6. Women in Polish TV Series

Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis[1]

Andrzej Meler, Beata Królicka, Radosław Sojak

◀ **ABSTRACT**

Our study concerned the extent to which contemporary Polish TV series tried to change stereotypes about women while maintaining them. The objective was operationalised in terms of the presence and presentation of fictional female characters in series broadcast by the three largest television stations in the Polish television market. Eight series representing four thematic types were monitored. We applied a multi-layered coding to the film material. Quantitatively, we defined the contexts in which female characters were shown more often and less frequently. The series were dominated by contexts related to interpersonal relationships (29%) and relationships of a social nature (26%). Two subsequent contexts were professional work (15%) and crime (10%), but they differed across individual genres and titles. We then conducted a qualitative analysis which consisted of identifying the stereotypes or anti-stereotypes presented in the series.

KEYWORDS

Women's presence; Polish TV series; female characters; gender stereotypes; social change.

---

[1] The article is an abbreviated and supplemented version of the report of the monitoring commissioned by National Broadcasting Council in 2019. The original report was published as *Stereotypical or Non-typical? Women in Polish TV Series: Their Image, Presence and Context of Appearance* by Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika [Nicolaus Copernicus University Press] in 2020.

Introduction

The experience of all waves of feminism and women's empowerment movements shows that formal (legal) change is only a prelude to informal social change. The latter often occurs many years after the former and is not without additional incentives. This is most likely because every mechanism of real social change is stretched out in a delicate balance between the introduction of new elements into culture and the acceptance of those that already exist (Zybertowicz 1995). If we were to treat this two-stage nature of social change as a guidance for our study, then analysing mere exposure of women in Polish TV series would answer the question about the formal aspect of the change, while analysing how stereotypical female characters are would address the informal aspect. This results in the two-fold structure of the analysis that follows. Firstly, using mainly quantitative methods and measures, we establish the general pattern of the presence of female characters in contemporary Polish TV series. Secondly, moving to qualitative analysis, we will answer the question of to what extent do contemporary Polish TV series try to change stereotypes about women and to what extent do they preserve them.

The Polish Media

The Polish media consists of relatively strong public sector which plays an essential role in balancing the overall political system (Łódzki 2008). In the television sector, the dominant broadcasters are Polish Television [Telewizja Polska] (state-run), Polsat (private, with Polish equity), and TVN (a subsidiary of Discovery in 2018–22). Despite the fact that two broadcasters are controlled by Polish capital, the advantage of domestic capital on the TV market is not as big as it is in Germany or France (Gajlewicz-Korab

and Konarska 2017). Considering the share of foreign capital in the media system, the system has features typical of half-peripheries or peripheries (Radziejewski 2018, Hallin and Mancini 2012).

The national public television has nearly a third of the share of the general viewership (tw 2018). It is also notable that public TV in Poland enjoys the highest geographical and population coverage in the country. There are some portions of territory and population that have only access to public media.

Research Material and Coding Procedure

The research sample comprised of chosen episodes of 8 TV series representing four genres: dramas – soap operas, historical shows, criminal stories and comedies. We had a total of over 49 hours of material to analyse; however, as the opening and closing credits were excluded from the analysis, in further compilations, we consider a sample of 46 hours and 52 minutes. The details of the research sample are presented in Table 1.

GENRE	TITLE OF THE SERIES	BROADCASTER	TIME (HH:MM:SS)	TIME (% OF SAMPLE)
Soup operas	*L for Love*	TVP	7:11:15	15.33%
	First Love	Polsat	5:03:38	10.79%
Historical dramas	*Crown of Kings*	TVP	3:47:42	8.09%
	War Girls	TVP	6:47:31	14.48%
Crime dramas	*Diagnosis*	TVN	6:05:58	13.01%
	Trap	TVN	3:59:20	8.51%
Comedies	*Girls from Lviv*	TVP	6:52:13	14.65%
	Friends	Polsat	7:06:14	15.15%
TOTAL			**46:53:51**	**100.00%**

TABLE 1
Sample metrics.

To attain our research objectives, we had to apply multi-layered (four levels) coding to the film material. While watching individual episodes of the series in a special application, the encoders simultaneously coded specific fragments according to the adopted assumptions with the help of solutions available in the software.

In the visual layer (level one), each team member coded only what was displayed on the screen (omitting the sound) and marked each appearance of a woman, a man, or combinations of the two (two women, two men, a pair, a homogeneous group, a mixed group). Owing to sociological significance, the configuration in which the characters were visible on the screen was divided into three basic types: (1) exposure of a single person; (2) exposure of a pair – dyad (Simmel 2009); and (3) exposure of a group of three or more people. At the same time, we consistently assumed that coding the visibility of a character on the screen requires that the viewer see the face or at least the profile of the character.

