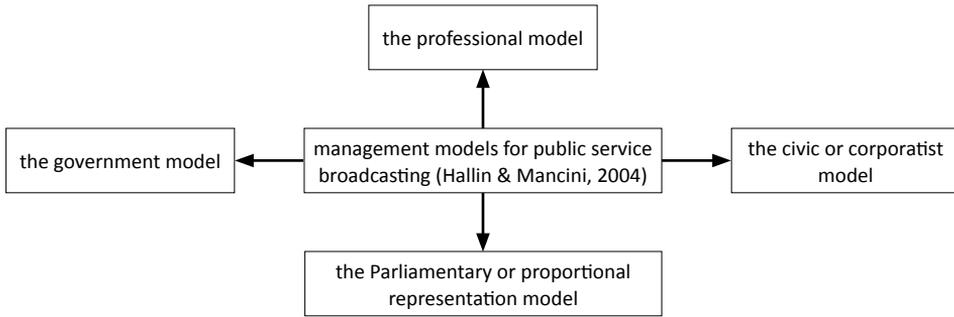
⁶ D.C. Hallin, P. Mancini, *Systemy medialne. Trzy modele mediów i polityki w ujęciu porównawczym*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego [Jagiellonian University Press], Kraków 2007, pp. 21–46.

⁷ T. Aalberg, T.P van Aelst, J. Curran, *Media Systems and the Political Information Environment: A Cross-National Comparison*, "Media, Culture and Society" 2010, no. 15(3), pp. 255–271; R. Benson, M. Blach-Orsten, M. Powers, I. Willig, S.V. Zambrano, *Media Systems Online and Off: Comparing the Form of News in the United States, Denmark, and France*, "Journal of Communication" 2012, no. 62(1), pp. 21–38; F. Esser, C. de Vreese, J. Strömbäck et al., *Political Information Opportunities in Europe*, "The International Journal of Press/Politics" 2012, no. 17(3), pp. 247–274.

⁸ F. Büchel, E. Humprecht, L. Castro-Herrero, S. Engesser, M. Brüggemann, *Building Empirical Typologies with QCA*, "The International Journal of Press/Politics" 2016, no. 21(2), pp. 209–232.

⁹ D.C. Hallin, P. Mancini, *Systemy medialne...*, op. cit., pp. 87–201; idem, *Comparing Media Systems: Between Eastern and Western Europe*, [in:] P. Gross, K. Jakubowicz (eds.), *Media Transformation in the Post-communists World: Eastern Europe Tortured Path to Change*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, pp. 15–33.

¹⁰ D.C. Hallin, P. Mancini, *Systemy medialne...*, op. cit., pp. 87–201.

Figure 1. Management models for PSM

Source: D.C. Hallin, P. Mancini, *Systemy medialne. Trzy modele mediów i polityki w ujęciu porównawczym*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego [Jagiellonian University Press], Kraków 2007, pp. 30–31.

Their classification deserves careful consideration, as it has provided the basis for the study of media systems in the last decade. The countries classified in Hallin and Mancini's typology have several features in common, but some differences are also apparent. The first of the above-described models, polarised pluralism, is characteristic of countries where the leading print media serve elites and there is otherwise a low level of readership. As the media have often been subsidised by the state, press freedom and commercialised mass communication have developed quite late. As a result, there has been a high level of political parallelism. The authorities, treat the media instrumentally, as a tool in their political struggle. The state clearly influences the media, as a regulator and owner. To Hallin and Mancini, this state of affairs results from ideological diversity in a country, especially where liberal institutions have developed late, and political parties play a strong role. Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska, and Hallin and Mancini themselves, classified Poland's system as being within this "Mediterranean" model.¹¹ The countries of the former eastern bloc have been compared to the Italian model, where both political affiliations and commercialisation in the public media are strong.¹²

A further system type is that of democratic corporatism, or the North-Central European model. Its driving characteristics include the early development of the press industry, which is directly related to a high level of press freedom. In this

¹¹ B. Dobek-Ostrowska, *Italianization (or Mediterraneanization) of the Polish Media System*, [in:] D.C. Hallin, P. Mancini (eds.), *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, pp. 26–50; A. Wyka, *Berlusconiization of the Mass Media in East Central Europe: The New Danger of Italianization?*, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/emerg/AWyka1.pdf> (access: 11.03.2017).

