STUDIA PAEDAGOGICA
IGNATIANA

spi

Multicultural Families

Rodziny wielokulturowe

Spis treści

Contents

E w a   S o w a - B e h t a n e
ORCID: 0000-0002-0190-0567
Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow

Introduction

A multicultural family is a small social group, consisting of parents and their children who declare origin from (belonging to) two (or more) different larger cultural groups.

Scholarly interest in multicultural marriages and families focuses primarily on the functioning of culturally distant couples and discussing this phenomenon in the context of the relationship between the separate traditions from which the spouses come. This research thread often concentrates on the differences and conflicts arising on religious grounds, as well as on the negotiations of patterns of cultural socialization and integration of children from mixed relationships.

A family entangled in cultural differences, both within itself and beyond, is a complex and multidimensional environment of educational influences. These cultural differences create spaces for the personal, social and cultural self-identification of family members, also in terms of intergenerational transmission. Therefore, the cultural potential of the family, which can be considered in two perspectives, family and social, is the most important in its functioning.

Multicultural marriages are becoming a factor leading to social transformation: increasing diversity and crossing or even blurring the boundaries of cultural groups, especially through the emerging mixed identities of children born in multicultural families.

More and more Poles are entering into such marriages every year. On the one hand, this is due to the greater migration possibilities

of Poles than, for example, 30 years ago, and on the other hand, to the intensifying intercultural relations in Poland. This is a result of the growing immigration of foreigners to Poland after joining the European Union, which has made Poland a more attractive country for non-EU citizens. In addition, the globalization of the world, which enables travel, student exchanges and the use of global Internet portals, contributes to intermarriages and the formation of multicultural families.

This issue of *Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana* deals with the questions of the broadly defined functioning of multicultural families. This collection of studies is a significant contribution to the growing body of knowledge in the researched field.

The most important process from which the analysis of the functioning of multicultural families should begin is the formation of the cultural identity of their members. It is the being of a person, their personality, and within it their identity that is the result of functioning in a particular family. Three articles in this issue are devoted to the problem of cultural identity.

In the first article, Alina Szczurek-Boruta provides an analysis of the importance of the family in the construction of an individual's identity (on the basis of the interviews with families living in Cieszyn [the Polish part of Cieszyn Silesia] and in Zaolzie [the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia]).

The problem of how identity is shaped in multicultural families is also addressed in the work of Adela Kożyczkowska, entitled "I Felt That Two Cultures Were Competing for my Identity": Bicultural Families as a Space of Discursive Identity Creation." The goal of the article is to identify the conditions of constructing human identity (child/adult) in Kashubian-Polish bicultural families.

The next authors, Gabriel Alberto Ceballos Rodríguez and Mare Ainsaar, in the article entitled "Influence of Parenthood on Ethnic Identity: A Qualitative Study Among Parents of Children with Mixed Ethnic Background Children in Estonia," analyze the impact of parenthood on the awareness of ethnic identity among parents of children from different backgrounds in Estonia.

Irena Bogoczová, in her article "One House, Two Languages," touches on the subject of home (family) bilingualism and deals with the issue of which language a child (children) should learn first from

their parents in a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual environment. An example of such an environment is Zaolzie, i.e. the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia.

In the article entitled "Jewish Motherhood in the Narratives of Mothers Living in Poland," Agnieszka Krawczyk and Magdalena Matusiak-Rojek describe the styles of motherhood and show the importance of the transfer of the culture of origin and upbringing for the parenting role of Jewish women.

The topic of Jewish identity is also explored by Agnieszka Krawczyk in the article "Landmark Events in the Lives of the Characters in the film *Purim Miracle*." The fate of the characters is interpreted in relation to the process structures distinguished by Fritz Schütze.

Two research articles are featured in the research reports section. The first, by Agnieszka Knap-Stefaniuk, entitled "Managers' Power and Its Sources in Managing People in Multicultural Teams: The Results of Interviews With Czech, Portuguese, and French Managers," presents the ways in which Czech, Portuguese and French managers define the concept of "power," identifies the sources of power they use, and demonstrates the impact of managers' power on managing people in culturally diverse teams.

The second, entitled "Integration of Immigrants With the Host Society: On the Example of Participation in Traditions, Holidays, Celebrations and Cultural Life," of which I am the author, presents the problem of integration of immigrants in Poland, which was described by means of a survey conducted in 2022 among immigrants living in Krakow.

The above content of the journal is enriched with two reviews. The first one, prepared by Cyprian Rogowski, is a review of a book by Janusz Mariański entitled *Socio-cultural Pluralism as a Megatrend vs. Religiosity and Morality: A Sociological Study*. The second one, prepared by Władysława Szulakiewicz, is a review of Stefan Kieniewicz's book entitled *Memoirs*, which was edited and prepared for printing by Jan Kieniewicz.

As the thematic editor of this issue of *Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana*, I hope that reading the articles will contribute to expanding your knowledge of the functioning of multicultural marriages and families, and, more broadly, of multicultural societies.

ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE

Dr. Ewa Sowa-Behtane
Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow
Institute of Pedagogical Sciences
e-mail: ewa.sowa@ignatianum.edu.pl

Ewa Sowa-Behtane
ORCID: 0000-0002-0190-0567
Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie

Wprowadzenie

Rodzina wielokulturowa to mała grupa społeczna, składająca się z rodziców oraz ich dzieci, którzy deklarują pochodzenie z (przynależność do) dwóch (lub więcej) odmiennych, większych całości kulturowych.

Naukowe zainteresowanie małżeństwami i rodzinami wielokulturowymi koncentruje się przede wszystkim wokół funkcjonowania par odległych kulturowo i przedstawiania tego zjawiska w kontekście relacji między odrębnymi tradycjami, z których wywodzą się współmałżonkowie. Wątek ten eksponowany jest szczególnie w odniesieniu do różnic i konfliktów powstających na tle religijnym oraz negocjacji dotyczących wzorów socjalizacji kulturowej i integracji dzieci pochodzących ze związków mieszanych.

Rodzina uwikłana w różnice kulturowe, zarówno w obrębie jej samej, jak i poza nią, stanowi złożone i wielowymiarowe środowisko wychowawczego oddziaływania. Owe różnice kulturowe kreują bowiem przestrzenie autoidentyfikacji osobowej, społecznej i kulturowej członków rodziny, także w perspektywie międzypokoleniowej transmisji. Najważniejszy w funkcjonowaniu jest zatem potencjał kulturowy rodziny, który można rozpatrywać w dwóch perspektywach – rodzinnej i społecznej.

Małżeństwa wielokulturowe stają się czynnikiem prowadzącym do transformacji społecznej: wzrostu zróżnicowania i przekraczania czy wręcz zacierania granic grup kulturowych, zwłaszcza poprzez wyłaniające się mieszane tożsamości dzieci urodzonych w rodzinach wielokulturowych.

Takie małżeństwa zawiera z roku na rok coraz więcej Polek i Polaków. Z jednej strony jest to spowodowane na przykład większymi niż 30 lat temu możliwościami migracyjnymi Polaków, a z drugiej strony nasilającymi się na terenie Polski kontaktami międzykulturowymi. Spowodowane jest to rosnącym zjawiskiem imigracji cudzoziemców do Polski po wstąpieniu naszego kraju do Unii Europejskiej, dzięki czemu Polska stała się krajem bardziej atrakcyjnym dla obywateli spoza Unii. Ponadto globalizacja umożliwiająca podróże, wymiany studenckie czy korzystanie z portali internetowych o zasięgu globalnym – wszystko to przyczynia się do zawierania małżeństw i powstawania rodzin wielokulturowych.

Prezentowany zeszyt czasopisma „Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana" podejmuje zagadnienia szeroko rozumianego funkcjonowania rodzin wielokulturowych. Zbiór prezentowanych opracowań stanowi istotny wkład w tworzenie wiedzy w badanym zakresie.

Najważniejszym procesem, od którego należy rozpocząć analizy funkcjonowania rodzin wielokulturowych, jest kształtowanie się tożsamości kulturowej ich członków. To właśnie jestestwo człowieka, jego osobowość, a w jej ramach tożsamość, jest wynikiem funkcjonowania w konkretnej rodzinie. Problemowi tożsamości kulturowej zostały poświęcone trzy artykuły.

W pierwszym artykule, pt. *Rodzina i konstrukcje tożsamości młodzieży w warunkach pogranicza*, Alina Szczurek-Boruta przedstawia analizę dotyczą znaczenia rodziny w konstruowaniu tożsamości jednostki (na podstawie badań ankietowych przeprowadzonych wśród rodzin z Cieszyna [polska część Śląska Cieszyńskiego] oraz rodzin z Zaolzia [czeska część Śląska Cieszyńskiego]).

Problem kształtowania tożsamości człowieka w rodzinach wielokulturowych został także podjęty w pracy Adeli Kożyczkowskiej pt. *„Czułem, że dwie kultury rywalizują o moją tożsamość". Rodziny dwukulturowe jako przestrzeń dyskursywnego wytwarzania tożsamości*. Celem artykułu jest rozpoznanie warunków konstruowania tożsamości człowieka (dziecka/dorosłego) w rodzinach dwukulturowych kaszubsko-polskich.

Kolejni autorzy, Gabriel Alberto Ceballos Rodríguez i Mare Ainsaar, w artykule pt. *Influence of Parenthood on Ethnic Identity: A Qualitative Study Among Parents of Mixed Ethnic Background Children in Estonia*, analizują wpływ rodzicielstwa na świadomość

tożsamości etnicznej wśród rodziców dzieci z różnych środowisk w Estonii.

Z kolei Irena Bogoczová w artykule *Jeden dom, dwa języki* porusza temat domowej (rodzinnej) dwujęzyczności i zajmuje się kwestią, w jakim języku powinno się wychowywać dziecko (dzieci) w środowisku wieloetnicznym i wielojęzycznym. Przykładem takiego środowiska jest Zaolzie, czyli czeska część Śląska Cieszyńskiego.

W artykule pt. *Macierzyństwo po żydowsku w narracjach matek żyjących w Polsce* Agnieszka Krawczyk i Magdalena Matusiak-Rojek charakteryzują style macierzyństwa i ukazują wpływ transferu kultury pochodzenia i wychowania na pełnienie roli rodzicielskiej przez kobiety pochodzenia żydowskiego.

Wątek żydowskiej tożsamości został również przedstawiony przez Agnieszkę Krawczyk w artykule *Wydarzenia przełomowe w życiu bohaterów filmu „Cud purymowy"*. Losy bohaterów interpretowane są w odniesieniu do struktur procesowych wyróżnionych przez Fritza Schützego.

W dziale raporty z badań umieszczone zostały dwa artykuły badawcze. Pierwszy z nich, autorstwa Agnieszki Knap-Stefaniuk, pt. *Managers' Power and Its Sources in Managing People in Multicultural Teams: The Results of Interviews with the Czech, Portuguese, and French Managers*, przedstawia sposoby definiowania pojęcia „władzy" przez menedżerów czeskich, portugalskich i francuskich, określenie stosowanych przez nich źródeł władzy, a także wykazanie wpływu władzy menedżerów na zarządzanie ludźmi w zespołach zróżnicowanych kulturowo.

Drugi tekst umieszczony w tym dziale, zatytułowany *Integracja pomiędzy imigrantami a społeczeństwem przyjmującym (na przykładzie Krakowa)*, którego jestem autorką, przedstawia problem integracji imigrantów w Polsce, który opisano za pomocą przeprowadzonych w 2022 roku badań przeprowadzonych wśród imigrantów mieszkających w Krakowie.

W dziale recenzyjnym zamieszczono dwie recenzje. Pierwsza, autorstwa Cypriana Rogowskiego, omawia książkę Janusza Mariańskiego *Pluralizm społeczno-kulturowy jako megatrend a religijność i moralność. Studium socjologiczne*. Druga, autorstwa Władysławy Szulakiewicz, to recenzja książki Stefana Kieniewicza pt. *Pamiętniki*, opracowanej i przygotowanej do druku przez Jana Kieniewicza.

Jako redaktorka tematyczna tego zeszytu czasopisma „Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana" wyrażam nadzieję, że lektura zamieszczonych w nim artykułów przyczyni się do poszerzenia Państwa wiedzy z zakresu funkcjonowania małżeństw i rodzin wielokulturowych, oraz szerzej – społeczeństw wielokulturowych.

ADRES DO KORESPONDENCJI

Dr Ewa Sowa-Behtane
Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie
Instytut Nauk Pedagogicznych
e-mail: ewa.sowa@ignatianum.edu.pl

Articles and dissertations

Artykuły
i rozprawy

Alina Szczurek-Boruta
ORCID: 0000-0001-7705-4398
University of Silesia in Katowice

The Family and Identity Constructions of the Youth in Borderlands

ABSTRACT

The theoretical framework for this discussion is constructivism and Jerzy Nikitorowicz's concept of the multifaceted, constantly self--creating identity. In this study, it is assumed that an individual's identity is socially constructed. The author recognises the subjective characteristics of an individual (which she considers in the broader context of social experiences collected and [re]constructed during primary and secondary socialisation) as important factors that are crucially involved in the process of identity formation.

This discussion is based on multivariate quantitative and qualitative research conducted for over 30 years in the Polish–Czech borderland, in Cieszyn Silesia. The analysis concerns the importance of the family (its function in both the Polish part of Cieszyn Silesia and in Zaolzie—the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia) in constructing an individual's identity. In this context, it should be stated that an individual shapes the core of their identity in the process of primary socialisation—the relatively constant part of it. This core allows for continuity and is a constructive response to the ambiguity of the world. An individual reconstructs their identity on the basis of the available cultural sources by adding them to the core of their identity.

Articles and dissertations

Introduction

The family always functions in a specific social reality, within a particular local community, which has specific characteristics. Macrostructural, mesostructural and microstructural conditions are important for its functioning. The point of reference for this study is not so much macrostructural changes, but locality. The local community and the place of residence significantly determine the functioning of the family and the formation of national, ethnic and religious attitudes, the identity of its members and their system of values.

The theoretical framework for the discussion is constructivism and Jerzy Nikitorowicz's concept of the multifaceted, constantly self-creating identity. I assume that an individual's identity is socially constructed. I believe that the subjective characteristics of an individual (which I consider in the broader context of social experiences collected and [re]constructed during primary and secondary socialisation) are important factors that are crucially involved in the process of identity formation.

Today, the immigration of foreigners to Poland is growing as a consequence of the ease of travel, the practice of student exchanges and the arrival of refugees, for example. All of these factors contribute to the occurrence of mixed, multicultural marriages. This raises specific challenges and problems for the formation of an individual's identity. This text is mainly devoted to selected issues of socialisation and upbringing in the family in socially and culturally diverse communities (especially in borderland areas), and to their contribution to shaping young people's identities.

Theoretical and methodological assumptions

My attempt to reflect on families living near borders and on their children's identity formation is based on social developmental psychology. The context of this reflection is the reality experienced by the family, the meanings given to experiences, the changes occurring in the perception of one's own place and the constructivist understanding of individual and social development. Constructivism is not a unified, coherent position, but a collection of concepts and claims in the social, natural and formal sciences. A common feature of its

varieties (social constructivism, cognitive constructivism, epistemological/methodological constructivism) is the assumption that knowledge about the world (both everyday knowledge and scientific knowledge) is constructed in the processes of social interaction. While showing the subjective/objective entanglements and the conditions of the social reality-making processes, I will refer directly to the work of Burkard Holzner, as well as of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann.

Holzer's starting point is the assumption that the activity of the acting subject is embedded in the sociocultural environment from the beginning. According to him, the activity of the subject—seen in terms of particularistic experience—includes four basic contexts or dimensions: (1) the actor's experience, located in a particular time and space; (2) the current present—each experience is embedded in a specific context of values, norms and customs; (3) the attribution of different meanings or senses by individual social actors to the same objects; and (4) the situation of the processes in question in specific channels of interpersonal communication (Holzner 1968: 21–40).

According to the thesis formulated by Berger and Luckmann (1983), an individual's identity is socially constructed. This takes place gradually, in the process of primary and secondary socialisation, according to the social structure prevailing in a given society at a given historical time.

In the theoretical construction of this paper, I also refer to Jerzy Nikitorowicz's concept of the multifaceted, continuously self-creating identity. The concept assumes a continuous process of formation and functioning of identity in the triad of inherited identity—identity acquired in the process of socialisation—the chosen identity of "I" (Nikitorowicz 2001: 15–35). He points out that in culturally diverse regions, the formation of a sense of identity depends on many factors, and that the process of identity formation is a dynamic, continuous process. The most important stage of identity development is the period of childhood (Nikitorowicz 2005), and the first stage of rooting is the family identity (see Nikitorowicz 1992). It is during this time that the child acquires knowledge about themselves and the world around them. In subsequent periods of development, this knowledge is consolidated, expanded and modified, constructed, and reconstructed. People appear in the life of a young person who contribute more or less to the formation of their character, views and opinions.

The considerations are based on research which took into account many variables and was conducted for more than 30 years in the Polish–Czech borderland, in the Polish and Czech parts of Cieszyn Silesia. The historical territory of Cieszyn Silesia was divided between Poland and Czechoslovakia by the decision of the Council of Ambassadors on 28 July 1920. From that moment on, Cieszyn Silesia as a political and administrative unit disappeared. The part of Cieszyn Silesia belonging to Poland was called the Cieszyn Land. The remaining (eastern) part, which was annexed to Czechoslovakia, was named Zaolzie (Trans-Olza).[1]

The analysis in this article is concerned with the role of the family in the construction of an individual's identity (the Cieszyn family, functioning in the Polish part of Cieszyn Silesia, and the Zaolzie family, functioning in the Czech part). The general nature of the considerations justifies this selectivity. In this study I refer to selected results of quantitative research carried out in the area between 1990 and 2022 by a team under the direction of Tadeusz Lewowicki, in which I participated.[2] I cite, among other things, the results of the comparative quantitative and qualitative research on youth development tasks and social conditions of education conducted in 2003–2004 and 2016–2017.[3] In order to deepen my analysis and reflections and to stimulate the reflection on the condition of the family and on the duties and possibilities of bringing up the next generation for a

1   In Polish terminology, "Zaolzie" refers to the part of Cieszyn Silesia which is located in Czechia and inhabited by native Poles. In Czechia, the terms "Těšínsko" or "české Těšínsko" (Czech Cieszyn Silesia) are used in several meanings to specify either the area of Czech Cieszyn, the whole historical Cieszyn Silesia or the whole part of Cieszyn Silesia located on the Czech part of the border.

2   The research conducted by the Social Research Team for Borderland Culture and Education (Społeczny Zespół Badań Kultury i Oświaty Pogranicza) were presented in a series of works called "Intercultural Education" (over 80 volumes have been published from 1992 to the present) and in the journal Intercultural Education, published since 2012. In this article, I return to the issues mentioned earlier, to explore and expand on them. I place the reflections in a different theoretical and problem-orientated setting than was applied previously.

3   As part of the author's theoretical and empirical research project, I conducted a comparative pedagogical study, 13 years apart, of two demographic cohorts of young people living in the Polish part of the Polish–Czech borderland. I present their results in two of my monographs (Szczurek-Boruta 2007, 2019).

successful life, I conducted qualitative research among 24-year-olds, inhabitants of the Polish and Czech parts of Cieszyn Silesia, in 2022.[4]

The study group in that research included inhabitants of the region located in Poland and Czechia, territorially constituting the southern part of the Polish–Czech borderland. People living in the Polish part of Cieszyn Silesia (Poles—people of Polish citizenship and Polish nationality) and people living in the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia (the Zaolziak people[5]—native Polish people, people with Czech citizenship or Czech/Polish nationality) participated in the study.

The selection of respondents (the research from 1990 to the present) was non-random. The elements of purposeful selection were age (different age groups: children, adolescents, adults and seniors); social role (child, parent and grandparent); and place of residence (Cieszyn Silesia—representing subgroups from the Polish and Czech parts of Cieszyn Silesia). A comparative approach was used, which contributes to a better understanding of the facts, phenomena and processes described in the two neighbouring countries.

The research whose results I refer to used a survey (the primary research tool was an auditorium and correspondence questionnaire) and in-depth individual interviews (Frankfort-Nachmias, Nachmias 2001). The methods of quantitative data analysis used to process the collected material were statistical methods. Interpretivism was used in the analysis of the qualitative data (Miles, Huberman 2000: 8–9) and the elements of analytical work included data representations (Kubinowski 2012: 251). A detailed description of the research methodology is presented in the individual studies I refer to, so I will not present it here. This is beyond the scope of this article, and the reader is referred to the cited texts.

The description, diagnosis, explanation, understanding and interpretation of facts, phenomena and processes of identity formation, socialisation and upbringing in the family are broadened by the (micro)historical perspective. History is used in order to better understand the role of the social environment in human life, and the

---

[4] In-depth individual interviews were conducted online with 16 women aged 24 (8 in the Polish part and 8 in the Czech part). This material has not been presented before.

5 The term "Zaolziak" refers to the regional identification of the respondents living in Zaolzie, Czechia.

importance of the "historical factor" is emphasised by authors such as Wiesław Theiss (2006).

The meaning of the Cieszyn and Zaolzie family in building the identity of young people, based on the research results

The Polish–Czech borderland is a border area between the two countries where various spheres of social, cultural, political and economic life interweave. It is an area where national and state interests clash, where cultures and ideologies intermingle. The borderland has been a source of tension and conflict in the past—including armed conflicts (the Polish–Czechoslovak war in 1919)—and now it fosters friendship and cooperation between people and their cultures (the phenomena were particularly intensive after 2004, when Poland and Czechia joined the European Community) (*Euroregions…* 2014; Śliż, Szczepański 2016: 47–59). Borderlands are founded on the specific features of the place and the people that result from the permanent intermingling of cultures in a specific social space. Among the inhabitants of Cieszyn Silesia, the conviction that the place, i.e. the region in which they live, is better than others has prevailed for centuries. They have been supported in this conviction by writers, journalists, ruling elites and teachers (Szczurek-Boruta 2008: 87–104).

The value of the Cieszyn region and family home was made famous by poems and songs by Jan Kubisz (1848–1929), a local teacher, poet, memoirist and social activist (see Gładysz, Rosner 2012: 145–146). His most popular songs, such as *Płyniesz, Olzo…* [You Flow, Olza], *Nad Olzą* [By the Olza River]) and especially *Ojcowski dom* [Father's House], accompany family celebrations (birthdays, weddings and funerals), as well as the meetings of local associations. These songs have become the unofficial anthems of Cieszyn Poles on both sides of the national border. In 2008, the song *Ojcowski dom* was recognised as the anthem of regionalists of the Cieszyn Land:

Ojcowski dom to istny raj	*Father's house is like a Paradise*
Dar Ojca Niebieskiego	*A gift of the Heavenly Father*
Chociażbyś przeszedł cały świat	*Even if you crossed the whole world*
Nie znajdziesz piękniejszego!	*You would not find a more beautiful one!* [6]

6   The text is available on the website https://www.partykula.pl/ojcowski-dom/.

In the view of sociologists, the Polish–Czech borderland is an example of "a borderland isolated from the state and the nation, maintaining itself by its own internal forces and its own means, generating in its culture forces of resistance to foreign domination, as well as a resilient force of assimilation and subjugation of those foreign components to its essential content" (Szczepański 1990: 10).

In a borderland, as Halina Rusek writes, a "man with a heterogeneous identity and cultural competence, distancing himself from stereotypical thinking about 'others'" is formed: a man who has acquired an extraordinary ability to tame multiculturalism in himself (Rusek 2008: 85).

Cieszyn Silesia is a region centred around the city of Cieszyn and the Olza River; it includes the lands of the former Duchy of Cieszyn (Chlebowczyk 1971; Szymeczek, Kaszper 2006). It is an area of cohabitation and coexistence of population groups that are heterogeneous in terms of language, ethnic origin, nationality, religion and confessions (Kadłubiec 2016; Rusek, Pieńczak, Szczyrbowski 2010). The region is rich in social and cultural institutions and organisations (Szczurek-Boruta 2008: 87–104; 2013: 9–26). The attachment to local traditions, especially family traditions, is strong in the area (Lipok-Bierwiaczonek 1984; Ogrodzka-Mazur 2011: 15–71; Studnicki 2015). Multiculturalism, multi-religiousness, intercultural relations, historical experiences, the border location and traditions of forming a complex, multidimensional identity and participating in a well-organised regional cultural life have always been an expression of the strength and power of the inhabitants resisting the assimilation flooding the area.

The family in this area has always been an important factor in the formation of a person's identity, as it ensures persistence, survival and active acclimation to the conditions of numerous political changes (the area has changed nationality many times), as well as sociocultural, economic and civilisational changes (e.g. Rusek 1997; Różańska 2000: 72–83; Urban 2002: 181–187).

In the constructivist approach, the process of a social actor's continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of the sociocultural reality (social environment)—as Holzner argues—is located on two basic and interrelated levels: the institutional and the individual.

The former refers to the typical frame of reference that marks one or another social role; the latter focusses on the person and their identity.

In this article I focus on the family as one of the many systems of reference existing at the institutional level and on the level of identity (the individual level). According to Holzner, the formation of a relatively stable, mature individual identity is possible through the assimilation of the components of the symbolic system, as this system provides the modelled solutions for the fulfilment of human intentions (Holzner 1968: 21–40).

In theoretical and empirical studies on the family, it is assumed that a family embedded in a diverse space determines social patterns of behaviour and attitudes, thus setting its own path for the formation of both personality and identity. Researchers of culturally diverse, multicultural and mixed families focus on various aspects of their lives: ancestral experiences (e.g. Panic 2002: 105–117; Kasprzycki 2013: 181–204), types of families (Nikitorowicz 1992), social functioning in culturally and confessionally heterogeneous environments (e.g. Nowicka 2003: 222–241; Ogrodzka-Mazur 2010: 445–461; Hruzd-Matuszczyk 2012: 51–58; Sowa-Behtane 2016; Miluska 2018: 42–60), conflicts, risks and the quality of multicultural marriages (Sowa-Behtane 2017: 79–92; 2019: 194–205).

The differentiation of the family refers to its various aspects. Leon Dyczewski points to "differentiation inside the family," i.e. mainly differentiation in terms of the positions and roles of family members (Dyczewski 1994: 106). Jolanta Suchodolska, in the context of her research on the family determinants of the formation and development of "doubled" and "dispersed" identities in a borderland, takes into account the "differentiation of an ethnic and religious nature, resulting from matrimonial relationships of family members" (Suchodolska 2000: 39).

Marian Golka defines the multicultural family as a type of a family in which "the system of values may be a barely mixed collection of different influences resulting from different sources and cultural circles, e.g. through the scale of the family in which the spouses are of different nationalities and, moreover, they live in a foreign environment; through the scale of the building (e.g. a block of flats inhabited by immigrants from different countries)" (Golka 1997: 53).

Ewa Sowa-Bethane, in turn, perceives multiculturalism as "the co-presence and interaction of various cultural models in the area of family activity. Thus, the multicultural family, as a social group, transmits the models of minimum two cultures, equips its members with a basic bicultural resource and provides a repertoire of traditions of at least two cultures" (Sowa-Bethane 2017: 81).

In the Polish–Czech borderland, the category of mixed (in terms of religious denominations) marriages has existed for a long time. "The concept of a mixed marriage refers to the situation in which a [member] of the Roman Catholic Church marries a member of another Christian Church. In the law of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, this concept corresponds to the concept of a marriage with different denominational affiliations" (Mędela 2021).

In the context of the views cited above, what I mean by a multicultural family is one whose diversity in its various aspects (i.e. diversity in terms of the positions and roles of family members, nationality, ethnic origin, religion and cultural patterns) makes it possible for the family members to be active and develop their own identity. It is worth noting that the core of the Polish elites in Cieszyn Silesia was made up of wealthy peasant families and their descendants, who—having acquired an education—decided to settle in the towns (Spyra 2012: 203).

The traditional family in Cieszyn is a three-generation, patriarchal family with the unquestioned position of the man as head of the family. The woman's role is reduced to raising offspring and running the household. Much importance is attached to the traditions of the region and religious upbringing (Szczypka-Rusz 2000: 48–71).

Identity is a complex whole, constructed within social interactions and giving direction to one's life. It is a system that is responsible for a specific way of behaving, a structure and a process (Erikson 1968). Identity is perceived as a stable, open and dynamic structure (Brzezińska 2006: 53). Stable aspects of identity allow a young person to establish what is really important to them and what attributes they have (external ones, e.g. behaviour, and narrative ones: what kind of person they are, who they are, what group they belong to). This is because they can build the rest of the construction on this base, i.e. integrate experiences from different areas of life.

By using the term *cultural identity*—which is a variant of social (collective) identity—I express the conviction, in line with the culturological view, that there is a relatively permanent construct of an individual's consciousness, arising from their subjective choices, which is usually referred to as the individual's self-concept. Its content is drawn from outside; from one cultural system or another (Jawłowska 2001: 53).

According to Nikitorowicz, cultural identity is a "developing, dynamic phenomenon which is open to continuous creation and becoming; it is a complex and changeable phenomenon, a multidimensional construct combining elements of the individual's personal system with the central values of the culture of the group to which the individual belongs and with conscious participation in the timeless values of the European and global culture" (Nikitorowicz 2001: 26).

I assume that an individual's identity is socially constructed. I consider the subjective characteristics of the individual to be important factors that are crucially entangled in the process of identity formation, and I consider them in the broader context of social experiences accumulated and (re)constructed (neoconstructivism) (Tyszkowa 1988: 44–79) in the course of both primary socialisation (family and peer group) and secondary socialisation (educational institutions) in three domains: natural upbringing environment, intentional upbringing environments and institutions of indirect upbringing.

In the context of the reflections carried out in this article, several questions can be posed: How does a person become capable of social action? How do they shape their identity? What is the importance of the family environment for the identity formation of young people living in a borderland?

In attempting to answer these questions, I will refer to selected results from the research conducted since the 1990s among the inhabitants of the Polish–Czech borderland. The presented material was collected during field research in the area of Cieszyn Silesia. In their context, it should be stated as follows:

The prerequisite for achieving an identity that is specific to adolescence (for mastering the developmental tasks attributed to this phase of development) is going through a certain type of experience and acquiring the tools (knowledge, emotions and actions) to master and symbolise them. The profiles of Generation Y (adolescents

surveyed in 2003–2004) and Generation Z (adolescents surveyed in 2016–2017) in the form of a separated identity were similar (Szczurek-Boruta 2019: 61–65).[7] The similarity of results between the two cohorts is due to the similarity of the repetition of the development pattern, the similar quality of development and education and the ways in which they are used in the groups under study. Socialisation and upbringing influences have led young people with different personal and social resources, living in different historical and sociocultural times (Generations Y and Z), to a similar amount of identity capital, which means that such influences have made those young people similar to each other (similarity of the average attainment of identity appropriate to adolescence between Generations Y and Z; see Szczurek-Boruta 2019: 63).

The perception of cultural identity is undergoing significant changes (Szczurek-Boruta 2017: 195–209). It is possible to notice varying views and declarations in terms of national identity, and among the surveyed Polish youth, national identification was the strongest[8] (see Szczurek-Boruta, Grabowska 2009: 21–64). This stage of rootedness grows out of lower-level (local or regional) identity and is always linked to regional identity. Regional identification is dominant among the young people from Zaolzie[9] (for more on this topic, see Szczurek-Boruta, Grabowska 2009: 21–64; Grabowska 2013: 312). Regional identity provides a good basis for the formation of subsequent stages of identity. As Berger and Luckmann (1983) argue, there is no doubt that primary socialisation is usually more important for the individual, and that the essential structure of any secondary socialisation must resemble that of the primary one.

7　The aim of my diagnosis was to determine the degree to which an identity appropriate to adolescence is achieved. I assumed that mastering (fulfilment) the existential task (satisfaction of the need for identity) is connected with the need to synthesise (master) various detailed developmental tasks. On the basis of the adolescents' sense of mastery of developmental tasks, conclusions may be drawn about identity and its formation; about the condition and development of the individual.

8　The term 'Polish youth' is used with reference to young people from the Polish part of Cieszyn Silesia.

9　The term 'youth from Zaolzie' is used with reference to young people—students from schools with Polish as the language of teaching, located in the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia.

The formation of young people's regional identity demonstrates the effectiveness of both family socialisation and regional education (formal and informal) in the local environment under study (I have commented on this topic in several texts, e.g. Szczurek-Boruta 2014b: 105–120).

Some of the surveyed adolescents of Cieszyn Silesia declared a multidimensional identity (harmoniously combining local, national, European and planetary dimensions in Lewowicki's understanding, as well as a multidimensional identity and continuously self-creating identity in the approach of Nikitorowicz). An enriched identity is particularly evident in the young people from Poland (51.2%), and slightly fewer such declarations were made by young people from Zaolzie (46.9%) (Szczurek-Boruta, Grabowska 2009: 59).

The dominance of an aligned profile (66.7%)—national identification, religious identification (Catholic or Protestant), regional identification (resident of a region or of a village/town) and supranational identifications (European or global identification) were also revealed by the results of the study conducted in 2016 (Szczurek-Boruta 2017: 195–209). The respondents showed a strong tendency not to distinguish between any of the analysed spheres of identification, and a strong sense of belonging to all cultural spaces. Particular identities overlap, complement and enrich one another. The results show the positive effects of primary and secondary socialisation in this environment. Forming a multidimensional identity is one of the aims of intercultural education. The above-mentioned research confirms that where such education is carried out, it fosters the formation of a multidimensional identity among adolescents (e.g. Szczurek-Boruta, Grabowska 2009; Szczurek-Boruta 2017), among adults—future teachers (Szczurek-Boruta 2014a)—as well as among seniors (Jas 2015).

The cited research results demonstrate that socialisation and educational influences lead to the formation of some personal characteristics in childhood that enable young people to take up a specialised type of social participation and move on to the subsequent type of social participation. This sequence of types of participation is socially expected, as it integrates the system in which it is upgraded and ensures continuity and sustainability. It indicates the interdependence between the phases of socialisation and the outcomes achieved within them.

Apart from tradition or self-reflection, the basis of identity is one's own experience (collected, developed and subjected to structuring and restructuring [Tyszkowa 1988: 44–79]). Such experience is the source of self-knowledge and the frame of reference towards other people. Family life is the engine that drives the younger generation to undertake multifaceted physical, social, educational and occupational activities which in turn help consolidate an existing sense of identity or help one perceive of oneself in new categories. As a consequence, it leads to the resolution of a psychosocial crisis and the answer to the question of "Who am I?"

In the adolescents under study, the family shaped and developed not only a sense of inherited identity (as understood and interpreted by Nikitorowicz [2005: 85])—which increased with the internalisation of behaviours, social attitudes and values—but, first and foremost, it introduced them to the process of acquiring personal and social identity through creative self-acceptance and demanding from the individual the maturity of choice and an adequate sense of self-esteem.

Family identity is the first stage of rootedness. The awareness of family identity is considered basic and leading (Nikitorowicz 2001; 2005). The contribution of the family to the process of constructing an individual's identity is evidenced by the utterances of young people in interviews. The analysis of the qualitative data (obtained in 2022) in line with the theoretical assumptions made it possible to identify two main areas of experience: (1) experiences relating to family or place of residence and (2) experiences of identity formation within the family. This is illustrated by the following utterances:

> *I feel connected with my family. My parents exert a huge influence on me. I am also connected with the local community. … I try to get involved in the life of my village and organise various activities for children and young people. Besides, I am Polish; I feel a great attachment to our country, to our language and traditions. I am also European, I learn European culture and I love travelling. Being a European opens up a lot of possibilities for all of us.* (W1, Poland)

> *I come from Zaolzie, a small village where, in a family atmosphere, I learnt respect for my elders and got to know our (Polish/Zaolzie) culture …. I had contact with the Polish language at school; at home we only spoke the dialect …. These experiences had a decisive influence on the formation of my identity, on who I am, where I come from and where I belong.* (W1, Zaolzie)

31

The similarity of the determinants of a sense of family identity between the groups can be noted. These included belonging to a family (41.7% of Polish young people, 35.1% of Zaolzie young people); social roles performed by adolescents in the family (12.8%—Polish, 19.6%—Zaolzie); the importance of home in adolescents' life—home as a place and living space (8.3%—Polish, 3.1%—Zaolzie); involvement in family life (2.8%—Polish, 1%—Zaolzie) (Szczurek-Boruta 2010: 91–105). Young people were aware of their family identity. The family is a specific cultural microsystem, a cherished value, and the family pattern of life has been protected for centuries. Within this pattern, which is defined by customary norms, children are introduced to the culture of the local community.

Families living in the Polish part of Cieszyn Silesia maintain their distinct "otherness" primarily in their religion/beliefs, while the families of Zaolzie do so through their origin and membership in the Polish national minority. Their hierarchies of values show a relative similarity (they pursue universal goals, such as health, love, work, etc.) (Szczurek-Boruta 2000: 117–140). The religion/nationality factor can be regarded as a manifestation of the preservation of the respondents' cultural identity: a manifestation of participatory and historical identification.

The contemporary family in Cieszyn or Zaolzie is undoubtedly significantly influenced by cultural tradition, i.e. the established and faster or slower changing norms, social patterns and values and regional traditions. The values of family life are deeply rooted in the fulfilled patterns of family life. Respect for parents (and older people in general) and a sense of connection with them are important. It is also possible to observe strong bonds (especially emotional and social ones) with closer relatives from the lateral line (independent brothers and sisters) (Szczurek-Boruta 1998a: 43–61; 1998b: 99–119). The family is a place of intergenerational transmission of values and intergenerational contact. According to research, the strongest influence on transferring knowledge and culture of the region is exerted by parents (50.52%) and grandparents (49.74%) (Jas 2019: 180–193). Grandparents have played an important role in upbringing, in passing on traditions and values and in shaping the attitudes of young people living in the borderlands. Moreover, good relationships between grandparents and grandchildren contribute to the proper

functioning of the whole family (Szczurek-Boruta 1998a: 43–61; Jas 2015).

In Zaolzie, the fusion of family and patriotic traditions is clearly marked. It seems to largely be the heritage of a society/community living in an area that has changed its political affiliation; grandparents and great-grandparents made the family a bastion of Polishness. Here, the mother tongue, national traditions and customs were passed on from generation to generation, and Polish history was taught. The system of values developed in this way was reflected in social and moral norms, and it influenced the cultural traditions of generations, including the contemporary generation of young people from Zaolzie.

Just like their parents, the Polish youth and the youth from Zaolzie should maintain the traditions learnt in the family home, according to 74.1% of young people from Poland, 41.7% of young people from Zaolzie, 94.2% of parents of Poles and 91.2% of parents of Zaolziaks (Szczurek-Boruta 1998a: 43–61). At the same time, while the parents of Poles and Zaolziaks were unanimous in their declarations, the youth, especially those from Zaolzie, took an inconsistent position. It can be assumed that the declarations of this group were related to social changes, including cultural unification. Young Zaolzie people do not associate their identity and distinctiveness exclusively with the Polish tradition, although the core of their identity is their cultural heritage (Polish, Zaolzie or local heritage), carefully cultivated and passed on from generation to generation. In Zaolzie, the family model is changing. The number of mixed marriages is increasing, and most of them turn into Czech families with all the consequences. The Zaolziak people live in the environment of three cultures: Czech, Polish (flowing from the sources, i.e. from Poland) and the regional one. Young people are culturally bivalent. The canon of Czech culture is as important for them as the canon of Polish culture. This cultural bivalence is shaped, to a large extent, by mass culture and by the education system. Young people learn about the canon of Czech national culture at school; although they attend schools in which teachers use Polish, these schools follow the Czech curriculum. Perhaps the youth from Zaolzie are becoming people of the cross-border culture. They are reconstructing their identity based on various cultural sources, selecting them to match the core of their identity.

Upbringing plays an important role in the formation of the identity core. It is important to note the diversity of parents' declarations concerning the way in which children are brought up in the family: partnership (58.3%), support for children's development (25.0%), compulsory observance of rules (13.9%) and freedom in upbringing (2.8%). These declarations are differentiated by gender, age, education and religion (Szczurek-Boruta 1998b: 99–119). It is noteworthy that some families bring children up in a strict way and expect absolute subordination. Such parents do not show much tolerance towards their children's behaviour. The following are not tolerated in such families: a bad attitude towards the parents and disrespect for the elders (Szczurek-Boruta 1998b: 99–119).

This variation in parenting methods was confirmed by the statements of the respondents:

I was brought up by my parents and grandparents. It was a strict upbringing, which did not allow me to do many things. (W2, Poland)

My parents gave me a lot of freedom; I was brought up to be a person who can handle everything in life. (W3, Zaolzie)

I think I owe who I am to my family and friends. I've always been the confident younger sister in the family and it's remained that way to this day. But it was my family that encouraged me to be open and brave. My friends also accept me and probably like me for it—because I am myself, I don't pretend to be anyone else and I don't try to please anyone by force. I think where I live makes a big difference to who I am. Here, in our town, you have to have a strong character not to let others dominate you. (W4, Poland)

When analysing the fulfilment of developmental tasks by adolescents living in the borderland environment, it is worth noting that the importance of the environment here is based on providing objects of feelings and emotions as well as an object of action (Szczurek-Boruta 2007; 2019). The main mechanism of development is identification and self-regulation, expressed in the pursuit of a balance between an individual and the environment. Regardless of whether the source of knowledge about oneself and the world was parents (75%), peers (63%), teachers or the local environment (44% each) (Szczurek-Boruta 2003: 73–84), young people felt and considered three main tasks to be important and fulfilled in their lives (independence from others, having a group of friends and love). These are the tasks whose

fulfilment requires the help of other people, their cooperation or at least their consent.

Living in a borderland provides young people with opportunities for intercultural contact that is valuable because it is permanent and based on shared situations and tasks. Such contact is also valuable because of the fact that young people feel the need to expand their circles of acquaintances (Szczurek-Boruta 2001: 332–334; 2007; 2019). Significant others mediate in showing them the social world, and they change this world during the mediation (Berger, Luckmann 1983).

Also, the family acts as a kind of a filter through which social influences, especially those coming from school, mass culture, the media, the social environment and peers, are appropriately processed.

The attitudes and identity behaviours of young people are influenced not only by religious diversity within the family, but also by a certain adopted, preferred model of religious life (Suchodolska 2000: 45). Religious diversity naturally breeds openness and religious tolerance in the youth; it allows—as Aniela Różańska notes—for the development of an enriched type of religiosity "with an ecumenical dimension" (Różańska 2000: 72–83; 2015; 2018: 97–112; Różańska, Klajmon 2002).

