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Spectator in spectaculum. **The main Polish tv channels' hidden personalities (TVP1, TVP2, TVN and Polsat)**

There is growing fragmentation of TV audiences. Thematic TV channels, new media and web communication via the Internet increasingly take away audiences from universal TV channels. Despite this fact, they still have the largest number of viewers and they create the mainstream of popular culture. In Poland, there are four such channels: TVP1, TVP2, TVN and Polsat[1]. Their combined market share, that is the part of total time all Poles devote to television, is about 70%. None of these channels or all of them together can stop people from turning to other media, they can only try to slow this process down. What they can do is to compete with each other for viewers. This is inevitable because all of them depend on profits from advertising which are directly related to the number of viewers and programme's attractiveness. As a result, competition in the field of programme policy is getting all the more intensified.

Convergence, divergence

Just like in nature, also in culture, TV stations behaviour, competing for limited access to goods (viewers' attention, profits from advertising), is ruled by centralist and decentralist forces. The first are based on copying competitor's activity, while the second – on attempts to be different and original, to strengthen one's market position. In the first case, we are dealing with convergence[2], in the second – with divergence.

Both phenomena regard the all channels programme offer. However, the best area for observation is the competition between public and commercial channels. In Polish reality, it is a rather balanced competition as it takes place between two public and two commercial channels with similar scope, range and programme potential. Effects of

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[1] According to telemetric data, the following is each channel's market share, as of November 2008: TVP1 – 22.7%, TVP2 – 16.2%, TVN – 16.1%, Polsat – 14.9%. Data provided by TVP S.A. Programme Bureau.
[2] With regard to convergence In media, there are three matters: standardising technical standards as far as broadcast registration, transmission and reception, programme offer becoming similar on all stations, and programme activity realized in different forms and via various media. In this article, we are strictly dealing with the second matter (cf.: M. Mrozowski *Media masowe. Władza, rozrywka i biznes,* Warszawa 2001; H. Jenkins *Kultura konwergencji*, Warszawa 2007).

convergence can be seen in the structure of programme offer of each of the channels as well as in the content of different programmes. All in all, it can be said that there are more similarities between the channels than differences. But against this background all the differences become more important and meaningful. The differences can be attributed to divergence of a given channel target group – the whole content of this channel offer do reflect (or rather pretend to reflect) collective mentality and life experience of this target group. So, these differences are at the same time the constitutive elements and the reflections of more or less defined "hidden personality" of given channel.

Both of these hypotheses (convergence/divergence) require empirical test. So far, research of this kind has not been carried out in Poland. For the purposes of this analysis were used the results of *Analysis of main TV channels' programme content offer*, carried out, at the request of TVP S.A. Programme Bureau, by TNS OBOP[3]. Analysed were all programmes broadcasted by TVP1, TVP2, TVN and Polsat between October 2–16, 2008. The aim of the research, as specified by TVP S.A., was a detailed analysis of programme structure, content and various quality aspects. Because the research focuses on multi aspect comparison of the four channels' programme offer, all of their analysed characteristics pertain to both hypotheses. This paper, however, will focus on the biggest differences and ones considered credible.

Structure of programme offer

No broadcaster can create all programmes on his own. He has to make use of different sources and methods of attaining programmes. Aside from its own productions, ones ordered from outside sources, or various co-productions, he can buy entire programmes domestically or abroad or he can re-transmit programmes shown earlier. There is a multitude of possibilities. There is more supply than demand. There is a wide variety of choice. Hence, what is shown reflects the broadcaster's idea of what his viewers (target group) like and want.

Table 1 shows basic indicators and data regarding the structure of analysed channels and where their programmes come from. The first two indicators show the complexity of different channels. If we divide the total length of broadcasting time by the number of various programmes, we obtain the average length of a programme. For TVP1, it's 26

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[3] Report from research *Analiza zawartości programów głównych stacji telewizyjnych – TVP1, TVP2, TVN, Polsat*, TNS OBOP, Warszawa 2009.

minutes, for TVP2 – 29 min., TVN – 34 and Polsat – 44. However, the commercial station programmes (except for news) include advertising and programme announcements. As a result, even though TVN and Polsat have a lower number of programmes, interrupted by advertising, it seems that their shows are longer, more complex and dynamic than those on public TV. Meanwhile, public TV viewers' time is not 'wasted' on commercials and they can watch more consistent programmes. These differences are apparent especially with regard to films which, because of advertising, are on commercial stations on average 20-30 minutes longer. These are the most typical differences between public and commercial stations, at the same time, the strongest divergence factors.

Table 1. Structure and nationality of programmes by various stations

	Station			
	TVP 1	TVP 2	TNV	Polsat
Total length of broadcasting (in minutes)	13854	14267	13372	14656
Total number of programmes	532	476	359	333
Polish programmes	65	77	87	70
European programmes	11	5	2	1
American programmes	20	11	11	29
Other programmes	3	7	0	0
Premieres	88	89	69	84
Re-runs	12	11	31	16

Data in the middle and lower sections as percentage of total number of programmes.

