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The Image of Ukrainians in Press Headlines: A Case Study of Polska Times Website

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to identify the image of Ukrainians in the headlines found in the Polish electronic press. This study uses content analysis as an initial tool for outlining the content of the headlines as well as for classifying them according to the main feature. The analytical data consist of the headlines published on Polska Times website (www.polskatimes.pl) between 2015-2019 and tagged “Ukrainian” or “Ukrainians” (N=194). In reference to previous studies, this paper aims to expand existing knowledge regarding the role and functions of press headlines by examining the Polish electronic press. The quantitative analysis shows that, although informative headlines still dominate, their proportion has been declining since 2017 (from 50 to 35 per cent). At the same time, the proportion of enigmatic, or intriguing headlines has been increasing (from 21 to 30 per cent). An engaging, often rhetorical question appears in about 11 per cent of the research material. Moreover, the percentage of poetic and stereotypical headlines is relatively small (on average about 9 per cent each year). Historical disputes are also rarely mentioned in the research corpus (about 5 per cent each year). The length of the headlines, which in the entire analyzed period was between 76 and 88 characters including spaces, did not change significantly. In conclusion, this study makes it possible to record the main strategies of the Polish electronic press related to showing Ukrainians, whose visibility in Poland was increasing between 2015 and 2019. This is clearly confirmed by the more than six-fold increase in the number of headlines compared to 2015 and 2019.

Keywords: press headline, press title, media image, Ukrainian, www.polskatimes.pl

1. Introduction

It is widely believed that nowadays the electronic press has more readers than any other kind of written text. This is partly thanks to sharing press releases via social media. The most important features of a good press text are concentrated in press headlines. Today, in the era of clickbait journalism, a good headline not only summarizes the text or simply informs about what happened, but is often shocking, creates tension and just prompts us to click. In this way, it is an advertisement of the text and it usually has the

highest readership rate. As a consequence, it is said that a headline is one of the most significant parts of an article, and a journalistic text cannot exist without it (Ślawska 2008: 117).

Furthermore, Khodabandeh pointed out that titles are extremely important for the way readers understand and interpret a news text (2007: 91–92). It is assumed that “headlines are signposts showing the route to take through complex material” (Develotte, Rechniewski 2001: 2). According to Sadowska (2007: 402–403), they “prepare a reader to perceive the article content. Apart from that, they also help to understand the text, therefore they must be original and attractive”¹.

However, it is important to mention that headlines usually reach an audience wider than the one who reads whole articles. For some of us, reading headlines is a quick and convenient way to keep up to date. Instead of reading articles, some people just glance at their headlines, which makes this part of an article even more relevant. Meijer and Kormelink claimed that in everyday contexts, many readers develop a “checking cycle” habit of reading a stream of headlines in order to “derive sufficient information” about current events (Meijer, Kormelink 2015: 673).

In addition, headlines also contain cultural baggage. Some scholars (e.g. Maingueneau 1996: 34; Develotte, Rechniewski 2001: 4) agree that “headlines are a particularly rich source of information about the field of cultural references. This is because titles ‘stand-alone’ without explanation or definition; they depend on the reader recognizing instantly the field, allusions, issues, cultural references necessary to identify the content of the articles” (Develotte, Rechniewski 2001: 4).

All this, combined with the increasingly visible presence of Ukrainian topics in the Polish-language electronic media, prompted me to investigate the image of Ukrainians emerging from the headlines in 2015–2019. I chose this chronological range mainly on the basis of a preliminary study which showed me that the number of mentions of Ukrainians in the Polish press started to increase significantly from 2015 (Skibińska 2020: 58–59). Then, as a result of the war in Donbas and the economic and political crisis in Ukraine, many Ukrainians moved to Poland. Various data suggest that in Poland in 2019, there were about 1.2 million migrants from Ukraine, which represents 3.5 per cent of the Polish population (Czubkowska 2019). Furthermore, in October 2015, the political power in Poland was taken over by the conservative right-wing party *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* (Law and Justice), whose electorate was rather unfavorable towards migrants. This in turn made the Polish press interested in “Ukrainian topics” such as: Ukrainians at work, Ukrainian children in Polish schools, Ukrainians at Polish universities, problems with legalizing their stay in Poland, the risk of Ukrainians “fleeing” to Western Europe, crimes and accidents involving Ukrainians in Poland etc.

As the subject of the analysis, I chose *Polska Times* website (www.polskatimes.pl), which belongs to one of the largest media groups in Poland – “Polska Press Grupa” (hereinafter as PPG). PPG was part of “Verlagsgruppe Passau”, a German media group operating in Germany and Poland. On March 1, 2021, the PPG company was purchased by PKN Orlen, but the research scope of this article concerns earlier years. This group, as it describes itself, is a leader in the local and regional media market in Poland. It publishes about 20 regional dailies, over 100 local weeklies, several magazines and several television weeklies. Its activities on the Internet are focused on 23 regional information services, one of which is *Polska Times* website (<https://polskapress.pl/pl/o-polskapress/o-firmie>, accessed: 08.09.2020). This platform focuses on events from Warsaw and the surrounding area, but since it is an essential part of such a large media group (with over 16 million visiting users each month and about 60 per cent coverage

1 Polish sources quoted in the article have been translated by the author of this paper.

among Internet users – <http://pbi.org.pl/badanie-gemius-pbi/polski-internet-w-lipcu-2020/>, accessed: 08.09.2020), it also publishes texts written by journalists from other regions. As the capital of Poland and the location of many workplaces and international companies, Warsaw attracts most migrants. That is why I decided to collect research material from this source. In my opinion, this website can shape the media narrative about Ukrainians and inspire other journalists as well.

Research questions I would like to answer in this study are as follows:

1. What features of the headlines about Ukrainians can be seen in the Polish-language electronic press?
2. How often do stereotypes appear in the headlines?
3. How often does a headline refer to a historical Polish-Ukrainian dispute?
4. How often does a journalist use the word “Ukrainian”, “Ukrainians”, or “Ukraine” in a headline?
5. Which view of Ukraine dominates the headlines? That is, is Ukraine mainly perceived as a state, or described through personal stories?

