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NATIONAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE GREATER POLAND VOIVODSHIP

Greater Poland (Wielkopolska) is an area without any natural borders which, for centuries, has been a land of major trade routes and related flow of people. Some of them settled there, often enriching local history and culture.

In the light of the current administrative division of Poland, it needs to be underlined that it is not fully possible to clearly define the historical borders of the Greater Poland region. However, that problem concerns mainly the borderlands, as main parts of the region have always been part of the territory identified as Greater Poland. Roughly speaking, to this day the core of the region is the territory of the Kaliskie and Poznańskie voivodships of the 14th century.¹ In this paper, however, I am going to refer to the Wielkopolskie (Greater Poland) voivodship within its boundaries established in 1999 in result of the administrative reform.²

I

The paper is an analysis of publications and other legacy materials such as results of the 2002 and 2011 Censuses, documents of the Wielkopolskie Voivodship Office, the Wielkopolskie Education Authority, the Wielkopolskie Labour Office, and information on websites of national and ethnic minorities. A part of the study is based on results of field research carried from 2011 to 2013 among members of Roma, German, Ukrainian, Jewish, and Bulgarian minorities in the Wielkopolskie voivodship. Twenty in-depth interviews and 5 shorter ones were conducted. Twenty five people were interviewed, including 9 women and 16 men, all aged 21 to 85 years. The group included persons who declared their affiliation to German (10), Roma (9), Ukrainian (3), Jewish (2), and Bulgarian (1) minorities. The research was based on semi-structured interviews, guidelines for which were grouped into thematic blocks. In addition to interviews, the author refers to observations made at

¹ W. Łęcki (ed.) (2004), *Wielkopolska. Nasza kraina*, Vol. 1, Poznań, p. 15.

² Journal of Laws of 1998, No. 96, item 603.

meetings at offices of minority organisations and General and Election Meetings of minority associations.

The aim of this paper is to answer the question what the situation of national and ethnic minorities in the Wielkopolskie voivodship is. The present trend towards demassification of the cultural order, i.e. empowerment of minority organisations, has contributed to activation of groups which, so far, have been barely noticeable. In Poland, the interest in the issue of national and ethnic minorities has been re-born.³ However, the available information on minorities in Greater Poland seems insufficient. Research on minorities has, so far, focused on selected narrow topics, concentrating on some activities of largest minorities only, i.e. of Roma people and Germans.⁴ Thus a question should be asked how all noticeable national and ethnic minorities in the voivodship present themselves against the background of the majority society.

Minorities in Greater Poland are small in number and territorially scattered. They do not form compact local communities in any part of the voivodship. Particular national and ethnic minorities differ in their internal organisation. As those minorities are dispersed, they have not founded major non-governmental organisations which would influence the political, social, or cultural life of the region in a significant way. Activities of existing associations and foundations largely depend on activities of individual leaders. The basis for the functioning of minority organisations are governmental programmes and subsidies.

II

In the Second Polish Republic, i.e. after 1918, it was estimated that over 11 millions of inhabitants of Poland, i.e. around 35% of the entire populations, were members of national minorities. The Polish territory was inhabited by almost 5 million Ukrainians, over 3 million Jews, nearly 1 million Belarusians and 830 thousand Germans, to mention just the largest of the minorities.⁵ After the nightmare of World War II, the approach taken by new national authorities was that Poland should be a uniform state in terms of nationality and ethnicity. After WW2, in result of war losses, changed borders and migrations of people, national and ethnic minorities constituted about 2.5% of the population of Poland.⁶ In that context, the Wielkopol-

³ A. Chodubski, *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne w Polsce: dziedzictwo przeszłości i teraźniejszości*, in: E. Subocz, S. Garbart (eds) (2013), *Współczesne wyzwania polityki wobec romskiej mniejszości etnicznej – edukacja, dyskryminacja, wykluczenie społeczne*, Warszawa, p. 126.

⁴ Cf. A. Sakson (ed.) (1994), *Polska – Niemcy – mniejszość niemiecka w Wielkopolsce. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, Poznań; A. Choniawko (2007), *Polityka wobec mniejszości romskiej w latach 1952-1973 na przykładzie Wielkopolski*, "Przegląd Zachodni" No. 3.

⁵ H. Chałupczak, T. Browarek (1998), *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce 1918-1995*, Lublin, p. 22.