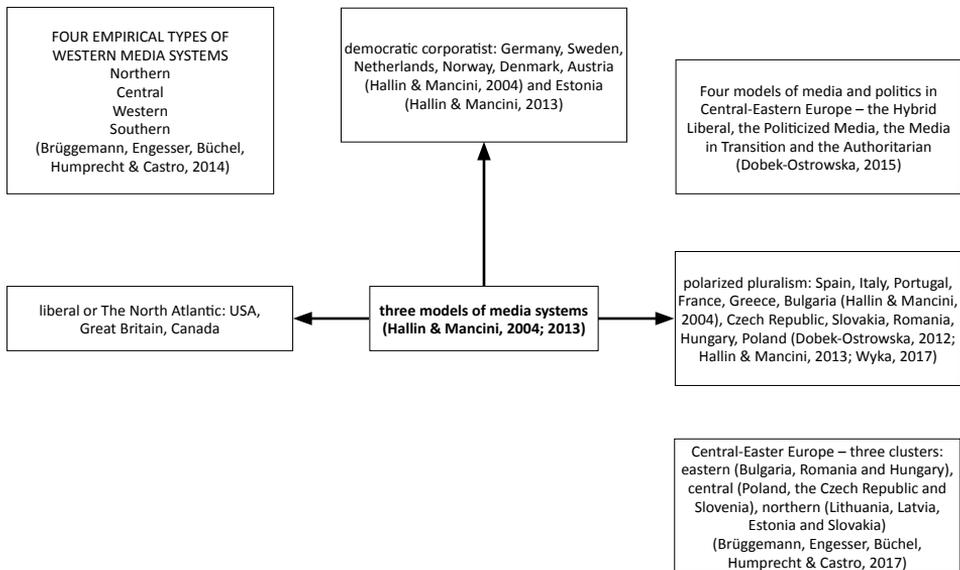
¹² K. Voltmer, *The Media in Transitional Democracies*, Polity Press, Cambridge 2013, p. 38; Z. Peruško, D. Vozab, A. Čuvalo, *Audience as a Source of Agency in Media Systems: Post-socialist Europe in a Comparative Perspective*, "Mediální Studia" 2013, no. 2, pp. 137–154.

system, a strong press, and other media with connections to social groups, are leading players.¹³ Hallin and Mancini¹⁴ identified Estonia's system as lying on the border between polarised pluralism and democratic corporatism.

The liberal, or North Atlantic, model is also marked by early development of the free press, as well as the mass media. It is also dominated by commercial mass media ownership. However, the strength of Great Britain's public media should be taken into account. Countries featuring this model exhibit a low level of political parallelism. Another important element is journalists' high level of professionalisation.

Among the Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) countries, Dobek-Ostrowska classified Poland as an example of the hybrid liberal (see Figure 2). Dobek-Ostrowska categorized West Slavonic and Baltic States as hybrid liberal. Moreover Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, and Serbia were defined as politicized media model. Dobek-Ostrowska categorized: Moldova, Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania, and Bosnia and Herzegovina as the media in transition model. The authoritarian model includes – Belarus and Russia. This classification provides a basis for comparative research of CEE countries media systems.

Figure 2. Media systems approaches



Source: B. Dobek-Ostrowska, *25 Years After Communism: Four Models of Media and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe*, [in:] B. Dobek-Ostrowska, M. Głowacki (eds.), *Democracy and Media in Central and Eastern Europe 25 Years*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main 2015. DOI:10.3726/978-3-653-04452-2.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 88.

¹⁴ D.C. Hallin, P. Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems...*, op. cit., pp. 15–33.

Michael Brüggemann, Sven Engesser, Florin Büchel, Edda Humprecht, and Laia Castro prepared their own classification of the systems of CEE, based on Hallin and Mancini's concept.¹⁵ This most interesting typology includes new variables, such as ownership regulation, direct and indirect subsidies, freedom of the press, online news use, centralisation of media ownership and foreign ownership.

