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radio documentary is a journalistic genre that is distinguished by its audio content and non-visual quality. It only consists of sounds: voices, acoustic effects, music and silence, yet it is capable of evoking suggestive images in the listener's imagination. It derives from information, as it relies on facts, but it has a more extended form: keeping its documentary character, it also displays aesthetic features. This type of a programme is believed to be the most mature radio form, allowing for experiments; it constitutes an original manner of talking about people, phenomena and events.¹

Along with development of the genre, there has been a clear separation between two types of reporter's work: a news-type reporting account (*reportage*) and a radio document (*grand reportage*), also called an artistic documentary.² or, in its most creative form, a feature.³ A reporter's material, prepared by a newsroom

¹ M. Bialek, *Polski reportaż radiowy. Wybrane zagadnienia*, Poznań–Opole 2010; K. Klimczak, *Reportaż radiowy – definicja i podział*, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica” 2011, No. 1, pp. 123-133; J. Sikorzanka, *Sztuka reportażu radiowego – mikrokosmos dźwięków*, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica” 2005, No. 2, pp. 29-37; J. Tuszewski, *Paradoks o słowie i dźwięku*, Toruń 2005, pp. 309-328.

² J. Janowska, *Radiowa “Karafka La Fontaine’a”*, “Media – Społeczeństwo – Kultura” 2009, No. 1, p. 21.

³ M. Bialek, *Reportaż radiowy – problemy z współczesną terminologią genologiczną*, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica” 2017, No. 1, pp. 73-81; J. Bachura-Wojtasik, K. Klimczak, *“Feature” w radiu – wymykanie się wyznacznikom gatunku. Uwagi genologiczne po festiwalu Prix Europa w latach 2012 i 2013*, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria

journalist, usually consists of a several minutes' long recording offering a verified, but only superficial description of a given event or phenomenon. A radio documentary delves into the core of the problem, discloses a broader context of a given situation, emotions and feelings of its characters and, at the same time, allows for application of original means of expression. Thanks to a journalist's sensitivity and his/ her ability to build suspense, individual events may acquire a dimension of a universal story about human fate. Irena Piłatowska, an excellent Polish radio journalist, writes: "A fact or facts from which a journalist starts from are only a skeleton, a starting point for a message of a more general nature, for paying attention to issues that go unnoticed or are overlooked."⁴ An audio production defined in this manner and requires using its specific narrative formula.

There is no documentary without a good protagonist. Tim Crook says: "Human characters are the essence of successful communication. If your people are not interesting and not saying something interesting whatever the subject, your feature or programme will fail."⁵ Most often, a documentary presents a precisely selected breakthrough moment in the protagonist's biography. Such an event has a "dramatic potential" and becomes the structural axis for the story and the basis for formulating a universal message. To accomplish this, the journalist has to record such a conversation with the protagonist that will disclose his/ her feelings and emotions. This form of conversation is called a personal interview: "The interview is intimate and penetrating. To lower a person's guard to the point where they become vulnerable."⁶ The second category is an emotional interview: "The interview is an attempt to lay bare someone's feelings, to able an audience to share in a personal tragedy or moving event."⁷ To induce the interlocutor to confession, the journalist has to gain his/ her trust. Piłatowska says straightforwardly: "The ability to listen to another person and, what is more – to listen intently to such person and their

Polonica" 2014, No. 1, pp. 43-60; J. Bachura, *Feature – the Marriage of Fact and Fiction*, [in:] *Radio: Community, Challenges, Aesthetics*, ed. G. Stachyra, Lublin 2013, pp. 277-286.

⁴ I. Piłatowska, *Reportaż jako artystyczny gatunek radiowy*, "Media – Społeczeństwo – Kultura" 2009, No. 1, p. 36.

⁵ T. Crook, *Radio drama. Theory and practice*, London–New York 2001, p. 214.

⁶ A. Boyd, *Broadcast journalism. Techniques of radio and tv news*, Oxford 1993, p. 82.

⁷ Ibidem.

story – is the basic ability of a journalist”⁸; it enables the interlocutor to “take off the mask” and to open up before the listeners.

