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ЗМІСТ / CONTENTS

Образ/Image

Вашист Катерина/Vashyst Kateryna,

Азімова Олена/Azimova Olena,

Хантер Ліліан/Hunter Lilian.

The impact of the war in Ukraine on the world economy: a review of foreign media

(Вплив війни в Україні на світову економіку: огляд зарубіжних медіа)..... 6

Коваленко Алла/Kovalenko Alla,

Тельпіс Дмитро/Telpis Dmytro.

Психологічний вимір сучасних українських воєнних щоденників

(Psychological dimension of modern Ukrainian military diaries17

Публіцистичні обрії/Publicistic horizon

Євдокименко Ірина/Yevdokymenko Irina.

Нариси Софії Русової: чинники впливу на вибір жанрової форми публікацій

(Essays of Sofia Rusova: Factors Influencing the Choice of Genre Form of Publications)29

Соціокомунікаційне середовище: теорія та історія/ Socio-communicative Environment: Theory and History

Зражевська Ніна/Zrazhevskia Nina.

Структурні особливості та комунікаційний потенціал сучасних серіалів»

(Structural features and communication potential of modern serials)39

Rosinska Olena/Росінська Олена.

Наратив польсько-української взаємодії у польському документальному кіно

(Narratives of Polish-Ukrainian interaction in Polish documentaries)51

Журналістика в системі соціокомунікаційної діяльності/ Journalism in the System of Socio-communicative Activities

Оксана Кириленко/Oksana Kurylenko.

Наративізація новинного відеоконтенту періоду воєнного стану

(на прикладі «Суспільне Суми»)

(Narrativization of news video content during the period of martial law

(using the example of «Suspilne Sumy»))63

Родигін Костянтин/Rodyhin Kostiantyn.

«Українські націоналісти» в карикатурах журналу «Перець»

у вимірі контекстів і персоналій (1941–1991 рр.)

(Visual Propaganda in «Perets» Magazine 1941-1991:

The Image of the «Ukrainian Nationalist» in Terms Of Its Contexts And Personalities)..... 74

Прикладні комунікаційні технології у системі соціальної діяльності/Applied ICT in the System of Social Activities

**Кравченко Олена/Kravchenko Olena,
Манич Наталія/Manych Nataliia,
Фєдотова Наталія/Fiedotova Nataliia.**

Демонічні образи в сучасній українській рекламі
(Demonic images in modern ukrainian advertising).....84

**Інформатизація та інтелектуалізація соціуму
– проблеми взаємин/
Informatization and Intellectualization of Society
– the problems of relations**

Стеблина Наталія/Steblyna Nataliia.

Алгоритм виявлення недостовірних посилань та чуток у телеграм-каналах
(The algorithm for detection of unreliable news sources and rumors in Telegram channels).....94

**Методика, методи, технології та техніки викладання
спеціальних дисциплін/
Methodology, methods, technologies and techniques of teaching
special subjects**

Осмоловська Олена/Osmolovska Olena.

Реалізація просвітницького механізму літературного конкурсу
(Raising Awareness Mechanism of the Literary Competition) 101

УДК 327

Narratives of Polish-Ukrainian interaction in Polish documentaries

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Introduction. The research aims at studying key narratives being transmitted in television documentaries in Ukraine and Poland in the context of displaying two peoples' interaction in historical, cultural and social fields. The television product elucidated the image of Ukraine and the Ukrainian for a Polish viewer became the material for analysis.

Relevance of the study: The documentary series of “The Ukrainians” was demonstrated in Poland from 07.04.2022 and had to present the stories of the Ukrainians migrated to Poland at different times, to make them “visible” and understandable for the Polish society. The series heroes say about their reasons for migration and how they see their future. The film shows how the war came into their life.

Methodology: content-analysis as a systemic research method of objective description of available content of communication in media material; method of analysis, comparison, synthesis, narrative analysis.

Results. The key narratives are: narrative of searching for better life, narrative of challenging and succeeding; narrative of a war and an enemy; narrative of common destiny of Ukrainians and Poles. Each of these narratives is built through a range of motives and images also elucidated in the research.