In the audio layer (level two), it was necessary to code the duration of the men and women speaking. The encoders listened to the same material and coded only what was heard (omitting the video): a woman's or man's speech, polyphony, or non-speech.

The issue of audio coding seems clear for adults, but it is not entirely clear how to treat children when dividing the genders. This study adopted the general principle that children have gender and are therefore included as women or men in audio and video coding. In special situations, when the child's gender was undetermined (e.g., infant), 'other (including children)' codes appeared and the exposure was not included in the exposure of either women or men, only in the total duration of the recording.

However, the above elements are only an introduction to in-depth image analysis. Visual or sound exposures took place in the series against the background of defined social and cultural contexts. In the third layer, each episode was divided into the contexts in which its action took place.

Besides the above coding, scenes were also cross-sectionally assigned stereotypes (level four). While watching, the encoders marked places in the episodes containing an exemplification of stereotypes.

One could argue that coding for the first two layers (visual and audio) is not a theoretically heavy procedure. The other two (contexts of interaction and stereotypes) are just the opposite and are impossible without elaborate articulation of the theoretical framework.

Theoretical Framework

Contexts of Interactions

One of the key aspects of interpretation of everyday life highlighted in sociology from Erving Goffman (e.g., 1975) to ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967) is framing or contextualisation. Words, gestures, and actions receive meanings that are understandable in specific contexts, constituting the basic interpretative resource for both the actors and the audience. One of the basic distinctions for classifying interpretative contexts relates to the division into the private and public spheres. And although this division works well in the analysis of real behaviour, it loses some usefulness in the case of television series. Indeed, genre requirements significantly reduce the exposure to purely private situations. For narrative order, however, let us assume that the division between the private and the public is unclear, and is more of a continuum. This will enable us to organise the contexts of exposure of the characters distinguished for the analysis, from the most public ones, through more personal, to intimate ones. This provides us with the following typology:

1. Professional work
2. Physical and sporting activities in public places
3. Health – mainly in healthcare institutions
4. Social activity – civic activity reaching beyond neighbourly self-help – mainly of a voluntary or quasi-political nature
5. Armed conflict
6. Participation in culture
7. Shopping
8. Criminal activities
9. Sociability
10. Childcare
11. Planning and engaging in intrigues
12. Housekeeping
13. Relationships, feelings, liaisons – cultivating emotional and intimate relationships

Regardless of the above list, the contexts of individual scenes are a variable posing a challenge in analytical terms. Many series show simultaneous or intertwined plots – the same scene can be placed in a professional context and relate to the relationship and emotions of the characters. Coding all the possible contexts included in a scene would lead to assigning it several

contexts from the aforesaid list, which would yield little analytical value. In this situation, we adopted the principle of coding the context which stands out most and determines the characters' behaviour at a given time to the greatest extent.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are simplified thought constructs generally referring to a community and shared by a group of people. Although the concept itself does not have negative connotations, a large portion of research on stereotypes concerns the issue of prejudice (Bokszański 1997), which occurs when an idealised image of one's own community (auto-stereotype) is contrasted with a negative and exaggerated image of a foreign community, e.g., an ethnic or sexual minority (Sztompka 2020: 295).

In the case of gender stereotypes, the simplified image refers to a given gender (women or men) or a subgroup therein. As research has shown, gender stereotypes are characterised by a multilevel structure, within which certain concentrations of stereotyped characteristics can be distinguished. Stereotypes attribute certain characteristics to women and men based on more general categories, such as personality traits, social roles, appearance, or occupation (Mandal 2004: 17-20).

Gender stereotypes in a given culture play an essential role in both individual and social dimensions. They influence the formation of gender identity, and the perception of oneself and one's body. Women, more often than men, display a lack of satisfaction with their own bodies, which in turn results in lower overall self-esteem (Mandal 2004: 35-41, Kochan-Wójcik 2003). The location of the sense of control and the style of attribution are also acquired as per the prevailing gender stereotypes. Compared to men, women are more often characterised by an external sense of control, resulting in a sense of helplessness. Blaming oneself for failures, typical of the feminine attribution style, leads to a lack of self-confidence and a sense of undeserved success. In the process of socialisation, social and professional roles typical of a given gender are assimilated in cultural messages, which influence both the shape of personal life, e.g., friendships, erotic relations (Mandal 2004), and professional career (Domański 1995).