A personal narrative, when the listener gets the impression that the speaker has forgotten about the presence of thereporter and other listeners, is the form of radio expression with the greatest impact. In practice, it calls for significant communication, or even psychological skills from a journalist. This aspect of the reporter’s work is often emphasised by Katarzyna Michalak, a renowned reporter from Polskie Radio Lublin, a two-time laureate of Prix Italia prize, the winner of the Golden Microphone of Polskie Radio and Melchior for Radiowy Reportażysta Roku (Radio Documentary-Maker of the Year). When talking to Wiesław Łuka during an interview for the Association of Polish Journalists, she mentioned the significance of meeting her subjects and establishing a profound personal relation. Referring to the ideas of Ryszard Kapuściński, Michalak explains that every interlocutor is a “master of life” for her – from whom she wants to learn something: Katarzyna Michalak (K.M.): I explain it in the way that during the conversation, my protagonist has to forget that he/ she is dealing with a journalist.

Wiesław Łuka (W.Ł.): But how can you accomplish this in a situation when you have to put the microphone on the table or shove it under his/ her nose?

K.M.: I do everything to make the other person see me as somebody who is interested in his/ her fate. I want to learn something important from them, not only get to know something.

W.Ł.: Is this your pupil’s stance?

K. M.: I meet people who have experienced an extreme situation in life and have somehow dealt with it, or at least are looking for ways of dealing with it, so they often know more than I do. Therefore, I can call them the masters of life. I do not only ask “what”, but also “why” and “what were the consequences for them?” Extreme situations in life are the measure of humanity.⁹

⁸ I. Pilatowska, *Reportaż jako artystyczny gatunek...*, p. 35.

⁹ O odpowiedzialności reportera za swego bohatera, o rozmowach z “mistrzami życia” oraz o intymności radiowego przekazu z Katarzyną Michalak rozmawia Wiesław Łuka, [online] <http://www.sdp.pl/wywiady/12229,o-odpowiedzialnosci-reportera-za-swego-bohatera-o-rozmowach-z-mistrzami-zycia-oraz-o-intymnosci-radiowego-przekazu-z-katarzyna-michalak-rozmawia-wieslaw-luka,1451919529> [01.07.2017].

An example of a personal narrative of this type is the *Chcę więcej* ("I Want More") documentary prepared by Bartosz Panek, a journalist from Programme II of the Polish Radio, in the acoustic setting by Tomasz Perkowski.¹⁰ The programme presents the talented cello player, Dominik Poloński, whose promising career ceased when he was diagnosed with a brain tumour. "After several operations and strenuous rehabilitation, Poloński is the only musician today who only uses his right hand when playing cello."¹¹ The production was rewarded at the international competition Prix Italia 2014 and received several awards in Poland in the category of radio productions. However, right before starting to work, the reporter was not certain if Dominik Poloński would agree for the recording. The artist avoided contacts with the media: "First, the journalists spoiled everything that was connected to my story for me, because they would only be interested in a story that sells well: the story of a boy who suffered a great misfortune at the onset of his grand career and who managed to get out of bed [...] It was a sensational and lovey-dovey story and everybody listened willingly to it; people liked it, so only this aspect was discussed."¹² The *Chcę więcej* documentary was recorded in the course of a year, which is not a common practice in quick journalistic radio work. "First of all, you were Mr. Dominik Poloński and I was Mr. Bartosz Panek. It was not all sugarplum at the very beginning" said the author of the programme, Bartosz Panek, talking to Poloński during a meeting in Lublin. "[...] But you know what, you also got me by the fact that you told me straightforwardly and immediately that you did not trust journalists, remember that?" Poloński had to be certain that the story of his life would not be made shallow and "sold" to the media. In effect, a moving document has been created, showing not only the musician's fight with the disease, but also his sensitivity to sounds, the need to play cello, looking for the colours of

¹⁰ The article contains fragments of analyses presented in Polish entitled *Formy personalizacji wypowiedzi w przekazie radiowym* [in print]. This publication contains an updated and extended version.

¹¹ Dwójka, *Reportaż Bartosza Panka nagrodzony "radiowym Oscarem"*, [online] <http://www.polskieradio.pl/8/196/Artykul/1241619,Reportaz-Bartosza-Panka-nagrodzony-radiowym-Oscarem> [1.07.2017].

