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Abstract of PhD thesis „**Discourse of Ukrainian Identity during Orange Revolution and Euromaidan in Contemporary Polish Opinion-Making Press”**

**Key-words**: Ukraine, Poland, Ukrainian identity, opinion-making press, discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, content analysis, national identity, nation, Euromaidan, Orange revolution.

The aim of the paper is to investigate the main discourses of Ukrainian identity predominating in Polish opinion-making press during the most significant social and political events in Ukraine in XXI century. This thesis shows how Orange revolution and Euromaidan were perceived in Polish press in terms of identity using a particular methodology of CDA.

Naturally, the events of Orange Revolution and Euromaidan were presented in greater or lesser degree in foreign media. The case of Poland has been chosen, since Poland is the closest Ukrainian neighbour in Europe, historically and culturally Poland and Ukraine have been tied up. The former has tangible impact on shaping and forming Ukrainian identity, which makes Poland’s insight into Ukrainian identity changes to be significant. However, in majority of cases Polish imagination about Ukraine was closely related to history and their collective memory was constructed on the memory of conflicts from the times of the Second World War. Moreover, the perception of Ukraine and its identity in Poland very often was constructed on the historical references, reaching even to the times of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. However, the outburst of the Orange revolution made the Poles to re-invent their eastern neighbours, they started to realize that Ukrainians have the aspiration towards freedom and democracy.

Concerning methodology the author operates such term as “discourse”. According to Laclau and Mouffe’s theory of discourse every social process including identity construction could be understood through discourse, therefore discourse is not limited to linguistic phenomena only. Laclau and Mouffe claim that certain notions or structural elements of the reality do not possess meaning in themselves, they acquire it though discourse. In the other words, a question became an issue or problem in the discourse. Therefore, to learn how Ukrainian identity is pictured in Polish press the methodology of classical content analysis with Critical Discourse Analysis of the written text is used.

The analysis of the Ukrainian identity is conducted in opinion-making weekly magazines. The weekly magazines were chosen for the purpose to include more items into analysis, which enables to show wider spectrum of the data in order to get relevant results. Hence, the next weeklies are analyzed: “Polityka”, “Wprost”, “Gość Niedzielny”, “Newsweek Polska”, “Tygodnik Powszechny”, “Przegląd”, “Do Rzeczy”, “WSieci”. The issue of Ukrainian identity in Polish press is investigated during such social and political changes as Orange Revolution and Euromaidan.

During the period of Orange revolution the articles written before the Orange revolution from the beginning of 2004 and articles, which described post-Orange first disappointment also are taken into account. Hence, during the pre-Orange revolution period, during the very revolution and period after it (years 2004-2005) 194 articles were analyzed: 73 from “Tygodnik Powszechny”, 30 from “Przegląd”, 28 from “Polityka”, 26 from “Newsweek”, 25 from “Wprost”, 12 from “Gość Niedzielny”. From this amount of the material 96 articles were written during the very period of the protests (November 2004-January2005): 41 in “Tygodnik Powszechny”, 14 in “Przegląd” and “Newsweek” equally, 10 in “Polityka”, 11 in “Wprost” and 6 “Gość Niedzielny”.

Ukrainian identity during Euromaidan is analyzed starting from the report about the first protest in Kyiv in November 2013 and ending by the materials from February-March 2014 not including the reports about occupation of Crimea. Selection of the samples is done depending on the genres of journalistic texts (short news are not taken into consideration), degree of the representation and the measure of covered Ukrainian issues (articles fully dedicated to Ukrainian topics only). Thus, during the period of Euromaidan events 114 articles were included into analysis: 29 article published in “Tygodnik Powszechny”, 21 articles in “Gość Niedzielny” and “Przegląd” equally, 18 in “Polityka”, 17 in “Do Rzeczy”, “Newsweek” and “WSieci” equally and 12 in “Wprost”.

Two social movements Orange revolution and Euromaidan dealt with the issues of identity and possible or desired identity changes in Ukraine. It should be noted that, the issue of identity is not only the matter of the group inside. For successful political and international communication it is crucially important to be aware how the subject is perceived by the others, what explains the relevance of the study**.** In this case, the study of the perception of Ukrainian identity in Polish media discourse enables better understanding of social processes taking place between Ukraine and Poland, the factors that influence the imagination/perception of Ukrainian identity in Poland. In addition, the study of the perception of Ukrainian identity in Polish press has tacit explanation of the way society functions and perceives the others. In this case, it is about the fact that according to theresearch of Institute of Public Affairs (Instytut Spraw Publicznych) in 2013 74% of Poles declared that they gain their knowledge about Ukraine from the media. Of course, media do not encompass only press what is analyzed in this thesis, but still the figure is representative to make this study relevant. Last but not least, this study presents to the English-speaking audience the specifics of Polish media market and Polish media studies, it illuminates such concepts as *publicystyka* or *prasa opinii*, what makes contribution to the overall scope of the theoretical aspect in media research.

