

The creative activity of

MINORITIES ETHNIC IN POLAND

at the turn of XX and XXI centuries



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THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

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THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Aleksandra Synowiec, Marcin Zybała

Introduction to the research on the creative output of ethnic minorities

1. Research methodology

The main area of interest in our examination of the manifestations of multiculturalism in Poland is the concept of creative output. Artistic work, as a way of transmitting cultural content, helps to maintain ties, and this is the basis of ethnic identity¹. The terminological difficulties that arise as a result of the various concepts of what artistic output means was resolved by referring to the theory of *cultural rights* derived from the Renaissance thoughts of Paweł Włodkowic (1370 / 1372-1455), who considered creative endeavour to be an ideological and material manifestation of the community of values on whose basis each socio-cultural group functions². This definition allows the inclusion not only of professional artists (artists qualified in this field) and folk artists (artisans, craftsmen, self-taught and amateur artists from different fields), but also entertainers, guides, organisers of workshops for young people, enthusiasts, whose activity meets the criteria of the ideological and material of co-creation of the culture of a given ethnic minority. The authors of this project assumed that creative activity is an important and relatively easy to grasp reflex of the ethnic consciousness of those researched and a context that embodies ethnic identity.

As a result of this concept, at the operational stage four main areas of research were identified:

1. The artist: with a special emphasis on ethnic and professional self-identification.
2. Artistic output: indicating the functions and inspiration (not necessarily ethnic) of the creative activity.
3. Circumstances affecting the artistic output including structures, barriers and resources for the creative activity.
4. How and where the artistic work is publicised: understood in an actual sense (for example, territorial range) as well as virtual (among others, forms of Internet communication).

The areas identified allow for an analysis of how ethnic artists work from different angles, including the ethnic identity of the respondents and the role played, in their opinion, by artistic work.

1 Mucha J., *Oblicza etniczności. Studia teoretyczne i empiryczne*. Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, Kraków 2005, p. 57.

2 For more on the topic, please read the chapter by S. Jaskuły and L. Korporowicza *The creative activity of ethnic minorities in Poland from the perspective of cultural rights*.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The research within the *Creative output of ethnic minorities in Poland at the turn of the 20th and 21st century* project was conducted nationwide and based on different methods and techniques. The research process involved multiple approaches (the so-called *multi-method*), which means that individual process steps were carried out on the basis of different methods, both qualitative and quantitative. The choice of mixed methods was determined by the interdisciplinary nature of the matter at hand: the idea of the project was inspired by sociology, cultural studies, ethnology, cultural anthropology and art history. The authors sought to obtain a broad overview of minority artistic communities — hence the choice of quantitative data collection techniques in order to obtain as many research samples as possible and qualitative techniques for an in-depth analysis of the research topic. At various stages of the research process, the following research tools were used:

1. Questionnaires, standardised interview-questionnaires and revisions as tools for quantitative research
2. Unstructured questionnaire-interviews and observation sheets as tools for qualitative research.

2. The respondents

During the *Creative output of ethnic minorities in Poland at the turn of the 20th and 21st century* project, research was conducted among several groups of respondents: artists and cultural activists from ethnic minorities, local government and central government representatives working with ethnic minorities, buyers of ethnic art, experts cooperating with ethnic minorities. Altogether during the two phases of the study (the pilot study and actual research) 260 questionnaire-interviews, questionnaires and revisions were collected, and 30 interviews were conducted. The main targets of the research were Karaim, Lemko, Tartar and Roma artists and cultural activists but the many aspects of this issue prompted the authors of the study to look from a different perspective as well. For this purpose, a survey was conducted with local and central government employees working with ethnic minorities — the data obtained made it possible to diagnose the social and organisational aspects of the administration's cooperation with the communities of ethnic minorities in the context of their creative activity. On the other hand, the questionnaires among respondents from the ethnic cultures were focused on eliciting the reasons for interest in ethnic art. This issue undoubtedly requires further study. The interviews with experts yielded many valuable observations and insights on the functioning of ethnic minorities in Poland and the nature of their artistic output, which helped in the interpretation of the data obtained at other stages of the research process.

The project involved conducting field research on the creative activity among representatives of ethnic minorities living in contemporary Poland. To define the groups of respondents, the definition of ethnic minority referred to in the *Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language* of 6 January 2005 was used, according to which an ethnic minority is considered to be *a group of Polish citizens that meets the following criteria:*



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

- 1) *It is numerically smaller than the rest of the population of the Republic of Poland;*
- 2) *It significantly differs from the remaining citizens in its language, culture or tradition;*
- 3) *It strives to preserve its language, culture or tradition;*
- 4) *It is aware of its own historical ethnic community, and is oriented towards its expression and protection;*
- 5) *Its ancestors inhabited the present territory of the Polish Republic for at least 100 years;*
- 6) *It does not identify itself with the nation organised in its own state³.*

According to these criteria, the legislator identified 4 ethnic minorities — Karaim, Lemko, Roma and Tatar⁴. Within this project, research was conducted among cultural activists from all 4 groups. The respondents needed to have two characteristics in order to comply with the concept of the research:

- ◆ *self-identification with one of these ethnic groups;*
- ◆ *self-definition as an artist or cultural activist.*

Research conducted with people who did not fulfil the criteria outlined above was not taken into account in the analysis of the results.

The principle concept of *cultural rights* allows a broad definition of 'artist'. According to the adopted formula, the research team defined an 'artist' as someone who, through their work, influences the functioning of a given ethnic group's culture⁵. Thus — as mentioned above — the respondents did not only include artists in the classic definition of the word but also, for example, painters, writers, musicians, entertainers, craftsmen, as well as, among others, academics and chefs. On the one hand, the use of such a methodological approach seemed appropriate in relation to the dynamics of the ethnic groups (as they undergo changes due to the influence of art in the virtual world) and allowed material to be collected that threw light on the creative activities of ethnic minorities in a new, hitherto unexplored aspect. This project was focused on a cultural creativity rather than the aesthetic function of art.

The creative activity of the Karaites, Lemkos, Tatars and the Roma who live in Poland, discussed in this monograph, is not a study of the folklore of the different minorities. Creative activity analysed through the prism of *cultural rights* is a particular manifestation of cultural transmission and how to preserve cultural heritage — somewhat removed from the definition of creativity on the basis of aesthetics. At the same time it must be admitted that the discrepancy between the understanding of art according to the concept of cultural rights and art as a term of aesthetics evokes certain dilemmas. The terminological difficulties may even be seen in the titles of the chapters

3 Art. 2 of the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language of 6 January 2005 <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/DetailsServlet?id=WDU20050170141> (access: 10.05.2016).

4 Ibidem

5 At the same time, the project team is aware of the functioning of many concepts that define an artist. Given the specifics of the research work with several ethnic groups that differ significantly from each other, a decision was made to create an original definition based on the concept of *cultural rights*.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

devoted to the art of individual ethnic minorities, included in the monograph. In the context of the Karaites, contemporary activity is referred to whereas in the case of the Lemko *contemporary artistic output* is mentioned. The data obtained from the Roma led to the presentation of their *contemporary artistic activity* while the overview of the Tatars illustrated *contemporary Tatar culture*. In the light of the research, the artistic profile of each ethnic minority is slightly different and manifests itself in various fields of art and culture. Nevertheless, in all the communities, art is seen in terms of a mission aimed at the promotion and preservation of ethnic culture.

The publication consists of three parts. Part I — *Ethnic minorities in Poland from a historical perspective* — contains 4 sections prepared by the coordinators of the research carried out during the project. Part II — *The creative output of ethnic minorities* — presents an analysis of the results of the research conducted within the project. Finally, part III — *Cooperation with minorities — recommendations* — comprises two chapters describing an attempt to summarise the research along with practical solutions for cooperation with minorities. The texts are in English with an abridged version of the report published in Polish.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Jacek Jaciubek

Roma in Poland Historical and cultural features

1. Ethnicity of Roma

The terms *Gypsy* and *Roma* are sometimes used interchangeably, also by the representatives of minorities. *Rom* is a *Gypsy*, but also a husband, whereas *Romni* is *Gypsy* and a wife – the name comes from Sanskrit. Another term used by Gypsies is *kalo*, meaning black, as opposed to non-Gypsies, who are usually white – they are called *gadjo*. The term *Gypsy* is known in various forms in many European languages. In Germany, they are frequently referred to as *Sinti*, in Italy and *Shinte*, probably after Indian lands of Sindh, through which they wandered from India to Persia. In the Netherlands, they were called *Heiden*, which meant pagans, whereas in Scandinavia *Fante*, *Natmand* which means wanderers. In France, they were treated as newcomers from the Czech Republic – *Bohemiens* from *Bohemia*, the Latin name of this country. A vast multitude of names also exists in Asian countries, although it is not always certain that they refer to Gypsies.

Mutual tolerance is important for understanding the Gypsy culture. Without this, getting to know Gypsies and understanding any elements of their culture is impossible. The attitude towards the Gypsy minority is usually marked by prejudice, stereotypical thinking or even outright hostility. More importantly, the usual causes of this aversion are the superficial and striking elements of culture – *their lifestyle, mobility, outfits, attitude towards objects and collecting them, more or less visible apparent freedom and lack of restraint conventions (...)*. This difference was one of the causes of *negative attitude, aggression, treating them unfairly as scapegoats*⁶. This negative attitude resulted in the closure of Gypsy communities, making them cliquish, which caused an increase in resentment against them by dominant societies.

Defining ethnic Gypsies is complicated because they never formed a unified community, they do not share a common language, are scattered around the world, and their culture is full of accretions and borrowings from other groups. Hungarian researchers Ladanyi J. and I. Szelenyi proposed three possible levels of identification (classification systems as they called them) of the Roma which are as follows:

⁶ Ibidem, p. 18.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

1. *Self-identification of the respondents;*
2. *The classification made by the experts or those who have frequent contact with the Roma (eg. teachers, local government officials, social workers, police, etc.);*
3. *The classification made by interviewers during the survey – scientific or commercial⁷.*

Self-identification is a very common way of determining adherence to the Roma ethnic group, although it is not always considered fully reliable. Some researchers believe that by using self-identification the actual number of Roma is underestimated. There are more such classification problems. Residents of poor neighborhoods, ghettos may consider themselves Gypsies because of poverty or be treated as such by officials taking censuses. People can also identify with a group of Gypsies because of Roma language knowledge, which is confirmed by studies⁸. There are more problems with assessing affiliation to the Roma group – not only is it difficult, but can also be impossible.

2. Determinants of Roma identity

Gypsies speak a language called *romani*. It is an ancient Indian language, derived from Sanskrit, but has a modern Indian language structure. Oldest records in this language come from the sixteenth century and nowadays virtually all of its dialects have been described. Similarly to detailed explanation of the origin of the Gypsy community, we are forced to rely on hypotheses and speculation, often conflicting, when it comes to the language. One of the reasons for this is the fact that Indian languages from the period of exodus of Roma from India, are not thoroughly investigated due to a lack of records. To this day the *romani* language, despite having at least several transcription forms, is used very rarely. Moreover, it is extremely diverse, making communication between different Gypsy groups living in other countries difficult.

For Gypsies, traditions emerged from borrowings from cultures of countries they inhabit, and partially derived from the traditions of their native country. Usually Gypsies confess the religion of the country in which they live and traces of their original religion lie probably in the practice of divination and juggling with which they deal. They are familiar with the concept of god, which is expressed by the word *devel* derived from *devet* in Sanskrit meaning deity, and the concept of *devil* is probably borrowed from the Christian religion. Most of their practices and customs, similarly to folk culture, are related to birth, marriage, wedding and funeral rites, although in the case of settled Gypsies they usually disappeared in favor of local beliefs or have been modified.

As for the outfits, there is not much to say except that they didn't keep the traditional Indian attire, nor have produced new ones. They wore clothes that were available in places they lived in. Nomadic Roma usually lived in makeshift tents and caravans.

⁷ Ladanyi, J., Szelenyi, I., *Etniczność Romów jako fakt społeczny. Romowie w okresie transformacji systemowej w Bułgarii, Rumunii i na Węgrzech* [w:] *Bieda a nierówności płci i podziały etniczne w społeczeństwach postkomunistycznych*, red. I. Szelenyi –Warsaw 2003, p. 67.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 68-69.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Nowadays, traditional Gypsy activities lost their importance. The most popular ones are music and dance. In this sphere, there is a clear influence of societies of countries where Gypsies live, but dance and music always have some oriental and traditional elements. The most common instruments among the Roma are violins and cymbals, pipes, lute and harp, and nowadays guitar and accordion. In addition, traditional activities of the gypsy community are coppersmithing and blacksmithing. Very rarely do they work the land, which is associated with the love of their nomadic lifestyle and not becoming attached to places. The fact that the Roma do not have a strictly allocated and limited territory has numerous consequences, allowing to illustrate some specific elements of the Roma culture.

3. Roma in contemporary Poland

According to the National Census in 2011 there are 17,000 people who define (in the first or second choice) their identity as Roma. Out of those, nearly 10 thousand people recognize it as the only identity and 7000 as one of two, apart from the Polish one⁹. Roma are the largest among four ethnic minorities living in Poland. They mostly live in Lower Silesia, Lesser Poland, Silesia, Mazovia and Greater Poland, as opposed to the Pomeranian Voivodeship¹⁰. The vast majority of them, almost 92%, live in cities¹¹. Gender structure of the group indicates that the number of men and women is almost the same¹². In comparison to other minorities, the Roma are distinguished by age structure – in their group almost every third person is a minor and there are very few people in retirement age (barely 6.2%)¹³. Almost all Roma in Poland have Polish citizenship, although a small proportion was born outside of the country¹⁴.

Contrary to appearances, not everyone uses Romani language at home (approx. 2500 people speaks other). According to the report of the Supreme Chamber of Control from 2010., the efforts of the Polish government to preserve and develop cultural identity and language of national and ethnic minorities were assessed positively, despite some irregularities. *In the opinion of the Supreme Audit Office, the act on ethnic minorities enables Polish citizens belonging to minorities, to implement the rights to preserve and develop cultural identity and mother tongue and guarantees equal treatment of people irrespective of national and ethnic origin*¹⁵. The main action taken by Poland is the state budget support of minorities on behalf of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration and the Ministry of Education. One of the basic forms of support is provided by schools and communities when it comes to minority language teaching, using it as an auxiliary language, and even teaching in this language.

9 *Struktura narodowo-etniczna, językowa i wyznaniowa ludności Polski*, National Census, Central Statistical Office, Warsaw 2015, p. 31, <http://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechno-nsp-2011/nsp-2011-wyniki/> (Access date: 30.03.2016).

10 op. cit. p. 47.

11 op. cit. p. 49.

12 op. cit. p. 53.

13 op. cit. p. 55.

14 op. cit. p. 62, 64.

15 *Informacja o wynikach kontroli realizacji zadań wynikających ustawy o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych*. Supreme Chamber of Control, The Department of Education and National Heritage, Warsaw 2010, p. 6.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The Polish Constitution guarantees Polish citizens belonging to minorities the freedom of behaviour, maintaining their own traditions, culture and language, establishing institutions involved in these activities and participation in the dialogue about identity problems in their groups. In the European Union, the basic document regulating these issues is the Council Directive 2000/43/WE from 2000 regarding equality between people irrespective of racial and ethnic origin. In Poland, the most important piece of legislation in this area is the Act on national and ethnic minorities and on the regional languages of 2005 introduced by the SLD (Democratic Left Alliance-Labor Union) government. A number of other documents, which our country has ratified, is also in use.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Anna Wilk

The Lemko in Poland A historical and cultural overview

1. The birth of Lemko identity

The Lemko name is derived from the playful folk nickname *len* meaning 'only, but', introduced to literature by Jan Čaplovič and Josyf Lewyckij¹⁶. The Lemko, until the nineteenth century, called themselves Rusyns. The basic criterion for the ethnic separateness of this community was their Eastern cultural background and Greek Catholic or Orthodox religion¹⁷. Until 1947 the Lemko people inhabited part of the Carpathians from the Poprad River in the West to the Wielki Dział range to the East in an area conventionally called Lemkovina. Social changes in Galicia led to the fact that the peripherally located Lemkovina (relative to the political centre of Lviv) was at the turn of the century caught up in the processes of nation-forming as well as the rivalry between the emerging nations. It was the intelligentsia educated in Lviv, at the end of the nineteenth century, that propagated the ideas of nationality that gradually arrived in Lemkovina, setting the community there the necessity of self-determination¹⁸. The Lemko identity was fought over by Russophiles, Old Ruthenians and Pro-Ukrainians. There was a large-scale rivalry between activists of Ukrainian and Russophile orientation. The propaganda of the two opposing movements was massive, involving not only a social dimension but also religious, cultural and educational.

2. The Lemko during the two world wars

With the outbreak of World War I, numerous persecutions occurred in Lemkovina. The Austrian army in its retreat from the Russians began mass repression of Russophiles, accusing them of spying for Russia, for ideological or material reasons¹⁹. The arrests mainly included the intelligentsia. It is estimated that during this period, approximately 5000 Lemko were imprisoned in a concentration camp in Thalerhof, Austria²⁰.

16 Duć – Fajfer H., *Literatura Lemkowska w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku*, Kraków 2001, p. 17.

17 Michna E., *Kwestie etniczno narodowościowe na pograniczu Słowiańszczyzny Wschodniej i Zachodniej. Ruch Rusiński na Słowacji, Ukrainie i Polsce*, Kraków 2004., p. 55.

18 Duć – Fajfer H., *Literatura Lemkowska...*, p. 21, Moklak J., *Lemkowszczyzna w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 18.

19 Michna E., *Lemkowie...*, p. 37, Кубійович В., *Лемки. Енциклопедія Українознавства. Словникова Частина...*, p. 1278.

20 Moklak J., *Lemkowszczyzna...*, p. 36, Horbal B., *Działalność...*, p. 33, Misiak M., *W kręgu...*, p. 16.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

In the interwar period various zones of influence for individual movements formed in Lemkovina. In the West, an Old Ruthenians and Russian national consciousness strongly prevailed while in the East the Pro-Ukrainian movement was dominant²¹. The ferocity of particular activists in the struggle manifested itself both in intellectual circles and gradually spread throughout the entire Lemko community.

From 1936, the Polish authorities started to gradually Polish Lemkovina. This was a result of the deliberations of the Committee for the Affairs of Nationalities along with Marian Zyndrama-Kościałkowski's plan to create a strong Ukrainian base with a pro-Polish attitude. As much as for the Ukrainian community this project, conventionally known as *the conciliation*, was to be an opportunity for the normalisation of relations with the Polish state, for the Lemko it meant the loss of their privileged position within the Old Ruthenian movement. According to this program, the area of Lemkovina was to undergo assimilation²².

The Lemko assimilation was interrupted by World War II. The German occupation in Lemkovina was characterized by an Ukrainianisation of this area²³. The authorities of the occupation supported the Ukrainian socio-cultural policy in relation to the Lemko people, including them within their nation²⁴.

3. Attempts to preserve identity following the Second World War

The end of World War II and the assumption of power in Poland by the Communist government under the directive of the Soviet authorities forever changed the nature of the Lemko region. In the years 1945-1946, following the recognition that it belongs to the Ukrainian nation, pursuant to an agreement made on 9 September 1944 between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Lemko population was subjected to mass resettlement²⁵. The stance of the Polish government inclined towards resolving the problem of the Ukrainian minority and so, due to the unsatisfactory result of the resettlement in Soviet Ukraine in 1947, they reverted to the plan of displacing the population in the area of the former German lands, in order to disperse and then assimilate them. From the area of Lemkovina the population of six districts was displaced — Sanok, Krosno, Jaslo, Gorlice, Nowy Sacz and Nowy Targ²⁶. According to the document reports on the resettlement for the period from 24 April to 15 July 1947, the VI Division of the Polish Army displaced 25,964 people — i.e. 5,469 families. However, historiographical estimates are as high as 30-35 thousand people²⁷.

21 Duć – Fajfer H., *Literatura Lemkowska...*, p. 21, Horbal B., *Działalność...*, p. 29, Misiak M., *W kręgu badań...*, p. 36.

22 Moklak J., *Lemkowszczyzna...*, p. 160.

23 Nowakowski K., *Sytuacja polityczna...*, p. 348.

24 IPN Kr 075/125 vol. 1, k. 105, IPN Kr 075/8 vol. 4, k. 38, Klonder A., *Lemkowie sądeccy w latach 1939 – 1945, in: Okupacja na Sądecczyźnie*, Warszawa 1979, p. 50.

25 Wilk A., *Główne inicjatywy Lemkowskiego Komitetu Pomocy w USA na rzecz Łemków w PRL*, in: "Zeszyty Szkoły Historii Najnowszej", Warszawa 2016.

26 Report on the resettlement carried out in the areas of Sanok, Krosno, Jaslo, Gorlice, Nowy Sacz, Nowy Targ by the VI D.P. in the period from 24.04 - 15.07. 1947.

27 Pisuliński J., *Lemkowie-geneza...*, p. 112.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The initial phase of the settlement involved the relocation of people in former German estates, often regardless of the lack of vacancies in various districts²⁸. Some of the displaced population harboured hopes of a quick return to their former place of residence. In the years 1947-1956 there were numerous cases of relocated people arbitrarily abandoning their farms and illegally returning to their former place of residence²⁹. The "Vistula" campaign was the final blow to the integrity of the ethnic Lemko. Their mass resettlement in 1945-1947, and dispersal of the population Lemko led to the destruction of the ethnographic region of Lemkovina.

Initially, in their new area of residence, the cultural life of the Lemko was limited to family celebrations. The resettled population struggled not only with the need to restore their socio-cultural space in the conditions of settlement on former German territory but also with having to hide their cultural identity³⁰. The policy of the Polish authorities assumed the assimilation and subsequent Polonisation of the displaced and so they were forbidden from meeting together.

In the mid of the 1950s, the Lemko attempted to reconstruct their socio-cultural life, under the influence of the change in policy of the Polish state³¹. The individual return of relocated people to their former places of residence became possible³². In June of 1956 in Warsaw, the Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Association (USCA) was established and the editorial board of the weekly "Our Word" was selected. This organisation designated space for Lemko representation that promoted the development of Lemko culture, to the chagrin of the Ukrainian environment. The activity of the USCA fell under the strict supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and became a tool for the communist authorities to control the Ukrainian and Lemko minorities³³.

In 1958 there was an attempt to create a Lemko counterpart to the USCA, then the Temporary Rusyn-Lemko Socio-Education Committee, which not only petitioned the First Secretary of the USSR Central Committee Nikita Khrushchev for help in enabling people to return to Lemkovina, but also opposed the representation of Lemko issues by the USCA. The Temporary Committee, however, did not gain the approval of the Polish authorities and did not receive final approval from the communist authorities³⁴.

The Lemko-Ukrainian conflict drew the attention of the Committee of Nationalities, which gave the USCA greater influence over Lemko affairs. This resulted in the publication of a supplement to "Our Word", under the title *Lemkowska Storinka* and written in the Lemko ethnolect³⁵.

28 Dudra p., *Lemkowie. Deportacje i osadnictwo ludności Lemkowskiej na środkowym Nadodrzu w latach 1947-1960*, Głogów 1998, p., 81; Pudło K., *Lemkowie, Proces wrastania w środowisko Dolnego Śląska 1947-1985*, Wrocław 1987, p. 45.

29 Drozd R., Hałagida I., *Ukraińcy w Polsce...*, p. 64; APNS Powiatowy Urząd Repatriacyjny (PUR) 31/113/ 3, Statement from the Ministry of Recovered Territories Department of the settlement to the District Department of the State Repatriation Office in Nowy Sącz, k. 152.

30 Waszkiewicz E., *Nowa mała ojczyzna Łemków - Dolny Śląsk*, [in:] *Lemkowie...*, p. 120, M. Pecuch, Tożsamość kulturowa, p. 151.

31 Dudra p., *Lemkowie. Struktury organizacyjne Łemków w powojennej Polsce*, [in:] *Stowarzyszenia mniejszości narodowych, etnicznych i postulowanych w Polsce po II wojnie światowej*, ed. S. Dudra, Kraków 2013, p. 258.

32 On the condition of buying the farm from the new owners. Approximately 2,000 Lemko decided to return in the years 1956-1958, mainly from the district of Gorlice (K. Pudło, *Lemkowie...*, p. 95).

33 Mironowicz E., *MSW wobec konfliktu Lemkowsko-ukraińskiego (1956-1966)*, "Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne" 2000, nr 14, p. 184; M. Barwiński, *Ukraińskie i Lemkowskie struktury...*, p. 116.

34 Barwiński M., *Ukraińskie i Lemkowskie struktury organizacyjne w Polsce...*, p. 116.

35 Tamże, p. 117.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Katarzyna Jarecka-Stępień

The Tatars in Poland A historical and cultural overview

1. The Tatars in the Republic

The first Tatars appeared in the areas of the Republic in the fourteenth century on the lands belonging to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In later centuries they were joined by immigrants from different areas of the Golden Horde (and later the Crimean Khanate), and a small minority group of Muslims from the Caucasus, Azerbaijan and Turkey. Some sources say that in the heyday of emigration — ie. in the sixteenth and seventeenth century — the area of the Republic could have been inhabited by anywhere between 40,000 to 200,000 Muslims³⁶. The tatars were mainly employed in military service. Joanna Kulwicka-Kamińska and Ireneusz Kamiński write about the intentional introduction by Lithuanian rulers of Tatar settlers in order to use their combat skills in battles against the crusaders. In return for military service to the Republic they often obtained the status of nobility, received estates from the rulers, enjoyed religious tolerance and build mosques and houses of prayer. The Republic of the Jagiellonian era, like no other country in contemporary Europe, was a multicultural state with a mixture of various elements.

2. The challenges of modernity

After World War II, changes in the borders and mass migration made Poland homogeneous. This homogeneity was sanctioned by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland adopted in 1952, which omitted to mention the protection of minorities. Changing the borders split the hitherto homogeneous group of Tatars between three countries: Poland, Lithuania and Belarus. The new borders broke up the Tatar community and contacts weakened. Today, Muslims in Poland are a tiny religious minority. It is worth noting that until World War II people of Tatar origin were the only Muslim group in Poland. Official statistics estimating the number of Muslims in Poland are primarily based on the information from the Muslim Religious Union (MZR)³⁷. Unofficially, the number of Muslims in Poland is currently estimated at around 20,000, including 5-6,000 people of Tartar origin³⁸.

36 Kulwicka-Kamińska J., Kamiński I., *Islam po polsku*, Poznań 2007, s. 115; Borawski P., *Tatarzy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1986.

37 cf. *Niektóre wyznania religijne w Polsce w 2001 r.* "Mały rocznik statystyczny 2003", Główny Urząd Statystyczny, www.stat.gov.pl/serwis/polska/2003/rocznik4relig.htm (access: 03.01.2016).

38 Nalborczyk A.S., *Status prawny muzułmanów w Polsce*, [w:] *Muzułmanie w Polsce*, ed. A. Parzymies, Warszawa 2005, p. 230., por. Ismail S., *Islam i Muzułmanie w Polsce*, <http://www.islam.com.pl> (dostęp: 03.01.2016).



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Based on the Polish Census of Population and Housing of 2011, which was the first to ask about national-ethnic belonging, around 2,000 Tatars were identified³⁹.

Polish political transformation became an important factor in determining the change in the position of national and ethnic minorities and foreigners. Relevant legal and institutional changes were introduced. These focused, on the one hand, on the regulation of some fundamental issues in the area of international law and bilateral intergovernmental agreements and, on the other, to adapt national legal standards to them and establish institutions. So far Poland has signed and ratified most international instruments in this field. In 2003, it passed a new law on foreigners, and two years later an act on national and ethnic minorities and regional languages was passed into law. Nevertheless, a legal regulation directly Polish Muslims has been around for 80 years. *This is the Act of the relations of the State with respect to the Muslim Religious Association in the Polish Republic* dated 21 April 1936. In art. 1 we read: *Muslims in the Republic of Polish, remaining in religious and moral communion with religious, Muslim and foreign unions form the Muslim Religious Union in the Republic of Polish, independent of any foreign spiritual and secular authorities*⁴⁰. This act specifies the details of the relations between the Polish state and the followers of Islam, including contacts with the Muslim Religious Union, the principles governing the appointment of a *Mufti*, the *Supreme Muslim College* as well as imams — i.e. the heads of Muslim municipalities⁴¹.

3. The determinants of Tatar identity

The Tatars living in Poland are followers of the Sunni Hanafi school of Islam. This religion for centuries marked out Tatar autonomy. At the same time, *Tatar Islam* is deeply rooted in the Polish reality, has a long tradition and is internally coherent. The combination of ethnic and religious element made it the basic factor determining the ethnic identity of the group. In the beliefs of Polish Tatars some pre-Islamic Turkish traditions have survived to this day, as well as some Christian elements taken from the local population. Despite strongly limited contact with the Middle East, the exceptional nature of this minority has not been erased⁴². There are many characteristic features of Tatar Islam. One that particularly stands out, for example, is the fact that during prayer there was a widespread custom of covering the mirrors in the house lest they reflect people or other images⁴³. Tatars are also eager to cultivate the tradition known as *sadogq*, which involves giving out candy and sweet bread-rolls to everyone present at the celebrations during Muslim holidays⁴⁴.

39 Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Departament Badań Demograficznych i Rynku Pracy, Warszawa 2011, p. 123.

40 *The Act of 21 April 1936 on the relation of the State to the Muslim Religious Union in the Polish Republic*. Journals of law of 24 April 1936. No. 30, item. 240, as amended effective from 24 April 1936.

41 Act of 21 April 1936 Art. 9.

42 Warmińska K., *Tatarzy polscy. Religijność a dylematy tożsamości*, [w:] *Między wschodem a zachodem*, ed. P. Stawiński, Częstochowa 1995.

43 Kryczyński S., *Kronika wojenna...*, p. 178.

44 Dziekan M., *Historia i tradycje polskiego islamu*, [w:] *Muzułmanie w Europie*, ed. A. Parzymies, Warszawa 2005, p. 207.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

When it comes to fulfilling the rituals connected with prayer, fasting, or traditional clothing, Muslims living in Poland are not too restrictive. Often they come to prayer on Sundays, because not everyone can afford to take time off on Friday during the working day. As for wearing headscarves, Tatars never demanded that the women cover their head. In the context of identity, it remains relevant that as a result of processes of acculturation and assimilation, at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the Tatars lost their native language and began to use Polish or the Polish-Belarusian dialect with elements of Turkic languages. Today, their descendants, living in Poland, speak only Polish, with Arabic being used for religious purposes only.

An analysis of the historical and cultural processes regarding the Tatar presence on Polish territory clearly reveals two trends. On the one hand, there is a desire to blur the differences, by adopting the forms and rules of everyday life of the new group, while on the other hand, there is concern for the salvation of the most important values of the country of their ancestors. The sense of separateness was perpetuated in this group by religion, *thanks to which in the folklore of the Lithuanian Tatars a number of beliefs, practices and rites were preserved whose genesis and forms are associated with the folklore of other Turkic peoples*⁴⁵. It was Islam that protected the ethnic separateness of the Tatars, as it linked religion with nationality in a special way.

Throughout many centuries of presence on Polish soil, the Muslims did not have their own religious organisation. They only really became active during the interwar period. At this time, 19 religious communities operated throughout Poland, including 6,000 believers. The first Polish religious organisation for followers of Islam was founded in 1923 — the *Union of Muslims of the Capital City of Warsaw*. Three years later in Vilnius, the *Cultural and Educational Association of the Republic of Polish Tatars* was established, who played an active role in popularisation, research and publishing on the history and culture of the Tatars⁴⁶.

The most important Tartar organisation, however, was founded in 1925. In that year, in Vilnius the *All-Poland Muslim Congress* was organised, which proclaimed autocephaly for Polish Islam and the creation of the *Muslim Religious Union in the Republic of Poland*. In Vilnius a separate *muftiat* also established for the Polish-Lithuanian Muslims, and the first Mufti was Jakub Szykiewicz (1884-1966). For many years the Association was the only Muslim organisation in Poland. Reactivated after World War II, it still operates today, virtually unchanged. Currently, 95% of its members are Tatars, but a change of statute in 2004 allowed membership of the MZR to be extended not only to people with Polish citizenship, but also those with the right of permanent residence in the Republic⁴⁷. Currently, the *Muslim Religious Union* has its headquarters in Białystok, but its operation is based on cooperation with seven Muslim communities, located in Białystok, Bohoniki, Kruszyńsk, Gdansk, two in Warsaw and in Podludowe⁴⁸.

45 Warmińska K., *Tatarzy polscy. Tożsamość religijna i etniczna*, Kraków 1999, p. 72.

46 Dziekan M. M., *Historia i tradycje...*, p. 204.

47 *The Statute of the Muslim Religious Union in the Republic of Poland, adopted 20 March 2004 in Suchowola by the All-Poland XV Extraordinary Congress of the Muslim Religious Union in the Republic of Poland*, www.mzr.pl/pl/info.php?id=7 (access: 05.03.2016).

48 *Muslim religious communities in Poland*, www.mzr.pl/gminy/index.php?id=14 (access: 05.03.2016).



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Katarzyna Jarecka-Stępień

The Karaites in Poland A historical and cultural outline

1. The Karaites on Polish soil

The Karaites are an unusual minority that, for hundreds of years, have combined the features of both religious and ethnic groups. They are a very small community that for nearly six centuries has inhabited the lands of Poland and Lithuanian. The Karaite name is associated with a religious context and is derived from a doctrinal emphasis on reading, studying and religious writings. The Karaite doctrine emerged in the eighth century from Judaism, based on the books of the Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch⁴⁹. Currently, there is an increasingly prevailing view that Karaism was established around the 7th century as a result of a number of historical factors.

Fairly soon the Karaite order spread throughout Asia and reached the semi-nomadic Turkic peoples⁵⁰. While conducting missionary activity, the Karaites were able to convert among others, part of the population of former Khazaria living in areas throughout what is southern Russia today. Modern Polish, Lithuanian and Crimean Karaites originate precisely from this part of the population of the Khazar state, and — after its collapse in the second half of the tenth century — from the remnants of some Kipchak-Polovtsian people of Turkish origin who arrived later in these lands⁵¹.

The Karaites arrived in Polish lands around the 13th-14th century. According to tradition, their arrival is associated with Duke Vytautas. After a trip to the Crimea in 1397, he brought 383 Karaite families to the areas of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. They were settled in some villages located on the border of the Livonian Order with the objective of providing economic security and defence of the state from the north-west. Witold also allocated a Karaite settlement on Ruthenian lands (e.g. Lutsk, Karaimovka, Lviv, Halych)⁵².

An important event for the Karaite community on Polish-Lithuanian territory was the establishment of the tsarist decree in 1857 in Trakai of the Karaim Clerical Board and the Hachan office, which henceforth was the spiritual and secular headquarters of the Karaim community⁵³. The end of World War I brought an end to the almost half century that the Karaites had resided in the Russian Empire. As a result of migration or administrative changes, the Karaim structure of that

49 Tomaszewski J., *Rzeczpospolita Wielu Narodów*, Warszawa 1995, p. 240.

50 Tomaszewski J., *Rzeczpospolita Wielu Narodów*, Warszawa 1995, p. 240.

51 Dubiński A., *Caraimica. Prace karaimoznawcze*, Warszawa 1994, p. 274.

52 Berdychowska B., *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce. Praktyka po 1989 roku*, Warszawa 1998, p. 290.

53 Machul-Telus B., *Karaimi polscy – ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem działalności warszawskiej*, "Studia Mazowieckie" nr 3 2009, p. 4.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

time collapsed and they disappeared completely⁵⁴. In 1918, the majority of Karaite clusters from areas of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth found themselves around the borders of the Polish State. Less than 10 years later, in 1927, the autocephalic Karaim religion was announced in Poland⁵⁵. As a consequence, during the interwar period, four religious communities existed in the Second Republic — in Trakai, Vilnius, Lutsk and Halych. The interwar period was the apogee of Karaim cultural development in Poland. The Karaim minority owed this mainly to its significant element of intelligentsia that strove for the revival of their community⁵⁶. This was supported by the adoption in 1936 by the Parliament of the Republic of the *Act on the Relation of the State to the Karaim Religious Association in the Republic of Poland*. This led to the establishment of the Karaim Religious Association which, under the first article of this act, was guaranteed autonomy.

