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# **UKRAINE IN THE POLISH REGIONAL AND LOCAL MEDIA – FROM THE CONFLICT OF HISTORICAL MEMORY, FOREIGN COOPERATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND EURO 2012 TO THE ‘EUROMAIDAN’ AND ITS CONSEQUENCES (PART I)**

## ***Abstract***

*The Polish-Ukrainian relations presented in the local and regional press are of a rather neutral nature. Publications about Polish-Ukrainian relations in the Wielkopolska press refer to the following aspects: the history of Polish-Ukrainian relations, international cooperation of local government, sport and the ‘Euromaidan’. The local and regional media are dominated by news articles. Thus, local and regional media addressing Polish-Ukrainian relations are not influential, but static. This stability is a feature of the local media, confirmed by readership research (PBC, 2010), and public opinion is formed by the national media. A common theme appears in all the aspects of Polish-Ukrainian relations presented – Ukraine trying to enter European Union.*

**Key words:** *Polish regional and local media, Ukraine in Polish local and regional media, media content analysis*

## **1. Introduction**

The analysis of the content of regional and local media in Wielkopolska as regards Polish-Ukrainian relations made it possible to single out four main topic areas. The first one concerns the historical context of Polish-Ukrainian relations, the second – the initiation and development of foreign cooperation on the local government level, third – sport (especially after Euro 2012), and the fourth – the political and military crisis in Ukraine. The historical context refers to preserving the historical memory of Polish-Ukrainian relations. In fact, it concerns existing political con-

flicts about interpreting and documenting the history of Polish-Ukrainian relations. This topic has been presented in a separate paper, as was the foreign cooperation between Poland and Ukraine at local-government level and Polish-Ukrainian relations in the context of sports events [3, 4, 5]. Therefore, the first three topic areas are limited to conclusions alone, which are discussed in this paper. However, the present military and political crisis in Ukraine will be reviewed in another publication. Both papers aim to draw attention to the way the image of Ukraine is created in the Polish media, particularly regional and local media.

The analysis of press content, as the methodological basis of this paper, has already been used in nation-wide press research into the image of emigrants. As a result of this research, A. Grzymała-Kazłowska showed the main dimensions of Ukraine's image as a state and nation (*Polish-Ukrainian wrongdoings; domestic orientalism; Eastern Borderlands; Ukraine as a land of mission; Ukraine as a backward, underdeveloped country, the threat from the East*) and the main dimensions of the image of Ukrainian immigrants ("arrival of tourists from the East, hardworking white slaves, Ukrainians as perpetrators and victims, export of diseases and pathologies from the former USSR, familiar and humanised migrants and their assimilation") [2, pp. 185-226]. Some of the images distinguished above are present in the local and regional press in Wielkopolska (e.g. *Polish-Ukrainian wrongdoings* [23, p. 9], *Eastern Borderlands* [28, p. 14-15] or *Ukraine as a land of mission* [16, p. 12; 29, 34, p. 12]), however, with low frequency.

The research into the Polish-Ukrainian relations in the regional and local press of the Wielkopolska region was conducted in six stages. However, the first three stages encompassed a wide thematic spectrum (including problems in Polish-Ukrainian relations). 7% of all the issues of local newspapers (378) in the Leszno publishing region from 1998-2001 were examined in the first stage of content analysis [5, pp. 159-160].<sup>1</sup> In the sec-

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<sup>1</sup> Definition verifier for the press in the Leszno region is the area in which a given newspaper is distributed and topics addressing the area (determined by common history of cities and municipality). The Leszno publishing region (the county of Leszno and Leszno itself, county of Gostyń, county of Góra, county of Kościan, county of Rawicz, county of Wschowa) is known for its rich tradition connected with periodicals. Nowadays, the region includes media operating in the Wielkopolska region (south-western part), Dolny Śląsk region (northern part), Lubuskie region (south-eastern part).