We can agree, that country's political systems, history and tradition play an important part in shaping its public media.¹⁶ Two documents have influenced Polish public media legislation: the 1993 Broadcasting Act and the 1997 Constitution of the Polish Republic. The former designated a dual media system, thus implementing the transformation of Poland's media.¹⁷ The creators of the Polish media system drew from the French model (polarised pluralism) of that time, where public media were granted the legal status of commercial companies.¹⁸ The records of the institution that controls the media (the regulator), the National Broadcasting Council, may be found in the Broadcasting Act¹⁹ and the Polish Constitution.²⁰

The legislators' goal was to make the National Broadcasting Council (Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji – KRRiT) an independent regulatory body. The Constitution does not specify which public authorities this body should be in contact with or how many members it should comprise.²¹ It does state, however, that members of the KRRiT may not belong to political or commercial organisations; this points to a degree of impartiality which the body should enjoy. This is all that the Constitution states about the KRRiT; the Broadcasting Act includes other regulations.²²

¹⁵ M. Brüggemann, S. Engesser, F. Büchel, E. Humprecht, L. Castro, *Hallin and Mancini Revisited: Four Empirical Types of Western Media Systems*, "Journal of Communication" 2014, no. 64(6), pp. 1037–1065. DOI:10.1111/jcom.12127; L. Castro-Herrero, E. Humprecht, S. Engesser, M. Brüggemann, F. Büchel, *Rethinking Hallin and Mancini Beyond the West: An Analysis of Media Systems in Central and Eastern Europe*, "International Journal of Communication" 2017, no. 11.

¹⁶ P. Chadwick, *Prologue*, [in:] G. Ferrell Lowe, F. Martin (eds.), *The Value of Public Service Media*, Nordicom, Göteborg 2013, pp. 11–19.

¹⁷ R. Chruściak, *Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji w systemie politycznym i konstytucyjnym [National Broadcasting Council in the Political and Constitutional System]*, Dom Wydawniczy [Publishing House] Elipsa, Warszawa 2007, p. 67.

¹⁸ I. Merklejn, A. Węglińska, *Media Landscape of Poland – from a Distance*, "Journal of Information Studies" 2014, no. 86.

¹⁹ Ustawa z dnia 29 grudnia 1992 r. o radiofonii i telewizji, Dz.U. 1993, nr 7, poz. 34, t.j.: <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19930070034/U/D19930034Lj.pdf> (access: 28.08.2017).

²⁰ Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 kwietnia 1997 r., Dz.U. 1997, nr 78, poz. 483, t.j.: <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19970780483/U/D19970483Lj.pdf> (access: 28.11.2019).

²¹ R. Grochowski, *Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji jako konstytucyjny organ ochrony i kontroli prawa [National Broadcasting Council as a Constitutional Regulator]*, [in:] M. Barańska, et al. (eds.), *Polityka medialna w Polsce. Bilans dwudziestolecia obowiązywania Ustawy o Radiofonii i Telewizji [Media and Politics in Poland]*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WNPiD UAM [Faculty of Political Science and Journalism Adam Mickiewicz University Publishing], Poznań 2016, p. 102.

²² J. Kreft, *Luka niedoboru a media publiczne – szanse i zagrożenia*, "Zarządzanie Mediami" [Media Management] 2016, no. 4(3), pp. 181–191. DOI:10.4467/23540214ZM.16.009.6296.

The profound reform of PSM in Poland is a result of the latest amendment to the Broadcasting Act (2016). A new State Broadcasting Council has also been established, regulating only the work of public media and the Polish Press Agency (Polska Agencja Prasowa – PAP).

The operations of the media in the political system, and the functions they perform for receivers (their audience) and those in power, are especially important in a considered study of public media, as they owe their specific legal authority, level of financing and structures to the initiatives of political authorities. It is not only political processes, however, that influence the contemporary media and their receivers. The receiver is not only a citizen and voter, but also, with the advent of new media which makes dialogue possible, a creator of media content.

Public media and technological transformation

In documents and reports published under the aegis of or on behalf of the European Union, it is often asserted that the public media were among the most important social-political institutions that took shape in Western Europe's democracies in the twentieth century. At the time, it was considered that public broadcasters enjoyed two pillars of support: political systems and public interest.²³

In the 1990s, television and radio networks, and print media, were still considered to be providers of content. However, the ongoing technological revolution and the Internet's development have changed this perspective. Henry Jenkins has written of "participatory culture", a concept which distinguishes the so-called Web 2.0 generation.²⁴ This is characterised by the use of collective potential and intelligence: users share social and intellectual capital in the networks that have been created.²⁵

Today's media, including public media, face the great challenge of serving an individualised, post-industrial society.²⁶ The term "public service broadcasting" (PSB) has been replaced by "public service media" (PSM). Slowly, television chan-

²³ K. Jakubowicz, *Media publiczne. Początek końca czy nowy początek* [Public Media: The Beginning of the End or a New Beginning], Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne [Academic and Professional Publishers], Warszawa 2007, pp. 23–25.