The family environment—family structure and parental attitudes—affect the course of socialisation, i.e. the introduction of children into society. One of the consequences of socialisation is the assumption of existing social categorisations and participation in making new ones. This entails learning rules to recognise one's own group and to distinguish it from others, and to see oneself not only as an individual or a subject, but also as a member of a particular group. Stereotypes and prejudices are a special subclass of human knowledge that permeate different spheres of consciousness. The process of assimilating stereotypes takes place during a very important period, i.e. during childhood and adolescence.

Research indicates that the "generalised stranger" (a person of undefined nationality) gains acceptance from both children and their parents (Szczurek-Boruta 2002: 165–176). One of the young people surveyed in 2022 stated, *I was brought up with respect for other people* (W6, Poland).

Thanks to socialisation, the individual acquires a sense of familiarity (closeness, similarity, intelligibility and acceptance) and, at the same time, becomes a part of the community. Being familiar and strange are analytical categories and above all real criteria for ordering reality.

In the traditional family life in Cieszyn Silesia, marriages to religious or regional "strangers" (immigrants, so-called "*werbus*" people) were not welcome. Nowadays, the criterion of the familiarity of the spouse does not seem to be important, so the area is inhabited not only by native Silesian families, but also by mixed families (in which one of the spouses is a local) and by immigrant families (in which both spouses come from outside the region).

The models of religious upbringing are also varied. There are religiously mixed families in which the children are brought up according to the mother's faith. There are also families in which the parents establish and follow the principle according to which the daughter inherits the mother's religion, and the son inherits the father's confession.

Families that have kept the traditional division of roles have the support of grandparents, who often look after their grandchildren. There are also families in which the roles of the parents change—the woman works while the father takes care of the children—or families in which the parents share their responsibilities and are partners in raising their children. However, some families transfer their responsibilities to nurseries, schools and other institutions, entrusting them with the care of the child from early morning until late in the evening. The attitudes of grandparents are also changing, as they remain professionally active or socially involved for longer and are reluctant to take care of their grandchildren, while using their strength and health to pursue their dreams. Family celebrations are also cultivated (birthdays are important and celebrated lavishly, especially the first, 18th and 50th birthdays). Annual and religious festivals are celebrated, as well.

Changing political, worldview, social and economic contexts affect the daily lives of families. One can see the impact of politics on the formation of a transnational, European identity of borderland residents (Poland and Czechia joining NATO, the EU and the Schengen area) (Grabowska 2013; Urban 2014). The scale of

migration caused by the desire to improve one's standard of living (also educational standards, by studying in Poland or Czechia) is increasing. Cross-border cooperation is developing. All this modifies the existing behaviour patterns and attitudes towards others, but it also changes the perception of life near the border. For centuries, the behaviour of the borderland inhabitants has been periodically influenced by the cultural and civilisation circles and the systems of sociopolitical relations which the local population, for various reasons, finds more attractive and realistic. They are characterised by local particularism—an attitude characterised by a preference for issues concerning a selected social group (family or another group) or region over general issues.

The Zaolzie people use the opportunities provided by the borderland and the freedom to cross the border (these aspects were emphasised in the interviews). Here is an example utterance:

> *The town where I live is Jablunkov [Czechia]. It is located in a mountainous area. The nearby Istebna [Poland] is good for tourists. There are very nice ski slopes; the Zagroń station boasts probably the widest of them. The asset of the complex is the Olza water park with exceptionally warm water and many attractions. There is a unique microclimate here. And that is why, last year, when me and my husband were planning our wedding, we wanted to show our guests the beautiful landscapes of Poland and we organised the wedding party in "Dwór Kukuczka" in Jaworzynka. (W6, Zaolzie)*[10]

Bilingualism (the use of Polish and Czech) and multilingualism in Zaolzie has not constituted an obstacle to marriage; on the contrary, they enrich marriages. The experiences of such marriages are intercultural in the dimension of "their place," as the following statement shows:

> *We are a mixed marriage (my husband is Czech), and we focus on tolerance in our lives. In my opinion, it is good to know more languages. My husband speaks English better, and I try to speak Polish. There are various opportunities to hear Polish. We have some companies working here, and every day people cross the border to go to work. They have a beauty studio here, a hairdresser's, a mono–café and a pizza–burger which is new. People are happy and there are more and more customers. (W6, Zaolzie)*

---

10 The original statement (W6) has been maintained. Linguistic errors, grammatical errors and Czechisms can be found here. The respondent (with Polish roots) graduated from a Czech school and learnt Polish occasionally.

Young people see the positive aspects of living in the border area, such as work, social life and access to cheaper services. This is confirmed by the following statements: _The borderland offers great opportunities for work. My parents work in the Polish and Czech parts of Cieszyn Silesia_ (W4, Zaolzie); _I have acquaintances and friends in Poland and in Czechia. We spend time together_ (W5, Zaolzie). Poland is attractive for some young people from Zaolzie. Czechia is attractive for a certain group of Poles who value better and cheaper medical care, services (e.g. beauticians or hairdressers) or interesting tourist sites. Life on the border is complex. The access to and learning about different aspects of the world, assuming various social roles and participating in social life in different frames of reference are fundamental factors shaping the sense of multiple realities in a borderland inhabitant.

The family provides constancy; it provides solutions based on certain models; it is the stage on which intercultural communication and constant (re)interpretation take place, which means that both the reality and the identity are constructed.

Conclusion

Cieszyn and Zaolzie families are similar in many respects. In fact, in each of their genealogies one can find ancestors from other nations (Poles, Czechs, Germans, Slovaks and Ukrainians) and religions (Catholics, Protestants and others). These families have mastered the ability to maintain continuity and duration, as well as the ability to change, to assimilate foreign content and customs and to borrow various aspects from other cultures. Intercultural learning has always been a natural part of their everyday life. At the same time, there have always been some constant, unchanging values that guided the parents, such as the good of the family, the welfare of the children, respect for elders, work and faith. Living in a territorial, social and cultural borderland in changing external conditions influences the course and results of family socialisation and upbringing. The basic condition for effective socialising and upbringing in the family environment is the awareness of the goal. The main goal of the family in the borderland environment is to raise an open-minded person who is rooted in the tradition and culture of their region, and is resilient and able to cope with various problems.

Under the specific conditions of the borderland that I described above, its residents have developed flexibility, the ability to mitigate tensions and contradictions—e.g. between fixed, inherited elements and changeable elements—and the ability to cope with situations of everyday life. Thus, the local residents possess resilient behavioural patterns. The borderland, by its very nature, is a source and stimulus for learning resilience dispositions (I discuss this in more detail in Szczurek-Boruta 2021: 488–505).

The family is an important place for human development and socialisation, which is indicated by the results of the cited scientific studies. The process of combining different cultural elements, "taming the difference," positive relations between families and the closest social environment, the transmission of values from generation to generation and the formation of positive intergenerational relations, which is characteristic of the historical borderland, is clearly revealed in those analyses. The value of the environment of Cieszyn Silesia is the presence of families that differ from each other in many respects (e.g. in age, social status, number of children, income, religion, nationality and origin—local or foreign), but share the same educational vision. The socialising influence of the family in this environment is supplemented very early on by interaction with the school, sociocultural organisations and peer groups. But family is undoubtedly the first school of socialisation that the child participates in.

All that I have presented so far leads me to conclude that, in the process of socialisation, the individual shapes the core of their identity, or a fixed part of it (I do not define the structure or content of this core here). The core allows for continuity and provides a constructive response to the ambiguity of the world. In this approach, a person can reconstruct their identity by drawing on available cultural sources and attaching them to the identity core. This core continues throughout one's life.

Identity change and development always take place in relation to cultural resources, in interpersonal and intercultural relations, amidst contradictions and conflicts. The results and their analysis, which have been simplified and made brief in this text, do not cover the entire vast topic area surrounding the family and the construction of youth identity, but they form a general background of the ongoing discussion on this topic.

Bibliography

Berger P.L., Luckmann T. (1983). *Społeczne tworzenie rzeczywistości*, trans. J. Niżnik, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.

Brzezińska A.I. (2006). "Dzieciństwo i dorastanie: korzenie tożsamości osobistej i społecznej," in A. W. Brzezińska, A. Hulewska, J. Słomka (eds.), *Edukacja regionalna*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, pp. 47–77.

Chlebowczyk J. (1971). *Nad Olzą. Śląsk Cieszyński w wiekach XVIII, XIX i XX*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk".

Dyczewski L. (1994). *Rodzina, społeczeństwo, państwo*, Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL.

Erikson E.H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Euroregiony pogranicza polsko-czeskiego. Euroregiony polsko-českého pohraničí. (2014). Cieszyn: Stowarzyszenie Rozwoju i Współpracy Regionalnej „Olza".

Frankfort-Nachmias Ch., Nachmias D. (2001). *Metody badawcze w naukach społecznych*, trans. E. Hornowska, Poznań: Zysk i S-ka.

Gładysz A., Rosner E. (2012). "Kubisz Jan," in Z. Jasiński, B. Cimała (eds.). *Leksykon Polaków w Republice Czeskiej i Republice Słowackiej*, vol. 1, Opole: INP Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, pp. 145–146.

Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży uczącej się w szkołach z polskim językiem nauczania na Białorusi, Ukrainie i w Republice Czeskiej– studium porównawcze*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Golka M. (1997). "Oblicza wielokulturowości," in M. Kempny, A. Kapciak, M. Łodziński (eds.), *U progu wielokulturowości*, Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, pp. 52–74.

Holzner B. (1968). *Reality Construction in Society*, Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing.

Hruzd-Matuszczyk A. (2012). "Kapitał społeczny i kulturowy małżeństw mieszanych i ich rodzin," *Ruch Pedagogiczny*, no. 4, pp. 51–58. https://www.partykula.pl/ojcowski-dom/

Jawłowska A. (2001). "Tożsamość na sprzedaż," in A. Jawłowska (ed.), *Wokół problemów tożsamości*, Warszawa: Literackie Towarzystwo Wydawnicze, pp. 51–78.

Jas K. (2015). *Poczucie tożsamości osób w wieku późnej dorosłości – studia i doświadczenia na przykładzie Śląska Cieszyńskiego*, Cieszyn: Wydział Etnologii i Nauk o Edukacji, unpublished doctoral dissertation prepared under the scientific supervision of Alina Szczurek-Boruta.

Jas K. (2019). "Rodzina jako miejsce kontaktów międzypokoleniowych w opinii uczniów szkół ponadgimnazjalnych powiatu cieszyńskiego," *Edukacja Międzykulturowa*, no. 2(11), pp. 180–193, DOI: 10.15804/em.2019.02.12.

Kadłubiec D. (2016). *Płyniesz Olzo. Monografia kultury ludowej Śląska Cieszyńskiego*, Czeski Cieszyn: Uniwersytet Ostrawski.

Kasprzycki E. (2013). "Problematyka małżeństw mieszanych katolicko-ewangelickich oraz konwersje na Mazurach w latach 1850–1960," *Studia z Geografii Politycznej i Historycznej*, vol. 2, pp. 181–204.

Kubinowski D. (2012). *Jakościowe badania pedagogiczne. Filozofia – metodyka – ewaluacja*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Lipok-Bierwiaczonek M. (1994). *Więzi kulturowe pogranicza polsko-czeskiego (Śląsk Cieszyński, Śląsk Opawski, Raciborskie)*, Katowice: Fundacja Przestrzeni Górnego Śląska.

Miles M. B., Huberman A.M. (2000). *Analiza danych jakościowych*, trans. S. Zabielski, Białystok: Wydawnictwo „Trans Humana".

Mędela I. (2021). *Małżeństwo, rodzina, seksualność*, "konfesyjni," 28.02.2021, https://luteranie.konfesyjni.pl/artykuly/malzenstwo-rodzina-seksualnosc/549-malzenstwo-mieszane-w-katolickim-prawie-kanonicznym-oraz-malzenstwo-o-roznej-przynaleznosci-wyznaniowej-w-prawie-wewnetrznym-kosciola-ewangelicko-augsburskiego-w-rp [access: 28.12.2022].

Miluska J. (2018). "Małżeństwo w perspektywie badań międzykulturowych," *Edukacja Międzykulturowa*, no. 1(8), pp. 42–60.

Nikitorowicz J. (1992). *Socjalizacja i wychowanie w zróżnicowanych wyznaniowo i etnicznie rodzinach Białostocczyzny*, Białystok: Wydawnictwo Filii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku.

Nikitorowicz J. (2001). "Wielopłaszczyznowa i ustawicznie kreująca się tożsamość w społeczeństwie wielokulturowym a edukacja międzykulturowa," in J. Nikitorowicz, M. Sobecki, D. Misiejuk (eds.), *Kultury tradycyjne a kultura globalna. Konteksty edukacji międzykulturowej*, Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie „Trans Humana", pp. 15–35.

Nikitorowicz J. (2005). *Kreowanie tożsamości dziecka*. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.

Nowicka E. (2003). "Dylematy i strategie tożsamościowe. Dzieci małżeństw mieszanych," in J. Zdanowski (ed.), *Globalizacja a tożsamość*, Warszawa: Wyższa Szkoła Handlu i Finansów Międzynarodowych, pp. 222–241.

Ogrodzka-Mazur E. (2010). "Współczesna rodzina migracyjna w przestrzeni społecznej, (wielo)kulturowej i edukacyjnej," in E. Syrek (ed.), *Czas społeczny akademickiego uczestnictwa w rozwoju i doskonaleniu „civil society". Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Andrzejowi Radziewiczowi-Winnickiemu*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, pp. 445–461.

Ogrodzka-Mazur E. (2011). "Rodzina i dziecko w otoczeniu wielokulturowym. Relacje międzypokoleniowe i ich rola w przekazie wartości," in T. Lewowicki, E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, A. Szczurek-Boruta (eds.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa. Dokonania, problemy, perspektywy*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, pp. 15–71.

Panic I. (2002). "Małżeństwa wielowyznaniowe w Ustroniu w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku (z badań nad różnymi aspektami pogranicza kulturowego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w dawnych wiekach)," in T. Lewowicki, A. Różańska, U. Klajmon (eds.), *Kwestie wyznaniowe w społecznościach wielokulturowych*, Cieszyn: Uniwersytet Śląski – Filia w Cieszynie, pp. 105–117.

Rusek H. (1997). *Kulturowe wzory życia polskich rodzin na Zaolziu a asymilacja. Studium socjologiczne*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Rusek H. (2008). "Człowiek pogranicza," in T. Lewowicki, B. Grabowska, A. Różańska (eds.), *Socjalizacja i kształtowanie się tożsamości. Problemy i sugestie rozwiązań*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, pp. 85–92.

Rusek H., Pieńczak A., Szczyrbowski J. (eds.). (2010). *Dziedzictwo kulturowe jako klucz do tożsamości pogranicza polsko-czeskiego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*, Cieszyn–Katowice–Brno: Offsetdruk i media sp. z o.o.

Różańska A. (2000), "Wychowanie w rodzinie mieszanej wyznaniowo – przykład wychowania międzykulturowego," in T. Lewowicki, J. Suchodolska (eds.), *Rodzina, wychowanie, wielokulturowość*, Cieszyn–Warszawa: Uniwersytet Śląski – Filia w Cieszynie, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna ZNP w Warszawie, pp. 72–83.

Różańska A. (2015). *Edukacja religijna młodzieży w warunkach pluralizmu religijnego w wybranych krajach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (Grupa Wyszehradzka: Polska, Czechy, Słowacja, Węgry) – studium porównawcze*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Różańska A. (2018). "Rola refleksyjności w kształtowaniu otwartej tożsamości religijnej młodzieży," *Przegląd Religioznawczy*, no. 2(268), pp. 97–112.

Sowa-Behtane E. (2016). *Rodziny wielokulturowe*, Kraków: Akademia Ignatianum, Wydawnictwo WAM.

Sowa-Behtane E. (2017). "Rodzina wielokulturowa w sytuacji konfliktów i zagrożeń," *Wychowanie w Rodzinie*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 79–92, DOI: 10.23734/wwr20171.079.092.

Sowa-Behtane E. (2019). "Jakość związku małżeństw wielokulturowych," *Edukacja Międzykulturowa*, no. 2(11), pp. 194–205. DOI: 10.15804/em.2019.02.13.

Spyra J. (2012). *Śląsk Cieszyński w okresie 1653–1848* (Dzieje Śląska Cieszyńskiego od zarania do czasów współczesnych, vol. 4), Cieszyn: Starostwo Powiatowe w Cieszynie.

Studnicki G. (2015). *Śląsk Cieszyński. Obrazy przeszłości a tożsamość miejsc i ludzi*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Suchodolska J. (2000), "Rodzinne uwarunkowania kształtowania się i rozwoju tożsamości 'podwojonej' i 'rozproszonej' w sytuacji Pogranicza (na przykładzie pogranicza polsko-czeskiego)," in T. Lewowicki, J. Suchodolska (eds.), *Rodzina wychowanie wielokulturowość*, Cieszyn–Warszawa:

Uniwersytet Śląski – Filia w Cieszynie, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna ZNP w Warszawie, pp. 35–47.

Szczepański J. (1990). "Kultury pogranicza," *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, no. 10(301), pp. 1–7.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (1998a). "Transmisja dziedzictwa kulturowego w rodzinie (z badań młodzieży uczęszczającej do szkół ponadpodstawowych z okolic Skoczowa i Czeskiego Cieszyna),"in T. Lewowicki, E. Ogrodzka-Mazur (eds.), *Problemy pogranicza i edukacji*, Cieszyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego – Filia w Cieszynie, pp. 43–61.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (1998b). "Rodzina a tolerancja (z badań młodzieży i rodziców mieszkających na pograniczu polsko-czeskim)," in T. Lewowicki, B. Grabowska (eds.), *Młodzież i tolerancja. Studium z pogranicza polsko-czeskiego*, Cieszyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego – Filia w Cieszynie, pp. 99–119.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2000). "Oddziaływania socjalizacyjno-wychowawcze w rodzinie w zróżnicowanym środowisku Pogranicza," in T. Lewowicki J. Suchodolska (eds.), *Rodzina wychowanie wielokulturowość*, Cieszyn–Warszawa: Uniwersytet Śląski – Filia w Cieszynie, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna ZNP w Warszawie, pp. 117–140.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2001). "Konflikt czy dialog międzypokoleniowy w rodzinie (studium z pogranicza polsko-czeskiego)," in R. Kwiecińska, M.J. Szymański (eds.), *Młodzież a dorośli. Napięcia między socjalizacją a wychowaniem*, Kraków: Akademia Pedagogiczna w Krakowie, pp. 322–334.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2002). "Swój i obcy w interpersonalnej przestrzeni społecznej (uwarunkowania kształtowania stereotypów i uprzedzeń etnicznych w warunkach wielokulturowości)," in T. Lewowicki, J. Nikitorowicz, T. Pilch, S. Tomiuk (eds.), *Edukacja wobec ładu globalnego*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak", pp. 165–176.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2003), "Partnerzy międzypokoleniowej transmisji dziedzictwa kulturowego," in J. Nikitorowicz, J. Halicki, J. Muszyńska (eds.), *Międzygeneracyjna transmisja dziedzictwa kulturowego. Społeczno--kulturowe wymiary przekazu*, Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie „Trans Humana", pp. 73–84.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2007). *Zadania rozwojowe młodzieży i edukacyjne warunki ich wypełniania w środowiskach zróżnicowanych kulturowo i gospodarczo – studium pedagogiczne*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2008). "Kapitał społeczno-kulturowy i poczucie tożsamości wielowymiarowej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim," *Studia Edukacyjne*, no. 8, pp. 87–104.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2010). "Poczucie tożsamości kulturowej młodzieży i edukacja międzykulturowa na pograniczu polsko-czeskim," in H. Rusek, A. Pieńczak, J. Szczyrbowski (eds.), *Dziedzictwo kulturowe jako*

klucz do tożsamości pogranicza polsko-czeskiego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim, Cieszyn–Katowice–Brno: Offsetdruk i media sp. z o.o., pp. 91–105.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2013). "Edukacja międzykulturowa na Śląsku Cieszyńskim," *Pedagogika Społeczna*, no. 1(47), pp. 9–26.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2014a). *O przygotowaniu nauczycieli do pracy w warunkach wielokulturowości – konteksty, opinie studentów, propozycje*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2014b). "Edukacja środowiskowa i wybrane formy realizacji edukacji regionalnej, wielokulturowej i międzykulturowej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim," in B. Cimała, M. Pogorzelska (eds.), *Wokół różnorodności kulturowej i regionalizmu – rozważania teoretyczne i aspekty praktyczne*, Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski, pp. 105–120.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2017). "Tożsamość młodych Polaków mieszkających na pograniczu polsko-czeskim," *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne*, vol. 30, pp. 195–209.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2019). *Zadania rozwojowe i edukacja szkolna młodzieży. Stałość i zmienność*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

Szczurek-Boruta A. (2021). "The Determinants of Positive Creative Adaptation of Youth in the Polish-Czech Borderland," *Creativity Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 488–505, DOI: 10.3846/cs.2021.14116.

Szczurek-Boruta A., Grabowska B. (2009). "Dynamika kształtowania się tożsamości młodzieży – ku tożsamości wzbogaconej," in T. Lewowicki, E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, A. Szczurek-Boruta (eds.), *Poczucie tożsamości i stosunek młodzieży do wybranych kwestii społeczny – studium z pogranicza polsko-czeskiego*, Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, pp. 21–64.

Szczypka-Rusz A. (2000). "Współczesna rodzina cieszyńska. Kim są rodzice? Kim chcieliby, żeby były ich dzieci – rzecz o tożsamości," in T. Lewowicki, J. Suchodolska (eds.), *Rodzina, wychowanie, wielokulturowość*, Cieszyn–Warszawa: Uniwersytet Śląski – Filia w Cieszynie, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna ZNP w Warszawie, pp. 48–71.

Szymeczek J., Kaszper R. (2006). "Krótki zarys historii Śląska Cieszyńskiego," in J. Szymeczek, R. Kaszper, *Kurzer Abriss der Geschichte des Teschener Schlesien* [*Śląsk Cieszyński*, *Těšínské Slezsko*], Paper, Issue 3, Czeski Cieszyn/Český Těšín, http://www.go-east-mission.net/dateien/de/148_020309.pdf [access: 15.11.2021].

Śliż A., Szczepański M.S. (2016). "Pogranicze polsko-czeskie w perspektywie socjologicznej. Kontekst kulturowy," *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne*, vol. 27, part 1, pp. 47–59, DOI: 10.15290/pss.2016.27.01.03.

Theiss W. (2006), "O metodzie historycznej w pedagogice społecznej," *Pedagogika Społeczna*, no. 4, pp. 117–136.

Tyszkowa M. (1988). "Rozwój psychiczny jednostki jako proces strukturyzacji i restrukturyzacji doświadczeń," in M. Tyszkowa (ed.), *Rozwój psychiczny człowieka w ciągu życia*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, pp. 44–79.

Urban J. (2002). "Tożsamość narodowościowa a tożsamość religijna w rodzinach polskiej mniejszości narodowej na Zaolziu," in T. Lewowicki, A. Różańska, U. Klajmon (eds.), *Kwestie wyznaniowe w społecznościach wielokulturowych*, Cieszyn: Uniwersytet Śląski – Filia w Cieszynie, pp.181–187.

Urban J. (2014). *Mniejszości narodowe krajów Grupy Wyszehradzkiej w procesach integracyjnych Europy – tożsamość młodzieży mniejszości autochtonicznych*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE:

Alina Szczurek-Boruta
University of Silesia in Katowice
Institute of Pedagogy
e-mail: alina.szczurek-boruta@us.edu.pl

Adela Kożyczkowska
ORCID: 0000-0002-7952-1321
University of Gdańsk

"I Felt That Two Cultures Were Competing For My Identity": Bicultural Families as a Space for Discursive Identity Creation

ABSTRACT

The goal of the article is to identify the conditions of identity construction (child/adult) in Kashubian–Polish bicultural families. The argument is based on Michel Foucault's theory of discourse, reinforced by the thinking of Antonio Gramsci, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. The empirical material was obtained by means of biographical research carried out between June and August 2022. In total, eight interviews were conducted with adults who were born and raised in Kashubian–Polish families. For the purpose of the article, one interview was chosen, which the author believes is representative of the others. Discourse analysis made it possible to reconstruct the Polish (represented in this family by the father) and the Kashubian (represented by the mother) discourses, which "compete(d)" for the interviewee's identity.

The material leads to several important conclusions, the most relevant of which are (1) the Communist narrative about Kashubian Poles and the Kashubian region as a folk/peripheral variety of Polish culture is still alive in the social awareness; (2) viewing the Kashubian language as a folk/peripheral variety of Polish is not conducive to creating an intercultural space in Polish–Kashubian relations; (3) viewing it as such may lead to situations in which some people who come from Kashubian–Polish families need to making radical choices: to be Kashubian or to be Polish?

Articles and dissertations

Introduction

If we assume that the world is multicultural in nature, then bicultural families are the natural manifestation of this cultural diversity. By necessity—already at the level of common-sense knowledge—the bicultural nature of families must lead to many questions concerning children. How should they be brought up: in their mother's culture or in their father's culture? Should we invent "something in between"? Or use the method of "a little of this and a little of that"? These and other questions not only need to be answered by parents, but are also worth considering in pedagogy and other social sciences.

The example I chose for the needs of this article includes Kashubian–Polish families. This choice is a consequence of my personal research interests, as I am interested in the problem of ethnic identification in situations where ethnicity has no state representation. My aim in this text is to identify the conditions of constructing human (child/adult) identity in bicultural families using Kashubian–Polish families as an example. The text consists of five parts: in the first one, I briefly discuss Kashubocentrism and Polonocentrism as cultural areas of Kashubianness which are the result of how Kashubianness is perceived in relation to Polishness (formally, the biculturalism of Kashubian–Polish families exists only if Kashubianness is assumed to be separate from Polishness). In the second part, I present selected methodological aspects related to my discursive research on competing cultures in social space; the third and fourth parts present the results of the discursive analysis, with a description of the discursive structure of biography, followed by a description of the discursive structure of (bi)culturalism. The fifth part is an attempt to summarize these considerations.

Kashubianness and its spaces, Kashubocentric and Polonocentric ones

Within Kashubian culture, two cultural narratives have emerged which are responsible for the production of two variants of Kashubian identity. Both variants are rooted in the 19th century and are based on two competing theses: the first recognizes Kashubian as an

autonomous culture (in relation to Polish culture), while the second maintains that Kashubian culture is a part/variant of Polish culture. In the first case, this means that the Kashubian language is a separate Slavic language, Kashubians have a separate culture, and thus they have a separate social and cultural identity. However, as citizens, they feel Polish and, although they emphasize their ethnic distinctiveness, they remember and cherish their historical and political links with Poland. On the other hand, the second narrative (the Polonocentric one) recognizes that although Kashubian is understood today as an autonomous language, its Polish ancestry is still emphasized, which means that Kashubian is a former dialect of the Polish language or a former Polish dialect that has achieved a certain linguistic status. This, in turn, gives Kashubian culture the status of a peripheral/regional/folk culture, making it a variant of Polish culture and making Kashubian identity a variant of Polish identity. An important feature of this identity narrative is that Kashubians feel both Kashubian and Polish at the same time. The relationship between the Kashubian and Polish identification is complicated in this discourse, as the boundaries of three areas—ethnic, national, and civic—become blurred. In the practice of everyday life, a person does not feel (they do not recognize/realize) any differences between the areas: ethically Kashubian, nationally Polish, and civically Polish. Moreover, in this discourse a person should not feel/recognize/realize these distinctions. Kashubianness is, in this case, a specific negative trace left in Polishness, which was particularly painful for the Kashubians in communist Poland (see Kożyczkowska 2019).

By recognizing both narratives and reconstructing them in the form of cultural and thus identity discourses, it is possible to see that Kashubocentrism and Polonocentrism are not only linguistic dimensions of Kashubianness, but also spaces of social practices appropriate to them. Both language and social practices are, as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe write, the consequences of the social production of meanings that can be seen in the social world (Laclau, Mouffe 2007: 113). Such consequences, in turn, create discursive structures that "in certain external contexts 'signify' the whole" (Laclau, Mouffe 2007: 112). The Kashubocentric discourse seeks, among other things, to destabilize the elements of what is Kashubian by ascribing to them a greater number of meanings, to lead to an awareness that

Kashubian culture is more than a folk variety of Polish culture, for example (cf. Laclau, Mouffe 2007: 18). The Polonocentric discourse strives to exclude Kashubian culture from the public space (and, in consequence, also from the private space), which can be recognized as the exclusion strategies described by Laclau: the first consists of cutting off and isolating what disturbs the logic of the discourse; the second consists of absorbing and transforming those elements which impede the functioning of the discourse, but cannot be completely eliminated because they constitute its essential foundation (Laclau 2004: 80–87). An example of this is making Kashubian culture a folk culture in the Polonocentric discourse. None of the Kashubian discourses can eliminate language and culture because, without language and culture, Kashubianness does not exist in either the Polonocentric or the Kashubocentric dimension. Thus, Kashubian Polonocentrism can only exist as a discursive structure in which Kashubian culture is reduced to folklore.

Selected methodological issues with discursive research on competing cultures

My long-term research on Kashubian studies, mainly in Foucault's tradition of discursive research (reinforced by the concepts of discourse suggested by Antonio Gramsci, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe), made it possible for me not only to reconstruct the Polonocentric and Kashubocentric discourses in Kashubian culture, but also to reveal the social space as an area of hegemonic struggle in which various cultures (discourses) compete for human identity.

The research on those competing cultural discourses enables us to recognize their identity-creating potentials based on the relationships between knowledge and power that are specific to them. In each discourse, knowledge is produced, sustained, and set in motion by the relevant intellectual elites and political activists. In discursive terms, knowledge is—to refer to Michel Foucault's concept—a system of interrelated contents and, at the same time, a social phenomenon. Knowledge, as that which is social, implies positive and negative effects. The former lead to the production and reproduction of a relatively permanent social structure, while the latter are responsible

for the suppression, separation, processing, and exclusion of certain elements from within the social (actually discursive) structure, leading to a particular control over the culture being produced (Foucault 1993: 30–31). As mentioned above, following Laclau and Mouffe, it would also be about the stabilization of specific elements through the attribution of "single meanings" to them, as a result of which the structure/wholeness reduces the number of relevant differences (Laclau, Mouffe 2007: 18).

Scientific knowledge produced in the social sciences and the humanities exists as a "social phenomenon." This approach to scientific knowledge is relevant to my reflections on Kashubianness (also Polishness) produced in academic environments, as it allows us to understand knowledge/classifications/theories as what values the social and anthropological worlds, determining their ordering. Foucault's focus on the functionality of scientific knowledge results directly from the fact that, in its deeper layers, this knowledge "hides" the human being as an identity, and it is identity that knowledge controls (here, it takes control of the identity constructed in bicultural families). Hence, all classifications that are produced within the social sciences and humanities (re)construct social relationships, although they are linguistic in nature (as Foucault notes) (Foucault 2005: 170 et seq.), and they determine the shape of institutions and social practices. Therefore, all classifications/theories, although linguistic in nature and existing in science, exist as social phenomena at the same time (Foucault 1993: 30–31), since they penetrate social thinking. We are thus speaking of a hegemonic order that functions in the social consciousness as "natural" to understanding and, at the same time, as "arbitrary" to reality. Foucault, however, unmasks its true essence: the methodological nature of any knowledge (including scientific knowledge) amounts to the fact that it is only (!) essential to the understanding that is being constructed, and it is only (!) an interpretation or hypothesis of reality/the world (Foucault 2005: 85–86). On the other hand, however, this "naturalization" is the act of fixing the hegemony of knowledge (i.e., the establishment of discourse) in social consciousness, as knowledge (what the discourse says) is transformed into the truth about the world (how things are) (Mouffe 2005: 25). It is also the moment/act in which the production of individual and community identities begins, and it is the act in which

their "naturalization" takes place (Gramsci 1961: 517). In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault explains that the moment/act of naturalization is of crucial importance to forming and legalizing the discourse order because what has been told in the discourse matches what is seen by individuals (subjects). In practice, this means that discourse naturalizes every social human experience simply because it makes visible what it is talking about. Thus, discourse reveals an initial and wonderfully delightful field of truth (Foucault 1993: 247–248), and its magic includes the fact that it deceptively convinces people that what knowledge says about the world is true. Thus, knowledge that has been produced determines how one should be in the world, how one should function in it, how one should think about it and about oneself in a world that is supposed to appear real. As a consequence, such knowledge takes complete control of one's identity (which the knowledge turns into a subject), and makes this identity the object of a particular politics (Foucault 1993: 32–33). According to Foucault, such power "is not simply imposed, like an obligation or a prohibition, on those who 'do not have it'—it is in them and *b*locks them [emphasis added]; it exists in them and through them, and they support it just as they, in their struggle against it, rely on the approaches the power has imposed on them" (Foucault 1993: 33). The author adds that "we should recognize that power produces knowledge …; that power and knowledge are directly related; that there is no power relation without a knowledge field correlated with them, nor knowledge that does not presuppose and create a power relation" (Foucault 1993: 34). While revealing and unmasking the connections between power and knowledge, Foucault also discovers that it is not the man who creates knowledge that is useful or resistant to power. It is "power-knowledge, processes and fights to which the man is subject that determine possible forms and areas of human cognition" (Foucault 1993: 34–35).

Discursive identities are the result of a particular method of hegemony that Gramsci calls pedagogical practice. It is the result of the hegemonic relationship created in the spaces of a community (Gramsci 1991: 159–160). An essential part of pedagogical practice is knowledge that is instrumental in the production of (discursive) identities, and its task is to provide a person with a particular vision of the world and of the person in the world. The aim of such pedagogy is to

achieve a state in which, as Gramsci writes, "the human masses arrive at a consistent and unambiguous understanding of the contemporary reality" (Gramsci 1991: 214–215). The idea, then, is that people within a particular community are conscious of a certain quality, and that how they think is consistent with the knowledge of the world favored by power. It is only by putting the problem of knowledge in the perspective of its hegemonic involvement that one can see, as Gramsci argues, that knowledge is power, and that it is knowledge that consolidates power. They are inseparable, and to speak of one is to speak simultaneously of the other, and vice versa (Gramsci 1991: 175, 179, 197). The logic of knowledge is not the logic of what it says, but of what it is in general and how it reveals itself in the practice of human life (Gramsci 1991: 37, 455–466, 467–470).

The logic of knowledge and how it produces an answer to the question of "Who am I?"

I carried out field research from July to the end of September 2022. On 30 June 2022, on the closed Facebook group "Jakô mdze Kaszëbskô?," I posted an invitation to participate in the research. I wrote that I was inviting people who (1) were born and raised in Kashubian–Polish families in which one parent was/is an ethnic Kashubian and the other an ethnic Pole and who (2) currently identify as Kashubian, Kashubian–Polish, or Polish–Kashubian. Ten people responded and eight people took part in the research. The interviews were biographical, narrative, and free-form and each biographical narrative was prompted by the question: "What is it like to be born and raised in a Kashubian–Polish family, and what caused you to identify as Kashubian (or Kashubian–Polish or Polish–Kashubian)?" Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed.

For the purposes of this article, I have selected an interview that I feel is representative of the others. The interviewee was a man aged 25, with a university degree in the humanities, whose mother is a Kashubian from Gdańsk (her family comes from Kashubia and Pomerania) and identifies with the city. His father is a Pole whose family comes from the eastern borderlands (Kresy) and who identifies with the eastern variety of Polishness. Any biographical information

that would allow the interviewee to be identified has been removed or altered. The discursive analysis (preceded by a semiological and structural analysis) made it possible to identify and reconstruct the areas of knowledge-power (Kashubian and Polish of the borderland variety) that determined the construction of the interviewee's cultural identity. In the next part of this article, I present (1) the discursive structure of the interviewee's life (here it is important to highlight the conflicts and frictions between Kashubian and borderland Polish, which were significant for the "final version" of the interviewee's cultural identity); (2) the practical models of Kashubian and borderland Polish discourses, which construct the (bi)culturality of the interviewee's family (here I have identified two areas: the (bi)culture of the interviewee's family and the discursive procedures). Due to the limited form of this text, I only present the most important results of my analysis.

The logic of knowledge and how it answers the question "Who am I?" — discursive structure of the interviewee's biography

In the analysis of the empirical material five stages of the discursive development of identity were distinguished in the interviewee's life: (1) the stage of identity that cannot be perceived, (2) the stage of identity strongly constructed in the conflict of "You are Polish—We are Kashubian," (3) the stage of identity breakthrough as a condition for the construction of a worldview, (4) the stage of the identity question ("Who am I?") and the discovery of a Kashubian–Polish identity, and (5) the stage of identity certainty: "We are Kashubian→I am Kashubian."

Table 1. Discursive biographical structure: constructing identity

Biographical stage	Utterances typical of the given stage
The stage of identity that cannot be perceived	"Because I was not yet able to notice this for my identity." "It was from my mother, this family culture... this Kashubian culture, or the Pomeranian culture (more broadly), because her family actually comes from Pomerania; mostly Kashubia."
The stage of identity strongly constructed in the conflict of "You are Polish—We are Kashubian"	"Because, on the one hand, as a child I already felt that there were two strong cultures that were somehow competing for my identity. I experienced this all the time, which was very often reflected in how I perceived my dad, for example, because of how he instilled his culture in me; my mom, who... somehow showed me elements of her culture. It was a very specific experience for me, because—well, as I can see—there are two elements that clash here." "Later, there was this period when I was in closer contact with my dad's family, who very much emphasized the fact that we were Polish. There were comments ... that there is no such thing as a Kashubian identity, because after all they are Poles, too." "You are Polish; you are a Polish child, and this appeared very often. That I must keep that Polish culture."
The stage of identity breakthrough as a condition for the construction of a worldview	"A breakthrough was when I moved to Gdańsk." "So then, somehow, Pomeranian culture, or specifically Kashubian culture..., it entered me somehow. I started to pay attention to some elements that were quite important. So, I was aware that there was a region here, from which some of my family originated. This is a very important source of worldview for me, etc., etc., etc." "I was aware of what Kashubia is, what being Kashubian is; for example, that there is such a thing as the Kashubian language, which I unfortunately did not have the opportunity to learn, and I regret it very much— although I can understand Kashubian, I am not able to say anything in it."

Biographical stage	Utterances typical of the given stage
The stage of the identity question ("Who am I?") and the discovery of a Kashubian–Polish identity	"It's hard to say at what point this identity—in my case, this Kashubian–Polish identity, was discovered…, which is also consistent with my census entry, with how I define myself on a daily basis. I am a Kashubian first and a Pole second." "I had my own way of speaking; it was only after some time that I realized that it could be the fact that I grew up…, I spent such a large part of my conscious youth in Pomerania, in Gdańsk, or in a family that came from Pomerania." "It was the first moment when I started to ask myself who I was." "I had a moment when I asked myself if I was actually Polish." "However, it was the kind of story that, in a way, was alien to me, because I… despite the fact that I had contact with these borderlands through my dad's family, I never, never in my life identified with this story. It was distant to me."
The stage of identity certainty: "We are Kashubian → I am Kashubian"	"It turned out that those people in my family that I spoke to, they all said 'we are from Kashubia, we are Kashubian, we are simply from here.' The identity just started to enter me. This narrative of our identity… I just started to absorb it." "That's how I realized at the time that, see …, this is our flag. Our Kashubian flag. And I said, 'our Kashubian flag'. That was the first time that I said this so directly, in a fully conscious way... In a different way! It was the first time I named my identity 100% consciously. I named my attachment, not even just to a place, but to a particular culture. As I said before, I rather avoided saying that I was Polish or Kashubian; I just said where I was from. This way, I talked about attachment to a region, a regional identity, a local identity. And here, I suddenly said that I am Kashubian. Here I suddenly said that this is a culture that is close to me. And I've consistently stuck to that ever since. It was such a breakthrough."

Source: Own work.

The stage of identity that cannot be perceived covered the first 10 years of the interviewee's life, about which he says: "at first I grew up in Gdańsk." The culture of the school he attended was close to Kashubian culture and it was experienced as a "feeling." It was a culture that the interviewee obtained "from my mother" and, although it is fading in a certain way, its elements appear naturally through the place and the people who are connected to the place, because they are born here, they live here, work here, die here, and rest in their graves here. These are people who speak the Kashubian

language, who have their family history that is strongly connected to the place, to Gdańsk, Kashubia, and—more broadly—to Pomerania, and whose ancestors are buried here. Childhood is an active bonding with a place and people, but in a peculiar, passive way, because it was the culture of the place (Gdańsk, Kashubia, or Pomerania) that intensely "entered" the interviewee. Characteristically for an "early upbringing" in the culture of a place, the interviewee realized years later that "I have not yet been able to perceive this [importance of the place and its people] for my identity."

The stage of identity strongly constructed in the conflict of "You are Polish—We are Kashubian" occurred in the interviewee's case between the ages of 10 and 16 years, after he moved to the city, to the so-called Western Land. This was when the identity was being constructed in the conflict of two cultures: the Kashubian one and the eastern borderland Polish one.

The interviewee talks about the influence of the two narratives on his identity. He explains that a narrative is an "information bubble" that draws on the past and is enriched by the present in constructing itself; hence the importance of family histories (literally: narratives) for identity. However, they are insufficient, as there comes a time when a person needs to get to know the world "already from a slightly different perspective: less as a child." This is when they need to start learning, for example, the history and other information about the region. This is necessary because the knowledge acquired from relatives must first be enriched with knowledge from school, then with scientific knowledge; such kinds of knowledge are provided by other people/teachers, but—as his story later shows—it is also about knowledge that is provided in the process of independent, intensive, in-depth research, or through studying the humanities. This confrontation of "home" knowledge with "public" knowledge is a way of developing consciousness. Also, it is a method for completing family narratives (both the Kashubian and the eastern borderland Polish one) and for demythologizing those narratives and recognizing what is true about the present and the past versus what is just mythology.

Eastern borderland Polish culture and the development of consciousness within this culture are important dimensions of this biographical stage. The interviewee begins to learn a great deal about borderland Polish culture, which is facilitated by his change

of residence. Here, he is "bombarded" (as he puts it) by his father and his family with a narrative of the traumatic history of their displacement from the eastern borderlands. Although it is the father's narrative, the interviewee recognizes that it is "somewhat mythologized." Perhaps this is a consequence of the fact that it is a "secondhand" story, although the descendants of those expelled from the borderlands are still experiencing the effects of the trauma of being removed from their ancestral land. At the same time—as the interviewee points out—in Poland the graves of their ancestors have a short history and borderland graves are difficult to access today. In order to lend stronger credibility to this cultural narrative, the father, together with the interviewee's sister, probably conducted genealogical research, but only on the borderland Polish family. It is from this cultural space that the interviewee hears that he is Polish, that he must maintain Polish culture, and that Kashubian culture does not exist because Kashubians are Polish.