¹² D. Poloński, a statement made during presentation of the reportage *Chcę więcej* in Lublin on 13.02.2014. Recording of the meeting held by the author.

the sound and sharing his imagination. The stirring authenticity, very close, confession-like perspective of the narrative, which makes the listeners certain that in their presence, the protagonist reveals the most sensitive and the most important layer of his personality, result in the fact that the story is far from banal.

The style of the conversation, arranged as such, opens with the very first sentence in this broadcast. Połński says, "This is incredible how... how... how I can feel this instrument, and how we are together. This is something... more than... like several affections, a union and affiliation between two people, throughout your lifetime." The personal character of this narrative is expressed not only through the grammar – the first person singular – but also through the acoustic stratum of this utterance. In the sound recording, we can hear the calm voice of the protagonist who considerably formulates the consecutive segments of each sentence he utters. We can hear hesitation and single words being repeated, thus reflecting the process of searching for the appropriate words or phrases, occurring in the presence of the listener. The way this man speaks leads one to recognising his desire to deeply and possibly truly render his own thoughts. The interviewer would not retouch what his interlocutor has said, removing no repeated bits while editing the tape; the short pauses while speaking, never destroying the dynamic of the message but, instead, reinforce the expressive function of the utterance and confirm its authenticity, have been left untouched.

The listener is attracted by the original vocabulary – as well as the simile the musician used: playing his instrument, his profession and daily routine, being like a close relationship with the other human being. "That's the way I am", he confesses after a short pause, "and that's why I play the cello the way I do. And this is why I can create the art with just one string. The world on one string." The metaphoric language he uses renders the message illiteral; the listener get the message that he or she will not fully understand it if focusing on the 'facts' only: s/he has to trigger a perceptive mechanism adequate with a work of art.

Dominik Połński has invited the journalist, and thereby, us, to enter his private world. We can hear sounds recorded while going by car, at a café, while cleaning the cello or having classes at the Academy of Music. Such tricks make the broadcast even more attractive with use of a diversified 'sound scenery' while

also building bridges and reconfirming the trust the interviewed man has put in the reporter.

One of the initial fragments of the programme contains a telling anecdote: "At one time, a smartarse journalist from Germany asked me: "How does it feel to live on the verge of death?" [pause] [brief laughter]. So I asked him to tell me: how does it feel to live on the verge of death, because we are in the same situation."¹³ This example shows very accurately that the media may use the mechanism of personalisation of an utterance to build effective material without paying attention to the interlocutor's right to privacy. The journalist may ask a personal question only when he has managed to create adequate conditions to do so: "the rule is to tread carefully when your foot is on somebody's heart, and then only walk where you have been given the right of way."¹⁴

Bartosz Panek did not endeavour to hunt for a sensation, but wanted to avoid making one more recording of one's struggle with an incurable illness. When listening attentively to his interlocutor, he discovered that art is the number one thing for Dominik: it is for the art, through it, and thanks to it, that he hunts for a way to regain full control over his life, and enjoy it. The way he describes it during the conversation is really telling: "... life is not about your heart beating, [*pauses for a while*] and that I eat something and look ahead and watch television. This is *not* a life." This sentence is the key to comprehending the story. It shows that the story we follow is one of reversed proportions: rather than a prevalent thread, the ailment has offered a pretext for presenting a story that, as Mr. Panek stressed in an interview, "while not spectacular like some scandal, notorious tragedy or unexplained criminal puzzle, it has the potential to influence the surrounding environment, understanding of the sound, of music and its role in the life of everyone of us, even though some of us might not have much of an ear for pieces of music written in history."¹⁵ The reporter's patience and the sincere approach

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ A. Boyd, *Broadcast journalism*, p. 82.

¹⁵ B. Panek, *W poszukiwaniu prawdy zawieszanej między słowem i dźwiękiem*, [rozmowę przepr. B. Torański], [online] <http://www.sdp.pl/wywiady/10353,w-poszukiwaniu-prawdy-zawieszanej-miedzy-slowem-i-dzwiekiem,1413445148> [01.07.2017].

of his interviewee has enabled to create a broadcast that really moves the listener, animates their imagination, is haunting and memorable.