⁶ H. Chałupczak, *Liczba mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w Polsce w świetle powszechnego spisu ludności z 2002 roku oraz badań naukowych*, in: E. Michalik, H. Chałupczak (eds) (2006), *Mniejszości narodowe i etniczne w procesach transformacji oraz integracji*, Lublin, pp. 264-265.

skie voivodship appeared to be a region where minorities were even less numerous and did not constitute any organised group.

While writing about national and ethnic minorities, it is common to refer to results of national censuses. Since detailed results of the 2011 Census are not available, I will refer to the previous 2002 Census too. It needs to be said, however, that the information on nationality and/or ethnic origin has a specific status in statistical research because it concerns highly subjective and sensitive areas of private life. Estimated minority numbers differ from the census data, usually because of one's fear or reluctance to officially admit his or her minority affiliation. According to the 2002 National Census, the Wielkopolskie voivodship was inhabited by 2,544 people belonging to national and ethnic minorities.⁷ In 2011, for the first time in the history of Polish national censuses, respondents could declare complex national and ethnic identities. A comparison of results of the 2002 and 2011 Censuses reveals that the number of people who declared to be members of national and ethnic minorities grew substantially in 2011. According to preliminary results of the 2011 National Census, in the voivodship in question, the population of homogeneous Polish national identity strongly prevails. However, around 13 thousand people, i.e. 0.4% of the entire population of the voivodship, have both Polish and non-Polish national and ethnic identities, while about 5 thousand people have declared only their non-Polish identity. The huge majority of the voivodship population speaks only Polish at home. The census results reveal also that almost 14,700 people speak a non-Polish language at home, 13,600 of whom use it alternatively with the Polish language.⁸

National and ethnic minorities in the Wielkopolskie voivodship can be classified into three groups according to their size, historical ties with the region, internal organisation and external activity. The first group includes minorities whose presence is noted incidentally. Communities in that group had not played any major role in the history of Greater Poland. Generally, they have not created any stable organisations to represent them. The second group are minorities which are also small in number but clearly accentuate their presence in the voivodship. Those minorities have left their trace in the history of the region and are still present in the awareness of the majority society. Communities belonging to the second group have their non-governmental organisations and religious associations that represent them in external contacts. The third group of minorities includes the relatively largest communities which, in some parts of Greater Poland, form fairly compact societies that are noticed by the majority population. Communities in that group have left their mark on the history of Greater Poland. Compared to two first groups, those minorities have most strongly resisted assimilation and now have the largest and best functioning non-governmental organisations with active leaders representing their interests.

⁷ Statistical data on the 2002 National Census are based on the data published by the Central Statistical Office: www.stat.gov.pl/gus/8185_PLK_HTML.htm [accessed: 13.05.2013].

⁸ J. Kowalewski (ed.) (2012), *Raport z wyników w województwie wielkopolskim. Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011*, Poznań, pp. 85-87.

III

The first group distinguished above includes the Russian, Belarusian, Lemko, Lithuanian, Czech, Tatar, Armenian, Slovak, Greek and Bulgarian minorities. Their membership is exceptionally small. Their presence can be noticed primarily on the basis of results of general censuses, religious activities, and an analysis of historical events. Usually, they do not exhibit any forms of organised activities. According to the available 2011 National Census data, the following numbers of people declared their affiliation to those minorities in the Wielkopolskie voivodship: 504 people to the Russian minority, 311 people to the Belarusian minority, 167 people to the Lemko minority, 153 people to the Lithuanian minority, 120 people to the Czech minority, 94 people to the Tatar minority, 93 people to the Armenian minority, and 81 people to the Slovak minority.⁹ According to the 2002 Census, also 66 people of Bulgarian nationality and 54 people of Greek nationality lived in the voivodship. The two latter groups were not included in the list of national and ethnic minorities in the Act of 2005¹⁰. In my opinion, however, they meet most conditions which identify national minorities and I have included them in my research. According to the 2002 Census, most members of each of the aforementioned minorities, except for Lemkos, lived in Poznań which is the capital city of Greater Poland.¹¹ In this group of minorities, the Russian minority is the largest. Between WW1 and WW2, there were noticeable communities of Russians in large Polish towns, including Poznań. Those were mainly families of Czarist officers and civil servants who immigrated after the October Revolution.¹² Today, members of that group can be found in religious Orthodox Christian communities. The Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Poland has two churches in the voivodship: the Saint Nicolas Orthodox Church in Poznań, erected during the inter-war period, and the Saints Apostles Peter and Paul Orthodox Church in Kalisz. The number of Russians and Belarusians grows in Greater Poland due to mixed marriages and increasingly open borders.