To identify the stereotypical images of women in the series analysed, we used a previously prepared list which includes stereotypes of a different nature and origin. This is because it was composed of various commonplace

stereotypical social roles, personal patterns, cultural myths, or archetypes. All of them were connected by the fact that they portrayed women through the prism of a certain simplified set of traits or by sharpening one dominant trait of character. The list was constructed by the brainstorming procedure of a 10-member team comprising the authors of the study and the team of coders. The majority of the group were women and brainstorming followed individual research on gender stereotypes by each member of the group.

The set of stereotypes used in our research can be classified into those referring to 1) social roles, 2) physical and mental characteristics and sexuality, and 3) professional work.

1. Social roles
   • Polish mother/goddess of hearth and home/homemaker – all are closely connected with the idea of home being natural sphere of female activity. Sometimes, it leans on the positive side when stressing the influence of the woman on maintaining the continuity and unity of the family, but is often biased towards negatively implicating an image of a woman constrained within the private sphere, subordinated to a man, restrained, neglected and mentally restricted;
   • Matron – usually refers to an experienced mature woman among women or the head of the family;
   • Stepmother – non-biological mother. The stereotype of a stepmother is negative, and in line with it, she treats her husband's (partner's) children badly or worse than her own. The stereotype includes both the stepmother's jealousy for the attention of her husband or partner devoted to his children from a previous relationship and the issue of competition for property to which stepsons or stepdaughters are entitled (Jakubiec 2007).

2. Physical and mental characteristics, and sexuality
   • greater emotionality – based on a dichotomy of the heart and the mind, a woman is deemed to be more sensitive and tender than a man, who in turn is stereotypically described as more rational (Mandal 2004: 17). In the positive version, a woman's feelings are deeper, she is more sensitive, empathic and more willing to help. In the negative variant, a woman's emotionality may manifest itself as hypersensitivity or border on hysteria.
   • *femme fatale* – emphasises both the sexual attractiveness of women and their destructive power and demonic nature. The stereotype re-

fers to a woman who is sexually very attractive and seductive, generally young (though not a teenager). However, it is primarily a woman who leads a man to perdition, through a divorce, loss of property or position, or even death.
- bimbo or blonde – refers to a young woman, physically very attractive, usually with blonde hair, who emphasises her sexual qualities and is treated by men as a sex object. According to this stereotype, physical attractiveness does not go hand in hand with intellect.
- ivy – stereotype emphasising weakness and indecision of women and their dependence on men.
- atechnical – refers to the alleged lower proficiency of women in the use of technical devices. This includes the stereotype of a woman as a poor driver (worse than a man) (Chłosta-Zielonka and Matusiak-Kempa 2015) or her inability to carry out small repairs at home.

3. Work
- a successful woman with a ruined personal life – a negative variant of a career woman. Stereotypically, she is a mature (but not old) woman who has paid for her professional success with a miserable private life or has never started a family, is childless and with loneliness as a grave problem (see Czernecka 2011: 129-143).

Stereotypes amalgamate with each other both synchronously and diachronically. From a film art perspective, diachronic connections are an especially important element in building the story, when, for example, in a critical situation, a *femme fatale* turns out to be a lost ivy, and a repressed hausfrau discovers in herself the makings of a strong successful woman. Such measures are important in the context of shaping social change.

Results and Discussion

Active exposure refers to the time spent by men and women speaking, regardless of whether or not the character speaking is shown on the screen. As there is practically no polyphony in the recordings, the active exposure is a disjointed variable, i.e., at the given moment, we can deal with either the active exposure of a woman or a man or a lack of expression (non-speech).

In total, the active exposure of women, i.e., the time women speak, was 17.5 hours, accounting for 38% of the total duration of the action under

analysis. Compared to the active exposure of men, the ratio was 1.19 in favour of women. At the most general level, therefore, we can say that in the series sample studied, women were more often displayed than men, but this was not an overwhelming advantage. Interestingly, nearly one-third are fragments without people's speech, given to music, silence or street noises. These fragments often play an important role in building tension, regulating the pace of action or additionally illustrating the internal states of the characters. Judging by active exposure, we may provisionally conclude that women' share of exposure is at least equal to men's. This picture is, however, incomplete without considering the passive exposure of genders.

Passive exposure means the appearance of women or men on the screen without speaking. It is an indicator methodologically different from active exposure due to the possibility of men and women being shown on the screen simultaneously.