Conclusions. On one hand, it is seen a positive tendency showing perspective of easing certain historical-and-cultural opposition between the countries, the deepening of mutual understanding between the peoples, destruction of a stereotype concerning the Ukrainian migrant's image only as an employee in the area of non-qualified work. On the other hand, it is seen fixation of stereotypical perception of Ukraine as a country

where social and economic problems are not solved, where there is no safety, that is why the heroes leave their land at different time, they are leaving it now due to the war, and of Ukrainians whose activity must mostly relate to the area of service. However, these tendencies we traced in the material under analysis, can be determined as dominant ones only through engagement of more volume of video content into analysis.

Key words: television documentaries, narrative, media environment, social information.

Анотація. Дослідження спрямоване на вивчення ключових наративів, які транслюються в теледокументалістиці України та Польщі в контексті відображення взаємодії двох народів в історичному, культурному та соціальному полі. Матеріалом для аналізу став документальний телепродукт, у якому висвітлювався образ України та українця для польського глядача. Документальний серіал «Українці» демонструвався в Польщі з 07.04.2022 року і мав представити історії українців, які мігрували до Польщі в різні часи, щоб фактично зробити їх «видимими» й зрозумілими для польського суспільства. Герої серіалу говорять про те, що спонукало їх мігрувати і як вони бачать свою подальшу долю. Фільм показує, як в їхнє життя увійшла війна.

Предметом аналізу в дослідженні є ключові наративи, що реалізуються в цьому документальному матеріалі. Виділено, зокрема, такі наративи: наратив пошуку кращого життя, наратив випробування та досягнення успіху, наратив війни й ворога, наратив спільної долі українців та поляків. Кожен із цих наративів вибудовується через низку мотивів та образів, що також висвітлено в дослідженні.

Ключові слова: теледокументалістика, наратив, медіаполе, суспільна інформація.

Problem statement: Television documentaries are one of the most efficient ways of providing important social information. In the period of great challenges Ukraine

and Poland are facing now, their social-and-cultural role is increasing even more. Owing to inherent factual accuracy, high level of reliability, author's approach combined with the cinematographic artistic devices and new technological possibilities of reconstruction and assembling, television documentaries appear to be the means aimed at giving a grounded response to main social requests. That is why it is important for scientists to take efforts and study documentaries on modern Ukrainian and Polish television.

Poland and Ukraine have long history of interaction in cultural, political and social contexts. The current period of joint resistance to the armed aggression of the Russian Federation, the context formation of healthy coexistence of two countries in the territory of Europe, understanding common values require comprehension and grounded analysis since the mass media in both countries are a powerful factor for formation of common people's consciousness, development of a mental background in the consumers' environment. Now we are witnessing how large-scale a phenomenon of television documentaries is, how much it developed in the world and how much the television documentaries are becoming a component of the dialogue being built between Poland and Ukraine, between Ukraine and Europe.

Television documentaries as a specific dimension of documentaries are able to penetrate deeply into personal and social problems and that is why to carry out powerful enlightening-and-educational tasks. Certain constructs of the film-language are formed exactly in television documentaries; then, they go into fiction films. The research of this constructs is especially important in the situation of developing new media context, related, in particular, to the building of tighter political, economic and cultural relationship between the two countries. This aspect of the research is a component of more large-scale research of the film-language means, constructs of the mental field in the cultural environment of two nations covering both documentaries and fiction films.

As far back as 2001, the makers of documentary of "Bliscy a dalecy" (2001) specified that at that time Polish-Ukrainian relationship looked very complicated, that

is why the authors set a purpose to find out historical reasons of the conflicts jointly with historians, politicians and journalists.

During centuries there was blood between the countries, but also there were attempts to live in symbiosis. After World War II, the relationship between the countries was complicated by a changed political system. Nowadays, Poles and Ukrainians are free, at last; but not from mutual prejudices. Solidarity brought much good for proper relationship between the neighbours, the same as Pope Paul II and outstanding intellectuals such as Jerzy Giedroyc, a zealous supporter of Ukraine's independence. However, some tragic historic events dominate over the real reconciliation.

Thus, even in the first two decades of XX century, particular stereotypes concerning each other, prejudices remain in everyday consciousness of the two peoples; instead, without removal of these prejudices it is impossible to build tight productive relationship between the countries. Moreover, a lot have been done with this regard but the context of cultural interaction requires deeper research.