2. Methodology and distinction between title and headline

First, it is important to clarify how a term “headline” is defined in this paper. Pisarek was the author of one of the first books on this subject (Pisarek 1967). There is no doubt that headlines primarily play a communicative role. Pisarek said that a headline is paramount because everyone reads the headline first. Therefore, it is necessary to provide the most important element from the recipient’s point of view in each headline. According to Pisarek, the language of the press should be descriptive, vivid, dynamic, and should not use passive voice (see also: Sadowska 2007: 401). Pisarek pointed out that “a headline is an initial element of journalistic material (journalistic statement) consisting of a title and a subtitle” (Pisarek 2006: 127). Fatyga claimed that a title remains the main element in a headline. The title, then, may be an equivalent of a single, or complex sentence and can thus contain an affirmative statement (i.e. information), a question, an appeal or a metaphor (Fatyga 2013: 4). In the same vein, Tkaczewski noticed that “all features of the journalistic style, such as communicativeness, suggestibility and imagery, are reflected in press titles and headlines. The title and the headline are a sort of an abbreviation of information, an account, a report or a description of an event, or a title of a semi-artistic text, from the border of journalism and fiction” (2001: 152).

There is a consensus among researchers that the title is one of the smallest texts appearing in the media, but at the same time it is one of the most important ones, as there is no untitled journalistic statement (Bortnowski 1999: 19). Therefore, the title is required to be functional and to integrate with the journalistic material for which it is a relevant “label” (Ślawska 2008: 118). Żydek-Bednarczuk pointed out that “titles announce texts. They have an indicative function. They occupy an initial position in the text, and therefore the attention of the recipient of the discourse is mostly focused on them. The location of the title is of strategic importance” (Żydek-Bednarczuk 2005: 172).

There is, however, a lot of ambiguity in this unusual journalistic text. This smallest press text is sometimes referred to as a title or a headline. Where the dividing line goes is described in the book “Słownik terminologii medialnej” (“Dictionary of Media Terms”): the title is “the essential, initial part of each publication; it encourages reading and corresponds to the content of the work” (Furman 2006: 225),

while the headline is “the initial element of the journalistic material (journalistic statement) consisting of the title and subtitle” (Furman 2006: 127). Summarizing the above considerations, in this paper I will use the term headline to describe the main title and subtitle, or only the title if there are not any more ingredients surrounding it.

The content analysis was chosen as my research method primarily because it is well-suited to finding out a variety of features in the headlines published on the analysed platform. Secondly, the article takes this perspective due to the extensive research material. Thanks to the content analysis, the essential elements of the structure of journalistic statements were examined, and then a typology of headlines used by www.polskatimes.pl website in constructing the image of Ukrainians was created. It is worth adding that the content analysis specifies and verifies observations of an attentive message recipient, which makes it possible to analyse not only the explicit content of messages but also what is implicitly conveyed, that is, what has been left unsaid, instead of merely coding the data.

Data were analysed with a bespoke table created by the author in Microsoft Excel containing characteristics that resulted from the theoretical approach adopted in the study. These were the following: the dominant feature of the headline, stereotyping, a mention of Polish-Ukrainian disputes, the word “Ukrainian”, “Ukrainians” or “Ukraine” in the headline, the headline length (the number of characters including spaces in each headline), the type of statement (affirmative sentence, question, exclamation), and an occurrence of colloquial phrases and numbers.

After coding each headline in accordance with the coding scheme presented above, the entire research material was well organized and the most important dependencies were observed, which enabled me to answer all research questions. This paper is also an illustration of how content analysis can be used as a tool to study media content, especially headlines. It is worth adding that the qualitative analysis was complementary to the quantitative analysis in my study, which resulted in a complete description of the image of Ukrainians on www.polskatimes.pl platform. The collected data are presented below with a short commentary.

3. Data analysis – results

The present analysis is limited to headlines published on www.polskatimes.pl platform from 2015 to 2019. Since the aim of this paper is to expand the knowledge of the image of Ukrainians in the electronic press in Poland, the analytical data were extracted using tags “Ukraine”, “Ukrainian” and “Ukrainians”. The platform was chosen specifically to represent one of the most important voices of journalists working for the PPG, which is, as mentioned above, one of the largest media groups in Poland.

Firstly, the data was collected using Google Advanced Search. Articles published on www.polskatimes.pl platform during five years (2015–2019) were collected and stored. This period was chosen strategically to achieve a higher diversity of themes and because of the specific political and economic situation in Eastern Europe at this time. It is worth noting that the number of headlines has increased six-fold from 2015 to 2019. Altogether, 194 headlines were collected and studied in detail.

3.1. Quantitative data – types of headlines

My research investigation began with the quantitative analysis. Headlines were sorted chronologically (with respect to the publication date of the article they announced) and divided according to the main features. This resulted in the following types of headlines:

1. informative,
2. enigmatic and intriguing,
3. emotional and shocking,
4. poetic (with metaphors, personifications or word games).

Table 1. Types of headlines (proportion) on www.polskatimes.pl platform in years 2015-2019 (including only articles tagged with “Ukrainian” or “Ukrainians”). Source: author’s own study.

Year	Informative type (%)	Enigmatic & intriguing type (%)	Emotional & shocking type (%)	Poetic type (%)	Year total
2015	6 (50%)	2 (17%)	1 (8%)	3 (25%)	12
2016	8 (32%)	9 (36%)	5 (20%)	3 (12%)	25
2017	19 (50%)	8 (21%)	10 (26%)	1 (3%)	38
2018	15 (37,5%)	11 (27,5%)	10 (25%)	4 (10%)	40
2019	28 (35%)	24 (30%)	20 (25%)	7 (10%)	79
Type total (%)	76 (39%)	54 (28%)	46 (24%)	18 (9%)	194 (100%)

It is worth adding that Pisarek, on the basis of the examination of the research material from the press in Poland in 1960s, distinguished the following types of information communicated by a headline (Pisarek 1967: 25–27):

- “1. specifying the content of the work:
 - a) summarizing the most important message or thesis,
 - b) specifying the theme of the text:
2. emphasizing the main circumstances, mood, genre of the text;
3. indicating the recipient.” (see also: Kita 2019: 135–149)

It seems that my observations partially confirm what he noticed. The informative type of headline usually specifies the article content, while the enigmatic and intriguing type emphasizes the main mood of the text. However, Pisarek did not mention the emotional or poetic headlines. Thus, it is possible that in the Polish press in the 1960s such headlines did not appear at all, or were scarce.