²⁴ H. Jenkins, *Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture*, New York University Press, New York 2006, pp. 135–137.

²⁵ T.M. Harrison, B. Barthel, *Wielding, New Media in Web 2.0: Exploring the History of Engagement with the Collaborative Construction of Media Products*, "New Media & Society" 2009, no. 11, pp. 155–178; H. Van den Bulck, K. Donders, G.F. Lowe, *Public Service Media in the Networked Society: What Society? What Network? What Role?*, [in:] G.F. Lowe, H. Van den Bulck, K. Donders (eds.), *Public Service Media in the Networked Society*, Nordicom, Göteborg 2018, pp. 11–26.

²⁶ Ch.S. Nissen, *Digitization and Public Service Media: What Service to which Public?*, [in:] K.A. Ibarra, E. Nowak, R. Kuhn (eds.), *Public Service Media in Europe: A Comparative Approach*, Routledge, London 2015, pp. 1–4.

nels are being transformed into platforms whose content is gathered from different sources. These platforms function in a personalised way in a non-linear, interactive Internet environment, that of new media. These changes, both in the reception and distribution of media, are taking place in stages – but quickly, all the same.²⁷ All this time, some citizens have continued to exercise their right to use traditional media, maintaining long-standing habits. Thus, two different means of reception, and different types of receivers, co-exist in post-industrial society.²⁸

Commercial media have been coping better with technological development than public broadcasters, who, dependent on legislators, struggle with many different problems at once. Gregory Ferrell Lowe and Janette Steemers point out several kinds of pressures on public media, exerted from various directions.²⁹ Public media organisations contend with restricted size and investment opportunities; they cannot always do as much as they would like to develop new media or pursue public objectives. As the values associated with public media have lost much of their meaning, the public may not see a difference between what the public and the commercial media offer. Audiences may find public media content less attractive than commercial offerings. Even so, some very innovative public stations exist, such as Britain's BBC, Germany's ARD or Scandinavia's PSM.³⁰

The public media face a number of problems at once³¹ and their role is changing. Many researchers and media professionals fear that the public media, experiencing a deep crisis, will disappear. However, many others assert that, although the platform, and possibly receivers' habits, are changing, the media remain highly important.³²

Michał Głowacki aptly notes that suitable ways must be found to build relationships with those in the surrounding environment. To remain on the market, it is necessary to increase the public's role: to conduct a dialogue with the public and to involve the audience in content creation and dissemination.³³

²⁷ T. Raats, K. Donders, *From Centralized to Distributed Public Service Media: An Analysis of Market and Public Value-Driven Arguments*, "International Journal of Digital Television" 2015, no. 6(2), pp. 103–123.

²⁸ Ch.S. Nissen, op. cit., pp. 1–4.

²⁹ G.F. Lowe, J. Steemers, *Regaining the Initiative for Public Service Media*, [in:] G.F. Lowe, J. Steemers (eds.), *Regaining the Initiative for Public Service Media*, Nordicom, Göteborg 2012, pp. 9–25.

³⁰ B. Klimkiewicz, op. cit., p. 44.

³¹ M.A. Horowitz, *Public Service Media and Challenge of Crossing Borders: Assessing New Models*, "Studia Medioznawcze" [Media Studies] 2015, no. 6(12), pp. 80–91.

³² Ibidem, pp. 80–91.

³³ M. Głowacki, *Ways of Researching the Public Reception of the Program Offer of Public Media in European Countries: Analysis for NBC*, 16.05.2016, http://www.krrit.gov.pl/Data/Files/_public/Portals/0/komunikaty/spoleczny-odbior-mediow-publiczn/raport.docx (access: 28.02.2017).

TVP journalists as research subjects in Poland

In considering the public media and their tasks, it becomes clear that journalists play a key role. When they “took over” the media in 1989, the “Solidarity” camp could not draw on many well-trained television journalists; these have been trained only in the last twenty years. Journalists, and the particular role they play, constitute an important element of the public media. It is demanded of TVP staff, especially creative staff, that they fulfil the network’s objectives – yet in the Polish public media this remit has not been clearly defined. TVP journalists may, as a result, have problems defining their tasks.