Often they were outstanding individuals that gave direction to various forms of cultural and educational activities undertaken by the Karaites in the Second Republic. After World War II and the assimilation of Lithuania and the Eastern regions of Poland into the Soviet Union, the Karaim municipalities found themselves in a completely new situation. Polish Karaites were subjected to forced resettlement, which led to the dispersion of an already small community throughout the country. They created new municipalities in Warsaw, Gdansk, Opole, Krakow and Wroclaw⁵⁷.

2. Karaite identity

An awareness of distinct ethnic Karaites began to emerge in the nineteenth century. Grzegorz Pełczyński indicates its three components: a belief in a common origin, ethnic distinctiveness and relationship to a particular territory — it can be concluded that the Polish Karaites had three ideological homelands: the Holy Land, Crimea and Poland (especially after World War I). Since 1918, because of the administrative division of Europe, one may be fully justified in referring to them as Polish Karaites, because of their already considerable assimilation with the Polish community and loyalty to the authorities of the Republic⁵⁸. Currently the Karaites, according to the *Act on minorities*⁵⁹, are one of four ethnic minorities recognised in Poland. Nevertheless, their number is difficult to determine. The National Census of 2002 showed the number of people declaring Karaim nationality to be 45⁶⁰. On the other hand, Karaim registers estimate this number to be around 120 people. Such a large discrepancy seems to stem from the different self-identity manifested by representatives of this community. As Mariola Abkowicz writes, for the majority the most basic criteria are nationality (Karaim) and religion (Karaite). Others declared their nationality as Polish but their religion as Karaite while others were of Polish nationality and with a religion other than Karaite⁶¹. Nevertheless, among the Karaim minority they are also people who for various reasons do not wish to declare either their

54 Szyszman Sz., *Karaimizm – doktryna i historia*, Wrocław 2005, p. 122.

55 Dubiński A., *Caraimica...*

56 Pełczyński G., *Karaimi polscy...*, p. 283.

57 Dubiński A., *Caraimica...*, p. 274.

58 Pełczyński G., *Karaimi polscy*, "Sprawy Narodowościowe" 1993, No.1, p. 282.

59 *The Act of 6 January 2005 on national and ethnic minorities and regional languages*. (Journal of Laws of 6 January 2015. Pos. 573, Art. 2, paragraph. 4)

60 The results of the National Census of Population and Housing of 2002 for the declared nationality and language used at home, the Central Statistical Office, http://www.stat.gov.pl/gus/8185_PLK_HTML.htm (data access: 20.03.2016).

61 Abkowicz A., *Karaimi we Wrocławiu*, [in:] "Almanach Karaimski" 2007, nr 3, p. 107.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

nationality or religion. So, according to Gregory Pełczyński, a researcher of this community, it can be estimated that now Polish Karaites number approximately 100 people⁶². The greatest research challenges arose mainly due to the limitations in determining the number of people with Karaite roots who do not maintain any contact with Karaite communities. Therefore, the estimated data based on information held by the Association of Polish Karaites points to the broad assumption that the size of the group may possibly be between 500-1000 people⁶³.

In the case of the Karaites, awareness of ethnic distinctiveness should also be linked to their language that survives to the present day, which served as a religious tool, as well as in everyday life. The language used by the Lithuanian-Polish Karaites and those living on the Crimean peninsula belongs to the group of Turkic languages⁶⁴. It is formed on the basis of the Khazar and Polovtsian languages, and is currently divided into three dialects: Crimean, Trakai and Halych-Luck. The Karaites used this language in everyday affairs. This was also the language of instruction in religious schools known as a *midrash*⁶⁵.

3. The organisational activity of the Karaites

After World War II, and changes to the borders of Poland, the Karaites from the East settled in the major Polish cities. In the new political and social realities, their organisational activity began with an attempt to restore religious structures in accordance with the aforementioned *Act on the Relation of the State to the Karaim Religious Association in the Republic of Poland* of 1936. This new community attempted to reactivate their activities by organizing Karaite communities known as *jimats*. However, the main task of the Karaite community leaders was to preserve and continue their traditions and customs, as well as deepening their awareness of ethnic separateness.

The social and organisational life of the Karaites entered a new phase in 1997. In Wrocław, the *Association of Polish Karaites in Poland* was registered — an organisation of representatives of the Karaim ethnic minority living in Poland and their family members. The main activities of the APK are: providing information about the Karaim minority in Polish society and maintaining a sense of national identity for Karaim communities. One of the first major projects and organisational challenges facing the Association were the Karaim days — Karaj Kiunlari — which took place in 2003 in Warsaw. They turned out to be an important impetus for taking further organisational action. In subsequent years, the members of the APK have taken many initiatives in the area of Karaim social life. It should also be noted that in recent years both in Poland and Lithuania more and more efforts have been made to preserve and maintain the Karaim identity — particularly by learning the Karaim language. A textbook for learning the language Karaim was produced, as well as two Polish-Karaim dictionaries⁶⁶.

62 Pełczyński G., *Karaimi...*, p. 35.

63 As researchers indicate, such assumptions led to studies of the Karaite community in Poland and Lithuania in 1997, the results of which were published in 2003. An attempt at conducting field research in Lower Silesia resulted in 78 questionnaires distributed among 15 Karaite families. Cf. Abkowicz A., *Karaites Wrocław*, [in:] „Karaim Almanac”, 2007.

64 Dubiński A., *Karaimi* [in:] the bimonthly religious and social publication called „Jednota”, 1991, nr 8-9.

65 Pełczyński G., *Karaimi polscy...*, p. 25.

66 Nemeth M., *Przeszłość...*, p. 70.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Aleksandra Synowiec

The creative activity of ethnic minorities Analysis of the results of quantitative research

1. Theoretical background of the study

As written in the preface, the project *The creative activity of ethnic minorities in Poland at the turn of XX and XXI centuries* was aimed at gaining knowledge about the dynamics of functioning of a creative community in Russia today and developing, on its basis, recommendations for the development of cultural policy. The project uses a variety of research methods and techniques. During the study, a “multi-method” approach was used, i.e., individual steps in the process were based on different methods, both qualitative and quantitative. The rationale behind selecting mixed methods is the interdisciplinary nature of the research which is of interest in many scientific fields: sociology, cultural studies, ethnology, cultural anthropology and art history. At various stages of the study, different data collection methods were used, i.e. practical tasks, carefully regulated by best practices adopted by the guidelines, which allowed to gather verified information, opinions and facts⁶⁷. One of the phases of the research was designing quantitative research in such a way, it would allow to obtain a relatively large data sample. In the initial assumptions of the project, a questionnaire addressed to representatives of creative circles of ethnic minorities was designed as a method of data collection. During the operational phase, however, it was changed and a standardized questionnaire interview was introduced. The reason for the corrections made to the methods of implementing the component of the quantitative analysis were as follows: 1) filling the criteria of direct contact between members of the research team and the respondents 2) large area spread of respondents, forcing face-to-face meeting with the interviewer 3) the inability to conduct audit surveys 4) the risk of not obtaining satisfactory indicator of the questionnaires filled by responders. The questionnaire interview is a quantitative research method, similar to a random employee survey or a telephone interview combined with using the computer⁶⁸. Referring to the field work manual:

Questionnaire interview refers to a group of research methods that are defined as quantitative methods. (...) Because on the basis of the research we formulate rigorous, numerically evaluated conclusions, this research can be consider a measurement⁶⁹.

67 Babbie E., *The practice of social research*, Warsaw, 2009, p. 71.

68 Sztabiński P., Sawiński Z., Sztabiński F., *Fieldwork jest sztuką. Jak dobrać respondenta, skłonić go do udziału w wywiadzie, rzetelnie i sprawnie zrealizować badanie*, Warsaw 2005, p.43.

69 *Ibidem*, p. 50.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The difference between a standard questionnaire and questionnaire interviews is that the questionnaire is completed in the presence of the interviewer, whereas the questionnaire interview is administered by the interviewer in a form of conversation – the interviewer reads the questions to the respondent and writes down the answers.

For the purposes of the project, six research tools were designed: 1) a standardized interview questionnaire designed for creators 2) a set of instructions regarding the standardized unstructured interview for the creators 3) a sheet denoting participation in an event of a creative/artistic nature, 4) a questionnaire directed at the audience, 5) a questionnaire directed to employees of local governments and public authorities cooperating with ethnic minorities, and 6) a script for group interviews.

Taking into account the objectives of the study and the specifics of field studies, non-probability based sampling was used, based on the criteria of expediency / usefulness: their own knowledge about researched groups and the adequacy in relation to the study objectives and availability⁷⁰. The sample of the study was preceded by a request about the creative circles of ethnic minorities based on publicly available knowledge (websites of public associations and creative groups, social network profiles, information received from experts dealing with a particular ethnic minority, the snowball sampling– recommendations received from authors included in the study). The number of people covered by the survey corresponds to the population numbers and extent of creative involvement of a particular ethnic group. In this way, the researcher obtained 137 questionnaire interviews conducted among Lemkowie, Gypsies and Tatars on the territory of Poland, taking into account geographical location of particular ethnic minorities⁷¹.

2. Research tool design and research implementation

The choice of quantitative methods in studies on the activity of the creative minority was dictated by the desire to interview a large group of people by using the same procedures reflecting the communities included in the study⁷². Bearing in mind the specifics and objectives of field research, the most optimal solution, allowing data collections, was the use of standardized questionnaires⁷³. This technique is most often used in opinion polls and is also applied in other research activities – for example, in experiments and field studies⁷⁴. A questionnaire interview is:

70 Babbie E., *The practice..*, p.212

71 In total, 290 questionnaires and letters of change were carried out. The chapter studies the part of the results that best reflect the objectives of the project. The test results obtained using other tools are the subject of other publications, including other chapters in this monograph.

72 Sztabiński P., Sawiński Z., Sztabiński F., *Fieldwork is...*, p. 19.

73 As mentioned in the first part of the text – survey technique was replaced by a similar one but implemented in a different way using the interview questionnaire.

74 Babbie E., *The practice..*, p.284



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

a form in which the questions are intended for reading to the respondent by the interviewer in a certain order. Some questions have a designated area to record the respondent's answers, alternatively the answers are posted under the questions in the form of pre-prepared templates⁷⁵

Interviewers conducting research in the framework of the project collected data about the creativity of ethnic minorities using a single common questionnaire. Creating a single tool addressed to creators coming from different ethnic groups allowed the collected data to be comparatively analyzed⁷⁶. The communication between the interviewer and the respondent during the interview is direct.

The interviewer's role in this context is crucial: for he is an intermediary between the responder and the interviewer. The responder, in fact, receives questions he obtained from the interviewer orally so it can lead to inaccuracies distorting the message⁷⁷.

The interview questionnaire consisted of 36 questions of various degrees of standardization:

- ◆ Closed-ended questions with a limited set of possible answers from which the respondent can choose⁷⁸
- ◆ Semi-open-ended questions with a selection of different responses, which contain one question that allows you to provide your own response, usually described as "other"⁷⁹
- ◆ Conjunctive questions, allowing to choose a few answers on this basis of which the frequency of selection of each response is calculated and a hierarchy is created⁸⁰
- ◆ Open-ended questions which can be divided into several categories during analysis⁸¹
- ◆ Open questions for which the answers cannot be standardized⁸²

The questionnaire contained questions regarding the following issues: 1) the characteristics of creativity – topic, inspiration, art education, 2) ethnic identity – personal identity, the importance of origin in creative work, knowledge and use of language in creative activities, tradition and ethnic culture used 3) conditions of work – membership in associations and cooperation with agencies, using forms of financing, 4) forms of encouraging creativity – promotion of works, online presence, and 5) General information about the responder – gender, age, education, professional status.

The final research was preceded by a preliminary research during which the interviewers conducted 31 questionnaire interviews (15 among Lemkos, 6 among the Roma and 10 among Tatar creators)⁸³. Based on the comments collected from the interviewers and coordinators of individual groups as well as material collected in the preliminary study, the survey method was revised.

75 Sztabiński P., Sawiński Z., Sztabiński F., *Fieldwork is...*, p. 51-52

76 Babiński G., *Metodologiczne problemy badań etnicznych*, Kraków 1998, s. 11.

77 Sztabiński F., *Ankieta pocztowa i wywiad kwestionariuszowy*, Warszawa 1997, p. 36.

78 Bauman T., Pilch T., *Zasady badań pedagogicznych. Strategie ilościowe i jakościowe*, Warszawa 2001, p. 87.

79 Ibidem, p. 87.

80 Ibidem, p. 87.

81 Lutyński J., *Metody badań społecznych: wybrane zagadnienia*, Łódź 1994, p. 141.

82 Ibidem, p. 141

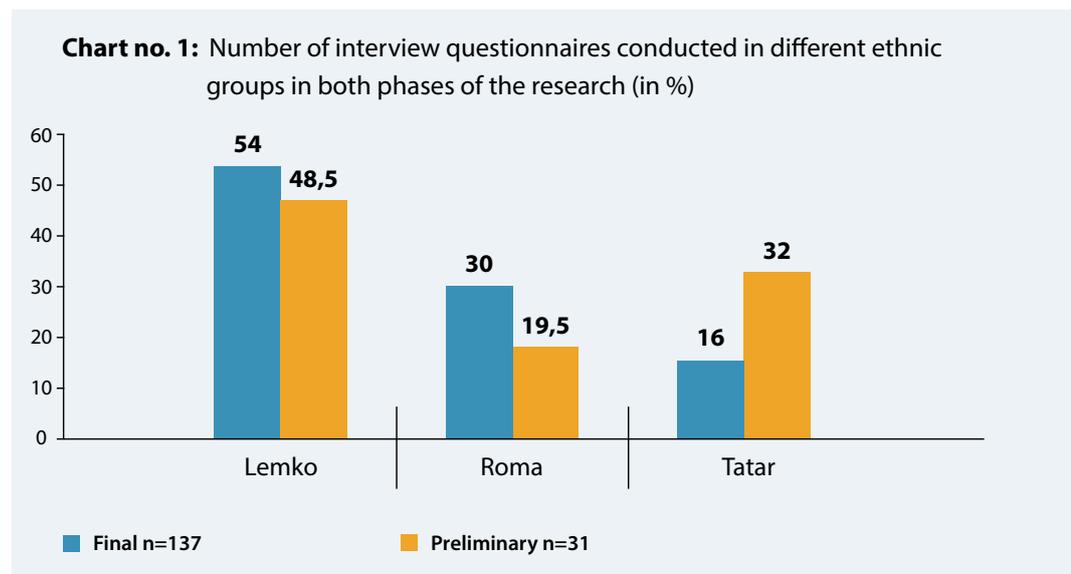
83 During the study 3 incomplete questionnaires were collected, but have not been analyzed.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The subject of this analysis consists of 137 interviews conducted in the final research phase throughout Poland. The interviewers used various forms of establishing contact with potential respondents: a recommendation from people familiar with this community, independent search for contacts on the Internet and an attempt to establish contact, looking for respondents during cultural events such as festivals, contacts obtained from the respondents themselves ("snowball sampling" method). The efficiency of these methods of contact with the responders depended on the personal qualities of the researcher (experience in conducting research, communication skills) and on the characteristics of various ethnic groups.

During the field research, the interviewers managed to reach out to 74 Lemko creators, 41 Roma and 22 Tatar creators⁸⁴. Including Karaim responders in the research proved problematic⁸⁵. Strict empirical material was subjected to a quantitative assessment, entered into Excel spreadsheet and analysed. The number of questionnaires in both phases of the study split by ethnic minorities is presented in chart no. 1⁸⁶.



The interviewers involved in the project reached out to creators of ethnic origin on the territory of Poland, taking into account the territorial location of the individual minorities. The Lemko creators who took part in the study mainly come from the territories of historic Lemkivshchyna – i.e., Lesser Poland Voivodeship (Gorlice, Bielanka, Gładyszów, Cracow, Krynica Zdrój and Ełk among others) and Subcarpathian Voivodeship (Sanok, Komańcza, Mokre) and lands populated due to displacement, i.e. Lower Silesian Voivodeship (Wrocław, Legnica, Głogów) and Lubush Voivodeship (Ługi, Wiechlice). In the case of the Roma, their geographic dispersion is reflected in studies of creativity: the Roma creators covered in the research live in the Lesser Poland Voivodeship

⁸⁴ Tatar minority is small. It was also difficult to reach creators of Tatar origin and the feeling of satiety among respondents towards the research.

⁸⁵ Karaim minority is small, making it difficult to establish contact and identify potential respondents. An important problem is the feeling of satiety and / or inadequacy of research.

⁸⁶ All graphs are based on own elaboration.

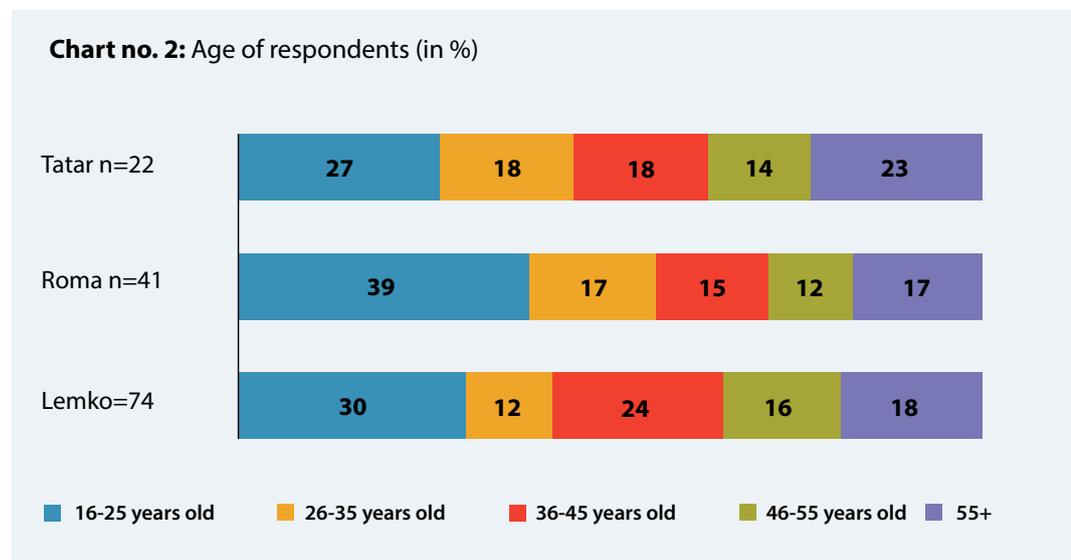


THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

(Andrychów, Wiśniowa, Zakopane, Cracow, Czarna Góra), West Pomeranian Voivodeship (Szczecinek, Białogard), Łódź Voivodeship (Skierniewice), Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship (Ciechocinek), Subcarpathian (Krosno), Greater Poland (Warsaw) and Lower Silesian Voivodeship (Wrocław). Tatar creators come from their historic settlements in Podlaskie Voivodeship – Bohoniki and Krużyniany – as well as cities: Białystok, Gdańsk and Cracow.

3. Characteristics of Lemko, Roma and Tatar creators in the eyes of the conducted research

Creators originating from the environment of ethnic minorities represent a very diverse group from both geographical and demographical points of view. Among the interviewed creators, the majority are women – 56% (77 people). Women also dominate in two of the three surveyed ethnic groups, accounting for 53% of the respondents of Lemko origin (39) and 82% of Tatar creators (14). The Roma group is slightly dominated by men – 51% of respondents (21 people). Almost 1/3 of all respondents did not exceed 25 years of age (44 people), every fourth responder is over 35 years old and approximately 15% of respondents are between 46-55 years old. The detailed structure of the respondents' age, broken down into individual minorities is illustrated by graph 2.

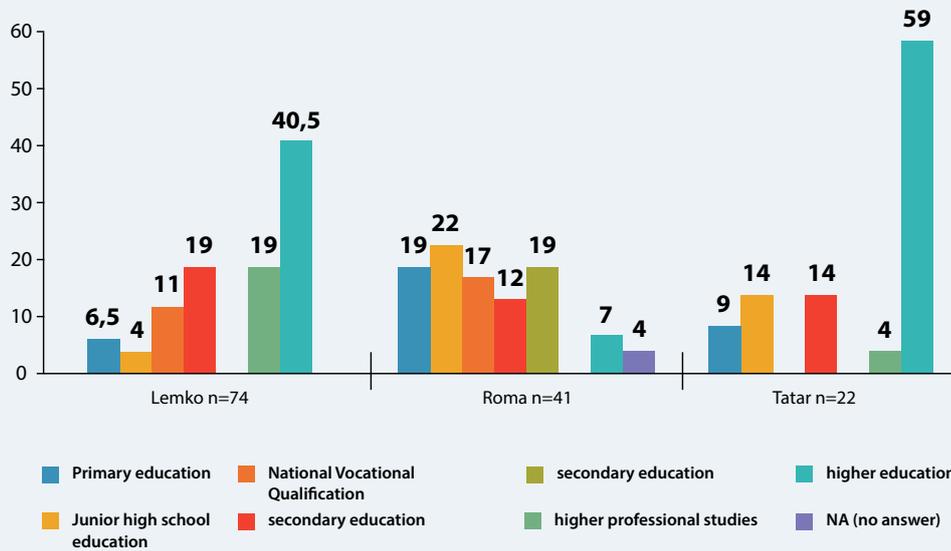


In terms of education, the responders represent a full cross-section of the population: among respondents there are some with no formal education and those who have higher education. In the Lemko group, 60% of the respondents have higher education (44 people). In the Tatar group 14 people (63%) have a master's, bachelor's or an engineer's degree. Among the Roma, the percentage of people with higher education does not exceed 7% (3 people). A graphical representation of the education structure of respondents is shown on Chart no.3.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Chart no. 3 Education level of respondents (in %)



Equally diverse is the professional status of respondents. The largest category consists of people employed – 1/3 of all respondents (47 people). The percentage of employed is 43% among Lemko (32 people), 17% of Roma (7 people) and 36% (8 people) among Tatars. Only 3% of respondents (4 people) are unemployed. Every fourth respondent is a student (33 people), 10% of respondents are engaged in business (14 people), and 18% are retired (17 people). Only 9% of respondents treat creative activities as their profession (12 people) – the highest result is among the Roma (8 people). On the other hand, ten respondents (7%) chose “other” as an answer. In this category professions were as follows: a farmer, a priest, babysitter, intern. For the vast majority of respondents, creative activity is only an supplementary to their professional activity, a hobby, pastime and a form of personal development. Creative activities as a source of income were indicated by nine artists (6.5%) – seven among Lemko, one of each among the Roma and Tatar. For the remaining respondents the source of income is their profession, in case of students – they remain dependent on their parents and financial support, eg. in the form of scholarships.

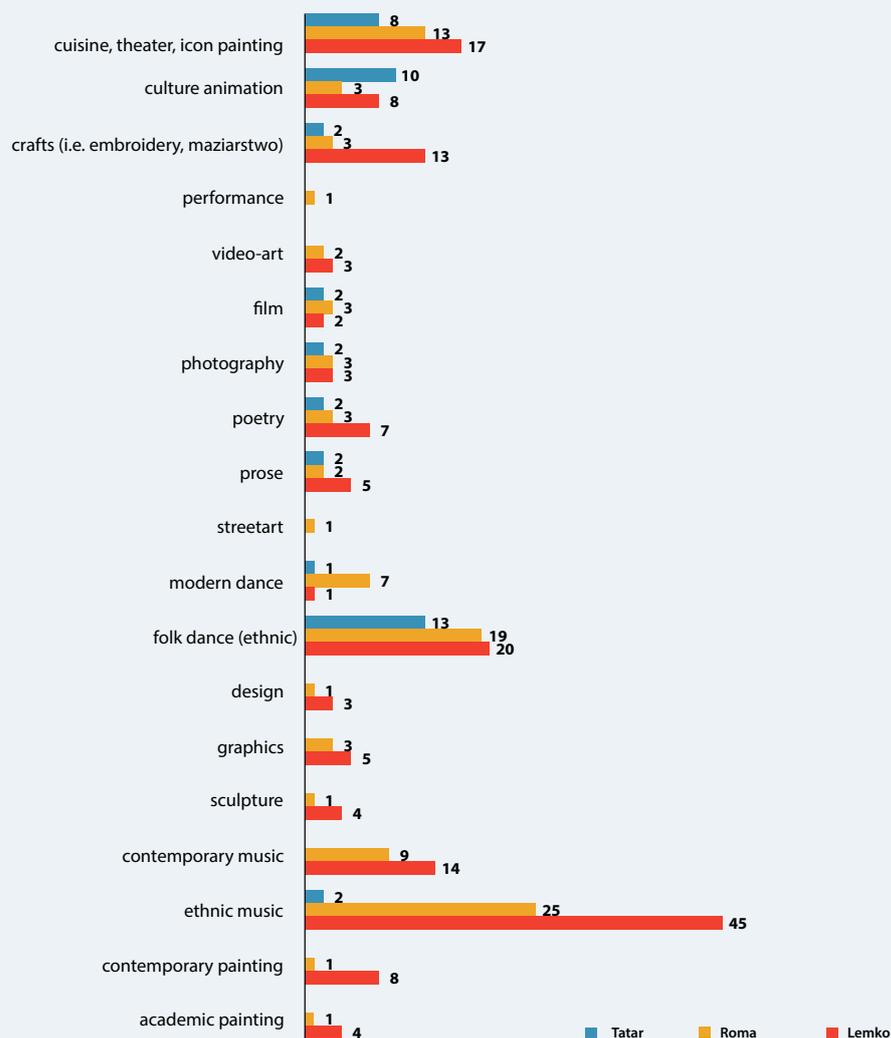
The respondents covered by the study represent many areas of creativity and art. Many of them work simultaneously in different spheres. Among the most frequently mentioned areas of creativity, there is ethnic music – 45 people among the Lemko (61%) and 25 among Roma (61%). Another dominant form of creativity represented by the creators is ethnic dance, as indicated by 59% of the representatives of the Tatar minority (13 people), 27% of Lemko (20 people) and 46% of Roma artists (19 people). The spectrum of creative activities among the Lemko and the Roma is very broad: the representatives of these groups deal with, among others, sculpture, graphics, painting, photography, design and video-art. All three groups analyzed also deal with handicraft. The Lemko (13 people) make toy out of hay, clothes and accessories with folk ornaments, Easter eggs and jewelry – so-called *krywulki*. Roma (4 people) are involved in embroidery and tailoring, violin making, wooden toys, while the Tartars (2 people) are into crocheting and felting. In all the groups, activities related to culture animation were identified: this activity is taken up by 22 people (16% of respondents).



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

When it comes to Tatars, almost half deal with culture animation, eg. in the form of meetings that aim to make the Tatar culture more familiar. In the category of *culture animation*, Lemko responders listed *festival organization, animation of cultural activities within non-governmental organizations, organizing exhibitions, conducting workshops, conducting soirées, research projects, interviews with artists, leading folk groups*. Initiatives of this type are taken up by 10% of Lemko responders (8 people). Among the representatives of Roma communities surveyed, cultural animators represent 10% of the respondents (4 people). *Animation in this case is understood as leading an association, organizing workshops for children, leading a band*. Among the responses, there were also areas of creativity not included in questions (a total of 38 responses). In the *other* category, Lemko responders indicated: crafts (including *dziegciarstwo* and *maziarstwo*), composing music for plays, icon painting, wooden bas-relief and theater. In the group of Roma the responders listed: divination, set design, mime, art, drawing, building instruments, cabinet making. Tatars treated *cooking* as *other*. The complete characterization of the respondents in terms of field of creativity / art they are engaged in, is presented on Chart no. 4.

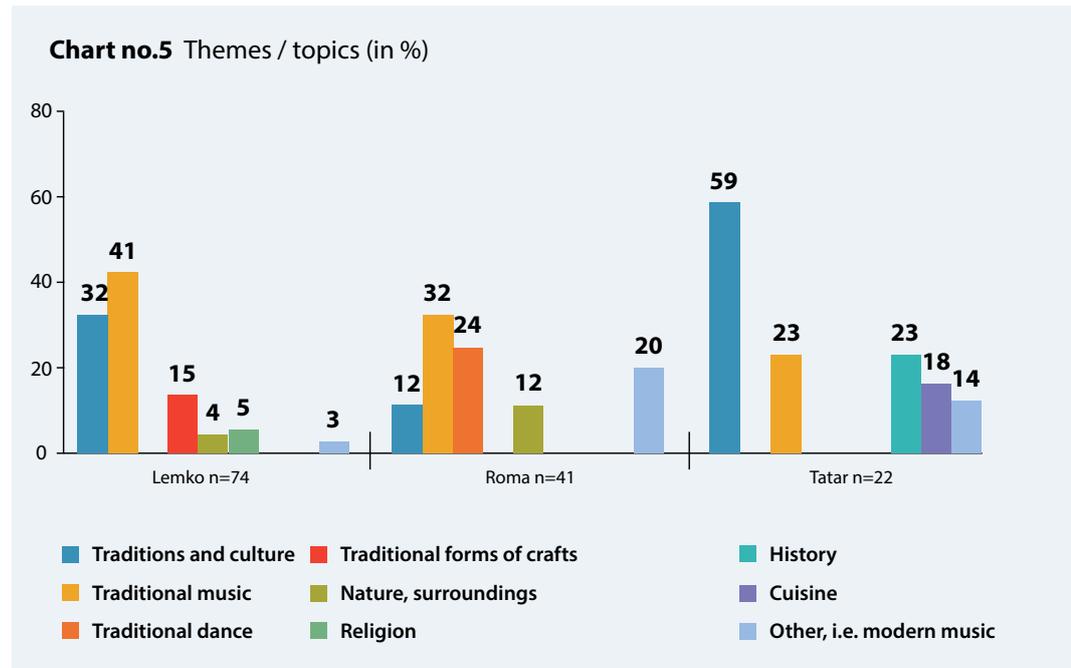
Chart no.4 Areas of creative and artistic activities (according to the number of responses)





THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The subject of creativity was included in the questionnaire in the form of an open-ended question. Some respondents defined more than one subject area. Replies are grouped in 9 thematic categories and the aggregate data is presented on Chart no. 5.



The subject of the works determined by the respondents is a kind of reflection of the cultural characteristics of each ethnic group. The Lemko most often specialize in traditional music – ethnic music, folk music, stylized music. Arrangements of ethnic music and traditional songs are the most popular creativity activities for 30 people in this group (41%). For 32% of Lemko responders, the important themes used in their works refer to their tradition and culture: folklore, folk, history, and culture is popular among 18 people from this group. The dominant theme of creativity involved in the study of the Roma group is traditional music (32%) and dance (24%) – more than half of the respondents in this group (23 people) are inspired by music and *gypsy dance*. Tatars, on the other hand, usually reach out to the Tatar tradition and culture (13 responses), an important context for them is also a religion (5 responses) and traditional tatar dance (5 responses).

In all three groups team work dominates as a form of creative work. 76% of Lemko responders (56 people), 59% of Roma (24 persons) and 73% (16 people) of Tatar responders favour teamwork. Among the Lemko creators, there are members of bands such as *Oślawianie, Kyczera, Łemkowyna, Serencza, Lemko Tower*.

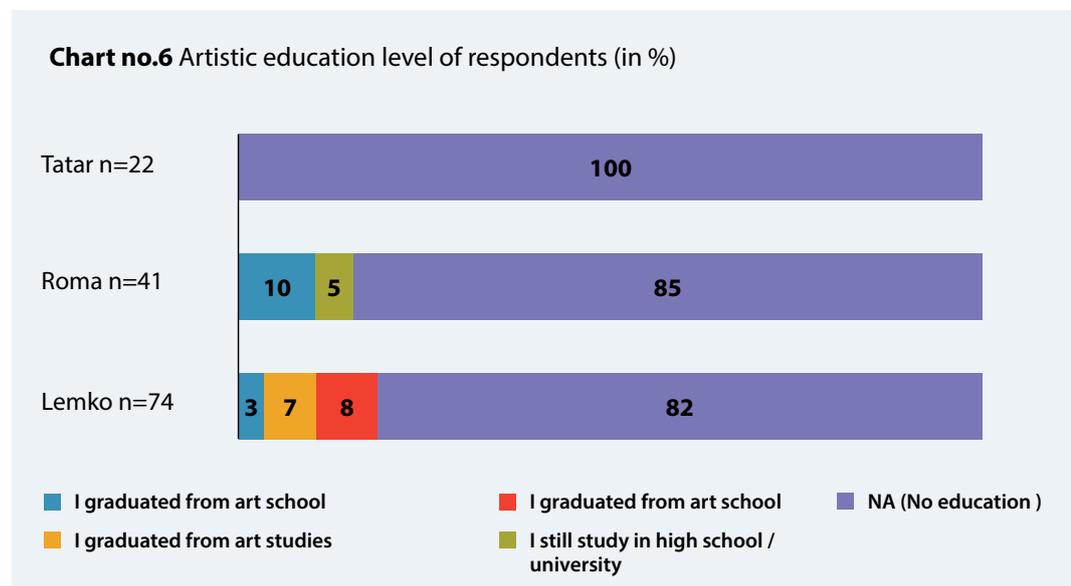
Several respondents among the Lemko, play in several bands – eg. in two groups of song and dance and also in the orthodox church choir. Roma respondents play in the following bands among others – *Romskie serca, Terne Roma, Terne Cierhenia or Kałe bata*. Tatars are involved in the activities of the vocal and dance band called *Buńczuk*.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

There was no single definition of creativity as an effect of team work among the respondents. They defined it as either being a part of a creative collective, a musical group (or band), a dance group or informal activities undertaken with their families. 5% of all respondents consider creation within the family as team work.

The vast majority of respondents do not have an artistic educational background: 4% of all responders completed music school (6 people), the same number of people hold an art school degree, while 3.5% graduated from artistic faculties (5 people), and 1.5% is in the process of education (2 people). Data on artistic education among artists from different ethnic groups is presented on Chart no.6.



Authors of the research project were interested in the development of creative interests through participation in workshops and courses. The data obtained shows that every third respondent takes up additional activities in order to develop their creative interests. It's 31% for the Lemko (23 people), 25% among the Roma (10 persons) and up to 59% for the Tartar (13 people). Lemko responders are mostly interested in music workshops – song and dance. This form of development was indicated by 16 people (21%).

The remaining 10% of Lemko creators participated in the following types of activities: *workshops, training sessions organized by local authorities, course design and publishing, workshops organized by the church, music and vocal workshops with the bands they belong to*. When it comes to Roma creators, 19% attend dance and vocal workshops with the bands they belong to; the remaining 5% of the respondents participated in art workshops (i.e Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow). Among the Tatar artists, the dominant form of development of creative interests is participation in dance workshops – this kind of training was chosen by 32% of the respondents (7 people). Six other respondents in this group developed their creative interests through: NGO training and organization, photography workshops, specialized workshops in the field of cutting, sewing and knitting, art workshops, music and art courses, training as part of the "Eastern Poland" project.

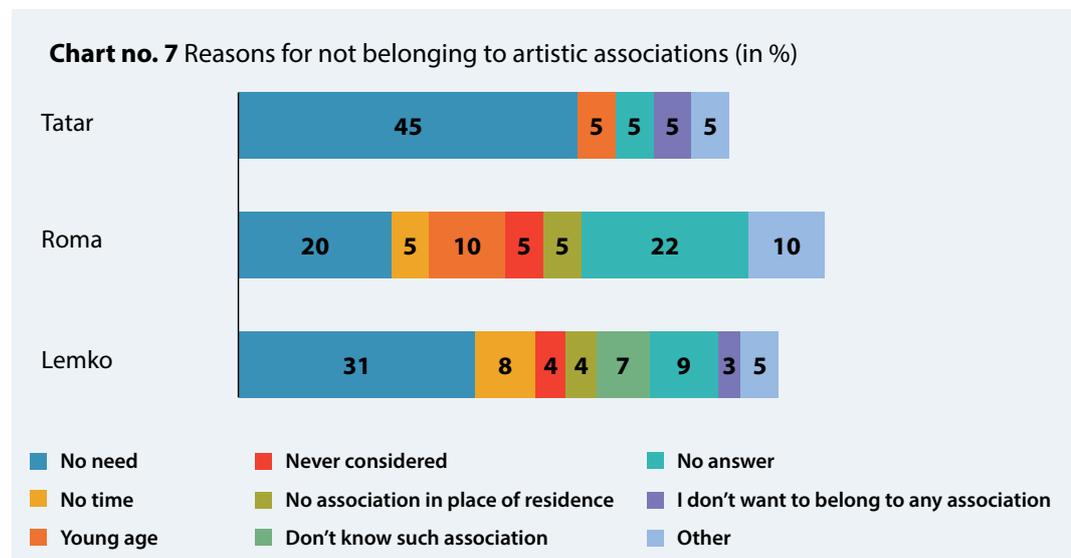


THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

When it comes to the objectives of the project, aimed at gaining knowledge about the dynamics of the functioning of minority creative environments in Poland today, an important issue was the question of belonging to the associations gathering creators. As mentioned above, in case of interview questionnaires, possible disruptions in the communication process between the interviewer and the responder occur⁸⁷. When answering the question about participation in associations bringing together artists, respondents stated which associations in general they belong to – eg. *Zjednoczenie Łemków*, *Stowarzyszenie Integracji i Rozwoju Mniejszości Narodowych*, *Związek Tatarów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*.

