

## Doctoral Dissertation Abstract

Title: The Politicization of Polish Television as an Instrument for Implementing the Politics of Memory of the Law and Justice Party

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Discipline: Political Science and Administration

This dissertation is interdisciplinary in nature, encompassing political science research (historical policy and collective memory; politicization of media) and media studies (public media in the political system; media content and its influence on audience perception). The central theme of this work is the symbiotic relationship between the realms of politics and media, characterized by dynamic interactions that range from the politicization of media to the mediatization of politics. This study focuses on historical policy, defined as a set of deliberate state actions aimed at shaping collective memory. Historical policy plays a crucial role in building and strengthening national identity. Contemporary states, including Poland, use it not only to strengthen social bonds but also as a tool for legitimizing power and mobilizing society. The Law and Justice party (PiS) places significant emphasis on historical policy, treating it as both an element of national identity building and an instrument for achieving political objectives by promoting specific historical narratives that support its political and ideological agenda.

This doctoral dissertation provides a detailed analysis of the role of public television as a memory actor within a politicized context. The primary objective of the study is to examine whether and how Polish Television (TVP) under the United Right government (2015-2023) served the implementation of the historical policy of the Law and Justice party. The author describes and analyzes the number and topics of historical programs broadcast by TVP during the PiS government. Additionally, the study identifies the entertainment genres used in these broadcasts and evaluates the audience's perception and reaction to historical programs, assessing their ability to convey knowledge about significant historical events and figures and examining opinions on the objectivity and political neutrality of these programs.

To understand whether and how the politicized public broadcaster was used as a tool for implementing PiS's historical policy, the author poses research questions regarding changes in the number and topics of historical programs featured on TVP1 and TVP2 during PiS's tenure. The study also investigates which historical themes related to Poland's history were most prominently featured and which television entertainment genres were used to convey historical content. The research analyzes whether, in the audience's view, the historical programs broadcast by public television influence their beliefs and opinions about Polish history, help them understand important historical events and figures, and are perceived as politically engaged or biased. Based on these questions, research hypotheses are formulated, including the main hypothesis that public television was politicized during PiS's rule. Two secondary hypotheses suggest that: (HP1) the politicized public television under PiS served as an instrument for implementing the party's historical policy, and (HP2) PiS's historical policy was executed not only through informational and publicistic programs but also through entertainment content such as feature films, TV series, and soap operas.

The first chapter of the dissertation presents three main waves of memory studies: collective memory, cultural memory, and multidirectional memory, also analyzing the specificity of the Polish scientific discourse on memory and the role of memory actors and historical policy. The second chapter focuses on the functions of media in political communication, with particular emphasis on public media in Poland, providing a detailed analysis of the processes of politicizing public media. The third chapter analyzes the TVP1 and TVP2 schedules during PiS's rule, with a particular focus on historical programs, identifying and describing the collective memory propagated by Polish Television during this period. The fourth chapter includes audience opinion research on historical programs broadcast by TVP, conducted using the CATI method, and a study of the national memory canon, allowing for the identification of the respondents' everyday collective memory.

The conclusion emphasizes that Polish Television, especially TVP1 and TVP2, played a crucial role in communicating PiS's historical policy assumptions between 2015 and 2023. The research showed a significant increase in the number of historical programs, particularly those covering the periods of World War II and the People's Republic of Poland (PRL), aligned with PiS's narrative promoting patriotic and anti-communist values. The politicization of public media, especially Polish Television, was a key instrument in the implementation of PiS's historical policy, contributing to the shaping of collective memory and national identity in accordance with the party's ideology.

Keywords:

historical policy, collective memory, media politicization, Polish Television, Law and Justice Party (PiS), political communication, historical narratives, public media