Women are also predominant in passive exposure, with the ratio of their passive exposure to men's being 1.15. In total, the scenes in which women (in any configuration) were shown on the screen (regardless of whether they spoke or not) took 67% of the recording time, while the corresponding share of men was 58%. The remaining 5% of the recordings are taken up by scenes with no humans. Therefore, we can argue that the analysis of passive exposure supports the conclusion suggested above on the advantage of women's exposure in the series analysed – an advantage that is clear and non-overwhelming.

Considering the relationship between the active and passive exposure of women and men, we can conclude that in the case of the two series, we are dealing with a predominance of men concerning both speaking time and screen appearance. *Diagnosis* is a unique series where women dominate over men in the sphere of dialogue, but not on the visual level. Other series show women more often than men to a larger or smaller degree. The ratio of the time of active to passive exposure of women in a given series enables us to assess the extent to which showing women goes hand in hand with giving them the floor. This indicator combines a different series such as *Crown of Kings* and *Friends*, whose active-to-passive exposure ratio is high, i.e., concerning their visibility on the screen, women proportionally speak a lot. In these two, as well as in *First Love* and *Diagnosis*, a woman usually speaks when she is on the screen. At the other extreme, in *War Girls* and *Trap*, a large part of the presentation of women on the screen is silent, which does not mean that they are merely a background but is more a way of building up tension and furthering the plot.

In terms of the active exposure of women, the two comedy series, *Friends* and *Girls from Lviv*, dominate. The other end of this ranking is occupied by the two historical drama series *Crown of Kings* and *War Girls*. However, although the share of the active exposure of women in historical drama series is similar, the relation of this exposure to the active exposure of men is very different. While in *Crown of Kings*, the small active exposure of women is accompanied by a large active exposure of men, probably due to the medieval historical period depicted, in *War Girls*, women speak more than men, though their speaking time is relatively less than in other series. The share of silent scenes is significant in this case.

After the review of active and passive exposures in the series, the question remains as to which series is more masculine and which more feminine, in terms of both exposures. When we combine passive and active exposures, i.e., the audio and video layers, a fairly wide range of configurations is created. We juxtaposed these configurations to provide a spectrum that extends from the configuration in which women are visible on the screen and simultaneously, we hear their utterances to a similar male configuration (Fig. 1). The series with the largest exposure of women are *Friends*, *Trap*, and *Girls*
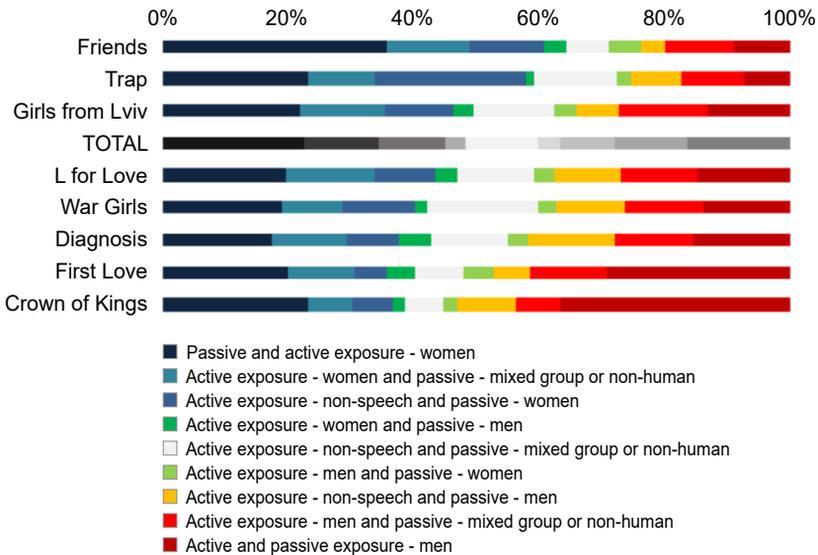

Figure 1
Ranking of the series in terms of total active and passive exposure.

from Lviv. The *Friends* series is clearly in a class of its own, when it comes to the time occupied by women both in dialogue and screen visibility. This advantage also has an impact on the average for the total sample tested, clearly elevating it. In the context of *Trap*, it is noteworthy that a large share of women's exposure is passive, i.e., without any speech. This is due to the large number of highly dramatic scenes involving women. In *War Girls*, the sum of exposures involving women is slightly higher than that involving men; but given that the three main characters are female, this does not seem to be a significant advantage. In this series, scenes without dialogue and with the exposure of mixed groups or without human figures have the greatest share of the recording time.