Channel complexity and dynamics are of importance to viewers. Older and less educated people prefer programmes which are less complex and dynamic because they are easier to follow. Younger and more educated people prefer the opposite; segmentation of programmes does not require a long attention span and they can, at the same time, surfing through other channels. Interesting programmes can, therefore, attract viewers 'on the spot' or lose them if they find something better. This means that broadcasters have to constantly care about how appealing their programmes are, especially when it comes to younger viewers seeking new attractions and used to playing with the remote control.

Programme attractiveness is usually measured by the trial and error method. Practise shows that most appealing to viewers are original Polish programmes as well as American films and shows[4]. That is why, despite regulation in favour of European programmes, all analysed stations broadcast mostly domestic and American productions. European and other than American programmes make up a considerable percentage only on TVP1 (14%) and TVP2 (12%) which markedly differentiates two public channels from the commercial ones. However, a lower percentage of domestic programmes and a higher one of American ones make TVP1 similar to Polsat's offer which, justifiably, is not considered very ambitious.

The majority of programmes shown on all channels are premieres. Most of them are broadcasted by TVP1 and TVP2, which favourably differentiates them from commercial stations, especially in comparison to TVN where 30% of programmes are re-runs. In this case, care for programme attractiveness, which generates higher costs of production, is counterbalanced by a lower number of original shows and a higher one of re-runs. This means that TVN's programme offer content is more limited than other channels. This is a significant characteristic differentiating this station from the others.

All in all, a general quantity analysis of programme offer structure shows that there are more similarities (convergence effect) than differences (divergence effect) between the stations. There are, however, noticeable distinctions and, hence, they should not be ignored. If we go into more in-depth analysis, these variations can mean significant differences. The first step is an analysis of the programmes' genre and thematic structure.

Programme genre structure

The content analysis included a rather detailed classification of genres, with twelve genre categories based on theme, formal structure and production. Table 2 shows the results (in percentages) during total broadcasting time an in the prime time (6:45 pm to 10:45 pm).

On all channels, the majority of programmes can be classified into three groups: film, TV show and entertainment; in other words –- the three basic genres of popular culture. Despite this fact, public stations' genre structure is more diversified than commercial ones. TVP1 and TVP2's offer includes all genres while TVN and Polsat do not have some genres, ie. religious or educational programmes.

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[4] Within the researched period, these were the shows with highest audience figures: *M jak miłość, Na dobre i na złe, Klan, Ojciec Mateusz* and *Rancho* (Re-run), as well as American blockbusters as part of different series Megahit (Polsat), Superkino (TVN), Hit na sobotę (TVP1), based on telemetric data provided by TVP S.A. Programme Bureau.

Table 2. Programme genre structure

Genres	Station – length and number of programmes			
	TVP1	TVP2	TNV	Polsat
Information/news	8 (14)	6 (0)	3 (15)	8 (14)
Social/political	5 (2)	2 (1)	1 (0)	1 (0)
Factual (*reality*, documents, reports)	1 (0)	1 (0)	20 (16)	1 (0)
Film	24 (38)	20 (33)	13 (31)	17 (40)
Shows	23 (16)	32 (23)	14 (16)	29 (25)
Entertainment (game shows, performance, talk-show, cabaret, concert)	8 (2)	14 (29)	32 (22)	37 (19)
Culture, art.	6 (6)	4 (6)	1 (0)	0
Advice	11 (0)	8 (0)	13 (0)	1 (0)
Religion	2 (0)	1 (0)	0	0
Sport	2 (10)	3 (6)	2 (1)	1 (2)
Children	8 (11)	1 (0)	0	5 (0)
Educational/science	3 (0)	7 (0)	0	0

The first number is a percentage of total broadcasting time, the second – percentage of broadcast in prime time (6.45–10.45 pm).

All in all, Polish public channel structure is similar to the typical public broadcaster's programme structure. This is a characteristic which differentiates the two public stations from commercial ones, however, in prime time hours these differences are vanishing. Between 6:45 and 10:45 PM, TVP does not broadcast more ambitious programmes such as social/political, educational, advice, or religious ones. In case of TVP2, it does not even show information programmes, which is bizarre or even embarrassing for a public broadcaster. TVP1, on the other hand, transmits a large share of children's shows. This way, in most important prime time hours with largest audience figures, public broadcasters' genre offer is similar to that of commercial ones and not vice versa. Here, we are dealing with a triumph of the convergence effect, in its worst case – it is public broadcasters which are becoming like commercial ones with typical to them behaviour.