Due to their small size and lack of charismatic leaders, most minorities in the first group do not have their organisations. One exception is the Belarusian Cultural and Scientific Centre in Poznań. It is not, however, a typical organisation of national and ethnic minorities. Its members are mainly students from Belarus and Poland. The aim of the Belarusian Centre in Poznań is to promote democracy in Belarus and popularise the knowledge of Belarussian culture and history. Its co-founder and chairman is Vital Voranau, a Belarusian writer and poet.

⁹ The 2011 National Census data on the size of particular minorities used in this paper are based on: <http://mniejszosci.narodowe.mac.gov.pl/mne/mniejszosci/wyniki-narodowego-spis/6999,Mniejszosci-narodowe-i-etniczne-oraz-spolecznosc-poslugujaca-sie-jezykiem-kaszub.html> [accessed: 16.08.2013].

¹⁰ Journal of Laws of 2005, No. 17, item 141.

¹¹ According to results of the 2002 National Census, the largest population of Lemkos, i.e. 32 people, lived in the Czarnkowsko-trzcianecki powiat.

¹² L. Olejnik (2003), *Polityka narodowościowa Polski w latach 1944-1960*, Łódź, p. 528

Bulgarians arrived to Greater Poland at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. They were émigrés. After World War II, there were about 200 Bulgarians in Poznań and they worked mainly in horticulture and gardening. Later, local authorities decided to drive gardeners from their farms in Rataje (a part of Poznań) in order to build residential estates in that area. Bulgarians, who mostly lived there, left Poland or moved to neighbouring villages.¹³ To this day, the powiat of Poznań is still inhabited by people who identify themselves with the Bulgarian minority.¹⁴

The decision not to include Greeks in the list of national or ethnic minorities in the Act of 2005 was due to the fact that their ancestors have not “resided within the present territory of the Republic of Poland for at least a hundred years”. Dozens of thousands of Greek citizens left their country after the defeat of communists in the Greek civil war of 1946-1949. About 15 thousands of them arrived in Poland. At the end of 1952, there were 19 Greek families with 61 members in Poznań.¹⁵ As a matter of fact, some Greeks, usually tradesmen, had lived in Poznań in previous centuries. For instance, Janusz Żupański, a bookseller and a publisher, came from a Polonised family of Greek merchants. After World War II, a branch of the Nikos Belojanis Association of Political Refugees from Greece in Poland (Związek Uchodźców Politycznych z Grecji w Polsce im. Nikosa Belojanisa) was established in Poznań and, in 1984, changed its name to the Association of Greeks in Poland (Towarzystwo Greków w Polsce). Currently, there is no branch of that association in Poznań. Following the collapse of the Regime of the Colonels in Greece in 1974 and the Act on free repatriation of 1983, some Greeks returned to their homeland. Those who remained in Poland were usually married to a Polish spouse. At present, about 20 Polish-Greek families live in Poznań.¹⁶ The Greek minority is characterised by a high level of education. In the 1980s and 1990s, women in that group were, for example, teachers at primary schools in the Rataje district of Poznań. Helena Dzoka, a singer from the Greek diaspora, whose stage name is Eleni, was a most popular pop music star in Poland from the 1980s to the mid 1990s.

IV

The second group of minorities identified above includes Ukrainians and Jews. According to the 2011 National Census, there were 831 people belonging to the Ukrainian minority in the Wielkopolskie voivodship. As the results of the National Census of 2002 suggest, Ukrainians live mainly in Poznań and the Czarnkowsko-

¹³ Cf. U. Kaczmarek (2001), *Bułgarscy ogrodnicy*, in: *Rataje i Zegrze*, “Kronika Miasta Poznania” No. 3, pp. 194-203.

¹⁴ An interview conducted in 2012 with a person who declared to be a member of the Bulgarian minority.