Stanisław Mocek pointed to this in his study of Polish journalism, including extensive research of journalistic elites.³⁴ His considerations should be cited in the context of public media, as the TVP journalists who constitute this elite should set professional standards. These considerations about journalists warrant referring again to Hallin and Mancini’s views, including the above-mentioned issue of journalistic professionalism.³⁵

Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska, in her research on journalists, has made many relevant observations of their professionalism. She and her team conducted extensive quantitative research on journalists in Poland, Russian and Sweden, supplemented by in-depth interviews.³⁶ The importance of one aspect of this professionalism, the journalist’s autonomy, is borne out by the research. As for political influence, Dobek-Ostrowska noted that it is less important than market pressures.

Dorota Piontek’s research deserves mention, as it provides an overview of informational journalism in contemporary Poland. She concentrated on the level of tabloidisation.³⁷ In recent years, there have also been significant studies of journalists’ roles in society and Twitter activity.³⁸

Polish social studies feature a great deal of research on journalists, but public media journalists have not been sufficiently researched as a professional group – even though it is they who create the content of the information delivered to the public. The Polish public media have become an extension of the state media, changing with the political and media system. Journalists have drawn on the experiences of older peers whose professional lives took shape during the times

³⁴ S. Mocek, *Dziennikarze po komunizmie. Elita mediów w świetle badań społecznych* [Journalism after Communism: The Research of Media Elits], Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar [Scholar Academic Publishing], Warszawa 2006, p. 43.

³⁵ D.C. Hallin, P. Mancini, *Systemy medialne...*, op. cit., pp. 34–35.

³⁶ B. Dobek-Ostrowska, P. Barczyszyn, A. Michel, *Journalism in Change: Professionalism and Journalistic Culture in Poland*, “Studia Medioznawcze” [Media Studies] 2013, no. 1(52), pp. 11–28.

³⁷ D. Piontek, *Komunikowanie polityczne i kultura popularna. Tabloidyżacja informacji o polityce*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wydziału Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza [Scientific Publisher of Faculty of Political Sciences and Journalism at the University of Adam Mickiewicz], Poznań 2011, p. 184.

³⁸ P. Łokić, *Activity of Polish Journalists on Twitter*, “e-Politikon” 2014, no. 12, pp. 126–149.

of Communist Poland (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa / People Republic of Poland). What is more, younger, middle and even old generations of journalists had to learn new technologies at the same time. The generational transfer of knowledge has been disturbed. The external environment has clearly influenced the public media and their structures, as well as their journalists. The internal situation in the domain of the public media organisation has reflected the situation in Poland, generally. Questions about the public media, including its stage of development, troubles and successes,³⁹ undoubtedly concern society as a whole.

Research methodology

In-depth interviews provide the best possibility for studying journalists' attitudes, views and behaviours. During such an interview, a journalist may confront the reality that is being researched and co-operation between the researcher and the subject is possible. Likewise, the interview induces self-reflection, so the journalist-subject comments meaningfully about his or her professional milieu and working conditions and about the social and political system. As a research procedure, the interview also draws out the opinions, motives and values that guide a contemporary professional group.⁴⁰

To test the hypothesis presented in the introduction to this text, I formulated the following research questions (RQs):

1. What changes has the multi-platform character of new media brought to the work of TVP journalists and broadcasters? (RQ1)
2. Are the younger and middle generations of journalists⁴¹ better skilled in using new media? (RQ2)

To provide for responses, I conducted 24 in-depth interviews with those involved in journalism at TVP, from various milieus, including those whose work is broadcast throughout Poland. This range of interview subjects was chosen purposefully and thoughtfully. I attempted to choose subjects of different ages, who have worked for the network for different periods of time. The interviews were conducted between the winter of 2015 and the summer of 2017. When they were interviewed, my subjects were working as journalists or broadcasting managers. They spoke on condition of anonymity. All of my subjects were coded, but only to show

³⁹ M. Tracey, *Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1998, p. 22.

⁴⁰ J.W. Creswell, *Projektowanie badań naukowych. Metody jakościowe, ilościowe i mieszane* [Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches], transl. J. Gilewicz, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego [Jagiellonian University Press], Kraków 2013, p. 39.