Theme structure

When disappearing is genre disparity between the channels, we need to look for other differentiating factors such as the programmes' content or subject matter. Despite the genre convergence effect, it does not mean that there is also homogenisation of content. The same types of programmes can confer various themes and create different visions of the world. The main indicator of broadcasted content is the show's subject matter and issues discussed. Due to the complexity of this point of analysis, the researchers used a simplified scale with broad thematic classification. Only the programme's dominant topic was used as the basis for coding. Resulting, entire programme content was divided into 23 thematic categories (Table 3).

TVP1 provides the broadest and most diversified thematic offer, while Polsat – the most narrow and least diversified, in comparison to TVP1, almost twice as narrow. TVP2 and TVN's offers are more narrow than TVP1 but broader than Polsat's. On all channels dominant are customs/tradition and entertainment themes (game shows, humour, music, etc.) They differ, however, in the thematic categories which are focused on and omitted, especially with regard to serious issues. TVP2 generally focuses on family life issues, education, individual success and advice while ignoring issues such as social pathologies, morality, settling Communist accounts, science, technology, economy. Meanwhile, TVN concentrates on family life, crime, individual success, advice and, what should be noted, politics and government issues but avoids subjects such as Communist times, history in general, military conflicts, ecology and tourism. With regard to Polsat, it can be said that this station ignores the majority of serious topics and problems.

Table 3. Programme thematic structure

Programme subject master/issues	TVP1	TVP2	TVN	Polsat
Customs – family life, interpersonal relations, relationships, conflict, etc.	24 (18)	25 (23)	14 (18)	42 (47)
Entertainment – game show, humour, music	12 (12)	19 (31)	22 (18)	30 (22)
Family – raising children, marital issues, etc.	6 (2)	9 (10)	12 (15)	2 (5)
Crime	4 (11)	4 (3)	9 (14)	2 (7)
Education	6 (1)	5 (1)	1 (1)	0
Corruption, social pathologies	1 (1)	0	2 (2)	0

Moralisty	1 (2)	0	1 (1)	4 (0)
Individual – achievements, success	2 (5)	5 (6)	7 (9)	0
Life style- fashion, trends	1 (0)	1 (0)	4 (3)	7 (10)
Past and history	1 (0)	2 (0)	0	0
Settling accounts with Communist system	3 (0)	0	0	0
Science and technology	2 (0)	0	1 (0)	0
Culture – art, events	3 (0)	5 (5)	3 (1)	0
Economy	4 (1)	0	2 (0)	0
Politics, government	1 (1)	1 (4)	5 (6)	1 (0)
Sport	6 (18)	3 (6)	3 (6)	1 (0)
Fiction – fairy tales, myths	3 (11)	2 (0)	1 (1)	3 (4)
Sensation	4 (11)	2 (3)	1 (4)	2 (2)
War, military conflict	1 (0)	1 (2)	0	1 (0)
Advice	9 (0)	5 (0)	8 (0)	1 (0)
Religion	2 (1)	4 (4)	1 (0)	0
Nature, ecology	2 (2)	3 (0)	0	0
Ravel, tourism, recreation	2 (0)	2 (0)	0	0
Other, difficult to defie	1 (2)	2 (2)	2 (1)	4 (2)

The first number is a percentage of total broadcasting time, the second – percentage of broadcast in prime time (6.45–10.45 pm).

As far as prime time hours, the programme subject matter is entirely more narrow. With the exception of news, a large majority of broadcasts can be classified into a few general categories. Besides drama and entertainment which are dominant on all channels, on TVP1 there is also sport, crime, sensations and children's shows, on TVP2 – family, individual success and sport, on TVN – family, crime, personal success and politics, and on Polsat – life styles, crime, and family. These are broad thematic categories which can include numerous issues and present quite different images of reality. This is particularly with regard to the broadest media genre, drama, which encompasses everyday interpersonal relations, relationships, conflict, etc. It's not that these issues are discussed most often but that more serious subjects – so rarely, and in prime time – almost never. This is in order not to spoil the viewers' mood, hence during prime time so dominant are: romantic comedies, entertainment, sensations, psychological dramas and other popular culture inventions. In other words, in prime time hours programmes are targeted at mass audiences, cater their

interests and make them feel good. Therefore, it is an illusion that we have in Poland true public television with ambitious content.

Although the results of analysis presented above give us a somewhat general and superficial overview of the channels, they confirm the convergence hypothesis. It assumes that the greater the competition for viewers, the more public television in its offer becomes alike to the commercial broadcasters. As a result, public and commercial transmitters have more similarities than differences between them. Especially a comparison of programme structure between public and commercial television in prime time hours illustrates well the convergence effect.

Target audience

Verification of the convergence hypothesis does not exclude the divergence hypothesis. It assumes that all programmes, despite having a similar genre and thematic structure, can include numerous diverse characteristics which can create cohesive configurations meeting the needs, curiosity and tastes of different viewer groups. This way, any programme can include, coded in its content, preferred viewer characteristic (hidden personality). It means that various programmes are addressed to different audiences (target group).