Structurallydissertation is divided into three parts: theoretical, methodological and finally empirical. Overall, dissertation consists of five chapters**.** In the first chapter the author explains main notions, concepts and approaches used in the research. In the first part of the Chapter the author makes introduction into identity and discourse studies, explains the very notion of identity and national identity in the social sciences. Author also presents the constructivists approach in identity studies and illuminates why it is the most suitable approach in the research of Ukrainian identity in Polish press alongside presenting main academic studies and voices of public intellectuals on the issue of contemporary Ukrainian identity. In addition, the notion of discourse is introduced and explained. Finally, the author explains the nexus between discourse, identity and media. In the second part of the Chapter the author elaborates methodological framework of the study.

The second chapter explains the nature of media and communication, provides the classification of media in order establish why media are relevant in identity studies. The nexus between these two concepts are also explained in the chapter. The second part of the chapter presents the notion of “opinion-making press” and its place in Polish media studies: history, classification, the specifics of genres of journalistic writings in opinion-making press. In this part the author also provides an overview of the main tittles of the press which could be called opinion-making in Polish media market.

The last three chapters are the parts of textual analysis of the press. Chapter 3 represents main patterns of the Ukrainian identity which were explored by the author in Polish press from the period before, during and after Orange revolution till the end of the year 2005. The chapter illuminates the wide range of historical, political, social and cultural narratives used by Polish journalists for creation the particular image of Ukraine which in turn formed the *perceived identity* of Ukraine to Polish reading audience.

Chapter 4provides broad analysis of the selected Polish weeklies on the subject of Ukraine during Euromaidan. Firstly, the chapter presents the quantitative content analysis of the selected articles. After that the chapter represents the *perceived identity* of Ukraine during Euromaidan. According to the methodology of CDA and to the theoretical research of Ukrainian identity, the chapter presents wide scope of the discursive strategies, which created very often unconsciously particular image of Ukrainian identity in Polish press. Similarly to Chapter 3, in Chapter 4 considerable attention is paid to the actors of identity and agencies the actors are acting in. Particular attention is dedicated to the linguistic elements of the articles and wording used by journalists. During Euromaidan similarly as during Orange revolution personal, temporal references and spatial references are used in the analysis as well, what plays considerable role in the interpretation and explanation of identity frames, which existed in Polish media discourse about Ukraine.

Chapter 5 describes the difference in identity construction during Orange revolution and Euromaidan, analyzes the narrative of the journalistic texts, discovers particular discursive strategies and references to common Polish-Ukrainian history, explains the interlinks between historical discourse and contemporary perception of Ukraine in Polish press. In addition, based on the data received from the analysis, the author delineates main patterns and models of the Ukrainian identity, constructed by Polish opinion-making press during Orange revolution and Euromaidan.

The author concludes that texts about Ukrainian issues in Polish opinion-making press create particular discourse, with the help of which the identity of one group (Ukraine) is constructed in the environment of another group (Poland). In this analysis, the methodology of CDA was of critical importance.

In addition, the perception of Ukrainian identity in Polish opinion-making press is not holistic. There were two main patterns of Ukrainian identity discovered in the analysis of Polish press during Orange revolution and Euromaidan. These two types are **national identity** and **supra-national identity**. National identity was represented both in civic and ethnic categories. Supranational identity was represented in the pro-European and Eastern Slavic orientation.

During Orange revolution, Ukrainian identity was represented as if it was discovered as separate from Russia. Orange revolution in some sense made Ukraine exist as the nation-state. Many articles were emphasizing the difference of Ukraine from Russia. Orange revolution showed to Polish journalists that Ukraine was also political nation and not the part of Russia. Such word expressions as “nation”, “transition”, “values of freedom and democracy” were used to describe what happed during Orange revolution. Very often journalists made comparisons with the liberation movement in Central and Eastern Europe in 1980s adding references to “Solidarity” movement in Poland. During Orange revolution Ukraine was represented in the categories of civic national identity (in majority of cases) with pro-European orientation.

During Euromaidan the main identity discourse was the European supra-national identity intertwined with civic national identity. Similarly to Orange revolution Polish journalists also referred to the familiar for Poles social processes during the “Solidarity” movement in Poland, compared Polish situation from 1980s to Ukrainian during Euromaidan. However, the comparison was not always complete because of the lack of strong political opposition in Ukraine and the low level of trust to it. In liberal centrist and right-winged weeklies, Ukraine during Euromaidan was compared more to the revolutions in the Soviet-bloc countries, which placed Ukraine beyond the post-Soviet identity discourse in general. Therefore, in addition to the transition from the post-Soviet identity Euromaidan also inscribed Ukraine in the concept of Central and Eastern Europe.