Twenty years later, after taking into account the textual role of a headline, researchers distinguished three functions of a title: nominative, descriptive and pragmatic (Gajda 1987: 83– 85). This is also reflected in my studies, although I developed a pragmatic and descriptive functions. Due to limited scope of this paper, only a small sample of headlines was selected from the collected material to illustrate the analyzed types. Additionally, it is worth noting that the length of the headlines throughout the analyzed period was constant at about 84 characters with spaces. Below is a brief description of each headline type with examples from the research material.

3.1.1. Informative headlines

Interestingly, the data show that the proportion of the informative type decreased by almost a third between 2017 and 2019. While in 2015 and 2017 every other headline was informative, in the last year of the study, they constituted only 35 per cent of the corpus. Although informative headlines remained most common, their advantage over enigmatic and intriguing headlines decreased from 29 (in 2017) to only 5 percentage points (in 2019).

The informative headlines were usually made up of declarative sentences or sentence equivalents. For instance:

- “Ukrainian Andrzej Starzyński won the First Ten to the Marathon (VIDEO, PHOTO)”²,
- “More than half of the students from abroad are Ukrainians”,
- “Ukrainian Cracow during the occupation”.

These headlines often consisted of two or more parts, the latter specifying the former. For example:

- “Polish and Ukrainian women forced into prostitution and sent abroad. Several hundred disadvantaged women”,
- “More Ukrainians came to Wrocław. They will get renovated and equipped apartments”,
- “Repatriates in Łódź. A family from Ukraine came to Łowicz. They fled Donbas before the war”,
- “ZUS³: Lower Silesia as a basin for Ukrainians. Only in the capital, there are more of them”.

To sum up, this type of headline can be considered the simplest and most literal. There are no emotionally marked words in them. It is a summary of an event or phenomenon described in the article, without additional ornaments.

3.1.2. Enigmatic and intriguing headlines

The analysis showed that the proportion of enigmatic and intriguing headlines increased from 2017 to 2019. Consequently, the headlines have become more laconic and mysterious in recent years. This seems to be a symptom of clickbait journalism. Journalists deliberately leave some room for speculation in a headline (or even say nothing at all about the content of the article), which can result in more frequent clicking on the headline and give the media group some extra money from advertisers. Some scholars (e.g. Kuiken, *et al.* 2017: 1–15; Dykstra 2019: 91) agree that “most recently, analysis of headlines in digital contexts tends to focus on how well stylistic features can prompt the goal of ‘getting clicked’ by the reader as evidence of effectiveness, and studies look at how headline writers are deploying textual “clickbait features” (Dykstra 2019: 91).

It is especially interesting to explore how such a puzzling headline is created on www.polskatimes.pl platform. Let us start with some examples:

2 All quoted headlines come from www.polskatimes.pl website. They were collected using Google Advanced Search tools and translated by the author of this paper. I would like to thank Tomasz Dziurdzia for his help in downloading the research material. For a complete list of headlines, see the appendix.

3 This is the Polish acronym of the Social Insurance Institution (in Polish: Zakład Ubezpieczeń Społecznych).

- “A Ukrainian attacked with a knife near the train station” – a reader does not know who was attacked, why and when it happened;
- “Even Ukrainians do not want to work at the post office” – here a reader does not know either why “even Ukrainians” do not want to work there, whether the problem concerns the specific post office or, more broadly, the entire institution;
- “Scandalous behavior of a Ukrainian minister in Przemyśl” – the word “scandalous” in the headline affects reader’s emotions but explains little. A reader does not know what the behavior is, what the name of the Ukrainian minister is or when the situation happened.

As was pointed out earlier, most headlines of this type do not contain enough information about the article content (i.e. about the subject, object, place or time when the event took place). These headlines are formulated in such a way as to intrigue readers and encourage them to read the whole text. It is also important to note that some headlines consist of an engaging question or encouraging exclamation, for instance:

- “Life in Poland according to a student from Ukraine. Check what problems they have to face!”
- “Relocation package for Ukrainians. Łódź wants to keep them. What will be included in the package?”
- “Breakdown at Rowieńska Nuclear Power Plant near the Polish border. Is there anything to be afraid of? The fire was extinguished”
- “Poland would be in trouble without Ukrainians. They perform an economic miracle. How much do they have to work for?”

I agree with Sadowska that in headlines of this type, “questions are asked directly, additionally suggesting an answer; there are also those that do not directly touch upon a matter, intriguing readers. They have to consider whether the question is ‘true’, or whether it has only been asked ‘despite an obvious (negative) answer’. The reader’s reflection on the thesis is the main goal of a journalist formulating the title as a question” (Sadowska 2007: 405).

Enigmatic and intriguing headlines are not limited to questions prompting you to guess, or click and test your assumptions. It is worth observing that sometimes they refer to historical disputes, or stereotypes, and they may call them into question. To illustrate this, let me quote a few more headlines:

- “Ridiculously cheap Ukrainians are a myth. Just like the fact that they are taking jobs from Poles” – the author refers to the stereotype of a cheap worker (“white slave”) from Ukraine;
- “CBA special operation in Jarosław. The case concerns large-scale smuggling of amber from Ukraine to Poland” – here we can find the stereotype of a Ukrainian smuggler;
- “Polish-Ukrainian war. Who will win in Galicia?” – memory of the Polish-Ukrainian dispute that took place in Galicia.

All the examples above show different ways in which journalists create intriguing titles with “high click-through rate”, the proportion of which was growing for three years on www.polskatimes.pl portal.

3.1.3. Emotional and shocking headlines

On www.polskatimes.pl platform, about a quarter of the headlines in 2016–2019 was marked as emotional and shocking. This could indicate a kind of tabloidization and sensationalism. Examples of such headlines include the following:

- “Ukrainian attacked with a knife near the train station”,

- “Maksym S. detained by the Internal Security Agency. The Ukrainian was planning an attack in Puławy, he wanted to detonate a car in a trap outside a shopping mall”;
- “Cracow. Gang rape in a tenement house. The prosecutor demands severe punishment”.

Headlines of this type often mention accidents or violent crimes. This group of titles concentrates on mysterious deaths, fights, attacks or sexual assaults. I also identified some sensational headlines which refer to the stereotype of “a drunk Ukrainian”. Usually, they concern car accidents that were caused by “a drunk Ukrainian”, for instance:

- “*A drunk Ukrainian* killed two teenagers in an accident. The trial is underway”
- “Tragedy on A4. Two people killed. *A Ukrainian was driving his truck after drinking alcohol*”;
- “*A drunk Ukrainian* caused an accident near Długołęka. Two people injured”.