Such a meeting and personal narrative are also important from the interlocutor's point of view; they lead to an inner catharsis and throwing off the luggage of experience. "Talks between the protagonist and the journalist offer the former a possibility of externalisation, opening up, discovering emotions that have so far been suppressed, and, through this, finding his/ her own place after very traumatic events, closing them and putting them in order. These talks not only serve as a confession, but also a therapy for the person who talks."¹⁶ This has also been confirmed by Dominik Połński, who said to the author of the programme during presentation of the *Chcę więcej* documentary in Polskie Radio: "Throughout this year, you managed – thanks to your empathy, sensitivity and attention – to reach deeper to the understanding of who I am than the majority of people in my life. You managed to understand what my art is about, how much it means to me."¹⁷

It is worth noting that the recorded moment of the protagonist's honesty is, at the same time, the moment of his weakness and defencelessness, which burdens the journalist with grave responsibility for the emitted content. When looking for an attractive recording, full of emotions, it is has to be remembered that the other person cannot be exposed to ridicule. "A journalist devoid of empathy will not be a good journalist. At most, such person may be a good editor of police records", says the media expert and journalist Jan Pleszczyński.¹⁸ Decisions made during the editing of a recording, e.g. selection of material, placement of fragments of utterances in a new context, building sequences and their arrangement in the composition may deform the sense of the utterances and make the "inner truth" devalued. "I am aware of the power of editing, I know how easy it is to manipulate information," notes Maciej Drygas, a valued radio and film documentary-maker.

¹⁶ J. Bachura-Wojtasik, K. Sigizman, *Autonarracje w reportażu radiowym*, "Media – Kultura – Komunikacja Społeczna" 2016, No. 4, p. 111.

¹⁷ Dwójka, *Reportaż Bartosza Panka...*

¹⁸ J. Pleszczyński, *Etyka dziennikarska*, Warszawa 2007, p. 190.

"I also know that no radio programme, no film is worth human life. Therefore, I am far away from treating life as a documentary feeding ground."¹⁹

For a journalist, this is also the issue of reliability: is he going to risk losing his/ her credibility by abusing trust that was shown by the interlocutor? In the journalist's work, this is a particularly sensitive issue, as Ryszard Kapuściński wrote: "journalism is one of the most collective professions in the world, because we cannot do much without other people. Without the assistance of participation, judgement and thoughts of others, we do not exist."²⁰ In another place, he adds: "a reporter goes away and never comes back, but what he wrote about the people he met will accompany them until the end of their lives. Our words may destroy them."²¹

A personal narrative in radio documentary has yet another form that is interesting from the point of view of the structure of the story and attracting the listener's attention: author's commentary. Natalia Kowalska notes that the approach to the presence of the narrator's voice in the documentary divided the authors of radio documents already in the 1970's: "The Cracow school represented by Jacek Stwora was in favour of the narrator's presence. The distinguishing features of Warsaw documentary include their long-windedness, metaphors in the story, clashes of ideas. Representatives of Warsaw school avoided the voice of reporters in the programmes, at the same time putting the authentic sound and the protagonist's voice in the first place."²² The journalist hiding behind the protagonists' statements is meant to emphasise the journalistic objectivity proper for the genre originating from information. "The reporter-witness has to be objective. He records the events and does not evaluate them."²³ However, this does not mean that the author, even though his voice cannot be heard in the recording, is absent. He is revealed in the

¹⁹ M.J. Drygas, *Wyzwolić wyobraźnię*, [in:] *Biblia dziennikarstwa*, ed. A. Skworz, A. Niziołek, Kraków 2010, p. 324.

²⁰ R. Kapuściński, *To nie jest zawód dla cynków. Pięć zmysłów dziennikarza*, Warszawa 2013, p. 21.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 21.

²² N. Kowalska, *Miedzy prawda a zmysleniem, czyli wokół feature i reportaży radiowych*, "Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica" 2013, No. 2, p. 223.

²³ M. Bialek, *Polski reportaż radiowy...*, p. 51.

manner of organising the audio material: "The manner in which the journalist tells a given story may communicate a lot of things about him, about his sense of aesthetics and sensitivity; a reportage is, to a certain extent, an individual and personal communication."²⁴

The comments made by the authors, interpolated in the reportage, link the consecutive sequences of the recording. Such is the role of Mariusz Kamiński's comments, for instance in the documentary entitled *Przypadek Edwarda Margola* ("Edward Margol's Case")²⁵ serve as links. The journalist says: "I started my search in Lublin. First of all, I went to the 'Pod Zegarem' Museum of Martyrdom." "So, I am on my way to the Majdanek State Museum to meet with Robert Kuwałek." In this manner, the author orders the story and provides it with a form of multi-stage investigation, leading to the discovery of the secret of Edward Margol. Simultaneously, the journalistic commentary reveals the arcana of radio work to the audience.