29% of Lemko (21 people), 23% of the Roma (9 people) and 36% of Tatars (8 people) declare membership in associations. The vast majority of interviewees – 72% (99 people) – does not belong to any association. 10% of Lemko (7 people) belong to associations for creators such as: *Stowarzyszenie Promocji Twórczości łemkowskiej „Serencza”*, *Lubuskie Stowarzyszenie Twórców Ludowych*, *Stowarzyszenie Twórców Ludowych w Lublinie*, *Dolnośląskie Stowarzyszenie Artystów Plastyków we Wrocławiu*, *Stowarzyszenie Rozwoju Artystycznego Młodzieży*, *Stowarzyszenie „Lemko Tower”*, *Szlak Tradycyjnego Rzemiosła*. Among the Roma creators declaring membership in associations, one person belongs to ZAIKS (Association of Stage Writers and Composers), one to *Stowarzyszenie Krzewienia Kultury Romskiej*. Seven other responders belong to dance and vocal associations and the Roma Association in Skierniewice. The creators of Tatar origin listed the following associations, none of which bring together strictly creators / artists: Association of Polish Tatars, the Regional Cultural Centre of the Polish Tatars "Asman" Vocal and Dance Team "Panache" and the Foundation Tatar Cultural Society.

When respondents were asked to explain why they didn't belong to any association, they mostly replied that there was *no interest*. Such answer was provided by 31% of the Lemko (23 people), 20% of the Roma (8 people) and 45% of Tatars (10 people). Some respondents did not answer this question at all: 22% of the Roma (9 people), 9% of Lemko (4 people), 5% of Tatars (1 person). The question was open-ended and the answers were categorized into 9 groups. Summary results, taking into account the distribution of responses in each surveyed group are presented in Chart 7:



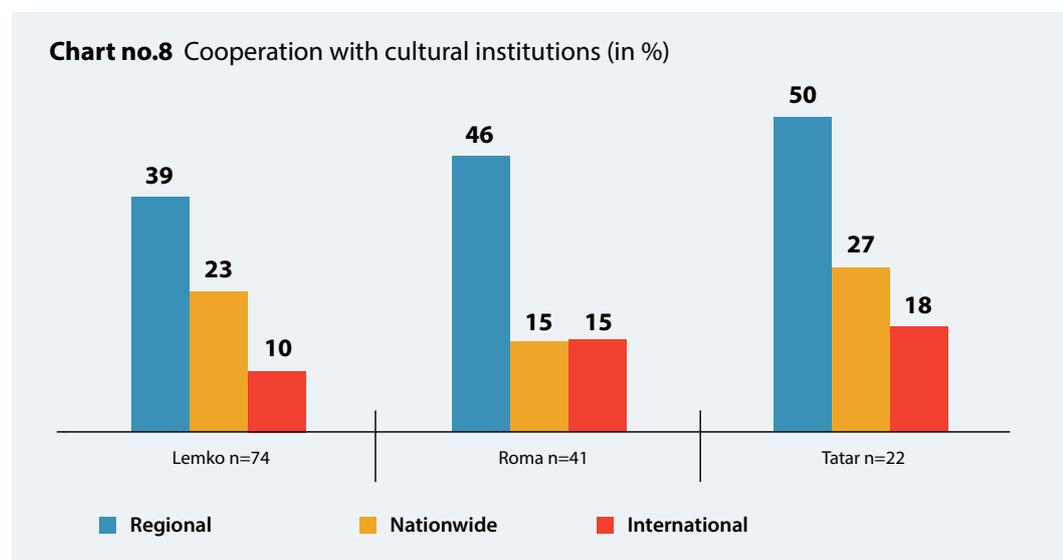
87 F. Sztbiński, *Ankieta...* Warsaw, 1997, p. 36.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Meanwhile, the creators that belong to associations (that not only bring together artists) listed the following reasons for being a member: self-realization, realization of passions, inner desire, willingness to develop in a particular field and networking, receiving an invitation to cooperate, promotion of culture, promoting their activities locally.

In an interview with the creators, they were also asked about cooperation with regional, nationwide and international cultural institutions. Cooperation with cultural institutions surveyed is illustrated on Chart 8.



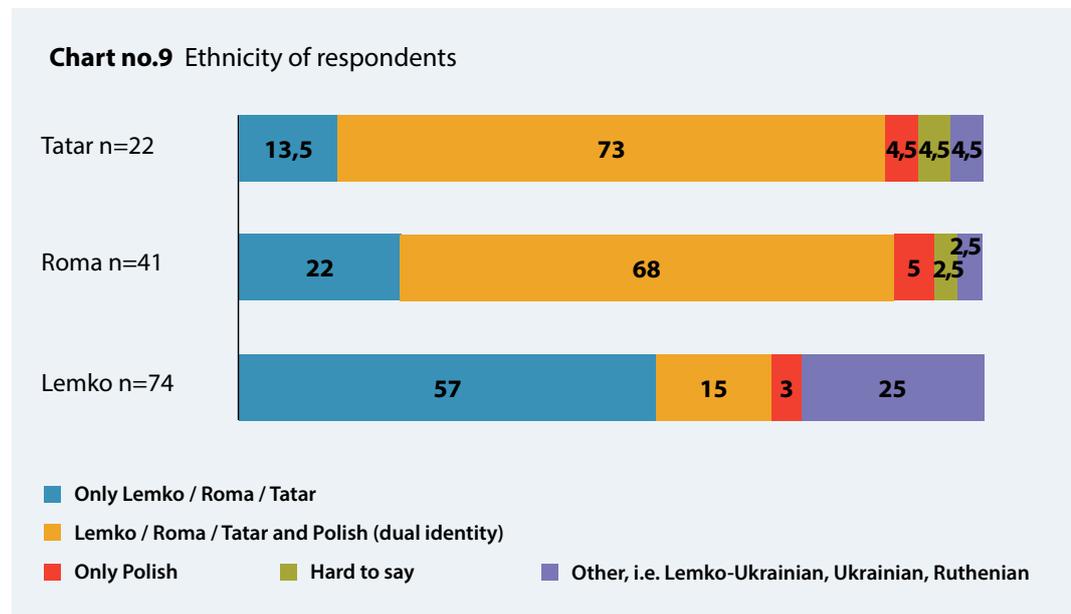
Regional institutions who work with creators are primarily municipal and urban cultural centers, offices (municipal, city, provincial, marshal), museums and other cultural institutions. At the national level, creators work mainly with associations – eg. Lemko Association, the Lemko Association, Association of Polish Tatars, – educational and cultural institutions, foundations, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration of the Republic of Poland. Among the international institutions of creators, the Lemko mentioned: World Congress of Rusyns, All-Ukrainian Union "Łemkiwszczyna" CIOFF (International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts) and the SFUO (Student Federation of the University of Ottawa). The Roma creators cooperate with associations in Germany, England and other countries, and Rotary Interact organisation. Artists of Tatar origin indicated UNESCO and foreign Tatar dance groups.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

4. Ethnic identification, the importance of ethnic culture and language for creative activity

The authors of the research were interested in the correlation between belonging to a particular ethnic community and the creative activity and the correlation between the declared ethnic identity and functions of their work. In this context, ethnic and / or ethnic self-identification of the respondents was important. Ethnicity and / or nationality is presented on Chart no. 9.



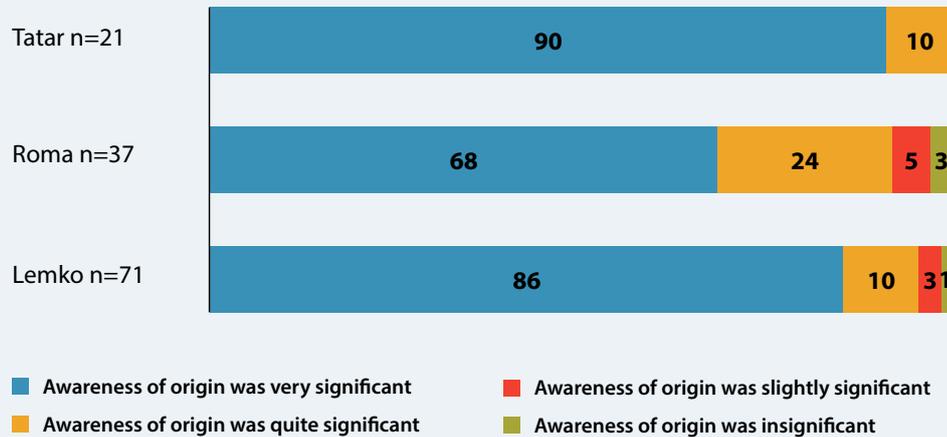
The answers to this question in each group are very diverse. While 68% of Roma artists (28 people) and 73% of Tartar creators (16 people) have double national identity – Romani-Polish and Polish-Tatar, among the Lemko the only Lemko ethnicity prevails (57% which is 24 people). In the Lemko group, every fourth respondent (19 people) declares another affiliation – eg. Lemko-Ukrainian, Ruthenian – as a result of identity divisions within the ethnic minority. The assumption was, the respondents who only declared Polish, were excluded from providing answers to the following six questions (as the study is aimed at creative environments within ethnic minorities). Nevertheless, following the analysis of questionnaires and taking into account the differences regarding the ethnic identity among Lemko, it was decided to include people who defined themselves eg. as Russians from the Lemko sample group. However, the responders that didn't belong to that sample group but declared being e.g. Belarussian were not included.

Based on pre-defined creativity as a form of realization of the cultural rights – ideological and material manifestation of the community of values that every social and cultural group is built around – the questionnaire included a question about the importance of awareness of ethnic background for the creative /artistic path. The results are shown on Chart no. 10.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

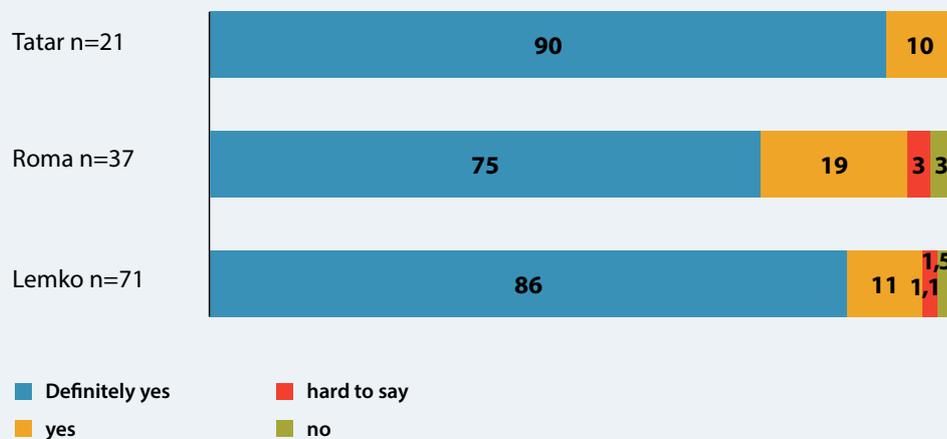
Chart no.10 Awareness of origin and the artistic journey (in %)



The obtained data shows that ethnicity was important to 76% of all respondents (105 people) at the beginning of their artistic journey. Ethnic roots were quite significant for only 3% of the respondents (4 people). The results obtained from the interviewees in this regard are consistent with the answers on the subject of creativity – the vast majority of responders refer to the traditional elements of the ethnic culture groups in creative activities.

Culture and tradition are sources of inspiration for nearly 79% of the respondents (108 people). Chart no.11 shows the tradition and culture of the ethnic minorities as a source of inspiration in each group.

Chart no.11 Tradition and ethnic culture as a source of inspiration for creative work (in %)

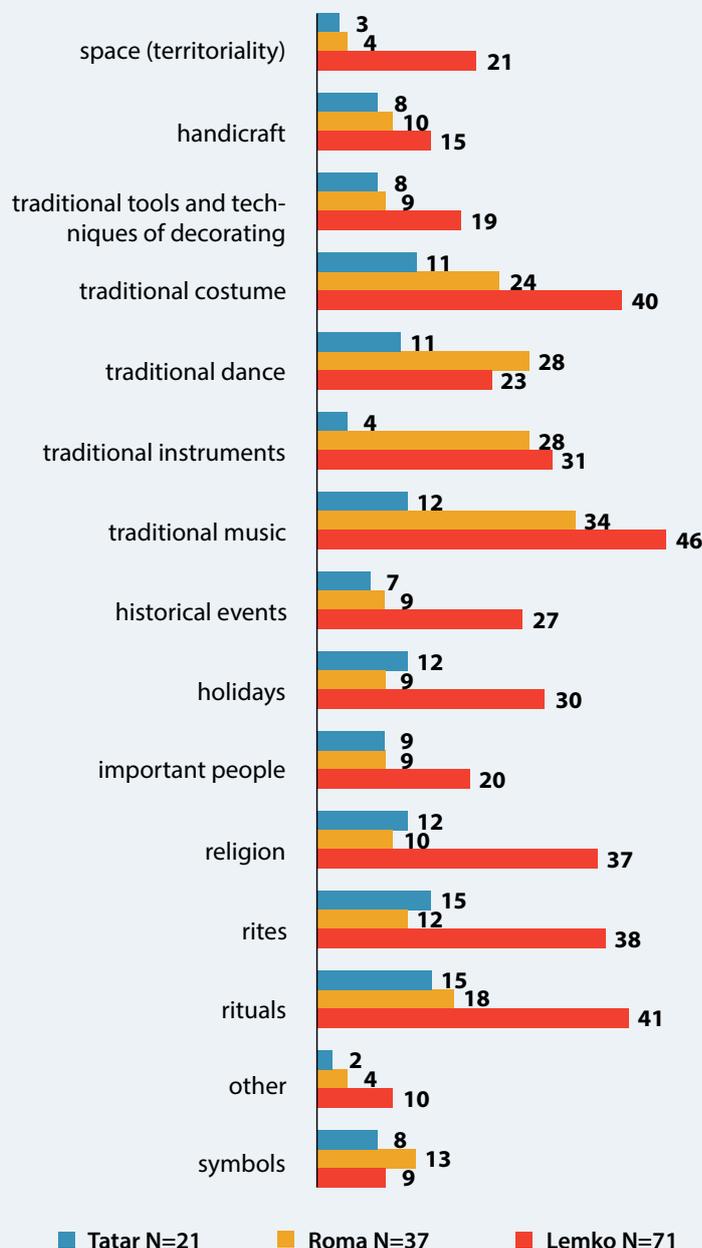




THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Elements of tradition and culture used in the works vary depending on the ethnic minority. Lemko Creators usually refer to ethnic music (46 responses), customs (41 responses) and clothing (40 responses). For Lemko, an important point of reference are also holidays (30 responses) and historical events (27 responses). Roma most often draw inspiration from ethnic music (34 indications), dance (28 responses) and clothing (24 indications). For Tatars, the most important motives are custom (15 responses), rites (15 responses), traditional customs (13 responses) and religion (12 responses). This question allowed respondents to make multiple choices among the proposed options. The full list of answers about the elements of culture and tradition, referred to by the authors, is presented on Chart no. 12.

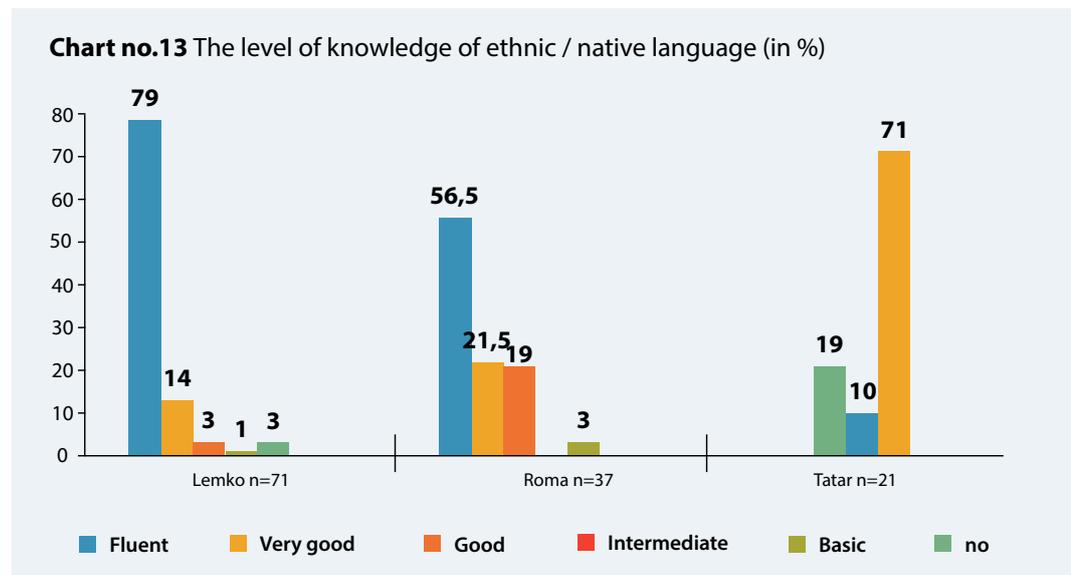
Chart no.12 Elements of tradition and culture used (according to the number of responses)



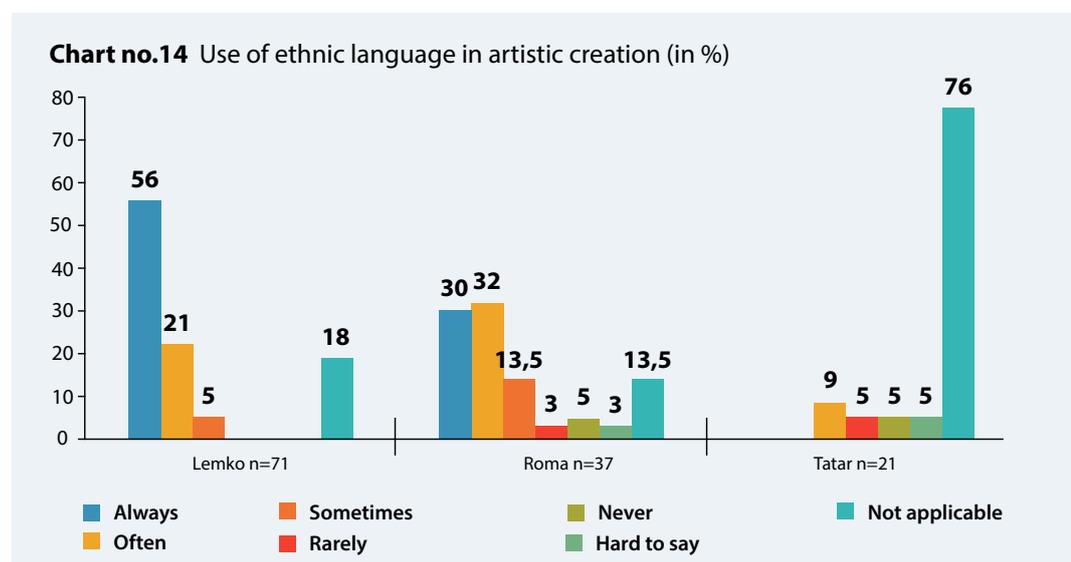


THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Another issue penetrating, to some extent, specific cultures of each ethnic minority, was the question of ethnic language: the level of knowledge, use of ethnic language in creative activities and the importance of using the language in the transfer of content. Comparative approach adopted by the authors of the study showed the differences in the perception of language as a factor of ethnic identity among representatives of various minorities. Ethnic language does not correlate with identity equally for all groups – the question of language does not apply to the Tartars. The level of knowledge of the ethnic / native languages among the speakers is illustrated on Chart no. 13.



Knowledge of the ethnic language and other language-related issues apply only to Lemko and Roma groups. The data shows that a higher level of language competence is presented by the Lemko – 79% of respondents declare fluency (56 people) compared to 56.5% among the Roma (21 people). Lemko creators are those that use ethnic languages in their work most often- 56% use it *always* (40 people) and 21% *often* (12 people). Among the Roma artists, these values are respectively 30% (11 people) and 32% (12 people). The use of ethnic language among representatives of all the groups studied is shown on Chart no. 14.

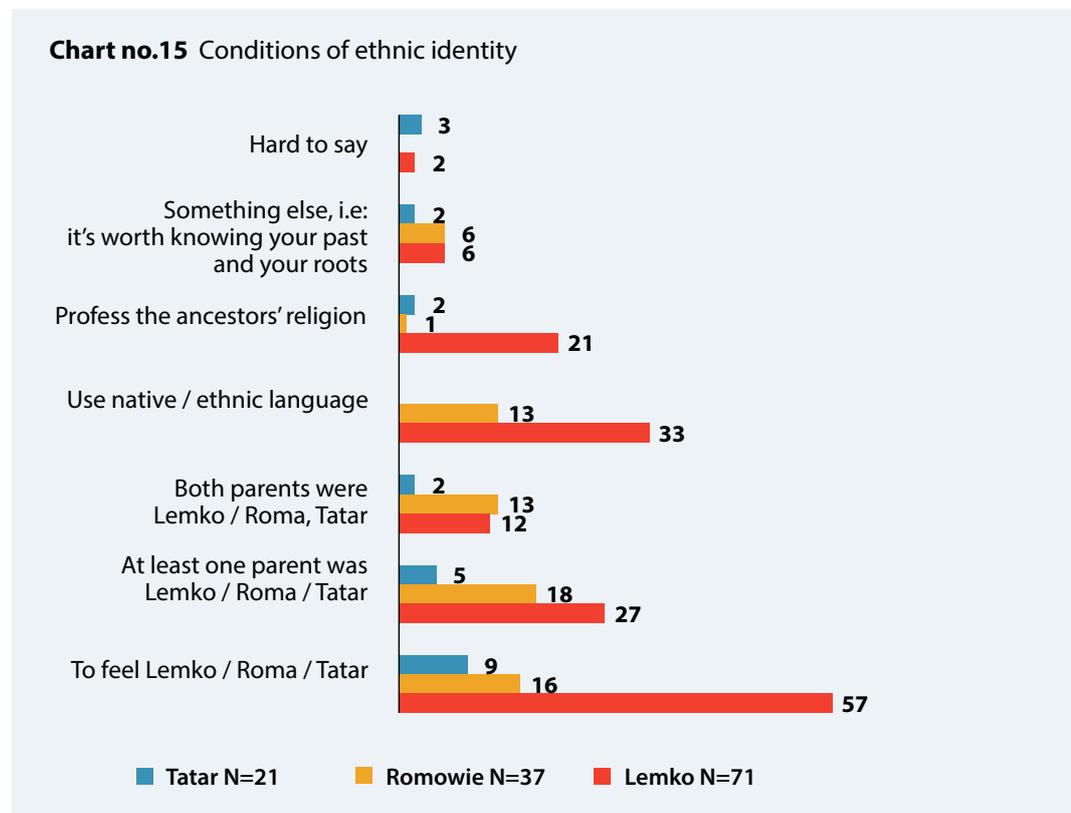




THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The content and emotions in creative activities can be expressed equally both in Polish and native languages in the opinion of 32% Roma creators (12 people) and 15% of Lemko creators (12 people). Ethnic language, which is a tool allowing to better express emotions associated with work, is much more important for Lemko creators – 65% of respondents in this group (46 people) chose the native language as a better way to express emotions as opposed to Roma artists – 41% of respondents (15 people).

Creators were also asked about the conditions required for ethnic identification, in other words, about what is necessary to be considered Lemko, Roma or Tatar. Respondents could indicate several factors that influence ethnic identity. The detailed summary of responses by the number of indications, including the division into groups, is presented on Chart no. 15.



Among the representatives of all three ethnic minorities, a subjective sense of identity turns out to be important – to feel like Lemko, Roma or Tatar. In the group of creators, the Lemko got highest marks – 77% of respondents (57 people). The subjective sense of identity is important for 39% of the Roma (16 responses) and 40% of artists of Tatar origin (9 responses). The indication frequency of objective factors of ethnic identification differs depending on the ethnic group. For the Lemko representative, an important condition for defining ethnic identity is the use ethnic language according to 45% of respondents in this group (33 indications). Lemko, on the other hand, pay less attention to knowledge of ethnic language- for 36% of them, it is sufficient that one of the parents was Lemko (27 responses), whereas 16% (12 responses) is of the opinion that both parents should be Lemko. The origin is far more important for the representatives of Roma



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

artists: to 44% of them (18 responses), the roots of at least one parent are important and a further 32% (13 responses) believe that both should be Roma. As per Tatars, in addition to a subjective sense of identity, origin is of importance: 23% of the respondents (5 responses) think that at least one parent must be a Tatar.

5. Creativity – the importance of creativity, creativity functions today, interest in ethnic art / creative activities

The analysis of the results obtained from the open-ended question about the importance of creativity in life, allows to classify the creative activities in three dimensions: 1) the transfer of culture and tradition, 2) hobby and 3) as something they live for. Respondents, most often, treat creativity in a nostalgic way: they perceive it as cultural heritage, a way of expressing their identity, an opportunity to explore the roots, traditions and culture. For more than half of the respondents, work is a form of communication on the identity and heritage of a particular ethnic group. Quoting several respondents:

It's a part of the Lemko identity that is threatened by internal and external factors, which is why the popularization and professionalization of action prevents trivialization, which is an important element of survival and pride in origin. A broad dissemination of 'Lemko / rusińskości' opens people to tolerance, strengthening positive perception of multiculturalism in the society⁸⁸.

Is the meaning of existence / life⁸⁹.

It is a way of transmitting the tradition, the memories of it. It is an attempt to look back towards ancestors⁹⁰.

I'm trying to revive tatarskość, show the attractiveness of this culture, promote ethnicity; In this way, I want to preserve the history of my family and other Tartars⁹¹.

Respondents are happy to share their hobbies and interests with others. More than 80% of all respondents (120 people) pass down creative interests to others: children, grandchildren, neighbours, students, friends and acquaintances, all interested.

The most important function of contemporary creativity to respondents is to preserve the tradition and culture – of the ten roles of contemporary activities included in the questionnaire, the above-mentioned received the highest average rating in all three groups. On second place, resulting in average ratings among Lemko and Tatar groups, was the *prevalence of cultural heritage of minorities*. Roma creators, on the other hand, stated that creativity helps to overcome stereotypes. Average evaluation of all the features taking into consideration the division into groups is illustrated on Chart 16.

88 Lemko minority

89 Lemko minority

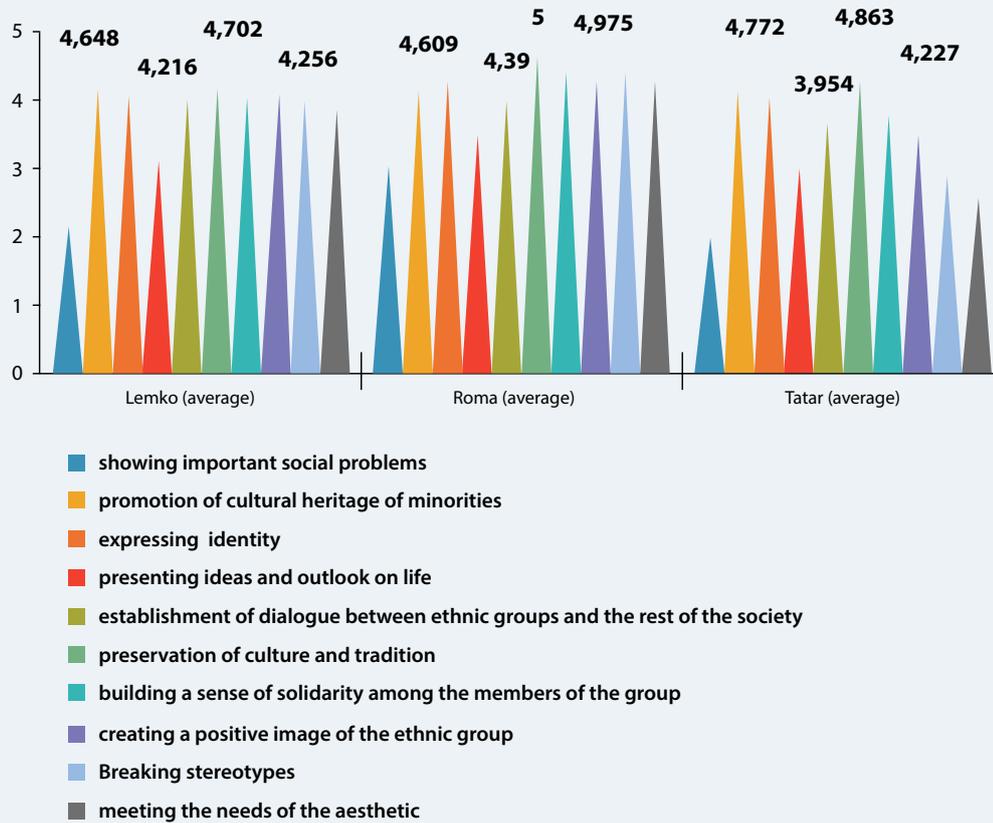
90 Roma minority

91 Tatar minority



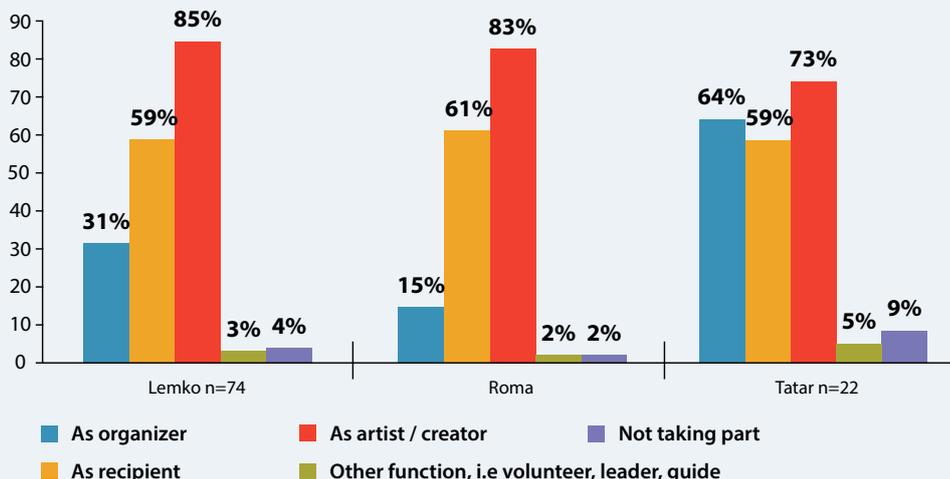
THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Chart no.16 Modern functions of artistic creations – average by rank



Respondents actively participate in cultural events organized for ethnic minority communities. They often hold multiple roles – eg. an artist and an organizer, organizer and the recipient, etc. Only 5% of respondents declared they didn't participate in such events. Summary of roles during cultural events is presented on Chart no. 17.

Chart no.17 Participation in cultural events organized for ethnic minorities

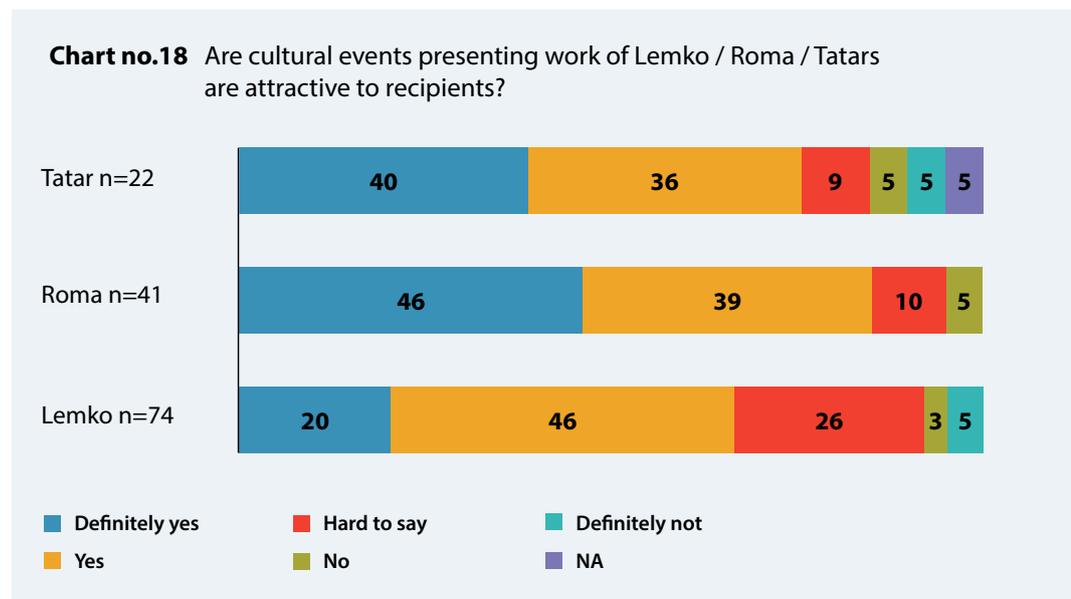




THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Surveyed creators also spoke about the sufficiency of the artistic offer presenting the culture of ethnic minorities in the regions of residence and its attractiveness. The vast majority of Lemko and Tatar is of the opinion that the number of cultural and artistic events to which they have access, is sufficient. The offer addressed to minorities was considered *sufficient* by 38% of Lemko creators (28 people) and 46% Tatar (10 people). 7% of Lemko (5%) and 18% of Tatar (4 people) are definitely interested in the offer. In case of Roma artists, the situation is quite the opposite – 44% of the respondents (18 people) believe that the available offer is *rather insufficient*, and another 32% believe the offer is *very insufficient* (13 people). The scarcity of cultural events presenting the work of the Roma is noticeable among respondents from all voivodeships (Lesser Poland Voivodeship, West Pomeranian Voivodeship, Łódź Voivodeship, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, Greater Poland Voivodeship, Subcarpathian Voivodeship and and Lower Silesia Voivodeship).

The attractiveness of the offer was rated as *very good* and *rather good* by the majority of respondents in all groups, as shown on Chart no. 18:



There are two dominating trends when it comes rating the attractiveness of cultural events presenting the work of ethnic minorities. First – rating the cultural offer as attractive – refers to the growing number of recipients (especially non-ethnic communities), their satisfaction, the exotic nature of ethnic minority culture, which attracts more and more people. Quoting the respondents: *Lemko and their culture are still new to recipients and therefore interesting⁹², presenting multiculturalism of Podlachia and its traditions breaks stereotypes about Islam⁹³, artistic events present the Roma culture and help fight stereotypes that the Roma can only steal and are stupid⁹⁴.*

92 Lemko minority

93 Tatar minority

94 Roma minority

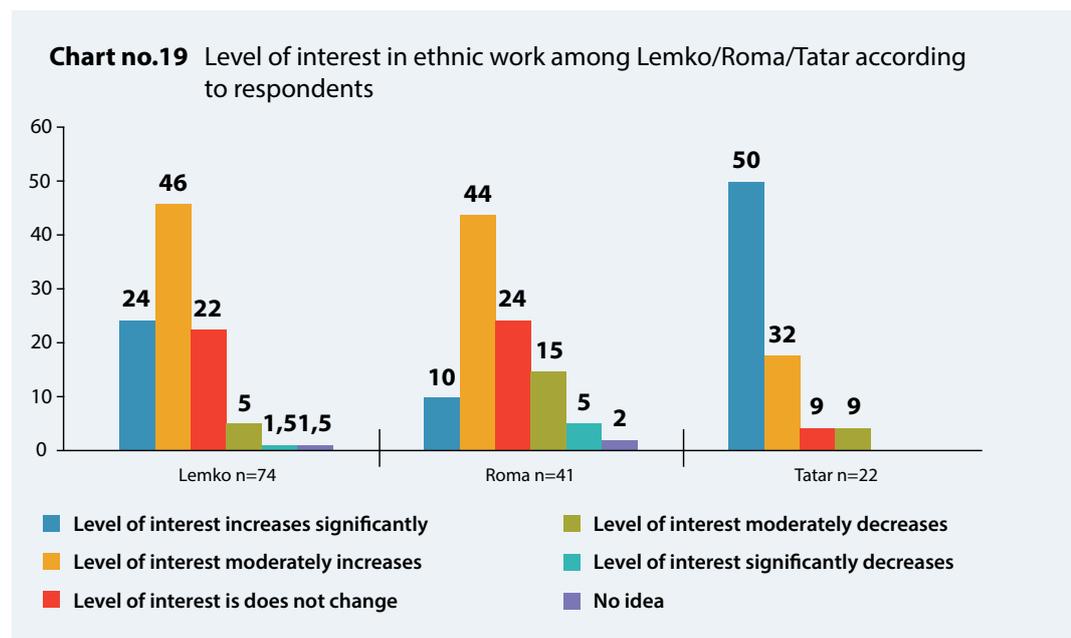


THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

A second trend concerning the commercialization of the ethnic culture and the low level of performances, appeared in the responses of those who rated the contents of the artistic offer as low. There were definitely more critical opinions on the level of artistic cultural events among the Lemko.