Kashubian culture and the development of consciousness in this culture, which originates "in growing up in Gdańsk," does not disappear at this biographical stage, but gains additional strength from the revealed/experienced power of knowledge of borderland Polish culture which exists in the interviewee's family and social environment. The interviewee's identity, thanks to the tensions/fears/conflicts, becomes polarized in the direction of "We are Kashubian" and, in a way, takes the form of an antithesis to "You are Polish." The work on Kashubian identity takes on a more mature character. It is also strengthened by learning from the perspective of the Polish–Kashubian discourse and by the (paradoxically) positive impact of the thesis that "Kashubians are Poles." In order to prove its falsity, the interviewee must find evidence that supports the thesis that Kashubians are Kashubians.

The stage of identity breakthrough as a condition for the construction of a worldview is a biographical stage covering the period of secondary school education in Gdańsk (from 16 to 18 years of age), to which the interviewee returns with his family. This stage is a consequence of everything that took place in the previous phase of life. The accumulated biographical potential, including the experience of living in two cultures, the learned ways of dealing with cultural narratives, and the learned skills of using knowledge

(both domestic and public) to "explore" cultures further construct a sensitivity to cultural difference in the interviewee. This sensitivity to cultural differences allows the interviewee to appreciate the cultural diversity of Gdańsk and makes it possible for him to immerse himself in and experience this diversity.

This seems to be an important stage of life, as it is when the process of constructing an attitude of openness to social and cultural differences originates. The interviewee is aware—at the time of the interview—that the lack of such an experience closes off a person's identity from social and cultural diversity. During the interview, he says that "from a very young age, I saw that there are very big differences; that someone can be associated with such a culture or with another culture, be somewhere between two cultures. As a kid, I wasn't aware of what I am aware of today. But I, sort of say, I keep my mind open. I can see that because of my experience, I sort of understand that people can be different in many ways. That they can live around each other, with each other; because I have also experienced that. It may sound like a generalization, but it doesn't have to be that way at all." And, at the same time, there are those who have different experiences than the interviewee, and these are "people who are kind of closed, because they haven't experienced a different culture."

At this biographical stage, the awareness of what Kashubia is and what it means to be Kashubian is reinforced. It is also when the awareness of the importance of language for identity emerges and when the not yet realized/verbalized experience of the loss of the Kashubian language (as a speaking skill) emerges as a loss of cultural value. Only in time will the interviewee likely realize the significance of this cultural loss for the experience of being Kashubian.

The stage of the identity question ("Who am I?") and the discovery of a Kashubian–Polish identity is the Warsaw stage of his life, which falls around the age of 18–20 years, beginning when he "leaves the nest" in Gdańsk and continuing through the first part of his stay in Warsaw, which is closely linked to his studies.

This is a time of asking a lot of questions, the nature of which boils down to the question of "Who am I?" This seems to be related to several issues: (1) geographical distance and the possibility of viewing his cultural affairs from the perspective of the capital city,

(2) new friends recognizing him as someone who has a "slightly different accent," (3) taking up humanistic studies and writing a BA thesis on eastern borderland Polishness, and (4) establishing and maintaining contact with people who came to Warsaw from other parts of Poland, as well as from Gdańsk, Kashubia, and Pomerania.

The potential of this phase brings the interviewee to the conclusion, when making a conscious statement about his biography, that the borderland Polish culture, with which his father's family is strongly connected, is distant from him. Here, the interviewee identifies himself as a Kashubian first and a Pole second. In Warsaw, he also becomes acquainted with another variety of Polish culture/narrative, which he describes as "Warsaw-centrism."

The stage of identity certainty ("We are Kashubian → I am Kashubian") is a distinctly Warsaw stage of the interviewee's biography that begins around the age of 20 and continues up to the time of the interview. It is the phase in which the identity process is finalized with the recognition of a "Kashubian identity" in himself. In addition, the linguistic expression "we are Kashubian" was given many new meanings that complemented the knowledge previously acquired through various means, which accelerated the identity work. The surplus of meanings for "we are Kashubian" that was generated this way had to result in a deconstruction of the identity of the place and a renewed reconstruction of identity, but as a cultural identity (based on identification with the culture).

This is the stage of identity coming-out, i.e., publicly admitting to the Kashubian identity. It is a phase in which the rivalry between the two cultures for the identity of the interviewee—the rivalry that began in childhood—ended (perhaps temporarily or perhaps forever) with the "victory" of the Kashubian culture.

The logic of knowledge and how it produces an answer to the question of "Who am I?" — structure of the interviewee's (bi)cultural family

The discursive analysis made it possible to formulate methodological aspects of both practical and discursive models which consist of (1) the area of (bi)culture which is the product of (bi)community

and (2) the area of discursive procedures, constructing the practical pedagogy of including the Kashubian and Polish (the Borderland variant) into discourses.

Table 2. Practical models of the Kashubian and Polish discourses constructing the bi(culturality) of the interviewee's family

Kashubian discourse	Element constructing the discourse	Eastern borderland Polish discourse
Area of (bi)culture which is the product of (bi)community		
Kashubianness: • close, connected with Gdańsk, Kashubia, or Pomerania • family culture, culture "from the mother" or connected with the mother's family • weaker culture, a culture in decline • culture that enters a person	Experiencing a connection with the community	Borderland Polishness: • distant, related to the eastern borderlands • foreign, the culture of the father or the father's family • stronger culture • a culture that enters a person's head
Methods by which culture enters a person Learning Kashubianness: • affective—through relationships with close people • intellectual—through → knowledge obtained from relatives and one's social environment → knowledge obtained at school → scientific knowledge	Cognition	Methods by which culture enters a person's head Learning Polishness: • intellectual—through: → knowledge obtained from relatives and one's social environment → knowledge obtained at school → scientific knowledge
Creating the community identification of "We are Kashubian → I am Kashubian"	Goal	Creating the community identification of "You are Polish"
Kashubianness is constructed by • people: mother, grandmother, relatives, and ancestors whose graves are in Gdańsk/Kashubia/Pomerania→ they are witnesses to Kashubian culture	Values (elements) of culture	Eastern borderland Polishness is constructed by • people: those who were displaced from the eastern borderlands (grandparents who had died) and their descendants who live(d) in the so-called Western Land and whose graves are here → they are mainly indirect witnesses to the borderland Polish culture

Kashubian discourse	Element constructing the discourse	Eastern borderland Polish discourse
• Kashubian language: passive understanding/non-speaking as the experience of a loss • linguistic differences: an accent or way of speaking, lexis, "Jo" • family history: passed on by direct or indirect witnesses/ participants in events • history of the place: Gdańsk/ Kashubia/Pomerania • regionalism/knowledge of the region in which the family lives • memory as the awareness of a place which has a complex history that in turn determines family and individual biographies • Kashubian traditions • folk culture, including elements of that culture that are important to the interviewee • religiousness and respect for it → typically Kashubian way of celebrating religion • narrative of modernity: Kashubians are not Poles • historical narrative: Kashubians are not Germans • space: as a place of life for contemporaries and a burial place for all ancestors • ancestors' graves: can be visited at any time		• people: more distant (un)known family who now live in another country → no access to their knowledge and experience • people: ancestors whose graves are in the former eastern borderlands, territories which today belong to other countries → they are witnesses to Polish culture (the borderland variant), but it is impossible to access their testimony and graves • the Polish language • family history: passed on by the descendants of those expelled from the eastern borderlands, who were not direct witnesses and know the family history from someone else → the lack of access to a reliable source results in the mythologization of some elements of this account • the history of the borderlands reduced to the family memory → such memory is supported by school knowledge, academic knowledge, and independent research • the history of the eastern borderlands prevailing in Poland: in the Polish historical narrative, the history of the borderlands as such does not actually exist → it is an exclusively Warsaw-centric narrative that the borderlands are what Poland lost • regionalism: knowledge of the region in which descendants of people from the Borderlands now live [the lack of knowledge of the Borderlands as a region of Poland at that time] • Polish tradition: elements of borderland Polish culture and today's Polish culture are mixed here • celebration of public holidays because of the father • Polish culture, so-called high culture, of which there was little in the interviewee's family • attitudes to ethnic and cultural difference: the contemporary narrative of "Kashubians are Poles" and the historical narrative of "Kashubians are Germans" • approach to the land: Poland is where the descendants of people displaced from the borderlands live and their place of burial; people from the borderlands also live(d) and were buried here, while the former eastern borderland is where the ancestors who lived there and created a community there are buried → today this place is not accessible because of the change of borders • graves of ancestors: today they are in other countries, so visiting them requires special procedures

Kashubian discourse	Element constructing the discourse	Eastern borderland Polish discourse
Kashubianness as a culture that binds the community, what is produced by: • the relationships with the land: with Gdańsk, Kashubia, or Pomerania → the place (and the people who live there) where people produce Kashubianness • blood connections: blood is less important, although family is the basic place where Kashubianness is produced	What binds the community	Borderland Polishness as a culture that binds the community, what is produced by • the relationships with the lost land: the eastern borderlands remain in people's memory and are affective and cognitively experienced in collective tragedy; today's Poland is the place of living and celebrating the memory of what was lost • blood connections: blood is an important element that binds the specific diaspora of those who were produced by the memory of the lost borderlands
The discursive procedures for constructing a practical pedagogy of inclusion in Kashubian and borderland Polish discourses		
Based on the following methods: • affective: producing connections with the community (connecting with the place through those who have lived here) • intellectual: non-persuasive methods	Procedures of knowledge transfer	Based on the following methods: • intellectual: persuasive methods
Based on • witnesses, testimonies, and graves • knowledge obtained at school • scientific knowledge obtained at university • scientific knowledge obtained through one's own studies The goal is to verify truth and make a stronger connection with culture.	Procedures of truth	Based on • witnesses, testimonies, and graves • knowledge obtained at school • scientific knowledge obtained at university • scientific knowledge obtained through one's own studies The goal is to verify the truth and separate truth and facts from mythologized elements.
Based on • the knowledge of culture and community provided by members of the community • created and sustained ties to a place (land) • people or ancestors' graves • elements of culture, i.e., everyday life/tradition/ • memory/religion, etc. • passive knowledge of the Kashubian language	Procedures of inclusion into the community	Based on • the knowledge of culture and community provided by the descendants of those who had to leave the eastern borderlands • created and sustained memory of losing the borderlands (land) • the descendants of those who had to leave the eastern borderlands • the graves of those who were displaced from the borderlands • lost access to graves in former Polish territories that are now in other countries • elements of borderland Polish culture, i.e., everyday life/tradition/trauma of being expelled from the borderlands, etc. • elements of Polish culture, cultivation of Polish traditions, and celebration of certain national holidays • the Polish language

63

Kashubian discourse	Element constructing the discourse	Eastern borderland Polish discourse
Elements of culture are subject to verification because of the associated truth about culture and the community.		lements of culture are subject to verification because of the associated truth about culture and the community; the missing elements of culture are mythologized for the needs of the cultural truth.
The truth about Kashubianness based on arguments: • we are Kashubian • this is our culture • not all of us have to speak Kashubian in order to be a Kashubian	Procedures of binding the community	The truth about Polishness in general, based on arguments: • you are Polish • this is Polish culture • you have to maintain this culture • Kashubians are Polish; there is no such thing as Kashubian identity

Source: Own work.

Table 2 shows two areas of knowledge that participate in the process of producing and reinforcing Kashubian and borderland Polish discourse. In Table 1, the process of constructing/clashing/conflicting of the two kinds of knowledge—Kashubian and borderland Polish—was reconstructed in diachronic terms, while Table 2 shows the cultural processes that produce Kashubian and borderland Polish discourse in synchronic terms. Due to the limited form of the text, I will move on directly to the area of discursive procedures that construct practical pedagogy of inclusion into Kashubian and borderland Polish discourses. Here one can recognize the (1) knowledge procedures of inclusion in discourses and (2) truth procedures. They are pedagogical in nature and their description, as practical pedagogies, deepens the knowledge of the production of discursive identities.

The interviewee emphasizes pedagogical methods which, as Table 1 shows, appeared in childhood and were developed in subsequent biographical stages. These are primarily non-persuasive and persuasive methods, the former of which are specific to the Kashubian discourse and the latter to the Polish discourse. Kashubian Polishness is constructed by means of persuasive methods and the following can be recognized here: (1) persuasive speaking, which the interviewee refers to as being "instilled with culture" and being "bombarded" with family stories ("this culture entered my head very strongly because I was… it wasn't that I was being told—I was being bombarded with this history very strongly"), (2) working on arguments provided in family narratives, some of which have been "mythologized a little,"

and (3) family genealogical research. Kashubianness is produced through non-persuasive methods ("My mother never, sort of, directly communicated to me that, 'listen, you're Kashubian, or, your family is from Pomerania'"), which are here the primary methods of constructing knowledge about Kashubian culture. The most important of these are (1) showing (my mother "showed me elements of her culture"), (2) talking ("I started talking in my family" or "the people from my family whom I talked to"), (3) seeing "from the perspective of others" ("experiences of the war from their perspective"), and (4) seeing "on one's own" ("If there is a family grave somewhere, I want to go and see it" or "all the time I could see some sign that is connected to the Kashubians").

The truth procedures that verify family narratives are ways of making them objective in time and space. The idea is that only ancestors and people living today—their lives, deeds, and graves—can confirm the truth about a culture and a community. The interviewee is a researcher of present and past realities, and this methodological competence begins to emerge by the second stage of his life and systematically develops after that point. Here, a particular sensitivity to cultural difference is awakened, fueled by an almost atavistic need to search for cultural witnesses, testimonies, and evidence in these family narratives. The entirety of the interviewee's narrative is an argument in favor of the thesis that every family history, every family identity narrative, needs authentication—truth constructed through facts/people/graves—and this is what the interviewee is looking for in the cultural discourses (Kashubian and borderland Polish) that construct his biography and into which he is incorporated by those closest to him (his mother and father) in two different ways.

"This is a culture that is close to me. And I consistently stick to it." Final remarks

Antonio Gramsci's texts convince us that human beings are not completely defenseless against the power of knowledge, including the cultural knowledge of their own communities. The investigation/recognition/unmasking of knowledge requires other knowledge, as Gramsci (1991: 448–449, 213–215) or Karl Mannheim (2008: 31 et seq.) argue. Only a researcher, i.e., someone who has

gained methodological consciousness and can deconstruct the hegemonic relationship in a systematic, purposeful way, can use other knowledge to free themselves from the hegemony (Gramsci 1991: 32–33, 145, 230–231, 235). In such a work, however, no one can replace the human being, because it requires "the effort of one's own mind" (Gramsci 1991: 212) and, as one can judge from the interviewee's statements, the realization that two cultures are competing for the identity of the human being.

The reconstruction of identity biography in Table 1 depicts the (un)conscious identity work undertaken by the interviewee, which was carried out in three diachronic dimensions: (1) from being unable to perceive one's own identity to consciously choosing it, (2) from an attachment to place to an attachment to culture, and (3) from the "individual I" to the "community I," the way which leads through the "community We" ("We—Kashubians") since only the "We" allows a person to recognize themselves anew as "I" in the area of cultural identity. In turn, the reconstruction of the methodological aspects of the practical models of the Kashubian and borderland Polish discourse (Table 2) allows us to understand the importance of cultural knowledge/knowledge of culture in the process of identity choices and makes it clear that the construction of an affective relationship with one's community—through the construction of an affective relationship with one's family—is fundamental to unconscious identity choice. However, this type of cultural identity is insufficient for some people, as evidenced by the interviewee's story.

The need to realize who a person is does not appear in every biography. It takes special social, cultural, and psychological conditions (and having a bicultural family fulfills such criteria, as the interviewee's life proves) for such a "necessity" to emerge in a person's consciousness, and for that person, willingly or unwillingly, to begin the process of self-examination/looking at themselves/asking themselves "Who am I?"

The development of identity and the readiness to enter into the conflict of cultural discourses is the effect of developing an awareness and undertaking identity work with the support of both cultures. It is also the effect of realizing and understanding what unites and divides the two practically experienced cultures (here the particular deconstruction of Kashubian culture and its reduction to a variety

of Polish culture in the borderland Polish discourse is noteworthy, which is also a practice of exclusion typical of Kashubian Polonocentrism). It is also awareness of the consequences—positive and negative—for a person whose identity is entangled in conflicts of cultural discourses.

The interviewee's biography proves that a prerequisite for the construction of identity in a bicultural area is the practical cognition of both cultures: affective and rational cognition. However, true cultural cognition is only possible through full participation in the life of the cultural community, which makes it possible to fully experience culture, even if this is done unconsciously. At the same time, understanding culture requires knowledge and research procedures, if only to see what is true and to understand for what purpose certain elements of cultural discourse are mythologized.

Bibliography

Foucault M. (1987). *Historia szaleństwa w dobie klasycyzmu*, trans. H. Kęszycka, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy

Foucault M. (1993). *Nadzorować i karać. Narodziny więzienia*, trans. T. Komendant, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Aletheia.

Foucault M. (1995). *Historia seksualności*, trans. B. Banasiak, T. Komendant, K. Matuszewski, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Foucault M. (2005). *Słowa i rzeczy. Archeologia nauk humanistycznych*, vol. 1, trans. T. Komendant, Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria.

Gramsci A. (1961). "Nowoczesny książę," in A. Gramsci, *Pisma wybrane*, vol. 1, trans. B. Sieroszewska, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, pp. 488–626.

Gramsci A. (1991). *Zeszyty filozoficzne*, trans. B. Sieroszewska, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Kożyczkowska A. (2019). *Kaszubszczyzna. Pedagogicznie o języku i tożsamości*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

Kożyczkowska A., Młynarczuk-Sokołowska A. (2018). *Kulturowe konteksty dzieciństwa. Szkice antropologiczno-pedagogiczne*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Katedra.

Laclau E. (2004). *Emancypacje*, trans. L. Koczanowicz et al., Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej Edukacji TWP.

Laclau E., Mouffe Ch. (2007). *Hegemonia i socjalistyczna strategia. Przyczynek do projektu radykalnej polityki demokratycznej*, trans. S. Królak, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej Edukacji TWP.

Mannheim K. (2008). *Ideologia i utopia*, trans. J. Niziński, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Aletheia.

Mouffe Ch. (2005). *Paradoks demokracji*, trans. W. Jach, M. Kamińska, A. Orzechowski, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej Edukacji TWP.

ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE:

Adela Kożyczkowska
University of Gdańsk
Faculty of Social Sciences
e-mail: adela.kozyczkowska@ug.edu.pl

Gabriel Alberto Ceballos Rodríguez
ORCID: 0000-0003-4957-3873
University of Tartu

Mare Ainsaar
ORCID: 0000-0002-9275-0997
University of Tartu

Wpływ rodzicielstwa na tożsamość etniczną. Badanie jakościowe wśród rodziców dzieci o mieszanym pochodzeniu etnicznym w Estonii

ABSTRAKT

Rodziny tworzone przez rodziców o różnym pochodzeniu etnicznym stanowią coraz liczniejszą grupę na całym świecie. Niniejszy artykuł analizuje wpływ rodzicielstwa na świadomość tożsamości etnicznej wśród rodziców dzieci o mieszanym pochodzeniu etnicznym w Estonii. Dane do badań zostały zebrane za pomocą wywiadów częściowo ustrukturyzowanych, przeprowadzonych osobno wśród matek i ojców.

Wyniki badań pokazują, że rodzicielstwo jest wydarzeniem życiowym, które wpływa na świadomość tożsamości etnicznej w tej grupie rodziców. Rozważania dotyczące przyszłości dziecka aktywizują u rodziców refleksję nad tożsamością etniczną. Analiza tożsamości etnicznej obejmuje zarówno argumenty psychologiczne, jak i bardziej praktyczne i namacalne, związane z życiem rodziców i ich dzieci. Rosnące zainteresowanie rodziców tożsamością etniczną wynika często właśnie z namysłu nad perspektywami, jakie otwierają się przed ich dziećmi. Wyniki badań wskazują, że na tożsamość etniczną rodziców wpływa jeden lub kilka z następujących mechanizmów powiązanych

Articles and dissertations

z perspektywami rozwojowymi ich dzieci: podniesienie świadomości, wzmocnienie komunikacji oraz rozwój tożsamości wieloetnicznej.

Według naszej wiedzy, jest to jedno z pierwszych badań dotyczących kwestii rodzicielstwa i tożsamości etnicznej, jakie zostały przeprowadzone w Estonii wśród rodziców dzieci o mieszanym pochodzeniu etnicznym.

Wstęp

Celem tego badania jest analiza mechanizmów zachodzących pomiędzy zmianą świadomości tożsamości etnicznej a rodzicielstwem wśród rodziców dzieci o mieszanym pochodzeniu w Estonii. Badaliśmy grupę rodzin mieszanych, w których jedno z rodziców jest urodzone za granicą, a drugie w kraju. Ta grupa rodziców jest słabo zbadana, ponieważ badania nad kształtowaniem się i rozwojem tożsamości etnicznej tradycyjnie koncentrowały się na rodzinach, w których oboje rodzice są urodzeni za granicą lub w których przynajmniej jedno z rodziców jest imigrantem w drugim pokoleniu (Feliciano, Rumbaut 2018).

Ponadto, badania nad tożsamością etniczną i imigracją zazwyczaj koncentrowały się na grupach mniej faworyzowanych, co przyćmiło badania nad nowo przybyłymi jednostkami, które mają wyższe dochody i wykształcenie lub są postrzegane jako mniej odległe kulturowo (Gaspar 2010). Jednak znaczenie tej grupy wzrasta, ponieważ badania pokazują, że liczba relacji między osobami urodzonymi w danym kraju a osobami urodzonymi za granicą rośnie w coraz bardziej zglobalizowanym świecie.

Badania nad tożsamością etniczną często skupiały się na nastolatkach i młodych dorosłych (Cheon i in. 2020; Crocetti 2017; Phinney, Devich-Navarro 1997; Umaña-Taylor, Fine 2004). Niniejsze badanie koncentruje się bardziej na etapach rozwoju tożsamości w ramach jej przejmowania i odkrywania. Znacznie mniej uwagi poświęcono bardziej dojrzałym grupom, w których etap afirmacji postrzegany jest jako bardziej powszechny (Schwartz i in. 2014).

Niniejsza praca ma na celu zapełnienie luki w badaniach nad rolą rodzicielstwa jako ważnego wydarzenia, które w rodzinach mieszanych wywiera pewien wpływ na tożsamość etniczną.

Kontekst teoretyczny

Tożsamość jest złożonym pojęciem, które – mówiąc prostym języ-kiem – pomaga ustalić, za kogo człowiek się uważa (Koczan 2014). Osoba może mieć wiele tożsamości indywidualnych i społecznych. Te ostatnie to tożsamości dzielone z innymi ludźmi, którzy również czu-ją się członkami tej samej grupy (J.C. Turner, Reynolds 2012). Teoria tożsamości społecznej głosi, że przynależność wynika z wiedzy jed-nostki o członkostwie w danej grupie i z wartości emocjonalnej, jaką z nią wiążą (Tajfel, Turner 2004). Niemniej, poza przypisaniem siebie samego do określonej grupy, tożsamości społeczne zazwyczaj wyma-gają uznania tego przypisania przez inne osoby, które mogą, ale nie muszą być członkami tej samej grupy. Inni członkowie grupy mogą potwierdzić określone atrybuty lub nadać inne członkom określonej grupy etnicznej (Horowitz 1975).

Gdy takie atrybuty przypisane zostają w sposób sztywny i bez-krytyczny wszystkim członkom grupy etnicznej w określonym kon-tekście, mogą stać się stereotypami (J.C. Turner, Reynolds 2012), co niekiedy może mieć również negatywny wpływ na rozwój psycho-logiczny i dobrostan jednostek (Haslam i in. 2009; Rumbaut 1995) oraz na ich zdolność do socjalizacji (Gonzales-Backen 2013). Z kolei pozytywne poczucie tożsamości ma również dobry wpływ na samo-ocenę i postawy społeczne jednostek (Haslam i in. 2009), a nawet może prowadzić do pozytywnych wyników akademickich i zawodo-wych (Akerlof, Kranton 2000).

Podobnie jak inne tożsamości społeczne, tożsamość etniczna (EI – *ethnic identity*) może się zmieniać przez całe życie jednost-ki (Crocetti 2017; Marcia 1966; Phinney 1989). Tuż po urodzeniu i we wczesnym dzieciństwie osoby zaczynają przejmować pierwsze znaczniki tożsamości (takie jak umiejętności językowe i praktyki kul-turowe lub religijne) od swoich rodziców i od społeczności, w któ-rej żyją (Gonzales-Backen 2013). Aspekty te są zazwyczaj wzmac-niane w latach szkolnych, kiedy dzieci i młodzież nabywają pewnej wizji historii i zaczynają się uczyć wartości i norm obowiązujących w danym społeczeństwie od rówieśników i innych osób, które uwa-żają za ważne (Isaacs 1975). Literatura sugeruje, że świadomość jed-nostek w zakresie tożsamości społecznej i etnicznej rodzi się zazwy-czaj przed osiągnięciem wieku nastoletniego, czyli na etapie, który

niektórzy autorzy określają mianem przejęcia tożsamości (Phinney 1989). Na tym etapie, dzięki interakcji z rówieśnikami, jednostki stają się świadome, jakie atrybuty tożsamości są cenione i akceptowane przez społeczeństwo. Eksploracja tożsamości jest etapem, który występuje po jej przejęciu; z kolei po eksploracji następuje etap osiągnięcia lub rozwiązania tożsamości, w którym jednostki doświadczają pewnego poczucia własnej etniczności (Gonzales-Backen 2013). Jak wspomniano wcześniej, kształtowanie się tożsamości nie jest procesem liniowym.

Różne tożsamości mogą się stać ważniejsze w konkretnych okresach życia osoby. Na przykład przynależność do fandomu (społeczność fanów) lub subkultury może być ważniejsza w okresie nastoletnim; tożsamość narodowa może być ważniejsza we wczesnym okresie dorosłości, np. w krajach, w których służba wojskowa jest obowiązkowa; natomiast przynależność do grupy zawodowej może być ważniejsza w całym okresie dorosłości, szczególnie wśród osób dojrzałych (Horowitz 1975; Turner 1982). Niektóre badania sugerują, że osoby w wieku 30 lat i starsze (w tym niektóre grupy imigrantów) mają tendencję do koncentrowania się na innych tożsamościach społecznych, takich jak zawód i status społeczny, a nie na tożsamości etnicznej (Feliciano, Rumbaut 2018).

Tożsamość etniczna może być istotna dla jednostek w zależności od ich doświadczeń oraz od tego, czy ta tożsamość ma jakikolwiek wpływ na ich interakcje z innymi ludźmi (Song 2021). Pod tym względem elementy takie jak posiadanie innego wyglądu czy dystans kulturowy wobec społeczeństwa przyjmującego mogą odgrywać ważną rolę.

Przykładowo, badania pokazują, że w niektórych krajach zachodnich osoby o mieszanym pochodzeniu i odmiennym wyglądzie czasami mają trudności z uznaniem przynależności do grupy większościowej, co wpływa na sposób, w jaki doświadczają i rozwijają swoje poczucie tożsamości etnicznej (Song, Liebler 2022). Z kolei grupy imigrantów postrzegane jako jednorodne pod względem fenotypicznym i kulturowym nie są poddawane tej presji (Gaspar 2010). Może to być pewna korzyść, jednak istnieje również groźba, że spowoduje to pewne problemy związane z tożsamością etniczną na określonych etapach ich życia, np. podczas zakładania rodziny z partnerem z innej grupy czy w trakcie sprawowania opieki rodzicielskiej.

Niewiele jest informacji na temat wpływu rodzicielstwa jako wydarzenia życiowego, które kształtuje tożsamość etniczną – zwłaszcza tożsamość rodziców w rodzinach mieszanych. Badania nad rodzicielstwem i tożsamością etniczną koncentrowały się głównie na pojęciu inwestycji rodziców w swoje dzieci – na wysiłkach podejmowanych przez rodziców w celu rozwijania umiejętności społecznych i poznawczych swoich dzieci, aby zapewnić im przewagę konkurencyjną w przyszłości (Campbell et al. 2019).

Jedną z przyczyn braku takich badań może być fakt, że rodzice w rodzinach mieszanych są ogólnie słabo zbadaną grupą, zwłaszcza gdy jedno z rodziców jest urodzone za granicą, a drugie ma tożsamość etniczną grupy większościowej. Literatura wskazuje, że możliwe przyczyny takiego stanu rzeczy to: (i) tradycyjne postrzeganie relacji między obcokrajowcami i obywatelami jako wskaźnika wysokiego poziomu integracji (Song 2009) oraz (ii) postrzeganie partnerów z rodzin mieszanych jako obywateli świata, którzy przekraczają granice tożsamości etnicznej, gdy mają wyższy poziom wykształcenia i dochodów, np. Eurostars, *free-movers* (studenci uczestniczący w programach umożliwiających pobyty za granicą) (Gaspar 2010).

Metodologia badań

Uczestnicy

Wywiady z czterdziestoma rodzicami z mieszanych związków partnerskich przeprowadzono w okresie od stycznia do listopada 2022 roku. Mieszane partnerstwo oznacza tutaj, że jedno z rodziców było urodzonym w Estonii Estończykiem, a drugie urodzonym za granicą nie-Estończykiem. Wobec braku specjalnych organizacji dla rodzin o mieszanym pochodzeniu etnicznym, początkowo zwrócono się do tych rodziców poprzez istniejące w mediach społecznościowych grupy dla obcokrajowców mieszkających w Estonii. Zostało to połączone z techniką „kuli śnieżnej", w ramach której rodzice polecali innych uczestników spełniających dane kryteria.

Tabela 1 zawiera charakterystykę uczestników według płci, pochodzenia estońskiego lub obcego, jak również wieku. Dane te zostały od uczestników uzyskane za pomocą kwestionariusza kontrolnego przesłanego do nich po wywiadzie.

Tabela 1. Skład próby respondentów

	Mężczyźni	Kobiety	Razem
25—35 lat	7	9	16
36—45 lat	11	8	19
46—55 lat	3	2	5
Respondenci uroszeni w Estonii	5	15	20
Respondenci urodzeni w innym kraju UE	4	4	8
Respondenci urodzeni w kraju spoza EU	11	1	12
Zamieszkujący z partnerem pod jednym dachem	17	17	34

Źródło: badania własne.

Większość respondentów miała jedno dziecko, podczas gdy pięciu respondentów miało dwoje dzieci, a trzech respondentów miało troje lub więcej dzieci. Z ogólnej liczby dwudziestu sześciu dzieci dziewiętnaścioro było w wieku od zera do siedmiu lat, czworo – w wieku od ośmiu do dziesięciu lat, a troje – w wieku od dwunastu do piętnastu lat.

Dane socjoekonomiczne wykazały, że uczestnicy byli wykształceni, a dwudziestu siedmiu z nich posiadało tytuł magistra lub doktora. Dziesięciu respondentów miało tytuł licencjata, a trzech miało wykształcenie zawodowe lub średnie.

Dwudziestu jeden uczestników pracowało w biznesie lub w sektorze programowania estońskiej branży IT, ośmiu pracowało w sektorze nauki i edukacji, a pozostali w służbie zdrowia, sektorze publicznym lub innych sektorach. Dwoje uczestników było na urlopie wychowawczym w czasie przeprowadzania wywiadów.

Wywiady

Z rodzicami przeprowadzono osobne wywiady z wykorzystaniem technik wywiadu półstrukturalnego. Wywiady były prowadzone online w uzgodnionych godzinach, w zależności od dostępności uczestników. Jeden uczestnik zgodził się na wywiad osobisty. Każdy wywiad trwał około czterdziestu pięciu minut. Większość uczestników uczestniczyła w wywiadach w domu lub w pracy. Wielu z nich wykorzystywało swoje przerwy w pracy na udział w wywiadach,

a niektórzy zgodzili się na wywiady wieczorem po pracy lub w weekendy, kiedy byli w domu.

Wszystkie wywiady przeprowadzono przy użyciu oprogramowania do wideokonferencji z możliwością nagrywania dźwięku, tj. Zoom lub Teams. Nagrania audio zostały przepisane przy użyciu funkcji transkrypcji MS Word.

Przed każdym wywiadem uczestnicy wyrażali zgodę na nagrywanie i transkrypcję wywiadu do dalszej analizy. Zostali również ponownie poinformowani, że wywiady będą poufne, co było powiedziane już przy pierwszym kontakcie.

Większość wywiadów została przeprowadzona w języku angielskim. Niemniej, pięć wywiadów przeprowadzono w języku hiszpańskim, ponieważ ten język ułatwiał lepszą komunikację między badaczem przeprowadzającym wywiady a rozmówcami. Uwagi tych uczestników zostały przetłumaczone na język angielski na potrzeby niniejszego opracowania.

Analizy

Do analizy transkrybowanych wywiadów użyliśmy analiz tematycznych. Rodzicielstwo jest głównym przedmiotem naszego badania, a w wyniku analiz uzyskaliśmy kody, które zostały sklasyfikowane według podtematów ukazujących różne mechanizmy tożsamości związane z rodzicielstwem, jak pokazano w Tabeli 2.

Tabela 2. Kody i słowa kluczowe w analizach rodzicielstwa pod kątem tożsamości etnicznej

Zwiększona świadomość	- Poczucie odpowiedzialności za uczenie dziecka - Wyrażanie elementów składowych tożsamości etnicznej (np. język, praktyki kulturowe/religijne) - Własne wartości - Język/tradycje/praktyki kulturowe (np. religia, jedzenie, muzyka) - Święta państwowe - Dostęp do sieci rodzinnych i wspólnotowych (w kraju i za granicą) - Używanie mediów z kraju pochodzenia

Lepsza komunikacja	- Lepsza komunikacja werbalna/emocjonalna - Rozwój więzi emocjonalnej (np. z rodziną/społecznością/szerszym środowiskiem społecznym) - Namacalne korzyści (np. wielojęzyczność, globalna mobilność, większa kreatywność, lepsza praca, „kapitał kosmopolityczny")
Rozwój tożsamości wieloetnicznej	- Poczucie tożsamości wielokulturowej/wieloetnicznej - Rodzina (dom) wielokulturowa/wieloetniczna (np. gdy osoba ją opisuje) - Poczucie przynależności do grupy partnera - Przejęcie elementów charakterystycznych dla grupy partnera (np. praktyki kulturowe, język, styl komunikacji)

Źródło: Badania własne.

Zakodowaliśmy też kategorie znaczenia tożsamości etnicznej wśród uczestników, jak również wszelkie życiowe wydarzenia, jakie zostały uznane za ważne dla świadomości tożsamości etnicznej. I wreszcie, przepisując cytaty na potrzeby niniejszego artykułu zmodyfikowaliśmy elementy mogące ułatwić identyfikację uczestników (np. płeć, cechy związane z narodowością) tak, by zachować poufność.

Wyniki

Wielu respondentów zauważyło, że rozpoznaje różne tożsamości społeczne, do których czują przynależność w danym momencie swojego życia:

Jestem specjalistą. Jestem (rodzicem), jestem (partnerem), jestem (osobą mojej płci), jestem przyjacielem, jestem (dzieckiem mojego rodzica), a pod względem narodowości uważam się za (kogoś z mojej grupy etnicznej). Jest więc kilka warstw (i) w pewnych okresach mojego życia jedna jest prawdopodobnie ważniejsza od drugiej (EF7).

Niektórzy respondenci wspominali, że ich zdaniem rodzicielstwo, zawód, stan cywilny lub bycie częścią społeczności, która podziela te same zainteresowania/hobby, są bardziej istotnymi rodzajami tożsamości społecznej niż tożsamość etniczna.

Na poziomie świadomym nie sądzę, aby moja tożsamość etniczna zajmowała bardzo wysokie miejsce w moim własnym rankingu. Z pewnością nie zajmuje ona moich świadomych myśli tak często, podczas gdy bycie (rodzicem) zajmuje wiele miejsca w mojej świadomości, podobnie jak bycie (partnerem) czy pracownikiem (FM10).

Gdy mieszkam za granicą, nie muszę komunikować się z ludźmi (z mojej grupy etnicznej)… (Wolę) szukać osób, które wykonują tę samą pracę lub lubią (moje ulubione hobby) (EF8).

Ponadto, dla niektórych rozmówców tożsamość etniczna wydawała się być nieco staroświeckim pojęciem, które woleliby zastąpić bardziej otwartym i międzynarodowym sposobem myślenia – np. pojęciem globalnego obywatelstwa. Był to termin, którego niektórzy uczestnicy używali do opisania siebie, czując, że zdobyli to, co autorzy nazywają kapitałem kosmopolitycznym: akademickie i zawodowe kompetencje oraz umiejętności umożliwiające pracę i życie w środowisku międzynarodowym (Weenink 2008):

(Ze względu na moje wykształcenie) mam międzynarodowy sposób myślenia […]. Nauczyłem się i wierzę, że kiedy kultury są otwarte na słowo, to również ewoluują, a kiedy kultura jest zamknięta w swojej bańce, to jest skazana na śmierć (EF4).

Wcześniej byłem naprawdę dumny z tego, że jestem (z mojej grupy etnicznej). Potem, po dwóch latach spędzonych w szkole za granicą, nadal czułem się dumny, ale nie czułem już, że jest to tak istotne w świecie. Czułem się bardziej jak obywatel świata, a nie tylko osoba (z mojej grupy etnicznej) (EF6).

Koncentrując się na wypowiedziach uczestników dotyczących tożsamości etnicznej, ustaliliśmy trzy główne kategorie:

(1) T o ż s a m o ś ć e t n i c z n a w o g ó l e n i e j e s t i s t o t n a.
Rozmówcy z pierwszej kategorii uznali tożsamość etniczną za nieistotną, ponieważ prawie nigdy nie odegrała ona znaczącej roli w ich dotychczasowym życiu. Uczestnicy ci należeli również do tych, którzy początkowo mieli większe trudności z precyzyjnym sformułowaniem swoich odpowiedzi:

Tożsamość etniczna nigdy nie była dla mnie ważna. Nie jestem patriotką. Byłabym szczęśliwa, gdybym była (z innego kraju niż ten, w którym mieszkałam), bo lubię tamtejszych ludzi i ich charakter oraz sposób traktowania pracowników tam zatrudnionych (EF9).

Nie wiem (czym jest tożsamość etniczna). Nie mogę powiedzieć, że należę do jakiejkolwiek grupy. Pierwszą rzeczą, która przychodzi mi do głowy, gdy o tym myślę, jest to, jakie jem potrawy (EF19).

(2) T o ż s a m o ś ć e t n i c z n a n i e j e s t b a r d z o i s t o t n a.
Drugą grupą uczestników byli ci, dla których tożsamość etniczna nie była zbyt ważna i uważali, że jest ona istotna tylko w pewnych

okolicznościach podczas takich wydarzeń życiowych, jak np. pobyt za granicą:

Jako cudzoziemiec mieszkający w obcym kraju, napotykam na przeszkody [...] *ale dopóki nie napotykam przeszkody to nie myślę zbyt wiele o tożsamości etnicznej u siebie czy u innych* (FM10).

(3) T o ż s a m o ś ć   e t n i c z n a   j e s t   i s t o t n a.

W przeciwieństwie do dwóch pierwszych grup, tożsamość etniczna była ważna dla uczestników trzeciej kategorii, dla których okazała się być istotną cechą wpływjącą na sposób doświadczania świata i interakcji z ludźmi wokół:

Od dzieciństwa zmagam się z (tożsamością etniczną), ponieważ urodziłam się i dorastałam w (kraju), ale w domu mówiłam (innym językiem) i byłam narażona na kontakt z innymi mediami i kulturą [...] *Czuję się nieswojo, wchodząc w interakcje z obiema grupami (w których mieszkam), ponieważ zawsze mam poczucie, że jestem gdzieś pomiędzy. W obydwu grupach znajduję rzeczy, które są nie do przyjęcia i takie, z którymi się identyfikuję. (Tożsamość etniczna) ciągle zaprząta mi umysł i chociaż moje doświadczenia były w większości pozytywne, za każdym razem, gdy wchodzę w nową interakcję z jakąś osobą, nie wiem, co ona sobie pomyśli. I zazwyczaj nie ma żadnego problemu, ale jednak odczuwam pewien dodatkowy stres* (EF12).

Jestem z wielokulturowego środowiska. Moi rodzice pochodzą z (dwóch różnych miejsc), a ja dorastałam w (dużym mieście w innym kraju) [...] *Kiedy ludzie pytają mnie skąd jestem, mówię, że jestem (stamtąd), ale często muszę wyjaśniać złożoność różnych wpływów, z którymi dorastałam* [...] *Myślę, że mam bogatsze doświadczenie (z tego powodu), ale czasem mi to przeszkadza. Jest to trudne dla mnie i trudne dla ludzi, z którymi wchodzę w interakcje* (FF2).

Rodzicielstwo a tożsamość etniczna

Kiedy uczestnicy zostali zapytani o wydarzenia życiowe, które wpłynęły na ich świadomość tożsamości etnicznej, większość z nich udzieliła odpowiedzi chronologicznych.

Kiedy chodziłam do szkoły, zaczęłam zdawać sobie sprawę, że jedzenie jest inne niż to, które jadłam w domu [...] *Obchodziliśmy święta narodowe i ludzie starali się pielęgnować pamięć o niektórych wydarzeniach. (Jednak) nie były one częścią mojej własnej historii i tożsamości* (FF2: EI istotna).

Niektórzy respondenci mówili o pobycie za granicą (głównie w czasie studiów) jako o pierwszym wydarzeniu, które mogli określić jako mające wpływ na ich świadomość tożsamości etnicznej:

Spędziłem kilka miesięcy (za granicą), gdy miałem (dwadzieścia kilka lat). To sprawiło, że zacząłem myśleć o sobie w kategoriach bardziej etnicznych lub postrzegać siebie inaczej. Teraz to się pewnie zmieniło, ale wtedy czułem, że ludzie z (mojej grupy etnicznej) nie zawsze są postrzegani pozytywnie (EF14: EI nieistotna).