Changeability or persistence of the narratives in television documentaries on the issues of Ukrainian and Polish interaction, events of common history in the media environment of Poland and Ukraine are the ground to understand both the available stereotypes in each other's images, available points of mutual disconnect and aspiration to remove these discrepancies in order to build fruitful cooperation in further processes of Ukraine's entrance into the European Union. Cultural cooperation exactly with the Polish society becomes especially topical now due to conscious policy of the Polish government with regard to Ukraine during the period of armed aggression, powerful support of the Ukrainian people as well as due to migration of a large quantity of Ukrainians to Poland and then, active interaction of two cultures.

Since Europe and the world have faced now the challenges unseen before, caused by the beginning of the war in Ukraine and powerful migration processes, the scenarios of formation of productive narratives in the information environment should be comprehended in order to avoid opposition but to form active and productive cultural cooperation.

The potential of television documentaries is growing owing to their spreading on the Internet, particularly at the hosts of Youtube and Facebook. It is telling that the popularity of documentaries among the viewers increases significantly in the period of conflicts escalation in the territory of Europe. That creates the prerequisites for developing productive common cultural environment through transmission of non-stereotypical cultural messages and mutual cognition of the peoples.

Basically, the topicality of the research is specified by a powerful request from the current society for historic truth, which specifies the viewers' interest to the documentary content exposing complicated historic and social issues.

Theoretical rationale. Since the main instrument of television documentaries as a genre is a word put into the basis of an image that forms perception of the situation in general as well as perception by the peoples of each other, this is exactly what must become the subject of study by researchers.

In particular, in Ukraine one can mention the research by L.Naumova "Documentary Filmmaking. Television Dimension" [1]. The author states a great popularity of television documentaries in the country and specifies that attention to details inherent to television documentaries is also important for completing the gaps in the integral picture of perception of each other, formed both due to absence of tight cooperation and particular historical and social circumstances.

L. Kovalska in the publication of "Specifics of Television Documentary Analysis as a Source of the Resistance Movement History During the Great Patriotic War. The Historical and Politological Researches" studies substantially the representation of the historic period of World War II in television documentaries [2].

The dissertation research by O.Popovych of "OUN and UIA in the Policy of Memory and Consciousness of Ukraine's Population (2005-2014)" [3] is devoted to the problematic issues in the Ukrainian-and-Polish relationship.

A. Chervinchuk in the research of "Concept of "Enemy": Representation in the Ukrainian Military Documentaries (2015-2018)" [4] outlines a topical course of the semantic concepts being transmitted in television documentaries. L. Pidkuimukha works in the same problematic area, researching the image of "friend"/ "enemy" in

military television documentaries [5]. I. Havran and M.Botvin consider the place of documentaries in the current onscreen discourse [6].

One of substantial researches of the issue is a dissertation by A. Halych “Genre Modifications of Portrait Discourse in Documentaries of XX-XXI centuries” [7].

In the Polish scientific field one can mention the following researches: M.Drygas “Workshop-Analysis of a Documentary “Hear my Scream” [8], M. Przyłipiak “Dialectics of Surface and Depth in a Documentary” [9] and “Objectivity and Objectivation Procedures in a Documentary” [10], A. Nobis “Documentary in the Research of Globalisation” [11].

The purpose of the research: to form a systemic idea about the peculiarities of the narratives of Ukrainian-and-Polish interaction in the Polish television documentaries, in particular, in the documentary series of “The Ukrainians” (2022).

Methods of research: content-analysis as a systemic research method of objective description of available content of communication in media material; method of analysis, comparison, synthesis, narrative analysis.

Statement of main material. The makers of “The Ukrainians” series tell about available failures to agree and problematic areas in the Polish-and-Ukrainian discourse. The editor-in-chief of TVP Dokument Tomasz Piechal says: “We wanted this series to become a possibility for everybody to learn each other better. It has been an important unfinished theme and now, when the Russian aggression caused even more significant migration from Ukraine to Poland, it has become even more important. We have to begin becoming more familiar” [12]. Thus, the advance learning of this problem is topical as never before.

Let us notice that the concepts of cultural perception by the Ukrainians and Poles of each other, their countries, historical interaction and perspectives of coexistence in the territory of Europe were not exposed in these researches. However, this is extremely topical, especially taking into account the perspectives of Ukraine’s entrance into EU and active help of Poland within the period of armed aggression as well as government’s position concerning further cooperation between the countries.

The popularity of television documentaries is quite high, that is why TV channels pay much attention to creation of this content, particularly, the content presenting the image of Ukraine in Poland and vice versa is topical.