⁴¹ In this paper generations are defined as: Young generation – 20–35 y.o., middle generation – 35–50 y.o., old generation – 50+ y.o. B. Hysa, *Zarządzanie różnorodnością pokoleniową*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Śląskiej. Organizacja i Zarządzanie" 2016, no. 97, pp. 385–398.

a reader, as clearly as possible, the variables that distinguished them, while still maintaining their anonymity. Each respondent was given an initial, such as “T.” Their gender was indicated as “M” (male) or “F” (female). Their age in years was given, for example, “27.” Further variables were “R” for an employee of a regional station, “C” for one working for the central network; and the year and season of the interview. Thus, a respondent coded as T/M/27/R/summer2016 was a 27-year-old man working at a regional station, interviewed in the summer of 2016.

The technical revolution, viewed by journalists

TVP journalists, especially those who have worked for the network for a relatively long period, were conscious of technological changes that were affecting their work.

These changes, noted one subject responsible for the TVP’s Internet service, were making work more specialised or “formatted” (RQ1). The subject pointed to a lack of tools and people to co-ordinate work in this area.

I haven’t seen a specific turning-point, as these changes are taking place gradually, over time (P/M/45/R/autumn 2016).

From the journalists’ remarks, it is clear that these technological changes have taken place relatively quickly, however gradually; they did not notice their occurrence, but it has registered with them that they live in a diametrically different reality.

All our [TVP] centres started using the Internet in strange and different ways. I created the first page for our centres with some colleagues and then a general model for TVP was created. We have few online media editors (Z/M/50/R/summer2017).

Another subject, from the middle generation, said that the environment quickly adapted to new technologies.

Generally, I didn’t feel this transformation. It was natural for me, as I was just at the right age. Older journalists, too, had no problem experiencing technological change. This is an open environment, prepared for changes (A/F/40/C/spring2017).

The skill of using new media facilities is helpful to a journalist, who can select and verify material more quickly. Younger journalists feel that they are more efficient in this regard (RQ2).

My strengths lie in my digital skills, in my skill at using applications (T/M/27/R,C/summer2016).

One respondent considered, interestingly, that the traditional camera remains important for now, but as other equipment improves, new media may threaten the camera operator’s occupation. Already, receivers are sending material recorded on cell phones and journalists are taking advantage of this (RQ1).

At present, cell phone material may be broadcast in news programmes and the quality is not at all bad (S/F/40/R/autumn2016).

New media also bring new opportunities for journalists. The protagonists of news stories are increasingly involved in contributing to them, creating a new form of journalism.

Devices are less expensive and easily accessible, such as the Go-Pro camera. It has changed the news report. The subject of the report may take part in creating it (Ż/F/65/R/spring 2017).

The contemporary media, particularly Twitter and Instagram, eschew extended commentary. Rather, they operate using slogans, symbols and short expressive forms, reflecting current, superficial political communication. Further, they demonstrate the hegemony of the media's entertainment branch. They have also influenced the shape of TVP; its reporters are increasingly active on Twitter. Certainly, the need to be brief on this service has influenced the language and way in which journalists present content.

On the one hand, station authorities have declared that they understand the impact of new media enterprises and social services. Journalists working for TVP's regional divisions say, on the other hand, that their receivers seldom use them, as their audience consists largely of older people. One subject said that receivers of regional broadcasts "are running away" from new devices, but that the network is partly to blame: it is not developing dynamically in the area of new platforms, tools and broadcasting opportunities and thus is losing the younger audience. The BBC, for example, is very active in this area and sensitive to new media trends among young people. Another subject emphasised that the network authorities are at fault, as they have failed to take note of trends in the technological market (RQ1).

Public television in Poland was asleep when new technologies arrived (H/M/30/R/summer2017).

The subject, significantly, used the word "slowly" to describe TVP's embrace of these technologies. TVP Info (the TVP news channel) has been very active on Twitter, but only since 2017. This is consistent with data by the analytics platform Sotrender, from July 2017, showing that the TVP Info website was in a leading position in terms of increased mentions.

My subject noted that receivers have switched to commercial media, more active in terms of new media, and it has proven quite difficult for TVP to win them back.⁴² The lack of financial resources to implement new technologies is still a key problem; the network authorities are conscious of its seriousness, but their concern has not turned into action.