ond stage the *Panorama Leszczyńska*<sup>2</sup> newspaper came under analysis – 2011 issues (January-August, nos 1-33). The next stage focused on the local and regional press in Wielkopolska and its bordering areas (due to the availability of Wielkopolska newspapers). 150 randomly chosen newspapers (nearly 15% of all periodicals) were analysed, taking into consideration three monthly analyses (random sampling limited by drawing lots for the year with the exception of 2012) in the following periods: January–March (1993, 1995, 2003, 2009), April–June (1992, 1996, 2006, 2008, 2012 until July 15<sup>th</sup> due to Euro 2012), July–September (2002, 2007, 2011), and October–December (1994, 1997, 2004, 2005, 2010). The fourth stage included the analysis of electronic media from the Wielkopolska region found on the internet (using Volhynia and Ukraine as keywords) and its purpose was to complement the information with statistical data (especially because the previous research into print press could not provide a reliable view due to the low number of articles). This research examined *Głos Wielkopolski* as a regional newspaper (the electronic version), the website of *Radio Elka* (whose broadcast area covers a part of Wielkopolska, Dolny Śląsk and Lubuskie, including the areas of the former Leszno region, the so-called copper hub with Głogów, Lubin, Polkowice and Legnica, as well as Krotoszyn and its surroundings) and print and electronic press from the area of post-war resettlements in Eastern Borderlands (the counties of Piła, Góra and Wschowa) and also cities cooperating with Ukraine (7 newspapers). This all helped to generate information from 1995-2013. The research was complemented (stage five) by an analysis of the national press (daily, weekly and monthly newspapers) between the 1<sup>st</sup> of June and the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 2013 (the purpose was to scrutinise the quality of publications on the Volhynia and Eastern Galicia massacre in 1943-1945). The last stage of the qualitative data included the Leszno publishing area mentioned earlier (36 newspapers, 100% of which are print and online press) and covered events in Ukraine between the 28<sup>th</sup> of November 2013 and the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 2014 (from the Eastern Partnership summit in Vilnius until Crimea's annexation by Russia following the decision of the Council of Crimea).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *Panorama Leszczyńska* is the biggest weekly newspaper in terms of circulation in the Leszno publishing region. On average, there are 30,618 copies of *Panorama Leszczyńska* in circulation weekly, while in 2011 there were 28,306 copies. Currently, circulation is checked by the Polish Audit Bureau of Circulation (ZKDP).

<sup>3</sup> The decision of the Crimea Council dated on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March included the information about the referendum on Crimea's annexation to the Russian Federation

## 2. Historical context of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the media – remarks

The debate about Polish-Ukrainian relations takes place in the national press, rather than in the local and regional press. Moreover, the conflict over the classification of genocide in the case of Volhynia and Eastern Galicia in the 1940s has not been covered by the local press – here the term ‘genocide’ is used directly. News stories whose content is connected with Volhynia, the Eastern Borderlands or Ukraine are not given first page coverage by the media. Neither does the local press analyse the conflict of historical memory, however, it informs in a succinct manner (which is typical of predominantly informative media) about certain developments in the lives of the people from the Eastern Borderlands, their initiatives to commemorate their compatriots and the places in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia where the massacres were perpetrated (monuments have been raised, memorial plaques put up, the Eastern Borderlands Memorial Hall in Wschowa was opened, there are associations of Borderlanders in – among others – Wschowa, Piła and Leszno, and there is information about numerous grassroots initiatives, such as looking for and restoring Polish gravestones in Ukraine). Information concerning Lviv, Volhynia and Eastern Galicia is covered by the local press (mainly by *Panorama Leszczyńska*, *Radio Elka*, *ABC*, *Przegląd Górowski*, *Tygodnik Nowy* from Piła, *Słowo Ziemi Wschowskiej*) distributed in counties which were the destination for resettlements following Operation Vistula<sup>4</sup> (the

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which was to be held in Crimea on the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 2014. As the media research did not cover the 16<sup>th</sup> of March, it needs to be remembered that *Głos Wielkopolski*, being the most popular daily newspaper in Wielkopolska (even though it is part of *Polska The Times*), presented this topic as important (a page-long article, photographs of the referendum on the front cover and the subsequent page, a satirical drawing by Henryk Sawka as well as politicians’ comments; among others by PM Donald Tusk and by Janusz Palikot, famous for his controversial insights) – for more see: *Głos Wielkopolski* – 17.03.2014 – pp. 1, 2, 8, 15 and 17. Further media analysis including the 16<sup>th</sup> June, 2014 referendum and its international ramifications will be published in *Droga Ukrainy do stowarzyszenia z Unią Europejską w mediach. Przyczynek do badań nad zawartością treści*, ed. WNPiD UAM in Poznań.