In 2022, Polish TV Channel TVP made the project of “Ukraińcy” (12 episodes), 2017 – “Lwów pod okupacją” (2 episodes), in 2009 TV channel had project of “Było sobie miasteczko”, in 2001 – “Bliscy a dalecy”.

Polish History Museum in Warsaw has also made a cycle of documentaries of “Under the Common Sky” which is a history of coexistence of different national groups and ethnic minorities in the territory of current Poland and old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The film shows their customs, religion, presents the contribution of different groups into Polish political, social, and cultural life, the film contains the episodes about Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Jews, Germans, Armenians and Tatars.

The reporter of TVN Channel, Polish documentary maker Michał Przedlacki, in 2022 made a film of “The Escape from Irpin”. It fixes the events in Kyiv Region during the period of temporary Russian occupation. The film shows how the local residents took the large-scale invasion of the Russians and how they were trying to rescue themselves.

Emotional abundance and subjectivism available in television documentaries are important for creating special atmosphere of trust between the author and the viewer who loses gradually full trust to news items but will trust, instead, to the telestories where life stories or certain events are shown through the lens of author’s vision.

In crisis historical periods, the interest to television documentaries significantly grows, which increases its influence on the viewer’s consciousness, on the formation of steady mental constructs in the system of social-and-cultural perception by the nations of each other.

Owing to dramatization inherent to television documentaries, the powerful influence on the viewer’s consciousness is carried out; consequently, the results of this influence are even more persistent. When it is about the formation of a consistent

positive image of each other, based on objectivation of cultural, historical, mental codes, it is undoubtedly important for two peoples.

Since media content often determines general intentions in the society of both countries it is quite important not to leave the narratives of Ukrainian-and-Polish interaction formed by the documentary content, especially taking into account the exposure of historic events problematic for both peoples without attention. For Poland and Ukraine, it is important to build new cultural relationship to be based on recognition of common history and understanding further common future in Europe.

Demonstration of the film “The Ukrainians” made by the Polish TV channel of TVP began on June 07, 2022. The authors aimed at creating an “empathic picture” which will represent the emigrants’ view on Poland and Poles. The information centre of the TV channel placed an announcement of the film at its website. In particular, the publication specifies that “heroes of the series are the people of different ages, from different environments and regions of Ukraine...Each episode is one closed story. For us, Poles, it will also be a possibility to see ourselves in the eyes of our neighbours. The quantity of the Ukrainian citizens living in Poland has been growing for many years. This was a natural theme for a documentary story because this migration caused huge changes all over Poland. However, there have always been raised questions: how much we are really familiar? Do we live together or near? We would like the series to become a possibility to learn each other better”. Thus, the series makers set a purpose to reveal for Poles the images of those people – Ukrainians who have been living near them for decades.

The documentary of “The Ukrainians” (“Ukraińcy”), made by the Polish TV channel TVP in 2022 is bi-lingual. The heroes speak Polish and Ukrainian. The series is made by Agencja Kreacji Publicystyka, Dokumentu and Audycji Społecznych TVP in association with Unlimited Film Operations Sp. z o. o. on behalf of TVP Dokument. A scenario writer and a director is Yuliia Luchkovska; cameramen are Nicolas Villiegas, Carol Lakomic, Kaczper Wójcicki.

Polish media announced the release of the documentary series in several publications. Online media of FILPOLSKI.PL specifies: “We pass them by every day

in the streets of Polish cities and towns. We meet them, they make coffee in the offices and serve us in local shops. We see how tense they are due to a future examination, and how they support their football team of Ukrainians. They mend and clean our houses. They study. They run their own business. Some of them have lived here for decades. Many of them have arrived lately. The escape from the war, political chaos and economic crises. Nowadays they are an integral element of the Polish social landscape. In the documentary cycle of “The Ukrainians” we will have a look into the depth of the Ukrainians’ life in Poland. The format presents extremely diverse destinies of the emigrants and refugees from Ukraine. We are attentively watching everyday fight of the different-aged people, from different social strata, with different ambitions and reasons why they decided to leave motherland. We are watching how they make first steps in a foreign country and are trying to build their life again” [13]. From the point of view of the narrative analysis, it is notable that the announcement transmits a certain stereotype about Ukrainians who work in the area of services (“make coffee”, “serve in shops”, “repair and clean our houses”). Ukrainians in Poland are more often considered as the people who do not work in compliance with their profession (in fact, most of people are not interested if they have a profession) in the areas of service, because they have arrived to earn money temporarily. However, in this announcement there is seen an attempt to go beyond the stereotype: “they run their own business”. But it not usually mentioned how many scientists, teachers, private teachers, lawyers and bank clerks from Ukraine work in the country. Stereotypical perception of the area of activity for the Ukrainian migrants is caused, in our opinion, by the fact that more people meet the employees from the area of service but a smaller circle can meet the representatives of highly-skilled professions.