The other topic discussed in the articles to which emotional headlines refer is aggression – of Poles against “strangers” and of Ukrainians living in Poland against Poles. For example:

- “Wągrowiec: Husband beat his wife. The husband-aggressor was beaten by his wife’s friend – a Ukrainian [PHOTOS]”;
- “Prison for beating a Ukrainian in Lublin. He broke his jaw and knocked out his teeth”;
- “Assault of a 73-year-old pensioner on a child from Ukraine: from spitting to jerking”.

This confirms violent nature of the two nations. Besides, certain issues have to do with history and politics such as the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (the Polish acronym – OUN), or the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the Polish acronym – UPA), the tragic events in Wołyń, or specifically the figure of Stepan Bandera, for example:

- “Nationalism in Ukraine. OUN helped Hitler”;
- “The drama of Wołyń. ‘I saw children with their heads cut off’”;
- “Paweł Kukiz: Stepan Bandera was a devil. We want a statutory ban on promoting his ideology [VIDEO]”.

Shocking content can also be manifested with the use of eye-catching adjectives or adverbs such as:

- “*Gigantic queues* of trucks on the border with Ukraine. Drivers spend their holidays waiting for border checks”;
- “Ukraine: *Moving words* of Donald Tusk on the anniversary of the *bloody Maidan events* in Kiev”;
- “Ukrainians join the European Union. Individually. On a *huge scale*”.

All these statements confirm multiple means used to emotionally represent different situations. The Polish-Ukrainian history is full of dramatic events, and journalists sometimes refer to them in order to “shake” a reader.

3.1.4. Poetic headlines

Poetic headlines appear least frequently in the collected research material. It is worth noting that this headline type is distinguished by metaphors, personifications or word games appearing in it. Some good examples are the following headlines:

- “Great Anna’s little secret. Interview with prof. Igor Halagida”;
- “Ukrainians are fleeing poverty and flooding our labor market”;

- “Drunken Cracow: crowds in the sobering-up center. More and more drunk women and students, Ukrainians are chasing the British”,
- “A Ukrainian in Wrocław is like a kid in a candy store”.

The proportion of these headlines is rather constant (between 2017 and 2019). Therefore, it is likely that they are an unconventional type, of interest to at least some readers. Various stylistic means poetize a title, making it mysterious, unique, and unusual. Develotte and Rechniewski state that headlines “not only can intrigue and awaken interest” but “they ‘reward’ the reader through the intellectual satisfaction gained in successfully decoding them” (2001: 15). In short, this type of headline is an interesting intellectual entertainment and diversifies the content posted on the platform.

3.2. Other quantitative data

Stereotypes and historical disputes appearing in the headlines are the second issue to be considered. It is worth highlighting that the proportion of stereotypical headlines is relatively small (on average about 9 per cent each year, which means 17 headlines with stereotypes overall in the research material).

Stereotypes are commonly defined as simplified perceptions of other people judged in a certain way because of the group they belong to. The research in the field of social psychology shows that they fulfill important cognitive functions. Thanks to them, the complexity of the world is reduced to a size accessible to the human mind (Hogg, Vaughan 2002: 60). William G. Sumner (1906) coined the term ‘ethnocentrism’, which describes the natural tendency of human communities to divide the world into “us” and “them”. As a result, any foreign habits that differ from one’s own may not only be perceived as surprising but also silly, shocking or even abnormal (see also: Kudła, Knapik 2019: 151; Walas 1995).

It is worth adding that the Social Opinion Research Centre regularly surveys Poles’ attitudes towards other nations. These studies show that aversion to Ukrainians increased between 2015 and 2019 from 32 to 41 per cent, while at the same time positive attitude towards Ukrainians decreased – from 36 to 31 per cent (Omyła-Rudzka 2019: 3–4).

The stereotypes in the research material describe Ukrainians primarily as cheaters, nationalists and alcohol abusers. Examples of such headlines include the following:

- “It is the Ukrainians who most often work illegally in Poland. Georgians, Belarusians and Moldovans are next”,
- “Pacification of Eastern Lesser Poland in 1930. Ukrainian nationalists versus the police and the army”,
- “A drunk Ukrainian killed two teenagers in an accident. The trial is underway”.

As we can see, these are very negative connotations. It is possible that in this way Poles compensate for a similarly negative opinion that they have in certain countries in Western Europe.

Historical disputes are rather rarely mentioned in the research corpus (about 5 per cent each year), although Internet users commenting on articles often refer to them. As is commonly known, the history of Poland and Ukraine is full of unhealed wounds and conflicts. Some historical figures considered by Ukrainians as heroes and patriots, Poles call murderers and nationalists⁴. However, www.polskatimes.pl platform does not focus on these issues.

⁴ Presumably the most famous example of such a character is Stepan Bandera.

3.3. Qualitative analysis

The study continued with the qualitative analysis. The headlines' analysis showed that the state and the personal view of Ukraine can be distinguished. It is important to note that the word "Ukrainian" (and "Ukrainians" in a plural form) appeared 123 times, while the word "Ukraine" appeared 73 times. In view of this, it is not surprising that the press usually focuses on the personal aspects of migration, which seem closer to the so-called "average reader" than issues of the state importance. Personal stories are usually more emotional, they allow us to feel the uniqueness of a situation and sympathize with a loser or have fun with a protagonist. However, such data and measures used in the headlines may also indicate the tabloidization of the analyzed portal. Some examples of headlines containing the word "Ukrainian" are as follows:

- "Ukrainian woman in Poznań. She was surprised by our kindness and she was enchanted by our tenements",
- "Ukrainians from Lublin outraged by the photo from Majdanek",
- "More Ukrainians came to Wrocław. They will get renovated and equipped apartments",
- "It's not love. Ukrainians like to work in Poland, but they will go to Germany without hesitation, if it is possible",
- "Wrocław is full of Ukrainians. There is already a shortage of housing for them".

In contrast to the headlines above, the institutional view of Ukraine is often associated with history in its state dimension. Such headlines usually refer to both Polish-Ukrainian 20th century history and the contemporary conflict in Donbas. For instance:

- "Ukraine with Podlasie and Nadsanie, without Poles and Jews. UKC collaboration with Germany [OUR HISTORY]",
- "Ukraine: Increasing tension on the front line in Donbas. Russians are withdrawing from cooperation within the Joint Control and Coordination Center",
- "Ukraine accuses Russia of hacking attacks using the Petya virus".