One more identity discourse of Ukraine, which was presented in Polish press during the analysis of Orange revolution and Euromaidan was the discourse of Eastern Slavic identity, which represented national uncertainty, civic passiveness, pro-Russian orientation and regrets about the Soviet Union. This identity was represented in two categories: pro-Russian foreign orientation and post-Soviet mentality of the described actors. During Orange revolution this discourse was represented more frequently than during Euromaidan. During Orange revolution Polish journalists also paid considerable attention to what people think and what was going on not only in Kyiv Maidan and Western Ukraine but on the Eastern Ukraine too. During Euromaidan this identity discourse was not so visible.

Speaking about models of the representation of Ukrainian identity in Polish press during Euromaidan and Orange revolution, the author came to the conclusion that almost in all weeklies there were similar discourses of representation in two main categories – Ukrainian national civic identity and supra-national European identity. The discrepancy occurred only in the representation of Ukrainian nationalistic identity, which always associated for Polish society with the massacre performed by the Ukrainian nationalists on the Poles in 1943 in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia.

During Orange revolution the representation of the Ukrainians as radical nationalists was absent at all, with the exception of leftists weekly “Przegląd”. This weekly emphasized that the supporters of Orange revolution might have been nationalists and the successors of UPA. The situation looked differently during Euromaidan. All the analyzed weeklies admitted the presence of nationalistic elements during Euromaidan and journalists emphasized on that. However, it was not the main discourse of the representation of Ukrainian identity in liberal weeklies such as “Polityka”, “Newsweek”, “Wprost” and “Tygodnik Powszechny”. Catholic weekly “Gość Niedzielny” and right-winged conservative “WSieci” also did not create the image of Ukraine as nationalistic. In weekly “Do Rzeczy” there was more than one attitude towards the nationalists on the Euromaidan. Some journalists emphasized on it stressing that Ukraine is nationalistic and not European, the others argued with the first ones, trying to show that the radical nationalists are marginal elements.

Ukraine as completely nationalistic was represented in the weekly “Przegląd”. The journalists of the weekly wrote their articles only illuminating the actions of the right-winged elements. It was the only magazine among all analyzed in this study, which created the image of Euromaidan as nationalistic illegal *coup d’état*, the rebellion against legitimate authorities. In addition, during all the period of Euromaidan “Przegląd” published articles on historical topics about Ukrainian nationalist, creating the terrifying image of Ukraine for Polish readers.

The factors, which influenced the perception of Ukrainian identity, were similar during Orange revolution and Euromaidan. Polish journalists perceived the Ukrainians as people aware of their national identity when they demonstrated civic responsibility for their state *i.e.* during the social movements. Hence, the factor of civic activity was the major in the representation of Ukraine in Polish press as independent nation-state. However, political and economic factors both made Ukraine to be perceived as backward remnant of the Soviet Union. These three factors were equally represented in major degree in the media discourses of both during Orange revolution and Euromaidan.

The situation is different with the religious and cultural factors. During Orange revolution the aspect of religion was almost absent at all. During Euromaidan the aspect of religion and the presence of the representatives of clergy on the Euromaidan was mentioned in all analyzed weeklies except “Przegląd”. However, the biggest attention to religion was drawn in the catholic weekly “Gość Niedzielny”. The indicator of national Ukrainian identity was the Greek-Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church of Kyiv Patriarchate. The representatives of clergy were pictured not only as spiritual leaders but as the civic activists during Euromaidan.

Ukrainian ethnic national identity was also represented in its cultural side. There were references to history and contemporary Ukrainian culture in order to present such elements of national identity as tradition and common history. The factor of culture was also represented differently during Euromaidan and Orange revolution. During Orange revolution Ukrainian culture was described in the form of discovering its very existence and presenting it to the average reader of Polish mass press. During Euromaidan, cultural factor was illuminated in considerably higher degree than during Orange revolution. The representatives of Ukrainian culture were represented as distinguished actors of identity.

To summarize about the factors of identity, it is worth to emphasize that despite active cultural and civic elements, the political and economic factors weighted more in the representation of Ukrainian identity in Polish press. Therefore, journalists emphasized frequently, that Ukraine would remain in the post-Soviet ideological space and Russian sphere of influences as long as the profound changes in political and economic spheres would be done, such as struggle with corruption, liquidation of nepotism in the state structures and bureaucratic system and abolishing of the connection of business structures and politics.