The makers of “The Ukrainians” set an ambition goal to present to Poles a different image of the Ukrainians – those who have been living for years near them, give a comprehensive life story of some people. On one hand, it is seen an inspiration to maximum objectivity, but in our research including a large amount of the materials beyond this publication, we proceed from the understanding that a documentary is one hand, journalistic content based on the concept of vision of their makers, and on the

other hand, a kind of art, which, correspondingly, specifies the availability of certain artistic generalization and metaphoricity.

With this regard Mirosław Przyłipiak notices: “Of course, art has never had to be objective, the person’s expression is not objective by definition, and documentaries do not have to be objective. However, the fact of wording these expectations with its regard, not only individual fractions of theory but also a wide audience, is telling” [9, p.36]; “Expecting objectivity from all the documentary flow is misunderstanding but in some of its genres, close to the area where the objectivity standards are valid, this expectation is justified” [9, p. 37]. Thus, analyzing the television documentary we have to come from a position that this kind of art is productive for demonstrating certain social sentiments within a particular historic period on one hand, and on other hand, it is a representation of the narratives being formed in the society of a particular country.

Time paradigm: Each episode of “The Ukrainians” mentions in the end that the war Ukraine brought changes into the life of each hero. The plot is divided into two periods “before the war” and “after the beginning of the war”. 2022 becomes the point of changes, although in the episode of “Oleh”, the hero comes from Makiivka in Donetsk Region, and he actualizes different time of the war beginning – 2014, when the hero had to leave his home because he was interrogated and could be killed. In the episode of “Andrii” they also mention that the hero is military and has been to different countries and was wounded on Maidan in 2014. Thus, while actualising 2022 it was emphasised that the war in Ukraine had started earlier and has been for eight years already.

Location. All the heroes are in Krakow as of the film making, that is why there is only one Polish location. In Andrii’s story Afganistan is also mentioned, because the hero was born there and his parents died there. Andrii participated in the missions in Iraq, Afganistan.. Oksana (episode 2) comes from Kyiv, Oleh (episode 3) is from Donbass, Makiivka; Roman (episode 4) and Sasha (episode 8) are from Zhytomyr; Olexandra (episode 6) – from Podil, her parents live in Vinnytsia. Thus, the heroes of the series came from different parts of Ukraine, and Poland became their second motherland.

As the series announcement specifies, the authors set the following task to perform: “We will meet our heroes in everyday life, will look at the difficulties, aspirations and dreams. We will visit their families in Ukraine and will receive their close friends together in Poland. Each episode is one closed story. For us, Poles, it will also be an opportunity to see us in our neighbours’ eyes”. Instead, a particular look at the Ukrainians’ life circumstances in Poland allows determination of several cross-cutting narratives.

Narrative of searching for better life. Almost in each story of the immigrants from Ukraine it is emphasized that they had moved to the Poland in certain crisis moment of their life looking for better life, opportunities and safety. Andrii (episode 1) came to the country for treatment after wounding and met here his love, his future wife. Valentyna (episode 2) went to Poland after divorce, she was offended and traumatized with husband’s infidelity, wanted to begin a new life. Oleh (episode 3) and his children (episode 6) left occupied Donbas because their lives were in danger. Roman (episode 4) looked for opportunities of self-implementation, and created a family in Poland.

The Petiurenkos (episodes 7 and 10) decided to migrate consciously: they wanted to live in a European country, have a life of ease: “We have come to Poland forever, we like it here. Poland, Krakow are already my home”.

Composer Sasha (episode 8) left after the beginning of conflict on Donbas because his family had to take the relatives from the occupied territories, it was roomless at home, and this fact stimulated him to move further: “I am missing home, parents. But the situation in Ukraine is unstable, that is why I am afraid of going there. The reason why I left home is a conflict in east of Ukraine. Grandpa who lived in Donetsk moved to us with his family. There were too many people in one flat and I had to move”. Sasha (episode 6): “I never forget that I am from Ukraine and am proud of that”.