¹⁵ A. Górna-Kubacka (2007), *Związek Uchodźców Politycznych z Grecji w Polsce im. Nikosa Belojanisa. Oddział Poznański*, “Przegląd Zachodni” No. 3, p. 230.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 238.

trzcianecki and Złotowski powiats. First Ukrainians settled in Greater Poland between 1918-1939. They were mainly Symon Petliura's soldiers interned in Kalisz. In result of the 1947 Operation Vistula forced resettlement, over 8 thousand people of Ukrainian origin moved to 9 powiats in the Poznańskie voivodship (which in 1945-1950 included the Lubusz Land).¹⁷ After 1947, in Poznań alone, there were about one thousand Ukrainians. Ukrainians were to settle in the so-called Recovered Territories bordering with Germany, where attempts were made to disperse them. At that time, the rule was that there could be no more than three Ukrainian families in one village. From 1957 to 1958, there was a wave of their returns to eastern parts of Poland. In the late 1950s, Ukrainians in Greater Poland began to get involved in social and cultural life, mainly under the umbrella of the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Association (Ukraińskie Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne)¹⁸. Their integration was supported by the *Nasze Słowo* [Our Word] weekly published in the Ukrainian language and available across Poland. Its distribution network and subscriptions facilitated learning who lived where. In addition, meetings were organised at the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society (Towarzystwo Przyjaźni Polsko-Radzieckiej) in the centre of Poznań at Ratajczaka Street. The Poznań branch of the Associations of Ukrainians in Poland (Związek Ukraińców) is still active though not much. The branch meetings bring together people of different age and those aged 20 to 40 years prevail. Ukrainians have integrated in their non-governmental organisations and around the Greek Catholic Church. In the 1970s, an opportunity arose to attend services celebrated by a Greek Catholic priest. Starting from 2002, a Greek Catholic mass has been celebrated each Sunday. It is attended primarily by members of the Ukrainian minority living in Poznań, students from eastern regions of Poland, and Ukrainian citizens who study or work in Poznań. According to people interviewed, the attendance ranges from 20 to 50 people. The Greek Catholic community does not have its own church and, in the past, they used the Roman Catholic church at Żydowska Street in Poznań. Starting from 2013, the community has been using the Roman Catholic church at Toruńska Street in Poznań. Many initiatives related to the Ukrainian culture are organised by communities which are not directly connected with that minority. At the *Bukowińskie Spotkania* International Folk Festival, which has been organised in Jastrowie for over twenty years, the Lemko and Ukrainian cultures are presented. There is also the *Poland-Ukraine* Social and Cultural Association (Stowarzyszenie Społeczno-Kulturalne "Polska-Ukraina") in Poznań which brings together a large group of people interested in the Ukrainian culture. Its aim is to integrate the population of Greater Poland with inhabitants of different regions of Ukraine.¹⁹ Every year, the largest event organised by the Association is the *Ukraińska Wiosna* [Ukrainian

¹⁷ R. Drozd (1997), *Droga na zachód. Osadnictwo ludności ukraińskiej na ziemiach zachodnich i północnych Polski w ramach akcji "Wisła"*, Warszawa, p. 14.

¹⁸ Information contained in this part, comes from interviews conducted in 2013 with three persons who declared to be members of the Ukrainian minority.

¹⁹ www.poznajasiada.org/event/ukrajinska-vesna/ [accessed: 13.05.2013].

Spring] festivity, the programme of which includes concerts, folk craft exhibitions, historical workshops, and scientific conferences. In 2013, it was held for the 6th time and events were organised in Poznań, the Poznański powiat, Leszno, Zbąszyń, Piła, and Gniezno.

According to the 2011 National Census results, there were 285 people in Greater Poland who declared their affiliation to the Jewish minority. Most of them lived in Poznań and in the Poznański powiat. In the history of Polish Jews, Greater Poland, and in particular Poznań, were highly important places. In the 19th century, in the territory annexed by Prussia, Jews assimilated to the German society. Having been granted equal rights in the Prussian state, Jews frequently were very loyal to Prussia, which made Poles averse to them. After World War I, a large part of the Jewish community moved to Germany. The subsequent World War II permanently interrupted the history of that minority in Polish lands. Almost 90% of pre-war Polish Jews died during the Holocaust.²⁰ After 1945, the size of the Jewish population in Poland shrank gradually in result of emigration waves. At present, it is difficult to determine the precise size of that minority in Poland. The Jewish commune has about 40 members active in Poznań.²¹ It is thus a small but highly organised group. In accordance with the principle that every child born to a Jewish mother is a Jew, the Jews of Poznań refer to their matrilineal descent. Many persons keep searching for their Jewish identity and this, usually, does not exclude the sense of being also a Pole.²² The organisation that represents their religious life is the Poznań branch of the Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Poland. Its leader is Alicja Kobus, a charismatic local government activist. The community organises celebrations of the Shabbat and other Jewish holy days. Since the year 2000, a field branch of the Jewish Social and Cultural Association in Poland (Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Żydów w Polsce), which is the largest Jewish organisation in Poland, was established in the Wielkopolskie voivodship. Another organisation active in the voivodship is the Association of Jewish War Veterans and Victims of World War II (Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Osób Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej). Activities of the association are financed with governmental subsidies, its own funds, and by private sponsors. An important spot on the cultural map of Poznań is the *Miasteczko Poznań* [The Little Town of Poznań] which is “a Jewish magazine about small homelands” as its authors describe it. Its editor is Zbigniew Pakuła, a Posnanian writer and journalist and the author of book about the Poznań Jews: *Siwe Kamienie* and *The Jews of Poznań*. So far, the *Miasteczko Poznań* magazine has been published twice a year but the intent of the editorial staff is to make it a quarterly from