<sup>4</sup> Operation Vistula was the codename for the 1947 forced resettlement of post-war Poland’s Ukrainian minority to the Recovered Territories, carried out by the Soviet-controlled Polish Communist authorities [translator’s note].

county of Wschowa – Lubuskie region, the county of Góra – Dolny Śląsk region and the county of Piła; the former two used to belong to the Wielkopolska region but nowadays they are neighbouring counties). Publications on that topic are fairly rare (2 or 3 annually in case of the area where Borderlanders are active, in other cases once every several years, or never). Such publications are neutral, with a few exceptions (e.g. expressions like “chauvinist degenerate Ukrainians” [32]). It is worth mentioning that statistically in *Głos Wielkopolski*, in 2013 (as of 15<sup>th</sup> July) the topic of the anti-Polish repressions in Volhynia was covered in 6 publications (however, in the publishing group of print newspapers according to the website of *Głos Wielkopolski* there were 24 publications in total, including *Polska The Times* – 9, *Dziennik Bałtycki* – 4, *Dziennik Zachodni* – 3, and *Dziennik Łódzki* – 2. In turn, in 2012 and 2009 in *Głos Wielkopolski*, only one piece of information was published, while in 2013 in *Panorama Leszczyńska*, 3 publications were found (in total 20 articles corresponding with the keyword ‘Volhynia’ including 2005 – 2, 2007 – 3, 2008 – 7, 2009 – 1, 2010 – 1, 2011 – 1, 2012 – 2, 2013 – 3; in comparison, the keyword ‘Ukraine’ produced 30 results, 30 publications in total including 2005 – 1, 2006 – 5, 2007 – 3, 2008 – 8, 2009 – 1, 2010 – 1, 2011 – 1, 2012 – 2, 2013 – 1). In *Tygodnik Nowy* (the county of Piła) only one piece of information was published in 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. In turn, in 2013 on the website of *Radio Elka* 4 articles appeared with reference to the Volhynian issue (the keyword ‘Volhynia’ produced 10 publications including 2007 – 1, 2008 – 2, 2009 – 1, 2011 – 1, 2012 – 1, 2013 – 3; in comparison the keyword ‘Ukraine’ produced 32 publications, including 2006 – 5, 2007 – 5, 2008 – 4, 2009 – 1, 2010 – 4, 2011 – 2, 2013 – 4). It transpires that *Głos Wielkopolski* (the most widely-read regional daily newspaper in Wielkopolska, and 4<sup>th</sup> in Poland according to PBC – the Polish Readership Survey in 2013) features only a few more publications regarding the Volhynian issue and Polish-Ukrainian relations (there are bound to be more results if the keyword ‘Ukraine’ is typed in) than the weekly local publication *Panorama Leszczyńska* (a local magazine distributed in the area of the former Leszczyńskie region), *Tygodnik Nowy* (the publishing region of Piła overlapping with the former Piła region) as well as the website of *Radio Elka* (both the website and the radio cover news in the area of the former Leszno region, and the copper hub – Głogów, Lubin, Polkowice and Krotoszyn with its surroundings).

### **3. Twin towns – international cooperation between local governments in Wielkopolska and Ukraine**

The standards for Polish-Ukrainian cooperation were established by *The Protocol for the Cooperation between the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art and the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture* in 1991 and 1992-1993. This document defined 4 main areas of cooperation: 1) the exchange of art groups, artists, museum exhibitions, contemporary art and the organisation of cultural events; 2) the creation of conditions enabling the cultural development of national minorities; 3) attempts at solving problems connected with the common cultural and historical heritage and preserving monuments; 4) the development of direct cooperation between regions, cities, institutions of the two parties [1, p. 55].