⁴² H. Kwak, Ch. Lee, H. ark, S. Moon, *What Is Twitter, a Social Network or a News Media*, <http://an.kaist.ac.kr/traces/WWW2010.html> (access: 6.08.2017).

Other subjects compared Twitter to a political advertising column, especially appealing to politicians and both mainstream and citizen journalists, while businesspeople and interest groups have also appeared on it.⁴³ On the one hand, journalists, especially those of the older generation, blame the Internet for lowering standards of social behaviour and polarising audiences. On the other hand, new technologies have made it easier for journalists to make contact with the subjects of their articles, as well as with their audiences (RQ1).

In the view of older subjects, social media have compromised the good practices and atmosphere of the workplace. They see this in the phenomena of commercialisation and tabloidisation and blame technology for this state of affairs (RQ2).

Other subjects, noting the interactive potential of social media, now observe which subjects most interest Facebook or Twitter users. This exemplifies the influence of social media on broadcast content.

TVP makes use of social media mainly to promote its own content, though less effectively than do commercial broadcasters.⁴⁴ Another subject expressed disappointment in a different social platform, Snapchat. This application allows users to share pictures, short films and news reports, but the content disappears after a certain time. The BBC and CNN work with Snapchat successfully (RQ2).

Journalists, taking note of technological changes, understand that if they wish to work in this field, they must keep upgrading their skills. New technologies have also changed the way in which they work in other areas. A television reporter no longer needs a large support team. As recently as 15 years ago, the reporter was accompanied by a producer, lighting specialist, sound specialist and camera operator – and, sometimes, an assistant operator. From another perspective, new technologies have also reduced journalistic teamwork. There is less “brainstorming” to choose story subjects. Rather, journalists prepare material independently, then propose it to the network, which uses it, or not – in which case, the network does not pay for it. This clearly demonstrates the extent to which TVP has been commercialised.

New media have particularly influenced sports broadcasts and matches. Today’s fan can watch everything in real time. To interest a viewer who has already seen a match, sports reports must find curious facts, or show players’ tactics.

Journalists who were set in their traditional ways of reporting events have had to acquire new skills, including digital abilities. One subject, drawing on her experience in the field, pointed out three important characteristics of the net: its speed, universality and interactivity (RQ1, RQ2).

When a fan gets back home at 8 o’clock at night, he doesn’t want to hear anymore about the exact moment, the exact minute, who shot a goal. Something completely different interests him. So I think we have already gotten more into summarising events, going into prime

⁴³ P. Łokić, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–149.

⁴⁴ K. Tołoczko, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–110.

factors about what happened, not in terms of each minute but from the point of view of tactics, plans and so on (S/K/40/R/autumn2016).

The relationship of TVP decision-makers to new technology has tested the broadcaster's willingness to innovate and keep up with the times. New technologies have influenced media coverage, audience habits and the work of reporters, editors and operators. Online reporting demands journalists' presence on social websites. It is in the last ten years that this has taken place on TVP – this is a revolution that cannot be taken lightly.

Conclusions

Standards should be in place at TVP that specify how to implement new technological tools and multimedia platforms. Such standards were in place during the years when the present study took place, in the systems in Germany, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries and even France. The network's management appears to be highly archaic, centralised and hierarchical, resistant to innovation. However, officially TVP's authorities declare, that new media development is the core purpose for the future. In 2017, a decision by its chair provided subscribers with free access to its digital archives. This is a fine move, but the question arises as to why it happened years after the "Vision 2020" report recommended that public broadcasters do this.

Clearly, new technologies have influenced the form of the network, and social media constitute an area for political and social discussion. The subjects confirmed that technological transformation was a bottom-up movement at TVP, initiated by journalists. Network management documents make no mention of precise guidelines for staff to move forward in this area. Journalists gladly take advantage of the conveniences that the technological revolution offers, but do so intuitively, "by feel". The research has also made it clear that not all journalists of the older generation appreciate the significance of new technologies for today's media market. Although both younger and older journalists are making use of new technologies, the interviews have found that the younger ones are doing so more efficiently. It is worth to mention in the conclusion that, along with the benefits of new technology, there is a drawback in the lack of opportunity for extended analysis that it affords.

The results of the interviews which were conducted show that subjects work in an unstable, changing, underfinanced environment. While wishing to work for TVP, they see a continued process whereby its standards are declining, due to commercial influences and lack of integrated new media strategy.

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