A special case in terms of exposure is the series *Diagnosis*, in which, on the one hand, scenes with women in both passive and active exposure have an advantage over corresponding male scenes, but on the other hand, the greatest share (14%) of the total recording time among all the series comprises scenes in which men appear on video without dialogue. These are, for example, scenes illustrating the characters' inner dilemmas. The large share of such scenes makes *Diagnosis* move to more masculine positions in the exposure ranking.

In turn, the greatest exposure of men is in *Crown of Kings* and *First Love*. These two series clearly expose men much more, which is understandable in the former (medieval historical drama) case and surprising in the latter (classic soap opera).

In light of the above data, we may argue that on a formal level, women are not disadvantaged in terms of exposure in contemporary TV series. On the contrary, they take a majority of on-screen presence (both active and passive) consistently. They have their own voice in the plot. But a closer examination of the various configurations of characters shown brings the first nuances to the above preliminary conclusion.

Women and men are presented in the TV series in various configurations. Most often, we deal with scenes with a single woman (26% of recording time). Two more configurations, which occurred more or less equally, are scenes with the man alone (21%) and scenes with a mixed dyad, i.e., two people of different sexes (20%). In general, it can be observed that scenes with one person on the screen (woman or man – 47%) and group scenes (dyads and groups – 48%) take up the same amount of time (Fig. 2). But it is the exposure of heterosexual dyads that begs further interpretation. It suggests a strong concentration on topics associated with relationships. This

may hint at the conclusion that although women dominate the exposure, they are usually set in typically feminine contexts. This suspicion is strengthened when we consider the overall structure of the contexts (frames) which form the background for the majority of the scenes (Fig. 3).
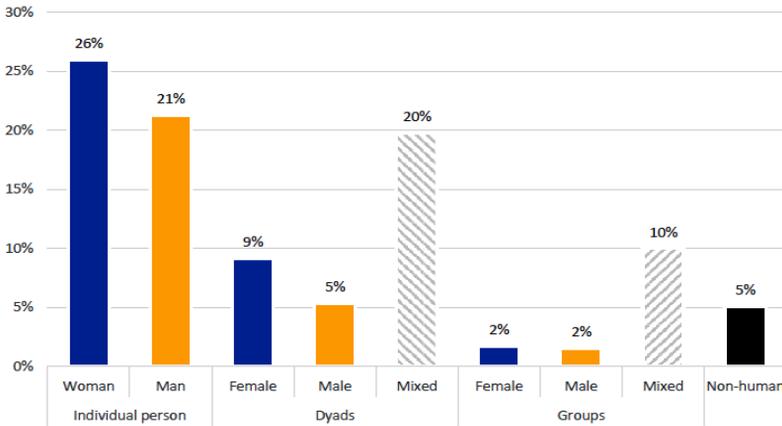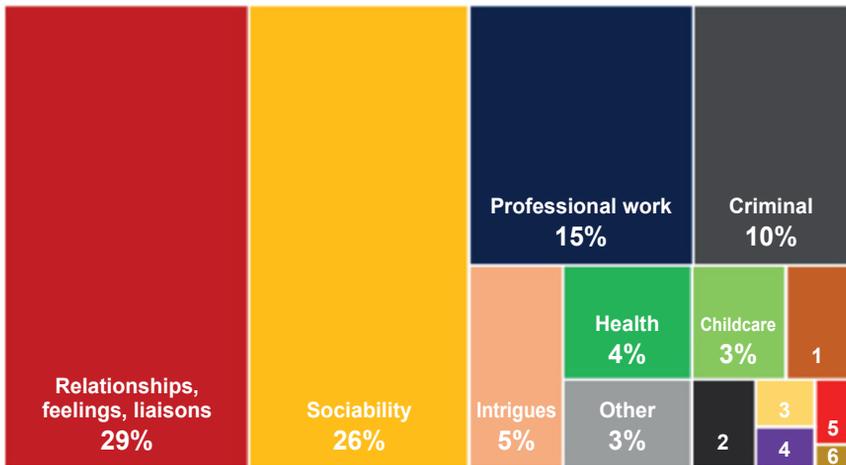

FIGURE 2
Character visibility configurations on the screen.

Housekeeping (1.9%); Armed conflict (1.4%); Shopping (0.7%);
Participation in culture (0.6%); Active leisure (0.6%); Social activity (0.2%)

FIGURE 3
Context share in the total recording time.