Thus, Poland becomes a locus of safety, better life, symbol of other opportunities, desired country, and Ukraine looks like a territory with unsolved social issues. Thus, the heroes, missing their motherland, are not planning to come back. For example, “I wanted to see my mum but she is in the occupied territory” (Oleh’s wife, episode 3); “I am not missing Ukraine much because my family is here” (Oleh, episode 3); “We

have come to Poland to change our life because here there are more opportunities” (the Petiurenkos, episode 7,10); “I think that my country is Poland because I connect my life with it. The motherland is where I was born, Ukraine, but I associate myself with Poland” (Albina, episode 10), Oleh (episode 3), “I see my future in Poland”.

Some heroes are not missing their motherland. For example, “I am not missing Ukraine” (Oksana (episode 2). In Oksana’s story Ukraine is the psychological hell she escaped from and where she suffers when comes back: “Were you all right there, in that hell?” (remark of Oksana’s daughter, episode 2).

Narrative of challenging and succeeding. One can notice that this narrative is classical in the stories of the people who migrated to other countries. In the Ukrainian media environment, it relates to historical powerful migration waves to America and Canada, Europe and to Poland, in particular.

Its structural elements are as follows: hard (unbearable) first stage with hardening, starvation – help or a creative idea –achievement of success.

In everyday consciousness of the Ukrainians whose story was not easy which caused continuous migration, success abroad has become a “common place”, a stereotype providing for success in any case, even if it is achieved not easily, because other variants of migrants’ lives development remain without attention.

In the most of the episodes it is stressed that Ukrainians who moved to Poland have come through hard times, especially at the first stages. Oksana (episode 2) ran own business in Ukraine, she started it also in Poland but she had to have another job as a taxi-driver to pay taxes. Now she has a stable business, premises, absolutely happy with her life and can even pay attention to herself, which shows that the woman has reached the state of well-being: “I should pay more attention to myself, start loving myself”. The motive of hardening by challenges is added to the narrative: “This will harden you, now you will become invincible”.

Valentyna (episode 9) after her arrival in Poland, lived hard times, worked as a cleaner and then started her business – started to hire people for cleaning. In the beginning it was so hard that she had to eat waste food but she understood: “You should never give a chance to circumstances to break you, whatever happens – go ahead”.

Only in one story “Oksana” there is a motive of losing everything because of migration – break of relationship with older children whom father turns against their mother.



Fig.1 Oksana (episode 2)

Majority of the stories stress that the migrants from Ukraine have mostly to work physically first – Oksana, Valentyna, Roman, Sasha – but with time they can forge their own path in another country, come back to their dreams. Oksana re-starts business, Valentyna shifts from hard physical work, which she likes by the way, to establishment of her own business. Roman makes the dream of acting in the theatre come true. Sasha writes music, although he works simultaneously as a house-painter he notices that it is a kind of creativity, too. Some of Ukrainians simply continue doing what they did, for example, mother in the Petiurenkos family works as a Math teacher. Some (father in the Petiurenkos family) has to do the job he does not like to have money for the family’s life.

In Sasha’s story (episode 6) there is such motive: if you want to succeed you have to work more than others. The heroes stress that difficulties do not break them: “We should smile” (Valentyna), “We overcome difficulties together, support each other. We take the world with a smile on our faces. There are dreams, there is an opportunity to do real things” (Oleh’s children).

In all the stories of the migrants it is seen that they are useful to other people and Poland: they sew (Oksana), clean (Valentyna), build (Sasha), teach (mother of the Petiurenkos’ family), look after elder people, preach the Word of God (Oleh).

Narrative of a war and an enemy. The Ukrainians emphasize that the Russians have become their enemies, that the idea how they see that country has changed, because before the war they had a calm well-off life but now they have lost everything,

had to hide from bombarding. Andrii was especially pointed in his words (episode 1) because he is a military. For example, “In the war you do not kill people...you kill only an enemy”; “In the war everything is different from the civil life. There are no shadows. There is only black and white”; “I am often asked if I came back to the war. If I had a healthy arm – I would come back”; “Now every conscious person in the world must have only one task – to beat as many Russians as possible”; “Somebody says that this is not Russians but Putin, but this is not true. These are ordinary Russians”. The narrative of the enemy is very telling into Oleh’s story (episode 3), when he tells that he was beaten because he was praying for Ukraine, and a Chechen (the units from Chechnia belong to the army of the Russian Federation) wanted to shoot him as a father of three children, for him not to educate children as Ukrainians.