Poznań, as the capital of Wielkopolska, cooperates with 14 twin cities. Cooperation on the local government level started when the local government was reinstated in 1990. However, even before that, within the block of socialist states, inter-city relations were furthered and they gradually expanded to the cities of Western Europe (e.g. Kalisz has been cooperating with the French city of Hautmont since 1958, which is the longest lasting relation with a European city). Research indicates that, prior to 2004, municipalities from Wielkopolska signed agreements predominantly with Germany (99), the Netherlands (43) and France (38), while counties collaborate mainly with Germany (17), Italy (9) and Ukraine (3) [1, p. 52]. At that time Ukrainian municipalities cooperated with 8 Polish counterparts. The currently existing twin-city agreements include: Poznań–Charków (since 1998), Turek (as well as the county of Turek since 2002)–Winnica and Dunajowce, Leszno–Stryj (since 2003), Leszno county–Chechelnyk district (since 2008), Rydzyna–Kremenets (since 2003), Rawicz (as well as Rawicz county since 2007)–Lypovets district (since 2007), Konin–Chernivtsi (since 1994), Jarocin–Oleksandriya (since 2004), Jaraczewo–Novovolynsk (since 2004), Dobrzyca–Yampil (since 2004), Kalisz–Kamyanets-Podilsky (since 1994), Koło–Ladyzhyn (since 2003), Nowy Tomyśl county–Borshchiv district (since 2003) and Ternopil (since 2012) [4]. Moreover, local authorities from Poland and Ukraine have declared a willingness to cooperate (e.g. in 2012 Ostrów Wielkopolski exchanged letters of intent with Lviv and in 2008 with Lutsk and Sharhorod).

Meanwhile, the media present a not entirely positive image of Ukraine. On the one hand, it is an undemocratic, backward country with a resurgent nationalist ideology. On the other hand, it is Poland's partner and an aspir-

ing EU-member [11, p. 10; 18, p. 1; 19, p. 6; 26, p. 8]. As early as in 2000, *Gazeta Kościuska* published a statement made by a female citizen from Kamyanets-Podilsky: “[l]ife in Ukraine is hard. There are goods in the shops but people have no money. Sometimes they wait 3 months to be paid their salary (...). They eat potatoes and pasta all the time because it fills them up and it’s cheap” [30, p. 8]. 12 years later Robert Lewandowski, in a feature, describes Ukraine as “a poor country with low salaries and women and children begging in the streets of Lviv” [21, p. 2].

The Polish partnership with Ukraine takes place mainly on the cultural, educational (summer exchange of children and youth) and sporting levels, as well as through the transfer of expertise in local governance (apprenticeships for employees from twinned cities) [4]. Activities aimed at improving already-existing or establishing new Polish-Ukrainian relations in Wielkopolska are guided by the principles of the Socio-Cultural Association Poland-Ukraine in Poznań. Thus, projects furthering the creation of good neighbourly relations have been implemented in numerous cities and municipalities – including in Poznań, Leszno, Gniezno, Kórnik, Baranowo, Tarnowo Podgórne, Głogów and Bojanowo – as a part of a cultural festival *Ukrainian Spring 2012* between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> of May of that year. Moreover, as the organisers of that festival stressed, there was an attempt to interpret the difficult historical relationship between Poland and Ukraine through art [24].

Culture and remembering the history of both nations also motivated the organisers of The Ukrainian Fair in Leszno as part of the Ukrainian Spring 2013 festival. This was manifested in the statement by a representative of the Association, who said, on *Radio Elka*: “(...) clearly we are torn apart by history but brought together by temperament and love for music” [31]. On the same day, six comments on the statement appeared on the *Radio Elka* website – 4 of them neutral and two negative, referring to the homicide in Eastern Borderlands.

The media report events not only connected with cooperation with foreign representatives of local government, but also social initiatives to establish such contacts. In that respect, news articles dominate, and the international cooperation of local authorities plays a secondary role in the local press (it is not considered front page information). The idea of cooperation itself has numerous proponents (advocating exchanging experiences) as well as opponents (opinions such as “free trips for officials and councillors – that’s what partnership in the style of Wielkopolska looks like”), as can be read in *Głos Wielkopolski* and *Panorama Leszczyńska* [27, 25, 33, p. 2].

#### 4. Polish-Ukrainian relations in the context of sporting events – conclusions

Publications referring to Ukraine and its citizens in local and regional media can be classified into three types – articles covering exclusively sporting encounters (77.7%, 126 publications e.g. describing a match, its final score or tipping the winner), articles referring to sports and politics at the same time (6.7%, 11 publications), ‘apolitical’ articles referring to sport, but also including an insight into other aspects of public and private life (15.4%, 25 articles e.g. supporting the team, concerts, prostitution, gossip about footballers’ wives and girlfriends, stereotypes) [4].