Television is for everybody but not every programme is for any viewer. Besides those genres targeted at wide audiences such as family shows or nature programmes, each broadcaster provides programmes profiled at specific target groups, meeting their needs and preferences. This is how broadcasters construct their model audience, outlining its social base. Proportion of programmes "for everyone" and "for specific target groups" is the key factor positioning a given broadcaster on the market.

Specifying the target audience is not always easy. At times, it can be simple (ie. children, farmers) or is delineated by the subject matter (ie. automobile shows interest men). However, most often programmes are aimed at everyone and profiling may be the result of, for example, traits of leading characters as well as events and situations depicted. In that case, programmes can be classified as targeted based on sex, age (children, teenagers, adults, elderly), social situation (families with children) or interests. If none of the above applies, a programmes is targeted at everyone.

Table 4. Target audiences

Programme profile/ target audience	TVP1	TVP2	TVN	Polsat
General, everyone	62	54	31	47
Target group	38	46	69	53
Men	14	21	9	17
Women	9	12	20	4
Children	31	9	4	7
Young people/teenagers	8	9	25	19
Adults of both sexes	25	26	41	44
Families with children	8	15	3	6
Elderly	14	9	6	8
People interested in public life and matters	12	14	3	1
Hobbyists	7	2	2	1
Ethnic minorities, disabled	0	4	0	0
Farmers, village people	6	0	0	0

Two first rows are percentages of overall programmes (except the news). The 'target group' number is base for percentages of the rest of the rows, the columns do not sum up to 100% because one programme could be classified in more than one category.

Results of analysis (table 4) show that the majority of programmes by public broadcasters are addressed to everyone, while those by commercial ones – to specific target groups. TVP1 is the most general station while TVN – most profiled one. The results correspond to the character of the stations. Public broadcasters (TVP1, TVP2), according to the law (definition of public mission), are to serve the entire society. Commercial ones, on the other hand, can cater specific viewers, those most appealing to advertisers.

Nevertheless, on all channels, the percentage of profiled programmes is significant. It means that each broadcaster favours the needs and tastes of a specific audience, building in this way their loyalty to the station and basing on them their position on the market.

TVP1 targets children, middle age adults, men, the elderly and people interested in public life and matters. It is also the only station which has programmes for farmers. Its offer is adjusted to the demographic specificity of Polish society (growing number of older people) and dominant in it multi-generation patriarchal families (grandparents, parents, children). TVP2, on the other hand, targets middle age viewers, men and cares more than

TVP1 about women's and family needs (not children) as well as the disabled and those interested in public life and matters. It can be said that it targets middle aged men and women with families (rather partner than patriarchal model) who raise children and are not closed in but rather interested in the outside world.

Out of the four stations, TVN is the most profiled one; two thirds of its broadcasts are targeted at specific audiences, aimed at three groups of viewers – middle aged adults, youth and women. Such preferences indicate that the station focuses on groups which play an increasingly important role on the market and in public life. A low number of programmes for children, families, the elderly or people with wide interests means that preferred viewers are ones that mostly care about their own matters.

Polsat has less profiled programmes than TVN and it also focuses on three groups – middle aged people, youth and men. It means that it targets mature and older people and treats new consumer groups (youth, women) with caution. This is a traditional and safe approach, aimed at the secure majority already established in life.

Leading characters

Viewer's attention is captured when he sees interesting characters in exciting situations. This is when the identification-projection mechanism sets in. Identification is based on the viewer identifying himself with a given character. He sees himself the way he would like to be, that is, like the character on screen. Projection is when the viewer transfers himself into the world on screen and imagines that he, via the character, overcomes threats and frustration the same as in real life. The identification-projection mechanism is most often set in by extraordinary characters and situations, stimulated by innermost dreams or usual frustrations and fears.

The content quantity analysis does not allow for an in-depth character description but a more general one, of image, personality and life situation. The analysis used broad classification categories, characters' situations, activities and aims as well as way of closing the narration. Table 5 lists those cases where the above could by distinctly determined, for characters and plot. That was possible in the majority of cases, however, there were also many other characters and plots which could not be easily classified and which were, therefore, omitted.

Table 5. Leading character descriptions

	TVP1	TVP2	TVN	Polsat
Leading character description and activity				
Ordinary people in typical situations	44	35	17	38
Ordinary people in unusual situations	30	32	38	15
Extraordinary people in different situations	8	11	21	20
Famous people, celebrities, VIPs in different situations	4	14	17	4
Plot – narration axis (type of character's activity)				
Man decides – problem solving	23	5	6	12
Man suffers – suffers harm, looks for help	11	14	20	8
Man creates – professional, creative work	21	22	25	12
Man fights – conflict, competition, sport	10	14	13	4
Man celebrates – holidays, customs, traditions, rituals, religious practices	8	4	2	5
Man enjoys himself – looking for pleasure	14	17	12	35
Man chases criminals – law and order protection	6	4	16	4
Description of character and his experiences (plot/action)				
Individual character, action and social background description	54	50	51	55
Schematic character, action and social background description	36	39	45	20
Narration closing				
Original and unexpected closing	35	31	33	9
Schematic closing	23	37	41	54

Data as a percentage of total broadcasts (except for news). It does not sum up to 100% because only those cases were used which could be explicitly classified into one category.