The word "Ukraine" also appears in the headlines on the occasion of sports events, such as:

- "Poland - Ukraine 3: 0. Poland - Ukraine: result and report from the match. Poland is qualifying to the 1/8 finals of the 2019 European Volleyball Championships",
- "EuroVolley. Poland - Ukraine at Atlas Arena in Łódź".

It is important to note that a headline can be characterized by different features, depending mostly on the communicative functions assigned to them. The examination of the data showed that some headlines are full of colloquial expressions. Such everyday expressions often create a "home atmosphere" and translate a complicated reality into simple "clichés". Moreover, they create an impression of a friendly chat between a journalist and a reader. For example:

- "Marriages with foreigners. The British like Łódź residents and Łódź residents prefer Ukrainian women",
- "At the nationalist picket in Lviv with cars 'on Polish plates' [COMMENTARY]",
- "A treat for tourists in the Bieszczady Mountains. During the weekend in May, it will be possible to visit Ukraine in the vicinity of Wołosate",
- "Memes after the Poland-Ukraine match".

Numbers that appear in the headlines are another identified issue. In the context of clickbait journalism, some researchers agreed that they may increase the number of clicks, and at the same time, since they refer to some statistics (the so-called “hard data”), they give an impression of unquestionable knowledge and objectivity. Let me quote some examples:

- “After January 1, 2020, between 25 and 60 per cent of Ukrainians may leave Poland for work in Germany.”
- “5,000 Ukrainians come to Wrocław every month.”
- “In five years, Ukrainians’ salaries have increased by over 70 percent.”

In order to synthesize the study, it is worth adding that in the entire research material, there were 19 headlines with figures (i.e. about 10 per cent).

4. Conclusions

The present study was an attempt to conduct a quantitative and qualitative analysis of press headlines in order to find major distinctive features of headlines in the Polish electronic press and recreate the image of Ukrainians created by the headlines from 2015 to 2019. The analysis was based on a corpus of 194 headlines (limited by time period and topic) taken from the portal www.polskatimes.pl. Different ways of constructing headlines were analyzed mainly through the use of content analysis. Content analysis about Ukrainians in the Polish regional media allows us to discover media narratives about culturally close foreigners. Media narratives about “otherness” are very important in scientific reflection – both in the field of social sciences and humanities. Media images of the world could influence public opinion, create permanent images of “others” or “foreigners” in our minds, strengthen stereotypes or, on the contrary, argue with them.

Influencing a recipient can take place in many ways but one of the editorial goals is to get a potential reader to reach for a text. One influential way in which the press may shape public opinion is by using adequate headlines. Undoubtedly, a headline is a key tool to draw attention to the described issue. This is also associated with the priority effect because psychological research proves that a reader remembers the initial part of a message better. According to the research of media scientists on the agenda setting hypothesis (Goban-Klas 2005: 267–269), the media does not exert so much influence on people’s opinions as on the directions of their thinking. It is journalists who indicate which information is important and shape the hierarchy of events in the minds of information recipients. Readers, on the other hand, usually remember only headlines, which represent the key subject of a message.

In my publication, I tried to show the variety of press headlines in the Polish electronic press based on the example of the www.polskatimes.pl platform and its headlines tagged “Ukrainian” and “Ukrainians” between 2015 and 2019. First, I classified the headlines according to their main features. A typology of headlines was proposed based on the previous research and contemporary studies. Furthermore, I found that the headlines contained stereotypes, numbers and colloquial expressions, as well as mentions of Polish-Ukrainian historical disputes. I also drew attention to the relationship between the personal and institutional description of issues related to Ukraine.

The main result of the study is a decreasing proportion of informative headlines and increasing proportion of enigmatic and intriguing headlines. As mentioned above, this change may be a symptom of

clickbait journalism. Such a puzzling headline can be created in many different ways, depending mostly on the context. In addition, this paper outlines the negative stereotypes and historical disputes, which can be found in the Polish electronic press. Moreover, the investigation showed that the headlines are dominated by the personal approach to Ukrainian topics, and may include colloquial phrases and eye-catching adjectives or adverbs. It is, therefore, agreed that the headlines “should not only inform, but also intrigue or even irritate readers, move readers, but most of all – encourage them to read a given article. Journalistic research has shown that the reader’s attention is focused mainly on the headlines, so they should be attractive” (Sadowska 2007: 411). Following this line of thought, “giving message titles is also somewhat subjective, because by doing it journalists define their own way of seeing a given event, and often comment on it (...) [Headlines] are supposed not only to inform us about the surrounding reality but also to entertain and shock us. Researchers call this the combination of information and entertainment – infotainment” (see more: Wolny-Zmorzyński, Kaliszewski, Furman 2006: 37–39). However, the impact of headlines on a reader is still unclear.

Looking into the future, it can be expected that more migrants from Ukraine will arrive in Poland. The financial and political factors will probably persuade Ukrainians to leave their homeland in the next few years. Because of the cultural, geographical, and linguistic proximity, as well as the possibility of finding a job in many industries, our country is very attractive to newcomers from Ukraine. However, it is worth noting that some researchers also draw attention to the possible outflow of Ukrainians from Poland following the opening of labour markets in Western Europe (see also: Szpakowska *et al.* 2016). As a result, it remains an open question how it will affect the media image of our eastern neighbours and Polish-Ukrainian relations – both at the state and the personal level.

When looking at the headlines on www.polskatimes.pl portal, we may conclude that the image of a Ukrainian in the Polish electronic press is in the process of evolution. Future research needs to use a large dataset, compare different types of media as well as their textual and visual content. Obviously, more work is needed to explore the variety of media narratives about the “others” and “foreigners” in Poland. To sum up, it is worth highlighting that:

[T]he comparison of national characteristics is often held to be one of the constitutive factors in the development and maintenance of national consciousness; if the press provides one of the most powerful vehicles for such comparison in modern society, it could be argued that headlines – because of their diffusion and visual and linguistic impact – play a key role in maintaining the constant presence of these representations in our daily lives. (Develotte, Rechniewski 2001: 15)

5. Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Disa Witkowska for her valuable advice and for proofreading a draft of this paper.