Ukraine is depicted in the local and regional media chiefly as a place of sporting events (118 publications, 72.8%) [4]. In this context in 2012, *Gazeta Ostrowska* described good Polish-Ukrainian relations between the Eurofan football tournament held in Lviv [14, p. 24]. Out of 1,506 publications covering Euro 2012, only 162 made reference to Ukraine (i.e. 10.75 %) while Ukraine as a co-organiser of the Euro 2012 is hardly ever mentioned in the local and regional press (14 articles, 8.6%) [4]. A text published in *Panorama Leszczyńska* exemplifies this aspect, showing Ukraine in a not too good light. It reads “(...) the European football championship in Ukraine co-hosting the event had a rather sluggish start. In the streets of Ukrainian cities elements referring to the European championship are rare and cars festooned with national flags are scarce. Moreover, our eastern neighbour spent less than a half (10 billion euro) of what Poland invested in Euro 2012, and its biggest road investment was a 20-kilometre motorway stretch from the airport to the centre of Kiev. This comes as no surprise, since the average salary in this country amounts to 1,300 złoty (about €325)” [22, p. 47]. This comment could be compared with an article published in *Głos Wielkopolski* regarding the accusations made by Yulia Tymoshenko that the President of Ukraine together with a business group embezzled funds earmarked for the Euro 2012 Football Championship [15, p. 17]. Summarising the event in the local press, only the Polish footballer Robert Lewandowski revealed the lack of agreement in the co-organisation of Euro 2012. He said: “(...) I can barely see any Polish-Ukrainian togetherness in this event! For instance, in our fan zones there are no concerts by Ukrainian artists, in our TV studios no Ukrainian football experts are invited to comment on the matches as they are broadcast, and no symbols of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation (such as flags of both countries) are to be found in the streets of Polish cities. (...) we are



trying to prove that the event is coming out better here (...). This is not how trust and cooperation should be built with a country with which historically there were more points of difference than points in common” [21, p. 2]. It is an accurate comment, taking into account that during Euro 2012 Poland was mostly visited by Ukrainians (40,000 people) [13, p. 12]. Furthermore, Ryszard Grobelny, the president of Poznań made it clear that we owe ‘something’ to today’s Ukraine – “[w]e should stop deluding ourselves, we organised Euro 2012 thanks to the Ukrainian initiative and lobbying” [17, p. 10]. Foreign media (the BBC, among others) were greatly impressed by the organisation of Euro 2012 in Poland and Ukraine and praised the Polish and Ukrainian hospitality. They informed that “the Poles and the Ukrainians should be swelling with pride” [13, p. 12]. Another positive contribution about Ukraine is M. Cwojda’s opinion – “football-wise, the Donbas Arena in Donetsk is likely to be European number 1” [12, p. 48]. An interesting comment on the Polish-Ukrainian relations was published in *Suddeutsche Zeitung* and then referred to in *Głos Wielkopolski*: “[t]he only thing that Warsaw failed to do during the European Football Championship was to draw Ukraine closer to the European Union” [20, p. 12].

In the Wielkopolska press the Ukrainians are most often presented as competitors in speedway races or football matches (e.g. in 2013 football matches as a part of the Dialogue of Cultures and Nations Festival in Leszno). In 2006-2013 the local *Radio Elka* only produced 32 news items (keyword: Ukraine) featuring Ukrainians – speedway was mentioned 11 times, football 3 times, athletics 2 times and cycling events once [4]. The sport category confirms two conclusions – firstly, speedway is a popular sport in Leszno and the A. Smoczyk stadium often hosts races, and secondly, if it were not for speedway, there would be scant mention of Ukrainian matters in the context of sport in the local press of the Leszno region.

Of all the journalist genres it is news articles that dominate – 74.6%, i.e. 121 publications (51.2% news articles, 17.9% reports, interviews 5.5%), which fully correlates with the main task of local media and the expectations of readers – to inform (PBC, 2010). The European Football Championship revealed an exceptional level of involvement of local and regional media in terms of feature articles, which amounted to 22.8% i.e. 37 publications (commentaries 17.9%, essays 1.8%, opinion columns 2.4%). *Panorama Leszczyńska’s* M. Cwojda, who was an accredited journalist to Euro 2012, watched the matches live in Ukraine and proved to be