In the documentary of Agnieszka Czarkowska entitled *Rozstrzelany zegarek* ("Executed Watch"),²⁶ the author's voice also bonds the structure of the programme together and the commentary is something more than just an account of her work – it bears traces of personal involvement of the journalist. The very first statement suggests that the presented story has a great, private significance for her: "The story started in October 2013, even though at that time I was not aware of it." The axis of the programme is the search for the owner of a pre-war pocket watch which was found during work at the Institute of National Remembrance in Białystok. However, the author's multiple attempts to reach the truth do not offer the expected results. At the end of the programme, the narrator says: "Maybe Maniusia took the secret of the golden watch with her to the grave; she also took her entire knowledge about the pre-war Białystok and one of the most outstanding inhabitants of the city of those times". The tagline amazes the listeners after a brief pause.

²⁴ P. Czarnek, *Percepcja reportażu radiowego*, "Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Kształcenie Polonistyczne Cudzoziemców" 2013, vol. 20, p. 235.

²⁵ M. Kamiński, *Przypadek Edwarda Margola* [audio], [online] <http://www.polskieradio.pl/80/1002/Artykul/735409,GRAND-PRIZ-PREZESA-Polskiego-Radia-2012-Przypadek-Edwarda-Margola-dokument-Mariusza-Kaminskiego> [01.07.2017].

²⁶ A. Czarkowska, *Rozstrzelany zegarek* [audio], [online] <http://www.polskieradio.pl/80/1007/Artykul/1295491,Do-kogo-nalezal-rozstrzelany-zegarek> [01.07.2017].

"For several years, I was her neighbour. I passed her by sitting on a bench in front of the block of flats." This extra information does not seemingly offer any important details which would supplement the content of the story, but it provides the documentary with a broader semantic context. The gold watch gains the status of a symbolic prop, evoking the reflection on evanescence and the entanglement of individuals in great historical processes; in the perspective of everyday life, it renders the listener focused on the details that we begin to appreciate when we lose them. This is how a reporter's account turns into a parable.

Monika Malec in her radio documentary *Przeszkody nie można zdusić* ("The obstacle not to be quashed")²⁷ shows the story of Patryk, a young man who endeavours to regain his health and fitness after a car accident. The ordered structure of this broadcast is broken by the author's commentary at the conclusion of the recording. Against the background filled with sounds of hospital life-support machinery, she utters the words, "How much fear and uncertainty is gnawing on me, as I'm standing by this hospital bed. Patryk is alive, he is there, walking, talking, and yet you have been through what he's been through: a car accident, and a head trauma. His story makes me hope that you will be woken soon. Will you be able to walk, talk, and see? May the presages of those doctors never come true." The author unexpectedly introduces into the narrative a new character: an ill man, and herself becomes one of the characters of this recording. This scene apparently does not compose well with the previous narration, but its function is far more important than merely to beef up the narrative texture. By means of the confession she makes, the reporter implies that the fear for the relatives, and the awareness of how fragile human life is, are all inherent to the history of each human being. To express this existential truth, she shuns big words or generalisations. She talks about herself – thus showing that reportage is an art which mirrors the experience of a number of its listeners.

²⁷ M. Malec, *Przeszkody nie można zdusić* [audio], [online] <http://moje.radio.lublin.pl/17-04-2013-reportaz-cafe-reportaz-moniki-malec-przeszkody-nie-mozna-zdusic.html> [01.07.2017].