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Appendix

List of headlines (research materials downloaded from the polskatimes.pl platform using Google Advanced Search tools)

1. The company from Łódź will maintain roads around the capital of Ukraine for PLN 33 million.
2. In Khyriv, Ukraine, time stopped a long time ago.
3. The trial of attorneys from Lublin and Ukraine. The judge did not know that one of the accused had died.
4. Ukrainian woman in Poznań. She was surprised by our kindness and and she was enchanted by our tenements.
5. Ukraine: Waiting for peace. Volunteers in the war for Donbas [REPORT | PICTURES].
6. Women from Wrocław warned against the marauding “pervert”. The man shouted that “Ukrainian women should be raped”. He has been stopped.
7. Ukraine: Series of explosions at a military ammunition depot in the city of Balaklya.
8. Ukrainians from Lublin outraged by the photo from Majdanek.
9. More Ukrainians came to Wrocław. They will get renovated and equipped apartments.
10. Ukrainian Andrzej Starzyński won the First Ten to the Marathon (VIDEO, PHOTO).
11. Girls from Lviv in Lodz. Here they found their happiness.
12. Presidential elections in Ukraine: Petro Poroshenko - Volodymyr Zelensky debate. “All oligarchs who break the law will go to jail”.
13. It is the Ukrainians who most often work illegally in Poland. Georgians, Belarusians and Moldovans are next.
14. More than half of the students from abroad are Ukrainians.
15. It’s not love. Ukrainians like to work in Poland, but they will go to Germany without hesitation, if it is possible.
16. Polish and Ukrainian women forced into prostitution and sent abroad. Several hundred disadvantaged women.
17. Ukraine with Podlasie and Nadsanie, without Poles and Jews. UKC collaboration with Germany [OUR HISTORY].
18. Euro 2016. Fame of Ukraine and Deutschland fans hooligans - brawl before the match in Lille.

19. Ukraine introduces martial law. Attack of Russian ships in the Sea of Azov. "Russia has violated freedom of navigation. Tensions escalate".
20. Repatriates in Łódź. A family from Ukraine came to Łowicz. They fled Donbas before the war.
21. The Volhynian slaughter and its apogee: bloody Sunday, July 11 '43.
22. Ukraine: Massive fire in an ammunition depot near Vinnitsa. Almost 30,000 were evacuated people [PHOTOS].
23. Krakow besieged by Ukrainians. They're getting to work here.
24. Controls at the border with Ukraine and Belarus. Shells, amber and steroids in luggage. What else did the officers discover?
25. Ukraine: Increasing tension on the front line in Donbas. Russians are withdrawing from cooperation within the Joint Control and Coordination Center.
26. A fight of Poles and Ukrainians in Częstochowa. 11 people detained, 3 injured.
27. Wrocław is full of Ukrainians. There is already a shortage of housing for them.
28. Ukrainian attacked with a knife near the train station.
29. Is the end of Polish schools in Ukraine coming?
30. Even Ukrainians do not want to work at the post office.
31. Watch out for alcohol from Ukraine. It can be deadly poisonous.
32. Ukraine: The special screening of the film "Volyn" in Kiev was suddenly canceled. Why?
33. Ridiculously cheap Ukrainians are a myth. Just like the fact that they are taking jobs from Poles.
34. Ukrainian abandoned to death by the employer: Embassy of Ukraine on the death of the employee: The fault lies with the employer.
35. Driving license from Ukraine. For 1000 euros you can buy them without exams!
36. They liquidate the Wrocław – Lviv train. How will Ukrainians return home?
37. Ukrainians will become Poles. How many A million, two million? It all depends on the situation in the East and the policy of the Polish government and local governments.
38. Ukraine: Marches with torches on the anniversary of Stepan Bandera's birth [PHOTOS] [VIDEO].
39. Ukrainian Krakow during the occupation.
40. Ukraine. 27 victims of the separatist attack on Mariupol [PHOTOS + VIDEO].
41. Cracow. Gang rape in a tenement house. The prosecutor demands severe punishment.
42. All border crossings with Ukraine are now operating normally. However, the protest in Ukraine continues.
43. This is where the Ukrainians work with us.
44. Ukrainians are getting more and more job offers from other countries in Europe.
45. 34 Years After Chernobyl: Facts and Myths About the Nuclear Accident.
46. Pacification of Eastern Lesser Poland in 1930. Ukrainian nationalists versus the police and the army.
47. The Ring magazine's pound-for-pound ranking. Vasyl Lomachenko in the lead, Manny Pacquiao in the TOP 10.
48. Ukrainians in Poland earn more than Poles? This is the result of the Personnel Service analysis.
49. Masses for Ukrainians in Łódź, Zgierz and Piotrków.
50. Ukrainians are massively deregistering cars with Polish registrations in Przemyśl. The reason is the change in customs and fiscal regulations in Ukraine.
51. Earnings of Ukrainians in Poland. Do immigrants from Ukraine earn the same as Poles? Where can you meet them most often?
52. Great Anna's little secret. Interview with prof. Igor Hałagida.
53. Ukrainians will not give up worshiping the OUN and UPA as long as they fear Russia.