a skilful commentator, similarly to R. Musioł, the correspondent of *Głos Wielkopolski*, who also gave an account from Ukraine. The articles thematically connected with Ukraine were not given front-page coverage (95.6%) apart from articles about the final matches (front page – 3%, subsequent pages – 1.2%). However, more than half of those articles were accompanied by a photo (77.7%) or other graphic form (illustration – 4.3%, infographic – 1.2%, other elements – 5.5%). The Polish Press Agency was rarely the source of information for journalists (10.7%, and only for the regional media, other agencies – 0.8%). Information was mainly created by members of the editorial staff (78.5%), and, less often, by the correspondents (10.7%). Commentaries and opinions were authored by journalists (45.9%) and almost as many Polish experts (48.6%) as well as by foreign experts (5.4%). In the context of the Euro 2012, Ukraine and the Ukrainians were depicted in a rather neutral way – 41.9% (68 publications) and – to a smaller, however almost equal extent – positively – 26.5% (43 publications) and negatively – 22.2% (36 publications). A mix of positive and negative opinions was identified in 9.2% of publications (15). The data mentioned therein show that, in the context of Euro 2012, local and regional media attempted to contribute to building good Polish-Ukrainian relations.

## 5. Conclusions

Polish-Ukrainian relations analysed in the local press were of a neutral nature and neither built nor consolidated (a few publications) the image of Polish-Ukrainian harmony, or its absence, in the collective memory.

However, it needs to be stressed that all four aspects outlining Polish-Ukrainian relations (history, local government cooperation, sport and current affairs) prove to have a common denominator – publications often feature the theme of Ukraine signing the EU association agreement. During the extraordinary EU summit dedicated to Ukraine mentioned earlier, Arseniy Yatsenyuk pressed the EU to quickly resolve that matter.

Most of the analysed press material in the local and regional newspapers is qualified as news articles – they are simple and structured in a concise way. Feature articles are rare (with the exception of the widely-commented European Football Championship and the political changes in Ukraine). In the local press, news and feature articles were written exclusively by editorial teams, while in the regional media publications were sourced from the Polish Press Agency, and less often pro-

vided by correspondents. Articles addressing Polish-Ukrainian relations were largely not published on the front cover; therefore, in the journalists' opinion they were not very important (excepting the political issues related to Volhynia in the regional press, which attests to their following the thematic tendencies imposed by national newspapers). The strength of the local and regional media is simply structured information about the place the reader lives (local, sub-local) as the Readership Survey confirmed (PBC, 2010). The same study indicated the national media should not only provide information, but first and foremost form opinions. In this case, building Polish-Ukrainian relations in the Wielkopolska press is a secondary matter, and is not expected by the local reader (the situation might vary in the local press of municipalities bordering Ukraine).

Interesting data is revealed by the statistical research into the attitude of Poles towards Ukrainians [7, p. 57; 8, p. 72]. Currently, in 2013 (Centre for Public Opinion-CBOS research) liking for the Ukrainians is roughly as common as an aversion to them (liking – 31% of respondents, indifference – 28% and aversion – 33%) [9]. A 2013 survey by CBOS titled *Difficult Remembrance: Volhynia 1943 (Trudna pamięć: Wołyń 1943)* [10] is also interesting. Nearly half of the respondents – 46% – think that the Polish-Ukrainian relations are neither good nor bad (indifferent – author's note), 18% have no opinion, 21% define the relations as good, and 15% express a critical view about them (mostly elderly people). However, 31% of the respondents know nothing about the 'Volhynia massacre'. In this aspect, the media may play an educational role, which was attempted (mainly by the national media) in the case of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the crimes in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia. Two other contexts – foreign cooperation of local governments and sport in the regional and local media, may serve as a catalyst for the difficult Polish-Ukrainian relations, due to differently interpreted historical memory on the two sides [6, 8]. Doubtless, they offer an opportunity to build new and positive relationships between Poles and Ukrainians.

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### **Резюме**

*Местная и региональная пресса демонстрирует польско-украинские отношения скорее нейтрально. Публикации, касающиеся польско-украинских сообщений, в великопольской прессе касаются следующих аспектов: история польско-украинских отношений; международное сотрудничество органов местного самоуправления; спорт и “Евромайдан”. В местных и региональных СМИ доминируют информационные тексты. Благодаря этому местные и региональные СМИ показывают польско-украинские отношения не только творчески, но также и стабильно. Эта стабильность характеризует местные СМИ, что подтверждают читательские опросы (РВС, 2010), в свою очередь общественное мнение формирует национальные СМИ. Общей темой, которая появляется во всех охарактеризованных аспектах польско-украинских отношений, является проблема Украины на пути в ЕС.*

**Ключевые слова:** польские локальные и региональные СМИ, Украина в польских локальных и региональных СМИ, исследование содержания СМИ