Also, Andrii actualizes a thought about the value of peace, especially for those who faced the war: “There are no better pacifists than the soldiers who were at the war. Roman also actualizes the thought about the value of peace (episode 4): “Plans and dreams must come true but the biggest plan of us is for peace to come as soon as possible, for the war to end”.



Fig.2 Andrii (episode 1)

It is telling that the documentary begins exactly from this part of “Andrii” episode. It shows a former soldier who has seen the war in different countries, was wounded, is limited with arm control, feels permanent pain. This sets to some extent the general tone in perceiving the war, the enemy (Russians as the enemy of Ukrainians and Poles, not Putin, but all the citizens of the country bear responsibility, especially soldiers). Andrii feels permanent pain from the wound, that is why he “has become evil, more unpredictable”.

All the heroes of the series become engaged into help to the Ukrainian army and refugees. Andrii (episode 1): “I have not been working since the beginning of the war, I have only been helping. We do not have money because we have given away all and will continue giving away”. Oksana (episode 2) begins sewing armour vests and other things required for the army: “We will continue making dresses after the war”. Oleh (episode 3) takes care about the refugees in church, where he is a priest, his children also help the relatives and acquaintances who have come to Poland. Roman (episode 4) is involved into provision of accommodation to refugees in the theatre hall having forgotten for some time about his dream of acting. Among the refugees there are children from all over Ukraine, in particular one boy says that he is from Dnipro. Valentyna (episode 9) deducts a third of her company revenue for the Ukrainian army. The Petiurenkos (episodes 7,10) help solving different organizational issues through internet-resource, mother gives consulting to the refugees in the foundation. Sasha (episode 6) takes care about her parents who remained in Vinnitsia.

In the video sequence it is seen a play by contrast: on the black-and-white background there are bright pictures of happy life – children wearing embroidered shirts, a flag, which also emphasizes visually the division of life into two parts – before and after.

Narrative of common destiny of Ukrainians and Poles. The series makers set a goal to reveal for Poles the image of the nation that historically lives near them, the representatives of which migrate to Poland and live for years near, who Poles permanently meet. In the circumstances of the aggression beginning in 2022, the common destiny has become even clearer because there have always been heard a Russian narrative about restoration of its power over the countries of former Soviet camp, about danger to Poland and the Baltic states. In episode 1 (“Andrii”), the narrative of common historical destiny is clearly actualized: “Poles and Ukrainians have to recollect their common history – all that time they resisted to Russia”. Resistance to a common enemy is a historically productive ground for uniting.

The narrative of common destiny is supported by the motive of Polish-and-Ukrainian families, for example, Andrii (episode 1) and Roman (episode 4) have Polish

wives, and Sasha (episode 6) is married to a Pole. Roman also brings up a son of his wife and the boy calls him father.

The motive of “humanization” of Ukrainians, demonstration of their feelings can be considered as the deepening of the narrative of historical and spiritual commonness; that must remove the opposition of “We” (Polish) – “They” (Ukrainian). In Oleh and his family’s story their belief, spirituality, values of stamina due to belief are disclosed. The heroes say that they dream about a peaceful and calm life for their new country – Poland, that the youth will live here happily. Roman says: “I do not want to have much money, I want to have enough money and if I am able to earn more, I would like to help others”. Roman and Sasha say about their friends’ support. Finally, family and friends are the biggest value for the most of series heroes. Valentyna emphasizes her gratitude to those kind Polish people who supported them during first years in a foreign country.

Ukrainians are spiritual and kind-hearted, they are fond of music, theatre, sport, interested in the world around them.

A lingual factor also works to decrease the opposition in perception of people from a foreign country, because heroes speak Ukrainian or Russian and fragmentarily Polish, Olexandra (episode 6) speaks mostly Polish, in general.

Thus, subconsciously the understanding that the Ukrainian is “We” is being built.

Last two episodes of series of “Postscriptum” (episode 11) and “Ukrainian Holiday” (episode 12) generalize all the narratives analysed fixing the main messages in the viewer’s consciousness:

- Ukrainians share the European values of freedom: “Independence. I love freedom very much. Especially from the time when I lost it for a while due to captivity. The word of God is on our land despite the occupation. Freedom for me is first of all, a freedom of speech” (Oleh);



Fig.3 Oleh (episode 12)

- Ukrainians are the people that can be proud of: “We have become the nation we have never been before. I am proud of being Ukrainian” (Valentyna);
- Ukrainians pay high price for their independence and peace in Europe: “Independence has its price, before 2014 there were few people who understood that but now everybody has understood” (Oleh).
- Ukrainians and Poles are united in this moment of history, and this is absolutely natural in resistance to the common enemy: “Poles and Ukrainians have to recollect their common history- all this time they resisted to Russia” (Andrii).