The commentary is even more personal in Katarzyna Michalak's documentary entitled *Złoty Chłopak* ("Golden Boy"),²⁸ reconstructing the story of Abraham Tuszyński – a Polish Jew who came from a poor family living near Łódź and who became known for establishing the "cinema empire and building one of the most beautiful cinemas in the world named 'Theater Tuschinski' in Amsterdam."²⁹ This narrative trick has already been used by Ms. Malec, one example being her broadcast entitled *Modlitwa Zapomnianej* ("The Forgotten's Prayer"),³⁰ or in one of her first reportages, *Mijając Ewę* ("Passing by Ewa").³¹ But in this case the author goes even further and introduces her own memories to the programme, she makes her family the protagonists, and builds a growing parallel between the fates of the two families. Anna Sekudewicz notices: "The feature is a story woven from the lives of two people: Abraham, the son of a tailor from Łódź, and Kasia Michalak, who's also from Łódź and whose grandfather was a tailor. The author begins to identify with the hero, and for a moment she becomes Abraham. She begins to wonder if this is permissible and whether drawing a parallel between her memories and Tuszyński's story is not overstepping the mark. However, it is precisely this juxtaposition that allows this particular story to move to another level."³² Searching for the universal by intertwining the story with one's own biography becomes a risky mode of narration, calling for great courage and practical maturity, but also a very effective one. The journalist not only finds an original radio form of biographic narrative, but also expresses her own definition of documentary in it: "For Kata-

²⁸ K. Michalak, *Złoty chłopak*, [audio], [online] <http://moje.radio.lublin.pl/31-08-2013-reportaz-katarzyny-michalak.html> [17.07.2017].

²⁹ Polskie Radio, "Złoty chłopak" – Katarzyna Michalak – Grand Prix Prezesa Polskiego Radia 2013, <http://www.polskieradio.pl/80/1002/Artykul/990124,Zloty-chlopak-%E2%80%93-Katarzyna-Michalak-Grand-Prix-Prezesa-Polskiego-Radia-2013> [01.07.2017].

³⁰ K. Michalak, *Modlitwa Zapomnianej*, [audio], [online] <http://www.polskieradio.pl/80/1007/Artykul/344424,Modlitwa-Zapomnianej> [01.07.2017].

³¹ K. Michalak, *Mijając Ewę*, [audio], [online] <http://www.polskieradio.pl/80/1007/Artykul/341562,Mijajac-Ewe-reportaz-Katarzyny-Michalak> [01.07.2017].

³² A. Sekudewicz, *Golden Boy – ZŁOTY CHŁOPAK. A Review*, "RadioDoc Review" 2015, vol. 2(1), p. 1, [online] <http://ro.uow.edu.au/rdr/vol2/iss1/8> [01.07.2017].

rzyna Michalak, it's an author's subjective, highly personal statement, a particular story or event filtered through their own experiences and life."³³

In the era of digital media, we are generating an overwhelming amount of information. In the media buzz, the recipient is looking for content that is distinguished by the author's personality. Personal character of the communication reinforces the value of the transmission. Radio is well-predisposed to meet this objective, as the non-visual communication creates an atmosphere of a close meeting. Katarzyna Michalak says straightforwardly: "No other medium is capable of building such an emotional bridge between the one who listens and the one who speaks."³⁴

Without a personal narrative, there is no imagination-stirring documentary. This is a type of media expression which, in contrast to the tendency for shortening the accounts, requires involvement and meeting the other person, careful listening and delving under the surface of events. As noted by Kinga Klimczak: "a radio documentary – via its oral, audio character – allows for discovering and understanding another person and, simultaneously, opening up to the person and sharing the experiences with him/ her: it determines the process of delving into one's own psyche, into the process of getting to know one's own self."³⁵

³³ Ibidem. More about the *Golden boy* documentary: M. Białek, A. Sekudewicz, *Wybrane przykłady z zakresu radiowej twórczości reportażowej w Polsce*, "Media – Kultura – Komunikacja Społeczna" 2016, No. 4, pp. 102-103; J. Bachura-Wojtasik, *Biografia i autobiografia w literaturze audialnej*, "Acta Universitas Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica" 2015, No. 2, pp. 116-117.

³⁴ K. Michalak, "Mikrofon jest bezlitosny jeżeli chodzi o fałsz" [rozmowa], [interviewer: A. Puculek], [online] <http://lublin.wyborcza.pl/lublin/1,140290,19360503,mikrofon-jest-bezlitosny-jezeli-chodzi-o-falsz-rozmowa.html> [01.07.2017].

³⁵ K. Klimczak, *Reportaże radiowe o krzywdzie i cierpieniu*, Łódź 2011, p. 10.