54. 5,000 Ukrainians come to Wrocław every month.
55. Double homicide in Dobrosławów. The suspect will go to pre-trial detention.
56. Scandalous behavior of a Ukrainian minister in Przemyśl.
57. Murder of a woman in Brodzica. Ukrainians suspected of brutal murder arrested at the border.
58. Ukrainians buy houses and flats from us.
59. Ukraine accuses Russia of hacking attacks using the Petya virus.
60. A drunk Ukrainian killed two teenagers in an accident. The trial is underway.
61. Ukrainians join the European Union. Individually. On a huge scale.
62. After January 1, 2020, between 25 and 60 per cent of Ukrainians may leave Poland for work in Germany.
63. The controversial photo in front of the Museum at Majdanek outraged the Internet users.
64. Tragedy on A4. Two people killed. A Ukrainian was driving his truck after drinking alcohol.
65. Ukraine: Alexei Mozgovoy, one of the separatist leaders, is dead. He died in an ambush [VIDEO 18+].
66. He shouted that the Ukrainians were murderers. The court issued a sentence for inciting hatred.
67. They smuggled people from Ukraine to Poland. Two Poles and one Ukrainian took visas up to EUR 400.
68. PLN 500 per child, also for Ukrainians. In Wrocław, about 300 families benefit from assistance.
69. Ukraine: Amina Okujewa died in an attack near Kiev. Her husband, Adam Osmayev, is injured.
70. EuroVolley. Poland - Ukraine at Atlas Arena in Łódź.
71. Wągrowiec: Husband beat his wife. The husband-aggressor was beaten by his wife's friend – a Ukrainian [PHOTOS].
72. More and more small Ukrainians in Wrocław schools (NUMBERS).
73. Ukrainian women after 3 faculties clean our apartments [SEE].
74. The Ukrainian hit two cars with a car from Vozilla rental.
75. On Wednesday before At 6.30 p.m., the officer of the Przemyśl police station received a report about a burning man on the balcony of a tenement house at ul. Rokitniańska in Przemyśl.
76. Marriages with foreigners. The British like Łódź residents town and Łódź residents prefer Ukrainian women.
77. 13 Georgians and Ukrainians detained in Zgierz. The policemen shot five aggressive foreigners
78. At the nationalist picket in Lviv with cars "on Polish plates" [COMMENTARY].
79. He attacked the Ukrainians because they spoke their own language.
80. A Wrocław citizen is guilty of hate speech against Ukrainians. "The flag and coat of arms of Ukraine are a symbol of murdering Poles".
81. Nationalism in Ukraine. OUN helped Hitler.
82. Trip to Chernobyl. What does Chernobyl look like now? [GALLERY] You have to see it with your own eyes. Chernobyl is still terrifying.
83. Ukrainians want to earn more than Poles. They can count up to PLN 21 gross per hour [Video, GALLERY].
84. A treat for tourists in the Bieszczady Mountains. During the weekend in May, it will be possible to visit Ukraine in the vicinity of Wołosate.
85. The drama of Wołyń. "I saw children with their heads cut off".
86. Labor camp in Wrocław? Woman with human trafficking allegations.
87. Russia is committed to maintaining the crisis in Ukraine.
88. Ukraine: The Polish cemetery in Bykivnia near Kiev was devastated. This is a provocation? [PICTURES]
89. Miracles on the Polish-Ukrainian border in Medyka. Cars with a permissible weight of 3.5 tons can convert into 14-ton trucks.

90. Oleg Sentsov free. Prisoner exchange: Ukraine and Russia exchanged approximately 70 prisoners captured in connection with the war in eastern Ukraine.
91. The victims of Volhynia have their monument in Lublin (PHOTOS).
92. Volyn slaughter. Krzesimir Dębski: We still have some illusions when it comes to Ukrainians [INTERVIEW].
93. WARNING! TVN Warszawa: Ticket control on the ZTM bus ended for Ukrainian woman with a plaster cast. Police officer: "You are in Poland, speak Polish".
94. The war in Ukraine has already claimed 2,696 lives.
95. Poland would be in trouble without Ukrainians. They perform an economic miracle. How much do they have to work for?
96. Warsaw: Residents of ul. Moroccan do not want neighbors from Ukraine? "Together we will be able to get rid of the problem".
97. Poles are no longer afraid that the Ukrainians will take their jobs and better wages. Where did this change come from?
98. A tragedy in the Wroclavia building. The Ukrainian is dead.
99. What are the Ukrainians doing here.
100. Podhale. Highlanders are looking for people to work even in ... the Philippines [PHOTOS].
101. In five years, Ukrainians' salaries have increased by over 70 per cent.
102. Five young Poles attacked Ukrainian.
103. Ukrainian dubbing in Polish cinemas. The Helios cinema chain is counting on a new audience.
104. What does a drunk immigrant do? Surviving in a hostel is a task for the toughest.
105. Crisis situation on the Subcarpathian border with Ukraine. The fire brigade will deliver hot drinks, and heated tents will be set up.
106. Kerch Strait blocked. This is not an introduction to the invasion of Ukraine, Russia is pursuing a strategy of small steps. What are Putin's goals?
107. Paweł Kukiz: Stepan Bandera was a devil. We want a statutory ban on promoting ideology [VIDEO].
108. Ukrainian beat a Pole to death. The 55-year-old from Kędzierzyn-Koźle is dead. Ukrainian citizen on charges of beating with fatal consequences.
109. Ladybug is looking for employees. She launched a 24/7 recruitment hotline for Ukrainians
110. Polish-Ukrainian war. Who will win in Galicia?
111. The case of Ukrainian, Oksana: Jędrzej C. again in court. The woman's former employer wants to voluntarily submit to the punishment.
112. Poznań: They open Ukrainoczka delicatessen with products such as from Ukraine, Georgia and Kazakhstan. See prices.
113. The German labor market will absorb Ukrainians working in Poland. This is not our only problem.
114. It was scary. We cannot forget the Volhynia massacre.
115. CBA special operation in Jarosław. The case concerns large-scale smuggling of amber from Ukraine to Poland.
116. Ukrainian detained at the border in Dorohusk. He tried to bring an artillery cannon to Ukraine.
117. Poznań: Nurses from Ukraine are still unable to work at the HCP hospital, although they graduated from Poland.
118. Employees from Ukraine at ZM Henryk Kania did not receive any payments. The plant blames the broker New Work Poland. The Ukrainians are protesting and demanding money.