The plot of the sampled episodes is most often set in the context of relationships and associated emotions (29%). Another type of context in which events happen is sociability (26%), i.e., scenes where ordinary conversations are held, sometimes framed as social events and sometimes reproducing casual daily interactions. The third context in which most of the scenes are embedded is the professional plot (15%), which means in practice that a large number of scenes occur in the workplace of the characters or directly relate to their work. Intrigue and health are less readily found in almost every series. We also recorded plots that, although noticeable in the general analysis, are in practice limited to selected series of a particular genre. These include the criminal context, which appears mainly in two crime dramas and armed conflict, which we see almost exclusively in *War Girls*. The above suggests that scenes connected with emotions, relationships and general sociability constitute more than a half (55%) of the analysed recording time. Had we excluded from the sample two thematic series *War Girls* and the criminal medical drama *Diagnosis*, this domination would have been even greater. Thus, women dominate in stereotypically feminine contexts – cross-reference analysis of active and passive exposure and interaction contexts further strengthens this conclusion.

The proportion of women's active exposure varies from 15% to 53% of the recording time, depending on the context (Fig. 4). Women have the highest share in the statements in scenes concerning childcare (53%), shop-
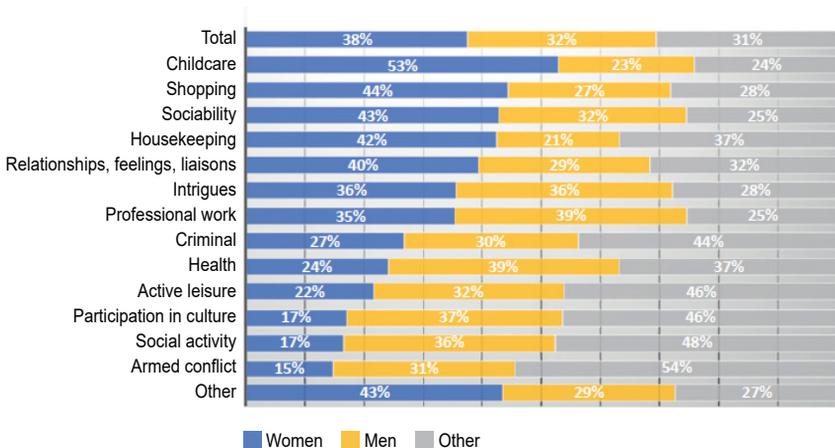

FIGURE 4
Active exposure of men and women in various contexts of interaction.

ping (44%), sociability (43%), housekeeping (42%), and those relating to relationships, feelings, and liaisons (40%). One must remember though that shopping, housekeeping and childcare are the frames for the scenes, constituting roughly only 5.5% of the sample. It is hard to conclude then that women depicted in contemporary Polish TV series are depicted as constrained within the home space. Nevertheless, they seem to be preoccupied with interpersonal and emotional problems constituting most of the scenes in the relationship and sociability contexts. Is it due to culturally embedded stereotypes or the need for TV afternoon formats? Our study does not provide the answer to that question. In contexts related to professional work, health, participation in culture, or armed conflict, men have a greater share of the utterances.

When it comes to passive exposure, we see women appearing more often in the two most popular contexts. Then, rather surprisingly, at work, crime or intrigue, women and men are exposed in a balanced way. In less frequent contexts, women still dominate in the area of housekeeping, children, shopping and active leisure. Men's passive exposure has been long in the context of health, armed conflict, social activities and participation in culture. Such distribution of exposure mostly reproduces stereotypical divisions of gender roles, except for the following plots: criminal (a surprisingly large proportion of women's exposures), intrigues (surprising balance) and active leisure (a slight advantage for women was not obvious) (Fig. 5).

Therefore, it can be concluded that balancing the presentation of gender roles in contexts that may be considered masculine seems somewhat easier than introducing the clear exposure of men in contexts considered closer to feminine. This hypothetical conclusion calls for further studies in the context of research on how genders react to social change in general.