Za wydarzenie wpływające na świadomość tożsamości etnicznej uznano również nawiązanie związku partnerskiego z cudzoziemcem (przed zostaniem rodzicem). Dla niektórych to wydarzenie życiowe prowadziło do rozwoju poczucia przynależności do tożsamości etnicznej partnera, dla innych zaś skutkowało afirmacją własnej tożsamości etnicznej:

Faktycznie czuję się trochę jakbym był (z grupy etnicznej mojej partnerki). Trudno to ująć w słowa, ale myślę, że wynika to z naszego światopoglądu. Zmienił się też trochę mój wygląd, a także przejąłem pewne tradycje, które teraz pielęgnuję (EF6: EI istotna).

Czuję, że zachowuję się bardziej (jak osoba z grupy etnicznej mojego partnera), kiedy jestem w pobliżu rodziny (mojego partnera) [...] To nie jest coś, czego musiałam się nauczyć. Myślę, że to się po prostu stało (EF19: EI nieistotna).

Dzięki temu, że mój (partner) jest z innego kraju, i że miałam okazję żyć w innej społeczności, uświadomiłam sobie, że jestem (z mojej grupy etnicznej) (EF9: EI istotna).

W większości wywiadów rodzicielstwo było tym wydarzeniem życiowym, które skłoniło uczestników do refleksji nad własną tożsamością etniczną. Możemy wyróżnić trzy konkretne, wzajemnie niewykluczające się mechanizmy aktualizacji tożsamości etnicznej związane z rodzicielstwem, które opisujemy poniżej:

(i) Podwyższona świadomość ze względu na odpowiedzialność związaną z byciem wzorcem osobowym i nauczycielem określonej kultury

Wielu uczestników, zarówno w kategoriach silnej, jak i słabej tożsamości, wyrażało opinię, że rodzicielstwo zwiększyło znaczenie, jakie przywiązywali do swojej tożsamości etnicznej, która od tego momentu stała się dla nich bardziej istotną tożsamością społeczną.

Stało się tak głównie z powodu konieczności przekazania dziecku swojej kultury etnicznej. Rodzic czuł się odpowiedzialny za swoją nową rolę – rolę nauczyciela:

Moje poczucie tożsamości (etnicznej) zmieniło się po kilku latach mieszkania za granicą, ale jeszcze bardziej od kiedy mam (dzieci) [...] *Czuję, że muszę nauczyć je, czym jest dla mnie rodzina i jakie są moje wartości, które czasami różnią się od wartości mojego partnera* (FM15: EI istotna).

Nigdy nie czułam się zbyt mocna (w kwestii mojej tożsamości etnicznej), nawet gdy zaczęłam mieszkać za granicą; nie było dla mnie ważne, by mieć silną więź (z moją grupą etniczną) [...] *ale to się zmieniło, odkąd mam dziecko, ponieważ czuję się odpowiedzialna za zapewnienie (mu) tożsamości i wartości, które obecnie są dla mnie ważne* (FM8: EI nie bardzo istotna).

(Moje dzieci) nauczyły mnie wiele o mnie samej. W przeszłości nie traktowałam tradycji kulturowych (mojej grupy etnicznej) zbyt poważnie [...] *ale teraz celebruję je bardziej (niż kiedykolwiek wcześniej) i wprowadzam w nie dzieci, ponieważ mają zagranicznego (rodzica)* (EF9: EI nieistotna).

Część ich roli rodzicielskiej wiąże się z zapewnieniem, że ich dzieci mają poczucie przynależności do swojej grupy etnicznej, mimo że mają rodziców z różnych środowisk:

Widzę wiele pozytywnych rzeczy w (grupie etnicznej mojego partnera), ale widzę też rzeczy, które chcę, aby moje dziecko robiło i czuło tak samo jak (dzieci z mojej grupy etnicznej). To skłoniło mnie do potwierdzenia własnego poczucia tożsamości i wybrania tych elementów, których chcę, aby moje dziecko się nauczyło – tak, jakby to był swego rodzaju „pakiet" (FM8: EI nie bardzo istotna).

(ii) Lepsza komunikacja

Uczestnicy zarówno z silnych, jak i słabych grup tożsamościowych stwierdzili, że rodzicielstwo skłoniło ich do potwierdzenia poczucia tożsamości etnicznej ze względu na potrzebę komunikacji i przynależności.

Podawali różne powody takiego stanu rzeczy, począwszy od indywidualnych aspektów emocjonalnych, komunikacyjnych i afektywnych, poprzez bardziej namacalne rzeczy, które – ich zdaniem – mogły przynieść ogólne korzyści zarówno im samym, jak i ich dzieciom w przyszłości. Jednym z tych mechanizmów było zapewnienie skutecznej komunikacji werbalnej i emocjonalnej, a także silnych więzi emocjonalnych z dziećmi poprzez rozwój własnej tożsamości etnicznej:

Gdybym nie przekazała (tożsamości) moim (dzieciom); gdybym nie rozmawiała z (nimi) w (moim języku) na co dzień i nie spędzała z nimi czasu, skończyłoby się na tym, że wchłonęłyby (tożsamość mojego partnera) i obawiam się, że wówczas oddalilibyśmy się od siebie w jakimś stopniu. Nie byliby w stanie zrozumieć nie tylko mojego języka, ale także mojego sposobu komunikacji i wyrażania siebie (FM11: EI nie bardzo istotna).

Drugi mechanizm postrzegany był przez niektórych uczestników jako element, który może zapewnić ich dzieciom to, co niektórzy autorzy nazwali kapitałem kosmopolitycznym (Weenink 2008): przewagę konkurencyjną w pracy i życiu w międzynarodowym środowisku, a w konsekwencji poprawę ich perspektyw akademickich i/lub zawodowych:

Uczę dzieci (mojego języka i kultury), aby rozumiały, jaką jestem osobą. […] To naprawdę fajne i myślę, że zawsze dobrze jest mieć dla nich inną perspektywę. Może jest to również dobre dla ich przyszłej pracy, ponieważ (mój język) nie jest językiem europejskim. Niewiele osób potrafi się nim posługiwać w stopniu płynnym (FF16: EI nie bardzo istotna).

Niektórzy respondenci wyrazili nawet gotowość dostosowania swojej tożsamości etnicznej do potrzeb dzieci, aby osiągnąć ten cel:

Będę (dostosowywać swoją tożsamość etniczną) zgodnie z potrzebami moich (dzieci) […] i kiedy (one) zrozumieją, że mają złożone i międzynarodowe pochodzenie, prawdopodobnie będziemy mogli zrobić kolejny krok i żyć w innych krajach, co jeszcze bardziej wzbogaci ich zasoby kulturowe (FF1: EI istotna).

(iii) Rozwijanie tożsamości wieloetnicznej

Uczestnicy nie zgłaszali zmian w przynależności do tożsamości etnicznej w związku z rodzicielstwem. Dla nielicznych uczestników, którzy doświadczyli tego procesu, nastąpił on już wcześniej w życiu, a jego przyczyny były zróżnicowane. Niemniej, wielu rozmówców stwierdziło, że czują, iż ich tożsamość etniczna wzbogaciła się o elementy obce w wyniku pozostawania częścią wieloetnicznej rodziny:

Nasza rodzina ma dwie kultury. […] Przejęłam wiele z kultury (mojego partnera) zarówno dla mojej rodziny, jak i dla siebie. To samo stało się w przypadku mojego partnera z (moją kulturą). Jesteśmy wielokulturowi indywidualnie, a także jako rodzina. Obie kultury są zawsze obecne w naszym domu (FM8: EI nie bardzo istotna).

Im dłużej mieszkam (za granicą), tym bardziej czuję się pomiędzy (tożsamościami etnicznymi). Mam jednak nadzieję, że celebrowanie tradycji (mojej

83

grupy etnicznej) z moimi (dziećmi) i moim (partnerem) da mi możliwość dalszego podtrzymywania (mojej pierwotnej tożsamości etnicznej) (FM14: EI istotna).

Omówienie wyników i wnioski

Według naszej wiedzy, jest to jedno z pierwszych badań nad rozwojem tożsamości etnicznej przeprowadzonych wśród rodziców osób o mieszanym pochodzeniu (obcokrajowców) w Estonii. Jest to niedostatecznie zbadana grupa, którą badacze powinni analizować dalej – także w innych kontekstach geograficznych, w których można napotkać osoby o wieloetnicznym pochodzeniu (Sam, Berry 2010; Song, Liebler 2022).

Badaliśmy wpływ rodzicielstwa na świadomość tożsamości etnicznej rodziców z mieszanych etnicznie związków w Estonii. Pomimo różnych wartości, jakie uczestnicy przypisywali tożsamości etnicznej, wyniki tego badania jakościowego ujawniły, że dla większości respondentów zostanie rodzicem świadomie lub nieświadomie wpłynęło na sposób, w jaki postrzegali i doświadczali swojej tożsamości etnicznej. Pod tym względem zidentyfikowano trzy mechanizmy zmiany tożsamości: (i) zwiększenie świadomości tożsamości etnicznej w związku z odpowiedzialnością wynikającą z bycia wzorem do naśladowania i nauczycielem danej kultury, (ii) poprawa komunikacji, która następuje w celu zapewnienia udanej komunikacji werbalnej i emocjonalnej, a nawet poprawa perspektyw dla swoich dzieci i siebie oraz (iii) rozwój poczucia tożsamości wieloetnicznej. Mechanizmy te nie są wyłączne, gdyż niektórzy uczestnicy mogą stosować jeden lub więcej z nich. Ponadto, zrozumienie ich jest ważne z następujących powodów:

Literatura wskazuje, że przywiązanie do tożsamości etnicznej obniża się w okresie dorosłości (w tym w grupach klasyfikowanych jako grupy imigrantów drugiego pokolenia), kiedy to inne tożsamości społeczne stają się bardziej istotne w związku z wydarzeniami życiowymi, takimi jak rodzicielstwo (Feliciano, Rumbaut 2018). Niemniej, pierwsze dwa wyniki sugerują, że – podczas gdy inne grupy dorosłych są być może bardziej skoncentrowane na innych tożsamościach społecznych, takich jak te związane ze statusem

społeczno-ekonomicznym – dla naszej grupy rodziców tożsamość etniczna stała się ważna po narodzinach dziecka do tego stopnia, że zaczęli kultywować pewne elementy tej tożsamości bardziej intensywnie niż wcześniej. Nawet odpowiedzi tych uczestników, którzy wcześniej deklarowali, że tożsamość etniczna nie jest dla nich istotna wskazywały na to, że – po narodzinach dziecka o mieszanym pochodzeniu – zaczęła ona odgrywać ważną rolę, co wyrażało się w tym, że zaczęli oni funkcjonować w ramach jednego lub kilku mechanizmów odkrytych w niniejszym badaniu. Odkrycie to wskazuje, że tożsamość etniczna jest kształtowana przez rodzicielstwo i może pozostać istotnym wymiarem rodzin mieszanych, nawet jeśli ich członkowie są dobrze wykształceni i postrzegają siebie jako obywateli świata. Pod tym względem niniejsze badanie odpowiada na sugestie innych badań odnoszące się do dalszej analizy roli tożsamości etnicznej w rodzinach obcokrajowców (Gaspar 2010; Song 2009; Sowa-Behtane 2017).

Badania wykazały również, że niektórzy z uczestniczących w nich rodziców mają dość praktyczne podejście do tożsamości etnicznej. Wynik ten sugeruje, że pewne grupy we współczesnym społeczeństwie mogą pragnąć przynależności do niektórych grup etnicznych nie tylko z racji procesów poznawczych wynikających z więzi emocjonalnych (Tajfel, Turner, 2004), ale też z powodu bardziej namacalnych korzyści, takich jak „kapitał kosmopolityczny" (Weenink 2008), co również może być ciekawym przyczynkiem do dalszych badań.

Ograniczenia

Jednym z ograniczeń tego badania było to, że większość uczestników była dobrze wykształcona i pracowała głównie w środowisku międzynarodowym. Dlatego też w przyszłych badaniach warto byłoby sprawdzić, czy postawy wobec tożsamości etnicznej różnią się w grupach rodziców dzieci o mieszanym pochodzeniu, którzy należą do grup o niższym poziomie dochodów i wykształcenia.

Ponadto, wielu ankietowanych rodziców miało dzieci w wieku poniżej siedmiu lat, co oznacza, że rodzicielstwo było stosunkowo niedawnym wydarzeniem w ich życiu. Odpowiedzi kilku rodziców ze starszymi dziećmi sugerują, że ich zaangażowanie we wspieranie tożsamości etnicznej może nie być tak intensywne, gdy ich dzieci

wchodzą w okres dojrzewania. Dobrze byłoby zbadać wszelkie zmiany w poglądach uczestników po kilku latach, a także przeanalizować przyczyny takiego stanu rzeczy w badaniach podłużnych.

Bibliografia

Akerlof G.A., Kranton R.E. (2000). *Economics and Identity*, „The Quarterly Journal of Economics", t. 115, nr 3, s. 715–753, https://doi.org/10.1162/003355300554881.

Campbell S., Nuevo-Chiquero A., Popli G., Ratcliffe A. (2019). *Parental Ethnic Identity and Child Development. IZA Discussion Paper No. 12104*, „The Sheffield Economic Research Paper Series", ref. 2019003, https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3390092.

Cheon Y.M., Ip P.S., Haskin M., Yip T. (2020). *Profiles of Adolescent Identity at the Intersection of Ethnic/Racial Identity, American Identity, and Subjective Social Status*, „Frontiers in Psychology", t. 11, art. 959, https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00959.

Crocetti E. (2017). *Identity Formation in Adolescence: The Dynamic of Forming and Consolidating Identity Commitments*, „Child Development Perspectives", t. 11, nr 2, s. 145–150, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12226.

Feliciano C., Rumbaut R.G. (2018). *Varieties of Ethnic Self-Identities: Children of Immigrants in Middle Adulthood*, „RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences", t. 4, nr 5, s. 26–46, https://doi.org/10.7758/rsf.2018.4.5.02.

Gaspar S. (2010). *Family and Social Dynamics*, „Portuguese Journal of Social Sciences", t. 9, nr 2, s. 109–125, https://doi.org/10.1386/pjss.9.2.109.

Gonzales-Backen M.A. (2013). *An Application of Ecological Theory to Ethnic Identity Formation Among Biethnic Adolescents*, „Family Relations", t. 62, nr 1, s. 92–108, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23326029.

Haslam S., Jetten J., Postmes T., Haslam C. (2009). *Social Identity, Health and Well-Being: An Emerging Agenda for Applied Psychology*, „Applied Psychology", t. 58, nr 1, s. 1–23, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.2008.00379.x

Horowitz D.L. (1975). *Ethnic Identity*, [w:] N. Glazer, D.P. Moynihan (red.), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, wyd. 5, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, s. 111–140.

Isaacs H.R. (1975). *Basic Group Identity: the Idols of the Tribe*, [w:] N. Glazer, D.P. Moynihan (red.), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, wyd. 5, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, s. 29–52.

Koczan Z. (2014). *Does Identity Matter?*, „Migration Studies", t. 4, nr 1, s. 116–145, https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnv021.

Marcia J.E. (1966). *Development and Validation of Ego-Identity Status*, „Journal of Personality and Social Psychology", t. 3, nr 5, s. 551–558, https://doi.org/10.1037/h0023281.

Phinney J.S. (1989). *Stages of Ethnic Identity Development in Minority Group Adolescents*, „The Journal of Early Adolescence", t. 9, nr 1–2, s. 34–49, https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431689091004.

Phinney J.S., Devich-Navarro M. (1997). *Variations in Bicultural Identification Among African American and Mexican American Adolescents*, „Journal of Research on Adolescence", t. 7, nr 1, s. 3–32, doi:10.1207/s15327795jra0701_2.

Rumbaut R. (1995). *The Crucible Within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation Among Children of Immigrants*, „International Migration Review", t. 28, nr 4, s. 748–794, https://doi.org/10.2307/2547157.

Sam D.L., Berry J.W. (2010). *Acculturation: When Individuals and Groups of Different Cultural Backgrounds Meet*, „Perspectives on Psychological Science", t. 5, nr 4, s. 472–481, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41613454.

Schwartz S.J., Syed M., Yip T., Knight G.P., Rivas-Drake D., Lee R.M., Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group. (2014). *Methodological Issues in Ethnic and Racial Identity Research with Ethnic Minority Populations: Theoretical Precision, Measurement Issues, and Research Designs*, „Child Development", t. 85, nr 1, s. 58–76, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24030521.

Song M. (2009). *Is Intermarriage a Good Indicator of Integration?*, „Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies", t. 35, nr 2, s. 331–348, https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802586476.

Song M. (2021). *Who Counts as Multiracial?*, „Ethnic and Racial Studies", t. 44, nr 8, s. 1296–1323, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1856905.

Song M., Liebler C. (2022). *What Motivates Mixed Heritage People to Assert Their Ancestries?*, „Genealogy", t. 6, nr 61, s. 1–21, https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy6030061.

Sowa-Behtane E. (2017). *Binational Marriages in Europe*, [w:] *Society. Integration. Education. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference. May 27th–28th, 2016*, vol. 3, s. 393–401, http://dx.doi.org/10.17770/sie2016vol3.1447.

Tajfel H., Turner J.C. (2004). *The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior*, [w:] J.T. Jost, J. Sidanius (red.), *Political Psychology: Key Readings*, New York: Psychology Press, s. 276–293, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203505984-16.

Turner J. (1982). *Towards a Cognitive Redefinition in the Social Group*, [w:] H. Tajfel (red.), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, s. 15–36.

Turner J.C., Reynolds K. (2012). *Self-Categorization Theory*, [w:] P.AM. van Lange, A.W. Kruglanski, E.T. Higgins (red.), *Handbook of Theories in*

Social Psychology, t. 2, London: Sage Publication, s. 399–417, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446249222.n46.

Umaña-Taylor A.J., Fine M.A. (2004). *Examining Ethnic Identity among Mexican-Origin Adolescents Living in the United States*, „Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences", t. 26, nr 1, s. 36–59, https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986303262143.

Weenink D. (2008). *Cosmopolitanism as a Form of Capital: Parents Preparing Their Children for a Globalizing World*, „Sociology", t. 42, nr 6, s. 1089–1106, https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038508096935.

ADRESY DO KORESPONDENCJI:

Gabriel Alberto Ceballos Rodríguez
University of Tartu
Institute of Social Studies
e-mail: gabriel.alberto.ceballos.rodriguez@ut.ee

Mare Ainsaar
University of Tartu
Institute of Social Studies
e-mail: mare.ainsaar@ut.ee

I r e n a   B o g o c z o v á
ORCID: 0000-0002-0818-193X
University of Ostrava

One House, Two Languages

ABSTRACT

The author deals with the topic of family bilingualism, or—to be more precise—with the question of which language should be spoken while raising a child (or children) in a multiethnic and multilingual environment. An example of such an environment is the Czech part of Cieszyn/Těšín Silesia, where, in addition to the standard varieties of Czech and Polish, the unwritten mixed language *po naszymu* is also commonly used. The members of the local Polish minority use several codes on a regular basis: two ethnic languages in their literary and dialectal varieties, as well as the aforementioned mixed language, which functions here, in particular, as a language of communication within the family (familect). There are very few households where standard Polish is used as the means of communicating with children. This atypical linguistic behaviour of at least one of the parents is the focus of the author, who conducted a survey and obtained important information from people who decided to raise their children using standard Polish. She lists the factors that lead parents to such unusual linguistic behaviour and points out its risks, consequences and side effects. The conclusion of the article is that at least one language code is used in families that have chosen to speak standard Polish to their children, that the code intended for children may not be the same as the means of communication between the parents, that grandparents usually speak to their children in their own dialect, or that (Polish) kindergartens and primary schools are paradoxically an environment where even a child who has so far spoken only standard Polish quickly picks up the regional unwritten language.

Introduction: Specific social and linguistic situation of Zaolzie (Trans-Olza)

The inspiration for this text was the long-term observation of the speech behaviour of bilingual and diglossic people coming from the multiethnic environment of Zaolzie. The aim of the study is not to present authentic conversations involving users of two (or several) languages or varieties, but rather the factors forcing the use of one language code or another. I am particularly interested in the motivation to consciously choose Polish (in its standard version) as the code in which to raise children among parents who know (and use) Czech and/or the local colloquial spoken language.[1]

The names Zaolzie Silesia and Zaolzie appeared after the First World War, and they refer to the part of the former Cieszyn Silesia which, after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, was added to Czechoslovakia. The area covers approx. 800 km2 of the Polish–Czech borderland stretching along the Olza river, which in some parts constitutes the border between the two countries. The area was incorporated into Poland for 11 months before the outbreak of the Second World War, after which it became a part of the Third German Reich. After the war, it belonged to Czechoslovakia again, and since the division of this country into the Czech and Slovak Republics at the end of 1992, it has formed the north-eastern periphery of Czechia.

Poland and Czechoslovakia, both newly established in 1918, were equally interested in the industrialised and densely populated left-bank areas of the Olza River. The Polish side justified its stance on Zaolzie with ethnic reasons, while Czechoslovakia emphasised the need to use the railway connecting Prague with Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia. In the end, economic and strategic considerations prevailed over national considerations, but the peculiarities of this small region

---

1   The basis of this non-standardized code, called *po naszymu* [our speech], is the traditional West Cieszyn dialect that falls within the scope of the southern subgroup of Silesian dialects. That is why I use both of these concepts (the local dialect and *po naszymu* speech) as synonyms in the text. The traditional local dialect, called Zaolzie, is a territorial variant of the Polish ethnic language, while *po naszymu* speech is a mixed language and—depending on the individual—it may more closely resemble Polish or Czech. In other words, one may speak *po naszymu* in Polish and/or in Czech.

are still evident in the diverse ethnic consciousness of the native inhabitants and in the complex linguistic situation.

National awareness began to awaken here in 1848–1849, although initially the Spring of Nations had a generally anti-Austrian and anti-German character in Cieszyn Silesia.[2] In the second half of the 19th century, Polish ethnic awareness was gradually formed by the Church (especially the Evangelical Church) and the Educational Society of the Duchy of Cieszyn, as well as other local Polish unions, organisations and associations. Evidence of the "Polish" character of the area is provided by the sociodemographic data from the last Austrian census (1910), when almost 70% of the inhabitants within the boundaries of the later Zaolzie declared using the Polish colloquial language (*Umgangssprache*), i.e. the West Cieszyn dialect. It should be added that officially, in the Duchy of Cieszyn, several official languages were used (consecutively or simultaneously): Latin, German, Czech and Polish.

Schools have always played an important role in this region. At the moment, in Zaolzie there are 24 primary schools teaching students in Polish. The youngest children are sent by the Poles to the local Polish preschools, and the older children can study in a Polish secondary school in Český Těšín (the Czech part of Cieszyn).[3]

It is not difficult to conclude from even a brief outline of the history of (the Czech part of) Cieszyn Silesia that issues such as the national and state affiliation of the local population or their linguistic orientation and competence are very complex.

Outline of bilingualism and diglossia

There are many definitions of bilingualism or multilingualism. As a rule, their common basis is the fact that two (several) ethnic languages are used in communication. Diglossia is understood as the

---

2   For example, the weekly *Tygodnik Cieszyński* (since 1851, *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*) was published in Polish, but supported financially by Czech donors and others.

3   In both poviats (Karviná and Frýdek-Místek) in which there is a Polish minority, there are 13 schools with years 1 to 5 and 10 full primary schools (with years 1–9). The total number of students in the 2022–23 school year is 2,105. Altogether, 314 students attend all the grades of the above-mentioned secondary school in 2022–23.

knowledge and active use of two unequal (in terms of prestige) ethnic language varieties (diversity or multitude of varieties), e.g. literary (cultural) language and dialect (bidialectalism). In other words, one of the codes is evaluated as better, and the other one is considered worse.[4] In addition to the aforementioned convergence of positions on both phenomena, specialists list a multitude of types of bilingualism (diglossia), depending on what such interchangeable use of languages (their varieties) consists in, among other things.[5] It is important to consider these phenomena from multiple perspectives, and not only from a metalinguistic (descriptive) or sociolinguistic (intersocial) point of view.[6]

I consider it exceptionally accurate to say that multilingualism involves the ability to verbalise the contents of the mind using two (several) codes, or the ability to express states of one's own linguistic consciousness through more than one linguistic system (Horecký 2002: 50). This approach does not require the degree of knowledge of codes to be specified, but it does draw attention to the mental operations accompanying the phenomenon. The creation of a text in a second language is never a literal repetition, but a unique result of mechanisms (strategies) of thought running through the circumstances of another language and captured by means of its system.

A perfect, yet very rare state is the situation in which such a change of cultural (cognitive) and structural contexts does not require a greater psychological effort. Another important aspect of multilingualism (multitude of varieties) is that, by learning a language, the individual (child) simultaneously forms their own identity

---

4   Diglossia thus occurs in situations of cultural inequality, in which one code is definitely "weaker" (Wróblewska-Pawlak 2014).

5   As a rule, a distinction is made between individual and social bilingualism, natural (native) and artificial (intentional) bilingualism, symmetrical (balanced) and asymmetrical bilingualism, full (total, submersive) and partial (immersive) bilingualism, active and passive (receptive) bilingualism, additive and subtractive bilingualism, etc. Bilingualism and/or diglossia have been analysed by (in alphabetical order) e.g. Peter Auer, Charles Ferguson, Joshua Fishman, François Grosjean, John Joseph Gumperz, Einar Haugen, Dell Hymes, Pieter Muysken, Carol Myers-Scotton and Uriel Weinreich, and in Poland by Michał Głuszkowski, Ida Kurcz and Urszula Żydek-Bednarczuk.

6   One should pay attention to the cultural, cognitive, psychological and identity aspects, for example.

and defines their place in the community and in the world, as Elżbieta Czykwin (2002) and others have pointed out.[7]

Multilingualism and the use of multiple varieties of language are directly connected with *code mixing* or *code switching*. In the 34th issue of *Socjolingwistyka* [Sociolinguistics], Gabriela Augustyniak-Żmuda discusses these phenomena in a synthetic way, distinguishing code switching in the metaphorical sense—also known as conversational code switching, when a foreign language is used to highlight part of an utterance—from the situational sense, which depends on a change in the communicative situation requiring the use of a different language code.[8] The most common situational code-switching factors include the linguistic competence of one's interlocutor,[9] their social role, the (un)official nature of the conversation, public/private circumstances and preparation (being ceremonial)/spontaneity.

Two opposing aspects play an important role in valuing particular codes: the social reputation of one language and the marginality of another. In the case of a dialect or a mixed regional language used by a significant part of the linguistic community, it is difficult to determine if a code belongs to one or the other category. On the one hand, non-standard dialects or mixed codes are judged to be incompatible with ambitious communicative intentions. They are considered to be incompatible with "higher" objectives of socialisation (upbringing and education) of the youth because an important role in this process

---

7   However, I do not focus here on the consistency of language and identity.

8   Both situational and conversational switching occur in Zaolzie. The latter results from a lack of knowledge of relevant words from the civilisation vocabulary (names related to the reality) or from a mechanical naming of things and phenomena with Czech words. The lexical bohemisms are subject to sound adaptation and, as a rule, do not affect the (dialectal) morphological and syntactic structure of the utterance.

9   Another option is semicommunication, especially between speakers whose languages are close or related. This phenomenon, also called intercomprehension, means a mutual intelligibility of languages or language varieties, understanding the foreign code on the basis of knowledge of one's native code, and does not require communication in a common language. As a rule, semicommunication takes place subconsciously, and if the interlocutor is confronted with the other language relatively frequently, they easily acquire the ability to overcome obstacles (interference) in the form of transfers, i.e. they learn to overcome a negative interlanguage interference (*Intercomprehension*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Intercomprehension [access: 31.10.2022]; see e.g. Lipowski 2012).

is played by correctness and good example. On the other hand, cultural language is, in a way, artificial and contrary to family privacy. Moreover, dialects are associated with tradition and attachment to "one's people," a region, a highly valued local subculture, etc.

Empirical data: examples of a linguistic biography

In this section I intend to focus on childhood (early) bilingualism in the parent–child relationship and as an element of the family language (familiolect). The cases of family bilingualism presented below qualify, in part, as examples of native (natural, legitimate) bilingualism, resulting from the parents' linguistic competence, from the practices of their family home, etc. On the other hand, the material collected in the survey manifests a conscious interference in the development of the child's linguistic competence, opposing the linguistic orientation of the wider family, peer group and local community.[10] In contrast to the situation in the Polish part of Cieszyn Silesia, there are few Polish families in Zaolzie who avoid the omnipresent colloquial mixed code when communicating with their children. Parents who choose to do so are generally among the most educated members of the local community, often having graduated from Polish studies. It is therefore difficult to encounter such people; moreover, they must be reliable, as the researcher has no opportunity to check the sincerity of their statements. A typical inhabitant of Zaolzie who identifies with the Polish nation uses the *po naszymu* speech, which is interchangeably called *narzecze* [the dialect].[11] Therefore, the purposefully selected survey questions were addressed to those people who, while raising their children, had to make a conscious choice between Polish or Czech (in their standard versions), or between standard Polish

---

10 We can see the contribution of socialisation in each, even in seemingly natural bilingualism. Wishing to communicate with their social environment, the child has no choice but to adopt the rules of their parents, grandparents or guardians. The naturalness of this bilingualism, however, lies in the fact that the young language user "experiences" the rules in a similar way. It is not a matter of simply learning a foreign language, but of gradually growing and maturing in the world seen from the point of view of a given linguistic code.

11 A similar attitude is presented by many local Czech citizens.

and the West Cieszyn dialect. With their partners or other relations, they usually communicate in another language code. It should be emphasised that all the respondents were natives, and none of the parents/guardians of the children had moved to Zaolzie from Poland. The survey included 11 questions and was anonymous.[12] The survey questions were as follows:

- Does the respondent's partner (the child's father/mother) also use standard Polish in their conversation with the child?
- Does the respondent use the same language code when communicating with their partner as with the child?
- Was this language behaviour initiated at the child's birth? Does this behaviour continue as the child matures?
- Does this happen consistently, during every conversation with the child?
- Does the form of speech (spoken or written) influence the language of communication with the child?
- In other situations (in the presence of grandparents, extended family, neighbours, colleagues, friends, in public places, etc.), does the respondent behave in the same way in terms of the language used?
- Was it similar in the respondent's family home? Was one of the parents, for example, a teacher in a Polish school, a native of Poland or a social activist for the Polish minority?
- Does the use of standard Polish in conversation with the child make the respondent uncomfortable or does it require an additional intellectual effort for the respondent?
- How does the respondent's social environment (relatives, friends, colleagues, etc.) react to this way of communicating with the child?
- Does the respondent's child also (consistently) speak Polish in other situations (at school, in the common room, during classes in school clubs, in the yard, with extended family members, etc.)?

---

12 The questionnaire was given to patrons of the Municipal Library in Czech Těšín who regularly visit the Polish-language literature section with their children. However, it turned out that only five people met the conditions of the survey.

- What makes the respondent behave linguistically in this way (i.e. use standard Polish rather than the dialect or Czech) when communicating with the child?

Answers:

1. The respondent is a native Czech with "Polish roots," who has got two daughters (a 5-year-old and a 9-month-old). The father of the older girl is a Polish man from Poland; the respondent spoke Polish with him and she was very keen to raise their child to speak the same language. The second partner (the father of the younger daughter) is Czech. The communication between the partners is in Czech; neither of them has a special sentiment for the dialect. Both mother and father feel that it is not a suitable code for communicating with the children. The partners speak to the girls (who are raised together) in their mother tongues: the father in Czech, the mother—to both daughters (!)—in Polish. Only exceptionally, when the company is Czech-speaking, does the respondent "allow myself" to speak Czech with the children. Acquaintances are sometimes surprised that the mother speaks Polish to her daughter, especially to the younger one. Thanks to her partner speaking Czech, even the older daughter is fluent in both languages. The grandparents speak the dialect to the children, thanks to which the older daughter is able to use both varieties of Polish interchangeably (she chooses the code that is more appropriate to the given situation). In the family from which the respondent comes, conversations were held in *po naszymu*. Despite all this, the respondent finds speaking Polish to her children completely natural. It should be noted that she attended Polish local schools, she graduated from Polish studies in Ostrava and chose multilingualism as the topic of her master's thesis. She is critical of teachers in the kindergarten[13] which her older daughter attends. She is aware that her child speaks Polish better than some of the teachers there. For

---

13   When mentioning schools and kindergartens, the respondents mean the network of local educational institutions with Polish as the language of teaching.

the time being, the respondent does not know which school (Polish or Czech) her younger daughter will attend, but she is convinced that she will continue to speak Polish to her at home.

2. The respondent is the father of a boy who has a Czech mother; he speaks to his son in Polish. He himself comes from a family where one parent was a Pole from Poland and used only standard Polish. The mother speaks to the child in Czech. In conversations between the partners, the respondent speaks the dialect and his wife speaks Czech. The respondent does not use Polish consistently while talking to his son. He admits that he sometimes uses the dialect, especially when it comes to everyday topics. Standard Polish definitely prevails in conversations with the child during their trips to Poland. The respondent claims that his linguistic behaviour is not influenced by the presence of other people involved in a communication situation, and that he never takes into account their opinion. He knows that his son also uses the dialect outside the home. The father, however, does not intend to give up his communication strategy and believes that it will help the child do better at (Polish) school.

3. Another respondent has always consistently spoken Polish with her child, in the presence of other people as well. For teaching purposes, on occasion she introduces Czech or English into the conversation. This way of raising children was passed on to her by her parents. Her grandmother was a teacher in a Polish school, and the whole family was active in the Polish minority. The respondent does not find it difficult to use Polish. She also speaks Polish with her husband. In her opinion, the topic is interesting, especially for the local Czech people. When asked whether the child also speaks only Polish in other situations, the interviewee answered "YES." She added that "in Zaolzie it is easier to learn Czech … than Polish. The quality of Polish in schools is poor, so I prefer to give my children a good language basis myself."

4. The respondent is the mother of three boys (10, 8 and 5 years old). Similarly to her husband (the children's father), she exclusively (consistently) uses Polish in conversations with her

sons, in both oral and written communication. While talking to her husband, on the other hand, she speaks the dialect. The parents speak Polish to the children at home and outside the home, irrespective of other participants in or witnesses to the conversation. The people around them express their admiration ("other parents wouldn't be able to do that") or surprise, which the respondent "doesn't care much about." Speaking Polish is not a problem for her. She admits that as the boys grow up and have different interests, it is difficult to avoid using Czech names or terms, so it takes some effort to maintain Polish. The children's father sometimes talks to the children in *po naszymu* as a joke or in nervous situations, but this either amuses or embarrasses the children. The father shifts between cultural Polish and the dialect in the presence of his parents, because his relatives speak the dialect, too. The respondent claims that she picked up the tradition of speaking Polish (general, cultural) to her children from her own family. This was certainly how her parents behaved when their two daughters attended primary school. Moreover, the family regularly visited a close relative in Poland, which ensured that she had constant contact with the Polish language. The respondent's parents were involved in the activity of PZKO.[14] The respondent admits that at school she made spelling mistakes typical of Polish speakers from Poland (e.g. confusing h/ch, rz/ż and u/ó), which is generally not the case for children from Zaolzie. Connection with the Czech language and the dialect is guaranteed by the school environment and the "playground." The respondent underscores that her sister has been living in Prague for 20 years but is still fluent in Polish, which she owes to her parents. The respondent is convinced that the children do not have a problem with code-switching, and she declares that Polish literary language is the mother tongue for both her and her sons. It should be added that the children

---

14   This is the abbreviation for Polski Związek Kulturalno-Oświatowy [Polish Cultural and Educational Association], the largest organisation for the Polish minority in Zaolzie. Importantly, the respondent reflected that her husband's parents worked for the organisation, too, which did not influence their dialectal family language.

from this family also use the colloquial *po naszymu* outside the home. They learnt it (paradoxically) in the Polish kindergarten and at a school in which Polish was to be the language of teaching. The mother is aware of this and she is sorry to admit that not all teachers can speak "proper Polish."

5. The respondent raised her (now adult) daughter using Polish, and she did so until the child was almost three years old, i.e. until the girl started attending a Polish kindergarten. The daughter heard the same language from her father, who in his previous relationship had raised his children in the dialect. Both parents also use the literary variant of Polish or Czech (e.g. at work) or, alternatively, they speak *po naszymu*. In conversations with her child, the respondent used Polish even in the company of other (unknown) people (e.g. at the doctor's). Those around her accepted this fact without comment and they were unsurprised by such behaviour. The respondent still communicates with her daughter in Polish in written communication (notes, text messages, traditional mail or e-mail). The respondent justifies the change of code (from general Polish to the dialect) with the fact that she did not want to hinder her daughter's contact with peers in the kindergarten. The respondent comes from a home where the dialect was used. However, she was used to reading Polish books and watching only Polish television. Her mother was a teacher in a Polish school (but not a Polish language teacher); her father had a technical education and worked in a mine. The respondent's parents, i.e. the girl's grandparents, have always spoken *po naszymu* to their granddaughter. The respondent does not regret her decision about the language of her child's upbringing. She claims that she would do the same if she was to make the decision again. She considers it natural and advisable to speak correct Polish to her child. Her opinion is based on the possibility to send the child to a Polish school, among other things.

Conclusions

In conclusion, it has to be determined that the decision of families from Zaolzie regarding what language to communicate with children in is difficult, risky and not always positively evaluated by others. Based on the assumption that we should speak to a child using correct language, and in such a way as to facilitate their future education at a school with Polish as the language of teaching, it would be appropriate to choose cultural (literary) Polish. However, even at an early age, the child becomes familiar with a different code (usually the *po naszymu* speech of grandparents, neighbours and friends). They go to a kindergarten where their peers, and sometimes even teachers, speak differently. They encounter similar situations at school. Outside school and the family, Czech is the dominant language.[15] *Po naszymu* speech is definitely the code that integrates the society of the Zaolzie region. Such speech is based on the West Cieszyn dialect, which is respected and maintained by the Poles in Zaolzie as the language of their "small homeland" and the speech of their grandparents and great-grandparents. Parents who decide to use Polish to communicate with their children must therefore demonstrate considerable courage. It is understandable that the majority of society approaches this phenomenon with surprise or criticism. However, the greatest obstacle for the parents who use proper Polish while talking to their children are the negative attitudes of the closest relatives.

One of the most important observations is that, in the families of the respondents, at least one linguistic code is used in addition to cultural Polish. Usually, it is the *po naszymu* speech, used in communication between parents or between grandparents and grandchildren. The respondents unanimously emphasised the fact that in the local (pre)school environment, a child raised to speak Polish quickly becomes proficient in using a mixed regional language, despite the fact that the language of teaching is Polish.

---

15 In minority schools, children start learning Czech in the second year, and they continue it in secondary school, at the end of which they pass one of the final exams in this language.

Bibliography

Augustyniak-Żmuda G. (2020). "Przełączanie kodów (*code switching*) w mowie przesiedleńców z województwa tarnopolskiego i stanisławowskiego mieszkających w regionie lubuskim," *Socjolingwistyka*, vol. 34, pp. 261–273.

Czykwin E., Misiejuk D. (2002). *Dwujęzyczność i dwukulturowość w perspektywie psychopedagogicznej*, ed. 2, Białystok: Trans Humana.

Horecký J. (2002). "Pojmový aparat teórie bilingwizmu," in J. Štefánik (ed.), *Bilingvizmus. Minulosť, prítomnosť a budúcnosť*, Bratislava: Academia-Electronic Press, pp. 49–51.

"Intercomprehension," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Intercomprehension [access: 31.10.2022].

Lipowski J. (2012). "Paralele w semikomunikacji użytkowników języków północnogermańskich i zachodniosłowiańskich," *Slavia Occidentalis*, no. 69, pp. 147–156.

Wróblewska-Pawlak K. (2014). "O naturalnej dwujęzyczności i przekazywaniu języka dzieciom w sytuacji imigracji," *LingVaria*, vol. 9, no. 1(17), pp. 239–250.

ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE:

Irena Bogoczová
University of Ostrava
Department of Slavonic Studies
e-mail: irena.bogoczova@osu.cz

Agnieszka Krawczyk
ORCID: 0000-0003-0211-3132
University of Łódź

Magdalena Matusiak-Rojek
ORCID: 0000-0001-8900-0901
University of Łódź

Jewish Motherhood in the Narratives of Mothers Living in Poland

ABSTRACT

This article discusses the maternal experiences of three women of Jewish origin. The data was collected by means of a free-text interview with narrative elements and was analyzed by means of the linguistic narrative method of text analysis. The main questions we seek to answer are "What types of motherhood do Jewish mothers represent?" and "What are the characteristics of each of them?" The aims of the article are (1) to juxtapose the three styles of motherhood and describe each of them and (2) to show the importance of the transfer of the culture of origin and upbringing for the performance of the parental role by Jewish women. In this paper, we discuss the cultural pattern of motherhood by juxtaposing the figure of the Polish Mother with the Yiddish *Mame*. We then outline the detailed methodological design of the article. In the next section, we characterize three types of motherhood: monocultural, bicultural and multicultural. Our analysis leads to the conclusion that despite contemporary social changes, mothers are still responsible for the religious upbringing of their children. At the same time, we point out the similarities between the Polish Mother and the Yiddish Mame.

Introduction

Motherhood is both a highly individual experience for many women and an extremely complex, multifaceted phenomenon that gives rise to inquiries within many scientific disciplines, including pedagogy. In the literature one can find reflections on the biological aspects of becoming a mother (e.g., Lichtenberg-Kokoszka 2008; Nowakowska 2014), analyses concerning the sociocultural determinants of motherhood (e.g., Budrowska 2000; Grzelińska 2012; Maciarz 2004; Sikorska 2012) or descriptions of the struggle between the role of a mother and other life roles (e.g., Pryszmont-Ciesielska 2011; Sokołowska 2013). Importantly, much research in this area is based on the narratives of mothers themselves and on the records of the experiences of specific women functioning in different social, economic and cultural conditions (e.g., Bartosz 2002; Pryszmont-Ciesielska 2013). This text contributes to this discourse by giving a voice to women of Jewish origin who wish to pass on the faith of their ancestors to their children, but who live in a society dominated by Christian culture.

The cultural model of motherhood in Poland

As Martyna Pryszmont notes, "given the historical and sociocultural context, a significant and recognizable ideal of a mother is the *Polish Mother*" (Pryszmont 2020: 66). This ideal began to take shape in the time of the First Polish Republic, in which noblewomen enjoyed a relatively high position in society. What was valued in women of that time was not only innocence and submissiveness towards the family, but above all, thriftiness. Women were expected to be able to take over their husband's or brother's duties when the men were absent due to political activity or military campaigns. One such duty was the skillful management of the family's financial resources. The role of women in the society increased even more during the Partitions, when family life, i.e. the sphere for which women were responsible, became the only space that could ensure the survival of the national identity. Anna Titkow writes,

the period of the loss of independence facilitated the emergence of a cultural pattern of the Polish woman as a heroic figure, capable of coping with all kinds of burdens. On her shoulders rested the responsibility for maintaining the national tradition: the continuity of language, culture and faith. It was this difficult period that created the prototype of the super-woman which, in the sphere of attitudes and behavior, has been functioning until now, and which presents the social genotype of a woman as a person capable of coping with the most difficult demands imposed on her by the social reality. (Titkow 2012: 30)

It should be added that the versatility of the Polish Mother was based not only on nurturing the cultural heritage and raising children in the spirit of desirable values, but also on caring for the financial well-being of the family, whose economic resources decreased as a result of the economic and political turmoil.

The figure of the Polish Mother was consolidated by the two great wars of the 20th century, when women took up military service or were engaged in underground activities despite their familial responsibilities. During the Polish People's Republic many women entered the labor market, though they were by no means relieved of their function of caring for and organizing the lives of their loved ones, often at the expense of the women's own wellbeing. However, the very model of family life changed: there were increasingly fewer families with many children, while the model in which parents decide to have two children became the most popular. Nowadays, the term "Polish mother" is both a negative stereotype and a rich, diverse set of characteristics and attitudes of women which does not only evoke negative associations in the public perception (Szymanik-Kostrzewska, Michalska 2020). Some members of Polish society still prefer the traditional family model in which the burden of care and upbringing (including the transmission of cultural traditions and faith) is mainly placed on the mother. However, there are an increasing number of partnership-based relationships in which both mothers and fathers participate in the upbringing of their children, sharing the responsibilities of parenthood (Dzwonkowska-Godula 2015).

In the development of the model of the Yiddish *Mame*, many parallels can be seen with the formation of the Polish Mother. What they have in common is the foundation of a sense of threat to national identity and deficits in the presence of fathers in the family's everyday life. However, the absence of men in this case is not due to economic or political reasons, but results from religion. As Agnieszka Gajewska and Joanna Lisek write,

> the establishment of the Jewish ideal of a male expert in the Torah who spends all his days studying the sacred scriptures in the *beit midrash*, and who is not involved in everyday affairs, forced Jewish women to take up the roles that had been traditionally seen as masculine. This also combined with a shifting divide between the public and private spheres. For men, the synagogue and the study house were spaces associated with prestige and power. The woman occupied a marginal position there. On the other hand, the economic and commercial spheres were open to her. Girls also had a better access to secular education and language learning, as their education did not require strict rabbinical control. (Gajewska, Lisek 2012: 165–166)

The turning point for the Jewish discourse on motherhood was the experience of the Holocaust. The Yiddish *Mame* was largely identified with a mother fighting for her children's lives in the confined space of ghettos, or walking with them to death in the gas chambers of death camps. The tragedy of the Shoah also exerted an irreversible influence on the women who survived the Holocaust. The trauma of war subconsciously recurred in the everyday life of the family, marking the next generation with fear. The mass murders of the Jewish population during World War II and the subsequent policies pursued in the Polish People's Republic resulted in the fact that people with Jewish roots, who used to form a significant demographic group in the country, became exceptions.

> The Polish Mother and the Yiddish *Mame*: once they were neighbours, united by their lonely struggle with the difficulties of everyday life, guardians of national identities, seasoned in martyrdom. Their paths have diverged; today it is difficult for them to look into each other's windows.

However, a symbolic testimony to the former closeness may be the fact that in contemporary Israel, the Yiddish *Mame* has been renamed the Polish *Mame*: the Jewish mother is called the Polish Mother. This term, however, has a negative connotation and is associated with the image (ridiculed by Zionists) of a Polish Jew as an effeminate, sentimental, henpecked husband who is presented in opposition to the promoted ideal of a new Israeli man as a warrior and macho man. (Gajewska, Lisek 2012: 183)

Methodological assumptions

The data presented in this article was collected as part of the doctoral dissertation of one of the authors. Twelve interviews were conducted with young Jewish adults, including eight women. Three of the narrators are mothers and it is their utterances concerning motherhood that are the material for this article. In the article, we do not give the narrators fictional names; the narrators were named "N" followed by a number corresponding to their interview. The female narrators whose parental experience we refer to in the text are referred to as N4, N5 and N10. Each of them grew up in Poland. N5 and N10 knew from early childhood about their Jewish origins, but they grew up in families following secular traditions, as a result of which they did not participate in Judaic traditions and the religion was alien to them. N4, on the other hand, found out about her background by accident when she was a teenager. She was a religious person at the time, and she fulfilled her spiritual needs in Catholicism.

The research falls within the scope of qualitative research, and the linguistic narrative method of text analysis was used. The data was collected by means of a free interview with elements of a narrative (Awdiejew 2009, 2010, 2011; Habrajska 2004, 2008, 2009; Krawczyk 2019).

In this article we address the following questions:
- What types of motherhood do Jewish mothers present? What are the characteristics of each type?
- What are the similarities and differences between "Polish" and "Jewish" mothers?
- What relationships between the culture of origin and the culture of upbringing are revealed in one's own motherhood?

In turn, we would like to achieve the following objectives through this article:

- form an overview of the three styles of motherhood and the characteristics of each type;
- demonstrate the importance of the transfer of culture of origin and culture of upbringing for the parental role of Jewish women.

Types of motherhood

Based on the data collected, three types of motherhood can be distinguished: monocultural, bicultural and multicultural. Each narrator represented a different type. For the purposes of this article, the following definitions of the different types of motherhood were adopted. Monocultural motherhood is characterized by the spouses representing the same culture, although not necessarily the dominant culture of the society. Bicultural motherhood has spouses who represent two different cultures, one of which is consistent with the culture of the society in which they live. Finally, multicultural motherhood is characterized by spouses representing two different cultures, and their cultures are incompatible with the culture of the given society.

Monocultural motherhood

Monocultural family

At the time of the interview, the narrator had three children. Her fourth child was born one week after the interview, and she is currently the mother of five children. N5 comes from a non-religious Jewish family. She was aware of her background from childhood and participated in events related to Jewish culture, though the events were not religious in nature. Her husband is of Jewish origin, but Jewish culture was not present in the family home. They both form a religious Jewish family: the husband serves as a rabbi and N5 as a *rebbetzin* in the Jewish community. Their children are brought up according to the principles of Judaism, but they are encouraged, not forced, to follow religious practices. The family live in Poland, where they are a minority family in terms of culture. At the time of the

interview, the younger children attended a Jewish kindergarten and the eldest attended a democratic school.

Monocultural mother

When N5 met her husband, she discovered the importance of Judaism in her life. In the religiosity of her family of procreation, she probably finds compensation for the lack of religious rules in her family home. Her family of procreation constitutes a contrast to her family of origin: "We are religious. We follow lots of rules. I mean those related to religiousness" [W5/XXIX/502-504/37]. The source of this religiousness is her husband. Before she met him, she was a non-religious person, which she believes resulted from growing up without a father. She attributes the responsibility for religious upbringing and the religiosity of family members to men. In her family of origin, men were absent from the children's upbringing, and therefore it was never a religious home. According to N5, however, her religious home is not accompanied by religious fanaticism. She believes that this results from the fact that she was not brought up in a religious family, as well as from her husband's philosophical education.

Their children are being raised according to religious rules and regulations, "but the rules are not a crazy thing" [W5/XXXIII/526/38]. This means that the family observe the laws derived from the Torah, but they treat them as guidelines for life, not restrictive rules that determine, for example, mealtimes. N5 refers the implementation of particular rules to the general principles of Judaism, which "is a bit of a religion of thanksgiving" [W5/XXXIII/532/39]. The children are encouraged to recite blessings at appropriate times and to rest from their daily affairs on Friday evening, i.e. during the Sabbath. However, if they do not wish to do so, their parents do not force them. In her family of procreation, N5 tries to combine the freedom of her family home with the observance of religious principles.

The narrator tries to include members of her family of procreation (her grandmother and mother) into religious traditions. Although the grandmother does not want to participate in religious events, it is important to N5 that she has accepted and likes her husband. The grandmother appreciates that, in addition to his religious studies, he

also has a degree in philosophy and is a discussion partner for her. N5 enjoys listening to their conversations and believes that her husband's religiousness has introduced a new thread to topics that were previously discussed in her home, which she describes as follows:

> and sometimes my grandmother needles him, but my husband can defend himself in a spectacular manner. And she also sees that he's not a wimp; that she can tell him anything and he won't break down. She can be painfully honest, and he'll still be tough. These are very cool theological and philosophical conversations about life, faith, God, Jews. These are also the kinds of conversations we had before, but not only in the context of Judaism, but also in the context of the human being. This is how my husband, with his way of thinking, introduced her to the Jewish religion. This is reopening her a little to her pre-war history. [W5/XL/683-691/51]

The mother sometimes visits her daughter on the Sabbath, and then she participates in the celebration. The grandmother does not come, but the narrator explains that this is due to her reluctance to travel rather than to her granddaughter's religious life. When N5 and her husband keep the Sabbath in her grandmother's hometown, she is happy to visit them, but the Sabbath itself has no meaning for her: "she's like that; she would sit and listen, but it's also OK for her to come after the blessings" [W5/XL/676/50]. There is some reversal of order here: N5 and her husband have more conservative views than the grandmother.

Education is the topic to which N5 devoted the most time during our conversation. One of its aspects was the education of her children against the background of Jewish education in general, and their education in comparison with Polish education. This theme also appeared with N4, but as a doubt. N5 expressed certainty about her views on this topic. She views education both informally, as upbringing in the family, and formally, as institutional education. She perceives upbringing in the family from the point of view of Judaism. The parents try to show their children the positive aspects of certain prohibitions. They treat the Sabbath as a family day during which they can take walks together or read books in order to compensate for the children's sense of loss, for example, of watching cartoons. They encourage the children to say blessings, and when the older daughter refuses, they do not force her.

Despite the restrictive rules of Orthodox Judaism and many the restrictions that result from it, the children are free to decide whether to participate in particular rituals. The parents are also free to apply the rules, which N5 described as follows: "but again, it's kind of… each parent has to sense what stage his child is at, how to talk to the child, how to teach him or her" [W5/XXXVII/642/47], because "it's also about the fact that children who are forced to do something escape from it in the future" [W5/XXXIV/565/42]. Children are introduced into the world of rules gradually, because they will not understand everything at once. The rules of Judaism are adjusted to the children's age and preferences. In the narrator's stories, Judaism appears as a reflective religion that individual rabbis and parents can freely interpret and adapt to the abilities of an individual child. However, this freedom is limited by the principles of Judaism.

N5 is an advocate of an individual approach, not only in home religious education but also in institutional education. She needs to be able to make decisions and adapt particular rules to the developmental stage of children. She criticized the public education which is rooted in the dominant culture.

After arriving in Łódź, she opened a Jewish kindergarten for her daughters to attend. She did not want them to participate in Catholic events in the public kindergarten. She was probably worried that her daughters' introduction into Jewish culture would be hindered because of their young age. Her son attends a democratic school, as there is no Jewish school in Łódź, and N5 did not choose to establish one. This form of education seemed to be the least restrictive to the family's religious freedom. The son can attend morning prayer and only go to school afterwards; school events that would take place on a Friday are postponed to Thursday because of the Sabbath. The teachers are open to the cultural differences among the pupils and their parents: N5 has been to the school and talked about Jewish culture, and the pupils have visited the synagogue. The lack of Catholic religion lessons is crucial for N5. The students who are interested in practicing the Catholic faith do so on their own. N5 was curious to know whether the preparation for the First Communion takes place at school despite the lack of religious education (RE): "well, and so I asked, a bit reluctantly, the teachers what it looked like, and they looked at me like I was crazy. They did! And they said they have no RE at school"

[W5/XLI/721-723/53]. She emphasized her surprise at the situation by the exclamation in her statement. Also, her son does not participate in all school events and he does not go on school trips. N5 thinks it is too complicated to explain to him why the other children can eat jelly beans or sausages from the campfire and he cannot.

Despite certain limitations, N5 claimed that she is more likely to protect her daughters from the influence of the world than her son. Although she did not explain the reason for this view, religious principles may be an explanation. According to traditional Judaism, men are to be involved in extra-domestic affairs, such as going to work or to synagogue. Women tend to act as keepers of the household. This does not mean that they cannot work, because if they want to or if the economic situation of the family requires it, they have the right to do so. They can also go to synagogue, but unlike men, they are not obliged to do so. Moreover, N5 usually spoke of her son individually and of her daughters collectively, which may be for two reasons. Firstly, the children are differentiated by gender, so when referring to the rules of religious upbringing, she talks separately about the rules of upbringing for boys and separately about upbringing for girls. Secondly, the experience of her son going to school is different from that of her daughters going to kindergarten.

Bicultural motherhood

Bicultural family

At the time of the interview, the narrator had one child; she currently has two. In her family of origin, N4 was brought up in the Christian culture and her Jewish roots were hidden. She discovered them as a teenager. She found her religious path in Judaism. Her husband grew up in a Catholic family. They are both religious and thus form a culturally mixed family. Their child is being brought up in two cultures, but with a clear indication of which is mum's and which is dad's. The daughter goes to synagogue and Judaic traditional events with her mum, and to the Catholic church with her dad. The couple have found agreement in their non-institutional perception of God. They live in Poland, where the culture of N4's husband is dominant. The daughter attended a Jewish kindergarten.

According to N4, her husband approves of her religion and participates in what is important to her. "When I have the Seder, he also tries to help me clean up or something, and he sits with me" [W4/XLVII/447/35]. "So it's like that, well, he'll always sit with me, he'll help, he'll also read" [W4/XLVIII/451/35]. N4 does not celebrate Catholic holidays. She prefers to celebrate Jewish holidays at home, among her family, i.e. in the company of her husband and daughter.

At the time of the interview, her daughter was not yet attending kindergarten. N4 was considering enrolling her in a Jewish kindergarten. However, she was unsure if this decision would be good, fearing that perhaps it would deprive her of contact with the dominant culture. At the same time, she did not want her daughter to learn the Catholic religion in kindergarten or at school. However, she supports such education at home and is happy for her husband to teach the girl religious issues. This is a certain contradiction: N4 prefers that her daughter's Catholic religion is taught at home, but she wants to entrust the teaching of Judaism to the kindergarten staff. Perhaps this results from her own negative school experiences, as the RE teachers did not allow her to ask questions and forced her to accept what they taught without understanding it. N4 would like to show her daughter Christianity as an idea of goodness, and, in her opinion, the institutionalized version of Catholicism mainly includes scaring people. N4's reluctance to institutionalized religion appears only with reference to Catholicism.

Multicultural motherhood

Multicultural family

At the time of the interview, the narrator had two children; she currently has three. N10 grew up in a non-religious Polish/Jewish family. She is a non-believer and she identifies with Jewish culture secularly. Her husband grew up in a religious Polish/Jewish family. He identifies with and attends the rites of both Judaism and Christianity (mainly Catholicism). The spouses, for religious reasons, move frequently and travel a lot, as a result of which their children grew

up surrounded by Judaism, Catholicism, Protestantism and Eastern Orthodoxy, and they also went to a Muslim school. It took a lot of negotiation on the part of the spouses to harmonize the values coming from the different cultures. Nowadays, they want the children to be able to function in many cultures, and in future to decide for themselves which one is the closest to them.

Multicultural mother

N10 and her husband held different cultural values until a certain point. Both she and her husband grew up in Polish/Jewish families. Her husband's family of origin participated in both Catholic and Judaic rites and went to the Church and synagogue. The narrator grew up with an awareness of her Jewish origins, but in a non-religious family that did not celebrate Jewish holidays and went to her grandmother's for Catholic holidays. However, N10 was not familiar with any of the religious rites. She only became acquainted with them through her husband, which she recounted: "at that point … well, I had just met him. And it was also as if [my husband] suggested, 'Come on, let's go to the synagogue'. I, well… I wanted to go, because it's sort of a piece of me, too …. That's right, I wanted to go to see it; well, because, it was a kind of curiosity, all together, right?" [W10/XXXV/747-751/65–66]. The interviewee was not used to going to religious places. She identified with Jewish culture, as she called it "a part of herself." She wanted to see a synagogue, but had not done so before meeting her husband. The couple found an agreement in terms of the participation in the practice of Judaism.

The insignificance of religion for N10 can also be confirmed by the fact that she agreed to get married in a Catholic church. For her, it was not for religious reasons, but aesthetic ones, which she recalls as follows:

> We didn't think about a Jewish wedding either, because, like—where, and how, right? And besides …, well, sort of also, even legally, you know, it wasn't possible in the synagogue, because I'm not a member, right? And if it was, for example, a reformed synagogue, it wouldn't actually count … So we decided that wouldn't be good either. Then we started to think about Catholicism. I wasn't convinced that I wanted it either, but then I decided that if [my husband] wanted it, then OK. And it didn't

really matter to me. Well, I mean, I sort of thought to myself that it was so… I don't know, well, that it could at least be so nice, right? But, I don't know, maybe it was a bit naive, but it happened, anyway. In the end, I decided that maybe it should be like that. [W10/XXI/434–457/39–41]

The lack of attachment to religiousness meant that for N10 it was not important according to which rite the wedding would be held. The aesthetics of the place and legal considerations were important factors for her. In this respect, the Catholic Church proved to be more open to the difference between the spouses, allowing a unilateral wedding with a non-baptized person, which would not have been possible in a synagogue. In her statement, N10 also pointed to her husband's openness towards getting married in particular institutions. However, the biculturalism in her family of procreation caused some difficulty after the wedding: "and it also started to annoy me that [my husband] was going to this church. We also sort of argued about it a bit" [W10/XXIII/473-474/42]. The reason for the narrator's dissatisfaction was the fear that the husband would try to make Catholicism the dominant religion in their new family. Perhaps his religiosity was incomprehensible to N10. When it came to Catholicism, the spouses did not find the same understanding as with Judaism. This may be because in Jewish culture they participated in a form of play. In Catholicism, on the other hand, they made binding declarations.

The discrepancies between the spouses became most apparent when raising their children. At the time of the interview, they had two children. The first religion they were introduced to was Catholicism, which was done on the husband's initiative. The first doubts, which had already arisen when N10 got married in the Catholic Church, were expressed as follows: "now I'm not so sure; then I also had a moment when I said that maybe it wasn't the right choice. Because it was afterwards that sort of parenting happened, right? It was then that I started to think about what I was committing myself to, and, at the moment when I was to sign that paper, I also sort of had a moment of hesitation, but finally I decided, well OK, yeah?" [W10/XXI/458-460/41]. The Catholic Church offers the possibility of unilateral weddings, i.e. with persons of other faiths (or with non-believers). However, it does not give the right to a non-Catholic spouse to bring up the children in the values specific to their religion

(or to atheism). During a Catholic wedding, it is required that the spouses promise to raise their children in the Catholic faith. This declaration was taken seriously by N10. In light of the obligations imposed on the family, the spouses decided to baptize their first child, about which the narrator said, "Well, so we baptized him. But then I decided that I wasn't interested in the Church—that I sort of don't want to, that it sort of annoys me. And that this is absolutely not for me" [W10/XXIII/469-472/42]. For this reason, N10 and her husband did not choose to baptize their second child. Nevertheless, the children went to church with their dad from an early age, although it was an Anglican church rather than a Catholic church due to where they lived, which the narrator depicts as follows: "later on [my husband] would go with them a little bit himself, but [my son] was not very interested in going there; [my daughter] was more interested. [She] is not baptized" [W10/XXIII/494-495/44], "but they now go to the Anglican church. Because it's close to our home. But they don't go there because it's close, but because it has some activities for children during the Mass, so [my husband] goes to Mass, and [she] or sometimes [my son] go to the children's club; the club offers some activities for kids, like artistic activities, during which they draw or do similar things; … and they have some classes, they talk about God" [W10/XXIII/502-506/44-45]. It is easier for the narrator to accept the children's participation in a mass held in the Anglican church than in the Catholic church. She tries to convince herself that they are taking part in artistic activities only accompanied by religious content. Interestingly, the unbaptized daughter is more likely to attend Mass than the baptized son, which means that for the children the sacrament introducing them to the Catholic community is not important.

As the children began to grow up, N10 felt it was important to start introducing them to Jewish culture and Judaism:

> At one point, I concluded that if these children were already going to church, then I should also make it possible for them to hear about Judaism. It is because I really didn't want them to be, sort of, in the Catholic Church with the sense that this is God …. It would be a kind of a limited image. [W10/XXV/533-535/47]

It is likely that the idea of introducing the children to Judaism stemmed from her dislike of Catholicism; perhaps it would not have

come up if they had not gone to church. However, she wanted the children to learn about different religions. A family's participation in religious practices depends on the abilities of all its members, as my interviewee recounted:

> We don't do it very systematically, but, in a way, we do it [W10/XXV/531/47]; and now, for example, for some time it has been happening that, I mean, we try to celebrate the Sabbath in such a loose form; I would say, for example, it is not necessarily at the time it should be, but when we manage to do that, right? That is, in the evening, right? [W10/XXVII/536-537/47]'; it doesn't, sort of, include saying all the prayers; also, we don't turn off the lights during the Sabbath. I don't know; surely, the TV is off. Because we don't have one. But also, well, we kind of try to explain this to the children, for example, in a normal way …. But we're not completely restrictive about it. It's just that we explain to them, that now we can refrain from listening to the radio, right? [laughter] Or to music. But, in the end, if we have to practice playing the violin and we need some accompaniments from the internet, we use them and it's OK. [W10/XXVII/544-556/48-49]

In addition to celebrating the Sabbath, N10's family also celebrate the New Year, during which they eat "apples with honey or something, or some other food" [W10/XXVII/543/48]. Celebrating the Sabbath and other holidays in accordance with all the rules is not possible, as she explained: "we have this kind of lifestyle that is quite crazy … I mean, we travel a lot and that is why this is so" [W10/XXVII/559–560/49]. Religious selectivity, which only occurs in Jewish families, is a result of the lifestyle of those living in 21st-century European countries. Working parents, as well as children going to schools and extracurricular activities, do not always have the opportunity to celebrate every holiday according to all the rules. Consequently, the rules have to be adapted to the lifestyle of the family. Some have to be abandoned, while others are slightly modified. For the participants in a given culture, it is important to know the symbolism and to be able to recreate at least some of it.

In addition to participating in Anglican and Jewish culture, N10's children also had the opportunity to learn about the Orthodox Church as, due to N10's husband's work, the whole family lived for a time in a country where it is the dominant religion. In turn, at the time of the interview, they were living in England, but "in a Pakistani district, i.e. in the Muslim religion, where they have a mosque next

door and the children go to school where most of the children are followers of Islam; Muslim holidays are also celebrated at school" [W10/XXIX/621/54]. Functioning in such an international environment means that the children as well as the parents learn about the rules coming from different cultures. N10 was not sure whether those religions with which the children have had contact so far are distinguished by them:

> I don't know if our children fully recognize which holidays are from which religion. But they are still small. And I, sort of, I can laugh a lot sometimes, because I can see that they're mixing things up there. And I try to explain to them that there are more religions and it's not necessarily the same religion everywhere. But I think at some point they will somehow understand this, right? Because that is simply a learning process. [W10/XXX/658-663/58]

In her explanations she pointed out "that it is not known if this God is there at all, and I don't believe He is, but there are people who believe" [W10/XXIX/653/57]. N10 and her husband show their children different lifestyles. However, this is not intentional, but a consequence of the parents' lifestyles, into which the children are naturally integrated.

At the first stage of their acquaintance, the spouses found agreement about participating in the culture with which they both identified. It is likely that this compatibility led them to trust each other on religious issues. N10 believed that, despite her Catholic marriage, her husband would not attend Mass every week or introduce the children to that culture. The husband may have trusted that his wife would follow through on her declaration. It is also possible that they did not spend much time reflecting on the religious future of their family. The conflicting attitudes of N10 and her husband that emerged after the marriage made it possible to uncover cultural divergences that may not have been visible before. However, the spouses have found an agreement. It involves introducing the children to both cultures, with them attending the Christian one only with their dad. At the same time, the daughter and son are not forced to attend Mass if they do not want to. The customs of the Jewish culture, in which the whole family participates, are adapted to the needs and abilities of all its members. At the same time, the parents emphasize the educational aspects of religion, showing the children the denominations that

are available in their community. Thus, we can say that N10 and her husband present cultural and religious openness. It means that even professing different values does not make it difficult for them to cope with the cultural diversity of the family of procreation.

Conclusion

Each of the narrators presented a reflective approach to motherhood. For them, making individual cultural decisions involves solving a number of dilemmas which are consulted with their husbands. In each family, culture is mainly revealed through religion. The children are shown the positive aspects of their parents' religions. In individual families, women are mainly responsible for raising younger children. Despite the declaration that it is the husband who makes the family home religious or not, the wife is still responsible for the religious education of children. Various restrictions are treated as providing new opportunities. For example, the prohibition of watching cartoons on the Sabbath is compensated for by the constant presence of the parents during this time and the possibility of spending time with them in another form. Religious education is provided through reading books on the themes of particular celebrations. Religious content is adapted to the age and ability of the children. They are gradually introduced to the world of particular rules. A kind of dichotomy is discernible in this image. On the one hand, it is possible to discern the functioning of a partnership according to which the direction of the children's cultural development is discussed between the spouses; on the other hand, the responsibility for introducing the children to the world of traditions and values still rests with the mother, which is characteristic of traditional models in which both the figure of the Polish Mother and the Yiddish *Mame* are firmly established.

A major dilemma for each of the narrators is the education of their children. The mothers want them to maintain their cultural identity, but, at the same time, they want the children to be able to function in the dominant culture. Each narrator has adopted a slightly different strategy in this regard. The monocultural mother isolates her children from the dominant culture, believing that they need to know their own culture well at that stage of life, and that contact

with other cultures will come later. The bicultural (and partly also multicultural) mother raises her children in both cultures, but with a clear indication of which culture is represented by mum and which is represented by dad. In turn, the multicultural mother also raises her children through reference to the culture which prevails in her family's environment at a given time.

The polycultural mothers (bicultural and multicultural ones) leave the final decision regarding the choice of culture to their children, while allowing them to explore more than one. The monocultural mother also makes this declaration, but does not provide her children with role models from different cultures.

All the narrators believe that cultivating the Jewish tradition in a world dominated by Christianity is a challenge. It is also a source of constant doubt and balancing between being able to maintain cultural continuity and providing their children with role models to help them live in the dominant culture. A correlation is apparent: the stronger the mother's religious convictions, the more clearly they are reflected in the cultural and religious upbringing of the children. Fathers play a secondary role in this regard.

Bibliography

Awdiejew A. (2009). "Norma a konwencja," in M. Steciąg, M. Bugajski (eds.), *Norma a komunikacja*, Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut, pp. 27–35.

Awdiejew A. (2010). "Sytuacja komunikacyjna w procesie ideacji," in G. Sawicka (ed.), *Sytuacja komunikacyjna i jej parametry*, Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, pp. 15–23.

Awdiejew A. (2011). "Gramatyka komunikacyjna teraz," in: G. Habrajska (ed.), *Komunikatywizm w Polsce – wybrane zagadnienia z teorii i praktyki*, Łódź: Primus Verbum, pp. 9–19.

Bartosz B. (2002). *Doświadczenie macierzyństwa. Analiza narracji autobiograficznych*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Budrowska B. (2000). *Macierzyństwo jako punkt zwrotny w życiu kobiety*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Funna.

Dzwonkowska-Godula K. (2015). *Tradycyjnie czy nowocześnie? Wzory macierzyństwa i ojcostwa w Polsce*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.

Gajewska A., Lisek J. (2012). "Grzeszne wiersze o matce. Pożegnanie z *Jidysze Mame*?" in R.E. Hryciuk, E. Korolczuk (eds.), *Pożegnanie z Matką Polką?*

Dyskurs, praktyki i reprezentacje macierzyństwa we współczesnej Polsce, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pp. 165–185.

Grzelińska O. (2012). *Mama dookoła świata. Opowieści o macierzyństwie w różnych kulturach świata*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B.

Habrajska G. (2004). *Komunikacyjna analiza i interpretacja tekstu*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.

Habrajska G. (2008). "Poziomy funkcjonalne języka naturalnego," in A. Kiklewicz, J. Dębowski (eds.), *Język poza granicami języka. Teoria i metodologia współczesnych nauko języku*, Olsztyn: Instytut Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Społecznej Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, pp. 53–63.

Habrajska G. (2009). "Kategoria obserwatora a proces wizualizacji," in A. Obrębska (ed.), *Komunikacja wizualna w przestrzeni publicznej*, Łódź: Primus Verbum, pp. 9–19.

KiklewiczA., Dębowski J. (eds.) (2008). *Język poza granicami języka. Teoria i metodologia współczesnych nauk o języku*, Olsztyn: Instytut Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Społecznej Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego.

Krawczyk A. (2019). "Komunikacyjno-lingwistyczna metoda analizy tekstu narracyjnego," *Przegląd Badań Edukacyjnych*, no. 28, pp. 193–218.

Lichtenberg-Kokoszka E. (2008). "Ciąża zagadnieniem biomedycznym i psychopedagogicznym," Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls".

Maciarz A. (2004). *Macierzyństwo w kontekście zmian społecznych*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak".

Nowakowska L. (2014), "Refleksje nad ciążą i porodem. Perspektywa krytycznej analizy dyskursu," *Kultura – Społeczeństwo – Edukacja*, no. 1(5), pp. 9–24.

Obrębska A. (ed.) (2009). *Komunikacja wizualna w przestrzeni publicznej*. Łódź: Primus Verbum.

Pryszmont-Ciesielska M. (2011). "Macierzyństwo w perspektywie kobiet podejmujących aktywność naukowo-badawczą – trzy autonarracje," *Edukacja Dorosłych*, no. 2(65), pp. 163–178.

Pryszmont-Ciesielska M. (ed.) (2013). *Macierzyństwo w relacjach autobiograficznych i biografiach kobiet*, Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut.

Pryszmont M. (2020). *Metodologia jako sztuka wyjścia. Podejście badawcze i praktyki edukacyjne w androginicznych studiach nad macierzyństwem*, Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut.

Sawicka G. (ed.) (2010). *Sytuacja komunikacyjna i jej parametry*, Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego.

Sikorska M. (ed.) (2012). *Ciemna strona macierzyństwa – o niepokojach współczesnych matek. Raport przygotowany w ramach programu AXA „Wspieramy Mamy"*, Warszawa: AXA Polska.

Sokołowska E. (2013). "Macierzyństwo matek studiujących," in M. Pryszmont-Ciesielska (ed.), *Macierzyństwo w relacjach auto/biograficznych i fotografiach kobiet*, Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut, pp. 15–34.

Steciąg M., Bugajski M. (eds.) (2009). *Norma a komunikacja*, Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut.

Szymanik-Kostrzewska A., Michalska P. (2020). *Współczesne matki a stereotyp Matki-Polki*, Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego.

Titkow A. (2012), "Figura Matki Polki. Próba demitologizacji," in R.E. Hryciuk, E. Korolczuk (eds.), *Pożegnanie z Matką Polką? Dyskurs, praktyki i reprezentacje macierzyństwa we współczesnej Polsce*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pp. 27–48.

ADDRESSES FOR CORRESPONDENCE:

Agnieszka Krawczyk
University of Łódź
Faculty of Educational Sciences
e-mail: agnieszka.krawczyk@now.uni.lodz.pl

Magdalena Matusiak-Rojek
University of Łódź
Faculty of Educational Sciences
e-mail: magdalena.matusiak@uni.lodz.pl

A g n i e s z k a   K r a w c z y k
ORCID: 0000-0003-0211-3132
University of Łódź

Landmark Events in the Lives of the Characters in the Film *The Purim Miracle*

ABSTRACT

In this article, I analyze the fate of the protagonists of the film *The Purim Miracle*. The purpose of the analysis is to reconstruct their fate and to show the transformations that took place in their lives. The article consists of two parts: theoretical and analytical. In the introduction, I present a historical outline of Purim, the most important holiday for Jewish people, called the Jewish carnival. In the theoretical part, I summarize the issues that relate to landmark events in human life. Then I explain the issues concerning biographical process structures as seen by Fritz Schütze. In the analytical part, I describe the fate of the protagonists of *The Purim Miracle*, namely the parents (Jan and Jadwiga) and their son (Henio). The process of discovering one's origins is a watershed event for both the whole family and individual family members. It causes changes in their lives, which requires from them biographical work. The fate of the characters is interpreted in relation to the process structures distinguished by Fritz Schütze. The title of the film itself is symbolic, as it refers to the holiday during which the characters converted from Catholics to Jews. The bicultural-ism of the family is revealed not simultaneously, but linearly.

Artykuły i rozprawy | Articles and dissertations

Introduction

The festival of Purim is celebrated on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month of Adar I.[1] This was the month in which Moses was born and died, and buried by God himself. It is associated with reflection that should be concluded with joy, i.e. the celebration of Purim, otherwise known as the Feast of Lots.

This is the most joyous festival of all those celebrated by Jewish people, and thus it serves as a counterbalance to other major festivals. It celebrates the events described in the Book of Esther, the liberation of Jews from persecution by the viceroy of the king of Persia, Haman. After dismissing his first wife due to her disobedience, the king, Ahasuerus, took Esther as his wife. However, she did not tell the king about her Jewish origins or name (Hadassah). Later, her uncle Mordecai was the only one who refused to worship Haman. This provoked the wrath of the Persians, who decided to exterminate all Jews residing in their country. Haman drew lots to decide the exact day on which the Jews should be exterminated.[2] Mordecai asked Esther to beg the king for mercy. Esther told the Jews to fast for three days;[3] then she went to the king, who agreed to save her people. Haman was hanged on the same gallows that had been prepared for Mordecai. To commemorate those events, every year Jews celebrate the Purim festival, which is preceded by a one-day fast (*Taanit Ester*).

During the festival, the Book of Esther (*Megilat Ester*) is read in synagogues. During the utterance of Haman's name, the Jews gathered in the temple drown it out by shouting and stamping their feet to symbolically wipe it from the pages of history. Those who are celebrating are required to express special concern for those in need, as well as to have fun and turn the existing order upside down. The festival of Purim is known as the "Jewish carnival," during which the

---

1   It is in February or March according to the Gregorian calendar.

2   *Pur* – lot.

3   In the folklore and beliefs of various ethnic groups, three (and its multiples) is a magical number, hence, for example, the three godmothers, three fairies, the resurrection of Jesus occurred three days after His death, the fasting of the Jews lasted three days, and (in a fairy tale) twelve brothers were enchanted into swans.

participants rejoice, give each other gifts, dine with loved ones and are even allowed to use alcohol (the only time of the year). Young Jews dress up as members of the opposite sex and students prepare performances in which they parody their teachers (rabbis) (Borek 2016; Kameraz-Kos 1997; Majewski 2009; Wiszniewska 2014).

The motif of the Purim festival is used in art,[4] e.g. in the film *Cud purymowy* [*The Purim Miracle*], made in 2000, directed by Izabella Cywińska, and based on a script by Maciej Karpiński. It also opens a series of thirteen films titled *Święta polskie* [Polish Festivals],[5] which were produced by Polish TV. The main characters are members of the Kochanowski family: the father Jan (Sławomir Orzechowski), the mother Jadwiga (Danuta Stenka) and son Heniek (Grzegorz Małecki). The characters live in Łódź, which is historically connected with Jews and their culture.

The film begins and ends with a thematic bracket that shows the characters participating in the religious rituals of the two faiths. In between, the plot of the film unravels, in which the transformation of the characters is shown. The miracle they experience takes place during the festival of Purim. The filmmakers could have chosen any holiday in the Jewish calendar, but no other Jewish holiday would have constituted such a contrast to the characters' boring lives.

The Purim Miracle can be interpreted in two different ways. On the one hand, the fate of the protagonists can be viewed as the fate of three individuals who, caught up in the same space and history, remain separate from each other. Then, their experiences can be analyzed separately, but in relation to the other members of the family.

---

4   Another example of using the motif of the Purim feast is the short story by Eliza Orzeszkowa: *Silny Samson* [Strong Samson].

5   The other films in the series are *Noc świętego Mikołaja* [Night of St Nicholas] (St Nicholas Day), *Żółty szalik* [Yellow Scarf] (Christmas Eve), *W kogo ja się wrodziłem* [Who do I Take After?] (Father's Day), *Wszyscy Święci* [All Saints] (All Saints' Day), *Miss mokrego podkoszulka* [Miss Wet T-shirt] (Easter), *Biała sukienka* [White Dress] (Corpus Christi), *Długi weekend* [Long Weekend] (1–3 May), *Królowa chmur* [Queen of Clouds] (Mother's Day), *Piekło niebo* [Hell Heaven] (First Communion), *Barbórka* [Little Barbara] (St Barbara's Day), *Przybyli ułani* [Uhlans Came] (Assumption of Mary/ Polish Army Day), and *Miłość w przejściu podziemnym* [Love in the Underground Passage] (St Valentine's Day). The very titles reflect the irony accompanying the whole series, which is actually about holidays from different cultural orders and not about Polish holidays.

On the other hand, the film's protagonists can be treated as a community which reflects well the complexity of human nature, in which anger is combined with gentleness, hatred with love and thoughtlessness with thoughtfulness. In this article, I present an analysis of the first type, with the aim of reconstructing the fate of the characters in the film and showing the transformation that takes place in their lives. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that the plot of the film is limited by time, so some themes must be presented in a condensed way and permeated with symbolic meanings.

Events in human life

Human life can be seen as successive stages or as parallel planes of existence. Particular areas of human existence are given different meanings at different times and a linear view of experience represents a certain simplification (Dobrowolska 1992).

In the course of an individual's entire existence, various events occur. Particular events are not separated from each other by clear boundaries, but occur throughout a person's whole life. Some of them are related to the biological age of the individual or to their being a member of certain sociocultural groups; they may be triggered consciously or unconsciously; and some of them may be related to living in a specific historical time. How they are perceived and interpreted by the individual depends entirely on the individual and their level of reflectivity and interpretative capacity. Landmark events can be considered a special kind of life events. They can include situations that have play a significant role in an individual's life, change the course of their life, psyche, or identity or lead to a transformation of their environment. They are important for the further course of life, opening or closing opportunities, changing the way we view the world around us and ourselves in it. Such crucial events can be sudden and surprising to the individual (Dobrowolska 1992). This means that the individual, in a unique and subjective manner, gives a meaning to their experiences.

Periods accompanied by landmark events can be linked to being a member of specific cultural communities. In religious communities, the moments of transition from one phase to another are regulated by appropriate rituals, which provides an instrument for overcoming

crises. This also ensures social continuity, which can be disrupted by successive generations abandoning tradition. Romano Guardini spoke of external and personal crises that accompany cultural rituals. They ensure cultural continuity and predictability on an individual level (Lanzen 2003). Where rituals occur, there may also be room for reflection. This may be needed in order to decide whether to participate in a particular ritual and thus remain a member of the community. Irrespective of the existence of these two types of crises, every individual experiences personal crises which disrupt normal functioning at the time and cause significant changes (positive and negative) in their daily life.

Life events can also be captured from a methodological perspective. In fictional narratives (e.g. in literature or film), turning points and moments differ from summaries in length. The former are presented in detail and show a change of situation and a break in the plot line. Summaries (i.e. short passages) include those events that do not play an important role. Thus, narrative time is a criterion for classifying an event as a landmark event (Ball 2012). Fictional works are usually built around a landmark moment that determines the further fate of the protagonist. The other life events merely provide a background, aiming to explain the issues that take place during the crucial events.

When confronted with a turning point in life, one has to re-evaluate one's self-image and often must answer the question "Who am I?" One part of building one's own biography is to construct it by reconstructing past experiences. Peter Alheit calls such activities biographicality and points out that it is undertaken when one encounters difficulties and obstacles. Biographicality gives a person the opportunity to design their life from scratch (Ball 2012), which is related to sorting out past experiences. This is accompanied by biographicalization, which according to Winfried Marotzki combines two dimensions of reflection: diachronic and synchronic. The former consists of giving something its individual meaning and significance. The latter is characterised by the need for the approval from other people. If an individual is evaluated negatively, they search for activities that will be approved by society (Urbaniak-Zając 2005). It is also possible to adopt a strategy in which the individual, rather than changing their own actions, looks for an environment that accepts

the values they present, and thus supports them. Biographicalization can be successful when an individual creates stable structures through which they maintain a positive self-image, or unsuccessful when they receive feedback from their social environment that prevents the creation of such an image (Urbaniak-Zając 2005).

Interpreting one's own experiences also accompanies the activity which Anselm Strauss calls biographical work. It is particularly necessary in the case of unsuccessful biographization. Like biographicality, biographical work makes it possible to deal with the contradictions that arise with reference to one's own identity. It can accompany everyday situations, especially in those moments when a distorted self-image occurs. It is intensified at crucial moments. The main task in doing biographical work is an emotional return to the past, which results from individual experiences and external circumstances (i.e. social conditions) (Kaźmierska 2008). As a result, a person has to perform such work on their own.

Modernity offers people the opportunity to choose the best lifestyle for themselves. Making individual choices at different stages is facilitated by reflection. The tool for reflecting on one's life is the awareness of both oneself and the surrounding world. Biographical awareness is characterized by a person's knowledge of those patterns that are available to them, as well as of the possibilities for self-fulfillment once the person has chosen any of them. It is an individualized feature characterized by variability, selectivity and continuity (Lalak 2010).

These issues are relevant to an individual constructing a stable self-image. Biographization takes place as a result of the disruption of the natural rhythm of life, in which the individual has to re-evaluate their previous lifestyle. This is done in parallel with biographization, which allows them to look at the changes in an individualized way, but (usually) taking into account the opinions of others. If the biographization process is not successful (although not only in such a case), the individual undertakes biographical work. Each activity, supported by reflection, facilitates them overcoming life crises.

Process structures

The fate of the protagonists in narrative plays can be referred to four process structures which were described by Fritz Schütze. The first of these includes biographical plans/schemes of action that are identical to the principle of intentionally planning one's biography (Kaźmierska 2004; Rokuszewska-Pawełek 1996). Such a plan may be specified or not (Kos 2013) and can be fulfilled successfully or unsuccessfully. It can consist of "general biographical projects" which are related to stages of life (e.g. education, employment or starting a family) (Kaźmierska 2004). It can also be the result of a coincidence that forces a change in the current course of life, which does not result from the individual's own will (Kos 2013). A biographical plan of action can also be constructed because of a need to try something new or to change one's current lifestyle, in which case the individual pursues certain goals through the fulfilment of the plan (Kaźmierska 2004; Kos 2013; Prawda 1989; Rokuszewska-Pawełek 1996).

The second process structure is represented by course curves/trajectories. These situations are characterized by an individual's loss of awareness of experiencing and acting. Processes that take the form of course curves can be caused by biographical events, sociohistorical processes or institutional interventions (Jakob 2001). They are triggered by those experiences that do not depend on the individual. They are identified with sensations accompanied by suffering. They are sudden in nature and make an individual lose control over their life as the previous ways of coping prove to be inadequate. Coping with unfavorable situations is a long process, leading to "working out new interpretations of the situation" and to a transition from experiencing to acting, which involves developing a new plan of action (Kaźmierska 2004).

The third process structure, the institutional pattern of the course of life, is shaped by the fulfilment of expectations on the part of institutions, and it is linked to the norms adopted in a given community and related to specific stages of human life. The following spheres of human existence are subject to them: education, professional work and family (Jakob 2001; Kaźmierska 2004; Rokuszewska-Pawełek 1996).

The fourth process structure is the biographical processes of changes/metamorphoses. These can either be the result of a biographical plan of action (e.g. working through specific difficulties in the course of therapy) (Kos 2013; Rokuszewska-Pawełek 1996) or they may appear unexpectedly (e.g. winning the lottery or recognising previously unknown talents in oneself) (Kaźmierska 2004; Rokuszewska-Pawełek 1996). The changes that accompany metamorphosis can be a part of biographical work on the trajectory (Rokuszewska-Pawełek 1996). They are often positive in nature (Kos 2013) and involve a change in a person's identity (Kaźmierska 2004).

Landmark events in the life of the film characters

Each of the film's protagonists had their own path to follow and did so in their own way, although they acted together. They form a seemingly stereotypical Polish family which does not look particularly different from others. The audience meets them when they attend a Sunday Mass, which Jadwiga is satisfied with, but Jan is not. In the middle of the ceremony, he leaves and waits for his family outside the church. The son does not really care; he went to Mass because his parents were going. On the way home, Jan criticizes the "foreigners" who are "bossing around" the country and who want to buy Poland for "their mammon". Henio tells his father that he talks like "some Jew". Jadwiga tries to calm the situation. This scene introduces the viewer to the atmosphere in the family, filled with hatred and contempt for everything different.

The family's life would probably continue in a colorless way, but one day Jan gets a phone call. The caller, whom Henio describes as "a Jew of some kind," invites the protagonist to dinner, during which he informs him of the possibility to receive an inheritance from his deceased Jewish uncle. However, Henio (along with his entire family) must fulfil one condition. From that moment on, the life of the protagonist, and soon of the rest of the family, changes.

Jan's story

Jan Kochanowski is a husband and father. He is an employee in a factory, from which he is dismissed. The official reason is downsizing, though the unofficial one is probably his open disdain for the management. Jan participates in a protest against the company authorities, during which the workers shout hate-filled slogans such as "to the gas!" or "Gestapo!"[6] The riots at the company are shown on television, which is applauded by his son.

Jan's life can be divided into two stages separated by a landmark moment: the meeting with the lawyer, Aron Silberstein (Andrzej Szopa). During the meeting, the protagonist is confused and, convinced of a mistake, waits for an explanation. The lawyer reveals the truth about Jan's family, which included rabbis, and about his surname, which his parents changed from Cohen to Kochanowski. As the closest relative of the deceased uncle, Jan may be the heir to his property. The uncle was a philanthropist and a very religious person, as a result of which the inheritance can only be given to a religious relative. Otherwise, it is to be given to charity. Jan is stunned.

Before meeting the lawyer, the protagonist is an anti-Semite. He does not hide his views; he expresses them openly and aggressively and he encourages his son to adopt the same attitude. Jan's "encounters" with Jews mainly take place indirectly. Every time he comes across a newspaper article[7] about Jews, he comments on it in an aggressive manner. Furthermore, he utters every foreign-sounding name with anger and contempt. After the phone call from the lawyer, a discussion starts among the family members, in which names such as Polański are mentioned. Here is how Jan comments on Henio's statement that Polański is also Jewish: "You can't even recognize them by name anymore. They have camouflaged themselves so well."[8] The second form of the protagonist's symbolic encounter with the

---

6   Jan's dismissal may be a symbolic reference to 1968, and the confusion of references to two different historical orders may indicate the superficiality of the slogans and the factory workers' lack of understanding of them.

7   For example, the newspaper *Dziennik Łódzki*, an appendix to the newspaper *Neue Lodzer Zeitung* in the 19th century, was published by Germans from Łódź.

8   This is ironic in the context of the information given by the lawyer.

Jews is a drawing of the Star of David hanging on a gallows, on the wall of the lift. This wall is the meeting place between Jan and his Jewish neighbor, Holtzman (Zygmunt Hobot). They do not talk or interact. Kochanowski looks at his neighbor with hatred, while Holtzman looks at him with pity.

In the first phase of the protagonist's story, it is difficult to understand what his hatred of Jews is caused by. Apart from his neighbor and his daughter Sara (Eliza Ryciak), who are peaceful people, he does not know any representative of this ethnic group (or he is unaware of the fact). Knowing the further fate of the protagonist, it can be assumed that the negative attitude towards Jews may have been instilled in him by his parents. By changing their surname without informing their son, they wanted to cut themselves off from their roots. Perhaps the desire to suppress this was so strong that it turned into a hatred of their own nation, including themselves. The aversion to Jews passed on to their son may have been a kind of protection against possible danger. Perhaps his parents assumed that once Jan hated this ethnic group, he would not incorporate potential signs of belonging to it into his consciousness. Even if he encountered such a sign, he would reject it.

Another aspect of Jan's parents adopting a Polish identity might be the adoption of the Catholic faith, which is sometimes regarded as a part of Polish culture. By attending the Catholic Mass, Jan seems to be performing a duty, as if he were doing something that should be done rather than what he wants to do. This is confirmed by the first scene of the film. Such behavior may mean that religiousness was imposed on him, first by his parents and then by his wife. Participation in religious rituals might give a sense of security to Jan's parents, but he does not know or understand this. His religiosity is unreflective and very superficial.

After meeting the lawyer, Jan's life enters a new phase, leading him to answer the question "Who am I?" At first, Kochanowski is lost. He does not talk to anyone about the meeting and he is angered by his wife's questions about it. When his son reads an article about a foundation dedicated to supporting Jews returning to their roots, Jan reacts with anger. He snatches the newspaper from Henio and tears it up. Jan postpones the confrontation when he receives information from a lawyer. He avoids talking to his wife because he fears

that words once spoken will forever become the truth. The article brings him closer to this truth, but—as the text is destroyed—the truth does not exist. This reflects Jan's wish to destroy the truth about his Jewish origin. Not verbalizing this truth is not the same as not thinking about it. Jan, walking around the city, sees Jews everywhere. He recognizes them by their distinctive clothes and hairstyles. He sees them in the street; they are just standing and talking. He sneaks into the courtyard of the synagogue. He wants to go inside, but he hesitates and finally gives up. He stands in the courtyard, not knowing what to do. When he hears the sound of the door opening from inside, he hides behind a rubbish bin. From afar, he observes a conversation between two Jews who are speaking in a language he does not understand. He tries to get closer to the Jewish world because he is not ready to jump in at the deep end. This metaphor is not accidental, as the protagonist's actions remind us of the behavior of a child who wants to learn to swim but is afraid of water. He slowly dips his foot into it, but immediately withdraws it. It takes some time before he is fully immersed in it, and even more before he begins to swim.

Another example of Jan getting closer to the Jews is the change in his attitude towards his neighbor. He says "good evening" to Holtzman. But, at the same time, he is annoyed by the music coming from the neighbor's flat into Jan's flat. Kochanowski angrily slams the window shut and comments on the music (and the neighbor) in a vulgar manner. Here we can see how Jan is torn between the two worlds. He would like to get closer to Jews, but is afraid to do so. He approaches only to immediately withdraw. Jan does not know who he is; he does not know where to begin his search for himself. The protagonist looks at his reflection in a shop window, touches his nose and temples. He looks as if he wants to try on the image of a Jew in a symbolic way, or to check whether the mask of a Pole, under which his parents hid him, is really just a mask. He does not know who he is—neither internally nor externally—but he begins to realize that he is not the same person he was before meeting Silberstein.

When Henio returns from a football match with chants on his lips, Jan decides to tell the family about the meeting with the lawyer. He starts with the positive aspect of being able to inherit the property. It is much more difficult for him to admit who the testator is. Speaking the truth brings him some relief, which is more about

getting rid of the secret itself, rather than about its content. Jan says out loud: "I am a Jew," and he sees that the reality does not change. At least the external reality, because the internal one is still scattered. The verbalization of his origin triggers the protagonist's first attempts to reflect on who he is. He begins by saying that he has always been a Pole and a Catholic, and he "celebrated the holy day." He wonders why he now has to give this up. Jan's religiousness was rather superficial, so pondering the difficulty of giving it up seems absurd. Nevertheless, it was religion that seemingly connected him with Polishness. It can be assumed that the identity of his entire family of origin was built around Polishness and the obligations deriving from it. And now this identity is to be taken away from him and replaced by something alien—something that has hitherto appeared evil and hostile. At no point does he say aloud that he previously hated Jews. Now he is one of them. Could it be that he hated himself? Maybe the very anger he directed towards those around him was anger towards himself. Maybe this is what was passed on to him by his parents, who symbolically "buried" themselves as Jews in order to be reborn as true, Catholic Poles.

Another issue under reflection is the surname. Up to that point, it had been a source of pride for Jan, allowing him to identify with the poet whom he regarded as "some distant relative." The name testified to his Polishness. It is likely that his parents built a family legend around it, as well as around Catholicism, which they told their son from an early age. This caused in him an aversion to people with "non-Polish" surnames, a sensitivity to recognizing them among public figures and eventually even anger at those who hide their "wrong" origins under their "proper" names. Now it suddenly turns out that he is one of "them." The information provided by the lawyer has caused a rupture in Jan's identity.

Contrary to Jan's fears, sharing information about his background with his family does not provoke negative reactions from those closest to him, and he can even count on his wife's support. Perhaps her empathy, Jan's readiness or both make him decide to "get to know" Judaism. As he walks through the Jewish cemetery, he no longer wonders why he is Jewish and what that means, but he wonders why his parents did not tell him about it. His wife explains to him that they probably wanted to protect him from unpleasant behavior from

his schoolmates. Jan replies that the children called him "little Ursula" anyway. We may wonder, then, who the parents really wanted to protect: the child or themselves? Children at school often bully those who are different from everyone in the group, and such differences do not always result from ethnic or religious origins.[9] Perhaps the Catholic faith is so strongly identified with Polishness that people find it difficult to follow a different path. Such a conclusion can be drawn with regard to Jan Kochanowski's parents. The character's anger with his parents can be seen as a prelude to accepting his own Jewish origin.

The next step taken by the protagonist is a visit to the synagogue and a conversation with a rabbi (Cezary Kosiński). Jan wants to find out what it means to be a Jew. In the course of this meeting, the protagonist gives the impression of a man reconciled with his origins, although not yet fully confident in the Jewish world. However, he is still concerned about whether his surname was Kochanowski or Cohen? The rabbi tells him that "a name is a relative thing. What is important is who you are, not what your name is." These words may explain the ease with which Jews in the past polonized their surnames. Perhaps Jan's parents concluded that, just like superficial Catholicism, a surname was just a kind of lifeline to protect the child and themselves from potential danger. Perhaps they even considered that, when the time was right, religion would "find" their son itself. This would be in line with the mysticism firmly rooted in Judaism, in the belief in fate and destiny.

The conversation with the rabbi convinces Jan to experience his Jewishness during the Purim celebrations, to which he invites Holtzman and Sara. The neighbor, albeit reluctantly, accepts the invitation, albeit reluctantly, which is in line with the tradition of reconciliation that is to take place on that day.

At this stage Jan appears to be a person with an identity that is already found. His anger and aggression directed at the world disappears, and in their place understanding and forgiveness appear.

---

9   The religious aspect is also important for today's young parents with moderate or no faith, but, when faced with the dilemma of whether to baptise their child or to send them to religious education classes, they decide to do so. They justify this precisely because they fear that their child will be perceived as different to their friends.

This can be confirmed by Jan's accidental meeting with a colleague from his former job. The colleague partly contributed to the protagonist's dismissal, but Jan feels no resentment and, on hearing that the colleague has also been dismissed, he does not feel any satisfaction. Furthermore, Jan informs the friend that he and his wife are preparing to celebrate Purim. Two transformations of Jan become apparent in this scene. Firstly, he is capable of forgiveness in line with the spirit of Judaism. Secondly, he openly speaks about celebrating Jewish festivals, which may reflect his full acceptance of his origins.

However, the real transformation takes place during the Purim celebrations. Up to this point, the viewer might be convinced that Jan's new identity is superficial and assumed only for the sake of inheriting money. However, the celebrants are visited by the lawyer, who informs Jan about a mistake. It turns out that closer relatives of the deceased uncle came to his office and they are to receive the inheritance. What the protagonist will receive may not even cover the legal costs. Here, the viewer might expect Jan to become angry, ask his guests to leave and bluntly express his opinion of Jewish people. But Jan does not do this. Instead, he gets up, starts dancing and invites others to join in. His face is calm. He is fully reconciled to both his Jewish background and to the loss of his inheritance. This scene closes the thematic bracket and is an antinomy to the opening scene of the film. At the beginning of the film, Jan angrily leaves the church; here, he joyfully stands at the head of the dance procession. He has found his place; he knows who he is; he has assembled the broken identity. Throughout the Purim celebrations, Jan wears a *kippah* on his head. Jan Kochanowski is the character who has undergone the greatest transformation, and his fate is shown as a journey from an anti-Semite to a Jew.

Henio's story

Just like his father, Henio Kochanowski hates Jews. And like his father, he does not know how to explain it. Here, however, the reflection of home education in the son's attitude to otherness is evident. Although the character's age is not given in the film, he can be categorized as a young adult. His education and occupation are not given either.

Before his parents inform him about his Jewish background, Henio does not spend much time on any reflections. The word "Jew" is an empty, meaningless word for him. He usually uses it as a substitute for vulgarisms when he wants to tease someone (e.g. his father).

Henio is a proud football fan and he supports the ŁKS team. Together with his friends, he sometimes participates in fights with the supporters of another Łódź team: RTS Widzew.[10] He is proud whenever he manages to take an opponent's scarf, which he relays to his parents. Every attempt by his mother to get even a hint of reflection out of Henio fails. He tells her with satisfaction that after matches they shout to the Widzew fans: "Jews, Jews, the whole of Poland is ashamed of you!" Jadwiga asks him if everyone is Jewish in the other team or how he knows that indeed the whole of Poland is ashamed of them. Why are they ashamed of them when the other team is playing so well and Henio's team keeps losing? The son does not feel like thinking about such complex issues; he concludes that they simply talk that way, and he walks away.

Unlike his father, Henio interacts with a representative of the Jewish minority. He repeatedly tries to make contact with Sara. When he meets her in the lift, he always starts a conversation and even tries to make it polite. He invites his neighbor to the pub, but she refuses. When she asks about the meaning of the Star of David drawn on the wall of the lift, he replies with surprise that "it's just for fun." He does not understand the girl's feelings; he does not even seem to understand the symbolism of the picture. For him, life is not complicated: it's the way things are done; "everyone" does it, so he does, too. The simplicity of Henio's life is also revealed during a conversation with his father. When Jan criticizes him for talking to Sara, pointing out that she does not have a Polish name, the son states that a heroine of a film was called Sara and she "wasn't a bad chick." That's enough for him. It is easy for Henio to make fun of a Jew when the Jew has a shapeless figure and it is not entirely clear

---

10   The information on the creation of the two clubs is imprecise. The fans of RTS Widzew believe that it was established in 1910 by the German factory owners Julius Kunitzer and Julius J. Heinzel (Bonisławski, Podolska 2007). In turn, ŁKS was created in 1908 by Henryk Lubawski, Arnold Heiman and Jerzy Hirszberg (Piestrzeniewicz 2012). The origins of the ŁKS founders is not specified.

who he is. When the Jew takes the form of an attractive girl, it is no longer so easy to laugh at her and give up interest in her just because she is defined by an unclear term. The young Kochanowski does not even seem to see the connection between insulting the Jews and the fact that he likes a girl who is one. At the same time, the young protagonist is evidently more sensitive than he shows. He had to submit to a certain convention, and it is unclear whether it was of his own free will or not (the latter is more likely). Raised by an anti-Semitic father and surrounded by anti-Semitic friends, Henio sees no choice but to adopt their views as his own, even though he does not even understand them.

Henio takes a pragmatic approach to the information about his origins. While the father experiences inner dilemmas, the son concludes that since he is to be a Jew anyway, he would rather be a rich Jew than a poor one. He is ready to immediately change his religion and embrace a new culture, even though it is meant to be temporary. He quickly devises a plan according to which the whole family will adopt the new culture and, after receiving an inheritance, they will give it up. Finally, the parents' dilemmas make him nervous; he gets impatient and loses the will to implement any changes. Henio behaves erratically, which may result from his lack of a formed personality. He is steered by external circumstances, and he follows the stimuli that reach him with the greatest force. He does not select them; he does not try to adapt them to himself; he accepts everything as it is.

Although Henio is an adult, he undergoes a childlike transformation. The first stage for him is to test the social ground. His greatest dilemma is that he does not know what to say to his friends in the light of the new information. He does not find a solution, although rebellion against the reality he has known so far can be considered a small part of it. He and his friends sit on a bench in front of the block of flats and drink beer, while one of his comrades tells vulgar jokes about Jews. Kochanowski says nothing, but gets annoyed. He smashes the bottle against the pavement and walks away. In this symbolic way, he wants to show his friends that he does not agree with such behavior in his presence. At the same time, he also releases the emotions swirling inside him. Despite his lack of reflectivity, Henio, just like his father, loses his sense of security; he ceases to know who

he is, and his ordered and simple world falls apart and becomes complicated. Until now, a Jew (apart from Sara) was someone to be laughed at and even beaten. Now he is a Jew himself and he will not allow himself to be laughed at.

In a symbolic way, Henio begins to look for "his new people." Above all, he hopes for his neighbor's positive attitude. However, the information about his origins does not impress the girl, and he does not understand why. It only shows that specifying the ethnic group of a person is an empty slogan for him. He is unaware that changing ethnic identity entails a number of consequences. Then Henio goes to a football match "with his colors." When the match is over, he takes out of his pocket a scarf of the opposing team which he once took from a fan. He picks it up and heads straight for a group of "his own guys," who attack him. The football fans do not recognize Henio as a friend; they do not think about who he is. The label of the opposing team's scarf is enough for them to consider him an enemy. This situation shows that, for his friends, he is not important as a person with all his individual qualities, but is accepted by them as far as he fits into their idea of the world. Perhaps both experiences (the earlier one in front of the building and the later one after the match) were needed for him to discover who he wanted to be. He needed to experience being the Jew he hated in order to actually want to become one. At the same time, it is also possible to recognize that, ultimately, the acceptance or rejection of certain values depends, to a large extent, on a person's personal decisions and not on what is imposed on them.

When he enters the house after the match, his mother greets him with "Jesus!" Henio asks her if this is a greeting for a decent Jewish home. In this way, he shows her his acceptance of his origins, of his family's acceptance of him, and he also expresses his desire to participate in the Purim celebration which is being prepared by his parents and the neighbor. With his attitude, Henio shows that, above all, his thoughtlessness is a mask that protects him from the brutality of the reality in which he grew up. He also shows that he does not move smoothly between the Polish and Jewish worlds, but that he is capable of taking sides.

According to the tradition, Sara and Henio dress up for the celebration: she puts on a suit and he puts on a dress. The son does not

comment on the loss of the inheritance in the way he would have commented previously, but he participates in the procession led by his father. Henio's transformation, like Jan's, can be seen symbolically as the acceptance of the conversion.

Jadwiga's story

Jadwiga Kochanowska née Krajewska seems to be the most transparent character, providing the background to the expressive characters of Jan and Henio. However, this is just an impression; the truth is that she hides a secret the revealing of which will show the depth of her inner world. There is no mention of her education or place of work in the film, and her role is reduced to being a wife and mother. She takes care of cooking, sewing and calming the disputes between her husband and son. Jadwiga mainly appears in the scenes set at home. She only leaves it to go to church or to the cemetery. This may symbolize the role of women who, in various religions, act primarily as guardians of the home.

Her husband's confession has a completely different dimension for Jadwiga than for Jan. For her, it represents a kind of relief, release and even hope. It is a moment in which she can share a long-hidden secret with her family. She too is Jewish, and this is something she has known for a long time, but until now has not told anyone about. She had no-one to share it with. It is only at this point that the audience (the other characters seem not to notice) can put various pieces of the puzzle together. Jadwiga has so far acted as an ambassador, a spokesperson or an advocate for Jewishness, although she did so in a very subtle way. This was evident in her attempts to provoke reflection in her son and to soothe her husband's anger at the "strangers" who want to "buy" the country. After the phone call from the lawyer, she openly sides with the Jews and Israel. Jan and Henio search for a hidden meaning in the dinner invitation. They wonder why a man with a Jewish surname is calling from the United States of America and speaking Polish. It seems impossible. In response, Jadwiga starts talking about how developed Polish culture is in the United States, and then she adds: "And how great it is in Israel! Everything is there: Polish bookshops, Polish tripe!" The horror in the eyes of her husband

and son, however, quickly brings her back to order; she stops talking and returns to her domestic duties.

Living with the secret she hides from her anti-Semitic family members certainly causes a lot of tension and fear of the truth being revealed. Nevertheless, her internal Jewish issues are already mastered and integrated into her life experience. She learnt about her origins from her mother when she was a young girl. This took place just after the death of her father, who prevented the truth from being revealed. This may be a reference by the filmmakers to the Jewish tradition according to which Jewish origin is passed on to the child by the mother. In the case of Jadwiga, it was passed on not only genetically, but also emotionally.

During a walk in the Jewish cemetery, Jadwiga decides to take Jan to her parents' grave. Her husband only finds out years later why they only ever visited the grave of his parents in the Catholic cemetery. He had not thought about it before. Or perhaps he had some doubts, but he pushed them away. One has to wonder, however, whether he did this out of fear of discovering the truth about his wife or himself.

The preparations for the Purim holiday are very absorbing to Jadwiga. During those preparations, she gives the impression of being in the right place. On the surface, nothing has changed; she prepares food in the same kitchen as before, but an internal change is apparent in her. Previously, she mechanically carried out her duties, as if she was following some instructions. One could see resignation in her. The new Jadwiga is the opposite of the old one. She looks for recipes so that she can prepare food not just to eat, but so that each dish can symbolize something. She reads about customs and traditions, she listens to Holtzman's hints and she includes her husband and son in the preparations. There is a bustle in the house, a nice and friendly atmosphere, which she had not had the strength to fight for before. It culminates in the very moment of the Purim celebrations, during which Jadwiga is smiling all the time.

The Purim miracle?

In accordance with the principle of writing fiction, the plots which contain landmark events are discussed at great length. Other life events, on the other hand, are summarized and referred to usually

in order to explain or complete the threads concerning the crucial events. Thus, the entire plot of the film *The Purim Miracle* was built around the landmark event to which all the earlier scenes led, and from which all the later scenes resulted.

For each of the characters, bringing to the surface their Jewish roots had a different meaning. This is primarily due to the fact that each of them is an individual personality with different views, beliefs and experiences. Each of them is at a different stage of life and presents a different level of reflectivity. However, the "new" information has shaken up their world and caused the collapse of their previous reality, after which they had to build a new one. This new reality is full of honesty and coherence with oneself, although it was preceded by a bumpy road to oneself.

Although the issue of Jewish origin was common for the whole family, each character had to do the biographical work independently. In Jadwiga's case, biographicality consisted in giving herself the right to tell her family about important threads from her family past. For Jan, reconstructing the past was difficult because his parents had isolated him from the knowledge of his background and from contact with Jewish culture. He does his biographical work by understanding who he is and seeking answers from people who are directly connected with Jewish culture and Judaism. He focusses on the present and the future, on who he is and who he will be. References to the past are about learning about Jewish culture in general, not about his family history. The earlier Jan felt an incomprehensible and unexplained hatred of Jews. The simplest explanation would be that it was an escape from the truth about oneself or one's identity. However, this does not directly result from the plot of the film. After Jan discovers his origin and begins to identify with it, there are no moments in which he refers to some Jewish elements from his family home. Jan gives us the impression that the Jewish origin was given to him by his deceased ancestors. But it is a gift he did not know about and did not expect. It is not the family home to which he used to go on holiday as a child, but a home he did not know about and therefore he has no memories of. Jan inherits the "house" and begins to build his own story around it. For Henio, his new identity is mainly of a social nature. He is looking for a group to which he can belong. He is interested in who he is, but mainly from the perspective of who he

should socialize with. As a result of the family transformation, the youngest of the protagonists has matured.

In the first scenes of *The Purim Miracle*, it is difficult to identify the characters intentionally planning anything. This may have taken place earlier, when Jadwiga and Jan were completing their education and starting a family, although then this planning could rather be treated as general biographical projects resulting from specific stages of life, or as institutional patterns of the course of one's life. Another reference to the second of these process structures is the reflection on Jan's parents' change of surname that accompanies his conversation with Jadwiga. It shows that, for Jewish people, providing children with security and a symbolic sense of belonging to the school community is important. Perhaps this is the reason why Jewish parents make specific decisions concerning their children.

Certainly, the intentional way of acting appears in the characters a little later. From a certain point on, Jan deliberately seeks contact with other Jews. His visits to the synagogue, which at first were incidental, acquire a purpose over time: to learn about and become a user of Jewish culture. For Jadwiga and Jan, the preparations for the Purim holiday are also intentional. Although the protagonists do not have fully defined plans for their participation in Jewish culture and recognizing its values as their own, they successfully clarify and fulfil them on an ongoing basis.

The stimulus for all the characters in the film to start a new plan of action comes with the information about Jan's (initially only his) Jewish background. This information is both the result of a coincidence that accompanies changes in biographical plans/schemes of action, and may be the result of a trajectory. In both father and son, it triggers a change in their previous lifestyles that is not in accordance with their will. At first, Jan rebels against the existing reality, as he attempts to deny, negate and reject the knowledge of his own origins. Ultimately, however, these lead to the start of a new plan. Henio also tries to negate this, and he attempts to dissociate himself from the plan pursued by his parents. However, in the end, he wants to try something new and experience being Jewish (e.g. in the scene after the match). Jadwiga's situation is different: for her, the information about her husband's origins brought relief and fulfilment of a new plan.

145

As a result of their experiences of participating in Jewish culture, the film's protagonists begin to feel the need to change their previous lifestyles, culminating in their participation in Purim celebrations and the symbolic adoption of intergenerational conversion (Kłoskowska 2005). In the case of the film's characters, it involves parents and son and occurs in the final scene. The change also represents a metamorphosis, i.e. the effect of the fulfilment of certain actions within a more or less specified plan. The nature of the changes that have taken place in the lives of the Kochanowski family can be considered positive. Jan and Henio have transformed themselves from anti-Semites into Jews, and they have learnt to form selfless relationships with people, based on joint and constructive action. Jadwiga, in turn, has changed from an unhappy and resigned woman into a woman full of life and hope. Therefore, the Festival of the Lots can be perceived as a symbolic metamorphosis of the characters of *The Purim Miracle*.

Bibliography

Bal M. (2012). *Narratologia. Wprowadzenie do teorii narracji*, Kraków: Eidos.

Bonisławski R., Podolska J., *Spacerownik. Widzew i nie tylko…*, *Gazeta Wyborcza* [free insert], 11.10.2007.

Borek P. (2016). "Święto Purim," *List informacyjno-modlitewny*, no. 2.

Dobrowolska D. (1992). "Przebieg życia – fazy – wydarzenia," *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, no. 2, pp. 75–85.

Jakob G. (2001). "Wywiad narracyjny w badaniach biograficznych," in D. Urbaniak-Zając, J. Piekarski (eds.), *Jakościowe orientacje w badaniach pedagogicznych*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, pp. 111–126.

Kameraz-Kos N. (1997). *Święta i tradycje żydowskie*, Warszawa: Cyklady.

Kaźmierska K. (2004). "Wywiad narracyjny jako jedna z metod w badaniach biograficznych," *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, no. 1(53), pp. 71–96.

Kaźmierska K. (2008). *Biografia i pamięć. Na przykładzie pokoleniowego doświadczenia ocalonych z Zagłady*, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy „Nomos".

Kłoskowska A. (2005). *Kultury narodowe u korzeni*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Koczanowicz L., Nahirny R., Włodarczyk R. (eds.). (2005). *Narracje – (Auto)biografia – Etyka*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej TWP.

Kos E. (2013). "Wywiad narracyjny jako metoda badań empirycznych," in D. Urbaniak-Zając, E. Kos, *Badania jakościowe w pedagogice*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, pp. 91–116.

Lalak D. (2010). *Życie jako biografia. Podejście biograficzne w perspektywie pedagogicznej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak".

Lenzen G. (ed.). (2003). *Podstawowe pojęcia pedagogiczne*, Berlin–Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Mater.

Majewski M. (2009). *Judaizm – święta i obrzędy. Pakiet edukacyjny*, Warszawa: Fundacja Ochrony Dziedzictwa Żydowskiego.

Piestrzeniewicz M. (2012). "Kultura fizyczna łodzian na przełomie XIX i XX wieku," *Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej*, no. 10, pp. 137–152.

Prawda M. (1989). "Biograficzne odtwarzanie rzeczywistości (o koncepcji badań biograficznych Fritza Schütze)," *Studia Socjologiczne*, no. 4, pp. 81–98.

Rokuszewska-Pawełek A. (1996), "Miejsce biografii w socjologii interpretatywnej. Program socjologii biografistycznej Fritza Schützego," *ASK Research & Methods*, no. 1, pp. 37–54.

Urbaniak-Zając D. (2005). "Pedagogiczna perspektywa w badaniach narracyjno-biograficznych," in L. Koczanowicz, R. Nahirny, R. Włodarczyk (eds.), *Narracje – (Auto)biografia – Etyka*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej TWP, pp. 115–127.

Urbaniak-Zając D., Kos E. (ed.). (2013), *Badania jakościowe w pedagogice*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Urbaniak-Zając D., Piekarski J. (eds.). (2001), *Jakościowe orientacje w badaniach pedagogicznych*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.

Wiszniewska I. (2014), *My, Żydzi z Polski*, Warszawa: Czarna Owca.

ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE:

Agnieszka Krawczyk
University of Łódź
Faculty of Educational Sciences
e-mail: agnieszka.krawczyk@now.uni.lodz.pl

Agnieszka Knap-Stefaniuk
ORCID: 0000-0002-9201-9889
Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie

Władza menedżerów i jej źródła w zarządzaniu ludźmi w wielokulturowych zespołach. Wyniki wywiadów z menedżerami z Czech, Portugalii i Francji

ABSTRAKT

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie sposobu definiowania pojęcia „władzy" przez menedżerów czeskich, portugalskich i francuskich, określenie stosowanych przez nich źródeł władzy, a także wykazanie wpływu władzy menedżerów na zarządzanie ludźmi w zespołach zróżnicowanych kulturowo. Problemy badawcze to znalezienie odpowiedzi na pytania: Jak menedżerowie z Czech, Portugalii i Francji rozumieją pojęcie „władzy"? Jakie źródła władzy i sposoby jej sprawowania stosują w praktyce? Na jakie obszary zarządzania ludźmi ma wpływ władza menedżerów? Metody badawcze wykorzystane przez autorkę to przegląd literatury i wyniki indywidualnych wywiadów pogłębionych z menedżerami, które zrealizowano w roku 2022. W części teoretycznej zdefiniowano pojęcie „władzy", opisano źródła władzy menedżerów i sposoby jej sprawowania. W części badawczej przedstawiono wyniki wywiadów, które przeprowadzono z menedżerami czeskimi, portugalskimi i francuskimi.

Analiza literatury i wyniki badań pozwoliły autorce na wykazanie znaczenia władzy menedżerów i jej wpływu na zarządzanie ludźmi w wielokulturowym środowisku pracy. Wyniki wywiadów wskazują, że czescy, portugalscy i francuscy menedżerowie trafnie definiują termin „władza" i wykorzystują najczęściej źródła władzy określane jako: władza autorytetu (*legitimate power*) i władza nagradzania (*reward power*). Zdaniem menedżerów, władza w środowisku zróżnicowanym kulturowo ma istotny wpływ na zarządzanie ludźmi.

Wstęp

Międzynarodowa działalność przedsiębiorstw wpływa dziś istotnie na pogłębianie się zróżnicowania kulturowego współczesnego środowiska pracy. Menedżerowie i pracownicy funkcjonują coraz częściej w zespołach wielokulturowych, co oznacza, że władza menedżerów może w różny sposób oddziaływać na podwładnych pochodzących z różnych kultur, jak również na ich postawy, zachowania i pracę. Władza to zdolność wpływania na innych, możliwość podejmowania decyzji i wydawania poleceń oraz kontrolowania sposobu ich wykonywania. Władza, jaką mają i wykorzystują w praktyce menedżerowie, nie powinna być wykorzystywana przeciwko ludziom, lecz winna służyć realizacji celów zespołów i firm. Czasem zupełnie inne potrzeby i oczekiwania pracowników z odmiennych kręgów kulturowych mogą istotnie wpływać na sposób postrzegania władzy menedżerów w wielokulturowym środowisku pracy. Ważnym wyzwaniem jest więc określenie, jaką rolę odgrywa władza menedżerów w zarządzaniu ludźmi, szczególnie w warunkach zróżnicowania kulturowego.

Wywiady, które autorka opisuje w artykule, przeprowadzone zostały z czeskimi, portugalskimi i francuskimi menedżerami. Głównym celem artykułu jest identyfikacja źródeł władzy i sposobów jej sprawowania wykorzystywanych przez menedżerów biorących udział w wywiadach, a także określenie wpływu ich władzy na zarządzanie ludźmi w zespołach, którymi zarządzają – w środowisku pracy zróżnicowanym kulturowo.

Mając na uwadze cel niniejszej pracy, autorka sformułowała następujące problemy badawcze: Jak menedżerowie z Czech, Portugalii i Francji, którzy zarządzają zróżnicowanymi kulturowo zespołami,

rozumieją termin „władza"? Jakie źródła władzy i sposoby jej sprawowania stosują w praktyce? Na jakie obszary zarządzania ludźmi w zespołach wielokulturowych ma wpływ władza menedżerów?

Władza: wyjaśnienie koncepcji, źródła władzy oraz sposoby sprawowania władzy przez menedżerów

Władza menedżerów wpływa na postawy i zachowania pracowników, ich motywację, zaangażowanie, realizację celów. To skuteczne narzędzie w koordynowaniu oraz promowaniu harmonijnych relacji, rozwiązywaniu konfliktów, zwiększaniu wydajności zespołów. Znaczenie władzy od lat jest dyskutowane i analizowane przez wielu naukowców (np. French, Raven 1959; McClelland 1970; Huber 1981; Finkelstein 1992; Pfeffer 1993; Aguinis, Nesler, Quigley i in. 1994; McClelland, Burnham 2003; Turner 2005; Randolph, Kemery 2011; Lunenburg 2012; Fehr, Herz, Wilkening 2013; Pfeffer 2013; Zigarmi, Roberts, Randolph 2015; Winter, Michels 2018; Kovach 2020), którzy postrzegają ją jako doniosły konstrukt behawioralny, istotny element pracy menedżerów i ważny czynnik zarządzania.

Zdaniem Palumbo (1969), władza jako pojęcie jest czymś realnym dla osób pracujących na różnego rodzaju stanowiskach administracyjnych, natomiast Clegg (2010) uważa, że władza jest podstawą danej organizacji. Singh (2009) sądzi, że władza jest niezbędna w wykonywaniu nawet najprostszych zadań w ramach projektów oraz w ogólnym funkcjonowaniu organizacji, co potwierdzają także Fehr i jego współpracownicy (2013), którzy twierdzą, że władza jest niezbędna w organizacjach, jak również Magee i Smith (2013), dla których władza jest w organizacjach rzeczą kluczową. Według Pfeffera (2013) władza ułatwia osiąganie celów organizacyjnych, natomiast według Vallasa i Hilla (2012) jest kluczowym elementem analiz organizacyjnych. Z kolei Sturm i Antonakis (2015) omawiają jej właściwości interakcyjne i relacyjne.

Władza to potencjalny wpływ, jaki ktoś ma na inną osobę lub grupę. Ogólnie rzecz ujmując, osoba posiadająca władzę ma kontrolę nad czymś, czego pragnie inna osoba (lub grupa). Władza pozwala temu, kto ją posiada, wpływać na innych ludzi, jest więc zdolnością do wprowadzania zmian w postawach lub zachowaniach jednostek

i grup (Stoner i in. 1997). Władzę można również zdefiniować jako takie procesy lub jednostki, które są w stanie zapewnić i prowadzić współpracę członków społeczności poprzez zajmowanie wyznaczonej pozycji społecznej, w ramach której możliwe jest tworzenie i utrzymywanie grup społecznych, a tym samym wpływanie na zachowanie innych (Andringa i in. 2013). Bachmann (2001) i inni autorzy (np. Russell 2004; Randolph, Kemery 2011; Pierro, Kruglanski, Raven 2012; Anderson 2014; Sturm, Antonakis 2015) twierdzą, że władza może być postrzegana jako mechanizm sprawnego koordynowania interakcji społecznych oraz że sprzyja ona silnym i zdrowym relacjom między partnerami społecznymi. Definicja ta ułatwia analizowanie relacji władzy, czyli tych, które zachodzą między menedżerami a pracownikami, zwłaszcza jeśli pracują oni w zespołach wielokulturowych. Relacje władzy są z natury społeczne i istnieją tylko w grupach (Vince 2014).

Rola władzy jest kluczowa w tym sensie, że może ona poważnie utrudniać współpracę wewnątrz firmy (Hingley 2005; Kumar 2005; Sodano 2006). Menedżerowie, którzy nadużywają władzy, mogą negatywnie wpływać na funkcjonowanie jednostek i zespołów, a także na ich relacje i wyniki, zwłaszcza w zróżnicowanych kulturowo środowiskach pracy.

Już pół wieku temu John French i Bertrand Raven (1959) zdefiniowali i opisali pięć źródeł władzy w organizacjach: władzę autorytetu (zwaną też formalną lub biurokratyczną), władzę nagradzania, władzę przymusu, władzę ekspercką i władzę identyfikacji. Od tamtego czasu liczni badacze omawiali w swoich badaniach wyżej wymienione źródła władzy (np. Raven, Kruglanski 1970; Teven 2007; Bolman, Deal 2008; Berdahl 2008; Randolph, Kemery 2011; Lunenburg 2012; Jones, George 2015; Hofmann i in. 2017; Kovach 2020). Należy podkreślić, że w różnych typach modeli biznesowych demonstrowanie władzy (lub wpływu) może modyfikować zachowania pracowników w sposób pozytywny lub negatywny (Kovach 2020).

Władza autorytetu ma swoje źródło w wybranej, wyłonionej lub mianowanej pozycji autorytetu i jest zwykle ugruntowana w normach społecznych (Raven 1992). Taka władza pozwala zaszczepić w innych poczucie obowiązku lub odpowiedzialności (Hinkin, Schriesheim 1989) i opiera się na pozycji danej osoby w hierarchii autorytetów. Władza autorytetu rodzi się, gdy podwładni akceptują

prawo kierownika do wywierania na nich wpływu (Raven et al. 1998) i utrwala się, gdy internalizują przekonanie, że kierownik ma prawo być kierownikiem (Podsakoff, Schriesheim 1985). Postrzeganie przez podwładnych władzy jako prawomocnej sprawia, że stosują się oni do poleceń posiadaczy władzy, co pozwala osobom kierującym rzeczywiście sprawować tę władzę (Gibson, Ivancevich, Donnelly i in. 2012). Ponieważ jednak władza autorytetu obejmuje dość wąski zakres wpływów, należy unikać przekraczania jej granic (Greenberg 2011).

Władza nagradzania opiera się na prawie osoby do wręczania nagród innym ludziom. Nagrody te mogą być materialne, społeczne, emocjonalne lub duchowe. Osoby otrzymują je wówczas, gdy zrobią to, czego się od nich oczekuje. Na podobnej zasadzie osoba sprawująca władzę nagradzania może odmówić nagrody temu, kto nie zrobi (lub odmówi zrobienia) tego, czego się od niego oczekuje (Taucean, Tamasila, Negru-Strauti 2015: 70). Władza nagradzania może być zdefiniowana jako zdolność osoby do kierowania zachowaniem innych poprzez dostarczanie im tego, czego chcą. Dopóki pracownicy cenią sobie określone nagrody, menedżerowie mogą wykorzystywać swoją władzę nagradzania, aby wpływać na ich zachowanie, przyznając im te nagrody (lub odmawiając ich przyznania) (Lunenberg 2012). Im więcej nagród jest możliwych i im wyższa jest ich względna atrakcyjność, tym większa staje się władza nagradzania (Podsakoff, Schriesheim 1985).

Władza przymusu związana jest ze zdolnością osoby do wpływania na innych poprzez kary i groźby. Na przykład pracownicy mogą się stosować do poleceń kierownika, ponieważ boją się, że zostaną ukarani (Lunenburg 2012). *Władza* przymusu jest również definiowana jako przekonanie pracowników, że ich menedżer ma prawo ich ukarać, jeśli nie będą wykonywać jego poleceń (Raven i in. 1998). Władza ta odwołuje się do potencjalnej kary i często wiąże się z negatywnymi emocjami pomiędzy kierownikiem a pracownikami (Podsakoff, Schriesheim 1985). Władza przymusu odnosi się do groźby użycia siły w celu skłonienia ludzi do zrobienia tego, czego się od nich oczekuje; władza ta może przyjmowa*ć różne formy* oddziaływania fizycznego, społecznego, emocjonalnego, politycznego lub ekonomicznego. Mówiąc krótko, władza ta pociąga za sobą przymuszanie ludzi do robienia czegoś, czego sami nie chcą (Taucean, Tamasila, Negru-Strauti 2015: 70).

Władza ekspercka opiera się na wiedzy tych, którzy posiadają władzę, jak również na ich doświadczeniu oraz szczególnych umiejętnościach lub talentach. Wiedza ekspercka ujawnia się poprzez reputację, odpowiednie referencje lub działania. Władza ekspercka to zdolność danej osoby do kształtowania zachowań innych w oparciu o przekonanie tej osoby, iż posiada ona odpowiednią wiedzę, umiejętności lub zdolności (Lunenberg 2012). Władza ekspercka jest bezpośrednio związana z tym, jak podwładni postrzegają i jak bardzo cenią wiedzę i doświadczenie posiadacza władzy (Raven i in. 1998). Im większe doświadczenie lub wiedzę w danym obszarze pracownicy postrzegają i przypisują osobie posiadającej władzę, tym większa jest ta władza (Podsakoff, Schriesheim 1985). Władza ekspercka najczęściej jest przyznawana osobom postrzeganym jako wiarygodne, godne zaufania i ważne (Luthans 2011).

Władza identyfikacji opiera się na tym, że osoba mająca taką władzę jest lubiana, podziwiana i szanowana, przez co ma wpływ na zachowanie innych (Lunenberg 2012). Fundamentem takiej władzy jest identyfikacja pracowników z menedżerem (Raven i in. 1998), a jej warunkiem stopień, w jakim uważają, że ich identyfikacja z menedżerem poprawi ich relacje z nim lub ich pragnienie bycia jak menedżer (Podsakoff, Schriesheim 1985). Można zatem uznać, że władza identyfikacji karmi się podziwem i pragnieniem bycia takim, jak osoba sprawująca tę władzę.

Dwa inne rodzaje władzy wymieniane w literaturze przedmiotu to władza kontaktów i władza informacyjna. Władza kontaktów wynika z tego, kogo się zna, kim są ludzie, których znamy, a także z kim mamy dobre relacje. Z kolei władza informacyjna opiera się na posiadaniu dostępu do cennych lub ważnych informacji (Reyes 2014). Te dwa rodzaje władzy opierają się na przekonaniu, że posiadacz władzy jest w stanie dostarczyć innym racjonalnego uzasadnienia na to dlaczego powinni w coś wierzyć lub zachowywać się w dany sposób (Raven i in. 1998).

Menedżerowie w różny sposób sprawują władzę w praktyce. Trzy formy sprawowania władzy przez menedżerów opisuje między innymi Galata (Galata 2004: 21). Okazywanie wyższości to pierwsza forma. Stosując różne sankcje, menedżer wymusza oczekiwane zachowania od podwładnych. Relacje między menedżerem i jego podwładnymi opierają się na zależności służbowej i wyższości menedżera. Druga

forma sprawowania władzy to manipulowanie zachowaniami pracowników. Menedżer, który do tego się ucieka, nie ujawnia pracownikom pewnych informacji, np. dotyczących zmian organizacyjnych, i wpływa na ich postawy i zachowania poprzez manipulację tymi danymi. Logiczna argumentacja to forma trzecia. Menedżer uzasadnia i przekonuje pracowników do słuszności podjętych przez siebie decyzji. Ta forma jest wykorzystywana przez menedżerów, którzy nie obawiają się merytorycznej dyskusji z podwładnymi i polegają na swoich kompetencjach.

Choć French i Raven wymienili pięć wspomnianych wcześniej źródeł władzy (władza autorytetu, nagradzania, przymusu, ekspercka i identyfikacji), warto zauważyć, że źródeł tych nie należy traktować jako oddzielonych od siebie. Menedżerowie mogą i powinni wykorzystywać je w różnych kombinacjach – w zależności od konkretnej sytuacji.

Władza menedżerów jest bardzo istotna w codziennym zarządzaniu ludźmi, szczególnie wtedy, gdy mamy na uwadze zarządzanie ludźmi w zróżnicowanym kulturowo środowisku pracy, gdzie potrzeby, oczekiwania czy przyzwyczajenia pracowników pochodzących z różnych kultur mogą być bardzo odmienne.

Metodyka badań

Wywiady opisywane w niniejszym artykule przeprowadzono w roku 2022, w miesiącach lipiec–sierpień. W lipcu 2022 roku w ramach wyjazdu badawczego zrealizowano 8 wywiadów z czeskimi menedżerami, a w sierpniu tegoż roku 8 wywiadów z portugalskimi i 8 z francuskimi menedżerami (w trybie online). Kryterium doboru menedżerów do udziału w wywiadach stanowiły: praca w międzynarodowym przedsiębiorstwie, zarządzanie zespołem zróżnicowanym kulturowo, w którym pracownicy pochodzą z minimum trzech różnych kultur, oraz staż pracy na stanowisku menedżerskim wynoszący minimum 3 lata.

Zorganizowanie i przeprowadzenie badań międzynarodowych (które obejmowały wywiady z menedżerami różnych narodowości) nie jest dla badacza łatwym zadaniem. Dobór menedżerów z poszczególnych krajów europejskich podyktowany był przede wszystkim możliwościami autorki w zakresie organizacji i przeprowadzenia

wywiadów z menedżerami tych konkretnych narodowości. W celu zorganizowania i przeprowadzenia wywiadów autorka wykorzystała swoje społeczne i zawodowe kontakty, by znaleźć menedżerów spełniających kryteria doboru, uzyskać ich zgodę na udział w wywiadach oraz zrealizować wywiady w dogodnym dla nich czasie. Próba badawcza została dobrana przy użyciu metody doboru nieprobabilistycznego. Zastosowano technikę *snowball sampling* (kuli śnieżnej), która polega na dotarciu do niewielkiej grupy respondentów, a następnie – za ich pośrednictwem – do kolejnych respondentów, którzy są ich znajomymi i mają podobne cechy (Miszczak, Walasek 2013: 104). Jeśli chodzi o wywiady opisane w tym artykule, to dotyczyły one menedżerów spełniających podane wyżej kryteria.

Nadmienić należy, że opisywane w niniejszym artykule wywiady stanowią kontynuację badań związanych z problematyką władzy menedżerów, które autorka podjęła już wcześniej, realizując w latach 2021–2022 wywiady z polską, hiszpańską i włoską kadrą zarządzającą (Knap-Stefaniuk 2022). Również w przypadku tamtych wywiadów dobór menedżerów z Polski, a szczególnie tych z Hiszpanii i Włoch, podyktowany był możliwościami badaczki (związanymi z jej społecznymi i zawodowymi kontaktami) pozwalającymi na organizację i przeprowadzenie tych wywiadów w poszczególnych krajach. Zamysłem badawczym autorki była kontynuacja badań dotyczących problematyki władzy menedżerów wśród przedstawicieli kadry zarządzającej innych narodowości (w tej publikacji: czeskiej, portugalskiej i francuskiej). Nie było intencją autorki porównywanie wyników badań z lat 2021–2022 z badaniami opisywanymi w niniejszym artykule. Takie porównania będą przedmiotem badań w przyszłości. Dlatego też dla celów ewentualnych przyszłych analiz i porównań wyników zrealizowanych wywiadów autorka przyjęła te same problemy badawcze, metody i techniki oraz pracowała z wykorzystaniem tego samego narzędzia badawczego (scenariusza wywiadu), które zostało opracowane wcześniej, tj. przed realizacją wywiadów z kadrą menedżerską z Polski, Hiszpanii i Włoch. Opisywane w tym artykule analizy (podobnie jak wcześniejsze wywiady dotyczące tej samej problematyki) to badania o charakterze jakościowym, do realizacji których wykorzystano metodę wywiadu częściowo ustrukturyzowanego, technikę indywidualnego wywiadu pogłębionego oraz elementy analizy ilościowej.

Osiem wywiadów z menedżerami czeskimi przeprowadzono w trybie spotkań „twarzą w twarz" w trakcie pobytu badawczego w Czechach. Wywiady z ośmioma menedżerami portugalskimi i ośmioma francuskimi odbyły się online, za pomocą aplikacji Zoom.

Wywiady trwały od 40 do 60 minut. Wszystkim menedżerom na początku badania przedstawiono niezbędne informacje (metoda, technika, cel badania, sprawy formalne). Niektóre wywiady zostały nagrane za zgodą menedżerów. W trakcie wszystkich wywiadów były robione notatki, co umożliwiło poddanie wyników badań analizie jakościowej i ilościowej. Wywiady zostały przeprowadzone w języku angielskim. Wywiady z menedżerami francuskimi wymagały wsparcia tłumacza (nie wszyscy menedżerowie podczas wywiadów rozmawiali w języku angielskim). W tabeli 1 znajduje się charakterystyka respondentów, którzy brali udział w wywiadach.

Tabela 1. Cechy respondentów (menedżerowie, którzy brali udział w wywiadach)

Kryterium	Menedżerowie z Czech	Menedżerowie z Portugalii	Menedżerowie z Francji
Wiek	35–52	36–49	38–51
Kobiety	4	3	3
Mężczyźni	4	5	5
Staż na stanowisku menedżera w międzynarodowej firmie (doświadczenie zawodowe) – w latach	4–13	4–11	5–12
Liczba narodowości w zespole zarządzanym przez menedżera	co najmniej 3 narodowości (4 narodowości)	co najmniej 3 narodowości (4 narodowości)	co najmniej 3 narodowości (4 narodowości)

Źródło: wywiady z menedżerami z Czech, Portugalii i Francji.

Władza oraz źródła władzy menedżerów uczestniczących w wywiadach: wyniki badań

Celem wywiadów było uzyskanie informacji o tym, jak czescy, portugalscy i francuscy menedżerowie definiują termin „władza", identyfikacja wykorzystywanych przez nich źródeł władzy oraz określenie sposobów jej sprawowania. Autorka, podobnie jak w przypadku

wcześniej przeprowadzonych wywiadów (z polską, hiszpańską i włoską kadrą zarządzającą), chciała również wskazać obszary zarządzania ludźmi, w których władza menedżerów jest ich zdaniem istotna. W poniższej tabeli 2 przedstawiono odpowiedzi respondentów na pytanie o definicję terminu „władza".

Tabela 2. Sposób, w jaki koncepcja władzy jest definiowana przez respondentów

Władza: definicja	Menedżerowie z Czech	Menedżerowie z Portugalii	Menedżerowie z Francji
Menedżer 1	Wywieranie wpływu na pracowników w celu zmiany ich postępowania	Wywieranie wpływu na pracowników poprzez różne środki i metody (nagrody, kary czy autorytet), żeby móc egzekwować rzetelne wykonywanie poleceń i decyzji menedżera	Umiejętność wykorzystywania formalnego i nieformalnego autorytetu menedżera do wywierania wpływu na pracowników
Menedżer 2	Wywieranie wpływu na pracowników z pozycji władzy, jaką ma menedżer, żeby skutecznie realizować cele zespołu	Wywieranie wpływu na pracowników, aby budować relacje w zespole i skutecznie realizować wspólne cele; aby wpłynąć na pracowników menedżer może ich nagradzać, karać lub wykorzystywać swoją wiedzę.	Wywieranie wpływu na pracowników poprzez korzystanie z różnych możliwości, takich jak nagrody, kary, pozycja i wiedza, kompetencje menedżera, by skutecznie zarządzać zespołem i realizować jego cele
Menedżer 3	Wpływanie na pracowników, żeby uzyskać założone cele, np. poprzez nagrody i kary, czy kompetencje i osobowość menedżera	Wpływanie na innych (pracowników i współpracowników) dzięki pozycji, jaką posiada menedżer i dzięki takim rozwiązaniom, jak nagradzanie czy karanie	Wywierania wpływu na pracowników poprzez różne środki (autorytet, władza formalna i nieformalna, nagrody i kary), żeby wyegzekwować zlecone im zadania i zrealizować założone cele
Menedżer 4	Zdolność/umiejętność do takiego wywierania wpływu na pracowników i zespół, aby realizowali dobrze swoje zdania i wykonywali polecenia menedżera	Wykorzystywanie różnych rozwiązań do tego, aby wpływać na postawy i zachowania innych (menedżer ma taką możliwość ze względu na swoją pozycję)	Wykorzystywanie swojej pozycji/stanowiska w firmie oraz władzy, która z tego wynika, do wpływania na zachowania pracowników i ich pracę, motywację, relacje w zespołach, realizację zadań

Władza: definicja	Menedżerowie z Czech	Menedżerowie z Portugalii	Menedżerowie z Francji
Menedżer 5	Możliwość wywierania wpływu na podwładnych, gdy się jest menedżerem; korzystanie z nagród, kar i innych rozwiązań, aby pracownicy postępowali zgodnie z wolą, decyzjami menedżera	Wywieranie wpływu na pracowników przez formalny autorytet (ale głównie przez autorytet nieformalny), aby realizowali zadania zgodnie z założeniami firmy	Wywieranie wpływu na podwładnych/współpracowników (na różne sposoby), np. poprzez nagrody, kary, ale też kompetencje i autorytet czy cechy osobowościowe menedżera, by motywować, kontrolować, zmieniać zachowania, osiągać zaplanowane cele
Menedżer 6	Wpływanie na postawy i zachowania pracowników za pomocą różnych środków i metod, aby oddziaływać na ich motywację, realizację celów i zaangażowanie	Możliwość wywierania wpływu na pracowników poprzez nagradzanie czy karanie, ze względu na pozycję jaką posiada menedżer	Oddziaływanie na pracowników poprzez pozycję jaką posiada menedżer w celu realizacji planów firmy, z wykorzystaniem różnych możliwości (karanie, nagradzanie, odwoływanie się do wiedzy eksperckiej menedżera, jego autorytetu czy posiadanych przez niego informacji)
Menedżer 7	Wpływanie na postawy i postępowanie pracowników, ich pracę i sposób realizacji zadań poprzez autorytet i władzę, jaką ma menedżer ze względu na zajmowaną pozycję	Możliwość stosowania nagród i kar, wpływania na ludzi oraz kontrolowania ich pracy dzięki pozycji menedżera	Realny wpływ na pracowników przez nagrody i kary w celu zwiększenia wydajności w zespołach i realizacji strategii firmy
Menedżer 8	Wywieranie wpływu na podwładnych, a także zmiana ich postaw i zachowań w pracy poprzez nagrody i kary, autorytet i władzę menedżera	Wywieranie wpływu na pracowników, koordynowanie pracy i realizacji zadań przez wykorzystywanie różnych rozwiązań: kary, nagrody, autorytet, relacje z podwładnymi, wiedza i kontakty menedżera	Wpływanie na pracowników, by uzyskać takie efekty pracy indywidualnej i zespołowej, dzięki którym firma realizuje swoje cele (menedżer może wykorzystywać w tym celu różne sposoby: nagradzać, karać, odwoływać się do swojego autorytetu, doświadczenia, wiedzy czy posiadanych informacji)

Źródło: Wywiady z menedżerami z Czech, Portugalii i Francji.

Odpowiedzi menedżerów świadczą o tym, że znają oni i rozumieją termin „władza", a ich sposób definiowania tego terminu jest podobny. W trakcie wywiadów autorka opisała różne źródła władzy i poprosiła menedżerów o wskazanie tych źródeł, które są przez nich

wykorzystywane w zarządzaniu ludźmi (zespołami, którymi kierują). W tabeli 3 przedstawiono odpowiedzi menedżerów na pytanie dotyczące źródeł władzy.

Tabela 3. Źródła władzy menedżerów zarządzających zespołami wielokulturowymi

Źródło władzy	Menedżerowie z Czech	Menedżerowie z Portugalii	Menedżerowie z Francji
Władza autorytetu	8	8	8
Władza nagradzania	8	8	8
Władza przymusu	6	6	6
Władza ekspercka	7	6	8
Władza identyfikacji	6	8	7
Władza kontaktów	7	6	7
Władza informacyjna	7	6	7

Źródło: Wywiady z menedżerami z Czech, Portugalii i Francji.

Z tabeli 3 wynika, że najczęściej wykorzystywane przez menedżerów źródła władzy to przede wszystkim: władza autorytetu (8 odpowiedzi menedżerów wszystkich narodowości) i władza nagradzania (także 8 odpowiedzi menedżerów wszystkich narodowości). Władzę przymusu wskazało po 6 menedżerów czeskich, portugalskich i francuskich. Władzę ekspercką wybrało 8 menedżerów francuskich, 7 czeskich i 6 portugalskich. Władzę identyfikacji wskazało 8 portugalskich menedżerów, 7 menedżerów francuskich i 6 menedżerów czeskich. Natomiast władzę kontaktów i władzę informacyjną wykorzystuje 7 menedżerów z Francji i Czech oraz 6 menedżerów z Portugalii.

Celem wywiadów było też określenie sposobów sprawowania przez menedżerów władzy w wielokulturowym środowisku pracy, w ich zespołach. Respondentom opisano trzy formy sprawowania władzy. Poproszono ich następnie o wskazanie tych form, które sami stosują. Ich odpowiedzi przedstawiono w tabeli 4.

Tabela 4. Sposoby sprawowania władzy przez menedżerów kierujących zespołami wielokulturowymi

Źródło władzy	Menedżerowie z Czech	Menedżerowie z Portugalii	Menedżerowie z Francji
Okazywanie wyższości	6	4	6
Manipulowanie zachowaniem pracowników	4	4	4
Logiczna argumentacja	7	7	8

Źródło: Wywiady z menedżerami z Czech, Portugalii i Francji.

Logiczna argumentacja uzyskała najwięcej pozytywnych odpowiedzi (8 menedżerów francuskich, 7 menedżerów czeskich i portugalskich). Okazywanie własnej wyższości wybrało 6 menedżerów francuskich i czeskich oraz 4 menedżerów portugalskich. Z kolei manipulowanie zachowaniami pracowników wskazało po 4 menedżerów z każdej narodowości. Podczas wywiadów autorka artykułu pytała również menedżerów o obszary zarządzania ludźmi, w których ich władza ma istotne znaczenie. Pozyskane informacje przedstawiono w tabeli 5.

Tabela 5. Wpływ władzy menedżerów na różne obszary zarządzania ludźmi w zespołach wielokulturowych

Różne obszary zarządzania zasobami ludzkimi	Menedżerowie z Czech	Menedżerowie z Portugalii	Menedżerowie z Francji
Planowanie w zakresie zasobów ludzkich	7	7	8
Rekrutacja i dobór pracowników	8	7	8
Motywowanie pracowników	8	8	8
Wynagradzanie	8	7	8
Szkolenia i rozwój	8	7	8
Ocena pracownika	8	8	8
Komunikacja w zespole	7	6	7
Rozwiązywanie konfliktów	8	6	8
Zarządzanie kompetencjami	7	7	8
Zarządzanie talentami	7	7	8
Zwalnianie pracowników	8	6	8

Źródło: Wywiady z menedżerami z Czech, Portugalii i Francji.

Najwięcej odpowiedzi menedżerów dotyczyło motywowania pracowników (8 odpowiedzi menedżerów wszystkich narodowości) i oceniania pracowników (8 odpowiedzi menedżerów wszystkich narodowości). Kolejne odpowiedzi dotyczyły rekrutacji i doboru pracowników, wynagrodzeń oraz szkoleń i rozwoju (8 odpowiedzi menedżerów francuskich i czeskich oraz 7 odpowiedzi menedżerów portugalskich).

Najwięcej odpowiedzi kierowników dotyczyło motywowania pracowników (8 odpowiedzi od kierowników wszystkich narodowości) i oceny pracowników (8 odpowiedzi od menedżerów wszystkich narodowości). Następnie wskazano rekrutację i dobór pracowników, wynagradzanie oraz szkolenia i rozwój (8 odpowiedzi od menedżerów z Francji i Czech oraz 7 odpowiedzi od menedżerów z Portugalii).

Omówienie wyników badań

Badacze już dawno dostrzegli znaczenie władzy w zarządzaniu ludźmi, toteż przeprowadzono jak dotąd wiele badań dotyczących różnych aspektów władzy. Na przestrzeni lat naukowcy w znacznym stopniu rozszerzyli badania nad władzą i źródłami władzy opisanymi przez Frencha i Ravena (1959), zagłębiając się w psychologię pracownika z perspektywy wpływu menedżera i posiadanej przez niego władzy (Farmer, Aguinis 2005).

Badania różnych autorów dotyczące władzy podkreślają współzależność między przełożonymi a pracownikami i potwierdzają znaczenie władzy w miejscu pracy, np. zwiększanie wysiłków pracowników (McShane, Von Glinow 2003), wpływ na motywację podwładnych (Coelho, Cunha, Souza Meirelles 2016),czy negatywny wpływ interpersonalny, zmniejszenie satysfakcji z pracy, stres i niezadowolenie (Thoresen, Kaplan, Barsky i in. 2003; Teven 2006; Ng, Sorensen 2009).

W badaniach opisanych w niniejszym artykule autorka skupiła się na sposobie definiowania terminu „władza" przez menedżerów różnych narodowości (czeskiej, portugalskiej i francuskiej), kontynuując podobne badania zrealizowane wcześniej wśród menedżerów polskich, hiszpańskich i włoskich. W obydwu badaniach skoncentrowano uwagę na źródłach władzy wykorzystywanej przez menedżerów w zarządzaniu ludźmi w zróżnicowanym kulturowo środowisku

pracy oraz na stosowanych przez nich praktycznych sposobach spra-
wowania władzy.

Autorka osiągnęła założony cel, a zgromadzone w trakcie wywia-
dów informacje pozwoliły na sformułowanie odpowiedzi na posta-
wione pytania badawcze. Z pewnością interesującym elementem
badania było określenie obszarów zarządzania ludźmi, w których
władza menedżerów ma największe znaczenie.

Zdaniem autorki menedżerowie, którzy wzięli udział w bada-
niach, poprawnie definiują władzę. W zarządzaniu swoimi zespołami
wykorzystują wszystkie źródła władzy omówione w części teoretycz-
nej artykułu. Najczęściej wykorzystywane przez menedżerów źródła
władzy to władza autorytetu i władza nagradzania (8 odpowiedzi
menedżerów wszystkich narodowości). Sprawując władzę, menedże-
rowie stosują przede wszystkim logiczną argumentację (8 odpowie-
dzi menedżerów francuskich, 7 odpowiedzi menedżerów czeskich
i portugalskich).

Obszary zarządzania ludźmi, w których władza menedżerów
została uznana za istotną, to: motywowanie i ocenianie pracowników
(po 8 odpowiedzi menedżerów wszystkich narodowości), a także
rekrutacja i dobór pracowników, wynagrodzenia oraz szkolenia i roz-
wój (8 odpowiedzi menedżerów francuskich i czeskich; 7 odpowiedzi
menedżerów portugalskich).

Wyniki przeprowadzonych wywiadów potwierdzają, że władza
jest dla menedżerów istotnym narzędziem w zarządzaniu, na co
zwracają również uwagę Pratto, Pearson, I-Ching, Saguy (2008),
Biong, Nygaard, Silkoset (2010) oraz Taucean, Tamasila, Negru-
-Strauti (2016).

Ograniczenia i wskazówki do dalszych badań

Trzeba przyznać, że największym ograniczeniem przedstawione-
go badania jest stosunkowo mała liczebność próby. Większa liczeb-
ność z pewnością dostarczyłaby pewniejszych wniosków i pozwoliła
na bardziej jednoznaczne interpretacje. Dlatego też w przyszłości
należy powtórzyć badanie z wykorzystaniem większej próby. Bar-
dzo korzystne byłoby powtórzenie badania z udziałem menedże-
rów z innych krajów, co dostarczyłoby szerszej informacji na temat
wpływu władzy menedżerów na różne aspekty zarządzania zasobami

ludzkimi w wielokulturowych środowiskach pracy. To z kolei umożliwiłoby zbadanie roli władzy menedżerów w różnych kulturach i porównanie wyników z różnych krajów.

Warto w tym miejscu zaznaczyć, że niniejsze opracowanie ograniczało się do badań jakościowych (z elementem działań ilościowych), jednak interesujące mogłoby być przeprowadzenie analiz w oparciu o szerzej zakrojone badanie ilościowe. Zdaniem autorki przyszłe badania powinny się skupić na relacjach pomiędzy źródłami władzy stosowanymi przez menedżerów, jak również na zrozumieniu wpływu różnych źródeł władzy na zachowanie i wyniki osiągane przez pracowników, zwłaszcza w zespołach międzykulturowych pracujących w zróżnicowanych kulturowo środowiskach pracy.

W przyszłych badaniach warto z pewnością uwzględnić menedżerów wywodzących się z innych narodowości. Analiza tego jak rozumienie i wykorzystywanie przez menedżerów ich władzy wpływa na funkcjonowanie zarządzanych przez nich zespołów również wydaje się obiecującym kierunkiem przyszłych badań. Ponadto obszar badawczy można by rozszerzyć o inne aspekty władzy menedżerów.

Wnioski

Z analizy literatury przedmiotu i przeprowadzonych badań wynika, że władza jest podstawą do kształtowania środowiska pracy i relacji opartych na respektowaniu i przestrzeganiu zasad obowiązujących w danej firmie. Władza to usankcjonowanie organizacyjnego porządku, w tym obowiązującej struktury, podziału zadań, obowiązków czy zakresu odpowiedzialności. Z racji zajmowanego stanowiska menedżer ma przede wszystkim władzę autorytetu, ale w praktyce korzysta z różnych źródeł władzy, które mogą wpływać na pracowników pozytywnie lub negatywnie.

Menedżerowie wszystkich narodowości, którzy wzięli udział w badaniu, znają i prawidłowo opisują pojęcie władzy. W swojej pracy z zespołami wielokulturowymi wykorzystują wszystkie źródła władzy opisane w literaturze, takie jak władza autorytetu, władza nagradzania, władza przymusu, władza ekspercka, władza identyfikacji, władza kontaktów i władza informacyjna. Ich odpowiedzi na pytania w ramach wywiadów ujawniają, że władza autorytetu i władza nagradzania są źródłami, które najczęściej wykorzystują w swojej

praktyce zarządzania, oraz że przede wszystkim sprawują oni władzę za pomocą logicznej argumentacji (największa liczba odpowiedzi). Ich zdaniem obszary zarządzania ludźmi, w których władza jest szczególnie ważna, to motywowanie i ocenianie pracowników.

Pracowników, którzy doświadczają wpływu ze strony menedżerów, można podzielić na dwie grupy. Do grupy pierwszej należą pracownicy zadowoleni i usatysfakcjonowani, którzy w obecności menedżerów czują się bezpiecznie i darzą ich zaufaniem wynikającym z pozytywnych doświadczeń. Druga grupa to pracownicy, których relacja z menedżerami opiera się negatywnych emocjach i doświadczeniach oraz na braku poczucia bezpieczeństwa wynikającego z niewłaściwych relacji. Władza powinna być stosowana przez menedżerów w sposób rozważny – jako narzędzie, które zwiększa lub redukuje skuteczność zarządzania. Szczególnie w warunkach zróżnicowania kulturowego menedżerowie powinni minimalizować poczucie niepewności wśród pracowników poprzez niewykorzystywanie władzy przeciwko pracownikom i poszukiwanie skutecznych sposobów budowania dobrych relacji z pracownikami. Jeśli władza menedżerów wykorzystywana jest niewłaściwie – bez zaufania i szacunku dla pracowników z różnych kultur – może doprowadzić do sytuacji przymusu, lęku, a nawet przemocy psychicznej w kontaktach przełożony–podwładny, co w sposób nieunikniony prowadzi do licznych konfliktów i sytuacji stresowych.

Bibliografia

Aguinis H., Nesler M.S., Quigley B.M., Tedeschi J.T. (1994). *Perceptions of Power: A Cognitive Perspective*, „Social Behaviour and Personality", t. 22, nr 4, s. 377–384.

Anderson C., Brion S. (2014). *Perspectives on Power in Organizations*, „Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behaviour", t. 1, s. 67–97, doi:10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-031413-09125.

Andringa T.C., van den Bosch K.A., Vlaskamp C. (2013). *Learning Autonomy in Two or Three Steps: Linking Open-ended Development, Authority, and Agency to Motivation*, „Frontiers in Psychology", t. 4, art. 766, doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2013.00766.

Berdahl J. (2008). *Introduction: Social Power in Action*, „Social Justice Research", t. 21, nr 3, s. 255–262, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-008-0076-x.

Biong H., Nygaard A., Silkoset R. (2010). *The Influence of Retail Management's Use of Social Power on Corporate Ethical Values, Employee Commit-*

ment, and Performance, „Journal of Business Ethics”, t. 97, nr 3, s. 341–363, doi:10.1007/s10551-010-0497-y.

Bolman L., Deal T. (2008). *Reframing Organizations: Artistry, Choice and Leadership*, wyd. 4, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Coelho T., Cunha M., Souza Meirelles F. (2016). *The Client–Consultant Relationship in ERP Implementation in Government: Exploring the Dynamic Between Power and Knowledge*, „Information Polity”, t. 21, nr 3, s. 307–320, doi:10.3233/IP-160397.

Clegg S.R. (2010). *The State, Power and Agency: Missing in Action in Institutional Theory?*, „Journal of Management Inquiry”, t. 19, nr 1, s. 4–13, https://doi.org/10.1177/1056492609347562.

Finkelstein S. (1992). *Power in Top Management Teams: Dimensions, Measurement, and Validation*, „Academy of Management Journal”, t. 35, nr 3, s. 505–538, https://doi.org/10.5465/256485.

Fehr E., Herz H., Wilkening T. (2013). *The Lure of Authority: Motivation and Incentive Effects of Power*, „American Economic Review”, t. 103, nr 4, s. 1325–1359, doi:10.1257/aer.103.4.1325.

French J.R.P., Raven B. (1959). *The Bases of Social Power*, [w:] D. Cartwright (red.), *Studies in Social Power*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, s. 150–167.

Galata S. (2004). *Wprowadzenie do zarządzania strategicznego*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie.

Gibson J.L, Ivancevich J.M., Donnelly J.H., Konopaske R. (2012). *Organizations: Behaviour, Structure, Processes*, wyd. 14, New York: McGrawHill.

Greenberg J. (2011). *Behaviour in Organizations*, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Farmer S., Aguinis H. (2005). *Accounting for Subordinate Perceptions of Supervisory Power: An Identity-Dependence Model*, „Journal of Applied Psychology”, t. 90, nr 6, s. 1069–1083, https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.90.6.1069.

Hinkin T.R., Schriesheim C.A. (1989). *Development and Application of New Scales to Measure the Bases of Social Power*, „Journal of Applied Psychology”, t. 74, nr 4, s. 561–567, https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.74.4.561.

Hofmann E., Hartl B., Gangl K., Hartner-Tiefenthaler M., Kirchler E. (2017). *Authorities' Coercive and Legitimate Power: The Impact on Cognitions Underlying Cooperation*, „Frontiers in Psychology”, t. 8, art. 5, s. 1–15, doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00005.

Huber V.L. (1981). *The Sources, Uses, and Conservation of Managerial Power*, „Personnel”, t. 51, nr 4, s. 62–67.

Jones G., George J. (2015). *Essentials of Contemporary Management*, wyd. 6, New York: McGraw Hill Education.

Knap-Stefaniuk A. (2022). *Managers' Power in an Environment of Cultural Diversity – in the Opinion of Managers from Poland, Spain and Italy*, „Horyzonty Polityki”, t. 13, nr 45, s. 119–138, doi:10.35765/HP.2267.

Kovach M. (2020). *Leader Influence: A Research Review of French & Raven's (1959) Power Dynamics*, „The Journal of Values-Based Leadership", t. 13, nr 2, art. 15, http://dx.doi.org/10.22543/0733.132.1312.

Lunenburg F.C. (2012). *Power and Leadership: An Influence Process*, „International Journal of Management and Administration", t. 15, nr 1, s. 1–9.

Luthans F. (2011). *Organizational Behaviour: An Evidence-Based Approach*, wyd. 11, New York: McGraw-Hill/Irwin.

Magee J.C., Smith P.K. (2013). *The Social Distance Theory of Power*, „Personality and Social Psychology Review", t. 17, nr 2, s. 158–186, https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868312472732.

McClelland D.C. (1970). *The Two Faces of Power*, „Journal of International Affairs", t. 24, nr 1, s. 29–47.

McClelland D.C., Burnham D.H. (2003). *Power Is the Great Motivator*, „Harvard Business Review", t. 81, nr 1, s. 117–129.

McShane S., von Glinow M. (2003). *Organizational Behaviour: Emerging Realities for the Workplace Revolution*, New York: McGraw Hill.

Miszczak A., Walasek J. (2013). *Techniki wyboru próby badawczej*, „Obronność – Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Zarządzania i Dowodzenia Akademii Obrony Narodowej", nr 2(6), s. 100–108.

Ng T.W.H., Sorensen K.L. (2009). *Dispositional Affectivity and Work-Related Outcomes: A Meta-Analysis*, „Journal of Applied Social Psychology", t. 39, nr 6, s. 1255–1287, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2009.00481.x.

Palumbo J.D. (1969). *Power and Role Specificity in Organizational Theory*, „Public Administration Review", May/June, s. 237–248, https://doi.org/10.2307/973538.

Pierro A., Kruglanski A.W., Raven H.B. (2012). *Motivational Underpinnings of Social Influence in Work Settings: Bases of Social Power and the Need for Cognitive Closure*, „European Journal of Social Psychology", t. 42, nr 1, s. 41–52, doi:10.1002/ejsp.836.

Pfeffer J. (1993). *Managing With Power: Politics and Influence in Organizations*, Boston, MA: Harvard Business Review Press.

Pfeffer J. (2013). *Power, Capriciousness, and Consequences*, „Harvard Business Review", t. 1, nr 4, s. 1–2.

Podsakoff P.M., Schriesheim C.A. (1985). *Field Studies of French and Raven's Bases of Power: Critique, Reanalysis, and Suggestions for Future Research*, „Psychological Bulletin Journal", t. 97, nr 3, s. 387–411, doi:10.1037/0033-2909.97.3.387.

Pratto F., Pearson A., I-Ching L., Saguy T. (2008). *Power Dynamics in an Experimental Game*, „Social Justice Research", t. 21, nr 3, s. 377–407, doi:10.1007/s11211-008-0075-y.

Randolph W.A., Kemery E.R. (2011). *Managerial Use of Power Bases in a Model of Managerial Empowerment Practices and Employee Psychological Empowerment*, „Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies", t. 18, nr 1, s. 95–106, doi:10.1177/1548051810379798.

Raven B.H. (1992). *A Power/Interaction Model of Interpersonal Influence: French and Raven Thirty Years Later*, „Journal of Social Behaviour and Personality", t. 7, nr 2, s. 217–244.

Raven B.H., Kruglanski A.W. (1970). *Control and Power*, [w:] P. Swingle (red.), *The Structure of Conflict*, New York: Academic Press, s. 69–109.

Raven B.H., Schwarzwald J., Kozlowsky M. (1998). *Conceptualizing and Measuring a Power/Interaction Model of Interpersonal Influence*, „Journal of Applied Social Psychology", t. 28, nr 4, s. 307–332, doi:10.1111/j1559-1816.1998.tb01707.x.

Reyes S. (2014). *Understanding the Power Dynamic at Work*, „Leadership and Diversity", t. 5, nr 8, s. 1–3.

Russell B. (2004). *Power: A New Social Analysis*, London: Routledge.

Singh A., Asce F. (2009). *Organizational Power in Perspective*, „Leadership and Management in Engineering", t. 9, nr 4, s. 165–176, https://doi.org/10.1061/(ASCE)LM.1943-5630.0000018.

Stoner J.A.F., Freeman R.E., Gilbert D.R., Jr. (1997). *Kierowanie*, przeł. A. Ehrlich, Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne.

Sturm R.A., Antonakis R.A. (2015). *Interpersonal Power: A Review, Critique, and Research Agenda*, „Journal of Management", t. 4, nr 1, s. 136–163, https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206314555769.

Taucean I.M., Tamasila M., Negru-Strauti G. (2016). *Study on Management Styles and Managerial Power Types for a Large Organization*, „Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences", t. 221, s. 66–75, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2016.05.091.

Teven J. (2007). *The Effects of Supervisor Nonverbal Immediacy and Power Use on Employees' Ratings of Credibility and Affect for the Supervisor*, „Communication Quarterly", t. 55, nr 2, s. 155–177, https://doi.org/10.1080/01463370601036036.

Thoresen C., Kaplan S., Barsky A., Warren C., de Chermont K. (2003). *The Affective Underpinnings of Job Perceptions and Attitudes: A Meta-Analytic Review and Integration*, „Psychological Bulletin", t. 129, nr 6, s. 914–945, doi:10.1037/0033-2909.129.6.914.

Turner J.C. (2005). *Explaining the Nature of Power: A Three-Process Theory*, „European Journal of Social Psychology", t. 35, nr 1, s. 1–22, doi:10.1002/ejsp.244.

Vallas P.S., Hill A. (2012). *Conceptualizing Power in Organizations*, [w:] D. Courpasson, D. Golsorkhi, J.J. Sallaz (red.), *Rethinking Power in Organizations, Institutions and Markets*, Bingley: Emerald Books, s. 165–198.

Vince R. (2014). *What do HRD Scholars and Practitioners Need to Know About Power, Emotion, and HRD?*, „Human Resource Development Quarterly", t. 25, nr 4, s. 409–420, doi:10.1002hrdq.21191.

Winter S., Michels P. (2019). *The Managerial Power Approach: Is It testable?*, „Journal of Management and Governance", t. 23, s. 637–668, doi:10.1007/s10997-018-9434-8.

Zigarmi D., Roberts T.P., Randolph W. (2015). *Employees' Perceived Use of Leader Power and Implications for Affect and Work Intentions*, „Human Resource Development Quarterly", t. 26, nr 4, s. 359–384, doi:10.1002/hrdq.21216.

ADRES DO KORESPONDENCJI:

Dr Agnieszka Knap-Stefaniuk
Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie
Instytut Nauk o Polityce i Administracji
e-mail: agnieszka.knap.stefaniuk@ignatianum.edu.pl

E w a   A g a t a   S o w a - B e h t a n e
ORCID: 0000-0002-0190-0567
Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow

Integration of Immigrants into the Host Society: Participation in Traditions, Holidays, Celebrations and Cultural Life

ABSTRACT

This article presents the problem of immigrant integration in Poland, which was investigated in a 2022 diagnostic survey of 56 immigrants living in Krakow. The respondents were asked about their opinions on participating in Polish holidays and traditions, introducing their Polish friends to the customs and traditions of their culture and participating in Polish cultural life (Polish cinema, theatre, exhibitions and concerts). The analysis revealed that the vast majority of the respondents (approx. 70%–80%) integrate with the host society to a high degree. The vast majority of the respondents (nearly 90%) claimed that they familiarize their Polish friends with their national culture. Sixty-five percent of the respondents claimed that they participate in Polish cultural life very often or often. However, it is still necessary to support this group of immigrants, who have problems with integration, so there is a need to modify integration policies and introduce intercultural education in schools and universities to a greater degree.

Introduction

Contemporary migration is most often analyzed in the context of globalization. One of the basic rights of participants in the emerging global community is the right to move from one society

Case Reports

to another and to remain there, at least temporarily, with the rights of the local population and with the possibility of returning without significant loss of one's rights. A derivative of this entitlement is the preservation of one's own culture and participation in various forms of mixed culture that include at least some elements of one's own culture (Urry 2009: 239). Globalization results in a cultural exchange that proceeds much faster than ever before. Immigrants not only learn and adopt elements of the dominant culture in the host society, but they also share their culture. We call this phenomenon interculturalism.

Social integration of immigrants in the scholarly literature

From the point of view of sociology, integration refers to the processes of unifying components and parts into a single whole. In a society, integration processes include all those interactions between constituent parts or groups that lead to their association, cooperation, adjustment or conflict resolution (Turowski 1993: 129). When referring to integration in the case of host society–immigrant relationships, one usually means integrating a new element into the existing social system, and this integration should take place in such a way that the extended system continues to function harmoniously and effectively (Koryś 2022).

The integration of immigrants requires the host country to create conditions for them to be genuinely included in various areas of social life: normative and legal (the legal status of immigrants), economic (employment), as well as institutional, educational and cultural. In turn, it requires that immigrants recognize the basic values and norms of the new society of residence and to actively engage in social contact, build social ties—including ones outside their ethnic group—and make use of the goods and services made available by the state and its institutions (Plewko 2010: 179).

The most frequently used indicators of social integration are grouped as follows (Ekspertyza 2007: 98–99):
1. those related to the attitude of the majority society towards the immigrant group:

- attitudes of the host society towards the immigrants' participation in various areas of social, economic, cultural and political life
- the Bogardus social distance scale, which measures the degree to which immigrants are accepted in diverse social roles
- public attitudes towards immigrants—tolerant and open or closed-minded—and orientation towards assimilation or multiculturalism
- alienation test, a modified Dean's three-dimensional alienation scale (consisting of three scales exploring powerlessness, normality and isolation)
2. those related to social relationships with the original society:
   - maintaining bonds with the family and friends who remain in the country of origin
3. those related to social relationships with the host society
   - bonds within the host society: the closest family (husband/wife and children), relations and friends (immigrants or members of the host society)
   - the immigrant's spending of free time with members of the host society and with people of a nationality different to their own
   - the extent of the immigrant's contact at work with residents of the host country and with people of a nationality different to their own
   - marrying members of the host society
4. those related to participation in social organizations:
   - joining organizations (associations, clubs, faith groups, etc.) of the host society
   - forming and participating in ethnic associations and their orientation towards the society of origin or the host society.

Methodology of the research

A total of 56 foreigners living in Poland took part in the 2022 study carried out by means of a diagnostic survey with an electronic questionnaire. Half of the respondents (n=28) were women and the other half were men (n=28). The respondents mainly resided in large cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (n=31, 55.3%) and

medium-sized cities (n=19, 33.9%); only a few lived in villages (n=6, 10.8%). The respondents were aged between 21 and 43 years, and had been in Poland for between 5 months and 13 years. Seventeen people (30.4%) had lived here from 5 to 11 months, 16 (28.6%) from 1 to 2 years, 14 (25.0%) from 3 to 5 years and 9 (16.0%) from 6 to 13 years.

The group of immigrants consisted of Indian people (n=13, 23.2%), Turks (n=12, 21.4%), Ukrainians (n=9, 16.0%), Slovaks (n=7, 12.5%), Egyptians (n=4, 7.1%), Nigerians (n=2, 3.5%), Algerians (n=2, 3.5%), Italians (n=2, 3.5%) and Frenchmen (n=2, 3.5%). The Catholic religion was declared by 9 respondents (16.0%), while the remaining group declared adhering to Protestantism, Islam, Sikhism or Hinduism. The respondents' education was as follows: university degree (35%), incomplete university education (18%), post-secondary education (17%), secondary education (16%) and vocational school (14%).

The research problem was the degree to which the surveyed immigrants integrated into the host society, i.e. the society in Poland. In order to achieve the intended research goal and answer the research question, the following indicators were defined: Participation in Christmas, Participation in Easter, Participation in Polish name days, Participation in Polish birthdays, Participation in Polish weddings, Participation in Polish baptisms, Participation in Polish funerals, Participation in a Mass in a Roman Catholic church, Cultivation of one's national customs and traditions, Making one's Polish friends familiar with customs and traditions characteristic of one's culture and Participation in Polish cultural life (Polish cinema, theatre, exhibitions and concerts by Polish artists).

Results of the research

An extremely important factor in the integration of immigrants is participating in the traditions of the host country, including festivals and holidays. In Poland, many traditions are connected with Christianity, and especially Catholicism. Those traditions are related to celebrating Christmas, Easter, baptisms, weddings and funerals, which are usually religious ceremonies. However, secular traditions are also celebrated, e.g. birthdays, name days, wedding parties,

St Andrew's Eve, New Year's Eve, "garlands," etc. The respondents were asked whether they participate in Christmas according to Catholic tradition. The answers are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Participation in Christmas

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	once	32	57,1	57,1	57,1
	no	6	10,7	10,7	67,9
	yes, many times	18	32,1	32,1	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

The study shows that as many as 89.3% of the respondents had attended Christmas celebrated in the Catholic tradition at least once; 32.1% of the immigrants had done so more than once and 57.1% exactly once. This results from the fact that a large part of the respondents (almost 60%) had been living in Poland for up to two years.

Another important Polish festival is Easter, so the respondents were asked about their participation in it. The answers are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Participation in Easter

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	once	32	57,1	57,1	57,1
	no	6	10,7	10,7	67,9
	yes, many times	18	32,1	32,1	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

The answer to this question yielded exactly the same data as that for Christmas, i.e. 89.3% of the respondents had participated at least once in Easter celebrations according to Catholic tradition; another 32.1% of the immigrants had attended Easter more than once and 57.1% exactly once.

Table 3. Participation in Polish name days

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	once	32	57,1	57,1	57,1
	no	8	14,3	14,3	71,4
	yes, many times	16	28,6	28,6	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

Table 3 shows that the vast majority of the respondents had participated in Polish name days more than once: 57.1% had participated in such an event once and 28.6% did so many times. Very similar answers were obtained for the question about Polish birthday parties (57.1% participated once and 37.5% many times). The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Participation in Polish birthday parties

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	once	32	57,1	57,1	57,1
	no	3	5,4	5,4	62,5
	yes, many times	21	37,5	37,5	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

Also, many respondents had participated in a Polish wedding party. This data is shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Participation in a Polish wedding party

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	once	32	57,1	57,1	57,1
	no	17	30,4	30,4	87,5
	yes, many times	7	12,5	12,5	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

The majority of the respondents (57.1%) had attended a wedding once, while 12.5% had done so more than once. Very similar answers appeared for the next question, concerning Polish baptisms. In this case, 57.1% of the respondents also declared attending such a ceremony once and 10.7% multiple times. The exact figures are shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Participation in Polish baptisms

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	once	32	57,1	57,1	57,1
	no	18	32,1	32,1	89,3
	yes, many times	6	10,7	10,7	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

The respondents were also asked about attending Polish funerals. Their participation was less frequent than in the case of the previous ceremonies. Only 21.4% of the respondents reported that they had attended a Polish funeral once, and 3.6% stated that they had attended more than one. The detailed data is presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Participation in a Polish funeral

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	once	12	21,4	21,4	21,4
	no	42	75,0	75,0	96,4
	yes, many times	2	3,6	3,6	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

The majority of the respondents had also participated in a Roman Catholic Mass: 60.7% once and 28.6% many times. The detailed data is presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Participation in a Roman Catholic Mass

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	once	34	60,7	60,7	60,7
	no	6	10,7	10,7	71,4
	yes, many times	16	28,6	28,6	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

The data in Tables 1 to 8 shows that the immigrants had participated in Polish traditional holidays and celebrations. Weddings, baptisms and funerals are occasional celebrations, and therefore less frequent than the holidays and celebrations that we celebrate annually.

The respondents were also asked whether, as immigrants living in Poland, they celebrate their national customs and traditions. Almost 80% of the respondents answered "yes," but about a half of them declared that they also celebrate Polish holidays. The exact data is presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Cultivation of one's national customs and traditions

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	rather yes	33	58,9	58,9	58,9
	partially	3	5,4	5,4	64,3
	no	7	12,5	12,5	76,8
	rather no	2	3,6	3,6	80,4
	yes	11	19,6	19,6	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

The integration of foreigners is not only about learning the culture of the host society, but it also involves making one's Polish acquaintances aware of the customs and traditions from the immigrant's culture. The vast majority of the respondents (nearly 90%) claimed that they do so. The details are presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Making one's Polish friends familiar with the customs and traditions from one's culture

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	rather yes	32	57,1	57,1	57,1
	partially	4	7,1	7,1	64,3
	no	2	3,6	3,6	67,9
	rather no	2	3,6	3,6	71,4
	yes	16	28,6	28,6	100,0
	Total	56	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research.

Another indicator that was studied, which also has an impact on the integration of immigrants, is active participation in Polish cultural life (Polish cinema, theatre, exhibitions and concerts by Polish artists). 65% of the respondents stated that they very often or often participate in Polish cultural life. The exact data is presented in the table below.

Table 11. Participation in Polish cultural life (Polish cinema, Polish theatre, Polish exhibitions, concerts by Polish artists)

		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage of important ones	Accumulated percentage
Important	**very often**	32	57,1	57,1	57,1
	no	14	25,0	25,0	82,1
	hardly ever	5	8,9	8,9	91,1
	often	5	8,9	8,9	100,0

Source: own research.

Conclusions: Research results and pedagogical postulates

The research shows that immigrants participate in Polish traditional holidays and celebrations, while at the same time cultivating their national customs and traditions (80%). The vast majority of the respondents (nearly 90%) claimed that they make their Polish acquaintances familiar with their national culture. Likewise, 65% of the respondents said that they very often or often participate in Polish cultural life. It can therefore be concluded that this data confirms the well-functioning process of integration.

Also, in open-ended questions, the respondents described the ways in which they participated in Polish holidays, traditions, celebrations or cultural life. The most common answer was being in a relationship with a Polish partner, who naturally introduced them to Polish family traditions and invited them to participate in various celebrations together.

The results of this research and those first findings can be compared to the study I conducted 10 years ago (Sowa-Behtane 2013), which investigated the opinions of female partners of foreign men living in Poland regarding the integration of their partners. The participants in that study were married (n=32) or unmarried, i.e. cohabiting (n=8). The foreigners about whom their female partners expressed their opinions were Egyptians (n=13), Algerians (n=12), Tunisians (n=4), Indians (n=4), Nigerians (n=2), Turks (n=2) and Moroccan, Iraqi and Australian (n=1 each). The statements indicated that the women's partners had participated in Polish traditional

festivals and celebrations, and that they were also free to practice their religion and beliefs while in Poland (this was confirmed by 75% of the respondents). This research confirms that a partner from the host country is a significant person in introducing an immigrant to the traditions and cultural life of Poland.

In other cases, the respondents pointed to colleagues who took the initiative and invited them to their family homes to celebrate Christmas and Easter together, or invited them to their weddings, wedding parties or the baptisms of their children. Very often it was also employers (especially in large, international corporations) who organised celebrations such as Christmas parties for their employees in order to show foreigners the traditions of the host country. The immigrants commented that they were very keen to participate in such events. Also, various NGOs or local government organizations organize events for immigrants, which involve inviting them to participate in various celebrations with Poles.

Government organizations should also be involved in such activities. As Poland is one of the countries situated in the center of Europe, the subject of integration and dialogue with immigrants is extremely important here; as a host country, we must build integrative environments, bridge the social gaps between groups and counteract prejudice and discrimination. Social integration becomes a key tool in achieving this: it includes social groups from different nationalities, cultures and religions in the host society.

It is important to remember that by supporting immigrants we also help our society create our everyday living conditions. If we leave immigrants to their own devices, the quality of our everyday life will probably be affected in future by likely becoming increasingly multicultural. One of the sources of success in developing Poland's immigration policy is to learn interculturalism and encourage immigrants to actively and subjectively participate in the social life of the dominant culture. At the same time, as a host society, we ourselves should actively participate in their cultural life.

Bibliography

Ekspertyza podsumowująca doświadczenia teoretyczne i empiryczne nad społecznym i ekonomicznym wymiarem integracji. Moduł III. Integracja cudzoziemców w Polsce [Expert opinion on theoretical and empirical experiments on the social and economic dimension of integration], Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami. Uniwersytet Warszawski, Sierpień 2007.

Koryś I. (2022). *Integracja imigrantów a asymilacja, segregacja i marginalizacja – słowniczek podstawowych pojęć Międzynarodowa Organizacja do Spraw Migracji*, http://www.enigma.wsb.pl/debata/download/integracja_imigrantow.pdf [access: 12.12.2022].

Plewko J. (2010). "Warunki integracji imigrantów ze społeczeństwem przyjmującym w wybranych krajach Unii Europejskiej," *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych*, vol. 2, no. 38, pp. 157–180.

Sowa-Behtane E. (2013). "Integracja cudzoziemców w Polsce w opiniach ich życiowych partnerek," in B. Grochmal-Bach, A. Czyż, A. Skoczek (eds.), *Segregacja, integracja, inkluzja*, Kraków: Akademia Ignatianum, Wydawnictwo WAM, pp. 139–162.

Turowski J. (2009). *Socjologia. Małe struktury społeczne*, Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL.

Urry J. (2009). *Socjologia mobilności*, trans. J. Stawiński, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE:

Ewa Sowa-Behtane
Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow
Institute of Educational Sciences
e-mail: ewa.sowa@ignatianum.edu.pl

Reviews | Recenzje

Rev. Cyprian Rogowski
ORCID: 0000-0002-7382-2203
Universität Vechta, Deutschland

Religiousness and Morality in the Face of Challenges From Social and Cultural Pluralism

Janusz Mariański, *Pluralizm społeczno-kulturowy jako megatrend a religijność i moralność. Studium socjologiczne* [Social and Cultural Pluralism as a Megatrend vs. Religiousness and Morality: A Sociological Study], Wyższa Szkoła Nauk Społecznych z siedzibą w Lublinie, Lublin 2022, 266 pages

Before I discuss the monograph by the priest and professor Janusz Mariański, I first make a general reflection related to the issues in the book. For a long time, it has been assumed that religion will gradually lose its meaning (in the course of modernization), especially as a result of the processes of differentiation and rationalization, and that it will finally disappear. This thesis of secularization was based on the observation that the functional differentiation of social subsystems was increasingly separating the secular and religious spheres, and that the Church was thus losing more and more social power and influence. Consequently, the social structure ceased to be legitimized by religious interpretations, meaning that it was slowly losing relevance. When using the term "religion," as is customary in the sociology of religion, one

must be aware of the diversity of religious traditions and communities, which are the categories that assume both sociocultural and religious pluralism.

The phenomenon of individual religious orientation in modernity has meant the loss of a uniform religious interpretation of the world that applied to all members of a given society. Moreover, the rationalization that took place resulted in a "disenchantment of the world." Man as an autonomous subject, as *homo faber*, was placed at the center of the understanding of himself and the world instead of the divine order. With scientific progress, religious dogmas and interpretations of the world were questioned, as a result of which religion was presented to science and modernity as something irrational. This change in mentality was accompanied by numerous resignations from the Church in the West, a steady decline in worship attendance, and an increasingly indifferent attitude or even rejection of religious beliefs and moral norms.

For the past two decades, however, there have been growing doubts and protests against the theory of secularization in the sense of an apparent decline of religion. The decrease in ecclesialization cannot be equated with a decline of religion and the concept of religion cannot be narrowed down to "ecclesiality," especially as this would reinforce the defining power of the Church as an institution. Thomas Luckmann has even described the secularization theory as a modern myth that hides religious change more than it describes it. And here the climate change in religion was announced: Luckmann's neologism, "new religious movements," has become a widely accepted term for the central issue. In this way, we can notice that religions are still practiced, but in new, individualized forms and within relevant groupings. In this sense, we are dealing with "invisible or hidden religions." More and more people are "remaking" various elements of different religious traditions into forms of "their own God" within a new spiritual culture. Expanding the notion of religion, a difference is increasingly being recognized between an institutionally specified (Christian) religion and the often unspecified religiousness of the individual. It is important to point out here, however, the Eurocentrism that characterizes this way of thinking, since "postmodern" or individualized, de-Christianized religiousness is familiar in other traditions. The key question is whether the individualization described

casts doubt on the epoch of modernity as such, both in the sense of intellectual and social history, or whether it is merely an erroneous (reduced) picture of it.

Sociologists adopt different perspectives in describing contemporary society; there is no all-encompassing theory of society accepted by all, but rather, depending on one's perspective, one speaks, for example, of a "risk society," an "experience society," or even a "post-modern society." Alongside the discussion of what is typical of contemporary society, there is, above all, no dispute over the socio-philosophical question of whether another, second modernity continues or should complete the "Enlightenment project," or whether modernity has been or should be abandoned and replaced by so-called postmodernity.

These scholarly considerations are within a very valuable book written by Janusz Mariański, entitled *Social and Cultural Pluralism as a Megatrend and Religiousness and Morality: A Sociological Study.* The monograph is a comprehensive sociological study. In his introduction, the author rightly draws our attention to the issues which correspond closely with the title of the publication, that contemporary societies in the globalized world are becoming pluralistic in both sociocultural and religious dimensions. In traditional societies, as Mariański points out, religions functioned as a kind of monopoly. People lived in environments that were homogeneous in terms of religion or worldview. Religious institutions played a significant role and enjoyed authority in the lives of individuals, social groups, and society as a whole. In terms of worldviews, contemporary societies are diverse. A pluralism of religious attitudes and permissiveness in terms of moral attitudes is clear. As the author of the publication emphasizes, for many people pluralism as such is a kind of "creed" and religion.

All three chapters of the publication under review are very coherent in terms of the subject and methodology. In the first chapter, entitled "Pluralistic Society Between Tradition and Changing Modernity," the author focuses on the dynamics and mobility of contemporary societies. In a pluralistic postmodern world, everything undergoes constant changes, making nothing certain. The relatively unrestricted cooperation and competition of different meaning systems and meanings, as well as groups and social institutions, leads to far-reaching sociocultural and religious transformations. Past

experience shows that in traditional societies, tradition and customs exerted a strong influence on the lives of individuals. Values and ethics provided people with the correct direction, showing them how to live and how to behave. Nowadays, however, to a much greater extent each person can shape their lives on their own.

An open, informative, and pluralistic society is today approaching the state of an individualistic society. Such societies are characterized by an individualistic understanding of values and a subjectivization of lifestyles, worldviews, and morality. Skepticism about the valid, common ideals is widespread in such societies, as well as relativism in matters of religion and religiousness, and often even moral nihilism. In this chapter, Mariański provides the general characteristics of a pluralistic society and analyzes in detail the phenomenon of sociocultural pluralism in societies of liquid modernity or postmodernity. A modern pluralist society is characterized by a far-reaching differentiation of individual areas of life, which include the economy, politics, education, leisure, healthcare, culture, morality, and religion. These areas even form autonomous structural systems with their own codes of conduct and laws, as well as their own logics of action and rationality. This reality of social life consequently leads to individuals being confronted with different, sometimes conflicting obligations.

In his concluding remarks to this chapter, Mariański also draws constructive conclusions based on the literature on the subject. He rightly observes that the transformations taking place in postmodern society cannot consist in an absolute negation of traditional society, as such an approach would entail enormous risks. In fact, as he points out, we are dealing with a kind of coexistence of modernity and tradition, with a fluctuation between the traditional and the modern shape of society. There is no doubt that modern pluralistic societies, while posing many dangers and threats, also offer the opportunity for significant progress and improvement. Pluralism itself, as a feature of modern or postmodern society, especially in its radical forms, is judged by some as an ambivalent or even negative phenomenon and by others as a positive one, because it abolishes former coercive and totalitarian tendencies. The individual, according to the proponents of the latter, can feel "liberated." Here, however, the question should be raised as to the hermeneutical sense of this alleged "liberation" of the human being.

The second chapter, entitled "Sociocultural Pluralism vs. Religion and Religiousness," tackles the decomposition (deregulation) of the religious tradition in the conditions of modernity, and especially postmodernity. In it, the author discusses the issue of the changing relations of sociocultural pluralism, in terms of both religion and religiousness. Mariański emphasizes that in a pluralistic society, religious, moral, and cultural definitions of reality lose their status of certainty and become a matter of free choice. The development of social and cultural pluralism enhances the process of individualization, which also includes religion. As the author points out, sociologists do not agree about the impact of sociocultural and religious pluralism on the ongoing changes in religiousness in contemporary societies. Some of them assume that the formation of a diverse religious scene and competition in the "religion market" may even lead to the revival of the Christian faith, or at least a change in the level of religiousness.

Experts in the field emphasize that religious authorities are losing their importance, while religiousness is influenced by individual consciousness and is linked to the personal experience of an individual. Therefore, orthodoxy is not important; what matters is preference and option. Professing a faith or belonging to a particular religion does not necessarily mean remaining in it for life. The American sociologist Peter Berger, whom Mariański often cites in his monograph, points out that in North America, as well as in Europe, pluralism has transformed religion in both institutional and individual perspectives. Religious institutions, which are used to their monopoly, have to find a way to survive in a competitive religious market. As a result, individuals have to make choices within this religious market. In this context, Berger emphasizes that, at the level of individual consciousness, this means that religion is no longer transparent, but becomes—like an increasing part of the tradition that shapes us—an object of reflection and decision.

Although many postmodern societies can be described as religiously pluralized societies, it is no longer proper to call them secularized societies. The boundaries between religion and secularism run in different ways in different modernizing or modernized societies. The relationships between religious pluralism and secularity are also different in these societies. In Western European countries, a cultural and religious plurality of identity has been spreading since the 1960s,

while the overall level of religiousness, as measured by formal membership in churches, participation in religious practices, and declared religious beliefs, has been declining over the same period. Empirical studies conducted by Detlef Pollack demonstrate that religious pluralism weakens the vitality of religious communities. This does not contradict the thesis that the commitment of minority believers can be stronger than when they are in the majority. In general, the impact of pluralism on religious issues tends to be negative.

In the summary of this chapter, Mariański makes a very interesting observation, claiming that the Church, in the face of the trends characteristic of postmodern societies described above, is not without opportunities. Although he does not have the tools to provide appropriate therapeutic prescriptions, he can make some suggestions and recommendations. Above all, he recommends abandoning ad hoc reactions to changes in society and complacency with the existing solutions ("we have always done it this way"). The belief that the Church has always been able to solve its problems effectively by traditional means may prove to be ineffective. A new development strategy favoring a so-called ministry of communication ("Kommunikationspastoral"), which consists of seeking new forms of influence and action within the framework of an offensive ministry, can be useful for the Church. In these new social spaces, the Church must be in constructive dialogue with the modern world and it must punctually and adequately read the signs of the times in the kairological dimension, but this must not be an uncritical adaptation to the requirements and expectations of the times.

In the third chapter, entitled "Sociocultural Pluralism and Morality," Mariański analyzes the modernization processes entailing rapid social change. These are associated with a shift from a "world of fate" to a "world of choice," from absolute commands to relatively unlimited possible choices. The almost unlimited growth of technological and institutional possibilities has resulted in the fact that the entire biography of human life is no longer the product of "fate" or "destiny," but the object of individual decisions. The pluralization of human life means, on the one hand, an expansion of the "space" of freedom and a sense of liberation from sociocultural compulsions and, on the other hand, a sense of insecurity associated with the abandonment of stable

values and norms. This is also associated with disorientation about the right forms of thinking and acting, and with other difficulties.

In Western Europe, an accelerated process of secularization has been evident in recent decades. There has been an increasing de-Christianization and an elimination of *sacrum* from social life and cultural products. There is no longer a single system of values and norms in postmodern societies. A manifestation of the postmodern attitude is the questioning and rejection of all norms of an absolute and objective nature. Good and evil as objective categories make no sense. The negation of traditional moral values, especially those originating from religion, reaches all social groups (particularly the youth), even if this does not always mean an attitude according to which all values are equal or that one should live without rules, in axiological chaos.

The changes taking place in postmodern society also mean further secularization and individualization of attitudes toward life. The choice of individual values depends on one's own interests and preferences. There is no longer a uniform moral order in modern societies. Pluralism results in the relativization of traditional normative orientations; an individualized lifestyle of self-fulfillment becomes the most important goal of the individual. It should be noted that the Catholic Church is also influenced by pluralism in its various layers, which was clearly reflected in the teachings of the Second Vatican Council. Therefore, in the process of evangelizing all cultures, the Church and theology today face new tasks. In particular, it is a question of new insights, of opening up to what is new. In this context, it is worth quoting the reflections of Stefan Swieżawski on openness and tolerance, whom Władysław Tatarkiewicz called a philosopher of the cultural borderlands. His philosophical writings boiled down to the thesis that the assimilation of identity-shaping content should take place in the process of intercultural education, with an openness to the values present in different types of borderland environments.

The axiological richness of multiculturalism makes it possible, through appropriate education, to overcome many barriers and leads to new dimensions of reality. Only then can one speak of an adequate transmission of faith if one takes care of the greater right of human subjectivity. This process is not possible without educational values and objective cultural goods. It must be remembered, however, that

neither objective culture, as the sum of cultural values, and subjective culture, as the process of educating individuals and specific groups, provide a ready pattern in this matter. All these values are rooted in historical traditions and their existence depends on the relationships that take place between objective and subjective culture. Morality, too—as one of the factors of culture growing or weakening—depends on the condition of a given culture.

Mariański has already addressed these issues in his earlier books (*Socjologia moralności* [*The Sociology of Morality*], [Lublin 2006], *Społeczeństwo i moralność. Studia z katolickiej nauki społecznej i socjologii moralności* [Society and Morality: Studies in the Catholic Social Teaching and Sociology of Morality], [Tarnów 2008], and *Moralność w kontekście społecznym* [Morality in the Social Context], [Kraków 2014]). These are the author's constructive reflections on the study of moral issues from a sociological perspective, but they are also very important to the academic discourse within education in its broadest sense. There is no doubt that the phenomenon of moral degradation is noticeable in highly developed civilizations, but objective cultures cannot be changed or inhibited subjectively. This problem is also closely linked to moral education assuming the category of self-education, which, in turn, does not mean that this happens without interaction with the outside world. Using another term in this context, namely "moral pedagogy," we mean a description of the entire process of moral upbringing with all possible appropriate means and methods for this process. While analyzing the issue—society and morality in the context of Catholic social teaching—Mariański shows the Church as an institution that supports citizens. He refers to the important thesis that "a Church that refrains from direct interference in the functioning of the political society can actively participate in the public sphere of the civil society."

In his teaching, Pope John Paul II emphasized that the Church should act so that the nation can effectively resist those tendencies of modern civilization which suggest abandoning spiritual values in favor of unlimited consumption or the abandonment of traditional religious and moral values for a secular culture and ethical relativism. In turn, Pope Benedict XVI, speaking about the crisis of education, pointed out that relativism is seen as dogma. It comes to the point where a society living in a culture of relativism very often makes it

a supreme value. In the age of constant change and ever-changing reality, Christians are faced with the need to make choices between values and pseudo-values. It should be emphasized here that the lack of the light of faith in society contributes to the emergence of various doubts, including the question of the meaning of human life. In the face of such phenomena, all educational actors, starting with the family, face a huge challenge, as otherwise the perceived crisis of upbringing may cause a further breakdown of basic values.

To conclude the third chapter, "Sociocultural Pluralism and Morality," it is important to focus on one aspect which Mariański clearly points out: that morality is also visible in the constitution of public institutions (family, property, etc.) and, ultimately, in the economic, social, political, and cultural order. Morality creates an order—by no means free of internal tensions—which is binding on individuals, small and large groups, and entire cultural circles and which constitutes the distinction between belonging and alienation. The social function of morality is to be able to live according to moral principles and to judge the behavior of other people according to these moral norms.

Sociocultural pluralism and the associated religious pluralism do not necessarily threaten religiousness associated with and shaped by the churches, although they undoubtedly pose important challenges to such religiousness. Religious pluralism and the associated subjectivization of faith can also lead to a more conscious commitment to and responsibility for religious values and norms in everyday life. It can be a threat to traditional religiousness that is not based on personal reflection and experience, but it can also be an opportunity for inner, personal, and experienced religiousness, including one with ecclesiastical references.

In Western sociology, there is an ongoing debate about progressive secularization, but also about the megatrend of religion, about a new re-spiritualization, a new spirituality, new forms and ways of expressing religion outside of churches. On the one hand, the traditional Christian churches are facing a multiform crisis, while on the other hand, religiousness and spirituality outside of churches is experiencing a kind of boom. One could say, as the author also points out in the conclusion of the book, that Western societies are being de-Christianized, but are not irreligious: they are religious in

a different way. Sociologists describe contemporary trends as a crisis or decline of the traditional churches, but they also notice the reality of a rebirth of *sacrum* in non-institutional forms. In analyzing these phenomena, they speak of new opportunities for spirituality in a globalizing world.

In conclusion, it should be stated once again that Mariański's latest publication contains a wealth of extremely substantive and constructive analyses around the issues it raises, together with relevant conclusions for the development of interdisciplinary theory and practice. The author has undoubtedly enriched the publishing market in Poland with his research. The bibliography, especially foreign, is also impressive, bringing us closer to the latest thinking in the available literature on the subject.

Prof. Janusz Mariański, an outstanding expert in the fields of sociology of religion and morality and Catholic social teaching of the Church, is an unquestionable authority in Poland and in Western European circles. I recommend his monograph, above all, to students of the social sciences and humanities, students of theology, especially catechetics and the pedagogy of religion, and to all representatives of various educational subjects who face the challenges of sociocultural and religious pluralism.

ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE:

Rev. Cyprian Rogowski
Universität Vechta, Deutschland
Institut für Katholische Theologie
e-mail: cyprianrogowski@wp.pl

W ł a d y s ł a w a   S z u l a k i e w i c z
ORCID: 0000-0001-8614-2955
Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow

The History of the Scientist's Life and the Scientific Community

Stefan Kieniewicz, *Pamiętniki* [*Memoirs*].
Prepared for printing by Jan Kieniewicz,
Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2021, 748 pages

May 2022 marked the 30th anniversary of the death of Stefan Kieniewicz, a great historian, scholar, and distinguished organizer of and participant in scientific life in Poland in the early post-war years and the second half of the 20th century. The life of this scholar was written down and described in *Pamiętniki* [*Memoirs*], published by his son, Jan Kieniewicz, also a professor.[1] At the very beginning of our considerations, it is worth mentioning two matters related to the publication and value of this egodocument. On May 7, 2022, the Polityka History Awards for 2021 were granted. In the "Memoirs and Recollections" category, the award went to Professor Jan Kieniewicz for his edition of Stefan Kieniewicz's *Memoirs*.[2] Moreover, the content of *Memoirs* is connected with the

---

1   Jan Kieniewicz – born in 1938, historian and diplomat
2   "Nagrody Historyczne *Polityki* 2022 – laureaci," wydawca.com.pl, 18.05.2022, https://wydawca.com.pl/2022/05/18/nagrody-historyczne-polityki-2022-laureaci/ [access: 25.07.2022]

letters between Stefan Kieniewicz and Henryk Wereszycki that were published by Elżbieta Orman in 2013 under the title *Stefan Kieniewicz – Henryk Wereszycki. Korespondencja z lat 1947–1990* [Stefan Kieniewicz–Henryk Wereszycki: Letters from 1947–1990].[3]

Who was the author of the memoirs? Let us present some facts from his life. Stefan Kieniewicz (Rawicz coat-of-arms) was born in 1907 in Dereszewicze (now in the territory of Belarus). He studied history at the University of Poznań from 1925 to 1930; then he studied at the University of Warsaw from 1932 to 1934 and did supplementary studies in Vienna and Paris. In 1934, he obtained a doctoral degree at the University of Warsaw for his thesis entitled *Społeczeństwo polskie w powstaniu poznańskim 1848 roku* [Polish Society in the Poznań Uprising of 1848], written under the supervision of Marceli Handelsman. Initially, he was professionally attached to the Treasury Archive in Warsaw (1937–1944). During the war, he was active in the Office of Information and Propaganda of the Home Army Headquarters. Wounded in the Warsaw Uprising, he was sent to concentration camps in Baden and Württemberg. After the war, he worked at the University of Warsaw and the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN). He held numerous positions at these institutions, including director of the Department of Modern Polish History (1946–1953),[4] dean of the Faculty of History (1953–1955), and deputy director of the Institute of History of PAN (1953–1968) (Śródka 1995: 191–192). He was also an editor of *Historical Quarterly* (1952–1992) and the chairman of the Committee of Historical Sciences of PAN (1968–1984). Kieniewicz educated a lot of great students and outstanding researchers of the past. His students included prominent historians such as Ryszard Bender, Jerzy Skowronek, Wiktoria Śliwkowska, and Daniel Olszewski (Śródka 1995: 192).

Andrzej Śródka distinguished the following aspects of Kieniewicz's research: the modern political history of Poland, the modern history of Polish cities, historical editing, and the history of culture (Śródka 1995: 192). We should add to this list historical

---

3   Rafał Stobiecki published an enthusiastic review of this publication in *Historical Quarterly*, see the Bibliography.

4   The names of the departments he managed changed in later years.

biography—monographs and biographies which Kieniewicz published in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary]. An important part of his publishing work was editing sources.[5]

In this brief description, it is impossible to discuss all his many works in detail,[6] so I will only emphasize one of his texts on ethics in historical research. Kieniewicz stated that the main principle that should guide the historian is truth. He wrote that "a historian should, in his research, seek the truth, but he is still at risk of distorting this truth: whether under the influence of his own beliefs and superstitions or under the influence of external influences" (Kieniewicz 1972: 520). The search for truth in the research on the past is a difficult duty of the historian, because, according to Kieniewicz, "the historian has his own main duty: to do justice to the past world. He has a sense of his own fallibility. He knows that everything he learns about the distant and more recent past is just an extract of the reality of the time, viewed in a distorted mirror of our own and our entire generation's prejudices. But we are firmly convinced that we know how – that we should know how – to reduce the degree of this distortion; in other words, to get closer to the truth" (Kieniewicz 1972: 526).

Turning to a brief discussion of *Memoirs*, which is 748 pages long, it should be said that Kieniewicz recounts his life with unusual conscientiousness and openness, beginning with his childhood and continuing through the successive stages of his life, which sometimes took place in difficult political realities.[7] In this story, the reader will learn about his scientific path, the ethical principles he applied in life and science, and his cooperation with the scientific community. Kieniewicz also tells us how he combined scientific research with teaching and organizational/scientific activity, both in the inter-war

---

5   The first publication by this author which I read while dealing with the history of education in Galicia was a selection of texts called *Galicja w dobie autonomicznej (1850–1914)* [Galicia in the Time of Autonomy (1850–1914)]. I have to admit that it was a great book that introduced me to the history of Galicia.

6   The meaning of Kieniewicz's output was discussed in Szwarc (2010).

7   *Memoirs* includes 748 pages and consists of six parts: (I) Memoirs of Late Adolescence, (II) Memoirs from the Years of Late Adolescence, (III) Continuation – Memoirs from the Years of Late Adolescence, (IV) Memoirs from 1939–1945, (V) Memoirs from 1945–1955: Kraków–Milanówek, and (VI) Missing Link: 1955–1961.

years and after the war. All in all, in the contents of *Memoirs* we can find descriptions of important scientific events in his life and the functions he performed in various scientific institutions. Apart from his scientific life, there are also quite a few references to his family life, i.e., his parents, his wife Zofia, his children, and other members of the Kieniewicz and Sobański families.[8] The sections of *Memoirs* that describe the Warsaw Uprising and his time in the concentration camps (Kieniewicz 2021: 357–424) are very sad. The kind of man he was, despite such traumatic experiences during the war, is confirmed when he writes about

> my seven-month captivity, which I experienced like a nightmare, but which I must judge as lighter in comparison with the fate of many, many thousands of prisoners, even those who survived. Behind the wires I also experienced numerous proofs of God's care, and signs of human kindness… After the war, I never thought of making a profit with my 'martyrdom'; I did not, for example, join ZBoWiD [the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, controlled by the communist party]. (Kieniewicz 2021: 423–424)

With regard to Kieniewicz's academic path, it is worth describing his studies at the University of Poznań, where he listened to lectures or participated in seminars by Bronisław Dembiński, Adam Skałkowski, Józef Paczkowski, Leon Białkowski, Zygmunt Zakrzewski, and others, and where he met many younger students of science who later became distinguished professors, such as Zdzisław Grot (Kieniewicz 2021: 131–163). The period during which he wrote his master's thesis at Skałkowski's seminar was exceptionally memorable. All in all, it can be said that he recorded a great deal of interesting information about the scientific circles of the University of Poznań. He recalled those times not only from the perspective of didactic activities, but also from the perspective of the pros and cons of student life. It should be added that the Fourth General Congress of Polish Historians was held in Poznań at that time, which Kieniewicz was also able to attend; he appreciated listening to the lectures and discussions of scholars (Kieniewicz 2021: 139). Another important event was his habilitation at the Jagiellonian University in 1946 (Kieniewicz 2021: 361–463). According to his notes,

---

8   The family of his wife, Zofia

it was attended by such well-known scholars as Roman Grodecki, Władysław Konopczyński, Henryk Mościcki, Józef Feldman, Jan Dąbrowski, and Franciszek Bujak. The next stage of his scientific path included trying to become a professor. Kieniewicz's recollection of the event is worth quoting:

> The thing passed through the faculty and the Senate, but was obviously analyzed at the meetings of the party. Someone probably raised an objection—Kieniewicz writes for the Catholic press—to which Arnold[9] stepped forward in my defense: 'It is not important for whom Kieniewicz writes, but what he writes.' Repeating this exchange to me, Manteuffel advised me to stop appearing in the designated weeklies until my appointment" (Kieniewicz 2021: 520)

The description of this historian's successive academic promotions shows that their attainment did not guarantee, as is sometimes the case today, the attainment of a university chair or even academic stability (Kieniewicz 2021: 464–468). The portrayal of Kieniewicz's adventures in the search for stability may be important for the contemporary reader in terms of overcoming the hardships of academic development.

His further scientific maturation also included participation in scientific conventions, which, according to his notes, he attended with unusual focus and interest, getting to know the historians. In the post-war period, these included congresses in Wrocław and Krakow (he participated in the latter).[10] A lot of information about the circle of historians is described in the 8th Congress of History in Krakow, which he helped organize and during which he delivered a lecture (Kieniewicz 2021: 679–683). Importantly, he also took foreign scientific trips (to Rome, Palermo, Prague, Berlin, and Oxford), the circumstances and course of which he sometimes reconstructed in detail. No less important in Kieniewicz's scientific life was his cooperation with the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU) (Historical Commission), the Polish Biographical Dictionary, and the Polish Historical Society (PTH). It was the PAU and the PTH that supervised and supported many events and historical research

---

9   Stanisław Arnold (1895–1973) – historian and professor of the University of Warsaw

10   This refers to the 7th Congress in Wrocław on 19–22 September 1948, and the 8th Congress in Krakow, held 14–17 September 1958.

projects. Kieniewicz admits the importance of the annual conventions of the PTH, which were held in various Polish cities. The stories about scientific events, with simultaneous presentation of their participants, show the scientists not only scientifically, but also with a humorous view of their attitudes or statements. In essence, they show them in life and science. Let two brief recollections of PTH conventions serve as examples. Kieniewicz recalls that in 1949, during the convention at the Paulinum Palace in Jelenia Góra, Professor Celina Bobińska[11] tried to encourage Fr. Mieczysław Żywczyński to convert to Marxism. During the next convention in Łagów Castle in 1950, Aleksander Gieysztor[12] recited a sample of socialist realist poetry:

Już buja motyl, pachnie kwiat	The butterflies flies and flower blooms
I słowik wygrywa trele.	and the nightingale is singing his songs
Ach, jak piękny jest ten świat –	oh what beautiful this world is
Ze związkiem Radzieckim na czele.	with the Soviet Union in the lead.

(Kieniewicz 2021: 547)

A particularly busy period in Kieniewicz's life was the years in which he worked at both the University of Warsaw and the Institute of History of the PAN. His account of scientific and organizational work was combined with a description of his teaching work. He recalls his seminars with emotion, writing as follows about his doctoral seminar: "I enjoyed my Monday doctoral seminars, which were dominated by volunteers who were not affiliated with either the University nor the Academy, but they were almost hobbyists of historical science" (Kieniewicz 2021: 644). Further on, in his descriptions of his life, Kieniewicz gives their names, indicating those who later contributed to the field of history. In addition to these duties, Kieniewicz was also an editor of *Przegląd Historyczny* [Historical

---

11   Celina Bobińska (1913–1997) – historian and communist activist

12   Aleksander Gieysztor (1916–1999) – medieval historian, professor at University of Warsaw, and member of PAN

Review] for 40 years, as already mentioned, and he participated in the meetings of the Central Qualification Commission for Science Employees.[13] Kieniewicz wrote as follows about his work as editor of *Przegląd Historyczny*:

> I had a difficult and unpleasant affair connected with the editing of the Review.… I was worrying and sleeping badly. The fact that for nearly forty years I managed to maintain peace in the editorial board of the *Historical Review* was one of my more serious achievements in life. (Kieniewicz 2021: 654)

The meetings of the Central Qualification Commission, on the other hand, were, in his opinion, even more difficult, not only because of the long meetings held twice a month, but because of the style of work and the multitude of complicated (usually more than 90) cases at each meeting. Regarding the subject of the body's work, he writes that

> there was a dispute at the time about the academic titles of persons not connected with universities (museums, libraries, archives, scientific institutes, etc.). I was joking that, in institutes, the lowest-ranking employee will be given the title of '*szperacz*' [explorer], the medium-ranking employee '*badacz*' [researcher], and the highest-ranking employee '*ustawiacz*' [setter]. (Kieniewicz 2021: 655)

In his diary entries, he also noted the work on the creation of his subsequent academic publications. He devoted a lot of space in his *Memoirs* to the story behind a comprehensive book entitled *Adam Sapieha (1828–1903)* (Kieniewicz 1938).

Kieniewicz's notes concerning the rebuilding of university life, the institutionalization of science, and the practice of history are particularly valuable, not only for the reconstruction of his own biography, but also for documenting the revival of universities and university life after World War II. The discussions recorded in *Memoirs* during scientific conventions—exchanges between scholars on scientific issues during meetings at scientific institutions where he worked, or even during promotion meetings such as habilitation colloquia—present

---

13   The body was created in 1951. For more on its tasks and further formulas of functioning in national bodies, such as the Central Commission in charge of Degrees and Titles, which was well-known and functioning from 1990 to 2020, see Izdebski (2020).

a picture of post-war science in the political realities of the time. Descriptions of these events, as well as of workplaces and cooperation, led to scholars, in particular from the University of Poznań (since 1955, called Adam Mickiewicz University), Warsaw University, Jagiellonian University, and the Institute of History of the PAN, being recorded in the pages of *Memoirs*. With an excellent culture of expression, Kieniewicz presented the relations among the scholars of these universities and the Institute of History of PAN, as well as the editors of *Przegląd Historyczny*.

Kieniewicz's *Memoirs* is a unique document which portrays the story of not only one scholar, but also of various circles. His rich life story and links with many scientific institutions resulted in the fact that the scholars who made up the post-war scientific, mainly historical, community were recorded in his *Memoirs*. Even a cursory glance at the index of names in the book (pp. 719–744) testifies to the size of the group with which Kieniewicz associated. Kieniewicz illustrates the difficult periods of his life and exemplifies the lives of scholars during the war and occupation, and in the Stalinist period. Those were the times when, as a scholar, he had to make choices. His notes show that he distanced himself from many events, and, as a historian, he encouraged the search for the truth about the past, in line with his principles. Reading Kieniewicz's *Memoirs* allows the reader to encounter the unique and bygone world of the intelligentsia of the inter-war years, the Second World War, and the post-war period, whose achievements we enjoy today. And it is worth being aware of this and remembering it.

Bibliography

Izdebski H. (2020). *Centralna Komisja do Spraw Stopni i Tytułów oraz poprzedzające ją organy. Podstawy prawne i działalność*, Warszawa: Centralna Komisja do Spraw Stopni i Tytułów.

Kieniewicz S. (1938). *Adam Sapieha (1828–1903)*, Lwów: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.

Kieniewicz S.(1952). *Galicja w dobie autonomicznej (1850–1914). Wybór tekstów w opracowaniu Stefana Kieniewicza*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich.

Kieniewicz S. (1974). "O etyce zawodu historyka," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 3, pp. 517–528.

Kieniewicz S. (2021). *Pamiętniki. Do druku przygotował J. Kieniewicz*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak.

"Nagrody Historyczne *Polityki* 2022 – laureaci," wydawca.com.pl, 18.05.2022, https://wydawca.com.pl/2022/05/18/nagrody-historyczne--polityki-2022-laureaci/ [access: 25.07.2022].

Stefan Kieniewicz – Henryk Wereszycki. Korespondencja z lat 1947–1990. Wstęp i opracowanie E. Orman (2013). Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, Instytut Historii Nauki PAN.

Stobiecki R. (2015). "Niezwykła epistolografia. O korespondencji Stefana Kieniewicza i Henryka Wereszyckiego," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 3, pp. 553–564.

Szwarc A. (ed.) (2010). *Stefan Kieniewicz. Historyk i jego dziedzictwo w polskiej historiografii*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG.

Śródka A. (1995). "Kieniewicz Stefan," in *Uczeni polscy XIX–XX stulecia*, vol. 2: *H–Ł*, Warszawa: Agencja Wydawnicza Aries, pp. 191–194.

ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE:

Władysława Szulakiewicz
Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow
Institute of Educational Sciences
e-mail: wladyslawa.szulakiewicz@ignatianum.edu.pl

Editorial plans

- 2023, vol. 26, nr 2: Pedagodzy o nowych uzależnieniach [Educators About New Addictions]
  Papers submission deadline: 28.02.2023

- 2023, vol. 26, nr 3: Starzenie się społeczeństw [Aging Populations]
  Papers submission deadline: 30.04.2023

- 2023, vol. 26, nr 4: Edukacja i religia [Education and Religion]
  Papers submission deadline: 30.06.2023

- 2024, vol. 27, no. 1: Resilience in Our Society: How to Build Opportunities For Growth [issue in English]
  Papers submission deadline: 29.09.2023