119. Ukrainian working in Poland: - It is not profitable for us to work here when we earn less than PLN 2.7 thousand. PLN.
120. Ukraine: Riots in Kiev on the anniversary of the Maidan pacification. There were clashes with the police [PHOTOS].
121. Kiev: There was no chance for the former prime minister and the current president. The country may be ruled by a comedian.
122. Ukrainian family expelled from Poland after four years. Neighbors write to the president.
123. Ukraine: Elections 2019 [CANDIDATES] Volodymyr Zelensky plays the president for the time being in the series. But in the polls it is ahead of Tymoshenko and Poroshenko.
124. Officials: We cannot accept garbage from Ukraine.
125. Ukraine: Moving words of Donald Tusk on the anniversary of the bloody Maidan events in Kiev.
126. Trade on the street near the border. It will pay off for a Pole and Ukrainian.
127. Ukrainians buy more flats in Poland than Germans. Most in Warsaw and Krakow.
128. Ukraine: The Russian army has brought mobile crematoria to the Donbas. I want to hide the losses [VIDEO].
129. Two Ukrainians died in a cold store. Death of men in a cold store in the village of Sadkowiec near Rawa Mazowiecka.
130. Goodbye monoculture, hello multi-culti? Many economic immigrants want to settle in Poland. The Asians are on the way. And it will change us.
131. Measles epidemic in Ukraine, the disease rages on the border with Poland. Will the record of cases be broken?
132. Ukrainians spend more and more in Poland.
133. Assault of a 73-year-old pensioner on a child from Ukraine: from spitting to jerking.
134. Near Lviv in Ukraine, "military hunters" loot the graves of Polish heroes.
135. Ukraine LIVE. Security Council: Two Russian battalions crossed the border [PHOTOS 18+].
136. Builders, road builders, cooks. Ukrainians earn seven times more in Poland than at home.
137. Breakdown at Rowieńska Nuclear Power Plant near the Polish border. Is there something to be afraid of? The fire was extinguished [1. 5. 2019].
138. They beat up and insulted Poles, thinking they were ... Ukrainians.
139. Ukraine restricts the entry of Russians to its country. He wants to prevent the creation of "private" troops in Ukraine.
140. Ukraine: Volodymyr Zelensky is sworn in as president, followed by dissolution of parliament.
141. Ukrainians will leave Poland soon? There is a fight for employees. The Czechs and Germany offer better conditions for Ukrainians [14 June 2019].
142. Ukrainians are fleeing poverty and flooding our labor market.
143. Wrocław: More and more small Ukrainians in schools.
144. Ukrainians' protest in front of Henryk Kania Meat Works in Pszczyna and Goczałkowice. Employees demand payment of overdue money PHOTOS.
145. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenski in Brussels. Kiev sets a course to the West.
146. Ukrainian students expelled from our school. They were stopped at the border.
147. Ukrainians no longer need visas to come to Poland.
148. Dutch investigators: three Russians and one Ukrainian accused of shooting down a Malaysian plane in 2014
149. Every 5th Ukrainian does not want to return to work abroad.

150. The Volhynian Massacre: True Stories. Seven reports from Volhynia. Impaled, burned in the church, hacked with axes ...
151. Drunken Kraków: crowds in the sobering-up center. More and more drunk women and students, Ukrainians are chasing the British.
152. Already 400 thousand. foreigners officially settled in Poland for longer. Half of them are Ukrainians. They fell in love with Warsaw, Poznań and Kraków.
153. STRZELCE KRAJEŃSKIE. The Ukrainian driver who saved people on the Polish highway has problems. May lose the residence card (UPDATE).
154. From the eastern land to Poland. The Ukrainians found an Eldorado in our country.
155. Ukrainian in Poland is like a Pole in the UK years ago.
156. Ukrainians: 200 per cent of the norm.
157. Conflict at the school in Toruń. A Ukrainian family decided to leave Poland.
158. How much do Ukrainians in Poland earn? As much as Poles, and even more. They appreciate a similar language and benefits in our country.
159. Death to Lachom! The fifth column in the Borderlands in September 1939.
160. Driving license from Ukraine. For 1,000 euros and no exams, there is also a package for 3,000 euros.
161. Relocation package for Ukrainians. Łódź wants to keep them. What will be included in the package?
162. Oksana's drama: The sister of an aggrieved Ukrainian woman wants a deal with her employer.
163. Murder in Gorzów. - Kristina was like an angel - say the friends of the Ukrainian woman killed in the laundry. Now they are collecting money for her funeral.
164. UPA monuments are still venerated in Poland. "They Fall for a Free Ukraine".
165. A drunk Ukrainian caused an accident near Długołęka. Two people injured.
166. 2019 European Volleyball Championship. Poland - Ukraine at the end of the competition in Amsterdam. Poles are waiting for rivals [where to watch].
167. Poland - Ukraine 3: 0. Poland - Ukraine: result and report from the match. Poland is certain to qualify to the 1/8 finals of the 2019 European Volleyball Championships.
168. Ukrainians will leave Poland en masse? The main reason for the departure of employees from Ukraine to other countries is financial reasons.
169. A beaten student from Ukraine in Żory near the Florida club. The boy was intimidated. RELATIONSHIP of a student friend from Ukraine.
170. Ukrainian customs officers did not allow another 300 Christmas parcels from Poland for our compatriots living in Ukraine.
171. Life in Poland according to a student from Ukraine. Check what problems they have to face!
172. Prison for beating a Ukrainian in Lublin. He broke his jaw and knocked out his teeth.
173. GORZÓW WLKP. After the murder of Ukrainian woman, the heads of the police station lost their position.
174. Time for robots and ... Asians. Less and less Poles work. There are no more Ukrainians. Who will do the job for us to keep Poland growing?
175. He killed Ukrainian with one blow. He faces a life sentence.
176. The Odra river comes to us from Ukraine. The epidemic is becoming more and more real. Take care of yourself and your children!
177. Every tenth inhabitant of Wrocław is Ukrainian. They are more than welcome here.
178. A shocking accident of a 19-year-old Ukrainian in a Polish company.

179. The first Wrocław Independence Run was won by Ukrainian. The third Pole (PHOTOS, RESULTS, 11/11/2019).
180. Russia accuses him of terrorism. Ihor Mazur: These are made up allegations.
181. Maksym S. detained by the Internal Security Agency. Ukrainian was planning an attack in Puławy, he wanted to detonate a car in a trap outside a shopping mall.
182. Oława is the Ukrainian capital of Lower Silesia. The Ukrainians found their Eldorado here.
183. The Polish economy and ZUS benefit from foreigners.
184. Wrocław: 5 Ukrainians registered for the apartment without the owners' knowledge.
185. The Poland - Ukraine match at the Silesian Stadium. The squad returns to Kotła Czarownic for the match with Ukraine! PZPN announced the places and dates of matches.
186. Ukrainians are looking for a simple and well-paid job in Poland.
187. Foreigners who came to work in Poland pay attention not only to the possibility of higher earnings, but also to benefits.
188. The family from Muszyna will change the fate of the limping Irena from Ukraine. The girl had no chance of being treated.
189. Memes after the Poland - Ukraine match.
190. Ukrainians accused of brutal attacks in and around Chełm (PHOTOS).
191. A Ukrainian in Wrocław is like a kid in a candy store.
192. ZUS: Lower Silesia as a basin for Ukrainians. There are more of them only in the capital.
193. Gigantic queues of trucks on the border with Ukraine. Drivers spend their holidays waiting for border checks.
194. Nervous end of the year for companies. Employees from Ukraine will leave Poland in 2020?