On TVP1, a large majority of programmes depict ordinary people in typical situations, although, they also sometimes face extraordinary circumstances. Their activity is focused on solving problems and work. In the background there is time for pleasure and fun and even further back is suffering, harm, or competition and fight. It is a secure world in which predominant is constructive activity crowned with moments of happiness. It is not, however, free of conflict, suffering and threats but there are conditions for self development

and promotion. This kind of grey imaging is made more colourful by individual characters and their activity descriptions. There is also a considerable percentage of original, unexpected narration closing. However, dominant are schematic solutions.

On TVP2, there is also a majority of regular people but more often than on TVP1 they face unusual situations. There are also extraordinary people, especially celebrities and VIPs who are increasingly active. Their presence results in more focus on creative activity, fun and looking for pleasures. In the background, there is fight and suffering. Channel 2 offers a more instable view of the world, full of contradictions but with more happiness and success than harm and distress. This contrast and tension is weakened by mostly schematic narration and closings. Individual character descriptions and their drama are presented in well known pop culture frame conventions.

 TVN prefers extraordinary situations which happen to different people and people who either possess particularly interesting character traits or are celebrities shown in various situations. These are not always pleasant ones. Although dominant is creative work, satisfaction, suffering, chasing criminals and fight cast a shadow over the characters and events which take place. It is very dangerous world, brutal and dominated by the struggle between good and evil, in which good can prevail but is accompanied by a large amount of pain and suffering. Almost all within the convention of light entertainment, of course.

Polsat's leading figures can be characterized in three types of settings. Firstly, it shows ordinary and extraordinary people in typical and unusual situations. Secondly, activities of many people targeting fun and entertainment but balancing between work responsibilities and other issues. Thirdly, there are individual descriptions of people, action and social backgrounds with schematic closings of narration. Despite the above contradictions, the station show a generally calm and happy world, not spoilt by too much pain and suffering. It is kept at a safe distance.

Values

Values which people live by delineate their actions and bring social order, both in the real and the virtual (television) world. If viewers accept values they see, they watch, if not – they switch the channel. Finding out what values dominate on each station is key in establishing what kind of world is presented and what values the preferred target groups accept or find appealing.

Since it is impossible to create a complete set of existing values, for the purposes of this analysis a simplified and selective set of values was adopted. It focuses on character traits, attitudes, aims of activity, interpersonal relations and social norms which are key in societies where there is public order, which are the subject of moral judgement, which are clearly stated by people on screen or which drive their actions. Table 6 illustrates the values which were present most often and which are characteristic of a given station.

Table 6. Dominant values

TVP1	TVP2	TVN	Polsat
Friendship, home – 54	Friendship – 48	Family, home – 32	Love, loyalty – 62
Family – 52	Social sensitivity,	Self development,	Friendship – 61
Standard of living	solidarity – 43	career, success – 30	Family, home – 58
conditions – 46	Family, home – 43	Standard of living	Country, nation – 31
Social sensitivity,	Self development,	conditions – 28	Standard of living
solidarity – 45	success – 40	Social sensitivity,	conditions – 27
Self development,	Love, loyalty – 37	solidarity – 26	Religion, faith – 16
success, career – 43	Sensation seeking – 24	Friendship – 25	Social sensitivity,
Love, loyalty – 41	Broadening	Love, loyalty – 23	solidarity – 15
Broadening	knowledge – 22	Broadening	Self development,
knowledge – 34	Standard of living	knowledge – 21	career, success – 11
Openness to change,	conditions – 20	Hedonism, sexuality –	Broadening
tolerance – 26	Aesthetic experiences	19	knowledge –10
Conformism – 24	– 18	Conformism – 19	Openness to change,
Sensation seeking – 24	Status, power,	Status, power,	tolerance – 10
	money – 14	money – 15	

Percentage of programmes in which present is a given value (except for news).

As far as TVP1, key values present are common ones such as friendship, home, family, standard of living conditions, social sensitivity and solidarity. Individual ones like self development, career, love, loyalty, broadening of knowledge, openness, tolerance, conformism and sensation seeking are secondary, although, all in all, they counterbalance the chief values. It seems that it is a value system for mature and older people, not

particularly wealthy and in a key moment of their individual and public activity. They value their stability in life, the social position they've achieved and contacts with those close to them (family and friends). They may fear loneliness or boredom, trying to escape from it into the world of knowledge or sensation seeking.