Lemko culture is now dominated by folklore and its variations. This causes some restrictions in their daily existence and perception Lemko as a modern nation. Recipients and organizers have become accustomed to the perception of Lemko culture through the prism of heritage parks, folk songs and costumes. This locks the culture in this area and becomes unattractive and stiff for more demanding customers⁹⁵.

The level of interest in the works of ethnic minority communities in the opinion of respondents is increasing according to 67% of all artists (92 people). 50% of the respondents of Tatar origin (11 people) think that an increase of interest in the work of ethnic Tatars is clearly bigger. The majority of Lemko and Roma see a moderate increase in interest in ethnic work in their communities. The detailed summary of answers to this question are illustrated on Graph no. 19.



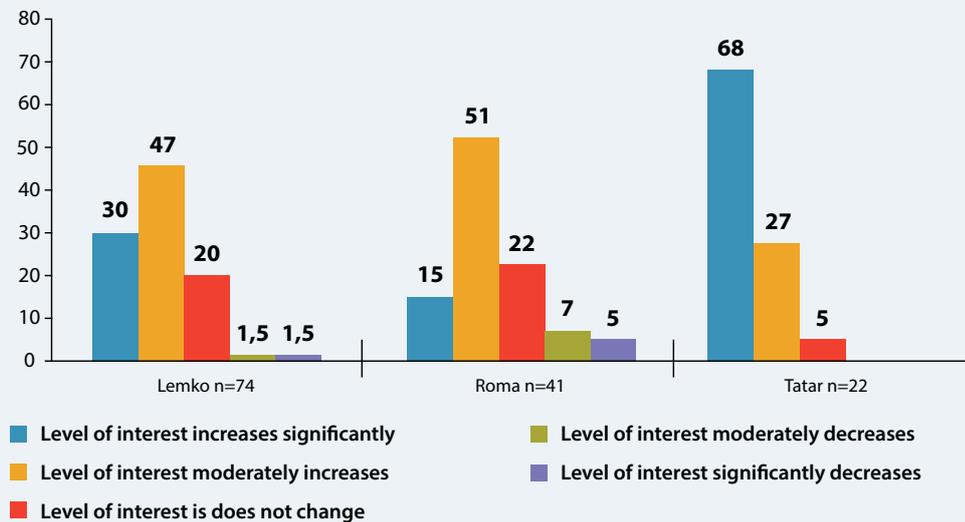
Representatives of all three groups notice a growing interest in ethnic work among other recipients. Increasing participation in cultural events of ethnic minorities by audiences from external environments was noted by $\frac{3}{4}$ of artists surveyed (105 people). This phenomenon is especially noticed by Tatars – 68% of respondents in this group (15 people) stated that the level of interest is definitely increasing. The detailed distribution of answers to this question is presented on Graph no.20.

⁹⁵ Lemko minority



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Chart no.20 Level of interest in ethnic work among other recipient according to respondents

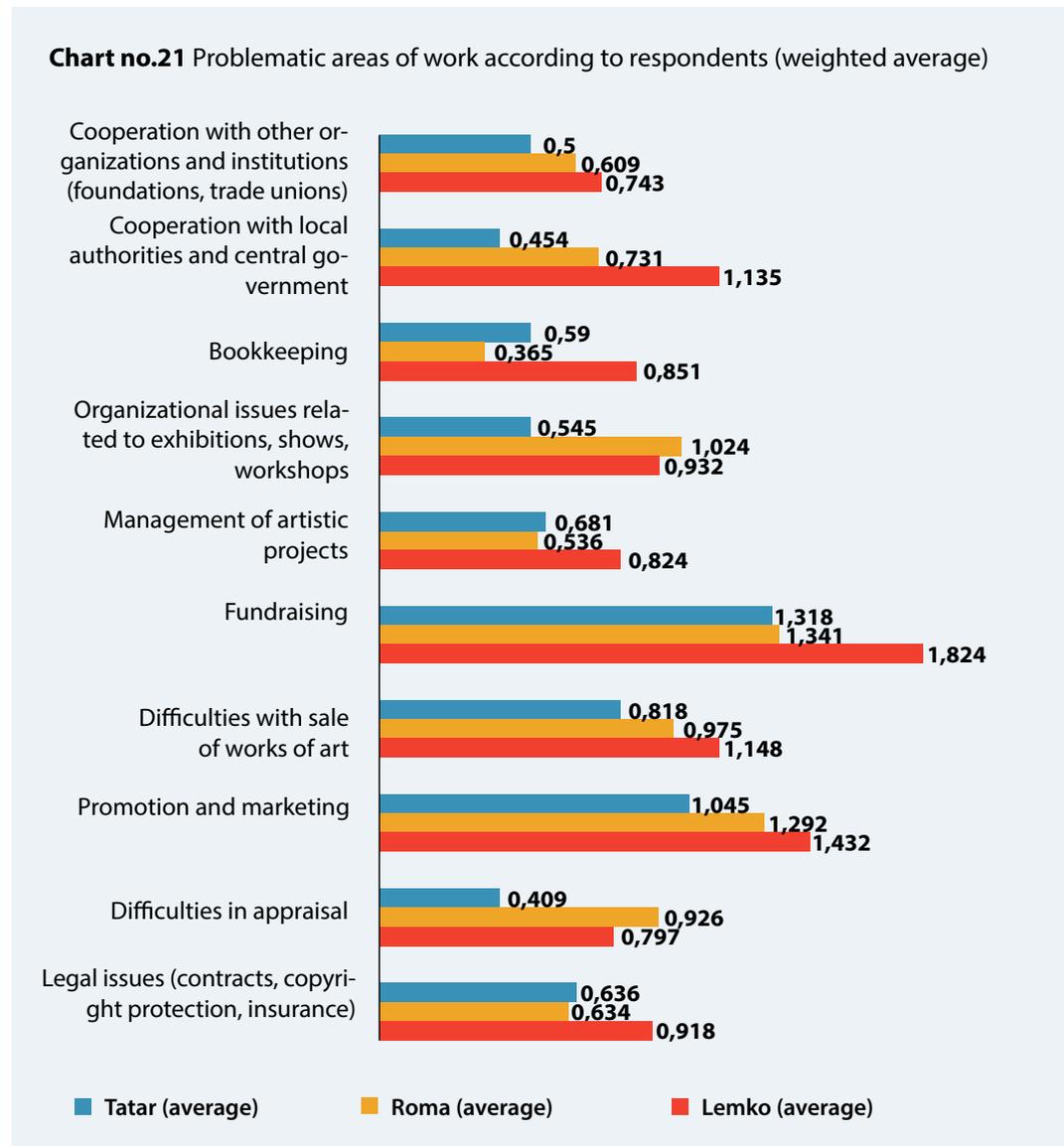


Another issue related to creative activities included in the questionnaire, was for creators to identify problems: things that become obstacles for them in creative activities. The authors of the study singled out 10 fields of study associated with creative activity which can be regarded as potential obstacles, such as: legal issues (contracts, copyright protection, etc.), valuation difficulties, sale difficulties, promotion and marketing, cooperation with cultural institutions, fund-raising activities. During the interview, respondents were also able to identify other barriers by themselves. Creators evaluated the individual issues on a scale from 3 (big problem) to 0 (not applicable). This is why weight was attributed to Specific areas of creation and a weighted average was calculated for each. Results show that by far, *raising funds for creative activities* was the most problematic issue for all 3 groups. Another area that is proving to be tricky for artists from all 3 groups is *Promotion and marketing of creative activities*.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The full results are shown on Chart no. 21.



The last aspect was about the reactions to creative activities. Nearly 80% of artists (106 people) meet with positive reactions and support from the ethnic and / or local environments. Some respondents involved in the study talk about the enthusiasm that is caused by their work (eg. *For them I am a "crazy artist". I am considered to be a determined, creative, outgoing person*⁹⁶, *I am a Lemko ambassador, I am praised, everybody supports me.*⁹⁷) The remaining 20% of artists (31 people) meets with mixed reactions or pays no attention to the opinions of their environment.

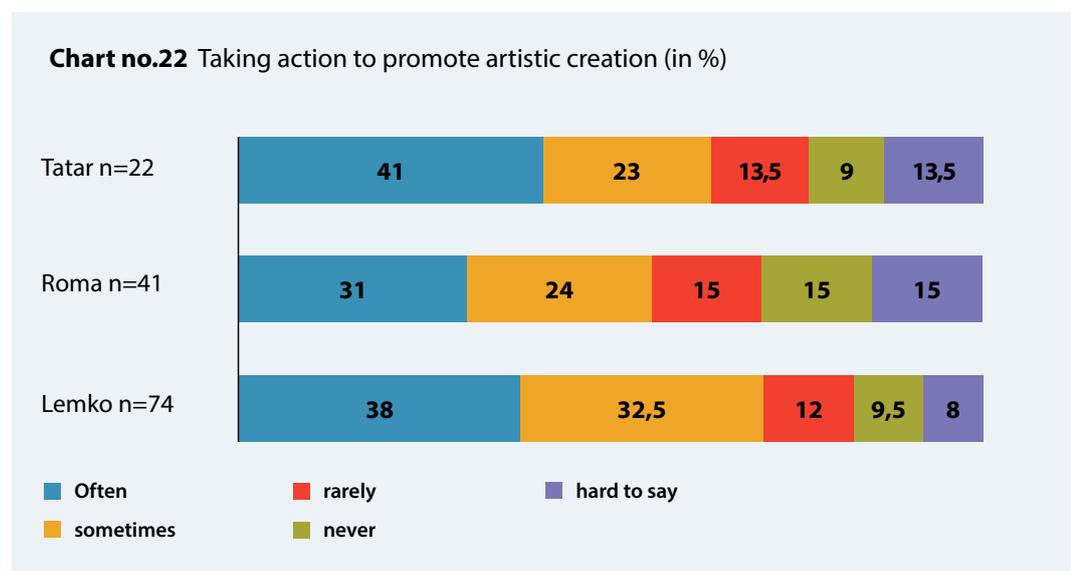
96 Roma minority
97 Lemko minority



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

6. Ways of promoting creative activities and making use of funding

The final part of the questionnaire was devoted to issues related to promoting creative activities, sharing them and obtaining funds. Research shows that nearly 65% of all respondents (89 people) try to promote their work. The most active in this area are Lemko: 70% of respondents from this group engage in popularizing work (52 people). For the Roma, it's 56% (23 people) and 64% (14 people) for Tatars. Graphical summary of the responses is shown on graph 22

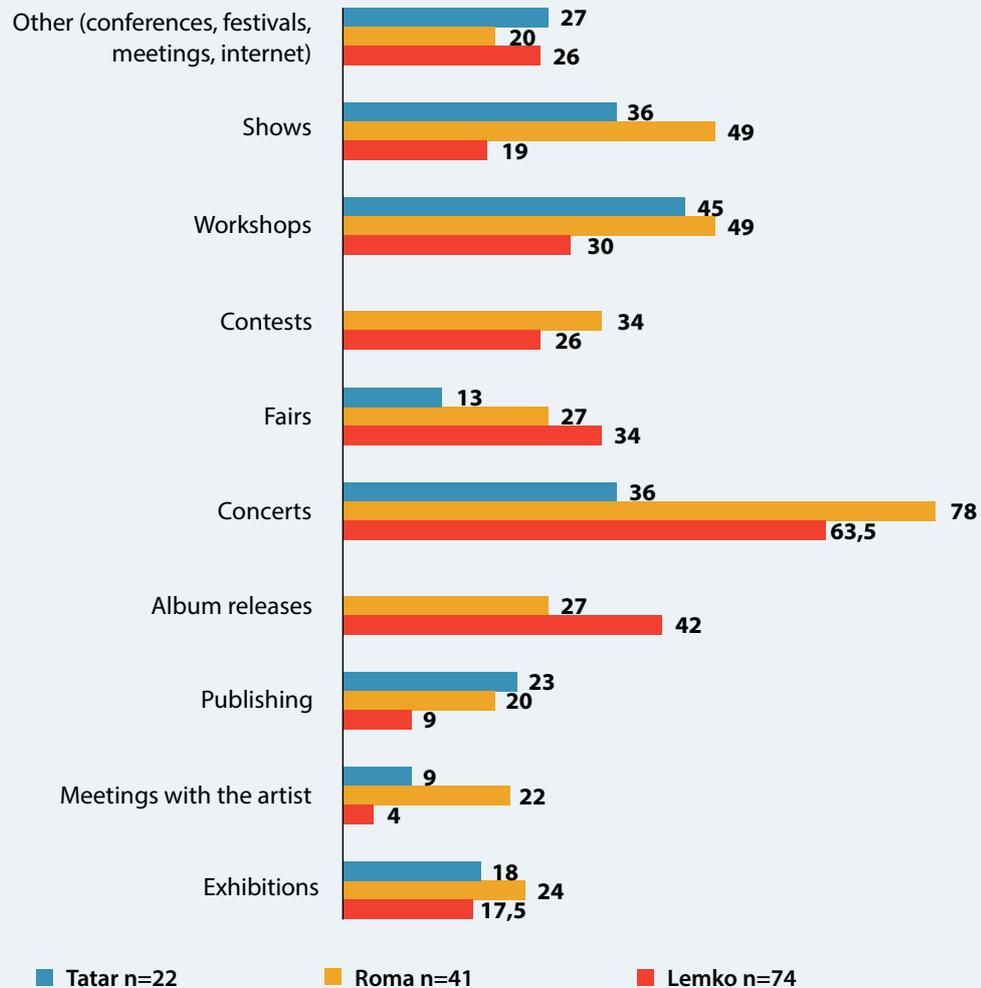


For the purpose of popularizing artistic creation, the most eagerly used form of promotion are concerts (which demonstrates the dominance of creative business profiles among surveyed people). 78% of Roma (32 people), more than 63% of the Lemko people (47 people) and 36% of Tatars (8) declare they promote their work during concerts. An important way to promote among Lemko and Roma, is to release albums: this form was indicated by 42% of Lemko (31 people) and 27% of Roma (11 people). 45% (10 people) of Tatars use workshops. All forms of popularizing work by the surveyed groups, are presented on Chart no. 23:



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Chart no.23 Methods of popularizing art (w%)

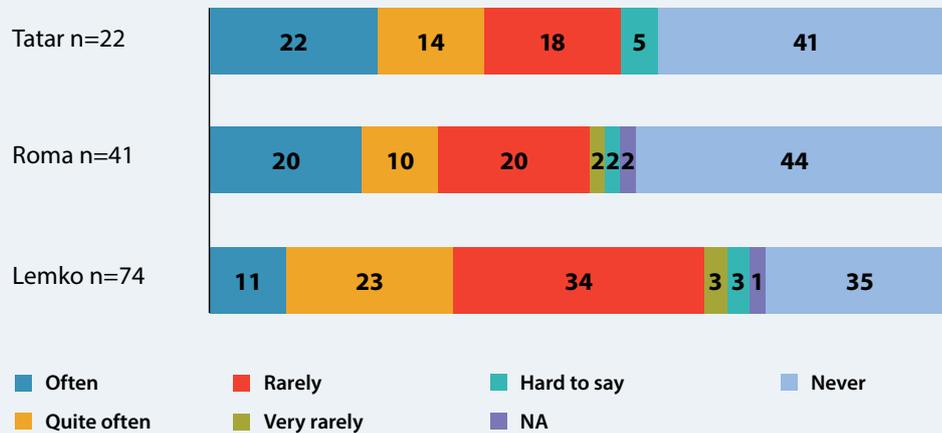


An important platform for promoting creativity and communication with recipients is the Internet. 60% of all respondents (84 people) use the Internet as a tool for promotion- 65% of Lemko (48 people), 56% of Roma (23 people) and 59% of Tatars (13 people). Respondents most often post their work on social network profiles (mainly Facebook), have their own fan pages and share audiovisual materials (eg. from concerts) on Youtube. The content published on the Internet consists mainly of music, video performances, photographs (eg. paintings, handicrafts); some poetry and other genres, but not much. The frequency of publishing of content on the Internet is shown on Chart no. 24:



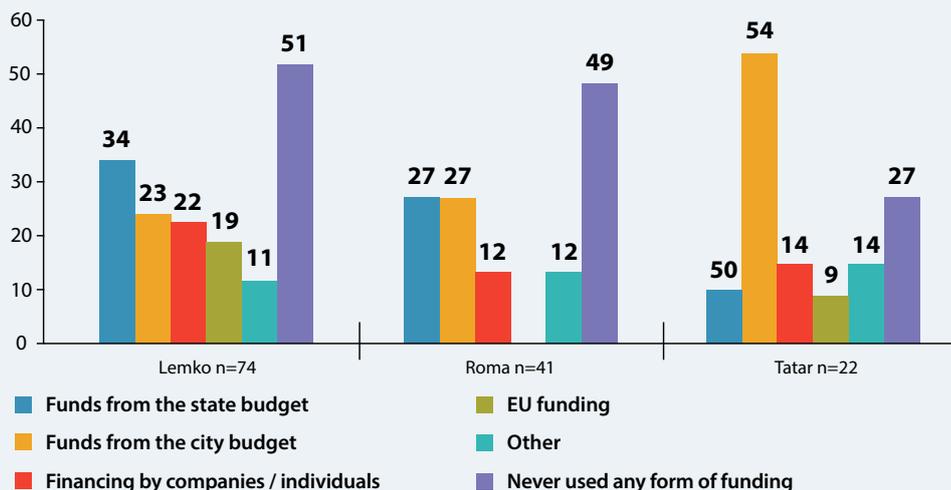
THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Chart no.24 Publishing / sharing online (in %)



So far, 63% of respondents (73 people) used various forms of funding. Most of the respondents in all three groups obtained funds from the state budget – a total of 47 people (34%) – as well as funds from the budget of the city / municipality – a total of 40 people (29%). Over 17% of all respondents – 24 – received support from a private person or a company (sponsoring). The use of different sources of financing in all three groups is presented on Chart no. 25:

Chart no.25 Existing forms of financing (in %)



Financing from the state budget was the most helpful for 42% of all respondents (57 people). Other forms of support received significantly lower scores and more than 30% of the respondents (49 people) could not answer this question.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

7. Conclusions

The aim of this research was to gain knowledge about the dynamics of the functioning of minority creative groups in Poland and creating, on the basis of the results, recommendations for cultural policies. One of the techniques used in the research was a standardized questionnaire interview addressed to creative communities of Karaim, Lemko, Roma and Tatars. Artists who participated in this study represent a full cross-section of society by age, education, professional status or place of residence. Respondents represent many areas of creativity and art – painters, poets, musicians, singers, dancers, sculptors, graphic artists, craftsmen. Some respondents dealt with more than one area of work. The dominant group were those involved in making music, dance and singing. Ethnic music as an area of creativity / art was indicated by 61% of Lemko (45 respondents) and 61% of Roma (25 respondents.) 59% (13 respondents) of Tatars perform Tatar dances. In all groups, all activities were related to culture animation: such activity is taken up by 22 people (16% of respondents). The vast majority of respondents do not have an artistic education and art for them is not a profession. Over 90% of respondents considered artistic creation a hobby, pastime outside everyday work and for nine artists (6.5% of respondents) it's the main source of income.

The subject of the work of the respondents oscillates around ethnic traditions and culture: Lemko refer to ethnic music and traditional songs and Lemko folklore; the Roma are mostly inspired by music. The reference point for the Tartars, are tradition, culture, religion and dance. Being a member of an association is declared by 29% Lemko (21 people), 23% of the Roma (9 people) and 36% of Tatars (8 people).

The vast majority of respondents – 72% (99 people) – does not belong to any association. 10% of Lemko (7 people) belong to artistic associations, the rest are members of other associations (eg. The Lemko Union). Among the Roma, one person belongs to ZAIKS (Association of Stage Writers and Composers), one to the Polish Roma Union. Tatars listed the following associations: Association of Polish Tatars, the Regional Cultural Centre of the Polish Tatars "Asman" Vocal and Dance Team "panache" and the Foundation Tatar Cultural Society.

Artists cooperate with cultural institutions at regional, national and international levels- but mainly with regional stakeholders, such as municipal and urban cultural centers, offices (municipal, city, provincial, marshal), museums and other cultural institutions. At the national level, they work mainly with associations, educational and cultural institutions such as: the World Congress of Rusyns. All-Ukrainian Association "Lemkivshchyna", the International Council of Organizations for Folklore Festivals and Folk Art, UNESCO, Rotary Interact.

The issue of ethnic identity is different in each group. Nearly 70% of Roma artists (28 people) and 73% of Tartar (16 people) declare dual identity – Romani-Polish and Polish-Tatar. However, Lemko group has only their own identity which was declared by 57% of respondents in this group (24 people). Among the Lemko, every fourth respondent declares another affiliation – eg. Lemko-Ukrainian and Ruthenian. The awareness of the roots was very important for the development of the creative path of respondents, and thus – the culture and tradition of ethnic group is the most important source of inspiration for almost 79% (108) of the respondents. Ethnic motifs are used in music, dance, customs, holidays, religion and others.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Creativity is defined by the respondents in the following categories: way of transmitting the culture and ethnic traditions, hobby, the meaning of life. Most of the respondents treat creativity as a means of transmission of cultural heritage, a form of expressing their ethnic identity and activity aiming at deepening the knowledge of their own communities and ethnic roots. The most important function of contemporary creativity in the opinion of the respondents is to preserve tradition and culture. Next comes the promotion of the cultural heritage of minorities (Lemko and Tatar) and stereotypes (Roma). Barriers for the development of creative activity are primarily financial: all three groups declare that the biggest problem lies in raising funds for creative activities. So far, various forms of financing are used by 63% of respondents (73 people). Most of respondents in all three groups obtained the funds from the state budget – a total of 47 people (34%) – as well as funds from the budget of the city / municipality – a total of 40 people (29%). Promotion and marketing are aspects that need improvement.

Respondents make efforts to promote their creative work – on the basis of the questionnaires, almost 65% of the respondents (89 people) take such action. The Internet is an important tool in popularizing their works and communicating with recipients. 60% of respondents (84 people) use the Internet as means of promoting their work.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Karolina Kwiecień

The creator and the creation of ethnic minorities Qualitative research analysis

1. The ethnic author and his work – an attempt to define

Until the 90's, a period of focus in the research, minorities in Poland were dormant. This applies not only to ethnic minorities, but also national, religious and other groups. Struggling with widespread discrimination and numerous barriers, members of minority groups focused more on matters of everyday life, which was partially a reflection of the situation of the rest of the society. There were few creators and their ethnic work didn't attract a wider audience.

R: Back in the days of my childhood, there were no teams. I don't remember. My grandmother, my mother never ... My mother comes from Suchowola, so does my mother-in-law. We didn't have such cultural activities. Of course, people used to meet and, let's say, sing. But I have never heard of a purely Tartarian dance. I think it is precisely because of this fear [...] People out there "were sitting", if I may call it like this, but they were busy with their work and efforts to keep themselves afloat in life and there was no will and desire and, perhaps, time to be interested in this tradition. Maybe it survived, you know, somewhere in these activities⁹⁸.

The 90s were a noticeable revival of the cultural life of minorities. This was due to many factors – the most important one was the changing political situation in Poland and the region. Getting closer to Europe and in the end joining the EU, caused an increased interest in multiculturalism, spread the idea of a varied state, admiration for its minorities and an open-minded society. It was a twofold process, initiated by the EU institutions and NGOs, but at the same time exuding from the members of minorities, which, at that time, were experiencing a revival. There were noticeably fewer incidents of discrimination, although such behaviours were still happening. Minorities attempted to defend their place in society and its culture. Gradually, ethnic differences stopped being perceived as barriers, they even became fashionable. *Etno* became popular in art, music and crafts, and interest in the history and culture of minorities living in Poland increased. At that time, a number of scientific studies on ethnic minorities was carried out. The vast majority of scientists analyzed the intricacies of the historical fate of minorities during World War II, adapting to life in the reality of PRL (People's Republic of Poland) and identity issues. Fewer publications focused on the traditional material culture and spiritual minorities, assuming usually the mission of saving

98 Tatar minority. In the cited passages of the interviews conducted in the course of work, the following distinction was applied: R = respondent, I = interviewer.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

from oblivion. Nevertheless, the amount of research and texts devoted to creativity and creators of ethnic minorities in the ending and beginning of the twentieth century XXI is even smaller.

Speaking about the work of minorities, we should first clarify the definitions. For the purposes of the project, it was assumed that creative work is the ideological and material manifestation of the community of values on which the functioning of each socio-cultural group is based. It is therefore a broad understanding, according to which the creator is not only an artist or craftsman, as it usually is, but also a cultural animator, writer, writing in the language of an ethnic journalist shaping the opinion of members of minorities and other people who have contributed to their culture.

It is not easy to compare the minorities listed in the Act on national and ethnic minorities of the Karaites, Lemkos, Roma and Tatars, or find common features between them. It's even more difficult to make such comparisons in relation to creators and ethnic creation⁹⁹. The number of interviews conducted during this project corresponded with the number and degree of creative involvement of the ethnic group. Naturally, the study did not cover all the creators of ethnic minorities in Poland, but only their representative sample. Both in the Polish society and among ethnic minorities members, a group of so-called passive participants predominates. There are few creators, even assuming such a broad definition of the term. Firstly, there is an insufficient number of interviews. Secondly, these are interviews with people with a very broad spectrum of activities. However, efforts to find common traits and tendencies characteristic for Karaites, Lemkos, the Tatars and Romani should be made.

2. Type of creative activity

Who is an ethnic creator? The interviews are very diverse and respondents take various actions, from typical folk crafts and ethnic bands through poetry, journalism, the creation of online databases and maintenance of old prints. The nature of the activities undertaken by creators among ethnic minorities surveyed in the project is presented in Table 1¹⁰⁰.

Type of creative activity

Ethnic minority

Music (playing, dancing, singing)

99 *Ustawa z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym*. (Dz. U. z dnia 6 stycznia 2015 r. poz. 573, art. 2 ust. 4)

100 Źródłem tabeli jest opracowanie własne.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Table 1.

Ethnic minority	TYPE OF CREATIVE ACTIVITY									
	Music (playing, dancing, singing)	Theatre, stage design, choreography	Fine arts	Photography, film	Craftsmanship	Poetry, prose	Journalism, translation, editing, publishing	Organizer of cultural activities, business association, managerial	Scientific activities, digitalization	Other
Karaim										
1.								+	+	+
2.					+		+	+	+	
Lemkos										
1.	+									
2.	+									
3.	+	+						+		
4.	+									
5.	+									
6.	+						+	+		
7.								+		
8.					+			+		
9.			+					+		
10.						+	+		+	
Roma										
1.							+	+		
2.	+	+	+			+				+
3.	+		+	+						
4.	+				+					
5.			+	+						
6.	+	+								
7.	+									
8.	+							+		
9.	+							+		+
10.	+									
11.	+									
12.	+	+						+		
13.	+							+		
14.	+									
Tatars										
1.								+		
2.						+	+	+		



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

At first glance, there are some trends that can be regarded as signs of the times. There are few ethnic craftsmen or artists among the creators perceived as folk ones, in other words – people who produce some artifacts either in an entirely traditional way or inspired by the ethnic culture. The situation is somewhat different when it comes to the intangible cultural heritage – here we have a significant representation of 64% of musicians who reproduce or modify traditional sounds in various way. The boundaries are blurred between different types of creative activity characteristic for folk culture and those attributed to higher culture, although at least two among the minorities – Lemkos and Roma, are groups whose culture until recently was a typical example of folk culture. Among the interviewed creators were Lemkos dealing with poetry, science, fine arts in the modern sense of the word, Roma – journalists, photographers and filmmakers. There was also a new category of artists – culture animators. The term is rather broad and so is the spectrum of activities of the animators: they strive to maintain and develop culture. This group seems to have a big impact on members of minority communities and ethnic culture. The table also shows they are involved in more than one area. They often combine production of elements of material culture or immaterial to the activities of the association, with animation culture, and if they deal with ethnicity scientifically, they usually combine it with some sort of creative activity, also non-professional, they also often combine the fields they deal in. This is undoubtedly an expression of strong commitment and a comprehensive knowledge of the ethnic culture.

3. Creators' self-portrait

The definition, describing each member who knowingly affects the shape of the culture of their ethnic group as a minority creator, causes consternation for many respondents. It is rather a matter of how one understands creativity. Many respondents at the beginning of the interview do not agree with referring to their activity as creativity, because, as they say, they don't produce anything. *"I am a simple Rom with traditions"*¹⁰¹ – says one of the respondents treating a creator as an artist. Several people responded that the author should leave an artistic heritage or a specific material or immaterial product:

*R: I have a band and I do not make my own music, I play someone else's music, our gypsy music*¹⁰².

and that such a product should have an artistic value:

*R: If I was writing a book, I would be creating something, but writing some sort of an article isn't creative*¹⁰³. *I'm not a creator, I am a craftsman of music*¹⁰⁴.

101 Roma minority

102 Roma minority

103 Roma minority

104 Lemko minority



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The work is sometimes associated with the activity of great importance:

R: I do it for myself, for pleasure, this is my hobby when I have some free time, a moment. It's a form of detachment from work, it calms, soothes. That for me is not work, it's a way of relaxing¹⁰⁵.

There are also people who believe that the term "creator" refers to them, whether by virtue of their activities or accepted definition, or both things at once:

R: [creator] is a man who is trying to achieve something with his talent¹⁰⁶, creativity is something that is within a human. The human soul can manifest in different areas and is something that a man can share with others¹⁰⁷ ..., the creator is a single producer of cultural goods, usually low-cost, who does what he does for the recipient and takes care of the aesthetic and artistic value of the product¹⁰⁸.

Sometimes the respondents accept a multifarious definition:

R: It's a person who does not accept ready-made templates, but tries to transform them, be involved in shaping ... both aesthetically, ideologically and symbolically when it comes to new products, forms which represent values it inherits, develops or wants to implement and turn into reality¹⁰⁹.

4. Ethnic identity

For the purposes of the project, the study group is represented by people involved in creative activity and belonging to ethnic minorities. But what does it actually mean to belong to a minority? What does it mean to the members of these minorities and for the society? Does each member belong to the group to the same extent? The responses presented a subjective ethnic identification indicating the relationship with minorities according to many different schemes:

R: I have no other identity, so I confess Karaim religion, I come from a Karaim family, with roots. Among my ancestors there is no one else who is not Karaim¹¹⁰.

R: Being only Lemko. This term, Lemko, annoys me a little ... to me it is so artificial, but if it's accepted that we are Lemkos, well, let just be Lemkos[...] we are rather locals, Rus' people, not to be confused with the Russians¹¹¹.

R: I am a mix, my mom is Polish and my father was a Karaim, but to me the Karaite half was always was bigger¹¹².

R: I feel like a Pole – first I feel Romni, then a Pole, a citizen of Europe and the world¹¹³.

R: I am half-Polish, half-Rom¹¹⁴.

105 Lemko minority

106 Roma minority

107 Roma minority

108 Lemko minority

109 Lemko

110 Karaim

111 Lemko minority

112 Karaim minority

113 Roma minority

114 Roma minority



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

R: I live in Poland, I obey the Polish law, I have a Polish identity card, I am a Pole. I have Roma roots, but I am a Pole¹¹⁵.

R: And here in Mokry I would say Lemko- Bojko, so ... We have a Ukrainian nationality¹¹⁶.

When respondents were asked about criteria for determining affinity, they first indicate the state of consciousness. Representatives of all four minorities all agree that it is not enough to have parents belonging to the group, but it is also important whether one is from a mixed family. Being Karaim, Lemko, Rom or Tatar is a question of identity, although some bloodlines are also a prerequisite. The sticking point is religion and native language.

There is an understandable tendency to have lower requirements with regards to more assimilated members. Language of the Karaites and Tatars is no longer used in everyday life, Lemkos don't speak the language fluently either. In addition, as already mentioned, there are different directions of development of the language. Lemkos have three religions – Orthodox, Greek Catholic and also Roman Catholic, i we're dealing with a mixed family. Language is very important for the Roma, who however are aware that there are large groups of Roma who lost their native tongue. Yet, they are still Roma. All the minorities, however, stress the importance of making the effort to continue the tradition, explore it and build their own group. Passivity leads towards all-embracing culture of the majority.

5. Ethnic creators vs creative process

a) Motivations

One of the topics discussed during interviews with the ethnic creators, were their motivations to take up creative activity. In other words, it's about identifying the factors for which creative activity is undertaken in this environment: what are the reasons? For what purpose? What kind of gratification does it give? What needs does it meet? The reasons are both universal (applicable to all artists) and specific for a minority and this one is particularly interesting in the context of research.

Following the results of the study, it clearly shows that ethnicity has a significant impact on the group of the researched artists. An ethnic creator very often creates in order to deliberately influence the culture of minorities. In other words, the motivation to undertake a desire to maintain the tradition, is to save it from oblivion and provide continuity. A creator is primarily a person who cultivates our tradition¹¹⁷ – says one of the respondents.

Analyzing the type of creative activity also shows that many creators among respondents, over 70 percent, take care of transferring their skills to future generations. They teach dancing, singing, playing instruments, cooking, organizing educational meetings, work with students and are

115 Roma minority

116 Lemko minority

117 Roma minority



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

culture animators. It is a typical approach observed among creators in ethnic minorities. Educational activities are directed primarily towards young people from the minority, albeit to a lesser extent also to the adult members of their own and also foreign environment. That creativity mission is expressed in the following statement:

R: If there is nobody to cultivate and transmit the traditions, if there aren't such creators left, everything disappears¹¹⁸.

In addition, creators also admit that thanks to the creativity they want to raise the value of their group in the eyes of the society. What is important, such motivation is typical for the Roma:

R: Roma have music and art in their blood. It is worth showing them in the best light, to promote this culture and show that they can do the same things as others, they are just a different nationality¹¹⁹.

R: [creator] cultivates our tradition. It shows others, the society, how we live and that we are not bad people¹²⁰.

This is another confirmation of the observation that the Roma are constantly struggling with others depreciating their ethnic group. The creators from other groups also aim to promote their minorities to the outside, but they focus more on transferring knowledge about themselves and their culture. Because they perceive their culture as valuable, they feel obliged to distribute what they create so it can enrich the whole culture of a region or of Poland. What emerges therefore, is a characteristic feature for ethnic creators – a sense of mission. Mission to preserve culture, promote their minorities and to educate the public.

b) The subject matter, inspiration, modifications

The result of this *mission of ethnic creativity* are the motives, its themes and inspirations. Most works of ethnic creators are based on their tradition, but the degree of motivation varies. In the creative process, the ethnic creator uses his culture, processes it and shapes. The interviews clearly show an ongoing discussion on the approach towards the tradition and the ratio of repeating and processing it, cultivation to inspire (it's about the feeling of tradition among creators and ethnic environments; science today perceives culture as a continuous process, a string of endless changes and transformations, where it is difficult to indicate a specific canon). This discussion takes a different shape, depending on the type of creativity and ethnic group. However, it is clearly visible that it is the most important issue that occupies not only the ethnic creators' minds, but also the rest of the minority communities. There are questions if the tradition should be changed, to what extent should the creator contribute personally or use ready, how the work should be adapted to the tastes of the recipient and if that doesn't impact the work too much. The creators of each of the ethnic groups struggle with these questions in different ways.

118 Lemko minority

119 Roma minority

120 Roma minority



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

When it comes to Tatars, the problem lies in the nature of the group – breaking the continuity of the tradition and lack of sources. Due to the absence of many elements of traditional culture, the creators are trying to fill this gap with new, modern inspirations:

R: What is the national costume of Polish Tatars – a nobleman's kontusz ? What Tatar dance – polonaise? We only just started creating our own dance costumes – a little bit from the Crimea, a bit from Tatarstan, because here there was no such thing¹²¹.