Some further insights into the quantitative results are provided by the qualitative analysis of the gender stereotypes identified in the sample. The analysed series features the most important cultural stereotypes about women. In 4 out of 8 series, we found at least 9 characters depicting the stereotype of the warm homemaker. And although twice this stereotype is overcome in the course of action, it still serves as a convenient scheme to characterise women's engagement with their homes and families. Women in the series are focused on building lasting interpersonal relationships of both an erotic and friendly nature. And often, they occupy the top spot in family structure – in 4 series, we identified matron figures presented quite stereotypically as somewhat older, serious guardians of family hierarchies and orders.
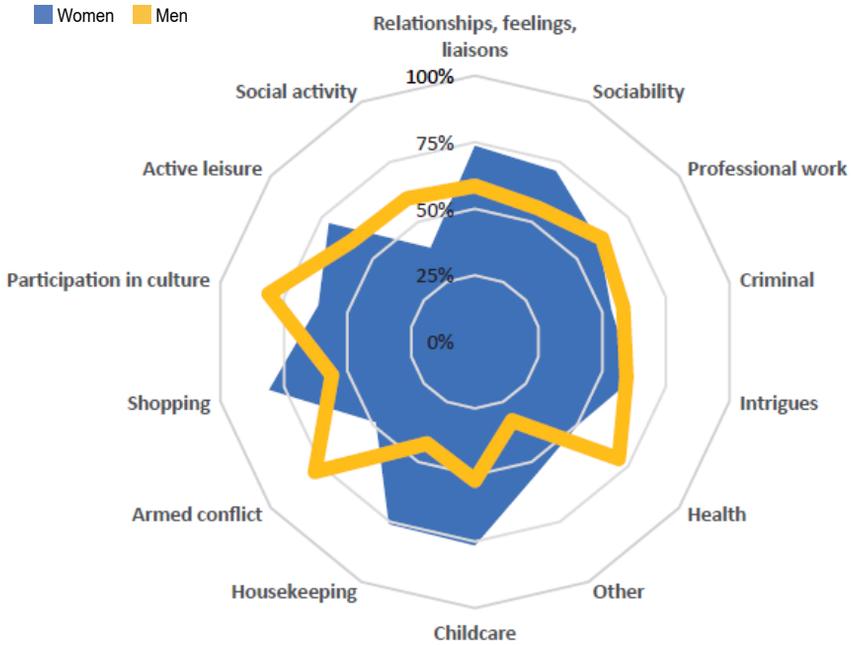
FIGURE 5
Passive exposure of men and women in various contexts of interaction.

This contrasts strongly with the fact that the sampled series rarely presents models of full, unreconstructed, and traditional families. Informal, patchwork and incomplete relationships 'with a history' dominate. The a-stereotypical presentation of 'step-mothers' is worth mentioning in this context. We found characters defined by their stepmother status in 3 out of 8 series, with all the characters presented as loving mothers who care about their step-children without prejudice and bias, sometimes even better than birth mothers.

More generally, we may conclude that women are shown to be more emotional and sensitive than men. In virtually every analysed series, we found at least one character described by the stereotype of higher feminine emotionality. Sometimes, this emotionality is weaponised by women, as at least 5 instances of stereotypical *femme fatale* suggest. Curiously, these portraits of dark women leading men to their doom seem to bear much attraction for filmmakers, as there are only 3 instances of the somewhat opposite

stereotype of bimbo/blondie. One could conclude then that regarding relationships, the image of women is rather stereotypical. This is however subject to the proviso that if this stereotype were to include women's passiveness, then it is just the opposite. If women feel lonely, they do not hesitate to look for new partners or take the initiative. Sometimes, they try to break up other people's relationships or take revenge on their former partners.

This is better understood when we consider that at the same time and regardless of the concentration on home and relationships, women are shown as professionally active. They are shown in a variety of professional roles, both those traditionally assigned to women and those previously reserved for men. Worth mentioning here are examples of analysed criminal series, in both of which women are depicted as perpetrators, rather than victims of crime. They mastermind the plots and manipulate other people – men and women – in equal measure. This image is surely ambivalent – on the one hand, it undermines the stereotype of a woman as the victim of crime; on the other, it results in female protagonists being portrayed as black characters in both analysed criminal series. The female criminals can hardly be described as passive and this aligns with the general image of women in the analysed sample. When facing danger, they show ingenuity and courage. Women can count on other women – friends or neighbours – in their endeavours and adventures.

Usually, work does not interfere with women's care for their homes and families, because they are, unlike men, very good at multitasking. However, if they become overambitious, their private lives suffer. In as many as 5 series, we registered characters in line with the stereotype of a businesswoman with a miserable personal life. What is interesting is that not only family life suffered for those characters, but other social relations were also equally damaged. Hence, often they look for consolation and escape, for example, through alcohol.

Conclusions

On average, in all the analysed series, female characters predominate both in active exposure and on-screen presence. This difference, especially in the first case, is significant. As the research material contains four genres, there are differences between and within the genres (this applies, for example, to soap operas). The proportions are reversed only for historical dramas.

The series are dominated by contexts related to interpersonal relation-

ships – partner, emotional, or sexual (29%) and relationships of a social nature, such as meetings, visits, or events (26%). Both take over half of the time (55%). Two more contexts are professional work (15%) and crime (10%), but they are very differentiated between individual genres and titles. Contexts that occupy a small percentage of the time are childcare (3%) and housekeeping (2%), while issues such as participation in culture, active leisure, or social activities appear in trace amounts.