On TVP2, equally strong are common values (friendship, social sensitivity, solidarity, home, family), however individual values are more diversified (self development, career, success, love, sensation seeking, broadening knowledge, aesthetic experiences, standard of living conditions, status, power, money). It is values system typical of mature, well established people, at the top of their career and activity who care about quality of life, physical but also intellectual and aesthetic.

TVN, on the other hand, focuses equally on common values (family, home) and individual ones (self development, career, success) which, as it seems, play an even greater, more motivating role. It is a values system for young and well educated people, just entering society and developing their activity. It targets people who already have their own families or are still living with their parents but deeply care about their career, social status and material independence. In this phase of their life, love is not more important than openness, broadening knowledge or hedonism, allowing people to get the most out of life, without unnecessary risk, and move on.

The world of Polsat is simple, it is entirely dominated by common values. Most imperative is love, friendship and family. Further on (and a lot less important) is country, nation, physical security, then faith (religion), social sensitivity, self development and gaining knowledge. Such values are popular with older rather than younger people, not very wealthy, less educated and not sure of their position in life. They do not have big professional ambitions or faith in their strength. Their fate is tied to unity, with the country or nation, and further on – with religion or God. In this case, other values, especially those individual ones, are of much less importance.

Emotions

People's lives, with their values system, daily activities and problems, are largely based on emotions. Since they are an integral part of human experience and the world around us, they are also present in TV programmes. The analysis takes into account only basic and easily recognizable emotions, vividly expressed in programmes and related to

situations or events but not to individual characters. The analysis aimed to measure the character and emotional charge of the programmes' main plot.

Emotions were classified into seventeen basic categories and their strength was measured on a three degree scale (high, medium, low) which was the averaged for each programme. Table 7 illustrates only the eleven most dominant emotions and their average intensity.

On all four stations, dominant are positive emotions such as happiness, enthusiasm, laughter, good mood and satisfaction. Most saturated with emotions are TVP1 and Polsat where they are evident in a large majority of programmes. TVP2 and TVN are less emotionally charged but with greater intensity in particular programmes. The fact that there are more positive emotions indicates that the stations present an affirmative view of the world, typical of popular culture (compensating for a deficit of emotions in people's real lives).

Table 7. Dominant emotions

TVP1	TVP2	TVN	Polsat
Happiness – 80 (1.7)	Happiness – 41 (2.0)	Happiness – 59 (1.8)	Happiness – 89 (1.8)
Enthusiasm – 76 (1.6)	Laughter, humour – 30 (1.9)	Enthusiasm – 54 (2.0)	Laughter, humour – 84 (1.8)
Laughter, humour – 76 (1.5)	Uncertainty – 26 (2.0)	Laughter, humour – 52 (1.8)	Enthusiasm – 72 (1.4)
Satisfaction – 70 (1.5)	Enthusiasm – 24 (2.3)	Satisfaction – 52 (1.8)	Satisfaction – 56 (1.5)
Thrill – 69 (1.6)	Tension – 23 (1.9)	Uncertainty – 42 (1.7)	Thrill – 48 (1.4)
Anger – 68 (1.4)	Thrill – 19 (2.1)	Compassion – 32 (1.7)	Irritation – 44 (1.7)
Compassion – 67 (1.4)	Sadness – 19 (2.0)	Tension – 31 (1.8)	Sadness – 41 (2.0)
Sadness – 67 (1.4)	Satisfaction – 18 (1.9)	Energy, enthusiasm – 30 (1.9)	Uncertainty – 41 (1.7)
Energy, enthusiasm – 66 (1.4)	Irritation – 16 (2.0)	Sadness – 29 (1.8)	Anger – 37 (1.9)
Irritation, – 55 (1.4)	Anger – 15 (1.9)	Anger – 26 (1.9)	Solemn – 34 (1.6)
Uncertainty – 55 (1.4)	Compassion – 14 (2.1)	Irritation – 23 (1.8)	Agression – 33 (1.6)

First number is a percentage of programmes in which the emotion is present, in brackets is average intensity (except news casts). Scale: 1– low, 2– medium, 3 – high.

There is a domination of positive emotions which determines the mood of the presented world on all channels. It is the negative emotions which differentiate the stations and which amplify the broadcast drama, tension and which disturb 'positive emotional order'. On TVP1 and Polsat, the negative emotions are predominantly anger, frustration, sadness and irritation; typical of passive disapproval of evil and emotional solidarity with those suffering. On TVP2 and TVN, more imperative are uncertainty and tension, being integral components of people engaged in activity, engrossed in conflict and facing adversity.

Aside from emotion frequency, important is also intensity. On TVP1, more intense are positive emotions (those present more frequently) and less intense are negative ones. On Polsat, among emotions of average intensity the majority are negative ones: sadness, anger, irritation, while positive ones are less intense. On TVP2 and TVN, the emotional climate is juxtaposed and polarized. In it, positive emotions such as enthusiasm, thrill, satisfaction and happiness are intertwined with negative ones (anger, despair, aggression, sadness), which results in overall tension. Particularly in case of TVP2, both positive and negative emotional intensity is rather high.