Songs and dances are also borrowed from the Crimean Tatars or Kazan due to lack of sufficient Polish repertoire. The same problem – lack of richer musical tradition – also applies to the Karaites. This type of culture can be called the tradition of words. The study did not include any Karaim music creators, but it is known that the Karaite secular music to a big extent was established at the beginning of the twentieth century – it is either a newly-composed, arranged, or borrowed from other cultures material¹²². Today there is a youth band, which performs songs largely borrowed or inspired by Karaim music from other parts of the world or the related people. In this way, the creators respond to the need the young people have to participate in such forms of cultivating tradition. Tatars and Karaites also make efforts to restore the lost elements of culture, using written sources, graphics or recordings.

Lemko culture survived in an incomparably greater extent, creators are therefore free to choose how much they want to stick to the traditional sounds and patterns, and to what extent will use only the elements of this culture. Among respondents, there are two types of creative approaches and both, according to the interviews, are positively received by the creative environment as well as the public, so from within of the minorities and from the outside:

R: There are many so-called folk bands, so a lot of people -this is great and positive – that a lot of young people take from this traditional folk music. This is wonderful because everything is changing, something is growing, there is something new, some music is created¹²³.

Lemko creative activities fit both the traditional folk band model and the modern folk band – what is more, Polish folk is often inspired by Eastern sounds and texts east, including Lemko.

The recipients are, on the one hand, members of the folk band called Oślawiany, and on the other a band called DaMyr. There is Krywularka on one side, and on the other the author of a modern art project called Łemkowskie Jeruzalem (Lemko Jerusalem).

The fact that some creators use only the elements of culture, raises disputes in the environment of Roma artists, especially musicians. This seems to be related to the fact that despite years of popularity of gypsy music in Poland, it is after all not well known, and the recipients are not able to distinguish the degree of authenticity of the work. Roma culture is poorly researched, non-codified, music is not written as a musical notation, so elements of mass culture mixing with the

121 Tatar minority

122 Firkavičiūtė K., *Muzyka w kulturze karaimskiej*, [w] *Karaimi*, red. B. Machul-Telus, Warsaw 2012, p. 75.

123 Lemko minority



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

tradition quickly replace ethnicity and distort the image of ethnic culture, both in the eyes of the Poles, as well as in the eyes of young Roma.

R: There are many disco-polo teams among Roma, I see it on YouTube. People laugh at them, because Roma manifest their superiority, rich clothes and their songs don't contribute to the society at all.

I: People therefore think that what is Roma is of poor quality? And this is why it's not popular?

R: Yes¹²⁴.

R: Don Wasyl is not traditional Roma music, this is disco-polo, so a reference to some areas of Polish music. Many people think it's cheesy.

I: But it somehow convinces many Poles.

R: Because people think it is real Roma culture¹²⁵.

But there are other points of view:

R: People just need it. He [Don Wasyl] is doing exactly what people need. He is right. He knows that if he performs the typical traditional music and there will be accordion, guitar, violin, and he sings ballads and gypsy romances – there won't be many recipients. That's the truth, there is no need to lie. That is why there are many new arrangements of the gypsy songs. There are new songs, very cool, but there are also the old songs that are, let's say, a hundred years old. Creating covers is like giving the song a new life¹²⁶.

The second group of artists are those who believe that adapting the music to the requirements of the audience is a natural process and a necessity when playing music is a source of income. In such situations we have an interesting relationship, when the maintenance of a single element of a tradition requires a modification of another. Making music is in fact a traditional activity of Roma, which is a value for their ethnic culture. Out of the four described minorities, only Roma retained their traditional professions. For centuries, gypsy music was played not only during campfires, but also for the Poles on various occasions. For centuries, it has been modified to satisfy the listeners.

It is interesting how Poles make use of ethnic cultural elements. This happens particularly in music, for obvious reasons, most often Lemko and Roma. Again, there is a completely different approach among members of both groups. The bands inspired by folk often use eastern music, including Lemko. However, this does not arouse indignation among minority communities, none of the surveyed creators comments on this. The Lemko culture became a part of the Polish culture or perhaps even more the culture of this part of Europe – all the inhabitants of the region, therefore, have the right to use its elements. On the other hand, a strong exclusivity inherent in the culture and customs of the Roma exclude sharing their culture with outsiders, apart from those

124 Roma minority

125 Roma minority

126 Roma minority



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

components the creators are willing and able to share on their own terms. Roma culture is full of hidden symbolism comprehensible only by its members. Using such elements by non-Roma, without understanding the nuances, faces resistance and constitutes unlawful appropriation:

R: There are Polish disco polo bands that make Roma melodies and they become some sort of hits. But it cannot be done that way, because then you lose a lot [...] A tune that has been played, sung, passed down from generation to generation for years in a particular manner, such song cannot be played faster than it should. And this is what some Polish bands do, it's a disaster [...] For me it is very sad¹²⁷.

The exclusive, separate nature of the Roma minority and the extent to which they guard their secrets is evidenced by the fact that some topics are prohibited from being revealed to the non-Roma or even members of other clans. It is also a barrier to creativity as some topics cannot be included:

R: There are taboos – about camps, past lives. It would be very interesting, but I would probably have to use five different nicknames and not say it in the first person¹²⁸.

In order not to break the rules but at the same time give some content to other members of the minority, Roma speak their own language which people from the outside don't understand. This trick is also used in journalism:

R: I'm writing an article in Polish – and at the bottom there's is my comment in Romani – only to Roma. No one will accuse me that I explain everything, some people do not have the awareness yet[...] they think that I am revealing some words, secrets. [...] Comment – for Roma, what I cannot say ,I do not want to tell them in public¹²⁹.

5. Ethnic creativity

When is creativity ethnic? Whenever it is performed by an ethnic creator? Can ethnic creativity be done by a person unrelated to the given minority, or at least not a member? There are no such cases described in this research project, as it focuses on the creative activity of members of minorities. So, is the result of the creator's activities always ethnic work? Based on the interviews it is visible that the vast majority meets this requirement, although to a different extent. There are, however, such cases where creativity goes beyond ethnic culture and enters the realm of Polish or European culture. As an example – a Romani opera singer or a Tatar poet; both admitted that they do not take up ethnic issues. On the other hand, they both admit that their national origin has an impact on their work, type of sensitivity, vibrato in his voice. These are issues that cannot be rigidly classified due to individual feelings of the creator and the reception of others.

127 Roma minority

128 Roma minority

129 Roma minority



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

a) Functions of creativity

Another important issue is the function of creative work. The question, in the context of this project, can be narrowed down to determine the functions of creativity, which are characteristic for ethnic creativity. It is in fact a whole range of functions and features which are universal and which relate to meeting the needs to create and express oneself, bringing satisfaction and joy to both the creators and the environment. It's a way of detaching from everyday life. The respondents' answers, however, show that in case of works ethnic work hierarchy, it is not a priority. Ethnic creativity has some characteristic functions:

- ◆ The function of maintaining ethnic traditions. It comes from the most frequently mentioned motivations to undertake creative activities. The creators seem to be aware that they in a time when they need to make every effort to preserve their culture, or at least some elements.
- ◆ The support of family traditions. You somewhat inherit creativity, most often craftsmanship or playing music. Such function occurs most frequently when it comes to Roma. It is also a matter of taking up traditional professions, which has a tremendous value for the preservation of culture.
- ◆ Educational function. Providing knowledge about the culture of the minority to both its members and the rest of society, is highly valued by the authors and discussed in numerous speeches. This feature seems to be the most important for the Tatars and the Karaites, as the binder for these groups is knowledge and individual relationships between members. Roma, on the other hand, educate about their culture only selectively, passing the general knowledge to a limited extent. Education is also a necessary step towards further functions of creativity – promotion and integration.
- ◆ Promotion. Thanks to the creativity, it is possible to present the ethnic group in the best way, make others interested in culture, gain sympathy. Such actions are taken to ensure harmonious functioning of the minority group within the majority. Creative activity arouses curiosity and draws attention to the value coming from small groups for the culture of the majority.
- ◆ The integration with the majority group and contributing to the dialogue. The development of ethnic creativity is the result and, at the same time, the driving force of processes that change awareness creating space for multiculturalism. Creative activities often create a possibility to meet different cultures, show differences and similarities, they indicate consistent values. It also gives an opportunity for a conflict-free discussion.
- ◆ The integration of members of their own minority, group building. Such activities create space to meet members of the minority to do something together, appreciate their own culture and consolidate shared values. This feature seems to be particularly important for small and dispersed groups such as Karaites and Tatars, but also for the Lemko because of their dispersion.
- ◆ Employment function. It is a universal function of creativity, but in the context of ethnic work, there are two interesting aspects. Firstly, work as practicing traditional professions, for example gypsy bands – profit-making is combined with maintaining family and ethnic traditions in a special way. Secondly, the statements of the respondents show a discussion on how to reconcile creativity and earn money and at the same time avoid modifying the tradition too much for the needs of the recipients. It is part of the already mentioned, further discussion on the need for duplication of the old patterns, or the possibility of free processing of ethnic culture.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

b) Reception of creativity

In the end, it is worth considering what is the perception of ethnic creativity. How the majority of the audience reacts, and, more importantly, how minorities react. All authors agree that they are very well perceived at concerts, exhibitions, meetings and on all other occasions when they interact with external recipients. Attitudes of recipients differ when creators are assessed by their own environment. In case of the Karaites, Lemkos and Tartars, the recipients positively react to any kind of creative work. The Roma, however, complain about the lack of understanding, consent or about the denial of the value of their creative activities.

R: A lot of people in the family are not interested in the activities and ask "why do you go there?". There was an exhibition of our children's work with the Voivode, the whole family gathered. The children got a 1000 PLN prize, which was paid in installments of 100 PLN. The whole family was outraged why they weren't allowed to act. No a single person from the family even bothered to lean out of the elevator to see this exhibition. [...] No one is interested in what these children are doing. Rather angry. They should already be working, have a family, because at such age they already have two or three children¹³⁰.

The best proof of different emotions caused by creativity is the discussion among the Roma about Papusza, revitalized thanks to biographical movies. There are extreme points of view, from respect and admiration for her as a person and work, to total negation of the authenticity of her poetry.

6. Conclusions

Ethnic activities must today face many new challenges associated with the rapidly changing world. Globalization, information flow, mobility of people, secular society and education, the new family model and the new role of women, changing values and the constant pressure of the mainstream culture, among others. The creators are struggling to preserve their culture – you can see it very clearly in the studies. At the same time you have to realize *that the tradition is a fixed unchanging resource, it is somehow produced again and again in different times and places*¹³¹. Similarly, identity is not a permanent form but a continuous effort undertaken by the group, in which the artists have a particular role. They also have to try to rebuild the symbols that are aligned with the ever-changing world – if the ethnic culture is to be alive and meet the needs of members of minorities. How to do that? There are probably different ways as there are different directions of the creative activity of the respondents. The needs of each group are also different and so are the groups themselves. The best example of the processes in the culture of the Karaim ethnic music and dance, which, as has been said, are a newly created part of the tradition. Why does this form meet the needs of the environment?

130 Roma minority

131 *Kultura ludowa. Teorie, praktyki, polityki*, red. B. Fatyga i R. Michalski, Warsaw 2014, p. 12.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Karina Firkavičiūtė gives the answer: *This music confirms once again, that as one of the most open part of the culture of the Karaim, it is able to intensify the search for new and different ways of expressing the Karaim identity, you might be even able to form modern trends in musical and cultural heritage by creating new symbols.*

The effort to maintain distinctive ethnic does not rest solely on the shoulders of creators, but also the rest of the group. Increasingly, the use of cultural heritage is a conscious action, that aims to, among others, internally integrate community members and consciously build internal communities. The local community, or in this case, an ethnic community, which uses its own resources, experience and traditions becomes a creator of culture for themselves. In order to obtain the desired results by both creators and ethnic communities as well as satisfy not only their needs but also add value to the Polish culture, ethnic minorities must have the support of the rest of society expressed, among others, by institutions and organizations at national and local levels.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Małgorzata Kołaczek

Contemporary Roma culture in Poland A comment on the results of field research

14 respondents took part in a survey on creative activity among the Roma including Roma artists (marked as T1-T14) of different age from different groups of Roma, with whom oral interviews, partially uncategorized, were conducted. The interview questionnaire consisted of closed-ended (close-ended) and open-ended questions, out of which the majority regarded the assessment of facts and opinions. For the purposes of this article, the collected data was verified, selected and classified, and then six problem areas were identified.

1. Creative activity and the creator's role

Both terms were understood by the majority of respondents in the same way. Creative activity according to almost all the respondents meant combining work with pleasure, passion: *Creative activity means that a person is engaged in what he or she loves, for example: drawing, painting, sculpting or being an active member of some organizations : helping in organizing events (T2)*. However, there were some discrepancies as to what is artistic creation and what is art. Some respondents claimed that artistic creation can mean anything: from hanging curtains, cooking, education of children. Art, on the contrary, is something that needs to be creative, not reconstructive and must contain a certain message, or, as one of the respondents explained: Substance. I want to go and watch art and get goose bumps – then it is art. When something appealed to me, I absorbed something and it caused excitement – it could be a word, a gesture. Making an impression and influencing the audience were key features of an artist according to some respondents. *The artist must: communicate his or her ideas, pass them on to others, so that they can continue to show, transform and expand it (T2)*. Others defined such influence as sharing what's inside you or even claimed that the basic goal of an artist is to give people pleasure. Only one respondent stressed the influence of the recipients' origin – Roma or non-Roma in promoting artistic activity. In her opinion, it is much more difficult to perform for your own people: they are more critical. Others are not so knowledgeable. *Even when one move is not right or is more fancy (fanciful?), it is treated exactly as people have imagined it. Don Wasyl dresses differently and people have a slightly different idea of him than it actually is (T1)*. Two respondents also highlighted the negative aspects of the work of the Roma – according to one of them, many artists create things that will sell, make them famous, and not what is real art. It was important to the respondents to reach out with the work of Roma to the audience, to overcome negative stereotypes through art, while maintaining the tradition of the Roma and the passion to create.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

2. Origin and creativity – inspiration and the use of elements of the culture

In terms of the second problem area, the respondents turned out to be rather unanimous: as to what is their main inspiration and what elements of the Roma culture they use in their art. Frequently listed as an inspiration were nature, surroundings, religion, tradition and the culture of Roma, especially the nomadic life. Examples of responses include:

Nature. Smells, sounds, places. We go to different places, along the way I remind myself of something, something comes to my mind, and then I memorize it, (note it down). I have little cards, which I use to create. My whole poem is written as if it was a picture. (T1)

Generally speaking, our tradition and culture are an inspiration. Personally, I am inspired by different Roma nations as they are split into different families. I try to obtain little by little from each to show something new and not to bore the viewer. And myself either. (T5)

Gypsy caravan music, around the Roma fire. I try to pass it on to children. Inspiration is the preservation of the Roma tradition, to pass it on to children and teenagers, so they can maintain these traditions as long as it's possible (T10).

Rites, customs, important people, religion, holidays, traditional music, historical events, instruments, costume, dance, decorative techniques, symbols (flag and the Roma wheel) (T9).

These few opinions clearly show that respondents rely on tradition and care about maintaining it. Language plays a major role in this task, however, it is used by only slightly more than half of the respondents. It may result from the artists' eagerness, discussed in the previous part, to change the stereotypical image and the best way in which to reach the recipients.

The influence of popular and mass as a source of inspiration were mentioned by only three, mainly young respondents. One of them indicated pop music, later rearranged to jazz, as a source of inspiration; the second stated that he combines pop culture with ethnic culture; for the third respondent, it was obvious that many Roma artists mixed styles.

3. Romani and the preservation of culture

Tradition and culture inspirations, discussed above, are directly related to the answers of respondents about what it means to be a Roma, what is Romani and how the Roma should maintain their culture. Most of the respondents declare pride in their origins, cultural achievements of their own group and values that they hold to in everyday life and artistic work, while emphasizing their relationship with their homeland – Poland. Such points of view were shared:



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

– *It is a distinction. It is also being a Pole, because if I was born here and I live here, I am a Pole and also want to be united with the Poles and not be a separate race or something. Community integration with the Poles is important. To show our [Roma] culture (festivals, concerts) in the best way (T2).*

– *Being a Roma means to have your own dignity, preserve cultural identity, language, customs. Being Roma is about being yourself. Not lying to yourself and the world that you are someone else, not pretending to be someone else. Not be ashamed of who you are. It's about being able to say "yes, I am a Roma, I'm from a group of Polish ethnic Roma or any other out there." Being a Roma, you must also comply with the conditions, what our whole culture, customs and tradition are about (T11).*

Only one respondent said that when he performs and creates, he represents the Poles, not the Roma, even though: *Here they always used to call us "You Gypsies," now they say "Rom", but I know that I am a Pole and when I go abroad for concerts, I do not represent Roma people, but the Polish nation (T3).* The same respondent, however, in all of his answers indicated the traditional Roma culture as his source of inspiration, shaping his artistic activity. Another respondent pointed out that being Roma is, above all: *Difficulty, first and foremost difficulty in life. Our city is slowly changing. We have been active for a long time, but it still is difficult. Being a Roma is a constant battle for our good name (T5).* All respondents, however, were unanimous about the fact that Roma culture should be preserved and promoted, although indicated various ways of achieving this goal. Most often they mentioned traditional forms of making people familiar with the Roma culture by organizing exhibitions, concerts, Roma days, workshops, conferences, publications, activities of Roma organizations. For many respondents it was particularly important and was indeed the main purpose of their artistic activity – it is reflected in such statements: *Every Rom needs to have self-respect. Strive to not to lose what was created by our grandfathers, fathers and continue to maintain and promote this culture among children and teenagers, our tradition. Modern life is not a barrier to be a real Gypsy. And that's why we want our children to finish school, or have higher education, but not to lose what is truly Roma (T14).*

According to another respondent, strenuous efforts to preserve the culture are a necessity because: *if we lose that, then everyone would forget about it. There would be no future, because the human culture must evolve further, pass on its achievements and traditions that survived. The same applies to the Polish tradition or any other (T2).* To achieve this goal, the respondents indicate different channels and ways of dissemination of both the Roma culture and its creativity – apart from traditional media: newspapers, radio and television, more often they rely on the Internet especially on portals and social media.

The respondents, however, emphasized they would like to be more present in the mainstream media, as many believe it could be a real breakthrough in both preserving culture and promoting the work of the Roma which is extremely difficult. The presence of Roma artists in mass media is based on stereotypes and "comfortable" images of the Roma folk culture, adapted to the tastes of the majority of recipients.

One issue raised by all respondents is of great importance – not only do they stress the need for preservation of cultural heritage of the Roma, but also the need for education, also in the formal education system, of other generations of Roma people.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

4. Reception and social dialogue through creativity

The most discordant opinions are related to one of the elements of the fourth problem area – how the work of artists of Roma and Roma culture is perceived by the majority of the society. Many respondents said that interest in Roma culture is still increasing, especially when it comes to music – this has been reflected in the below opinions:

There is a lot of interest. People are hungry for this. The concert halls are always full. There are a lot of people who grew up on this music (T3).

Certainly performances are a form of communication. Through our music – the more it is received, the more we are tolerated. I met thousands of people who did not know the Gypsies, and through our music they fell in love with us (T11).

Others, however, that the interest is still too small:

Not in Poland. In other countries more, because there are more Roma (eg. in Slovakia) (T3)

We try to make our culture known. There aren't many publications. It always comes down to who would finance it. I don't know whether it is worth emphasizing that we are a minority, because then they say that it's easier for us. The newspapers write that a Rom did something and people think that it's "impossible" (T1).

One of the respondents also raised the question of the authenticity of the Roma culture, stating that the creation and execution of insincere and false art really harms the image of the Roma, even if the art is very popular among the majority of the society. In addition, most of the respondents stated that the positive reception of the Roma culture, as well as the development of Roma artists, is damaged by a high level of deep-rooted prejudices and stereotypes:

The society is divided. You cannot impose anything on anyone, everyone has his or her own taste, but I don't think you could hate anybody for it. And yet there is such a group of people who see, hear, and immediately insults (if see, hear – should it be insult?). It shouldn't be like this (T5).

5. Commercial aspect of creative activity

When asked about the possibility of earning a living from artistic activities and the perception of this way of getting income, the majority of respondents (apart from three) stated that has no income from such work and is forced to work in other professions. They are, however, convinced that you can earn on art and the Roma has been doing that for centuries. What is more, both those who depend on music, as well as those who treat it as hobby, claimed that it is an honest way to earn money, it's a profession like any other. Earning on the music does not equal, however,



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

according to some respondents, to so-called “slipshod” work or “commercialism” because: *Sir, true art can never be commercialized. But today the market demands are such that ... The market took the easy way out, it's all about simplifying(T11). One of the respondents in this context spoke negatively about one of the leading Roma music festivals in Poland: The festival in Ciechocinek is focused only on income, it's all about getting money for playback. Anyone can pay to play there. There are a lot of people substituted on stage (T2).*

In terms of treatment the artistic activity as a source of income, it is clear among the respondents that many artists of Roma origin treat it as a hobby and passion and they do it for free.

6. Financial support organizations and creative environments

Last analyzed problem area caused the most negative emotions on among respondents. The relatively positive experience of some of them concerned only scholarship programs for talented Roma people, funded by the Ministry of Administration and Digitization, as well as the cooperation with local governments. They resulted in the following opinions of respondents:

For example, there is a scholarship program for talented Roma, I took part in it 6 times. Now I can't because I'm an adult. There have always been a lot of Roma children and teenagers, and they really always had something to show when it comes to talent, music, singing, even the humanities. It's all worth showing, because then there is a chance to promote on a bigger scale and show what a Rom can do it (T2).

If I'm not mistaken, it's the Ministry of Administration and Digitization, to whom we address requests and grants for costumes, because it's very expensive, and thanks to that, we can perform (T5).

However, the majority of respondents expressed skepticism about both financial means of support, as well as the attitude of people representing the institutions that provide this support:

There is no money for creative materials. There is no place where you can organize an exhibition. It would be useful to have someone who could push this work. And also grants (T4).

We get the money to wipe the tears away. We cannot have a larger scene, we don't have money to purchase costumes or have the sound system we want. And the administration offer takes the easy way out, just to tick off that such an event took place and that's it.

If there was more interest from the administration, the Ministry of Culture, and we would be getting some kind of money to cultivate the Roma youth and all what is still left, I'm sure it would be much easier (T14).

With reference to the organization of creative environments proved to be the one on which most respondents differed in their views. Most of the respondents have not been interested in the possibility of becoming a member of an association, others were against them, though for different reasons. One of the respondents stated that such institutions lead to conformism in art and do not support individuals.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Another spoke extremely negatively about such institutions, claiming that it is *theft, simply theft* (T3), and he would not want anything from such organizations, if they were Roma organizations. Two other respondents, on the contrary, recognized the potential and possible benefits from such institutions, due to greater efficiency in the joint forces because: it is easier to organize and exhibition. *We all support each other. The more people who want to show something, the easier it is. It's easier than doing that by yourself* (T4). *It's also a chance for artists with limited financial means, because: not everyone can have the equipment at home that we have here. Here we have the equipment and we can learn* (T9). Only one respondent expressed the opinion that the origin should not matter in the promotion of artistic activity.

The answers to the last analyzed area show preferences among Roma creators for independent action rather than association and activity in organizations, as well as large financial needs for artists working locally and not making money from creative activities. Most respondents are also of the same opinion that Roma art and creativity should be supported as ethnic art and artists – as representatives of the minority culture.

7. Instead of a summary

The results of the qualitative research analyzed in this article – certainly pioneering – showed an extremely interesting and demanding state which should continue through examination of creative activities of the Roma minority, as well as the attitude of Roma artists and creators to their own culture, their inspiration, the mission in action, the barriers hindering the development and finally cooperation with the public and the majority of members of their own group. Each of the separate areas could serve as a separate subject of interdisciplinary research, especially considering the huge impact, or rather – the potential impact of Roma culture and creativity on their perception of the Polish and European societies. The creative activity of Roma is still considered a hobby or passion among the majority of respondents, rather than a profession, however, carries a certain sense of mission for the creators of Roma origin – both in terms of preservation of cultural heritage and traditions of Roma groups, and the use of cultural elements to approach and to improve mutual understanding of the members of the society. As in other European countries, especially in our region, creative activity of the Roma minority is linked largely to the activities of non-governmental Roma organizations, whose experienced leaders know that the promotion of Roma art and artists is the most accepted and most effective way to attempt to undermine the dominant negative image of the Roma community. It is also a way of changing the way of how the Roma can be shown in the public discourse in a positive light, and not as notorious, already objectified, “Roma problem”.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Aleksandra Synowiec

Contemporary Lemko artistic output Commentary on field research

1. Creator, performer, devotee – a picture of the artist in the light of interviews

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the content, meaning and function of creativity in the environment of an ethnic minority, on the basis of research material collected through individual interviews conducted among respondents of Lemko origin. In the analysis, reference is also made to the data obtained using questionnaires and interviews carried out in the course of the same project.

In the course of field research with artists of Lemko origin 74 questionnaire-interviews were conducted as well as 10 interviews (L1-L10). Those interviewed represent different areas of artistic output, with music (singing, dancing, playing instruments) and cultural activism (organisational -associational activity) being the dominant forces. Six respondents develop their interest in music as members of ethnic song and dance groups — recreating traditional songs and melodies as well as creating new compositions inspired by the traditional music of Lemko (thirteen tracks .. completely new — new lyrics, new music (L4). The interviewees are often involved in several different activities — e.g. combining membership in a band with cultural activism or arts with cultural activism. The activity of the interviewees focused on the preservation of tradition and culture is an important context for contemporary discussion on ethnicity and the role played by the elites in the support and (re)construction of identity¹³². As pointed out by one of the animators, action on behalf of culture is supposed to stimulate it, to show that this culture is *still developing, that it is alive and authentic, and not only open-air museum*. (L7)

Analysis of the interviews reveals a discrepancy between the definition of creator and artistic output adopted by the authors of the project and the definition of artistic output given by the interviewees. The respondents perceive artistic output as an activity that results in the creation of something new: *the creator is a producer of cultural goods*. (L9) What can be considered creative is determined by the criterion of originality and innovation — If something is an original piece of work like music, arrangement, an original idea for a song ... or text, well, it is some kind of creativity. (L7) The interviewees can be seen to draw a clear boundary between what is, in their opinion, creative and what reconstructive:

132 Głowacka-Grajper M., *Mniejszościowe grupy etniczne w systemie szkolnictwa w Polsce. Przekaz kulturowy a więź etniczna*, Warszawa 2009, 58.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

There is (...) creative activity and there is reconstruction. If someone is just reconstructing, he is not a creator, but just a plain impersonator who takes a song, plays it the same way it was. (L7)

I don't develop the songs, I am rather imitative, that's my role. Not creative, I don't develop anything. I just play what I'm supposed to. (L3)

Moreover, recognition of creative output in the context of creative endeavours is a cause of embarrassment among the respondents assigned to the category of artists. Confusion also occurred among the interviewees who were asked to respond to the questionnaire. The difficulty in obtaining a positive response from many respondents to the declaration I'm a creative artist/I consider myself a creative artist stems from the interpretation of this concept in terms of a particular kind of activity. *The creative artist is definitely someone who is a little different from the common man, with a different personality (...) who certainly has more imagination and can come up with stuff, create. (L1)* Recalling Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz:

Among creative artists there are those whose works are not only new, but are also a sign of special abilities, tension, cognitive power, talent, genius. Cognitive power used to produce new things is a measure of creativity that is no less than the question of its novelty. It really is the second measure of creativity, next to novelty¹³³.

The demarcation of a broad framework defining creative endeavours — as a material and symbolic manifestation of the functioning of community values — reveals a number of contexts and levels of creativity, from everyday, to amateur and ending with mastery¹³⁴.

Creativity is primarily active. Quoting one of the interviewees: *[creative activity] is an active participation in the reality that we want to change, transform, as well as a means of expressing ourselves in accordance with our worldview, with its internal reality, with its sense of aesthetics and forms, which will also serve others (...). (L10)*

2. Content, inspiration and the reception of creativity

The first observation arising from an analysis of the interviews is the strong relationship between ethnic consciousness and the nature of creativity. Ethnic culture is a source of inspiration and content generated by the interviewees. It is also worth noting that for three-quarters of all respondents who agreed to answer the questionnaire, an awareness of their roots was very important for the profile of their creativity. Ethnic identity is often a factor determining the form of creativity. *It somehow affects everyone, but also at any time this awareness might change, transform into something new, yet it is always there as a foundation — this ground where a person comes from. (L9).* Creativity is an important platform that facilitates the functioning of ethnic minorities; firstly, is a

133 Tatarkiewicz W., *Dzieje sześciu pojęć*, Warszawa 1975, p. 304.

134 Szmidt K.J., *Pedagogika twórczości*, Sopot 2013, p.73-76.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

very important vehicle for the content of ethnic culture while, secondly, it allows ties to be created or consolidated¹³⁵. The activities undertaken by the majority of the interviewees have an ethnic nature or show such signs:

In our group we cultivate the traditions of our ancestors and try to play the songs that they sung or their dances. (L1)

I grew up in this culture and I remember it from my childhood. (...). Our group is not so very traditional or authentic, and we do not just copy old stuff, because it seems to me that it is not always possible to reproduce something that was made many years ago. (...) You can not imitate that generation, our grandfathers, grandmothers who just sang how they felt. (L2)

Ethnic Culture — as noted by one of the respondents — a breeding ground for creative activity. Nevertheless, the respondents relate to their roots in different ways: some of them try to play traditional songs and sounds to preserve them for future generations, while others are inspired by the culture of the Lemko, yet create their own songs without the context of ethnic form. It is interesting how the interviewees perceive Lemko culture and their role as communicators of cultural content. In the interviews, two approaches can be observed: the former reconstructs and maintains the characteristics of Lemko culture as the heritage of the ethnic group, while the second transforms the elements of ethnic culture and reshapes it. The purpose of this second approach is to develop the ethnic culture: *if there are no such artists, there will be no such culture. This culture will be just a souvenir shop. (L7)*. Lemko creative output manifests both the continuation of folk culture, as well as its evolution resulting from the transformation of the village as well as social and professional structure¹³⁶.

How to understand the Lemko tradition or folk culture? As noted by one of the interviewees: *in terms of the music we have a problem that it is not about the fact that we have songs that exist that sometime ago someone wrote or passed on and so we know them, but because I am the age that I am and we do not have musical traditions. Here is the problem, that there are no typical folk musicians, that these traditions were not passed on and what we do is somehow stylised. This is our idea about the music. (L3)*

In the analysis of the cultural content reconstructed or produced by the Lemko artists, there are also two important aspects regarding the deliberations on folk culture (the culture of rural and regional communities, including Lemko culture). The first is *folklorism* — i.e. the use of elements of folk culture in contexts other than the original ones¹³⁷. *Folklorism* means the extraction of elements of folk culture that may be attractive to consumers, interpreting and portraying them in an artificial situation, —for example, a festival¹³⁸. The second Wojciech Burszta defined as *postfolklorism*, which is the next level of arranging the contents of folklore, with maximum simplification of

135 Głowacka-Grajper M., *Mniejszości...*, p. 63.

136 Burszta W.J., *Etnografia ludowości*, [in:] *Kultura ludowa: teorie, praktyki, polityki*, ed. B. Fatyga i R. Michalski, Warszawa 2014, p. 109.

137 Burszta J., *Folklorizm* [in:] *Słownik etnologiczny. Terminy ogólne*, Warszawa 1987.

138 Burszta W.J., *Od folkloru lokalnego do "postfolklorizmu" narodowego*, [in:] *"Polska Sztuka Ludowa – Konteksty"* 1989 vol. 43 from 3, p. 158.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

cultural transmission¹³⁹. The reinterpretation of folk tradition — and, therefore, *folklorism* according to the definition of Józef Burszta — prevents, in the interviewees' opinion, the ossification of Lemko culture.

Folk culture, although mostly positively perceived by the respondents, also has some negative connotations: *Folk art is just about dead. This is a closed topic. (...) Some folk stuff can be just played, not created. But this is not it. This is all secondary. (L 6)* On the other hand modifying some elements of ethnic culture and disseminating them in new forms and styles can widen the audience: *we do not come up with new texts, but just try to keep the original words based on the arrangement of old texts to arouse curiosity and make them attractive for all age groups. (L 5)*. The approach to the tradition varies depending on the field of creativity: the musicians place a great of importance on the revival of tradition: *there are a lot of so-called folk groups, so a lot of people are like, this is cool, this is positive that a lot of mainly young people draw inspiration from traditional folk music. This is cool because everything changes, something develops, something new, some music is created. (L2)*.

The inspirations drawn from the old melodies and songs, the references taken from folk culture form a natural research base for musicians and authors of music. In the case of creative activity that diverges from folklore, the question arises how to define ethnic art. One of the respondents offers this apt opinion: *because in general everyone forgot, it doesn't occur to the Lemko either, (...), that among them are people who paint, for example, because most often this culture is identified with some folklore, music. Visual arts are marginalised, and if they do already exist somewhere in our consciousness, people expect some Orthodox churches in a painted landscape or a Lemko woman ploughing a field ... (L 9)*. In other words, artists of ethnic origin are expected to produce work which bear ethnic hallmarks — in this case, folk symbols. This is a very interesting issue that requires further research.

The material collected in the course of the project does not allow for an adequate description of this matter. The study included only those who represent the creative environment of ethnic minorities. Is an ethnic artist a person who identifies with a particular ethnic minority or is the binding criterion the ethnic profile of the artistic output? The vast majority of interviewees in these studies were in the latter category. The nature of the creative endeavours of the respondents largely reflected the widespread idea of the culture of the minority — i.e. the Lemko are identified with music and song, the Roma with song and dance, the Tatars with the performance of dance, the Karaites with academia and language researchers. It is worth referring to the data of a quantitative nature that was obtained in the studies: the most frequently mentioned area of creativity in the Lemko and Roma groups was music with 45 responses among 74 Lemko respondents and 25 out of 44 people of Roma origin. The second, a clearly visible area of creative activity was ethnic dancing indicated by 13 out of 22 Tatar, 20 of the 74 Lemko and 20 of the 44 Roma respondents. Most of the respondents use or refer in their work to the tradition and culture of their particular ethnic group. Nevertheless, some of the interviewees operate in areas beyond the folk tradition, such as in graphics, painting, sculpture, poetry, and draw inspiration from folklore and there are those whose inspirations are not connected with it. It should be noted, however, that the artists

139 Burszta W.J., *Od folkloru lokalnego do "postfolklorizmu" narodowego*, [in:] *Polska Sztuka Ludowa – Konteksty* 1989 vol. 43 from 3, p. 158.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

of ethnic origin who do not follow the ethnic path — that is, their roots are not manifested in their works — are involved in sphere of national culture, as in the case of works by people such as Jerzy Nowosielski. *With Nikifor it is like that too, the same with Andy Warhol there is a similar history, a majority culture assimilates such [an artist], and in the case of Tarasewicz who says he is a Belarusian? Rather he does himself. But in the public arena he operates as an outstanding Polish artist.* (L 9) Remembering the roots of recognised artists — although perhaps irrelevant for the artists themselves — is, in the opinion of the interviewees, very important from the perspective of the group ethos.

The reception of artistic work that emerges from the interviews, among the Lemko as well as outside this group, is very positive, sometimes even enthusiastic. Interest in concerts, CDs, performances is very high — as all the interviewees mentioned. It is worth paying attention to two aspects of creativity: the first is connected with aesthetics (artistic) and the second with identity. For the respondents, what is important is the quality of the results: *it is about quality. (...). We do not do things in between. (...). We try to make sure there are no half measures, and maybe it will work out somehow or maybe not (...) yhave to work hard to build a brand and you cannot spoil this brand in any way.* (L7). Lemko artistic work increasingly gains recognition — one of the reasons is the favourable atmosphere and fashion for folklore and ethnic music. The second is the presence of Polish pop bands, whose members willingly and openly talk about their Lemko and Ukrainian roots (LemOn, Enej). An important role in the dissemination of their work is played by Lemko Internet radio stations (Radio-Lemko.pl and Lem.fm) that present Lemko ethnic music.

