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Ukrainian Organisations and Associations That Shape the Image of the Ukrainian Minority in Poland (on the Example of 1991–2019)

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The aim of the article is to analyse Ukrainian organisations, associations, and festivals that shape the image of the Ukrainian minority in Poland. *Results.* Consideration of the topic of the article, and specifically the research process requires reference to a number of basic assumptions, the basis of which is certainly the conviction that every person, regardless of his nationality, is a social being who, assigned to a particular group, functions as a community, forming more or less permanent ties with it. Various theories and methodological assumptions are used to properly present the issues contained in the article, including the normative approach, the discourse around the functioning of national minorities, the historical approach, as well as the functional approach, especially concerning the subject of assimilation of cultures and the mutual interpenetration of what is Ukrainian and Polish, come to the fore. *The scientific novelty* of the article is a comprehensive study of Ukrainian organisations and associations in Poland, shaping the image of the Ukrainian minority in Poland (on the example of 1991–2019), both in terms of successful cooperation and existing problems. *Conclusions.* The construction of good-neighbourly relations between nations rests on two pillars: the activities of state institutions and direct relations between citizens of neighbouring states. Negligence in either of these spheres is reflected on the nature of such relations. Lack of action on the part of the authorities in this regard can negatively affect the activity of citizens, in turn, stopping only at the declarations of politicians, in the absence of grassroots initiatives makes such relations, only an empty form without substance. One of the most important examples of grassroots initiatives are various types of organisations, associations, which are created, among other things, to work for the preservation of the cultural identity of the Ukrainian community in Poland and the development of cooperation between Poland and Ukraine.

Keywords: Ukrainian minority in Poland; image of the Ukrainian minority in Poland; Ukrainian organisations; associations; festivals in Poland

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Introduction

Today, the activities of Ukrainian organisations in Poland may in many cases overlap significantly, and it is important to keep these differences in mind, as they emerged

in very different historical, political, and social contexts. In the first case, the emergence of organisations related to the Ukrainian minority in Poland after World War II – until 1989 – was mainly dependent on the attitude of the authorities of the time towards this minority, but also, more broadly, on their policy towards national and ethnic minorities living in Poland in general. As is known, for the history of the Ukrainian community in Poland after the end of World War II, two facts were of fundamental importance: the deportation of the majority of Ukrainians remaining in Poland after the change of borders, to the USSR, and the resettlement of that part which remained as a result of the “Vistula” action to the so-called “recovered territories”. During this period, all organisations related to the Ukrainian minority and the Lemkos (who at the time, whether they wanted it or not, were top-down included in it, with all the consequences of this fact) were dissolved, and the actions of the communist authorities were guided mainly by the aspiration of assimilation with the Polish majority. Such a policy during this period, by the way, was directed not only against Ukrainians, but against all minorities living on Polish territory. The years 1953–1955 heralded some changes, when there was a loosening of the administrative barriers imposed on Ukrainians and Lemkos as a result of the “Wisła” action (Barwiński, 2012).

Recent research and publications analysis. On the ground of Polish research, these topics have received the most attention: Marek Barwiński, Stephen Burant, Bogumiła Berdychowska, Oleg Borynia, Andrzej Chodubski, Krzysztof Fedorowicz, Igor Hrywna, Michał Jagiełło, Zhanna Osikowicz, Andrzej Nikitorowicz, Paweł Olbrycht, Włodzimierz Osadczy, Marek Syrnyk, Henryk Stroński, Halyna Shcherba, Roman Szul, Sergiusz Wasuta and Krzysztof Zharna.

Aim of the article

The aim of the article is to analyse Ukrainian organisations, associations, and festivals that shape the image of the Ukrainian minority in Poland.

The research methodology is based on general scientific principles, namely terminological and systemic, and determined the use of such research methods as analysis, synthesis, and generalisation. Discussing Ukrainian organisations and associations in Poland, it is therefore necessary to make a clear distinction, those of them that were originally created in connection with the needs of those Polish citizens who felt that they belonged to the Ukrainian nationality (the Ukrainian national minority in Poland), and those that were created in recent years in the wave of Ukrainian citizens coming to Poland in search, most often, of work.

Main research material

The real breakthrough in the sphere of the attitude of the authorities of the time towards the Ukrainian minority (as well as other minorities) should be considered 1956, when, on the wave of political changes of the time, the policy of resettlement and assimilation, which had been implemented until then, was replaced by a policy of limited social and cultural activity. Accordingly, socio-cultural organisations began to emerge

at that time, intended to represent individual national and ethnic minorities in this regard. However, it should be emphasised that all of these organisations were established on the initiative of the authorities (and not from below), and, last but not least, each of them was given a monopoly in the organisational activities of a particular minority. This meant that each formally recognised national or ethnic minority had the right, to only one organisation. Despite these restrictions, in their early days, many of these organisations had a certain freedom in their activities and in the expression of their opinions. This was particularly evident in the case of the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society, established in Warsaw in June 1956, which was also the patron of the first Ukrainian-language weekly “Our Word” in post-war Poland (the only magazine to be published legally in that language, until the mid-1980s). In that early period, Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society activists took advantage of the socio-political changes that were taking place at the time to make demands, including the cancellation of the legal effects of the “Wisła” action, the possibility of return to the area of southeastern Poland, the rehabilitation of Ukrainians, the cessation of discrimination, the expansion of Ukrainian education, the provision of seats in the Sejm for representatives of the Ukrainian nationality, the return of Orthodox churches, the permission to hold services in the Greek Catholic rite (Barwiński, 2012, p. 161).

The Lemkos, who were top-down assigned to the Ukrainian minority in Poland, were initially involved in the activities of the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society, but after a while some of them tried to act independently, forming the Temporary Social and Educational Committee of Ruthenian-Lemks in 1958. This part of Lemko circles, clearly cut themselves off from the Ukrainians, emphasised the distinctiveness of Lemkos, their lack of support in the 1940s for the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, their aversion to Ukrainian nationalism, their strong desire to return to Lemkivshchyna (Barwiński, 2012, p. 118).

However, as early as 1958, it became apparent that the newly established associations that were supposed to represent national and ethnic minorities, including the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society, were transformed into an element of the system of control on the part of the communist government, over non-Polish communities. All these entities were subordinated organisationally, financially, and in terms of personnel to the Ministry of the Interior and were completely loyal to the main political force in the country – the Polish United Workers Party. Their main goal was not so much to look after the interests of minorities as to promote and popularise the policy of the authorities among them. It can, therefore, be said without special exaggeration that their activities served primarily to indoctrinate and control national minorities. These associations, including the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society, thus became intermediaries, of sorts, between the central authorities and members of a given community. The policy of the communist authorities toward national minorities was, moreover, only an element of a broader approach, within which there was no room for any organisations (political, cultural, or social, etc.) that were genuinely independent of the Polish United Workers Party. Despite this generally unfavourable formal framework, however, the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society made efforts to revive Ukrainian cultural life, especially in the northern and western provinces. Thanks to the support of the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society, an amateur artistic movement is being born, with folk groups, choirs, and theatre circles being established. However, their

functioning is often quite ephemeral, primarily due to financial constraints, and organisational problems resulting from the large dispersion of the Ukrainian and Lemko minorities (Barwiński, 2012, pp. 125–166).

Such a situation of full subordination of organisations representing national minorities to the leading political force lasted virtually until the end of the People's Republic. One can, of course, speak of certain nuances in individual phases of this period related to successive political breakthroughs (and the often-associated changes in the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party, but the main line, was undoubtedly maintained virtually to the end of the communist system in Poland. A certain significant but short-lived break in this picture was, of course, the period of the first "Solidarity", but here one can, at most, speak of a more open approach of the Union itself to national minorities, and not, at most, of a change of attitude on the part of the PRL (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa) authorities to this issue. A certain weakening of the aspirations of national minorities during the PRL (including the Ukrainian one) was undoubtedly influenced by the social changes taking place at the time, primarily related to the process of industrialisation, as a result of which many rural residents, originating, among others, from non-Polish communities moved to cities, dominated by the Polish majority (Barwiński, 2012, pp. 168–173).

The actual change in the approach of the Polish authorities to the issues of the Ukrainian minority (and other minorities) occurred in the early 1990s, as a result of the political and legal changes then taking place as part of the political transformation. The changes in this sphere consisted of the introduction of numerous legal regulations aimed at enabling authentic political, national, social, and cultural activities, not only for the Polish majority, but also for minorities residing in Poland. Regardless of these changes in the formal-legal sphere, the system changes initiated in the late 1980s and early 1990s led to a marked revival of the political and organisational activities of national and ethnic minorities, including the Ukrainian and Lemko communities. In the first step, thanks to new conditions and opportunities, national minority organisations that had been in existence since the 1950s became independent of political supervision, changed their names and the nature of their activities to a more national one. The monopoly of concessionary entities in the form of "socio-cultural societies" representing individual minorities was replaced by pluralism, manifested in the emergence of many new, often competing organisations. The rapid revival of national minority organisations during the transition period is evidenced by the fact that already in the mid-1990s there were 137 nationality associations registered. In later years, the pace of their formation generally slowed down, but new initiatives were still taken from time to time. Currently, 24 national and ethnic minorities in Poland have their own organisations. Among the most active are the German and Roma minority communities. The former has more than 70 organisations, while the Roma minority has more than 30 (Rudnicki, 2011, p. 112).

Against this background, the Ukrainian minority is less active if the number of organisations associated with the community is taken as an indicator of this activity. In 2012, there were 15 registered organisations associated with this community in Poland (we are talking only about those organisations associated with the Ukrainian minority, i.e., Polish citizens of Ukrainian nationality, not including organisations associated with recent Ukrainian migrants). At that time, 13 Lemko associations were also offi-

cially active. The new stage in the organisational dimension for the Ukrainian minority in Poland, began almost at the same time as the Polish political transformation, at the turn of 1989 and 1990. It was then that meetings of representatives of Ukrainian circles, known as the “Ukrainian Round Table”, took place in Warsaw. Their main purpose was to determine the future organisational structure of the Ukrainian minority in a changing Poland. One of the results of these arrangements was the transformation of the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society in February 1990 into the Union of Ukrainians in Poland (hereinafter Association of Ukrainians in Poland). At that time, the said organisation had 7,771 members gathered in 181 circles, some of which were inactive circles. Under its umbrella were 47 art groups, with 780 members. Prominent among them in terms of high artistic level were, among others, the male choir “Zhuravli”, the Lemko folk ensemble “Lemkowyna”, the ensemble “Oslaviany” (Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, n.d.).

Currently, the Association of Ukrainians in Poland is headed by President Piotr Tyma (since February 19, 2006), the day-to-day activities of the organisation are directed by an eight-member General Board, while its legislative body is the thirty-one-member General Council. Currently, the Union has regional structures in the form of branches and field circles. The Union’s regional structures consist of 10 branches (Elbląg, Koszalin, Legnica, Lublin, Mazury, Olsztyn, Pomerania, Przemysł, Sanok, Szczecin) and 90 field circles. There are 6 full-time employees, 3 part-time or contracted employees, and about 250 volunteers working for the organisation. The organisation currently has about 6,000 members (significantly fewer than in the early 1990s) (Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, n.d.).

The primary goals of the Association of Ukrainians in Poland include working to preserve the cultural identity of the Ukrainian community in Poland and developing good neighbourly contacts and cooperation between Poland and Ukraine. The achievement of the indicated goals is carried out through a number of projects aimed at various groups of society, including children, elementary school students, high school students, students, middle-aged and elderly people. Among the projects carried out (currently and in the past) by the Association of Ukrainians in Poland, we can mention the following projects of a one-time or cyclical nature: the “Plast” camps, Orthodox music concerts (e.g. “Autumn Orthodox Music Concerts”), the Festival of Ukrainian Culture (the last 19th edition was held in Sopot in 2008), children’s festivals (e.g. in Koszalin and Elbląg), historical seminars (e.g. “Operation Vistula” against the background of wartime and postwar deportations). Smaller, but no less important projects focus, among others, on bringing the culture of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland closer, organising seminars promoting cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian NGOs (among others, within the framework of the Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation PAUCI projects, the National Cultural Centre, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland). Some of the Association of Ukrainians in Poland’s undertakings in the cultural sphere are regional in nature, such as cyclical events: in Podkarpacie, among others, “Nicz na Iwana Kupała” in Przemyśl, “Cultural Festival on the Osława River” in Mokrem. An element of the Association of Ukrainians in Poland’s activities is also the care of places of historical memory of Ukrainians, including various types of commemorations, cemeteries, historic Orthodox churches. Association of Ukrainians in Poland structures are also engaged in the implementation of educational activities, including the organisation

of summer camps for young people (such as camps in Kowalowka and Zhukov). Under the auspices of the Union from the regions, amateur Ukrainian minority ensembles operate. The subject in question also participates in projects promoting media cooperation (including projects of the Council of Europe, the Polish Embassy in Ukraine). Association of Ukrainians in Poland was also a co-organiser (together with the Adam Mickiewicz Institute) of the “Year of Ukraine in Poland” project (Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, n.d.).

In terms of media of various kinds, the Union of Ukrainians in Poland is active in publishing, publishing a number of books and magazines in Ukrainian and Polish. Since 1990, it has been the publisher of the weekly “Our Word”. In addition to this weekly, it also publishes the annual “Ukrainian Almanac” and the methodological and educational quarterly “Ridna Mowa” (since 2008). Its activities also extend to other media: it is the co-publisher of the TV magazine “Telenowyny”, broadcast on Regional TVP Info, and it also cooperates with Polish Radio stations making broadcasts in Ukrainian. The association is also active in the organisation of charitable and aid actions, addressed to those members of the Ukrainian community and Ukrainian citizens who have found themselves in difficult life situations (Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, n.d.).

The Union also conducts activities not related to the sphere of culture, concerning the consultation of legal issues relating to the situation of national and ethnic minorities in Poland. In this regard, representatives of the Union take part in the work of the Joint Commission of the Government and National Minorities, the Commission on National and Ethnic Minorities of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland. On the international level, the Union has undertaken cooperation with international organisations, including the Minority Rights Group. It is also a member of international Ukrainian structures — the World Congress of Ukrainians, the European Congress of Ukrainians, the Ukrainian All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council (Serwis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, n.d.).

In addition to the Association of Ukrainians in Poland, other Ukrainian organisations were formed in Poland in the first half of the 1990s, although some of them, functioned quite briefly, or were registered, but did not carry out any actual activity. The emergence of organisations other than the Association of Ukrainians in Poland is a result of both the diversity of the Ukrainian minority community and territorial dispersion. It should be noted, moreover, that as far as the representation of the Ukrainian minority in Poland is concerned, the Association of Ukrainians in Poland, still maintains its dominant position, being the most numerous and important organisation associated with it. The strong position of this organisation is due, among other things, to its rather extensive field structure, especially in central Poland, and in the areas of northern and western Poland. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that most of the other Ukrainian associations often have the official status of “supporting organisation of the Association of Ukrainians in Poland” (Serwis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, n.d.). Entities officially recognised as organisations supporting the Association of Ukrainians in Poland include:

- Association of Ukrainian Women in Poland,
- The PLAST Ukrainian Youth Organisation,
- The Ukrainian Historical Society,
- Ukrainian Teachers Association,
- Club of Ukrainian Lawyers,

- The Ukrainian Medical Association,
- The Union of Ukrainians of Podlasie,
- Unification of Lemkos in Poland,
- Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners,
- Ukrainian Society in Lublin.

Before the emergence of a large wave of migrants from Ukraine in recent years, most Ukrainian organisations operating in Poland today can be assigned to three main categories (Barwiński, 2012, p. 129):

- regional organisations,
- organisations following the tradition of the early 20th century,
- industry organisations.

The breakdown into the indicated categories, along with their main representatives, is shown in Table 1:

Table 1

Main types of Ukrainian minority organisations in Poland

Main categories	Representatives
Regional organisations	Union of Ukrainians of Podlasie, Ukrainian Society, Society of Ukrainians of Podkarpacie, Society of Lovers of the Open-air Museum of Material Culture of Chelmszczyzna and Podlasie in Holi.
Organisations following the tradition of the early 20 th century	Organisation of Ukrainian Youth “Plast”, Union of Ukrainian Women, Association “Ukrainian National House”.
Industry organisations	Ukrainian Teachers’ Society in Poland, Ukrainian Medical Society, Club of Ukrainian Lawyers, Ukrainian Historical Society, Union of Ukrainian Independent Youth.

Source: Barwiński, 2012, p. 129.

Among the most active Ukrainian minority organisations on a regional scale are the Union of Ukrainians of Podlasie and, operating in the Lublin and Chelm regions, the Ukrainian Society. These organisations have quite elaborate structures, importantly, independent of the Association of Ukrainians in Poland. Despite this independence, both of these organisations cooperate in various spheres with the Association of Ukrainians in Poland. The Union of Ukrainians of Podlasie, headquartered in Bielsk Podlaski, was founded in 1992. The organisation has 4 branches with approx. 140–150 members. The activities of this organisation are social, political, educational, and cultural, including publishing. Its primary goal is the revival of Ukrainian national identity and the Ukrainian language among the Orthodox inhabitants of Podlasie. To this end, it focuses mainly on activities aimed at preserving and developing Ukrainian cultural heritage in Podlasie. As part of its activities, it publishes a bimonthly socio-cultural magazine, “Nad Buhom i Narwoju”, with a circulation of about 1,000 copies, and organises concerts

and larger cultural events, including the Festival of Ukrainian Culture in Podlasie, “Podlasie Autumn,” “Na Iwan, na Kupała,” and the Ukrainian Song Contest “From Podlasie Krynica”. An element of her activity is also the support of amateur artistic groups (including “Rodyna”, “Ranok”, “Strumok”, “Hiłoczka”, “Tyrsa”). On her initiative, Ukrainian language lessons were introduced in schools in Bielsk Podlaski, Białystok and Czeremcha, as well as in a kindergarten in Bielsk Podlaski for those interested (*25 lat Związku Ukraińców*, 2015).

Quite a thriving regional activity is also carried out by the Ukrainian Society (hereinafter TU) based in Lublin, established in 1999, originally as “Society for the Care of Graves of Ukrainian Soldiers in Lublin”. Currently, the Ukrainian Society has 2 branches (in Lublin and Chelm) with approx. 100 members. With the change of the name to the current one in 2009, the Society expanded its activities, taking care of the national and cultural identity of Ukrainians in the Lublin and Chelm regions as its main goal. The realisation of this goal is carried out, among other things, through the organisation of festivals, concerts, cultural events, seminars, teaching the Ukrainian language in schools. An important part of TU’s activities is cooperation with Orthodox parishes and commemoration of the “Vistula” action. The Ukrainian Society also surrounds with care the quarters of soldiers of the army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic in Lublin. Until 2002, the TU published a magazine, “Chołmśkyj Wisnyk”, dedicated to the Ukrainian traditions of the region and the integration of the local Ukrainian community (Towarzystwo Ukraińskie, n.d.).

Among the organisations referring to the traditions of the early 20th century, the Association “Ukrainian National House” in Przemyśl was the first to start its activities, as early as in 1989, referring to the tradition of the organisation of the same name, which was established in the early 20th century. Currently, the Association in question has about 80 members. It conducts educational, educational and cultural activities, within the framework of which it focuses on the development of Ukrainian national identity. The foundation of the Association’s activities is the operation of the Ukrainian National House in Przemyśl, together with a library. The Association also runs the “Besida” discussion club, organises events and celebrations of Ukrainian holidays, and helps talented Ukrainian school students (Portal organizacji pozarządowych, n.d.a).

To the traditions dating back to the period before the First World War, I refer to the Organisation of Ukrainian Youth “Plast”, founded in 1990. Currently, this organisation has about 150 members in Poland. It operates on a much larger scale in Ukraine, where it has about 10,000 members. The main goal of the organisation is the patriotic upbringing of Ukrainian youth, caring for national identity and traditions, participating in the celebration of national holidays, and organising youth camps. The “Plast” organisation is also one of the signatories of the Youth Agreement of the Euroregion “Bug”. “Plast” conducts its activities in cooperation with the Polish Scouting Association and its counterpart in Ukraine (Płast – Ukraińska Organizacja Skautowa w Polsce, n.d.).

On the wave of developing pluralism among organisations of the Ukrainian minority in Poland, a number of entities associating persons of Ukrainian nationality associated with various professions were also established in the early 1990s. In this category, the most thriving are the Ukrainian Teachers Society in Poland, and the Ukrainian Medical Society (both established in 1991). The former, in addition to its headquarters in Biały Bor, has 8 branches with about 132 members. The goal of the Ukrainian Teachers

Society (hereafter UTN) in Poland is to support Ukrainian education, organising courses and conferences for teachers of schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction, as well as competitions and excursions for students of schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction. As part of its activities, the Society also develops and publishes curricula and edits the educational magazine "Ridna Mowa" (Eurodesk Polska, n.d.).

In 1992, the Union of Ukrainian Independent Youth, based in Gdansk, undertook its activities aimed primarily at the younger generation of the Ukrainian minority. The union has 2 branches and has 60 members. Its primary goal is to maintain Ukrainian national identity among young people, develop social, cultural and educational activities of Ukrainian youth, counteract the processes of national assimilation, and cultivate traditions and upbringing in native culture. The association also undertakes activities to deepen democratic attitudes, tolerance and respect for all nationalities. The organisation is also involved in organising festivals, concerts, and periodic cultural events. These include the "Ukrainian Youth Fair", the "Festival of National Minorities", the "Days of Religious Music", and the "Bytovska Warta". The Association runs the "Information Centre of National Minorities" in Gdansk, organises a series of training courses for NGOs in regions with a large share of national minorities (Portal organizacji pozarządowych, n.d.b).

Activities focusing on the study and promotion of the history of Ukrainians in Poland in various periods are handled by the Ukrainian Historical Society (hereafter UTH). Compared to the other organisations already mentioned, the UTH is a relatively recent organisation, having been founded in Warsaw in 2004. The UTH has 23 members, focusing on scholarly, publishing, and popularisation activities, in the field of historical knowledge of Ukrainian history and Polish-Ukrainian relations. The Society is also a co-organiser of seminars and scientific conferences in Wrocław, Legnica, Zielona Góra, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Warsaw, Biały Bor, Przemyśl, Słupsk. The Ukrainian Historical Society also publishes books on historical topics. It is also the publisher of the periodical "Scientific Journals of the Ukrainian Historical Society in Poland" (Ukraińskie Towarzystwo Historyczne w Polsce, n.d.).

Speaking of organisations related to the ("traditional") Ukrainian minority in Poland, it should be pointed out that the spatial structure of these entities, is essentially a direct result of the "Wisła" action, and the resulting distribution of members of this minority in post-war Poland. Hence, it should not come as a special surprise that the greatest concentration of branches and field circles of the organisations in question is found in northern and western Poland (especially in the Warmińsko-Mazurskie, Zachodniopomorskie and Lubuskie Voivodships) and in Podkarpacie, primarily in the vicinity of Przemyśl and Sanok. Also, of some importance in this aspect are Podlasie and Lublin, where there are fairly strong regional organisations. One should also not forget about Warsaw and Cracow, which in turn are the main headquarters of many, often significant Ukrainian organisations. This issue is important because, with such a significant territorial dispersion, coordination of the activities of these organisations is quite difficult. Considering this issue, it should also be pointed out that also Ukrainian organisations related to new migrants from Ukraine, further complicate the situation, because many of them are established in locations even different from those indicated, related to newly established clusters of this community, arising mainly where there is a greater chance of getting a job (Barwiński, 2012).

Despite their fairly large-scale activities, there are still many issues that are considered by the Ukrainian minority organisations in Poland to be problems that have not yet been resolved. Among their main demands, it should be pointed out, efforts to increase funding for Ukrainian education, the establishment in the main Ukrainian minority centres of a Ukrainian Cultural Institution financed from the state budget, and the elimination of the legal consequences of the “Wisła” action. On the local level, disputes continue to surface concerning mainly attempts to restore historical street names referring to Ukrainian history or figures associated with Ukrainian tradition, and commemorating the “Vistula” action. As the main successes of their activities, organisations associated with the Ukrainian minority consider, among others, the development of Ukrainian cultural activities, the end of the dispute over the Ukrainian National House in Przemyśl, their presence in the media and in the broadly defined “public space”, and the activity of young people during the 2011 census. At the same time, these circles point to certain failures, including, first and foremost, the progressive assimilation of the Ukrainian minority, the difficulty of attracting young people to organisational activities, insufficient funding for education and cultural activities from the state budget (Chodubski, 2012, p. 143).

Analysing various aspects of the activities of organisations related to the Ukrainian minority, it is also necessary to mention the issue of support for their functioning by the independent Ukrainian state. With regard to this issue, several periods are usually distinguished. The first covered the years from 1991 to 2005, when this support was considered minimal. Another distinguished period began after President Viktor Yushchenko came to power (2005–2010), when more serious cooperation between the Ukrainian government and Ukrainian minority organisations in Poland was initiated. Support from this side in this period manifested itself, among other things, in co-financing from the Ukrainian authorities (mainly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine) of large cultural events, festivals, conferences organised by Ukrainian associations. Co-financing from this side also included the arrival of folklore ensembles from Ukraine and material support for schools teaching the Ukrainian language (computers, books, newspapers). Visits by Ukrainian politicians to various ceremonies should also be considered a certain form of support for the activities of the Ukrainian minority. Another period of weakening of this support from the Ukrainian authorities occurred during the presidency of Viktor Yanukovich, and lasted at least until he stepped down after the events in Maidan. After the takeover of power by formations that can be described as more pro-Western and pro-EU, the support provided by the Ukrainian authorities for the activities of the Ukrainian community increased again (although its size is still assessed quite critically).

One of the more notable organisations established after 2000 is the Our Choice Foundation, founded in 2009 and based in Warsaw. The founders of this foundation were not only migrants from Ukraine, but also Poles. The primary goal guiding its establishment (and recognised as such, even today) is to work for the benefit of Ukrainian migrants in Poland, to help them integrate into Polish society and Polish culture, and to familiarise Poles with Ukrainian culture. An important part of the Foundation’s mission is also to support the development of cultural, educational, economic, and political contacts between Poland and Ukraine, and to spread democratic values and civil society. Currently, the Foundation’s activities concern not only migrants from Ukraine, but also people from other countries. An expression of such activities is the Founda-

tion's involvement in initiatives and projects concerning groups of other foreigners residing in Poland (Ukrainski dom, 2019).

In 2007, the Socio-Cultural Association Poland-Ukraine in Poznan was established. Its main goal is to present Ukrainian culture in the Wielkopolska region. Already in 2008, the Association organised the first edition of the Festival of Culture — Ukrainian Spring, which has become a regular event, and has become a permanent part of the cultural landscape of the capital of Wielkopolska for these years (*O festiwalu*, n.d.). As part of its activities, the Association presents Ukrainian art, literature, music, design, especially those created nowadays, but it also does not forget Ukrainian traditions in this sphere. The artists invited by the Association represent both mainstream and more alternative circles. Hence, Ukrainian culture presented at the association's events includes folk and rock bands, but also opera and ballet artists. The Poland-Ukraine Association also organises historical workshops, political debates, and scientific conferences. The association also strives to present Polish culture, especially related to the Wielkopolska region, to newly arrived migrants from Ukraine. In its perspective, the slogan "get to know your neighbour" does not apply only to the attitude of Poles towards Ukrainian culture, but also to migrants from Ukraine, who, in order to integrate into the host society, must also get acquainted with its cultural traditions (*O festiwalu*, n.d.).

A much younger entity than the two organisations described above is the Zustrich Foundation. Which was registered in March 2016 and was created on the basis of the informal group Ukrainian Club in Krakow. This foundation continues the Club's activities, which have been carried out since the end of 2013, and which initially stemmed directly from the reaction to the tragic events of the Maidan in Kyiv. Therefore, at this stage, the activities undertaken by the aforementioned Club focused primarily on the organisation of campaigns in support of the Ukrainian Maidan and the collection of humanitarian aid for Ukrainians who suffered during these events and during the war in eastern Ukraine. Prior to the registration of the "Zustrich" Foundation, the Ukrainian Club in Krakow conducted and organised several meetings to promote Ukrainian culture. It also co-organised stays in Poland of groups of children from Ukraine, coming from families of victims. The Club also participated in the project "Album of the years before," in which a total of 100 children from Ukraine and Poland participated, implemented by the Pokolenie association. A significant result of these initiatives was an exhibition of photographic works and a film "Children of Majdan" made on the basis of interviews with project participants. Currently, the film can be seen on TVP Krakow in the Kontrapunkt studio (Fundacja Zustricz, n.d.).

The essential elements of the Foundation's mission include activities dedicated primarily to Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement and cooperation, which involves breaking down barriers and stereotypes, building modern, multicultural, and democratic communities on the basis of basic social values. The Foundation's goal is to support the integration of Ukrainians living in Poland, primarily through adaptation to a new environment. Particularly important for the "Zustrich" Foundation, is the promotion of culture and science, including the organisation of cultural events and scientific meetings. In its activities, the organisation also does not forget the importance of sports, physical activity, and healthy recreation. This is due to the overall approach of the Foundation, according to which, it should support the multifaceted development of individuals, because only in this way, it is possible to form a mature and strong society. Among the

projects carried out so far, we should mention, among others: Getting to Know Krakow, Krakow of Your Imagination, as well as Neighbourhood Circle, and After the Neighbourhood. The indicated projects serve, on the one hand, to familiarise the residents of Krakow with the culture and history of Ukraine, on the other hand, to familiarise Ukrainian migrants with the history and current situation of the capital of Malopolska. As the Foundation itself estimates, more than five hundred people have so far participated in the various projects it has organised. Importantly, these were not only representatives of Polish society or the Ukrainian community, but also representatives of other nationalities (Fundacja Zustricz, n.d.).

Conclusions

Summarising the current situation of organisations related to the broader Ukrainian community in Poland (not forgetting smaller organisations), it should be emphasised that, as the presented material has made clear, those that are active carry out a fairly wide range of activities of a diverse nature, depending on their profile, focusing on promoting selected spheres of culture of the Ukrainian minority (and the Ukrainian nation more broadly) both among members of this community and the rest of Polish society. Those that were created in response to the recent wave of migration from Ukraine, in addition to presenting Ukrainian culture, etc., also focus on other needs of this group. To this end, they allow them to learn about Polish conditions in various spheres: cultural, social, as well as economic, and legal. Importantly, many of them do not focus exclusively on Ukrainian migrants, but are also open to cooperation with representatives of other minorities and migrant communities.

Thus, it can be concluded that cultural projects implemented by organisations associated with the Ukrainian community in Poland, showing diverse aspects of Ukrainian culture, meet the different, but not, mutually exclusive needs of this community, as well as that part of Polish society, which has become aware of the increasing presence of newcomers from beyond the southern eastern border in recent years.

The scientific novelty of the article is a comprehensive study of Ukrainian organisations and associations in Poland, shaping the image of the Ukrainian minority in Poland (on the example of 1991–2019), both in terms of successful cooperation and existing problems.

Prospects for further research. This topic is very relevant, and at the same time interesting, because it concerns an evaluative phenomenon that is becoming more and more common in modern times due to the widespread migration of people of Ukrainian origin to Poland. Therefore, the article can be regarded as an introduction to further research on this issue.

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Українські організації та асоціації, які формують образ української меншини в Польщі (на прикладі 1991–2019 років)

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Мета статті — проаналізувати діяльність українських організацій, асоціацій і фестивалів, які формують образ української меншини в Польщі. *Результати дослідження.* Підходи дослідження теми статті потребують посилання на кілька базових положень, основою яких є переконання у тому, що кожна людина, незалежно від її національності, є соціальною істотою, яка належить до певної групи, що функціонує як спільнота зі стійкими зв'язками. Для належного викладу питань, що містяться у статті, використовуються різні теорії та методологічні припущення, зокрема нормативний підхід, дискурс щодо функціонування національних меншин, історичний підхід, а також функціональний підхід, особливо стосовно питання асиміляції і взаємопроникнення української та польської культур. *Наукова новизна* полягає в комплексному дослідженні українських організацій та асоціацій у Польщі, що формують образ української меншини (на прикладі 1991–2019 років) як з погляду успішної співпраці, так і наявних проблем. *Висновки.* Побудова добросусідських відносин між народами ґрунтується на діяльності державних інституцій і безпосередніх взаєминах між громадянами сусідніх країн. Нехтування будь-якою з цих сфер відображається на характері таких відносин. Неузгодженість дій з боку влади щодо цього може негативно вплинути на активність громадян і за відсутності громадських ініціатив робить відносини порожньою формою без змісту. Серед найважливіших прикладів громадських ініціатив — різноманітні типи організацій та асоціацій, які створюються, зокрема, для роботи над збереженням культурної ідентичності української громади та розвитку співробітництва між Польщею та Україною.

Ключові слова: українська меншина в Польщі; образ української меншини в Польщі; українські організації; асоціації; фестивалі в Польщі