Generally speaking, the emotional climate on different stations coincides with dominant values and target audiences. Positive emotions on TVP1 correspond to the temperament of mature people in the latter part of their lives, valuing stability, their attained position in life and happiness, caring about their environment and moderate in all spheres of life. Polarized emotions, presented by TVP2, are typical of energetic representatives of the middle class, climbing up the career ladder, facing challenges and ready to sacrifice a lot in order to gain a lot. Slightly more moderate than TVP2, emotions broadcasted by TVN, correspond to younger, urban, entrepreneurial people, with zeal and ambitions, entering the work world and taking on new challenges. Polsat's emotions target less educated or established people without great ambitions, aspirations or faith in themselves and resigned to the their fate.

Building relations with viewers

In a world where interactive communication is driving out traditional, passive forms of broadcast, TV stations have to adapt and change the one way style of contact with recipients. Without it, building long term relations with viewers is not possible. All TV stations engage in this activity, however, what differentiates them is the intensity and forms of these types of activity. This analysis takes into account all forms of direct and indirect contacts with viewers and building relations with them. For the purposes of this paper, two dimensions were used: communication with viewers and forms of involving recipients (table 8).

Table 8. Relations with viewers

	TVP1	TVP2	TVN	Polsat
Communication				
Telephone	9	9	18	20
Text messages	10	8	4	23
E-mails, letters	5	1	10	1
Internet Web site	5	9	47	2
Writing at the bottom of the screen	4	9	40	12
Involving viewers				
Viewers taking part in a programmes	6	6	16	2
Inviting viewers to participate	7	12	14	18
Games/tasks with prezes	9	10	8	21
Taking viewers' opinion into consideration in a programme	1	1	7	4

Data as a percentage of total number of programmes (except news).

TVP1 does not care to a great extent about communication with viewers and even less so about motivating them to take part in programmes. As far as communication, for the most part it is the simplest means and forms such as telephone or text messages. With regard to engaging viewers – games with prizes. This confirms the image of target audience: older, less educated people, not wealthy, without access to the Internet or new media, more passive than active, only becoming active in exchange for prizes. Loyalty of these viewers is mostly a result of old habit (dating back to when it was the only channel available). Existing forms

of communication or stimulation of recipients show that this station is keeping up with the time and changes but not that it wants to gain new viewers.

TVP2 is characterized by somewhat greater than TVP1 activity in this area. This station also targets younger, better educated and wealthier people. It wishes to appeal to those who use new forms of communication and technology; it has its own web page and inputs information at the bottom of the screen (for older or less educated people it may be harder to decipher). More often than TVP1, it encourages people to take part in programmes and offers prizes, which can be appealing to people more mobile and interested in the world, for whom live participation in a studio may be a kind of self promoting activity. These types of relation building consolidates viewer loyalty and it can it also gain the station new ones.

TVN is a station which puts a lot of effort into intensive, rich and diversified activity with regard to building relations with viewers. It targets young, well educated people, used to interactive communication and active participation in events. The Internet is their natural means of communication and taking part in programmes is considered to the height of interest in as station. In this sense, intensive communication and involvement of recipients is a basic way of building new type of loyalty with a new kind of audience which values unity, effective modernism, live shows, celebrities and, most of all, entertainment. Commercial goal is an imperative factor motivating this station build this type of communication environment but it is not the only one - it is a part of this station's basic broadcasting formula, with a strong emphasis on viewer participation (also the station's way of self promotion).

Polsat is very active as well in building contacts with recipients but it largely bases on traditional means – telephone, text messaging and games with prizes. This station assumes that the majority of its viewers does not use the Internet but is rather focused on mobile phone technology, as an element of life style and sign of status. A large number of games with prizes guarantees active interest of a large audience (it is also profitable as money from text messages is used to pay for prizes). Noteworthy, however, is the fact that the station often invites people to join but seldom shows the participants (not many are interested, no attractive enough or only seeming involvement?). All of the above indicate that Polsat's traditional thinking about the needs and potential of its viewers.

Conclusion

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The subject and goal of his paper was an attempt to verify the convergence and divergence hypotheses with regard to the four main Polish TV channels, based on the results of a complex analysis ordered by TVP S.A. Programme Bureau and carried out by TNS OBOP (directed by the article's author). The analysis was performed for other purposes but because of the wide range of results regarding various aspects of the channels' functioning, it was possible to use them to test the above hypotheses. The first part of the article presents data on the structure of the four stations, their genre and thematic composition, allowing us to verify the convergence hypothesis. The second part focuses on information about targeted audiences, emphasized characters, transmitted values and emotions as well as ways of building relations with viewers, enabling us to test the divergence hypothesis.