An important aspect of the work is undoubtedly its identity dimension. *Lemko groups sing in the Lemko language. They do not sing in Ukrainian, although folk songs are different, but there do not sing in Polish, only Lemko.* (L7). Apart from the fact that the Lemko creative output resonates with many consumers, it can also act as a kind of catalyst: *they like it very much and someone out there may discover their roots.* (L 4) The greater sensitivity shown by society towards minority cultures is also noticeable: *it seems to me that through the openness of society, doors have opened up for us (...) and the other thing is the worldview of the people. We have a lot of Polish friends who are really interested and sing in the Lemko language* (L 4). Ethnicity is attractive to consumers; as noted by Wojciech Burszta, this is one of the constituent elements of contemporary culture:

the ubiquitous call to “rejoice” at multiculturalism as a desirable commodity that enriches the lives of the people who have had the opportunity to experience contact with otherness¹⁴⁰.

On the fashion for multiculturalism the respondents themselves say: *it simply became fashionable along with the entry into Europe, opening up to the world, catching a glimpse of such multicultural countries. Now it is much easier (...) and some barriers have simple been lifted* (L 6). In the opinion of one of the interviewees, Lemko art is attractive, because it shows otherness: *it makes it clear that in Poland there are ethnic minorities, and that they cultivate their traditions* (L 1). Such artistic output, in the respondents' opinion, is an attractive message serving not only aesthetic experience, but above all the transfer of knowledge about oneself.

140 Burszta W.J., *Wielokulturowość – nowy globalny folklorizm*, [in:] *Kiczosfery współczesności*, ed. W. Burszta, A. Sekuła, Warszawa 2008, p. 58.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

3. The role and function of artistic work

The statements include three main contexts in which the interviewees perceive artistic work. Firstly, art preserves tradition and culture. The respondents indicated the need to save cultural heritage, to cultivate their individuality, to remember their roots. *I think all the time we need to remind ourselves and this is what our role is, I think. We ourselves need to be remember it, to take care of it, cherish it. (L2)*

Secondly, art plays an educational role — here creative activities are focused more on the outside to bridge the gap between the Lemko culture and the outside world and set it against the backdrop of other types of creativity First of all, you have to show that this is not a bad thing, that it is part of a wider culture, like hip-hop music, or any other, and contemporary or modern dance, so that it has some place in culture (L2). A positive reception among the public, who had no previous knowledge of the Lemko minority, is seen by the interviewees as a valuable and important experience (L 5), and the role of the artist is to educate the public. (L 9) Art also influences the positive image of the group — creativity work can help to depict the Lemko minority in a way that avoids looking through the prism of expulsion. Artistic endeavour helps to counteract the negative image of the Lemko and shows that: *we continue to function, live, sing, dance, play, go to weddings, funerals and so on, that we are normal people. (L2)*

Thirdly, artistic work serves to build an intercultural dialogue. *Culture is the best language for contact between people. (L 6)* Culture brings us together by creating a space for meeting, initiating contact, stimulating curiosity and admiration for the achievements of others. Nothing unites like culture (...). *Around the bonfire we all stand next to each other — Lemko, Catholics, Greek Catholics, Orthodox, Ukrainians and sing a song (...). And this culture is timeless. (L 4)* Artistic and cultural endeavour lets you see and gain an insight into much more, thereby shaping an attitude of respect for others, and *this is our great wealth. (L 6)* *Art is always a dialogue. (L 10)* The economic function of creativity is seen by the interviewees as secondary — artistic endeavour is not in these cases a source of income and requires significant investment.

4. Instead of a summary — *creativity, and the identity of the Lemko*

Ethnic art primarily fulfils social functions — such an assertion arises in the light of the analysis of the interviews with Lemko artists. There is no doubt that on an individual level creativity is also important for the interviewees: it allows them to express themselves and delivers aesthetic experiences as well as joy. However, the most important aspect is what occurs collectively — the preservation of culture and tradition. Ethnic identity is a very important factor in the crystallisation process for creative interests while the awareness of one's roots as well as the desire to continue the family tradition determines the nature and subject matter of the artistic output. Art — both the variety that is strongly rooted in folklore, as well as that which is stylised — is



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

aimed at protecting cultural heritage, passing it on to the next generation and educating the public. Artists, although they often avoid defining themselves as this, are somehow in possession of the Lemko cultural legacy and are responsible for its further transmission. To this end, they use elements of ethnic culture, subjecting them to a new arrangement and stylisation that may be attractive for a contemporary audience. As a result of their actions, they contribute to the dissemination of Lemko art among consumers outside the minority circle, thereby entering the sphere of Polish culture.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Karolina Radłowska

Contemporary Tatar culture in Poland Commentary on the results of field research

1. The problems of research on the Tatar community in Poland

The analysis of contemporary Tatar creative output is no easy thing. This is confirmed by the research material obtained in the course of the project, whose results should be approached with caution. The reasons for this state of affairs are to be found in the problems faced by those involved in researching this ethnic group. The major issue was the insufficient time available to really get to know the community. Ethnic communities are dynamic groups, prone to constant transformation, and a longer stay within the group would have shown the problems that it faces. Currently, one of the factors that shapes these changes is the internal religious crisis that led to the division of the group into two opposing camps¹⁴¹.

Another element significantly influencing the transformation of the identity of the group is a social climate associated with the phenomenon of Islamophobia. Terrorist attacks and the refugee crisis have significantly altered the public's perception of Muslims. This fact forced the Tatars take steps to reduce the tension between their community and the dominant majority. This is confirmed by their responses to the question concerning the function of their own creative output, where 'maintaining one's own identity' was the number one reason while in second place they chose: *creating a positive image of ethnic groups, stereotypes, establishing a dialogue between the Tatars and the rest of the world*.

One way to deal with their own religious distinctiveness is to emphasise the group's own ethnic identity, built on the basis of elements drawn from the culture and traditions of other Tatar peoples. This method of empowering their own culture is also aimed at highlighting their own identity in a way that is both attractive to those on the outside as well as its younger generation.

Another factor hindering research among Polish Tatars is the reluctance felt by the members of the group due to over-exploitation. This is the result of the major ongoing outside interest in the community, as well as the fear that false information may be presented regarding their life.

141 During the congress of the Muslim Religious Association, which took place in November 2012, the majority of the delegates decided to separate the positions of chairman of the Supreme Religious College from the functions of the mufti. This incident initiated the split that continues today in the MZR, thus leading to a split within the Tatar community.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

2. The creative output of the Tatars in Poland today

Most of the respondents who asked about the subject of their own work mentioned Tatar traditions and culture. Further questions revealed that under these banners, the respondents understood first and foremost the activities of the band *Buńczuk* and *Tatar cuisine*. Interestingly, stating that elements of tradition and culture are used in their works, the respondents primarily indicated: *customs, religious rites, holidays, traditional music, dance and costume, tools and techniques of decoration and crafts*. Certainly these answers deserve some deeper examination to determine what the respondents meant specifically. Another issue that may raise some doubts were the responses concerning their own language. Their rejection of the importance of this factor does not go hand in hand with the Tatar language learning project that has been in operation for several years. From the responses received it can be seen, however, that the direction of the contemporary creative activities is largely dictated by the market. This commercialisation of Tatar culture is without a doubt one of its characteristic features. In the remainder of this work, I shall attempt to delve deeper into the issues signalled here.

2.1. Buńczuk (i)

One of the creative areas most frequently mentioned by the group is music and dance. They are currently represented by two song and dance formations, as a result of an internal split: *Tatarski Zespół Dziecięco – Młodzieżowy "Buńczuk"* and *Tatarski Zespół Taneczno-Wokalny "Buńczuk"*, both of whom aspire to be the full-fledged heir to the band *Buńczuk* founded in 1999. The group was formed on the wave of political and social transformation, as a result of the need to catch up with other ethnic communities with their own folklore¹⁴², as well as to *promote Tartar culture, and especially make young people aware of the role of tradition in maintaining ethnic identity*¹⁴³. The need to form a band to perform works taken from the Tatar or oriental repertoire had already been put forward by Tatar leaders earlier¹⁴⁴. It is worth mentioning that the amateur artistic movement was already known to the Tartars in the interwar years. However, their repertoire contained almost exclusively Polish songs and folk dances¹⁴⁵. Credit for the creation of a new band with a specific convention should be given to Halina Szahidewicz, thanks to whom the repertoire of the new formation included the folklore of the Crimean Tatars connected with Polish poetry and Tatar poets, and regional poets praising the beauty of the Podlasie region. In a very short time, the band became the flagship of this ethnic group, representing them at home and abroad, and even today they are the star of the show at both Tatar and ethnic events. It is of particular interest that the band draws inspiration from the folklore of the Tatar peoples. As Katarzyna Warmińska writes: *"Buńczuk" served as an example of the initiatives aimed at or resulting in the creation of tradition by the Tatar community. This approach allows ethnicity to be looked at as a derivative cultural policy pursued by the elite. Even if those involved are aware that they "invent" or create their traditions from*

142 K. Warmińska, *Refleksje nad tatarską kulturą*, [in:] "Sokólskie spotkania z Tatarszczyzną", oprac. J. Konopacki, Sokółka 2008, p. 9.

143 M. Łyszczarz, *Młode pokolenie polskich Tatarów. Studium przemian generacyjnych młodzieży w kontekście religijności muzulmańskiej oraz tożsamości etnicznej*, Olsztyn-Białystok 2013, p. 163.

144 M. Konopacki, *Wspólnota utraconych szans?* "Życie Tatarskie" nr 1/1998, p. 13-14.

145 A. Miśkiewicz, *Młodzieżowy Buńczuk*, „Białostocka Gazeta Współczesna”, Nr 159, dated 17-19. VIII 2001, p. VIII.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

scratch, at the same with the help of different interpretative measures their actions can be defined as: rebirth, revival, reminder, which implies that a cultural resource does in fact exist...¹⁴⁶.

As a result of the internal division of the ethnic group, as previously mentioned, there was also division within the band too. Each of the resulting formations today feel that they are the heir to the real *Buńczuk* while retaining the right to use the name. Both bands continue to go back to the repertoire and costumes of Tatars from the Crimea, Bashkortostan and Tatarstan. The aim of all of this, besides the need to enrich their own cultural resources, is the intensifying recourse to the ethnic bonds that link the group with their Tatar compatriots. Until recently, the important function of *Buńczuk* was to integrate. Two decades ago, it focused virtually all young Tatar people. Currently, the number of participants declines from one year to the next. Accordingly, an interesting phenomenon can be observed — the group is opening up to people from outside of their community, which demonstrates its inclusiveness.

2.2. Tatar cuisine

Tatar cuisine, as pointed out by the respondents, is an important element of identity, that integrates and highlights the distinct autonomy of the ethno-cultural communities studied. According to Barbara Pawlica-Miśkiewicz, co-author of the book *Przysmaki z Jurty. Tradycyjne przepisy kuchni tatarskiej* (Yurt treats. Traditional Tatar recipes)¹⁴⁷, this is due to the fact that the group failed to hand down certain elements to successive generations such as songs, dance, dress or language¹⁴⁸. Modern Tatar culinary culture is a synthesis of Tatar traditions, a cuisine based on religious models and local Christian customs. *Historically, the Tatars, as a nomadic people, had a unique menu forced upon them by their lifestyle. They bred horses and sheep and the meat of these animals formed the basis of their diet. The horse provided them with tasty meat and the mare's milk was the raw material for the preparation of kumiss (...). A settled life and contact with cultures from other nations introduced more vegetables to Tatar cuisine and swapped horse meat for mutton or beef¹⁴⁹.* As noted by an eminent scholar of the Tatar culture of the interwar period — Stanisław Krychinski — in this period, the group's culinary autonomy was confined almost exclusively to holiday feasts, while their daily food did not differ from the eating habits of their Polish and Belarusian neighbours, except perhaps for their relatively large intake of lamb and goose¹⁵⁰. It is also known that the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars were fans of special dishes of meat and dough, which are a combination of different kinds of meat with onion and other vegetables and spices combined with dough¹⁵¹. Among such food, *kalduny* should be mentioned first of all (boiled dumplings stuffed with raw, hand-chopped meat), *bielusz*, (raw meat wrapped in dough), *pierekaczewnik* (which is a kind of multi-layered pastry stuffed with meat) and *cybulniki* (small baked dumplings stuffed with beef, mutton or goose with the addition of chopped onion). In addition to these dishes, sweets dishes should be mentioned such as sweet buns, *halve* or *dzajma*. The first, a few decades ago, were an integral part of *sadogi*, that is, the offering shared with fellow believers during major religious and

146 K. Warمیńska, *Refleksje...*, p. 10.

147 K. Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak, B. Pawlic-Miśkiewicz, *Przysmaki z Jurty. Tradycyjne przepisy kuchni tatarskiej*, Białystok 2012.

148 Ibidem p. 18.

149 Ibidem, p. 13.

150 S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno – etnograficznej*, "Rocznik Tatarski", vol. III./ 1938, p. 166-167.

151 A. Woronowicz, *Tatarska kuchnia narodowa*, „Życie Tatarskie” nr 1/ 1936, p. 13.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

family celebrations. Halva — thin slices made from honey, flour and butter — and *dżajma*, which is a kind of thin wafer fried in butter, are an indispensable element of burial customs. The collective nature of Tatar dishes is celebrated today mainly during religious festivals and family rituals. It is hard to imagine Tatar weddings without *kalduny*, the most important religious holidays without *pierekaczewnik*, or the feast of *Ashura* without compote of dried fruits.

Upholding the tradition associated with the preparation of Tatar dishes for a very long time took place exclusively through intergenerational transmission, and as many respondents emphasised, this knowledge did not spread beyond Tartar homes. A milestone in the popularisation of Tartar cuisine turned out to be when Dżanettę Bogdanowicz established an agrotourism company in Kruszyniany in 2003 called *Tatarska Jurta*. The owner succeeded in promoting a wide range of Tatar dishes both through the activities of her own establishment as well as through the organisation of outdoor cultural events aimed at a wide audience. Thanks to Dżanettę Bogdanowicz, Tartar cuisine became an integral part of cultural tourism in the region. It is hard to imagine today a trip to Bohonik or Kruszyniany without visiting *Dom Pielgrzyma* or *Tatarska Jurta*. In addition, Tatar cuisine has become an integral part of outdoor events such as festivals and fairs. It is worth noting that today it has spread nationwide, far beyond the region of Podlaskie. An interesting phenomenon is the presence of stalls offering Tatar cuisine at Christmas markets. Not all producers of Tatar specialties have their own premises, because some of them treat outdoor events as their main source of income. Tatar dishes are presented today in Tatar magazines and national culinary periodicals, television programs, or web sites. In 2012 the previously mentioned *Yurt treats. Traditional Tatar* recipes was published and is also available in a digital version. Due to the great interest in Tatar cuisine, it is still updated and expanded with new dishes inspired by the traditions of the Tatar peoples. These activities, beyond their commercial dimension, constitute a kind of strategy to emphasise the connections of the group with Tatar nations.

3. Literatura

Until recently, an important activity of the Tatars was religious manuscript literature. This kind of writing, functioning in this kind of literature as well as *kitabowe writing*, includes¹⁵²: the manuscript of the Koran, *tafsir*, *kitab* and halal and other ledgers such as the *tajwid*, *sufra*, dictionaries and amulets and tablets¹⁵³. The true phenomenon of this literature is expressed in its multilingualism: these books are written in the Arabic script using local languages (Belarusian and Polish). According to Czesław Łapicz, this protected the group against total assimilation while allowing them to maintain a religious identity in a different cultural environment than the one in which they lived¹⁵⁴. The production of the above-mentioned books and talismans was undertaken by copyists using know-how handed down from generation to generation. One of the last copyists

152 From the most representative of this type of books – kitab.

153 A. Drozd, *Piśmiennictwo Tatarów polsko-litewskich (XIV XX c.). Zarys problematyki*, [in:] A. Drozd, M. M. Dziekan, T. Majda, *Piśmiennictwo i muhiry Tatarów polsko-litewskich. Katalog zabytków tatarskich*, vol. III, Warszawa 2000, p. 12.

154 C. Łapicz, *Z problematyki badawczej piśmiennictwa Tatarów białostockich*, "Studia Językowe z Białostocczyzny", Warszawa 1989, p. 162; C. Łapicz, *Warstwy językowe w piśmiennictwie religijnym Tatów litewsko-polskich*, [in:] Miedzy Wschodem a Zachodem, part. IV. *Zjawiska językowe na pograniczu polsko-ruskim*, J. Bartmiński, M. Lesiów, (ed.) Dzieje Lubelszczyzny vol. VI, Lublin 1992, p. 323



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

died in 2015 — *Imam* Mustafa Stefan Jasinski. Today, an important area of the group's literary activity is poetry. According to Grzegorz Czerwiński, it is surprising that such a small ethnic group was able to produce so many writers and poets¹⁵⁵. The most eminent artists-writers of the interwar period include: the poet Stanisław Krychowski, essayists Leon and Olgierd Kryczyński, Ali Ismail Woronowicz, Stefan Tuhan-Baranowski and an author who wrote in a style close to travel reportage — Jakub Szynkiewicz. Today, the dominant literary genre of the Polish Tatars is poetry. Its most prominent representatives include Selim Chazbijewicz and Musa Czachorowski. Michael Łyszczarz, while making a contemporary analysis of the poetic works of the Tatars, said that it is an *interesting example of the very intensive socio-cultural activity undertaken by this small ethnic and religious community over the last several years*¹⁵⁶. That specific meaning given to literary works by a group, according to the researcher, stems from the *deep-rooted sense of responsibility to hand down the tradition and legacy of the ancestors that is felt among the representatives of the Tatar intelligentsia*¹⁵⁷.

4. The Tatar language or a language for the Tatars?

Both in scientific discourse and in popular consciousness, language is projected as one of the basic criteria for identifying ethnic groups and also as the basis for their existence. As Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska noted, even in situations where a minority does not use it as a means of communication, it often takes on an important function in the form of an external symbol, used as a sign of identity¹⁵⁸. This fact largely explains the activities undertaken by the Tatar community aimed at recovering the language of their ancestors. The news of a grant awarded in 2012 by the Ministry of Administration and Digitisation for learning the Tatar language was met with surprise, even in the Tatar community itself. Given that the Tatars lost their language in the sixteenth century, now preserved only in the vestigial form of names, or religious terminology¹⁵⁹, the decision to return to the old language seemed controversial. The initiator of the idea was the *Union of Polish Tatars* — a continuation of the pre-war *Cultural and Educational Association of Polish Tatars* — an organisation that promotes the culture of the Tatar community. Despite little interest on the part of the Tatars themselves, the Tatar language learning program continues and the ethnic leaders emphasise that among those involved today are people from outside their own group. As shown in the responses to our survey, the respondents do not present a clear relation to the Tatar language. In-depth interviews on the subject conducted by myself revealed two opposing positions in relation to this issue: supporters of its teaching and opponents of this idea. The first treat language as a matter of prestige reducing the sense of backwardness, while others point to the groundlessness of activities based neither on historical facts nor the needs of the group. It seems that this duality is grounded in the heterogeneous model of identity split between those

155 *Podróż do serca islamu. Antologia międzywojennego reportażu polskich Tatarów*, introduction, selection and development G. Czerwiński, Białystok 2014, p. 22.

156 M. Łyszczarz, *Spółczesny wymiar współczesnej poezji polskich Tatarów*, [in:] *Estetyczne aspekty literatury polskich białoruskich i litewskich Tatarów (od XVI do XXI w.)*, ed. G. Czerwiński, A. Konopacki, Białystok 2015, p. 201.

157 *Ibidem*.

158 N. Dołowy – Rybińska, *Języki i kultury mniejszościowe w Europie: Bretończycy, Łużycanie, Kaszubi*, Warszawa 2011, p. 514-515.

159 C. Łapicz, *Kitab Tatarów litewsko-polskich. (Paleografia. Grafia. Język)*, Toruń 1986; p. 35-37.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

identifying themselves as a Tatar nation for whom language is an important external symbol, and those emphasising dual Polish-Tatar ethnic identification.

4.1. Instead of a summary – *Tatar Invention of Tradition?*

To sum up the face of contemporary Tatar artistic work, it should be emphasised that today it is characterised by the quest for new elements that strengthen their own culture and such forms of expression that, on the one hand, would be an important foundation for reinforcing social ties among the community itself and, on the other, would appeal to the outside world. Modern Tatar culture, therefore, contributes to the phenomenon known as *Invention of Tradition*. Which elements may become an appropriate binder for the group and stand as representative symbols to the outside are to a large extent decided upon today by the leaders of the group. Another feature of Tatar culture is its *commodification* or *marketisation*. Thanks to its appeal, today it corresponds to the needs of today's tourists who seek assimilated exotic forms presented in an easily accessible form. It is not surprising, therefore, that today's formula of culture is increasingly taking the form of ethnicity fairs or festivals. Such a commodity is today predominantly the cuisine. Note, however, that the contemporary works of the Polish Tatars, under the direction of the group leaders, is also becoming an important element of their strategy, whose aim is to reduce the tension in relations with the dominant group that perceives the Polish Tatars by the primacy of their religious identity. On the other hand, building their ethno-cultural otherness around constructed symbols indicates the need to have markers confirming the autonomy of the group. Tatar culture is finally an important element constructing the identity of the group, whose different aspects are designed to bond the group and make it attractive for the young generation. This is particularly important in times of strong anti-Muslim sentiment in which the religious element, without losing its significance, becomes a characteristic feature of the group that is less and less visible to the outside.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Marcin Zybała

Contemporary Karaite activity in Poland Commentary on the results of field research

1. The Karaim minority – Challenges and Perspectives

The Artistic activity of ethnic minorities in Poland at the turn of the 20th-21st century project included artists representing all 4 ethnic minorities and on the research was intended to identify the most important trends reflecting the dynamics of how this creative minority operates. The study was, therefore, to include the Karaim community too — the smallest ethnic minority that inhabits contemporary Poland¹⁶⁰. The research team that led the study with the Karaim and Tatar respondents managed to conduct only one structured interview-questionnaire (K1) and 3 in-depth interviews — 2 Karaites (K2-K3) and 1 with an academic researcher studying the history of this ethnic minority (K4). Given the small size of the group it is not surprising that the number of completed surveys is incomparably less than in the case of other minorities covered by the project. The purpose of this article is to outline a number of trends and characteristics of the Karaim ethnic minority in the context of their contemporary activity. At the same time, this article — given the negligible number of studies conducted and the fact that it is often based on the personal experiences of the author, as well as the opinions of people cooperating with the described minority — does not pretend to draw general conclusions about the Karaim minority in Poland, and only aims to comment on the data drawn from the project.

As noted above, the Karaites are the smallest minority, whose members live in different areas of Polish. While analysing the distribution of the Karaites, one can observe their tendency to inhabit in large cities (e.g. Warsaw, Gdansk and Wroclaw), which has its own historical basis¹⁶¹. After the end of World War II, the Karaites' traditional areas of residence found themselves beyond the Polish border having been incorporated into the Soviet Union. Community Karaim is scattered geographically, and taking into account the size of the group and the fact that the respondents in the study were all people who feel part of the Karaite community, but only those who also consider themselves artists, activists or entertainers, it is not surprising that it was extremely difficult to reach out to any respondents.

160 In the literature, we find divergent data on Karaim numbers in Poland, both past and present. *The national census of population and housing* confirmed the identity of 313 Karaim people. This number is, however, a source of controversy among the Karaim community. More on this can be read in chapter by K. Jarecka-Stepien: *The Karaites in Poland. A historical and cultural overview*

161 Cf. *Karaimi – Mapa Karaimów w Polsce*, film footage, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mTAdvdahl8s> (access: 01.08.2016).



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

From the point of view of a non-Karaite researcher, what is interesting is the structure of the Karaim minority and the relationship between its individual members. For the Karaites as a minority that is not only ethnic but religious, great significance is given to the concept of Karaism. One of the principles that guided the Karaites is their obligation to marry only with within their own community¹⁶². To this day, the Karaim minority is a group of people linked together not only a common sense of identity and religion, but also the ties of kinship and family connections. Family relationships and the size of the group lie behind a most interesting phenomenon among the Karaites, namely the *exclusivity* of this group. Before any comment is made on this phenomenon, the thoughts of one respondent should be noted:

(Being Karaite) ... is being a member of a Karaim family, the Karaim community, a follower of the Karaim religion. (K3)

It really is difficult to quickly enter into friendly relations (with Karaites). So you just have to approach them very gently and understand that from their point of view there could be a great concern about losing or disregarding their 'Karaimness' (K4).

The above quotations illustrate the determinants of 'Karaimness' understood as an identity built on a common origin and religion, and with a certain amount of risk regarding the rest of society. Tadeusz Paleczny, in his article *The processes of regionalisation and the phenomenon of globalisation* defines the concept of *exclusive culture as a culture striving to maintain the separateness and group autonomy, closing up against external cultural influences*¹⁶³. Among the Karaites, exclusivism is manifested, among others, by the need that is determined by religion to maintain relationships between members of the ethnic group on the basis of family relationships and the need to strongly emphasise the components of their ethnic identity. Given the size of the group, as well as the progressive integration processes with the rest of society, these practices are fully understood.

Activity that illustrates the *exclusivity* of the Karaites is certainly the result of attempts to preserve their own identity and ethnic differences and allow for the consolidation of their own community. On the other hand, a *liberalisation* of access to their own group can, contrary to appearances, influence the continuity of the indicators of Karaim identity. Ideally, this process can be seen in the example of mixed marriages and to allow people with dual nationality to participate in religious practices. As one of the interviews illustrates:

The interviewee: You cannot become Karaim, you have to be born one. Before 1945, people who for some reason could not find a partner among the Karaites and married or had relations outside the community had to change their religious denomination, because in the Second Republic it was not possible to change religion. If someone was born Christian then, unfortunately, he had to die a

162 The principle of matrimonial endogamy, although still present, is not as common as in the nineteenth century. Cf. *Karaimi – małżeństwa mieszane*, film footage, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1WjCS5jIEq8> (access: 01.08.2016).

163 Paleczny T., *Procesy regionalizacji a zjawiska globalizacji*, p. 2-3, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:ltuWq7Tvb5cJ:www.ism.wsmip.uj.edu.pl/documents/3337228/fb-04cf66-d02e-4053-95e1-a6b5c765a46a+&cd=1&hl=pl&ct=clnk&gl=pl> (access: 03.08.2016). Por. Babiński G., *Metodologia a rzeczywistość społeczna. Dylematy badań etnicznych*, Kraków 2004, p. 180-184.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Christian, even if he did not like it. But someone born a Karaite could become a Christian, and therefore there were a lot of mixed marriages, which resulted in a change in religious denomination.

Researcher: But perhaps such greater tolerance contributes to the preservation of this culture?

Interviewee: Indeed. The loosening of this rigour means that some of the people who would normally be excluded from the community — such as I — can participate and work within it and not feel particularly discriminated against, because this community now functions on a slightly different principle. (R3).

In the above-quoted statement one will notice a very important element of contemporary Karaim culture, namely the need to quickly redefine the group's relation with the rest of society. The Karaites, like most minority communities, face a dilemma regarding the positive and negative effects of globalisation and the assimilation of societies. If, and to what extent, the Karaites open up or shut themselves off from the rest of the society in the near future will affect the shape of Karaite culture and may even decide its survival in an active form or its consignment to the archives of history.

At this point, another feature of contemporary culture Karaim should also be noted, namely the very important activities of the group's elite, who influence how the whole community functions¹⁶⁴. A kind of monopolisation of the cultural and social life of the Karaites by Karaim organisations influence how the minority is perceived by the rest of society, and may help or hinder how non-Karaites cooperate with the minority and also affect the encouragement or suppression of activity undertaken by members of their own community. Due to the size of the group, the elite of the Karaim community bear an even greater responsibility for creating the modern culture of the Karaites, as the elite are well aware. Therefore, it is natural that the Karaim elite focus on institutionalised forms of activities that give more opportunities for taking action. A look at two Polish Karaim organisations — the Association of Polish Karaites and Karaite Heritage Foundation — will characterise the most important trends in the activities of the Karaite ethnic minority.

2. Karaim activity in contemporary Poland — an attempt to define the leading trends

2.1. Hindsight — the value of history

For the Karaites, a minority strongly focusing their efforts on nurturing its own history, the inspiration for any kind of activity is their own past and common origin (K1). As noted by one of the respondents: *The Karaites (...) always look back and think about what and who was there (K3)*. This constant need to look back at their own history is clearly visible in the actions undertaken by the *Association of Polish Karaites*. The objectives of this organisation include *nurturing and deepening the knowledge of their own history and traditions*¹⁶⁵. The APK performs its duties, inter alia, through

¹⁶⁴ Cf.: Kaute W., *Problematyka elit w kulturze polskiej*, [in:] "Człowiek w kulturze", 1994 nr 3, p. 169-193

¹⁶⁵ Statut Związku Karaimów Polskich, [in:] Oficjalny portal Związku Karaimów Polskich, <http://www.karaimi.org/o-nas/informacja> (access:02.08.2016).



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

the implementation of projects devoted to the history of Polish Karaites. One that is particularly noteworthy is a portal that contains Karaime legends¹⁶⁶. Funding from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, the Ministry of Administration and Digitisation and the Lower Silesia provincial governor helped to set up a website containing the recordings of several Karaite legends from the collection of the Vilnius Karaite Abraham Szyzszman (1879-1946). The fascinating arrangement of verbal and musical legends and interesting layout of the website will contribute to a better reception of the content and at the same time illustrate an aspect of Karaim culture in a modern and attractive form for a contemporary audience. The second portal, which informs not only the Karaites but everyone interested in the history of this ethnic group is *Jazyszlar. Karaimskie Archiwum Cyfrowe*¹⁶⁷. The site is a database of bibliographic materials on the history of the Karaites — the reader will find, among others, books, articles, source materials, a list of antique books, interviews, memoirs, as well as photographs. Both portals show that the Karaite community is able to successfully implement projects that can encourage the whole of society to find out more about this ethnic minority.

2.2. Publishing

The Karaites publish two magazines — one academic called *“Almanach Karaimski”* and another popular one called *“Awazymyz”*, meaning *“Our Voice”*. (K4) *“Awazymyz”* is a magazine that has been published since 1989 and is a direct successor of the periodical *“Coś”* that first came out in 1979. Since 2011, *“Awazymyz”* has appeared as a quarterly while articles are additionally published in an electronic version¹⁶⁸. The vast majority of texts in the journal are historical works relating to the culture of the Karaites and relevant biographies. Given their increased activity in the field of history and the importance of the past for Karaim culture, the theme of the magazine is fully understandable. The authors also cover the current activities of Polish Karaites and so the magazine, in addition to documenting and describing the history of this minority, is also a rich source of knowledge about the modern-day activities of Polish Karaites¹⁶⁹.

The other magazine published by the minority is the *“Almanach Karaimski”*. It is worth noting that the Karaites have successfully sought external financing for publications. With the financial support of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration, this magazine is published as an annual. From 2015 onwards, the *“Almanach Karaimski”* has been included in the list of academic journals of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education¹⁷⁰. In the 4 sections of the magazine — Articles, Source Materials, Reviews, Reports and Notices — the reader will find articles mainly devoted to the cultural history of the Karaites and linguistic texts primarily related to the Turkic languages. Linguistic research, including the Karaim language, represents another domain of Karaim activity.

166 <http://www.legendy.karaimi.org/> (access: 03.08.2016).

167 <http://www.jazyszlar.karaimi.org/> (access: 22.07.2016).

168 All articles published in *“Awazymyzie”* are accessible online: <http://www.awazymyz.karaimi.org/> (access: 02.08.2016).

169 Cf. *Wiosna pełna wydarzeń* [in:] *„Awazymyz”* 2016, 27, 2 (51), 2, <http://www.awazymyz.karaimi.org/zeszyty/item/599-wiosna-pelna-wydarzen> (access: 01.08.2016).

170 Communication on the list of scientific journals with the number of points awarded for publications in these journals [in:] The official website of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education <http://www.nauka.gov.pl/komunikaty/komunikat-w-sprawie-wykazu-czasopism-naukowych-wraz-z-liczba-punktow-przyznawanych-za-publikacje-w-tych-czasopismach.html> (access: 31.07.2016).



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

3. Research on the Karaim language

As for academic work, the Karaites are mainly interested in the Karaim language. They are usually specialists in the field of Oriental and Turkish Studies, who simply have a good foundation for researching Turkish and Turkic languages and they primarily try to learn the Karaim language (...). The level of knowledge of this language is not high due to the fact that the language has disappeared and there is no one to teach it either in Poland or abroad. (K4)

As Anna Sulimowicz says during the film *The Karaites*, the Karaim language although still used today is in critical danger of disappearing¹⁷¹, and the Karaites themselves are trying to save as much knowledge as they can about it. One of the measures, whose aim was to promote the Karaim language, was the publication of a Polish-Karaim-Lithuanian phrasebook by Halina Kobeckaite in 2011¹⁷². Interestingly, both in the questionnaires handed out and interviews conducted during the project, the Karaim language is mentioned as an element that inspires people to embark on activities such as research and, along with the awareness of one's origin and religion, is mentioned as a very important aspect of Karaim identity. One of the respondents also sees the need for financial and institutional support for Karaim activities, *that emphasise the language more and the necessity to save it. Such a project would come in handy — such support would be useful. We also want to carry out a cross-border project with Karaites from Lithuania. We'd also like to participate in organising Karaim language summer schools, because frankly knowledge of the language is spreading. Language above all strongly reinforces the feeling of ties and contact between people, and this means that people are interested in the fact that these actions of ours are also targeted at people from among us. (K3)* The need to reactivate a broader knowledge of the Karaim language is therefore really an attempt to consolidate the Karaim community and strengthen the ties between its members.

3.1. Dostlar

Contemporary Karaim activity is not limited to the realm of academia. The Karaite community also has a dance group called *Dostlar*, which draws on certain elements of Karaim culture and processes them by responding to the needs of their community and a non-Karaite audience. As noted by one of the respondents: *What we present today as Karaim culture is really taken from the Crimea. This is so-called folklorism. I mean, we drew some elements from Crimean culture to create the need in our community to integrate children and young people, we drew some aspects from Crimean culture and these is what we show. Elements of Karaim culture are shown by the Dostlar group who work in Warsaw (K2)*. This appears to be an interesting aspect of contemporary Karaim culture — the quest for their own identity and an attempt to adopt elements borrowed from a culture that is relatively close¹⁷³. The *Dostlar* group has been performing for 11 years and is now a well-recognised folklore group presenting traditional Karaim dance¹⁷⁴.

171 *Karaimi – język*, film footage, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QUggulJSPvs> (access: 01.08.2016).

172 <http://www.karaimi.org/bitik/ksiazki/item/63-rozmowki> (access: 01.08.2016).

173 Cf. Burszta W.J., *Od folkloru lokalnego do "postfolklorizmu" narodowego*, [in:] „Polska Sztuka Ludowa – Konteksty” 1989 vol. 43 of 3, p. 150-161.

174 <http://karaimi.org/wydarzenia/2015/item/292-jubileusz-10-lecia> (access: 31.07.2016).



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

3.2. Instead of a summary — large needs for a small group

Contemporary Karaim activity can be represented by several areas — projects focused on the study of history, publishing, attempts to revive the Karaim language, as well as the work of the *Dostlar* folklore group. Karaim activity is understandably strongly connected with a sense of common origin, religion and language. Thanks to Karaim organisations, this minority has successfully gained financial support from the Polish authorities (both nationally and locally). Among the biggest challenges facing contemporary Karaites are: the negative rate of natural increase and their tiny population, rescuing the Karaim language, as well as defining their relation to the rest of society and the consequences of opening up or closing the group to non-Karaites. Certainly, the initiatives undertaken by the Karaites are an attempt to answer the emerging challenges and the opportunities offered by the Polish state will certainly strengthen its smallest minority. Finally, it is perhaps appropriate to end with the option of a Karaite who knows best the needs of his own community:

So, I think that every form of support is appreciated by us, our actions are carried out by the same people, within a small circle, actually as a communal effort. Everything we spend, write, do, comment on, if we have the money for this kind of thing then that is really valuable. It would, for example, be worth continuing the “Karaim Roads” project — not from the point of view of putting on exhibitions, but organising Karaim lectures and meetings. (...) The second thing that is very important for us are manuscripts and printed books that require conservation, putting in order and safeguarding. (K3)

When analysing this year's undertakings by Karaim organisation, it can be observed that the needs reported by the respondents in 2015 are being implemented in the form of projects funded, among others, by the Polish Ministry. It would be good this cooperation continued further both in the context of preserving the memory and knowledge of Karaim culture as well as with the help of projects conducted by Karaim organisations with institutions that are not part of the Karaim community.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Sylvia Jaskuła, Leszek Korporowicz

Artistic creation of ethnic minorities in Poland in the perspective of cultural rights

1. Cultural rights – in an attempt to define

The notion of *cultural rights* in a broad sense appears in 1966 in the official documents of the United Nations called International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights¹⁷⁵. Later, the concept of cultural rights can be found in the UNESCO document in November 2001¹⁷⁶. *Cultural rights* are linked to cultural diversity as a natural context for their support and understanding. One of the most developed and mature substantive documents on cultural rights, is the Fribourg Declaration from 2007, developed over the period of few years by an international task force¹⁷⁷.

Published in 2011 by the European Court for Human Rights, a document explaining the meaning and realization of cultural rights in European conditions, lists eight areas in which we observe their implementation, and that define their postulated and practiced functions. These are: right to artistic expression, access to culture, right to cultural identity, linguistic rights, right to education, right to the protection of cultural and natural heritage, right to seek historical truth and right to academic freedom¹⁷⁸.

What is important, these areas also determine potential areas of creative activity, so do not only apply to the sphere of artistic culture. The fundamental problem, and also the axiom which determines the understanding of creative activity and cultural rights, is the subjective treatment of each group that define the objective scope of existence of each of the particular cultures.. This axiom creates the basis for understanding intercultural relations based on respect for dignity, uniqueness and subjectivity of each culture. It gives a chance to update the three attributes of the creative relationship between autonomous entities which are: *reciprocity, exchange and co-existence*. Such inspiration for understanding cultural rights come from both Paweł Włodkowica, but also the Fribourg Declaration. It is specified by understanding three major categories that determine not only the source, but also the meaning and objectives of creativity, cultural rights and the culture itself. In the second article of the Declaration, culture is defined as *values, beliefs,*

175 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, United Nations, December 1996, The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR).

176 UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, Office of International Standards and Legal Affairs, Paris 2001, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (dostęp: 11.08.2016).

177 CULTURAL RIGHTS, Fribourg Declaration 2007, www.unifr.ch/iiedh (dostęp: 11.08.2016).

178 European Court for Human Rights, Research Division, *Cultural rights in the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, Report 2011*.



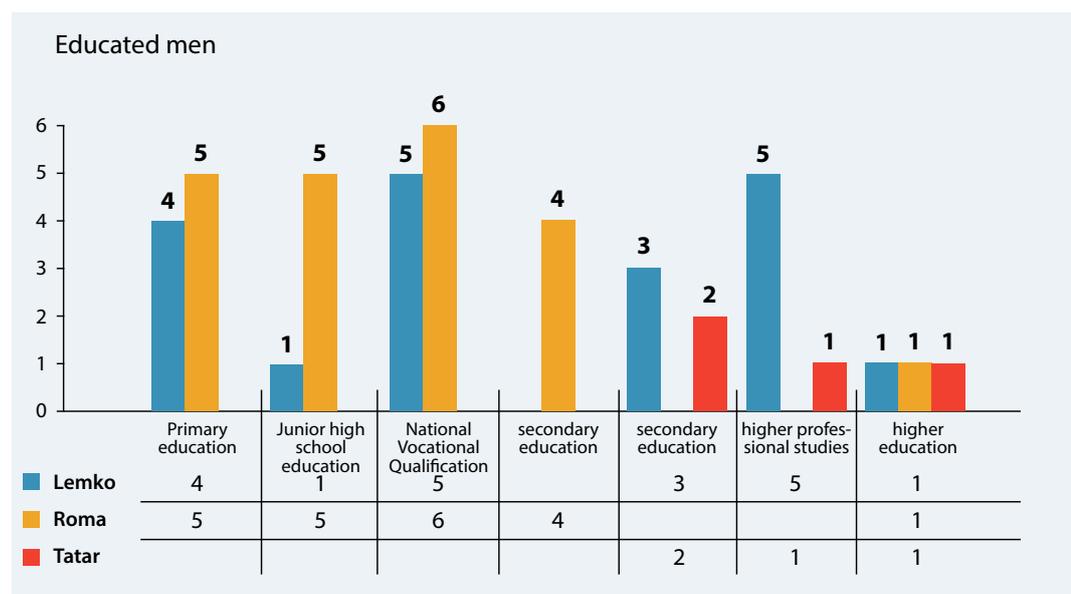
THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

convictions, languages, knowledge and the arts, traditions, institutions and ways of life through which a person or a group expresses their humanity and the meanings that they give to their existence and to their development. It is worth emphasizing that such development applies to all activities undertaken within the culture that certainly deserve to be called artistic expression through generating their meanings, but also very logically determine the direction of creating a cultural identity. It is a projection of cultural references that a person alone or in a group defines or constitutes oneself in order to recognize their dignity. Only then is it possible to build a cultural community, which comprises a group of people sharing references that form the accepted cultural identity they wish to protect and develop¹⁷⁹.

2. Conclusions

Before using individual responses in the analysis, it is worth analyzing the superindividual characteristics of similarities and differences among Lemko, Roma and Tatars. As the numbers in groups compared vary, the analysis includes absolute numbers of individual categories, which say much more than percentage values that can be misleading.

Analysis of gender as the objective characteristics of the respondents, clearly shows important differences. While they are less important in the group of Lemko and Roma and are within the acceptable scale of differences in the research sample, gender differences in the group of Tatars may lead to an important question related to the overrepresentation of women. This difference cannot be explained by the fact that women are better educated. There are other reasons for the reduced participation of men, but it certainly indicates their reduced participation in the artistic activities analyzed and some imbalance¹⁸⁰.



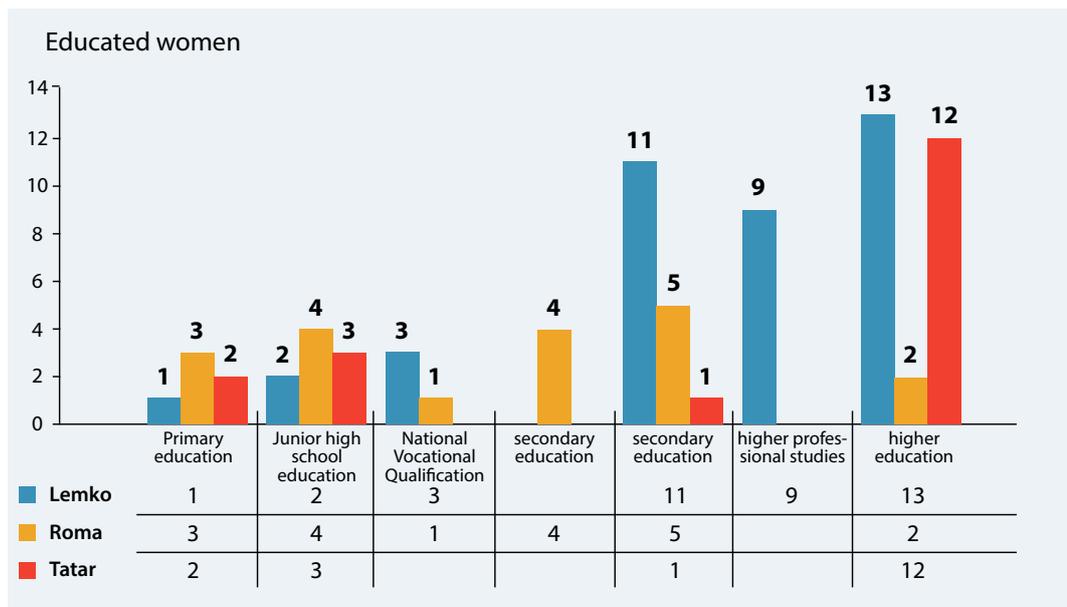
179 CULTURAL..., www.unifr.ch/iiedh (dostęp: 11.08.2016).

180 All graphs have been created by the author



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The impact of the educational level on integrated indicators of participation in culture, but also the use and awareness of cultural rights, has been the subject of sociological, pedagogical and political research for many years. The literature presents a variety of multilateral consequences of this impact and allows with great certainty to say that without proper advancement of this element of cultural competence, it is difficult to talk about possibilities of social advancement, education. It also makes it difficult to implement cultural rights at an individual and group level. The Roma community in the study shows a clear lack in advanced forms of education, in comparison with other groups, and this problem applies equally to men and women. The area of education in the above-mentioned eight areas of respect for cultural rights, is a flywheel for many others, especially outside the area of artistic creativity. It also shapes the level of communication, political and intercultural skills responsible for the identification and communication of cultural heritage, treated as a form of development, so not only as an ordinary transmission or reproduction of values and cultural patterns, but also their transformation and revitalization of cultural potential elements.

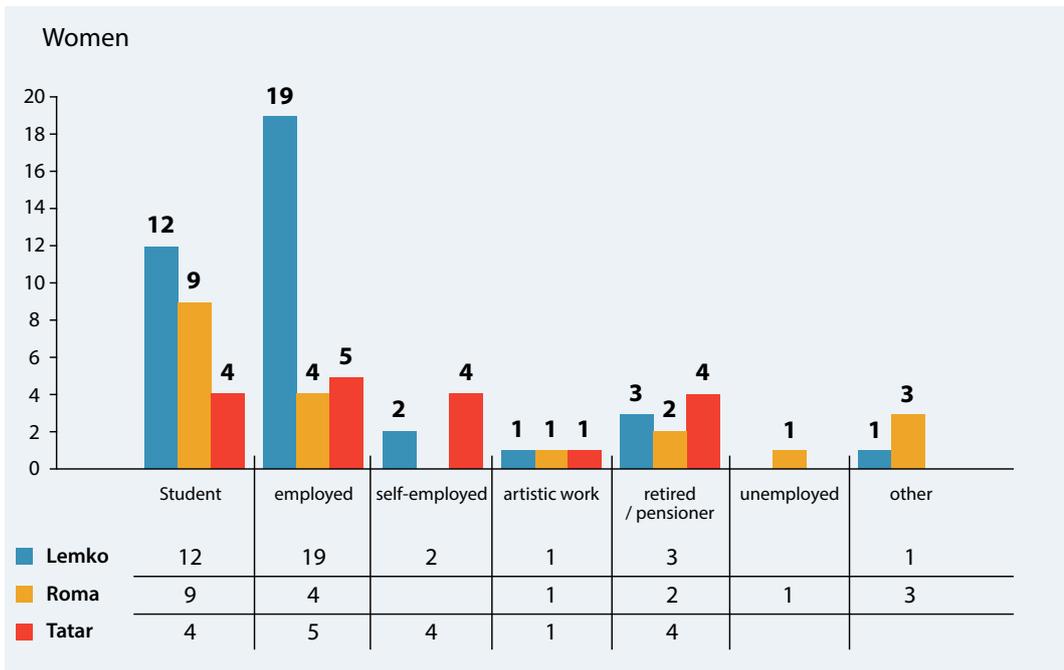
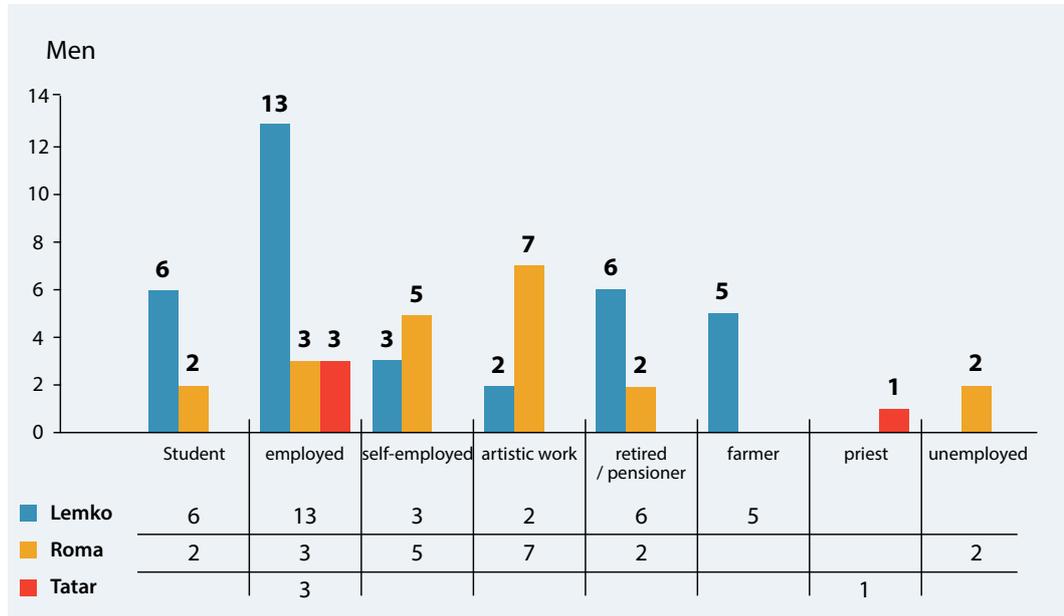


Age of respondents indicates a more even distribution across age groups for men rather than women, which should be associated with the type of creative activity. For Roma, it is music and dance, so it's often undertaken by younger people.

An interesting result of the study is a very stable professional situation among Lemko people, both men and women, whose creative activity is not substantially related to the profession described in this way, but is based on the employment in other sectors. Employment is the primary source of income, in other ethnic groups, with the sole exception the male representatives of the Roma traditionally associated with artistic activity.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

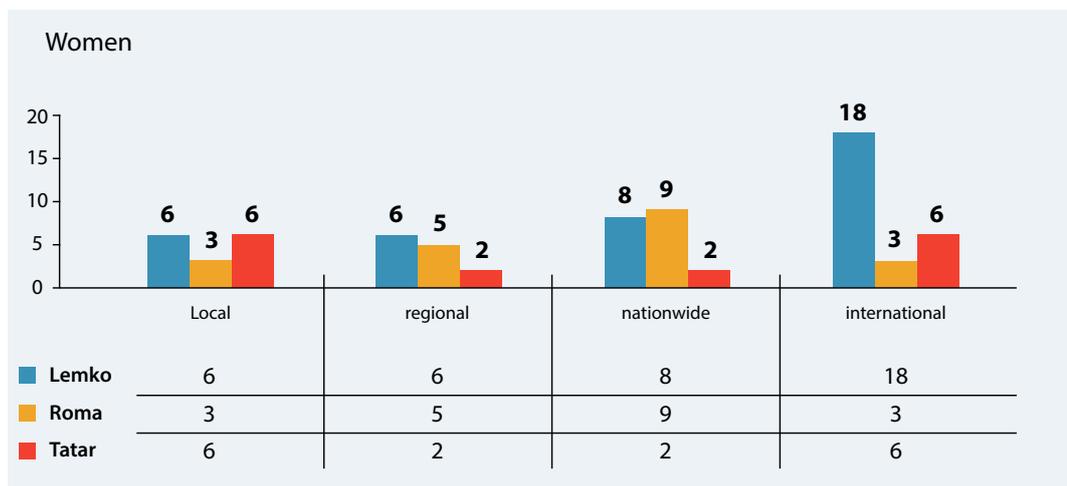
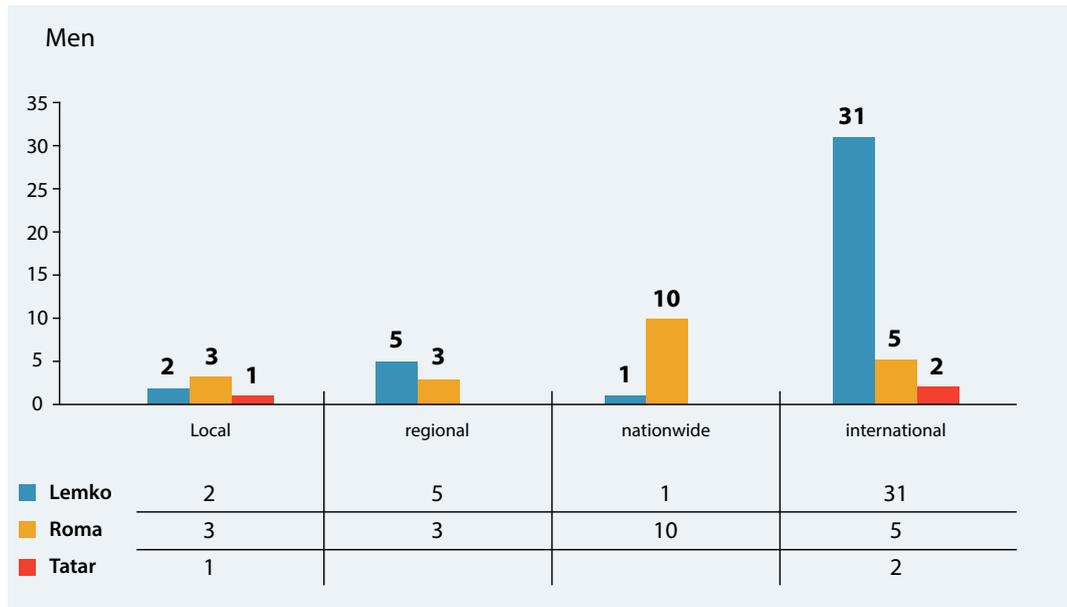


Interesting results can be observed when it comes to the range of creative activity, especially in terms of comparative treatment groups. It is by far the smallest in case of Tatars, higher among Roma, and by far the highest for Lemko. This applies to both men and women, exceeding several times the achievements of other groups. The problem of creative activity range gains a new meaning in the perspective of cultural rights due to globalization and new dimensions of participation in international networks of communication, association and creation of cross-cultural communities. Internationalisation also gives new opportunities in intercultural relations and



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

creates additional inspiration to understand, practice and express ethnic identity. This study confirms other previous studies, which indicated that the Lemko community in Poland uses new information and communication technologies to integrate with Lemko people scattered around the world. It is certainly a good example of communication skills development as an increasing *cultural rights* factor of specific ethnic groups.

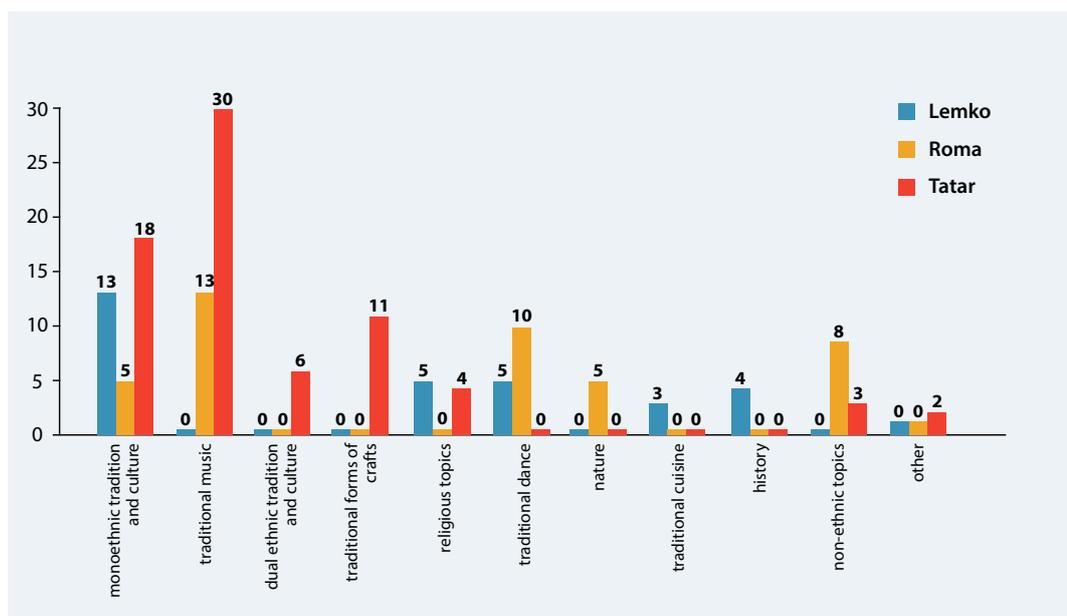
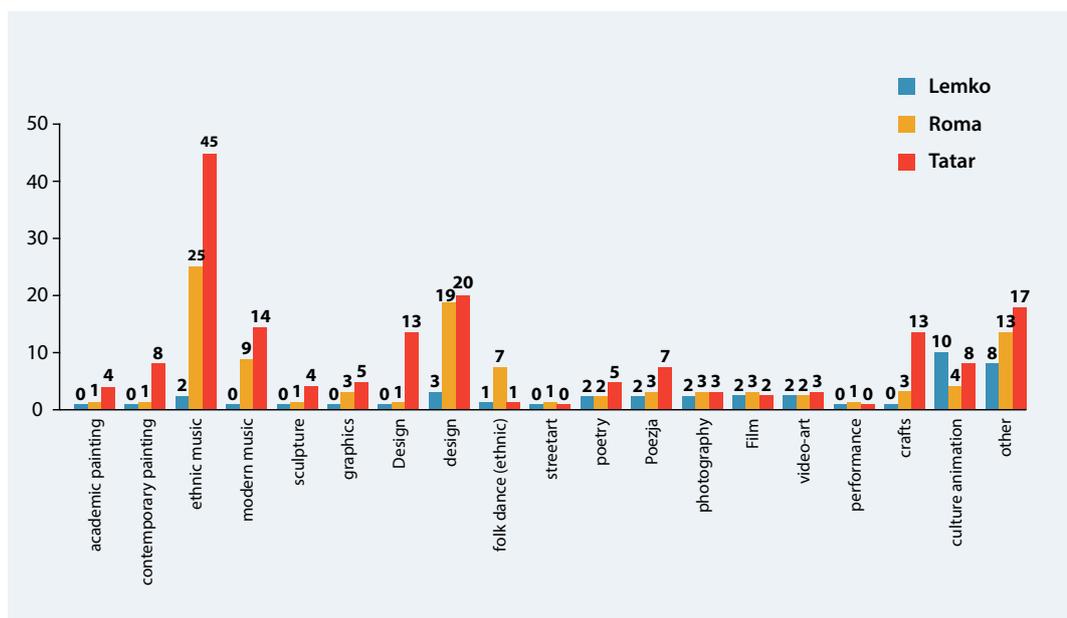


An important aspect of both the protection and the development of cultural rights of surveyed groups, is the degree of expansion of traditional forms of cultural activity, such as ethnic music, ethnic dance, literature including prose and poetry, and crafts. Only Lemko and Tatars go beyond this scheme in the form artistic creation which plays an increasingly important role in today's world, by taking up activities related to culture animation. If we treat this activity as a form of expanding the ethnic awareness and, so important in the modern world, organizational, educational and promotional activity, the Roma community is placed on a very low level. A small



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

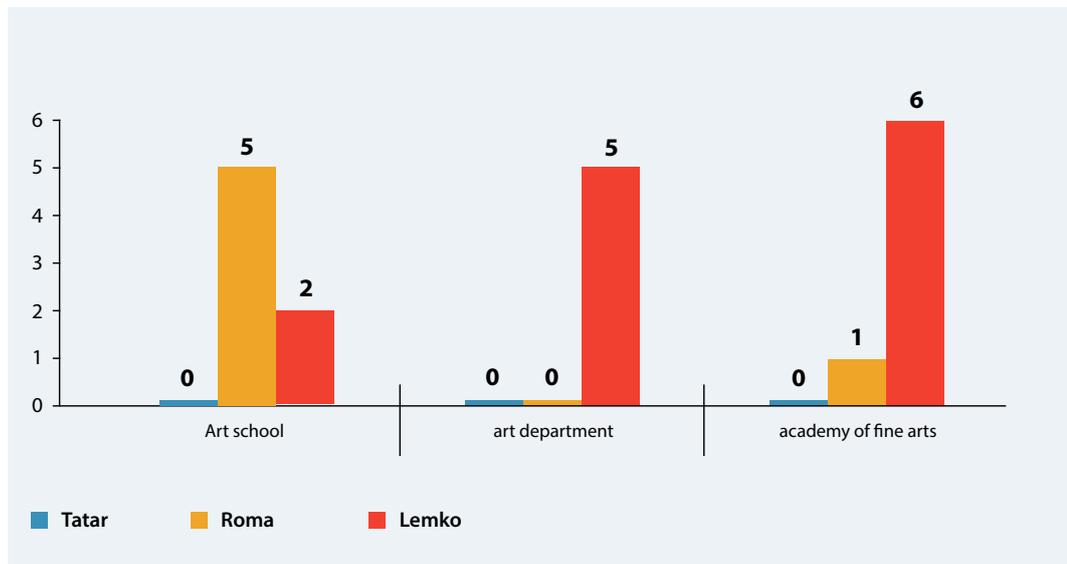
population of surveyed Tatars does not allow us to make far-reaching conclusions, but the scope of the creative activity of this group differs from the other, although it maintains a similar proportion among different types of activities. Everything indicates, however, the need to take innovative forms of social activism and cultural minorities, which generally does not go beyond the scheme of cultural activities. The problem is illustrated in the table below. An interesting trend is shown among Tatars, who turn to history, culture, cuisine and religion. These trends should be supported by appropriate educational and cultural policies which takes into consideration issues of cultural rights as an important dimension of contemporary social policy.



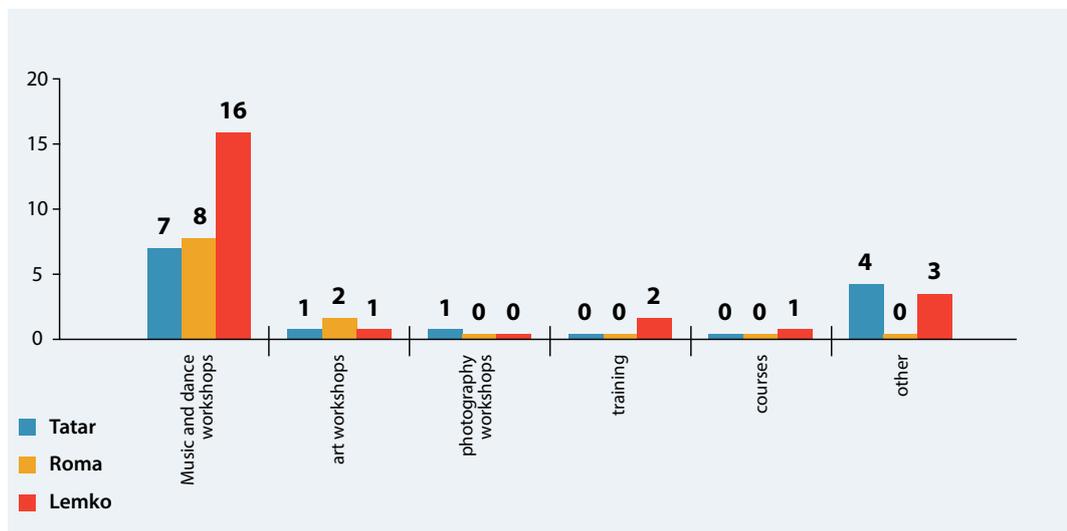


THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The problem of conscious and advanced creative activity is not possible without equally advanced forms of education. When it comes to art education, the Lemko are classified as the best – they strive to graduate from artistic universities. Second are Roma who complete secondary artistic education. It is worth noting that the completion of high school is also an opportunity for advanced and professional ethnic culture animation, without which cultural rights will not realize their active and passive potential. What is important, is that higher education is obtained mainly by representatives of Lemko and Tatar (14 and 13 people respectively in surveyed groups), more often by women and, what is important, also beyond the area of art education.



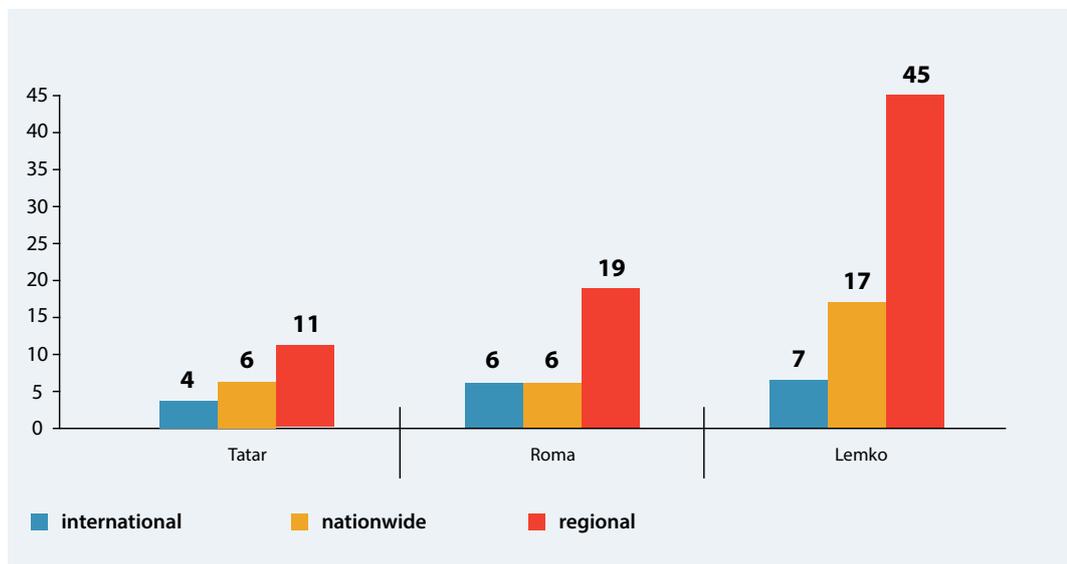
A low level of use of specialized workshops can be regarded as alarming as they complement the actual level of skills and knowledge among the respondents and are an example of a low level of participation in education: formal, non-formal and supplementary. In addition, the collected data shows a predominant advantage of the educational scheme focused on music education, indicating a narrow cultural model in the cultural development . This is a matter of broadening the understanding and practicing *cultural rights* in a society of open, continual and intercultural education. This situation





THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

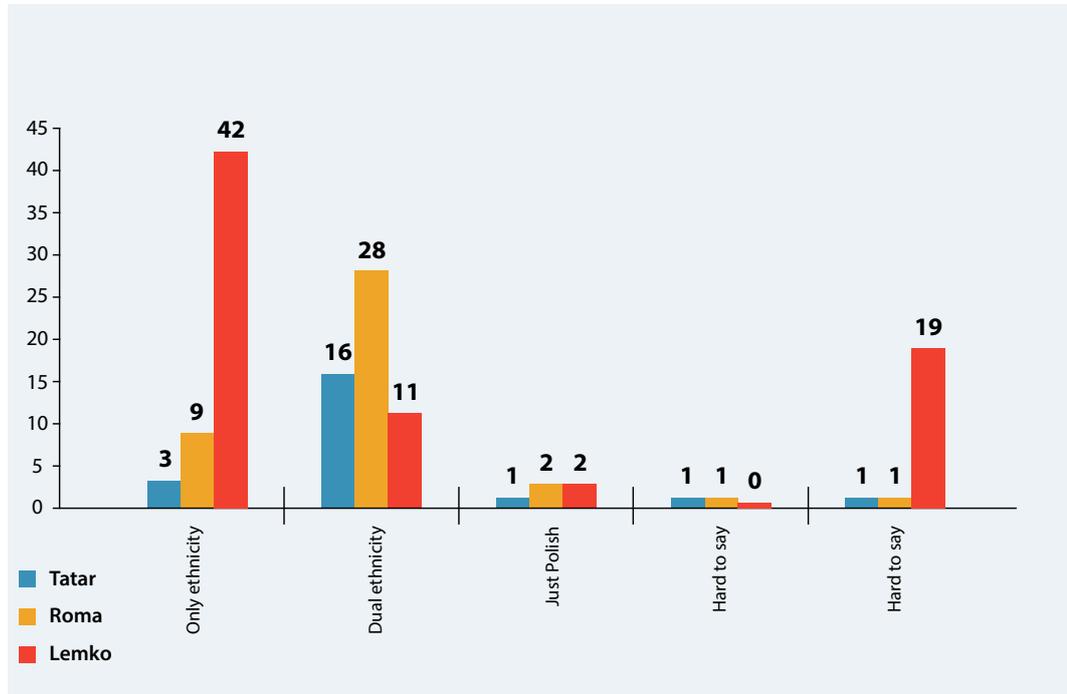
One of the fundamental manifestations of *cultural rights* is the ability to act in an organized, supporting and integrating way. Avoiding affiliation or lack of such need is the result of either excessive bureaucratization, social alienation, or highly personal nature of creative individuals. A study shows the biggest participation in associations is among the Lemko community and the smallest among the Tartars. If we combine this fact with a great internationalization of creative activities among Lemko and the largest share of people with higher education, three of these indicators create added value, which clearly makes this group a leader in social exploration of *cultural rights*. All the more, this position is strengthened by the graph showing a significant tendency to work well with regional institutions, which supports the conclusion of systematic support of regional identity and revitalization of indigenous values through the skillful use of instruments of social democratization. This situation is shown on two graphs below.



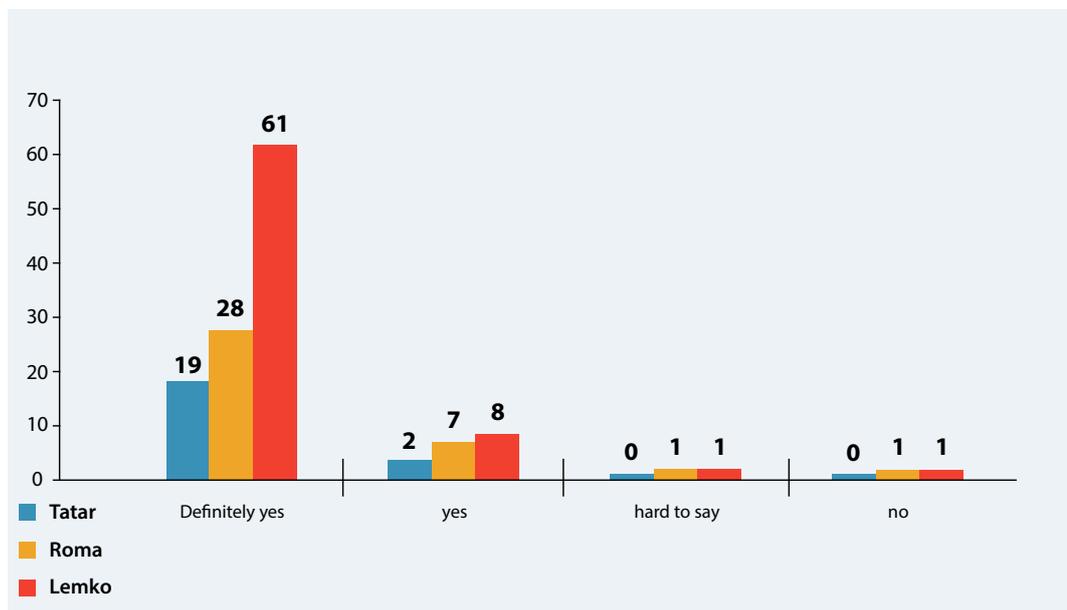
The ability to develop social competence among Lemko is linked to the highest sense of ethnic identity among surveyed groups, which is certainly of importance in contributing to their community. This identification is also manifested from the beginning of their motivation for creative activities and clearly dominates in relations with other groups. In the context of cultural rights, combining ethnic identification is very interesting. This is declared by Lemko, but among Roma and Tatars to a much greater extent. This is a very significant ratio- 28 people out of 41 surveyed. This ratio is even greater among Tatars – 16 people out of 22. Synergies of ethnic identification are a great challenge not only as ethnic identity, which is an even more complex personal and cultural construction, but equally as a perception of cultural rights, that assume the coexistence of values shaping them.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

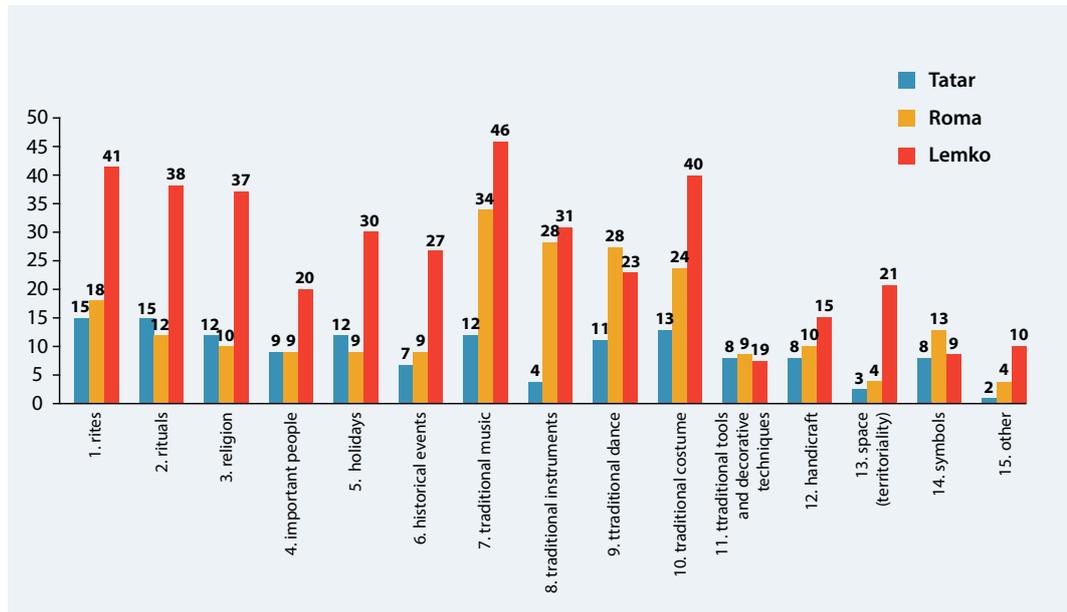


In all groups, there are similar traditions and ethnic culture profiles as sources of inspiration in the work of surveyed people. A careful analysis shows, however, some differences in different ethnic groups that are worth noting because they move the scope and areas of cultural rights, through which work is perceived and valued. So in addition to topics important for all groups, such as music and traditional dance, customs, rituals and traditional dress, Lemko are more inspired by its territoriality and holidays. This is understandable, especially when compared with mobile group as the Roma, but interesting in comparison with a settled group of Tatars. It does not translate, however, into a special territory symbolization, although it might be a process that will be revealed in the future when it comes to the creation of symbolic culture of dispersed Lemko community.