The presentation of female characters is two-fold. Firstly, women maintain a stereotypical position as the guardians of the hearth and home and custodians of family relations. Secondly and simultaneously, they do increasingly cross the borders of the male world in the professional field. In the context of the initial research question, it can therefore be argued that the series under analysis confirms the existing gender stereotypes more than it attempts to change them. Where stereotypes are reversed or broken in the course of the plot, it seems more like following the trends observed in contemporary societies, than trying to create a new social reality in the media.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bokszański, Zbigniew (1997). *Stereotypy a kultura*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Leopoldinum.

Chłosta-Zielonka, Joanna and Iza Matusiak-Kempa (2015). "Sposoby deprecjonowania sprawczyń wypadków samochodowych." In *Idee i wartości w języku i kulturze*, edited by Iza Matusiak-Kempa and Alina Naruszewicz-Duchlińska, 116-25. Olsztyn: Instytut Filologii Polskiej Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego w Olsztynie.

Czernecka, Julita (2011). *Wielkomiejscy single*. Warszawa: Poltext.

Domański, Henryk (1995). "Równouprawnienie. Stereotyp tradycyjnego podziału ról." In *Co to znaczy być kobietą w Polsce*, edited by Anna Titkow and Henryk Domański, 65-87. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.

Gajlewicz-Korab, Katarzyna and Katarzyna Konarska (2017). *Koncentracja kapitału w mediach i jej zapobieganie we Francji oraz Niemczech*. Instytut Staszica. http://instytutstas zica.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/IS_koncentracja_mediow_i_jej_zapo bieganie_we_Francji_i_Niemczech.pdf (last accessed 14-12-22).

Garfinkel, Harold (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Goffman, Erving (1975). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Hallin, Daniel C. and Paolo Mancini (2012). "Introduction." In *Comparing Media Systems: Beyond the Western World*, edited by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, 1-8. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jakubiec, Sylwia (2007). "Macocha, ojczym: stereotypy baśniowe i społeczne a wizerunek współczesny." In *Rodzina – w świetle zagroże*ń *realizacji dotychczasowych funkcji. Szkice monograficzne*, edited by Wiesława Korzeniowska, Andrzej Murzyn, and Urszula Szuścik, 93-100. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Kochan-Wójcik, Marta (2003). "Problematyka badań nad psychologicznym wizerunkiem kobiecego ciała." *Czasopismo Psychologiczne* [*Psychological Journal*] 2(9): 159-67.

Łódzki, Bartłomiej (2008). "Establishing the Dual Television System in Poland." In *Comparing Media Systems in Central Europe: Between Commercialization and Politicization*, edited by Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska and Michał Głowacki, 99-110. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Mandal, Eugenia (2004). *Podmiotowe i interpersonalne konsekwencje stereotypów związanych z płcią*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Radziejewski, Bartłomiej (2018). "Polska racja stanu w srebrnym wieku", *Nowa*

Konfederacja 4. https://nowakonfederacja.pl/polska-racja-stanu-w-srebrnym-wieku/ (last accessed 14-12-22).

Simmel, Georg (2009). *Sociology: Inquiries into the Construction of Social Forms*. Vol. 1. Translated and edited by Anthony J. Blasi, Anton K. Jacobs, and Mathew Kanjirathinkal. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Sztompka, Piotr (2020). *Słownik socjologiczny: 1000 pojęć*. Kraków: Znak Horyzont.

tw (2018). "TVP straciła 5 proc. widowni, ale dalej wyprzedza Polsat ze stacjami ZPR i TVN z Discovery. Szczyt oglądalności na 'Faktach'", 10 April. http://www.wirtualnemedia.pl/artykul/tvp-stracila-5-proc-widowni-ale-dalej-wyprzedza-polsat-ze-stacjami-zpr-i-tvn-z-discovery-szczyt-ogladalnosci-na-faktach (last accessed 14-12-22).

Zybertowicz, Andrzej (1995). *Przemoc i poznanie*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.

List of the series

L for Love [*M jak Miłość*] (2018/2019)
First Love [*Pierwsza Miłość*] (2018/2019)
Crown of Kings [*Korona Królów*] (2018/2019)
War Girls [*Wojenne Dziewczyny*] (2018)
Diagnosis [*Diagnoza*] (2017)
Trap [*Pułapka*] (2018)
Girls from Lviv [*Dziewczyny ze Lwowa*] (2018)
Friends [*Przyjaciółki*] (2019)

WOMEN IN POLISH TV SERIES:
QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS