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## KASHUBIANS 25 YEARS AFTER THE PROFOUND REGIME CHANGE

### THE KASHUBIAN COMMUNITY AT THE ONSET OF REGIME TRANSFORMATION: CULTURE AND IDENTITY

The first extensive sociological research on Kashubians was carried in the late 1980s. It was conducted as part of a central research programme (CPBP 09.8), the main thrust and areas of which were regional development, local development, and territorial self-government. The leader of the research team was Marek Latoszek, and the research on Kashubia was titled *Ethnicity as a Structural Factor in Local Communities*<sup>1</sup>. Research results were published in a book form in 1990<sup>2</sup> while some parts of it were published earlier<sup>3</sup>. Thus, at the onset of the profound regime change in Poland, a relatively complete sociological description of Kashubians was available, portraying that community mainly in terms of its identity and culture.

It was concluded that Kashubians were a distinctive ethnic community of a regional nature, the constitutive characteristic of which was the fact that its

“members share the sense of belonging and identification with the group, shaped on the basis of objective elements of culture (e.g. language, customs), a specific territory, their own name and shared history”. A kind of a natural “consequence of features constituting that ethnic community is that its members are aware of their distinctness” which is the basis of their own identity.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See M. Latoszek (1992), *Portret zbiorowy Kaszubów. Przyczynek do tematu*, “Pomerania” No. 11, p. 2; idem, *Uwarunkowania, charakter i cele badań socjologicznych społeczności kaszubskiej*, “Komunikaty Zarządu Głównego Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego” 25.6.1986, pp. 3-4; *Badania socjologiczne na Kaszubach*, ibidem, 15.04.1987, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> M. Latoszek (ed.) (1990), *Kaszubi. Monografia socjologiczna*, Rzeszów.

<sup>3</sup> J. Iskierski, *Kaszubskie społeczności lokalne – warianty przemian*, in: B. Jałowiecki, K. Z. Sowa, P. Dudkiewicz (eds) (1989), *Spoločności lokalne. Teraźniejszość i przyszłość*, Warszawa (abridged version titled *Kaszubi*, “Gazeta Samorządowa” 1990, No. 9, p. 12); H. Galus, M. Latoszek, *Kulturowo-etniczne, strukturalne i świadomościowe aspekty społeczności kaszubskich*, in: *Polska lokalna*, Warszawa, 1987

<sup>4</sup> B. Synak (1991), *Tożsamość kulturowo-etniczna Kaszubów a idea krajowości (regionalizmu)*, “Kultura i Społeczeństwo” No. 2, p. 84. See also idem, *Identyfikacja kulturowo-etniczna. Interpretacja pojęć i wskaźników*, “Zeszyty Naukowe UG. Filozofia i Socjologia” No. 14, Gdańsk, 1992, pp. 53-69.

The distinguishing criterion was, above all, their language. As Brunon Synak wrote:

A common and definitely the strongest cultural and ethnic ‘determinant’ of the group is the Kashubian language. Its distinctness was commonly noted by respondents and 83 percent of them were of the opinion that Kashubians ‘differ substantially’ in that respect.<sup>5</sup>

Another important finding was that their strong ethnic identification co-existed with national identification (i.e. double identity), which was also confirmed by research conducted in the 1990s:

Their strong Kashubian identification does not interfere with their clear identification with and underlining of their Polish identity. Being a Kashubian and a Pole are identities at different identification levels (the regional and national ones) but within the framework of the same universal cultural values. [...] Kashubian and Polish identities are not substitutive and thus the strengthening one of them does not have to lead to the weakening or divesting the other.<sup>6</sup>

That observation was found applicable to the entire cultural sphere and researchers concluded that complex historical and cultural processes led to a peculiar situation in Kashubia which can be described as internal pluralism, i.e.

the culture of one’s own regional and ethnic group and the culture of the dominant national community may harmoniously coexist in the awareness of an individual and – in the collective dimension – may permeate and enrich each other without destroying the autonomy, cultural distinctness, and social cohesion of the smaller ethnic group.<sup>7</sup>

In the light of that research, the Kashubian community appeared to be a relatively close-knit group, immune to assimilation processes, with a strong sense of its distinctness and, simultaneously, largely attached to the Polish national identity and with a well defined self-image. Main features of that self-stereotype included piety, diligence, attachment to the land, perseverance up to the point of stubbornness, and patriotism.<sup>8</sup> The elite of the Kashubian community was found to be relatively numerous.

#### POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS

In the Kashubian-Pomeranian movement that developed the so-called Pomeranian political thought, the main author of which was Lech Bądkowski<sup>9</sup>, topics and ideas of self-governance, self-organisation, and civic-mindedness have been always

<sup>5</sup> B. Synak (1991), *Tożsamość kaszubska – aspekty świadomościowe*, “Roczniki Socjologii Morskiej” Vol. 6, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> B. Synak (1998), *Kaszubska tożsamość. Ciągłość i zmiana*, Gdańsk, pp. 72-73.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> See J. Borzyszkowski (1988), *Świat kaszubskich wartości*, “Pomerania” No. 12, pp. 8-11; T. Bolduan (1993), *Szanse realizacji pomorskiej myśli politycznej*, “Pomerania” No. 11, pp. 2-6.

<sup>9</sup> L. Bądkowski (1990), *Pomorska myśl polityczna*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Gdynia. See also: Lech Bądkowski *a samorządna Rzeczpospolita*, “Samorząd Pomorza. Zeszyt Problemowy” 2009, No. 1.

present. This may be evidenced by the strong commitment of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association (Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie, ZKP) to the democratic transformation of the political system in Poland at large, and, above all, the involvement in the forthcoming self-governance revolution. It suffices to recall that as early as in July 1989, the Board of the ZKP announced its position concerning the future of local governments.

A profound step towards the implementation of self-governance should be a fundamental change in the political system of local authorities and their democratic election. Currently, local authorities are, in fact, but a link in the centralised State administration. Should the existence of local authorities in their current form and composition be prolonged, they will be incapable of resolving the pressing economic and social issues in towns, communes, and regions.<sup>10</sup>

The Board urged members and supporters of the Association to actively participate in the forthcoming local election campaign and to start a discussion on the direction of changes in the territorial system of the State. The issue was not only the restoration of local self-governance but also of self-governance at the regional level which had rich traditions in Pomerania.

Preparations to local elections in the Kashubian-Pomeranian community included numerous training sessions, seminars, and conferences. Most important conferences were the "Conference of Self-Governing Communities" held on 29 September 1989 which led to the formation of the Pomeranian Local Government Council (Pomorska Rada Samorządowa)<sup>11</sup> and the conference titled "Gdańsk and Pomerania in the self-governing Republic" held on 25 April 1990 in Gdańsk<sup>12</sup>.

The *Pomerania* monthly, published by the ZKP, played a very special role. Papers published in *Pomerania* in 1988-1990 could well make a bulky self-governance textbook.<sup>13</sup> Another highly important institution was the Kashubian Folk University at which many trainings for future councillors, commune leaders and town mayors were given.

The 1990 local elections and the restoration of self-governing local councils at the commune level [the lowest administrative unit] brought considerable changes not only in the management of public affairs but also in the situation of the Kashu-

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<sup>10</sup> *Samorząd terytorialny. Uchwała Prezydium ZG ZKP z 1.07.1989*, "Pomerania" 1989, No. 11, p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> *Konferencja Środowisk Samorządowych*, "Komunikaty Zarządu Głównego Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego" 15.10.1989, p. 3; S. Pestka (1989), *Powrót do normalności*, "Pomerania" No. 12, pp. 6-8.

<sup>12</sup> *Wizja samorządowego Pomorza*, "Pomerania" 1990, No. 7-8, pp. 2-6.

<sup>13</sup> The following articles may serve as examples: L. Mażewski (1989), *Ku samorządowi terytorialnemu*, "Pomerania" No. 9, pp. 23-26; idem (1989), *Własność komunalna*, "Pomerania" No. 10, pp. 6-8; idem (1989), *Nowy ustrój władz lokalnych*, "Pomerania" No. 3, pp. 16-19; idem (1989), *Samorządność lokalna*, "Pomerania" No. 6, pp. 5-7; idem (1990), *Efektywność a demokracja w zarządzaniu lokalnym*, "Pomerania" No. 1, pp. 15-17; S. Pestka (1990), *Miejsce dla wszystkich*, "Pomerania" No. 4, pp. 1-2; G. Grzelak (1990), *Samorząd regionalny*, "Pomerania" No. 11-12, p. 27.

bian community. That was also evidenced by sociological research. As many as two thirds of respondents in the survey conducted by B. Synak recognised that

“the role of Kashubians in their own communes has grown while but a fraction of respondents (as in the voivodship case) claimed that the situation has deteriorated in that respect”. The author concluded that “there is a strong sense of being appreciated among Kashubians, which is associated with the political system change”<sup>14</sup>. He also underlined that “In the current system transformation, manifestations of social and ethno-cultural revival among Kashubians strongly prevail over isolation, passivity and apathy, and that is conducive to the development of the Kashubian land and its culture. That ethnic mobilisation is primarily oriented towards resolving local economic issues and increasing efforts to maintain traditions, language, and other elements of identity as part of the broader, national [Polish] culture. It has nothing to do with a shielded or closed ethnicity, with ethnic biases or hostility towards ‘others’”<sup>15</sup>.

Thus one may argue that the political transformation of 1989-1990 launched the process described as civic empowerment and, simultaneously, provided conditions for an autonomous development of the ethnic Kashubian culture, i.e. for ethnic empowerment or agency.

#### POLITICISATION OF THE MOVEMENT

Objectives of the Kashubian movement have always been primarily of cultural nature. That was true also of the Kashubian Association founded in 1956 and renamed the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association in 1964.<sup>16</sup> In the case of the Association, its political role and its acting as the representation of the Kashubian community in the past e.g. in 1980s, were important. Poland’s democratic breakthrough provided the Kashubian community with new opportunities and the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association started to play the role of a quasi-regional political party but it must be underlined that there has never been a Kashubian political party in Kashubia.<sup>17</sup>

The new role of the Association resulted from its many assets at the onset of Poland’s profound change.<sup>18</sup> First of all, it had the experience of acting in difficult and sometimes extremely adverse circumstances for a few decades, for example under the martial law. Thus it had what turned out to be its crucial asset, i.e. a large group of educated and experienced staff and a well-developed territorial structure. It meant

<sup>14</sup> B. Synak (1993), *Kaszubskie doświadczenie przemian*, “Pomerania” No. 5, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 26.

<sup>16</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński (2006), *Zjednoczeni w idei. Pięćdziesiąt lat działalności Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego (1956-2006)*, Gdańsk.

<sup>17</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Między kulturą a polityką Przypadek Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego*, in: J. Kurczewski (ed.) (2007), *Lokalne wzory kultury politycznej. Szkice ogólne i opracowania monograficzne*, Warszawa, pp. 325-344.

<sup>18</sup> For more comprehensive analysis, see: C. Obracht-Prondzyński (2002), *Ku samorządnemu Pomorzu. Szkice o kształtowaniu się ładu demokratycznego*, Gdańsk, chapter *Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie a lokalna i regionalna scena polityczna*, pp. 525-615.

that the Association was deeply embedded in the region in contrast to a number of newly-emerged political elites. Hence, the Association was an effective instrument for organising political support and even for mobilising voters. The latter proved useful not only during local election campaigns but also in the 1991 elections to the Parliament in which the ZKP candidate won a seat in the Senate<sup>19</sup>. In addition, local leaders associated with the ZKP enjoyed high authority and were not anonymous.<sup>20</sup> Finally, the organisation had its own press. First of all, it published the *Pomerania* monthly which impacted people's opinions<sup>21</sup>, but also a number of local bulletins.<sup>22</sup> The Association had a wide network of contacts in various circles, good relations with the Church (at the level of the diocese and parishes), a clearly defined ideological programme and relatively considerable flexibility in adapting itself to new conditions. Moreover, in the past, the Association was not part of former structures of power and thus it did not have to deal with internal mistrust which always led to conflicts elsewhere.

When analysing the structure, objectives, and activities of the ZKP, one can conclude that it represents the type of regional movements which are

a form of articulation of group interests within civil society; their aim is not to abolish the nation-State but to modify its self-governance, to deconstruct the authority of government, to decentralise the State, and to accelerate growth by releasing social energy.<sup>23</sup>

Marek Latoszek rightly identified the programme and organisational formula of the ZKP as “three Ps”, i.e. pragmatism, professionalism and politicisation.<sup>24</sup>

In the following years, the participation of that community in political life was characterised by the following elements:

- Resignation from their own candidate lists in elections at regional and national levels. (That decision was taken after the successful attempt in 1991 and the unsuccessful attempt in 1993 in elections to the Senate of the Republic of Poland). Simultaneously, the ZKP decided to take advantage of the opportu-

<sup>19</sup> The candidate was prof. Józef Borzyszkowski, the-then chairman of the ZKP and Gdańsk vice-Voivode.

<sup>20</sup> That aspect was highlighted by B. Jałowiecki, *Scena polityczna Polski lokalnej*, in: B. Jałowiecki, P. Swianiewicz (ed.) (1991), *Między nadzieją a rozczarowaniem. Samorząd terytorialny rok po wyborach*, Warszawa, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> See C. Obracht-Prondzyński (2001), “Pomerania” – kaszubsko-pomorskie zwierciadło, “Przegląd Zachodni” No. 1.

<sup>22</sup> A study of local press, in its part on the press of ethnic communities, reads: “Kashubians can boast the highest number of journals published. They published and still publish over a dozen of them. Usually, the magazines are bilingual.” W. Chorązki (1994), *Obraz niezależnej prasy lokalnej w Polsce w pierwszej połowie 1994 r.*, Kraków, p. 25.

<sup>23</sup> H. Kubiak (1994), *Region i regionalizm. Próba analizy typologicznej*, “Przegląd Polonijny” No. 1, p. 30.

<sup>24</sup> M. Latoszek, *Regionalizm w procesie przemian*, in: M. Latoszek (ed.) (1993), *Regionalizm jako folklorizm, ruch społeczny i formuła ideologiczno-polityczna*, Gdańsk, p. 9.

nity to introduce its candidates to lists of major political parties in elections to the parliament and the regional self-governing assembly (*sejmik*).

- Various forms of election campaigns in local (commune and county [poviat]) elections, including activities carried out under the ZKP name.
- In result, the ZKP has always had its strong representation in elected authorities starting from the commune level up to the parliament where the Kashubian Parliamentary Club has been very active since 2006.<sup>25</sup>
- At the same time, that representation has been always pluralised politically (including party affiliation) and ideologically. Kashubians are mostly members of political parties/elites of post-Solidarity origin. Occasionally, that pluralism led to some tensions but, at the same time, it provided an opportunity to play the role of a conciliator and negotiator (which at times was substantial) in relations between various political groups, primarily at the regional level.
- That strategy, however, gradually led to the ZKP ceasing to play the role of an autonomous, independent political entity at the regional level and, in many cases, also at the local level.
- Important was also the presence of leaders of the ZKP and of the Kashubian community in the voivodship administration and executive bodies of the Pomorskie [Pomeranian] voivodship self-governing assembly, and the same applies to poviats, towns and communes. In fact, that important presence extended to various “symbolic powers” such as higher education institutions, regional media, most important institutions of culture, and the like.

Thus, an analysis of the broadly understood regional elite in Pomerania in the last twenty-five years would reveal that the Kashubian community was strongly represented and its members performed many most significant functions (MPs, senators, voivods, chairpersons of the Executive Board of the self-governing Voivodship Assembly [*marszałek województwa*], rectors, chief editors of main media, mayors, starosts [heads of poviats]). Certainly, that contributed to raising the prestige of the community but it also led to internal debates indicating that the process of politicisation advanced too much, compromising the commitment to culture, and that political divisions resulting from party affiliations have been transferred to social and regional activities.

Nevertheless, we may conclude that that the civic empowerment has become a fact. The Kashubian community does not feel discriminated against in political life, which is relevant to the discussion about the group status of Kashubians and its legal regulation.

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<sup>25</sup> K. Kleina, *Kaszubska siła w Parlamencie*, in: K. Kleina, C. Obracht-Prondzyński (eds) (2012), *Spoleczność kaszubska w procesie przemian. Kultura – tożsamość – język*, “Zeszyty Senackie” No. 12, Warszawa, pp. 137-159.

## THE LEGAL STATUS OF KASHUBIANS

Changes in the legal status of Kashubians were, on the one hand, an effect of democratisation of the entire State system and, on the other hand, a result of frequently inconsistent decisions concerning the group status of Kashubians. In other words, legal regulations related to constitutional rights, educational and language issues, and access to the media meant that, at times, Kashubians were treated on a par with other minorities, sometimes in a separate and special way, and sometimes they took advantage of opportunities totally unrelated to ethnic issues (e.g. self-governance law).<sup>26</sup>

In that context it should be noted that from the very beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Republic of Poland, i.e. after 1989, Kashubian elites demanded an appropriate regulation of the legal status of Kashubians. The aim was to change the old situation where discrimination was not infrequent. Examples included the suspension of the *Pomerania* monthly during the martial law years and the long battle for changing that decision, the continuous refusal to grant the so-called permanent publishing rights to the ZKP, and the lack of possibility to provide Kashubian education in any form whatsoever. That is why, already in 1990, i.e. during the first meeting of Kashubians with the Sejm Committee on National and Ethnic Minorities, Kashubians postulated that in the new Constitution there should be a provision guaranteeing Kashubians their legal protection by the State. The same postulate was repeated at the next meeting with the Committee held on 22 June 1994 at the Sejm. At that meeting, the ZKP presented its activities and achievements and problems of the Kashubian community. In addition to repeating the postulate of the relevant Constitutional provision, Kashubian participants of the meeting commented on the draft law on national and ethnic minorities. (At that time, the Committee worked on the draft law prepared by the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights.) Kashubians clearly stated that they wanted to be covered by the Act. It was, however, noted that “Kashubians are strongly aware of being an ethnic and cultural group and not a national one. The word *minority*, in their case, is negatively coloured. On the other hand, their linguistic distinctness is unquestionable and needs to be legally recognised and respected.”<sup>27</sup>

The question whether to cover Kashubians under the planned parliamentary Act was a most difficult one, both due to the lack of consensus in the Kashubian community (some argued that Kashubians should not be covered under the Act because they were not a minority, while others demanded that Kashubians were recognised as a minority) and because of resistance of some politicians and civil servants who feared that the inclusion of Kashubians under the Act could set a precedent to be in-

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<sup>26</sup> S. Łodziński (2005), *Równość i różnica. Mniejszości narodowe w porządku demokratycznym w Polsce po roku 1989*, Warszawa.

<sup>27</sup> For an extensive coverage of that meeting, see S. Pestka (1994), *Spotkanie w sejmowej komisji, “Pomerania”* No. 9, pp. 1-3; *Zrzeszeniowcy w Sejmie*, “Stegna. Komunikaty ZG ZKP” June-July 1994, pp. 3-4.

voked by other regional groups. It suffices to recall the telling comment made by the then vice-Minister of Culture, Michał Jagiełło (who otherwise was very sympathetic towards Kashubians) at the meeting in 1994:

The difficulty is that the community is at the borderline between a national minority and an ethnic group. There are considerable differences between the identity awareness among Kashubians and a distinctness of Mazovians or Cracowians which, basically, is none. We cannot, however, consider Kashubians to be a national minority in the full sense and this raises legal issues.

The question is whether the issues raised should be regulated in the Act on minorities which is currently under preparation and in related regulations, or whether it suffices to strengthen communes and local governments which is the option that I support. What Kashubians expect, can be achieved not at the level of national and ethnic minorities but at the level of local cultures. What is going to help them, is a strong intellectual foundation, i.e. a numerous elite of educated people representing a wide range of professions.<sup>28</sup>

The lack of the Act on national and ethnic minorities did not mean that during that time Kashubians did not make use of other legal provisions. An example can be the fundamental change introduced by provisions of the Act on the Education System of 7 September 1991. Article 13 of the Act read that “public schools shall enable students to maintain their national, ethnic, linguistic and religious identity and, in particular, to study their language, history and culture”<sup>29</sup>. There was no doubt that the provision covering such a wide range of identity categories applied also to Kashubians, irrespective of how their identity would be defined. Provisions in related regulations narrowed the aforementioned obligations and referred to the “organisation of education enabling pupils belonging to national minorities to maintain their national, ethnic, and linguistic identity”<sup>30</sup>. Nevertheless, Kashubians were able to make use of new legal opportunities and slowly introduced Kashubian education to schools (language classes).<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, they made use of Article 21.1. 9 of the Act on Radio and Television of 29 December 1992, which read that programmes of public radio and television should “take into account needs of national minorities and ethnic groups”<sup>32</sup>. In practice, the term *ethnic group* applied to Kashubians and, with time, it was later used in a number of generally applicable legal acts, *inter alia*, in Article 2.2 of the Act on the Polish Language of 7 October 1999<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> “Biuletyn No. 640/11: Komisja Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych” No. 12, 22-06-94, <http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/Biuletyn.nsf>.

<sup>29</sup> Journal of Laws of 1991, No. 95, item 425.

<sup>30</sup> *Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 24 March 1992 on the organisation of education enabling pupils belonging to national and ethnic minorities to maintain their national, ethnic and linguistic identity*, Journal of Laws of 1992, No. 34, item 150.

<sup>31</sup> See G. Janusz, *Prawa językowe mniejszości narodowych w Polsce*, in: T. Gardocka, J. Sobczak (eds) (2010), *Prawa mniejszości narodowych*, Toruń, pp. 177-178.

<sup>32</sup> *Act of 29 December 1992 on Radio and Television*; Journal of Laws of 1993, No. 7, item 37.

<sup>33</sup> *Act of 7 October 1999 on the Polish Language*; Journal of Laws of 1999, No. 90, item 999.



The aforementioned legal regulations along with Constitutional provisions<sup>34</sup> resulted in a significantly wider public use of the Kashubian language. That was relevant in the final stage of the preparation of the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities. In fact, that Act was one of the longest debated and redrafted Acts of the Polish parliament. Finally, having considered the specificity of Kashubians, it was decided that language rights of people belonging to that community should be included in the Act in a special way, which found its reflection both in the provisions and in the very name of the Act.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, the adoption of the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language of 6 January 2005 concluded efforts aimed at regulating the status of the Kashubian language. It was the beginning of a new stage during which the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association and also Kashubian self-governments (local councils) have focused on using new opportunities provided by law to maintain and develop the Kashubian language. Such opportunities include introduction of bilingual names and of Kashubian as the auxiliary (supporting) language in qualifying communes, and grants supporting development of the Kashubian language. Such grants were awarded first by the Ministry of the Interior and Administration, and now are by the Ministry of Administration and Digitisation. Those grants include grants for specific projects and grants-in-aid supporting activities of Kashubian organisations. So far, the latter have been awarded to the ZKP and the Kashubian Institute.

Of course, the above does not mean that there are no practical problems in the application of provisions of that Act and other legal regulations. Public media are a good example. The Act on National and Regional Minorities and Regional Language has not led to an increased presence of minority issues in the public media. The ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by Poland in February 2009 raised hopes that the situation of minorities and of the regional language in public radio and television would improve. What happened, however, was the opposite. During the 6<sup>th</sup> term of the Sejm (2007-2010), the broadcast time for Kashubian programmes was substantially reduced, and the programme *Rodnô Zemìa*, broadcast since 1990, was taken off air in 2010. Unfortunately, legal regulations in that respect fail to tally with the practice.

Nevertheless, after 1989, a major and unprecedented change of the legal status of Kashubians did take place.

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<sup>34</sup> See R. Chruściak, *Konstytucjonalizacja mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych – z dyskusji nad artykułami: 35, 13 i 27 Konstytucji RP z 1997 r.*, in: T. Gardocka, J. Sobczak (eds) (2010), *Prawa mniejszości narodowych*, Toruń, pp. 103-126.

<sup>35</sup> Ł. Grzędzicki (2005), *Język w ustawie*, "Pomerania" No. 1, pp. 10-11; idem, C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Spoleczność kaszubska wobec Ustawy o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz języku regionalnym*, in: K. Kleina, C. Obracht-Prondzyński (eds), *Spoleczność kaszubska w procesie przemian. Kultura – tożsamość – język*, "Zeszyty Senackie" No. 12, pp. 105-133.

## CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE INSTITUTIONAL SPHERE

In addition to legal and political matters, the greatest changes in the transformation period took place, probably, in the institutional sphere. Kashubians entered a new democratic era with an established regional organisation (the ZKP) which had well-developed field structures and specialised agencies (*Pomerania* monthly, *Pomorania* Student Club founded in 1962, and other clubs e.g. tourist clubs), and a pretty big group of active animators representing various communities from rural to metropolitan ones, from blue-collar workers to university professors. The organisation had also its procedures, a regular “event calendar”, and skills needed to cooperate with various communities. At the same time, like all other regional associations, it faced the need to adapt to the new system, new financial and legal solutions, and new social and cultural environment.

Without pursuing a detailed analysis of the changes which took place in the Kashubian movement after 1989, it is worth noting some most important ones.<sup>36</sup>

Firstly, some significant changes occurred in the ZKP membership. Monika Mazurek’s research on the ZKP, published in 2009, demonstrated that the democratic transformation was not, in fact, followed by a decrease in the ZKP membership, which was the fate of many other social organisations founded before 1989. Quite the opposite, the ZKP has grown in terms of its size (a few thousand members) and most of its members joined it in the late 1990s or later. That proves that the ZKP continues to be an attractive organisation appealing to a considerable number of regional activists.<sup>37</sup>

At the same time, after the democratic transformation, many Kashubian activists active before 1989 got involved elsewhere: in local self-governments, politics and business, leaving the ZKP or largely reducing their involvement in that organisation. That led to changes in the leadership of the Kashubian movement. That change was also connected with the fact that a new generation, born during the democratic transformation, entered the political scene.

Secondly, in the democratic transformation period, the ZKP consolidated and grew. A number of new field units were established and some old ones went still). There were new undertakings, projects and new entities were established within the ZKP structure. Some of them were active earlier and formally joined the ZKP in the new reality. One example is the aforementioned Kashubian Folk University (Kaszubski Uniwersytet Ludowy, KUL) established in 1982 in Wieżyca.<sup>38</sup> In 1997, its name was extended with the name of Józef Wybicki, the author of the text of

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<sup>36</sup> More in: C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Ruch kaszubsko-pomorski u progu XXI wieku. Stan organizacyjny i dylematy programowe*, in: A. Sakson (ed.) (2008), *Ślązacy, Kaszubi, Mazurzy i Warmiacy – między polskością a niemieckością*, Poznań, pp. 233-242.

<sup>37</sup> M. Mazurek (2009), *W poszukiwaniu tożsamości. Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie w oczach socjologa*, Gdańsk.

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.kfhs.com.pl/>.

Polish national anthem.<sup>39</sup> Initially, the university organised mainly courses for the staff of rural cultural institutions from voivodships in Pomerania, training sessions for local communities, and seminars and debates about the region. With time, the university extended its activities providing patronage to folk artists, promoting folk art (the university has its own folk art gallery), environmental and civic education<sup>40</sup>, as well as inter- and multi-cultural education.<sup>41</sup> Formally, the university became an entity run by the ZKP in 1995. In 2000, its facilities became the property of the Association<sup>42</sup> and, in 2004, the *Kashubian Folk University* Foundation was established.

Other newly established entities include the Vocational Training Academy (Akademia Kształcenia Zawodowego) which, initially, in 2007, was a joint project of the ZKP and *Grone-Schule* Foundation in Hamburg. Since September 2008, the ZKP has been the only shareholder of the Academy which now provides education to adults, educational consultancy, trainings and the like. Another entity important from the point of view of the implementation of the ZKP objectives is the Council for the Kashubian Language. The Council was established in 2006 in response to the 2005 Strategy for the Protection and Development of the Kashubian Language and Culture. The Council's tasks include, *inter alia*, analyses and assessment of the condition of the Kashubian language, designing activities aimed at its strengthening and promotion, cooperation with State administration bodies on language matters, assessment and issuing opinions on the quality of and demand for publications and its own publishing activity, as well as taking measures aimed at standardisation of the Kashubian language and lexical normalisation.<sup>43</sup> In addition, the ZKP structure includes, among others, the ZKP Publishing Foundation and student clubs in Toruń, Słupsk, and even in Cracow.

Thirdly, institutional decentralisation and pluralisation of the Kashubian movement have progressed. Under the new law, some ZKP branches have a separate legal personality. In addition to the ZKP and its specialised agencies, new organisations have been founded. Their activities focus on the Kashubian culture but not solely. Some of them are quite original. The Pomeranian-Kashubian *Baśka* League attracts hundreds of fans of that Kashubian card game<sup>44</sup> to tournaments organised in dif-

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<sup>39</sup> *Imię Józefa Wybickiego dla KUL*, "Pomerania" 1997, No. 6, pp. 82-83; *Uniwersytet ochrzczony*, "Gryf Wejrowski" 25.04.1997.

<sup>40</sup> T. Maliszewski, C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Pomorski KUL – Uniwersytet Ludowy Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego*, in: T. Aleksander (ed.) (2010), *Edukacja dorosłych jako czynnik rozwoju społecznego (Materiały I Ogólnopolskiego Zjazdu Andragogicznego, Kraków, 23-24 czerwca 2009)*, Vol. II, Kraków, pp. 353-364.

<sup>41</sup> T. Maliszewski (2002), *Uniwersytety ludowe wobec wyzwań współczesności – czyli rzecz o pewnej pomorskiej inicjatywie*, "Edukacja Ustawiczna Dorosłych" No. 3, pp. 16-25.

<sup>42</sup> S. Byczkowska, M. Byczkowski, T. Maliszewski (2002), *Kaszubski Uniwersytet Ludowy u progu XXI wieku – stan obecny i perspektywy rozwoju*, Gdańsk, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> Since 2007, the Council publishes its annual bulletins in Polish and Kashubian, informing widely on its activities and research. <http://www.kaszubi.pl/o/rjk/artykulmenu?id=242>

<sup>44</sup> D. Majkówski (2006), *Baszka - wspominki knópiczëch lat*, "Pomerania" No. 7-8, pp. 44-45.

ferent localities. There is also a separate *Baška* Polish Association.<sup>45</sup> Another interesting example of a hobby organisation is the Kashubian Aviation Association (Stowarzyszenie Kaszubskie Towarzystwo Lotnicze), with its headquarters at the Korne airfield.<sup>46</sup> Its members include model-makers, paragliding and gliding pilots, parachutists, pilots, and aviation fans.

There are also Kashubian environmental (e.g. the Kashubian Ecological Association<sup>47</sup>) and economic organisations (e.g. the Kashubian Association of Strawberry Growers whose members are hundreds of farmers from central Kashubia, a major strawberry growing area), as well as associations interested in historical reconstruction, including re-enactment of chivalric orders<sup>48</sup> popular in the region.

The network of local organisations in Kashubia (and in a number of other places in Pomerania) is dense, diverse and dynamic.<sup>49</sup> In almost every commune, there are active clubs and other organisations frequently associating very small village communities.

Pluralisation also means the emergence of Kashubian organisations which specialise in specific fields. There are scientific associations and organisations oriented towards promotion of knowledge. Undoubtedly, the most important one is the Kashubian Institute established in 1996 which, at present, has over 100 members from various research centres in Poland and abroad, who are either of Kashubian origin and/or do research on Kashubia.<sup>50</sup> The Institute has published over 150 books. It publishes its scientific yearbook titled *Acta Cassubiana*. Every year it organises several scientific conferences and twice as many events promoting knowledge of the region. It also prepares exhibitions, discussions, and study visits, funds commemorative plaques, and does much more.<sup>51</sup>

Other organisations involved in the popularisation of knowledge include the Zabory Scientific Association (Zaborskie Towarzystwo Naukowe) in Brusy which publishes the *Terra Zaborensis* bulletin, the Chojnice Society of Friends of Sciences (Chojnickie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk) which publishes its annual *Zeszyty Chojnickie*, and Lębork Historical Brotherhood (Lęborskie Bractwo Historyczne) which, together with the Museum in Lębork, publishes the *Historical Bulletin*. In fact, similar local publications, often with scientific aspirations but of varying quality, are

<sup>45</sup> [www.baska.costerina.nazwa.pl](http://www.baska.costerina.nazwa.pl); <http://www.baska-arkada.strefa.pl/>.

<sup>46</sup> [http://lotniskokorne.gka.pl/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=293&Itemid=50](http://lotniskokorne.gka.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=293&Itemid=50).

<sup>47</sup> <http://sudomie.eu/>.

<sup>48</sup> <http://www.rycerzebytow.pl>.

<sup>49</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński (1999), *Pomorski ruch regionalny. Szkic do portretu*, Gdańsk; idem, *Konserwowanie czy kreowanie? Ruch regionalny na Pomorzu*, in: J. Kurczewska (ed.) (2008), *Oblicza lokalności. Ku nowym formom życia lokalnego*, Warszawa, pp. 181-202.

<sup>50</sup> [www.institutkaszubski.pl](http://www.institutkaszubski.pl).

<sup>51</sup> J. Borzyszkowski (1999), *Instytut Kaszubski*, "Etnografia Polska" No. 1-2; C. Obracht-Prondzyński (2006), *Dziesięć lat pracy Instytutu Kaszubskiego 1996-2006*, Gdańsk; idem, *Das Kaschubische Institut – Regionalforschung im deutsch-polnischen Kontext*, "Inter Finitimos. Jahrbuch zur deutsch-polnischen Beziehungsgeschichte" Bd. 8, 2010, pp. 239-247.

numerous e.g. *Kościerskie Zeszyty Muzealne, Nasze Pomorze. Rocznik Naukowy Muzeum Zachodnio-Kaszubskiego w Bytowie, Zapiski Puckie. Pùcczë Skriblënë* published by the Florian Ceynowa Museum of the Puck Region and Puck Municipal Office, *Mercuriusz Człuchowski*, and *Baszta* magazine published by the Historical and Ethnographic Museum in Chojnice.

Animation, popularisation, cultural and educational activities are also the domain of such organisations as the Kashubian Development Institute (Kaszubski Instytut Rozwoju) in Kościerzyna established in 2001 which aims at “initiating and supporting all forms of civic activity leading to the development of the local community of Kashubia”<sup>52</sup>, *Naji Góchë* Foundation<sup>53</sup>, KIETA Association – Kashubian Theatrical and Artistic Education Institute, and many others.

It must be noted, that the movement pluralisation is not limited to its structural and institutional dimension as it also applies to issues of identity and ideology. This is related to the emergence of a group which identifies itself with a Kashubian nation.<sup>54</sup> The group emerged before the 2002 National Census, urging Census respondents to declare their Kashubian nationality.<sup>55</sup> Next, for a couple of years, the group was incapable to organise itself as a separate institution while its leader, Artur Jabłoński, served two terms as the chairman of the ZKP. Finally, however, a conference was held on 19 November 2011 in Sopot, which was devoted to priest Franciszek Gruzca who translated the Bible into Kashubian. At that conference, the group, known as *Zrzeszyńce* (Associates), launched the *Kaszëbskô Jednota* association.<sup>56</sup>

The association members are of the Kashubian national orientation, and the *Kaszëbskô Jednota* aims include

the development of national, civic, and cultural awareness of Kashubians and protection of their language and traditions, as well as research and educational activities for the benefit of national and ethnic minorities and communities speaking a regional language, supporting the development of communities and local societies<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> [http://www.kir.org.pl/7page\\_id=10](http://www.kir.org.pl/7page_id=10).

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.naszegochy.org/>.

<sup>54</sup> See C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Kim są Kaszubi – stare pytania, nowe odpowiedzi?*, in: J. Bo-rzyszkowski, C. Obracht-Prondzyński (eds) (2004), *Z dziejów kultury Pomorza XVIII-XX wieku*, Vol. 2, Gdańsk, pp. 382-393; idem (2004), *Kaszubi i ich tożsamość w III Rzeczypospolitej – stare problemy, nowe wyzwania*, “Przegląd Polonijny” No. 3, pp. 61-72; idem, „*Nie ma Kaszub bez Polonii*”? Dylematy tożsamościowe Kaszubów, in: M. Kempy, G. Woroniecka, P. Załęcki (eds) (2008), *Tożsamość i przynależność. O współczesnych przemianach identyfikacji kulturowych w Polsce i w Europie*, Toruń, pp. 81-95.

<sup>55</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Spisy czy spiski, czyli o problemach z liczeniem Kaszubów*, in: L. Adamczuk, S. Łodziński (eds) (2006), *Mniejszości narodowe w świetle Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego z 2002 r.*, Warszawa, pp. 255-284. See also A. Jabłoński (2003), *Jeden z 5100*, “Pomerania” No. 9, pp. 22-23.

<sup>56</sup> J. Żaczek, *Stowarzyszenie Kaszëbskô Jednota zainaugurowało działalność*, <http://naszekaszuby.pl/article.php?storyid=2889>.

<sup>57</sup> <http://kaszebsko.com>. See also A. Jabłoński (2013), *Kaszubi. Wspólnota narodowa*, Gdynia.

Once this association was founded, the identity division among Kashubians took on an institutional dimension. Concurrently, the issue of the Kashubian community representation was raised and the entitlement of the ZKP to act as the representation was questioned.<sup>58</sup>

#### EDUCATIONAL AND MEDIA REVOLUTION

The already mentioned new law on education and public media provided a framework for significant transformations in the social sphere in Kashubia. Those issues, in fact, have been always part of activities of the Kashubian movement. Publication of periodicals has been important since the movement beginnings.<sup>59</sup> When the Kashubian Association was established in 1956, the provision of education about Kashubia and in Kashubian to children was one most important postulates of the Association.<sup>60</sup>

In the 1980s, there was more freedom and the *Dręsztwo Szkólnëch*, an informal group of teachers-regionalists, joined the ZKP. Later, the Board of the ZKP established its Education Group to coordinate activities related to education. A major achievement of the Group was the negotiated compromise on the difficult Kashubian spelling as without its standardisation, it was impossible to carry any educational activities and to teach the language. On 12 May 1996, in Gdańsk, a Protocol confirming agreed spelling rules of the Kashubian language was signed. Some older rules were altered and it was decided that the new rules “shall apply to the standardised Kashubian. The agreed rules shall not be applicable, however, to new editions [of old publications] and to stylised texts styled in dialects of the Kashubian language.”<sup>61</sup> As a result of the community consensus, the spelling standard for literary Kashubian was finally established, which, however, does not mean that its rules are rigorously observed.<sup>62</sup>

Other important developments were the opening of the first Kashubian Secondary School in Bursy in 1991<sup>63</sup> and the introduction of Kashubian language classes. The latter was at first spontaneous and later, with the introduction of higher subsidies

<sup>58</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Kaszubi – naród „niereprezentowany” czy reprezentowany „nie-naród”*, in: E. Nowicka (ed.) (2009), *Kulturowa odmiennosc w dzialaniu. Kultury i narody bez panstwa*, Kraków, pp. 67-78.

<sup>59</sup> W. Pepliński (2000), *Czasopiśmiennictwo kaszubskie w latach zaboru pruskiego. Aspekty programowe, publicystyczne i wydawnicze*, Gdańsk.

<sup>60</sup> See A. Kuik-Kalinowska, D. Kalinowski (eds) (2012), *Edukacja kaszubska. Tradycje, aktualność, perspektywy*, Słupsk-Gdańsk.

<sup>61</sup> s.j., *Kaszubska pisownia w nowym wyrazie*, “Pomerania” 1996, No. 6, pp. 43-44.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. J. Zieniukow (2004), *Kashubian – Forming the Literary Standard*, “Cassubia Slavica. Internationales Jahrbuch für Kaschubische Studien” V. 2, pp. 98-106; J. Treder, *Formy kultywowania i aktywizacji kaszubszczyzny*, in: idem (2005), *Historia kaszubszczyzny literackiej. Studia*, Gdańsk, pp. 328-344.

<sup>63</sup> *XX lat Kaszubskiego Liceum Ogólnokształcącego w Brusach 1991-2011*, Gdańsk-Brusy 2011.

for schools, it has become more formalised.<sup>64</sup> That meant that first curricula were designed, first textbooks published, and the Kashubian syllabus for secondary school leaving exams was prepared.<sup>65</sup> The lack of staff qualified to teach the Kashubian language was a serious problem. Measures taken to ease that situation included provision of post-graduate courses and, in 2003, the Board of the ZKP established an examination board testing the fluency level of candidate teachers of Kashubian. At the end of 2011, almost 500 kindergarten and school teachers were issued certificates confirming their fluency in the Kashubian language qualifying them to teach it and conducting classes in that language at schools and kindergartens. In the 2010-2011 school year, a total of over 10.5 thousand students in 193 primary schools, 60 lower secondary schools, and 5 upper secondary schools studied the Kashubian language.<sup>66</sup>

At the same time, higher education for teachers was launched. Initially, the University of Gdańsk offered the Kashubian specialisation as part of the Polish philology course and, in October 2013, its launched its BA programme in Kashubian ethnophilology.

Of course, educational activities are not limited to the teaching of the Kashubian language or about the region at schools. There are also many other initiatives popularising the knowledge about Kashubia and the Kashubian language, such as the *Rodnô Mòwa* Contest of Kashubian Prose and Poetry Recitation which covers the entire Kashubia, attracting few hundreds of students every year. Its first stage are school contests. There are many local contests as well. Another initiative is the annual Kashubian Spelling Contest called the Kashubian Dictation, the aim of which is to distinguish the Kashubian spelling champion. The first one was held in 2002 at the University of Gdańsk.

Local organisations of Kashubian teachers also start to emerge, an example of which is the *Remùsowi Drëszë* Association of Kashubian Language Teachers established in 2010 with its seat in Kamienica Szlachecka.<sup>67</sup>

Similar essential if not revolutionary changes took place in the media. At the onset of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Polish Republic (1989), the Kashubian community published its *Pomerania* monthly and its internal bulletin (*Komunikaty ZG ZKP*). In 1989, in particular in the local elections context, new initiatives were abundant. They included a large number of local bulletins, many of which, at least in part, were in Kashubian. They focused was on local government but also on culture.<sup>68</sup> The nature of most such bul-

<sup>64</sup> Cf. G. Janusz (2011), *Ochrona praw mniejszości narodowych w Europie*, Lublin, p. 635.

<sup>65</sup> The final *matura* exams in Kashubian were taken for the first time in 2005 by 16 students. In 2010, their number increased to 37.

<sup>66</sup> Data obtained from the Board of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association.

<sup>67</sup> [www.remusowidresze.eu](http://www.remusowidresze.eu).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. W. Pepliński (1998), *Kapitał zagraniczny w prasie Wybrzeża po 1989 r.*, "Zeszyty Prasoznawcze" No. 1-2, p. 60; idem, *Kontrowersje wokół transformacji prasy gdańskiej i pomorskiej*, in: A. Słomkowska (ed.) (1994), *Dylematy transformacji prasy polskiej (1989-1993)*, Warszawa, p. 208; J. Błaszowski, *Prasa lokalna i samorządowa*, in: W. Toczyski, P. Szubarczyk, G. Grzelak (eds) (1994), *Pomorze Gdańskie. Powrót demokracji lokalnej 1990-1994*, Gdańsk, p. 121ff.

letins was ephemeral but there were also projects with long-term effects. An example is the *Norda* magazine which, at first, was an independent title published in Rumia and after its acquisition by the *Dziennik Bałtycki*, the most popular newspaper in the region, it is its regular weekly supplement on Kashubian issues.<sup>69</sup> The Słupsk edition of the *Głos Pomorza* daily had a similar supplement titled *Głos Kaszëb* published in 1997-2001.

An ephemeral magazine was the *Tatczëzna* which was published at the turn of 1980s and 1990s (10 issues in total).<sup>70</sup> The magazine was important as, first of all, it brought together a group which formulated a new, more Kashubia-centered programme and, secondly, its journalists were to play a significant role in the Kashubian media and the movement at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. Among those journalists were A. Jabłoński, who was the chairman of the ZKP and, earlier, a journalist and co-author of a television magazine the head of which was Eugeniusz Pryczkowski, another journalist associated with *Tatczëzna*, and Piotr Dziekanowski, editor-in-chief of the *Kurier Bałtycki* daily and a writer and author of first Kashubian comic strips.

At present, in Kashubia (like in the entire Pomerania) there are truly many local journals. Some are privately published, some by local governments and other by communities and social organisations. Their publication cycles and profiles differ. Some focus on news, others popularise knowledge or focus on literature and culture.

The real breakthrough, however, were not local journals as they have long and rich tradition in Pomerania<sup>71</sup> but the electronic media<sup>72</sup>. The public Radio Gdańsk broadcasts *Na bòtach ë w bòrach* which is the longest running Kashubian programme broadcast since the end of 1989.<sup>73</sup> For some time, the programme was re-broadcast by the Radio Weekend a private broadcaster in Chojnice (covering southern Kashubia) and the Słupsk branch of the public Radio Koszalin which, with time, started to air its own Kashubian programme. Since 2004, the Radio Gdańsk has broadcast news in Kashubian in the *Klëca* magazine programme.

Importantly, in July 2004, the Puck Land Association (Stowarzyszenie Ziemia Pucka) was granted a concession to establish the *Radio Kaszëbë* which has broadcast since December that year. It is the first broadcaster which covers almost entire

<sup>69</sup> E. Pryczkowska (1995), "*Norda. Pismiono Kaszëbszczi Zemi*", "Pomerania" No. 4, pp. 55-56; B. Madajczyk-Krasowska, *Najważniejsze Kaszuby. Setny numer "Nordy"*, "Dziennik Bałtycki" 16.4.1997.

<sup>70</sup> D. Majkowski (2010), *Tatczëzna. W mionio Bòsczi nòrodní wżénik*, Gdynia.

<sup>71</sup> W. Pepliński (1987), *Prasa pomorska w Drugiej Rzeczpospolitej*, Gdańsk. See also *Sila tradycji*, an interview with W. Pepliński, "Pomerania" 2000, No. 10, pp. 14-16.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. L. Szmítke, *Radio i telewizja regionalna. Między komercją a kulturą*, in: W. Frankiewicz, K. Kossak-Głowczewski (eds) (1997), *Pedagogia Celestyna Freineta a edukacja regionalna*, Gdańsk, pp. 269-271; M. Ratajczak (2012), *Różnorodność kulturowa w mediach. Doświadczenia europejskie*, Warszawa, pp. 158-166.

<sup>73</sup> *Program radiowy w języku kaszubskim*, "Komunikaty Zarządu Głównego Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego" 15.11.1989, p. 3; s.j. (1994), *Korespondencyjna potyczka o kaszubską audycję*, "Pomerania" No. 3, pp. 22-23.



Kashubia. It also totally devoted to the issues of that region and is aired mainly in the Kashubian language.

The oldest public television programme, in turn, was the *Ródno zemia* magazine broadcast by the public Gdańsk Television. Discussions about launching a Kashubian television programme started with a visit of Andrzej Drawicz, the-then chairman of the Radio Committee, to Gdańsk in December 1989. At his meeting with authorities of the ZKP, he approved of the production and broadcast of such a programme. The programme started to be broadcast in 1990.<sup>74</sup> Its author and first editor-in-chief was Izabella Trojanowska. After her death, the duties were handed to A. Jabłoński and E. Pryczkowski and, following the resignation of Jabłoński, the programme host and the only author was Pryczkowski.<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, as it was already mentioned, the programme was cancelled to the end of 2010.<sup>76</sup> A short programme titled *Tede jo* introduced in its place by the Kashubian community has been judged not attractive enough and insufficient, due to a relatively small number of materials in the Kashubian language.

The community which created *Radio Kaszëbë* launched also a CSB TV project which lasted from 1 August 2010 to 13 March 2012 and was unsuccessful.<sup>77</sup>

The lack of a major Kashubian programme in public television and the failure of the private Kashubian TV station do not mean, however, that no film materials are accessible. On the contrary, increasingly, private local TV stations, in particular cable ones, produce their own programmes in the Kashubian language and on Kashubians, which are available not only to cable TV viewers but also to Internet users and thus contribute to the communication revolution in the Kashubian world. At present, there are many Internet sites, mainly local, and websites devoted to Kashubia (also in Germany, USA, and Canada).<sup>78</sup> The Internet resources facilitate access to Kashubian literature<sup>79</sup>, Kashubian language classes, dictionaries<sup>80</sup>, information on major Kashubian organisations and institutions, and even to downloadable software which can be used for more than just writing in Kashubian. Today there are Kashubian-language versions of Windows, Linux and Google, and there is also the Kashubian Wikipedia.

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<sup>74</sup> Cf. *Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego ZKP za okres od 2 grudnia 1989 r. do 5 grudnia 1992 r.* (photocopy), 1992, p. 17; P. Dzianisz (1990), *Rodno zemia*, "Pomerania" No. 10, pp. 42-43.

<sup>75</sup> S. Janke (2000), *Swojsko w kadrze*, "Pomerania" No. 10, p. 18.

<sup>76</sup> E. Pryczkowski (2011), *Funkcjonowanie i kres telewizyjnego Magazynu Kaszubskiego "Rodno Zemian" (1990-2010)*, "Biuletyn Rady Języka Kaszubskiego", pp. 264-273.

<sup>77</sup> J. Méjer (2005), *Radio Kaszëbë*, "Pomerania" No. 1, pp. 12-13.

<sup>78</sup> For example, K. Warمیńska, *Naszekaszuby.pl – Kaszubi dla siebie – Kaszubi o sobie*, in: Ł. Kaprańska, B. Pactwa (eds) (2010), *Agora czy Hyde Park? Internet jako przestrzeń społeczna grup mniejszościowych*, Kraków, pp. 130-142.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. [www.czetnica.org](http://www.czetnica.org). Cf. D. Kalinowski (2011), *Literatura kaszubska w internecie. Wydawnictwa. Ugrupowania. Twórcy*, "Biuletyn Rady Języka Kaszubskiego" pp. 220-229.

<sup>80</sup> W. Makurat (2008), *Kaszubskie słowniki internetowe*, "Biuletyn Rady Języka Kaszubskiego" pp. 126-139.

## CULTURAL REVIVAL OR COMMERCIALISATION AND KITSCH

The mentioned phenomena, processes, initiatives and projects in the sphere of education, media, local government, and Kashubian organisations point to a considerable revival of the Kashubian community after 1989. Factors and developments which contributed to such a situation included both new legal and constitutional provisions which removed former restrictions, and the fact that a new generation entered the public scene, often advocating a stronger ethnic position which led to ideological disputes.

All that resulted in the empowerment of the Kashubian community, the fundamental element of which was the revival of the Kashubian culture.<sup>81</sup> Undoubtedly, the greatest role in that regard has been played by the ZKP which, every year, both on its own and in cooperation with other entities, organises and runs dozens of events and various programmes, some of which have a long tradition and some new ones have already been embedded. The Association has also been an animator and co-organiser of a number of events which already redefined the cultural situation in Kashubia and Pomerania, and created new platforms for expressing the Kashubian identity and pursuing an ethnic discourse. Their significant symbolic meaning should not be overlooked.<sup>82</sup> Examples include: annual Conventions of Kashubians (Zjazdy Kaszubów) organised since 1999 to commemorate the reunion of Kashubians within a single voivodship, held each year in a different town in Kashubia<sup>83</sup>; Kashubian Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land<sup>84</sup> and to Rome<sup>85</sup>; open-air workshops for folk artists, art festivals for children and the youth as well as many festival and festivities organised in various localities in Kashubia; folk art and literary contests, including the *Rodnej Mówě* Poetry Recitation Contest<sup>86</sup> which has already been organised for several decades and the Folk Talents (Ludowe Talenty) contest.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>81</sup> More in: C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Przemiany kultury kaszubskiej po II wojnie światowej*, in: J. Borzyszkowski (ed.) (2001), *Z dziejów kultury Pomorza w XVIII-XX w.*, Gdańsk, pp. 190-234.

<sup>82</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Rytuały nowe i "stare jak nowe", czyli o zmianach w kulturze kaszubskiej*, in: G. Woroniecka, C. Obracht-Prondzyński, D. Rancew-Sikora (eds) (2009), *Kreacje i nostalgje. Antropologiczne spojrzenie na tradycje w nowoczesnych kontekstach*, Gdańsk, pp. 78-96.

<sup>83</sup> M. Mazurek, *Zjazdy Kaszubów jako przykład sytuacji etniczującej*, in: G. Woroniecka, C. Obracht-Prondzyński, D. Rancew-Sikora (eds) (2009), *Kreacje i nostalgje...*, pp. 242-251.

<sup>84</sup> The first pilgrimage took place in 2002. It included a visit to the Church of the Pater Noster where a plaque with the Lord's Prayer in Kashubian was blessed. Cf. M. Szmidka, *Kaszubi śladami Chrystusa*, "Dziennik Bałtycki" 15.09.2000; E. Szczesiak (2000), *Kaszubska tablica z Ziemi Świętej*, "Czas Pomorza" No. 4, pp. 46-47. Subsequent pilgrimages were organised in 2001 and 2005 and during the 2013 pilgrimage, a plaque with *Magnificat* written in Kashubian in the church in Ein Karem.

<sup>85</sup> E. Pryczkowski (2005), *Bōże pōmagōj. Jan Paweł do Kaszubów*, Banino-Pelplin, pp. 124-145; T. Hoppe (2005), *Pielgrzymka Kaszubów do Ojca Świętego*, "Gdinskô Klëka" No. 1, pp. 1-2; No. 2, pp. 2-3.

<sup>86</sup> K. Krynicka (2011), *Chmielno. Stolëca Rody Mówě*, Gdynia, pp. 31-59.

<sup>87</sup> *25 lat Ludowych Talentów. Kalendarium*, Gdańsk-Gdynia 1996; K. Kowalkowski (2006), *Jubileuszowe Ludowe Talenty*, "Pomerania" No. 7-8, p. 81.

In the 1990s, highly important events defining new perspectives for Kashubians and the Pomeranian regional movement were Congresses, in particular the 2<sup>nd</sup> Kashubian Congress in 1992<sup>88</sup>, the 1<sup>st</sup> Kociewie Congress in 1995<sup>89</sup> as well as the Pomeranian Congress in 1997-1998 which began in Gdańsk and ended in Szczecin, with various events taking place across the entire Pomerania.<sup>90</sup>

Today, a stereotypical view of the Kashubian culture, echoed also in academic publications, as a folk, regional, or rural culture, is hardly valid. It is not only because there has been an impressive growth of Kashubian literature<sup>91</sup>, theatre<sup>92</sup>, music<sup>93</sup>, and fine arts. It results also from Kashubians' changing sensitivity and attitudes to their culture. Cultural beliefs and practices of artists in Kashubia change as well. Finally, there is an impressively developed network of institutions involved in cultural activities in Kashubia. It is no longer about the ZKP, its different agencies or other associated organisations only. There is also a growing network of Kashubian museums.<sup>94</sup> There are numerous cultural centres and libraries, schools involved in the Kashubian education, different local associations and foundations, and – increasingly often – private businesses e.g. publishing houses and promotion agencies.

Kashubian literature passed the stage of folk or regional literature quite a long time ago and has concentrated on universal themes. Its social impact and the cultural context within which it functions have changed as well.<sup>95</sup> Completely new phenomena can be observed (e.g. the first crime story and a science fiction novel in Kashubian) not only in the traditionally understood literature but also in its peripheries (e.g. comic books). First Kashubian audio books have been produced. Kashubian

<sup>88</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński (ed.) (1992), *II Kongres Kaszubski. Dokumentacja*, Gdańsk.

<sup>89</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński (1997), *Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie dla Kociewia i na Kociewiu*, in: *Księga Pamiątkowa Kongresu Kociewskiego*, Starogard Gdański.

<sup>90</sup> J. Borzyszkowski, C. Obracht-Prondzyński, S. Pestka (eds) (1999), *Księga pamiątkowa Kongresu Pomorskiego*, Gdańsk.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. J. Samp, *Literatura kaszubska. Kaschubische Literatur*, in: J. Borzyszkowski, D. Albrecht (eds) (2000), *Pomorze – mała ojczyzna Kaszubów. (Historia i współczesność). Kaschubisch-pommersche Heimat. (Geschichte und Gegenwart)*, Gdańsk-Lübeck; J. Treder (2005), *Historia kaszubszczyzny literackiej. Studia*, Gdańsk; A. Kuik-Kalinowska, D. Kalinowski (2009), *Od Smętka do Stołema. Wokół literatury Kaszub*, Gdańsk-Słupsk; A. Kuik-Kalinowska (2011), *Tatczężna. Literackie przestrzenie Kaszub*, Słupsk-Gdańsk.

<sup>92</sup> D. Kalinowski, *Teatr kaszubski. Od folkloru ku antropologii teatralnej*, in: R. Gaziński, A. Chludziński (eds) (2003), *Dzieje wsi pomorskiej. II Międzynarodowa Konferencja Naukowa*, Dygówo-Szczecin 2003.

<sup>93</sup> T. Fopke (2011), *Współczesna muzyka kaszubska a muzyka ludowa. Poszukiwania i inspiracje*, "Nasze Pomorze. Rocznik Muzeum Zachodnio-Kaszubskiego w Bytowie" No. 13, (2012 edition) pp. 235-242.

<sup>94</sup> C. Obracht-Prondzyński (2008), *Kaszubskich pamiątek skarbnice. O muzeach na Kaszubach – ich dziejach, twórcach i funkcjach społecznych*, Gdańsk.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. C. Obracht-Prondzyński, J. Treder, *Kashubian Literature: Its Phenomenon, History and Social Dimension*, in: C. Obracht-Prondzyński, T. Wicherkiewicz (eds) (2011), *The Kashubs: Past and Present*, Oxford, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Wien, pp. 109-140.

literature is translated into other languages but also increasingly often classical literature is translated into Kashubian.<sup>96</sup> Some new translations are popularised by public readings, an example of which might be the first reading in Poland of *The Tin Drum* by Günter Grass in the Kashubian language version, the language of its author and in Polish at the Wybrzeże Theatre in 2008. An interesting example was also the *Shakespeare in Kashubian* (Szekspir po kaszubsku) project executed together with the Theatrum Gedanense Foundation in 2007.

Similar phenomena occur in music (instrumental, sung and dance music). Kashubian folk music is still alive and there are over 100 folk music groups in Kashubia. At the same time, there are completely new projects which focus on identifying and reconstructing musical traditions<sup>97</sup> or “recalling” the Kashubian music. An example of that might be the *Kaszuby. Muzyka źródeł* album released in 1997 by the Polish Radio and the *Cassubia Incognita* project of the Western-Kashubian Museum in Bytów which included the production of a CD with oldest recordings of Kashubian songs in the phonographic collection at the Institute of Arts of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, after the second album was released, a series of meetings devoted to theatre and cinema was organised<sup>99</sup>, during which young people prepared a theatrical étude inspired by the newly discovered music. The result of those activities has been the *Cassubia Cantat* festival, now an annual event, the aim of which is to present modern arrangements of old traditional Kashubian music<sup>100</sup>. In this context, the new Kashubian Choir Board (Rada Chórów Kaszubskich) should be mentioned. It brings together choirs of Kashubia which have Kashubian songs in their repertoire. Annual meetings of Kashubian singers<sup>101</sup> have been held since 2003.

The Kashubian Art Agency is also an interesting new development. Its completed projects include Kashubian dubbing of the *Dahil may isang ikawa* [Destined hearts] Philippine TV soap opera and of *David, el Gnomo* [*The World of David the Gnome*] a Spanish animated television series for CSB TV, as well as several albums e.g. songs of the *We Dwa Kònie, Kashubian Artistic Duo*. It also produces audio books, including two most important works of the Kashubian literature, i.e. *Żécé i przigòdë Remùsa. Zvjercadło kaszubskji* (*Life and Adventures of Remus. The*

<sup>96</sup> R. Kamiński (ed.) (2012), *Tłumaczenia na język kaszubski. Osiągnięcia, metody, cele*, Wejherowo.

<sup>97</sup> D. Martin (2009), *Ruch folklorystyczny a “wynajdowanie tradycji” w kaszubskiej muzyce ludowej*, “Nasze Pomorze. Rocznik Muzeum Zachodnio-Kaszubskiego w Bytowie” No. 11 (2010), pp. 251-259

<sup>98</sup> W. Frankowska (2009), *Cassubia incognita?*, “Nasze Pomorze. Rocznik Muzeum Zachodnio-Kaszubskiego w Bytowie” No. 11, (2010), pp. 261-266.

<sup>99</sup> [http://www.pomorskie.eu/pl/kultura/aktualnosci/2009/bytow\\_cassubia\\_incognita\\_spotkanie\\_teatralno\\_filmowe](http://www.pomorskie.eu/pl/kultura/aktualnosci/2009/bytow_cassubia_incognita_spotkanie_teatralno_filmowe).

<sup>100</sup> Project overview: [www.kaszubi.pl/files/5085Cassubia\\_Cantat\\_opis\\_projektu.doc](http://www.kaszubi.pl/files/5085Cassubia_Cantat_opis_projektu.doc) [accessed: 04.10.2011]. See also J. Szroeder (2011), *Uwagi na marginesie Festiwalu “Cassubia Cantat”*, “Nasze Pomorze. Rocznik Muzeum Zachodnio-Kaszubskiego w Bytowie” No. 13, (2012) pp. 249-257.

<sup>101</sup> <http://www.luzino.pl/05kultur/05akultur/05arch03/0541zjazd/0541zjazd.html>.

*Kashubian Mirror*) by Aleksander Majkowski<sup>102</sup> and Hieronim Derdowski's satirical epic poem titled *Ó panu Czôrlinśczim, co do Pùcka pò sęcë jachôł* [Mr. Czorlinszczi Goes To Puck To Buy Fishing Nets].

The above surely testifies to a considerable cultural revival in Kashubia and demonstrates the emergence of the Kashubian pop culture which is a completely new phenomenon. However, the question asked increasingly often is: Are Kashubians at risk of excessive commercialisation of their culture? That, actually, leads to two questions about the future. Will their culture continue to be important for Kashubians and maintain its authentic character and to what extent? Will it become a "tourism product" serving only promotion of the region and implementation of business projects? On the other hand, one may ask whether and to what extent that culture is in danger of becoming an "ethnic kitsch", which would mean not only that it would be trivialised and radically simplified, but also that its deeper meaning and values would be completely ignored. A symptom of such a change might be the Centre for Education and Promotion of the Region in Szymbark (Centrum Edukacji i Promocji Regionu w Szymbarku), symbols of which are the "upside down house" and the longest board in the world.<sup>103</sup> Are they going to be the most important symbols of entire Kashubia and its culture in the future?

#### ABSTRACT

*The aim of the article is to present changes that took place in Kashubia and its society in the spheres of identity, institutions, policy and legal regulations after 1989. The analysis focuses on the institutional dimension (changes in the Kashubian movement, its pluralisation, organisational development, access to new areas of activity) and the identity of the group. Special attention is drawn to profound changes in education, mass media, research and funding. In the light of the research, the Kashubian community appears to be a close-knit group, immune to assimilation processes, with a strong sense of distinctness, but at the same time its vast majority is attached to the Polish national identity and has a defined self-image (the main characteristics of this auto-stereotype include: piety, diligence, devotion to one's land, perseverance even up to the point of stubbornness, patriotism); the group also has quite a numerous elite.*

<sup>102</sup> *Przygody Remusa teraz także do słuchania. To pierwszy kaszubski audiobook!*, <http://www.pomorska.pl/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20111021/INNEMIASTA04/186206214>; *Słuchanie "Zęcó i przigodów Remusa"*, [http://www.pomorskie.eu/pl/kultura/aktualnosci/2011/remus\\_promocja\\_plyty](http://www.pomorskie.eu/pl/kultura/aktualnosci/2011/remus_promocja_plyty).

<sup>103</sup> A. Bachórz, L. Michałowski, *Gdzie bije prawdziwe serce Kaszub. Przypadek dyskursu o nieuprawnionej tradycjonalizacji*, in: G. Woroniecka, C. Obracht-Prondzyński, D. Rancew-Sikora (eds) (2009), *Kreacje i nostalgje...*, pp. 323-340.



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### **Niemcy po zjednoczeniu Społeczeństwo – wielokulturowość – religie** [Germany after Reunification. Society – Multiculturalism – Religions]

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Michał Nowosielski, Marcin Tujdowski**

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This interdisciplinary publication on the present shape of German society consists of four separate but complementary analyses of its structure, demographic issues, immigration and multiculturalism-related phenomena, and changes in the religious landscape. While discussing social changes in Germany, the authors consider consequences resulting from the reunification of two German states and the impact of other factors like globalisation and modernisation in a broad sense.

Described against the background of the division and reunification of Germany, the transition of German society from traditional to modern and, possibly, postmodern society has been a complex process. Issues discussed in this publication include the emergence of class structure, social inequality and growing poverty, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, ageing of society, de-urbanisation of the eastern part of Germany, social mobility, and the place and role of immigrants in German society.