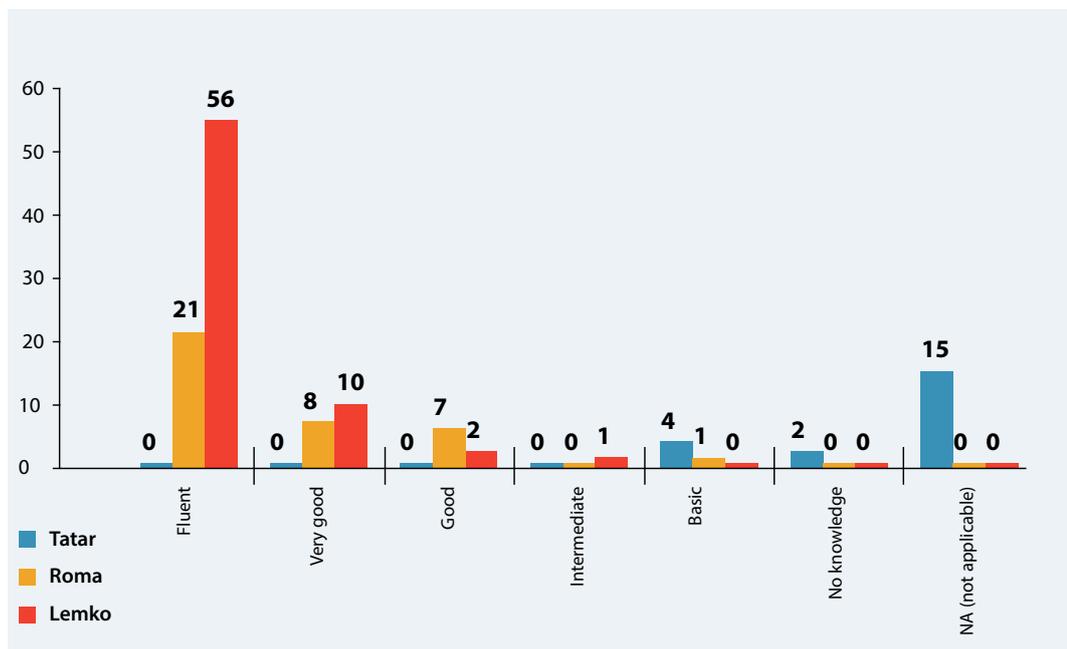




THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

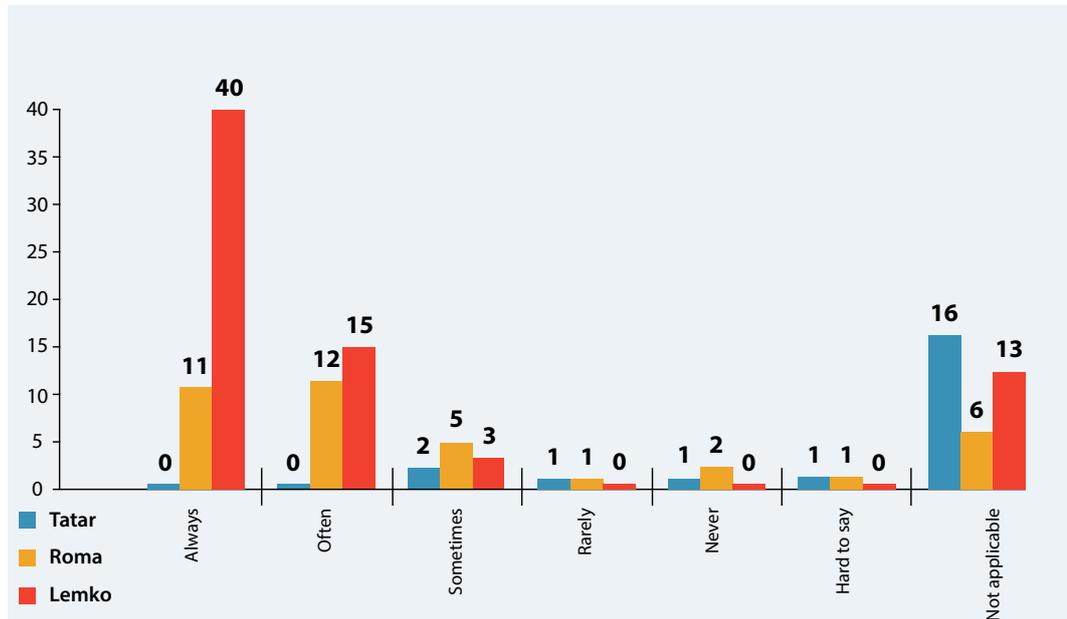


One of the key areas of cultural rights which is the native language of the group, once again reveals its dual function and strong ambiguity. This problem is described in many socio-ethno-linguistic studies and fully confirmed in the study. It is impossible to generalize, however, the function of the native language. For there are groups, such as Lemko, for whom the language is of true indigenous value. To a lesser extent, it is a fundamental material for the creative activity of Roma, who specialize primarily in the development of its music and dance culture. It doesn't apply to Tatars, who have abandoned this form of ethnic identification during long historical and cultural processes. This example confirms how flexible and different the approach to cultural rights should be, and in how many various ways the role of creative activity should be interpreted, including the areas of *cultural rights*.

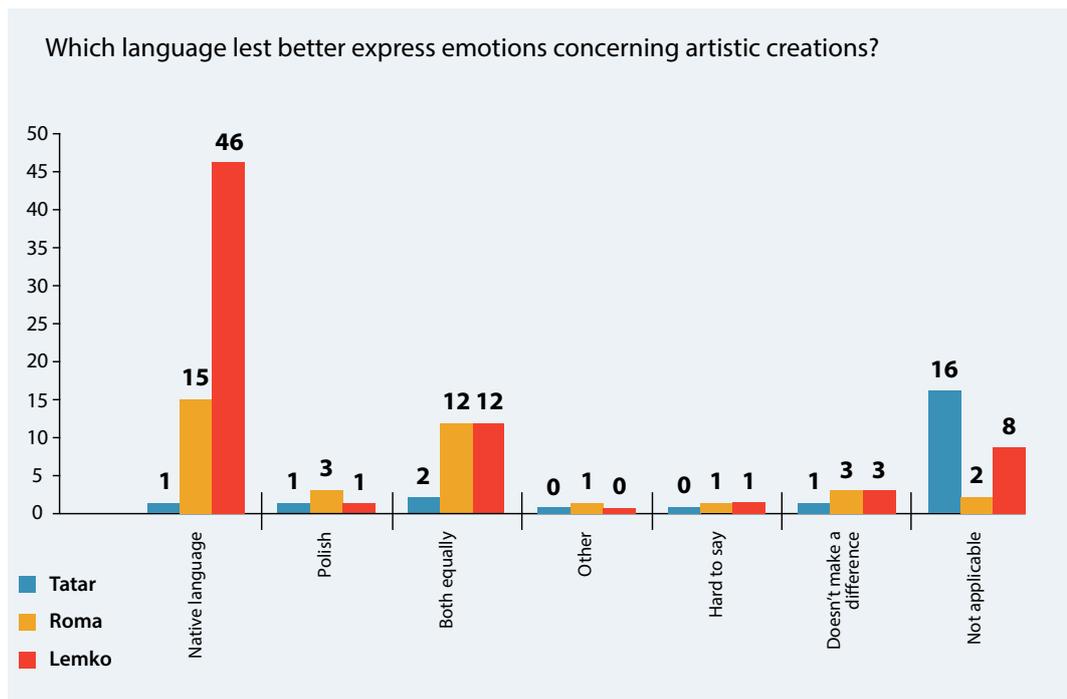




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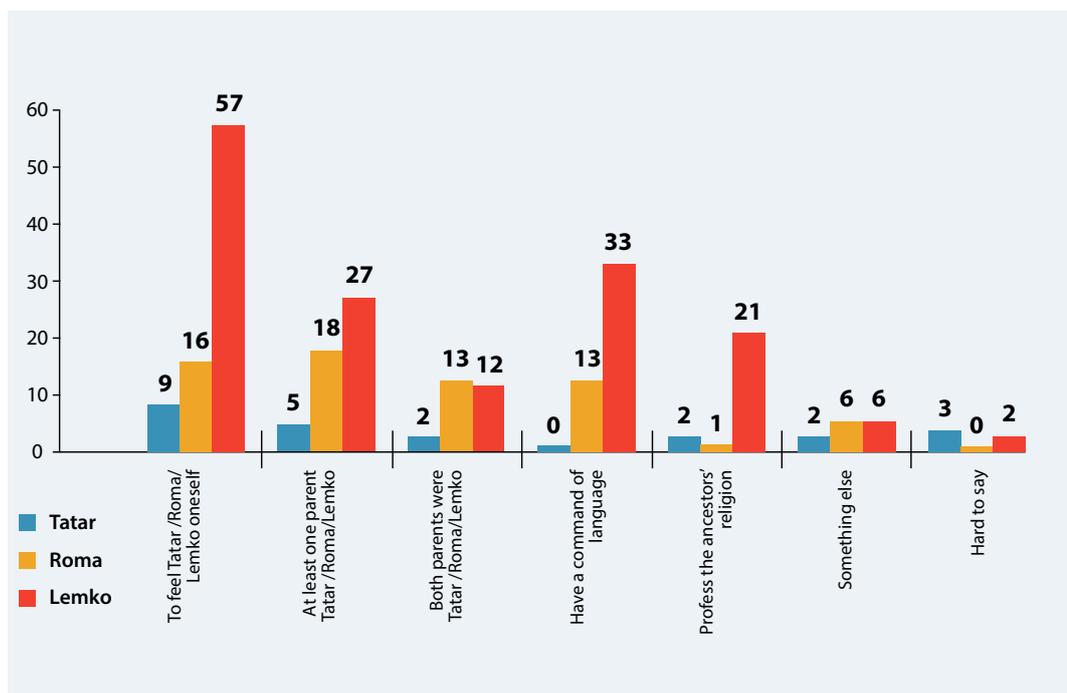
Similarly to diverse functions of a language as a facilitator of creative activity, it is interesting that for some respondents, especially in the group of Lemko and Roma, emotions and probably also the values associated with their creative activity can be expressed in both native and Polish languages. This group has an extremely valuable creative potential when it comes to intercultural communication, and in many respects should also be approached strategically in terms of social pedagogy, intercultural education and as a cultural integration policy of an increasingly multicultural society in both Poland and Europe.





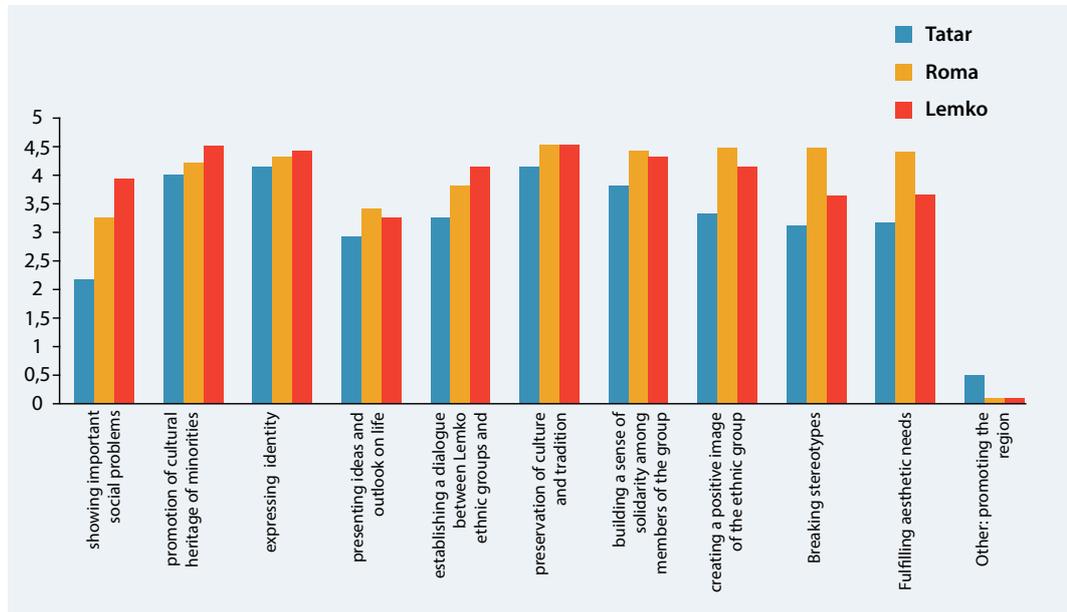
THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The variety of factors that create cultural background of creative activity, and thus define the canons and cultural rights, is very clearly illustrated in the responses specifying the conditions of ethnic identification. The comparative approach shows significant differences in the treatment of ethnic language and the religion of ancestors. These values are mostly represented by the Lemko people, but they are no longer as important for representatives of Roma and Tatars. This fact has many practical consequences. These groups will differently shape their *cultural rights* adequately in relation to the professed ethnic values. This means that not all of the eight areas of cultural rights are of equal importance to specific groups and in relations between different communities. We can therefore draw a significant theoretical but also practical conclusion, which is indirectly reflected in the study, that creative activity is not related to the implementation of cultural rights in an abstract and unified way. On the other hand, cultural rights cannot be understood or designed as an algorithm. They should be aimed at cultural realities of specific environments and in relation to groups with precisely diagnosed values, competencies and a system of creative culture dynamics, in other words, a way of giving different aspects of individual life a meaning, a purpose and value.





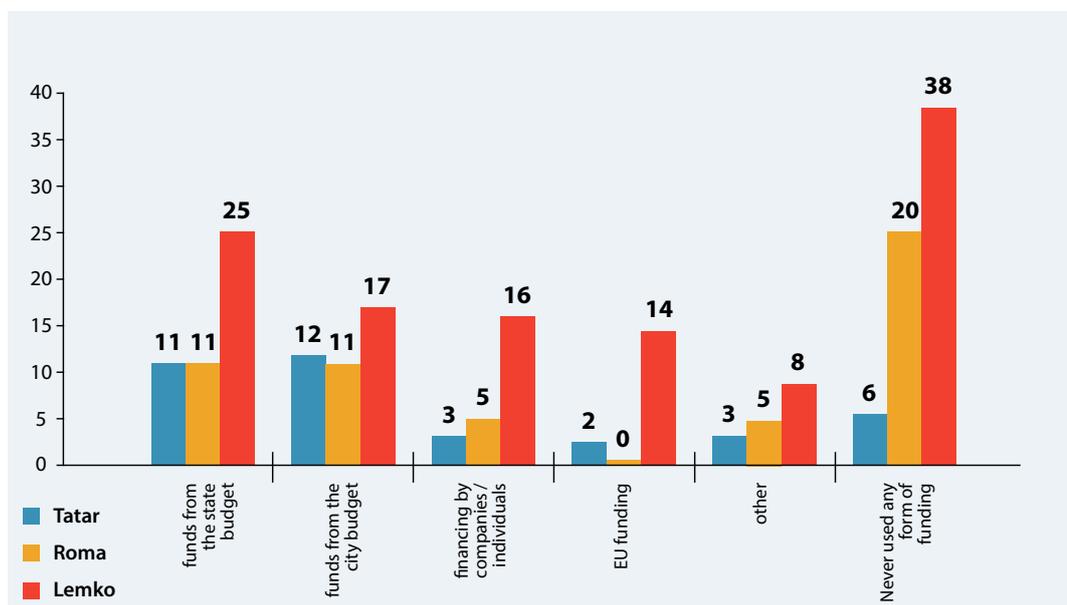
THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES



All surveyed groups understand the functions of creative activity in the same way, both individually and collectively, focusing on the dissemination of cultural heritage, preserving traditions and culture and the creation of a positive image of the group, which is particularly emphasized by the Roma.

An indispensable element of creative activity is the use of institutional, private and community support, which is a kind of a cultural right, as a right to utilize social resources and capital as a sort of a cultural capital.

All surveyed groups benefit from external support, however Lemko representatives present the most discordant opinions. On the one hand showing the greatest interest in various forms of funding (state, municipal, private and EU funding), on the other hand, declaring the greatest lack of real use of these forms of financing, as illustrated on the following graphs.





THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

3. Instead of a summary

Creative activity of the surveyed groups presents many common features, however there are important differences worth noticing in terms of the position and role of ethnic language, elements defining the identification of cultural importance related to the area of its settlement, religion, skills in gathering groups and the use of forms of funding. The abovementioned differences point to the lack of an unified interpretation of cultural laws as described by creative activity, but also to the way cultural rights put them in context or even stimulate.

An equally practical conclusion is the need for a broader understanding of the creative activity of ethnic groups, which needs to break the traditional focus on the artistic culture, music, dance, or even fiction, neglecting those spheres that are defined by cultural rights of modern societies in the eight areas mentioned earlier: the right to artistic expression, access to culture, the right to cultural identity, linguistic rights, rights to the protection of cultural and natural heritage, the right to seek historical truth and the right to academic freedom. Creative activities must focus on these areas, while becoming a realization of *cultural rights* among not only the ethnic groups, but also other groups in today's globalizing world of increasing differences and contradictions. Those can only be overcome by a thought of returning to the vision of pioneers of the law of nations concept, a community that seeks to overcome the dysfunctions and contradictions by focusing on that which connects, that can lead to reciprocity, exchange and co dependence.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Anna Wilk

Government institutions and selected minority organisations working for the preservation of the culture of ethnic minorities

1. Government institutions in Poland responsible for cooperation with ethnic minorities

Ensuring the observance of the rights of ethnic minorities to preserve and develop their own language or dialect, traditions and their own culture is one of the duties of public authorities. The main body that regulates this issue is the Commission for National and Ethnic Minorities of the Polish Sejm, established in 1989. Its scope of activities include maintaining the cultural and linguistic heritage and the protection of their rights, as well as adherence to the principle of equality regardless of ethnic origin¹⁸¹. In addition, it deals with the co-creation of laws regarding national and ethnic minorities, in cooperation with minority communities, as well as analysis of and intervention in problematic issues¹⁸². These duties were defined by the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (art. 35), and the *Minorities Act*¹⁸³.

This act defined the role of government administration. An important role was foreseen for the Department of Religious Denominations and National and Ethnic Minorities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration. The task of this office is to promote the rights and needs of ethnic groups by supporting the preservation and development of their identity, culture and language, as well as complying with the principle of equality. In addition, the role of the Ministry includes activities promoting civic and social integration, as well as protecting the rights of ethnic minorities. An important task is the dissemination of knowledge about minorities, their culture and their situation within the country¹⁸⁴. In 2005 within this department, the Cultural Affairs Team for National and Ethnic Minorities was established, whose main task is the implementation issues related to minorities, especially in the field of cultural development and preservation of their language. The activities of the team focused on supporting the activities of cultural institutions, artwork and artists, as well as organising cultural events. In addition, they support the publishing of books, magazines, newspapers in minority or regional languages as well as audio and digital recording. The team also deals with the development of libraries. In 2011, this team and the De-

181 *Annex to the Resolution of the Sejm of 30 July 1992. - Terms of the Sejm (consolidated text M. P. 2012 pos. 32, as amended)*

182 Report on the situation of national and ethnic minorities and regional language in the Republic of Poland, Warsaw 2007, p. 89.

183 Nijakowski L., *Oświata mniejszości narodowych w Polsce* [in:] "Zielone Wiadomości", 1 April 2013.

184 Art. 21 of the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language - consolidated text (Journal of Laws, No. 17, item. 141, as amended)



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

partment became part of the Ministry of Administration and Digitisation¹⁸⁵. Since November 2015 it was re-incorporated into the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration. Then, in April 2016, the Department was merged with the Department of Roma Minority and the Team of National and Ethnic Minority Culture, while maintaining its previous name¹⁸⁶.

Within the *Minorities act*, the role of the provincial governor involved the coordination of activities in the region by carrying out projects for the promotion of national and ethnic minorities. An important aspect of this are the steps taken to protect rights and solve the most important problems faced by these communities. To this end, the provincial governor must work with local government bodies and social organisations, especially those connected with minorities¹⁸⁷.

Department of Religious Denominations and National and Ethnic Minorities began working with minority representatives within the framework of the Joint Commission of the Government and National and Ethnic Minorities. Within this framework the following teams operate: education, culture and media, the Roma community. As a consultative and advisory body of the Prime Minister, the Joint Commission has the task of considering matters relating to the rights and needs of minorities and the implementation of programs designed to serve the preservation of their identity and cultural development. Moreover, the Commission gives its opinion on drafts of laws in this regard and state funded initiatives that contribute to the benefit of minorities. The Commission cooperates with government administration and local governments, as well as social organisations. Its opinion is usually based upon the expertise of scientific institutions¹⁸⁸. The Commission consists of representatives of government administration including Ministers of the following departments: Religious Denominations and National and Ethnic Minorities, Public Administration, Culture and National Heritage Protection, Education, Public Finance, Employment, Justice, Home Affairs, Social security, Foreign Affairs. The Commission also includes the presidents of the following: the Central Statistical Office, the Council for the Protection of the Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom and the head of the Chancellery of the Prime Minister. In addition, the Commission is composed of representatives of national minorities and ethnic groupings. The Karaim and Tatar ethnic group have one representative, while the Lemko, and Roma group have two¹⁸⁹.

2. The activities of minority organisations

Currently numerous non-governmental organisations act on behalf of the Roma¹⁹⁰. The first organisation of this ethnic group in Poland was the *Gypsy Committee* in Walbrzych, founded by

185 Team for the Cultural Affairs of National and Ethnic Minorities <http://mniejszosci.narodowe.mac.gov.pl/mne/mniejszosci/podmioty-odpowiedzialn/zespol-kultury-mniejsz/6484,Zespol-do-Spraw-Kultury-Mniejszosci-Narodowych-i-Etnicznych.html>, (access: 14.03.2016).

186 Department of National and Ethnic Minorities <http://mniejszosci.narodowe.mac.gov.pl/mne/mniejszosci/podmioty-odpowiedzialn/wydzial-mniejszosci-na/6482,Wydzial-Mniejszosci-Narodowych-i-Etnicznych.html>, (access: 12.07.2016).

187 Art. 22 of the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language - consolidated text, Journal of Laws, No. 17, item. 141, as amended).

188 Ibidem, art. 23.

189 Ibidem, art. 24.

190 More on this can be read in the chapter by J. Jaciubka: *Romowie w Polsce. Rys historyczno-kulturowy*.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Andrzej Siwak in 1951. The organisation was quickly disbanded and its place was taken by the *Provincial Board of the Association of settled Gypsies*, involved in social work as well as the fight against illiteracy among the Roma¹⁹¹. The oldest organisation for the Roma population still in existence is the *Social and Cultural Roma Society in Tarnow "Roma Cultural Centre in Poland"*, also initiated by Andrew Siwak in 1963 under the name of *Gypsy Cultural and Educational Association "New Life"*. The organisation is committed to the goal of achieving equality for the Roma in socio-political as well as professional terms. Its activity is based mainly on the protection of the rights and interests of the community by providing legal and social counselling. Among the most important Roma organisations one might also include the *Association of Roma in Poland*, the *Union of Polish Roma*, the *Roma Cultural Centre in Poland*. The *Association of Roma in Poland* was established in 1992 in Oświęcim. Its main objective is the integration of the Roma population with the Polish population, activation of the Roma, and changing the prevailing stereotypes about this ethnic group. In addition, the association is committed to taking steps to improve the living conditions of the Roma community in economic as well as social and cultural terms.

The Union of Polish Roma was established in 2000 in Szczecinek. The president of the organisation is Roman Chojnacki, a member of the Joint Commission of Government and National and Ethnic Minorities. The main area of the Union's activities is to work with governments, international and national organisations and foundations, to help the Roma — including the International Organisation for Migration and the Polish Union of Victims of Nazism. The association also works in the socio-cultural and educational field. In 2001 the *Institute of Remembrance and Heritage and Roma victims of the Holocaust* was created in order to conduct research on the persecution of the Roma, with particular emphasis on the events of World War II. An important event was the establishment in 2011 of the *Federation of Roma "From"*, uniting nearly 40 associations of the Roma minority, which gained official status as representing the community politically and legally¹⁹².

Other associations working on behalf of the Roma, highlighted by the romopedia.pl portal are:

- ◆ *The Central Roma Council*,
- ◆ *The Association of the Roma National Minority "Solidarity" of the Republic of Poland based in Kielce*,
- ◆ *The Association of the Roma National Minority "Roma Union" of the Republic of Poland based in Wloclawek*,
- ◆ *The Socio-Cultural Association of Roma in Poland in Kedzierzyn-Kozle*,
- ◆ *The Advisory and Information Centre for the Roma in Poland, based in Lodz*,
- ◆ *The Malopolska Association of Roma in Andrychów*
- ◆ *The "Nova Roma" Association in Lublin*,

191 Pochyły P., Romowie. *Stowarzyszenia Romskie w Polsce*, [in:] *Stowarzyszenia mniejszości narodowych, etnicznych i postulowanych w Polsce po II wojnie światowej...*, 246. cf. Sołtysik Ł., *Działalność Komitetu Cygańskiego w Wałbrzychu 1951-1952) i Wojewódzkiego Zarządu Stowarzyszenia Cyganów Osiedłych w Wałbrzychu (1952-1955)*, [in:] *Situation of Roma Minority in Czech, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia*, ed. J. Balvin, Ł Kwadrans, Wrocław 2010, A. Mirga, Romowie – proces kształtowania się podmiotowości politycznej, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce*, ed. P. Madajczyk, Warszawa 1998.

192 Pochyły P., *Romowie...*, p. 254.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

- ◆ *The Association of Roma Women in Poland, based in Krakow,*
- ◆ *The "Kałe Jakhana" Society for the Promotion of Roma culture and tradition based in Krakow,*
- ◆ *The "Czerchan" Association of Roma in Poland based in Bytom,*
- ◆ *The "Familia" Association of the Roma Community in Tarnow*
- ◆ *The Association of Roma in Stalowa Wola,*
- ◆ *The "Gitano" Association of Roma Culture in Olsztyn,*
- ◆ *The Association of Artists and Friends of the Gypsy Culture in Gorzow Wielkopolski*¹⁹³.

Lemko NGOs, despite their ideological and nationalistic differences, seek to maintain their own culture as well as to eliminate the effects of resettlement as part of the "Vistula" campaign. In April of 1989 in Legnica, the first Lemko organisation — the *Lemko Association* — was established, representing their orientation and noting their distinctiveness from the Ukrainian people, noting that they belong to the Carpathian Rusyns¹⁹⁴. The initiator of the organisation was Dmitri Rusynko. 30 June 1989 saw the first issue of the official organ — "Besida"¹⁹⁵. An important aspect of the creation of this organisation was a manifestation of the national identity and integration of this community¹⁹⁶. The aim of the Association is to integrate the Lemko people, protect and develop their culture and tradition, as well as study of the Lemko ethnolect. Additionally, they are involved in the promotion of the history of Lemkovina outside the country. These principles are put into practice during the organisation of cultural and educational events, concerts, theatrical stage productions, seminars, etc. In addition, the Association aims to open libraries, reading rooms, clubs and museums. It brings together amateur artistic groups and organises courses on Lemko culture. An important activity is also the publication of minority magazines, literature and brochures, as well as cataloging and preserving Lemko cultural monuments.

On 30 December 1989, the *Gorlitz Lemko Association* was established, whose stance is that the Lemko people belong to the Ukrainian nation while also emphasising their regional distinctiveness. The organisation works closely with the Association of Ukrainians in Poland. It works in the socio-political field, both nationally and internationally. It also aims to *represent and protect the interests of the Ukrainian ethnographic groups of the Lemko, while respecting the laws of the Republic of Poland*, especially in terms of redress, particularly material compensation, for their resettlement as part of the "Vistula" campaign¹⁹⁷.

193 Roma associations in Poland http://romopedia.pl/index.php?title=Stowarzyszenia_romskie_w_Polsce, (access:27.05.2016).

194 Barwiński M., *Ukraińskie i łemkowskie struktury organizacyjne w Polsce w latach 1956-2012*, [in:] „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis Folia Geographica socio-oeconomica” nr 12(2012), p. 130.

195 <http://www.stowarzyszenielemkow.pl>, (access: 05.05.2016_.

196 Dudra S., *Łemkowie. Struktury organizacyjne Łemków w powojennej Polsce*, [in:] *Stowarzyszenia mniejszości narodowych, etnicznych i postulowanych w Polsce po II wojnie światowej...*, p. 257, cf. Albin J., Chudy J., *Z genezy Stowarzyszenia Łemków*, [in:] „Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis Studia nad współczesną myślą polityczną”, ed. Lewandowskiego C., nr 1665(1994).

197 Dudra S., *Łemkowie...*, p. 276.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

The organisation also seeks to protect the Lemko culture in terms of music, architecture and painting, as well as folk art and folklore, along with the promotion of regional and amateur groups. It is also involved in the development of education and study in the Lemko community, especially research on the Lemko culture through the organisation of educational courses, conferences and seminars. The main emphasis is on the desire to learn the Ukrainian language in schools attended by Lemko children. Like the Lemko Association, they are particularly keen on publishing magazines, periodicals, and advertising materials.

The main objectives of that association are educational activities (including the organisation of academic conferences, seminars, language courses for Lemko children), cultural (concerts, exhibitions, workshops) and educational (visits to theatres, museums and open-air museums). The organisation also publishes. It runs libraries, archives and the Ivan Rusenki memorial room. It is the co-founder of the Lem.fm Lemko radio station and the *Lem.fm* + Internet portal.

The preservation of Lemko tradition and culture is also undertaken by associations such as:

◆ The “Kyczera” *Lemko Song and Dance Ensemble*, founded in 1991 in Legnica by Jerzy Starzynski. Its main aim is to uphold Lemko traditions, artistic education and inspiration for research on Lemko culture¹⁹⁸.

1. – *The Lemko Association for Fans of Lemko Culture*, formed in 1992 with the aim of integrating the Lemko community, as well as the protection of its cultural heritage and ethnic identity, especially by organising cultural activities, for example *Lemko Watra in Ługi and A Night of Lemko Culture*¹⁹⁹.
2. *The Association for the Development of Museum of Lemko Culture in Zydranowa*,
3. The “*Rutenika*” *Foundation for the Support of the Lemko Minority*, established in 2001 in order to offer financial support for Lemko cultural activity, especially in the areas of literature, folk art and Lemko traditions²⁰⁰.
4. The “*Czuha*” *Lemko Youth Association*, created in 2007 with the goal of integrating young people, supporting the creation and dissemination of knowledge about the history of Lemkovina²⁰¹. A very important initiative undertaken by the association was a campaign to produce signs with Polish-Lemko names of places²⁰².
5. The “*Hospodar*” *Rusyn Democratic Circle of the Lemko in Poland*, an organisation that strives for the return of the Lemko to Lemkovina, to redress the damage caused by the displacement. It co-operates with the Lemko Association and publishes the “Lemko” quarterly²⁰³.

198 Dudra S., *Łemkowie...*, p. 281, cf. <http://www.kyczera.eu/>, (access: 17.05.2016).

199 <http://www.strzelce.pl/pl/4764,Stowarzyszenie...html>, (access: 19.05.2016). cf. Słowińska S., *Inicjatywy Stowarzyszenia Miłośników Kultury Łemkowskiej. Utrwalanie enklawy etnicznej*, [in:] “Opuscula Sociologica”, nr 1, (7)2014, s. 51-61.

200 <http://www.beskid-niski.pl/index.php?pos=/lemkowie/dzialalnosc/fundacje>, (dostęp:21.05.2016).

201 <http://bazy.ngo.pl/search/info.asp?id=178140>, (access:23.05.2016).

202 Dudra S., *Łemkowie...*, p. 286.

203 Ibidem p. 280, cf. <http://www.beskid-niski.pl/index.php?pos=/lemkowie/historia/3rp>, access:21.05.2016.



THE CREATIVE ACTIVITY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XX AND XXI CENTURIES

Other associations acting on behalf of the Lemko people are: the "Łemkowyna" Association of Folk Song and Dance, the "Serencza" Association for the Promotion of Lemko Arts, the "Wereteno" Association for the Support of Lemko Culture, the Jan Krynicki Lemko Educational Foundation, the Carpathian Terka Association²⁰⁴.

In Poland, the associations of the Tatar minority are rather active. The *Association of Tatars of the Polish Republic* was established in 1992 with the aim of integrating this ethnic minority. The Statutes of the Association stipulated that they are the heir to the tradition of such Tartar organisations as: the Circle of Polish Academic Muslims, the Association to Help Poor Muslims, the *Cultural-Educational Association of Tatars of the Polish Republic*, the *Union of Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian Tatars*, as well as the *Association of Polish Tatars in the Republic of Poland*. The organisation aims to maintain awareness of ethnic integration, as well as research concerning Tatar culture and traditions. An important aspect of such activities is to protect the interests of the Tatar population in social or professional terms. These goals are pursued via cultural and educational activities, including: training, education and sports events, publishing and academic work conducted with other Tatar organisations, academic research institutions and religious organisations. The association involves the younger members of its community by organising events for young people. An important aspect of the organisation is social work and charity.

A very important organisation that integrates the Tatar population is the Muslim Religious Union based in Białystok and established in 1925. It also represents the interests of ethnic groups against state institutions, non-governmental organisations, as well as foreign Muslim groups. The main duties of the Union are to nurture the tradition of Islam, as well as to disseminate knowledge about Muslim culture, art and science. It takes care of Muslim cemeteries, community centres and mosques. It works for the construction of religious, educational and cultural objects. The union also protects the study of Sharia; it also organises prayer events, religious ceremonies and education. In addition, it is involved in charity, education, culture, art and publishing. Since 2009 it has brought out the "Tatar Review", a socio-cultural quarterly²⁰⁵.

The smallest Karaim ethnic group is integrated within the *Union of Polish Karaites*, whose main objective is to consolidate this community. The organisation aims to conduct research on their history, culture and traditions, including statistical analysis. It conducts activities aimed at empowering young people in the context of the "Dostlar" *Karaim Folk* group, as well as maintaining contacts with groups of Karaites outside the country. The Association also created a digital Karaim archive, publishes the "Awazymyz" magazine and the "Almanac Karaite" annual. Recently it published a Karaite calendar for 2016²⁰⁶.

204 Barwiński M., *Ukraińskie...*

205 Statut Muzułmańskiego Związku Religijnego <http://mzr.pl/statut/>, (access:01.06.2016).

cf. Chazbijewicz S., *Tatarzy. Organizacje społeczne i kulturalne oraz religijne polskich Tatarów...*, p. 287-297.

206 <http://www.karaimi.org/o-nas/zrealizowane-projekty>, (access:05.06.2016). cf. Dudra S., Kubiak R., *Karaimi. Organizacje mniejszości karaimskiej w Polsce*, [in:] *Stowarzyszenia mniejszości narodowych, etnicznych i postulowanych w Polsce po II wojnie światowej...*, p. 289-312.