Research findings and perspectives: the research made is important for integral comprehension of the role which television documentaries play in formation of narratives concerning international interaction in common historical-and-cultural field; it allows substantial analysis of these narratives typology, which has practical meaning for further coexistence of the peoples on the principles of productive cooperation in media area.

The article analyses the key narratives of television documentaries series of “The Ukrainians” made for demonstration on Polish TV channel TVP by a Polish team in 2022. There were determined the following narratives:

- narrative of searching for better life,
- narrative of challenging and succeeding,
- narrative of a war and an enemy;
- narrative of common destiny of Ukrainians and Poles.

Each of these narratives is built through a range of motives and images, which is also demonstrated in the research.

The analysis performed gives certain grounds to assume that 2022 draws attention, to some extent, to the problem of existence of stereotypes and prejudices in Ukrainian-Polish relationship, which is specified by increased amount of migrants - Ukrainians into the territory of Poland. Because Polish government and Polish journalists had been expressing the idea that Ukrainians’ stay in Poland would be favourable for the country’s economy for several months since the beginning of the invasion of the

Russian Federation to Ukraine, media started to implant these new narratives. They relate to an intention to implement migrants into the society, increase economy, leave in Poland as many pro-active people able to work, develop, pay taxes as possible. That is why the idea of Poland's attractiveness for each of those who moved there at different time, that these people do not see their future in Ukraine but in Poland, that here they can make their dreams and plans come true is strong in the film. For example, D. Chmielewska writes: "Provided relevant state policy (education, help in employment, benefits to salaries), Poland has a chance to receive several hundreds of care-givers for elder people and other employees who will support this social area" [14].

On one hand, it is seen a positive tendency showing perspective of easing certain historical-and-cultural opposition between the countries, the deepening of mutual understanding between the peoples, destruction of a stereotype concerning the Ukrainian migrant's image only as an employee in the area of non-qualified work. On the other hand, it is seen fixation of stereotypical perception of Ukraine as a country where social and economic problems are not solved, where there is no safety, that is why the heroes leave their land at different time, they are leaving it now due to the war, and of Ukrainians whose activity must mostly relate to the area of service. However, these tendencies we traced in the material under analysis, can be determined as dominant ones only through engagement of more volume of video content into analysis.

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Наратив польсько-української взаємодії у польському документальному кіно.
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Дослідження спрямоване на вивчення ключових наративів, які транслюються в теледокументалістиці України та Польщі в контексті відображення взаємодії двох народів в історичному, культурному та соціальному полі. Матеріалом для аналізу став документальний телепродукт, у якому висвітлювався образ України та українця для польського глядача. Документальний серіал «Українці» демонструвався в Польщі з 07.04.2022 року і мав представити історії українців, які мігрували до Польщі в різні часи, щоб фактично зробити їх «видимими» й зрозумілими для польського суспільства. Герої серіалу говорять про те, що спонукало їх мігрувати і як вони бачать свою подальшу долю. Фільм показує, як в їхнє життя увійшла війна.

Метою дослідження є формування системного уявлення про особливості наративів україно-польської взаємодії в польській теледокументалістиці, зокрема в документальному телесеріалі «Українці» (2022 рік). Предметом аналізу в дослідженні постали ключові наративи, що реалізуються в цьому документальному матеріалі.

Виділено, зокрема, такі наративи: наратив пошуку кращого життя, наратив випробування та досягнення успіху, наратив війни й ворога, наратив спільної долі українців та поляків. Кожен із цих наративів вибудовується через низку мотивів та образів, що також висвітлено в дослідженні. Аналіз наративів також

передбачав визначення наявності ознак стереотипізації та соціальних оман в матеріалах такого жанру з подальшим створенням цілісної картини сценаріїв відображення взаємодії двох народів на тлі формування нової політичної єдності в умовах спільного протистояння агресії й поглиблення процесів взаємодії.

Ключові слова: теледокументалістика, наратив, медіаполе, суспільна інформація.