The convergence hypothesis states that as a result of competition, the channel programme offer becomes alike. They imitate each others programmes which are most popular. The convergence effect is particularly visible during prime time hours (6:45-10:45 pm) when the competition for viewers is at the highest level and when we compare public channel offer to the one of commercial stations. Content analysis results fully confirm the convergence hypothesis. When we compare public and private channels, some considerable differences can be seen with regard to programme genre and thematic structure, however, these are minimal during prime time hours. On all channels there is a domination of entertainment and popular programmes. In other words, when there is less competition (in the morning, mid day, at night), the public channel offer is richer, more diversified and raises a wider range of topics and issues than private broadcasters. Meanwhile, during prime time hours, public channels become much alike commercial ones, predominantly offering light, easy and fun programmes. In this case, convergence is tantamount to commercialization in the entire field of competition.

Imitating others may be a threat and result in losing the competitive edge or one's own originality and identity. In consequence, it may lead to marginalization and viewer loss. Hence, every station attempts to differ somehow from the rest. The divergence hypothesis states that this can be achieved only when programme differences are arranged cohesively and they fit the needs and tastes of particular target audiences. Only then, in view of dominating similarities, we can find a characteristic to each channel model viewer profile, depicted in the presented world and being a reference point (the identification-projection mechanism) for the preferred audience group. It should be noted that the viewer profile is rather symbolic, roughly sketched, abstract and often internally contradictory (in order to

attract various viewer groups). It functions as a type of each station's hidden personality, a loose set of personality characteristics coded into different programmes, and not as a open programme policy. It means that in order to determine what it is, we had to break down the programmes into their constituent parts, look for principal elements, find concealed meanings and binding rules. Each of these activities was at risk of arbitrary categorization and researcher's subjective interpretation. It means that although the content analysis allowed us to distinguish various differentiating elements, creating each channel's ulterior personality was the result the author's interpretation.

Table 9. The channel's hidden personality (summary)

TVP1	TVP2
Channel predominantly for adults, older people and families with children (patriarchal model), less educated, entering the latter part of their professional and public activity, not wealthy but in a stable life situation, caring less about their career and more about good contacts with people close to them and their environment, escaping boredom and loneliness. Loyal viewers with set habits, interested in various issues, especially the daily lives of ordinary people, social problems and the past. Interested in practical advice and knowledge about the world. Preferring a stable view of the world, with room for creative work, reflection, problem solving and fun. They prefer a quiet life based on common values in which emotions are present but not very intense. They look for characters, events and narration which stimulate the imagination and enable identification. Satisfactory for them are traditional forms of contact with viewers and contests with prizes.	Channel targeting middle aged people, families (partnership model) and niche groups (disabled, minorities), educated, at the peak of their career and activity, rather wealthy and still working on their social status, ready to take on new challenges, caring about quality of life and looking for new experiences. Viewers are open to change and new things, without set viewing habits, are interested in daily life, customs, individual successes and failures, culture, sensation, humor, and knowledge. Their view of the world is based on tension and conflict which hinder self development but bring a lot of satisfaction. In life, they attempt to combine common values with individualism. They like thrills and contrasting emotions. They prefer conventional characters and events which project their dreams and hopes. They accept new forms of communication with viewers and involvement in programmes.

TVN	Polsat
Channel mostly for young people and young adults, still single (also independent women), well educated, developing their professional and public activity, wishing for quick and effective personal and material success, used to competition, seeking thrills, sensation and fun but without a lot of risk or responsibility. Viewers with changeable preferences and behavior, looking for innovation, interested in social changes, family issues, crime, successful people, politics and fashion. In their world, there is a constant fight between good and evil in which it is easy to gain or lose a lot and it pays to play. They highly value individual rather than common values, they like different and not very intense emotions. They need extraordinary people and events, which project their dreams about success and a good life. They value being able to take part in programmes and like using the Internet.	Channel primarily for adult and older people, less educated and not very wealthy, not secure in their professional and life situation, without great ambitions and faith in themselves. They put their fate into the hands of the state, community or God rather than into their own hands (work, activity). Viewers with set habits, not very critical, living in a closed in and limited world of interests. Focused on daily ups and downs, tradition, morality as well as conflict and passion between people. They prefer a safe and merry world, with lots of happiness and satisfaction. They do not feel very secure themselves and are fearful of their fate. They value common rather than individual values, seek positive emotions but they react more to negative emotions. They are interested in ordinary people, typical situations and narration enabling easy identification. They are not interested in intensive communication with viewers.

Table 9 is a summary of basic character traits of the analysed channels' hidden personalities. Even though the characterization relies on author interpretation, the fact is that it was based on significant differences between the channels, established by the analysis. All in all, it can be said that the results of content analysis verify the divergence hypothesis, with the reservations mentioned above.