The study also showed what kind of discourses in common Polish-Ukrainian history still influence the perception of Ukraine in Poland, creating particular attitude to Ukraine and maintaining stereotypes. The most frequent historical references, which represented the national Ukrainian identity approaching it to the European discourse, were mentions about the Cossacks’ times. Cossacks represented Ukrainian will to democracy and freedom. During Orange revolution it was Viktor Yushchenko who was called Hetman – the highest position in Cossack state, who was freely elected by the members of the society. During Euromaidan there were less articles on the historical issues but also many references to the times of Cossacks, mainly for the reason that the camp of Maidan was divided into *sotnyas*, structural and military elements of Cossacks’ state and army. Euromaidan was always compared with the Cossacks’ state – Zaporizhian Sich.

The second most frequent historical reference was about the times of Second World War and the Volhynia massacre committed on Poles by the Ukrainian nationalists, OUN-UPA soldiers. Because of the presence of nationalistic elements and symbols of OUN-UPA on the Maidan, this historical memory made Polish journalists to picture Ukrainians as radical nationalists, although, as it was mentioned before, this discourse was not dominant in the analyzed press.

History also introduced the particular nominalization in the texts about Ukraine during the analyzed period. The historical nominalization of Ukraine as *Kresy* (Old Borderlands of Rzeczpospolita) and sometimes *Dzikie Pola* (Wield Fields) still exists in the journalistic texts about the present times. This discourse was more frequent during Orange revolution than during Euromaidan.

Referring to history, considerable attention was drawn to the place of Ukraine among the states of Central and Eastern Europe. This discourse was illuminated in the texts of Polish journalists in the context of Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation and support of Ukraine’s European aspiration. Then Ukrainian revolutions both Euromaidan and Orange revolution were compared with the Central European anti-communists uprising. Particular vision of Central and Eastern Europe and Ukraine in it, Polish journalists discerned in the idea of Józef Piłsudski’s federation and then in the idea of Intermarium, which also was mentioned in the representation of Ukraine as Central European state. Polish journalists even called Piłsudski’s concept of Intermarium the predecessor of contemporary European Union and emphasized on the necessity of Ukrainian institutional European identity.

In addition, the references to Central and Eastern Europe revealed one more identity discourse which the author called “Ukraine as Polish *raison d’état*”. This discourse was clearly vivid during Euromaidan. From this point of view, Ukraine was described as nation-state, which Poland needs as her ally against Russia. In this context very often the ideas of Jerzy Giedroyc about Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation were recalled. The narrative about Ukraine as Polish reason of state placed it at least into two identity discourses. The first one is the European discourse of the connections of Ukraine to the idea of Central and Eastern Europe or “European East”. This one links Ukraine with the tradition of the way former Soviet bloc countries were making their transition towards democracy. Thus, Ukraine is placed in the area of the discourse of “returning to Europe” which was so popular in the 1980s. The second identity narrative is the Ukraine as a buffer zone or the place in-between. Deriving from the writings of the journalists and essayists in conservative right-winged weeklies who put Ukraine as Polish reason of state, Poland is supportive for Ukraine because of the needs to protect itself from the Russian influences. In this desperate support and adherence for Ukraine, the only reason discerns – to have ally against the common enemy, which, in the eyes of Polish conservative and right-winged journalists, is Russia.

Alongside historical references, Polish journalists used spatial references in the nominalization of Ukraine to indicate the geographical position. The eastern position of Ukraine was displayed by the nominalization “our eastern neighbour”.

To summarize, the most positive perception of Ukrainian identity was in liberal “Tygodnik Powszechny”. This weekly magazine dedicated the largest amount of articles about Orange Revolution and Euromaidan and presented Ukraine in terms of national identity with strong civic adherence and national Ukrainian cultural element. The most negative perception of Ukrainian identity was represented in leftist weekly „Przegląd”. Ukraine was represented as backward, with low level of economic and political development, not deserving to be included into European identity discourse, “failed state” for which the dissolution of the Soviet Union was the tragedy. In addition, “Przeglad” always emphasized on the nationalistic identity discourse and recalled the history about Volhynia tragedy.

The analysis of how Ukraine is perceived by Polish journalists also opened the practical application of this research for intercultural communication and political communication between two states. It showed what qualities of Ukrainian society acted in favour of the perception of the identity of Ukraine as equal state and equal partner, and what qualities on the contrary, presented Ukraine as uncertain in identity and weak as a partner on the international arena. Hence, social and political changes during the social movements caused positive representation of Ukraine as strong and self-aware nation-state with European supra-national identity element. Consequently, Euromaidan and Orange revolution acted in favour for Ukrainian identity being perceived in Polish press as national identity with strong civic and cultural component and with the pro-European orientation.