²⁰ A. Cała, *Mniejszość żydowska*, in: P. Madajczyk (ed.) (1998), *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce, Państwo i społeczeństwo polskie a mniejszości narodowe w okresach przełomów politycznych 1944-1989*, Warszawa, p. 245.

²¹ www.poznan.jewish.org.pl/index.php/0_naszej_gminie/ [accessed: 10.05.2013].

²² Information contained in this part of the paper comes from interviews conducted in 2013 with two persons who declared to be members of the Jewish minority.

2013. The magazine is published in 1,200 copies and each issue has about 144 pages. The Jewish heritage of Poznań and Greater Poland is an increasingly popular topic. For some time, the issue which had been most frequently covered in the media is the restoration of the Poznań synagogue building. The building of the so-called New Synagogue was built 1907 at Stawna Street and testified to the prosperity of the Poznań Jewish community. In 1941, the German occupation authorities turned the synagogue into a swimming pool, greatly disturbing the architecture of that part of the Poznań Old Town. Attempts at establishing a centre for dialogue and tolerance in the synagogue have been made for a long time. Every January, the Catholic Church, in cooperation with the Jewish community, organises the Days of Judaism. The festivity of the Jewish Street in Poznań and celebrations of the founding of Israel which were held in May 2013 in Greater Poland, confirm the impact of the Jewish heritage on the present inhabitants of the region.

V

The third group, which I have identified above, includes Roma and German minorities. They are the largest and best organised groups. According to declared national/ethnic affiliations in the 2011 National Census, there were 1,221 people of Roma origin and 3,191 people of German origin in the Wielkopolskie voivodship.

During the Second Republic of Poland, the German minority in Greater Poland was a compact and well organised community.²³ In 1931, about 193 thousands members of the German minority lived in the then Poznańskie voivodship.²⁴ The end of World War II and the subsequent expulsion of the German population reduced the size of that community markedly. According to results of the 2002 National Census, most members of the German minority lived in the Złotowski powiat, in Poznań and Piła. Today, the German community in Greater Poland is dispersed and diversified. Its members include both ethnic Germans from Poznań and the former Leszczyńskie voivodship who were citizens of the Second Polish Republic before WW2, and Germans who, before WW2, were citizens of the 3rd Reich and whose places of residence became part of the territory of the Polish state after 1945. There are also some Germans from the former eastern parts of Poland who arrived to Greater Poland during World War II and decided to stay, usually because of marrying a Polish spouse. Last but not least, there are Germans from other regions of Poland who settled in Greater Poland after WW2.²⁵ Most members of the German minority in the Wielko-

²³ A. Sakson, *Niemcy i mniejszość niemiecka w Wielkopolsce – od grupy dominującej do grupy diasporycznej*, in: *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce. Niemcy w rozproszeniu*, Vol. 2, Series: Poland-Germany, No. 4, Warszawa 1999, p. 36.

²⁴ H. Chałupeczak, T. Browarek (1998), *op. cit.*, p. 125.

²⁵ A. Sakson (1993), *Działalność Towarzystwa Społeczno-Kulturalnego Mniejszości Niemieckiej Ziemi Wielkopolskiej*, "Przegląd Zachodni" No. 1, pp. 163-164.

polskie voivodship are people born before 1939.²⁶ While being interviewed by me, those who were born after 1945, underlined that they have maintained their German identity thanks to their parents and grandparents. The noticeable lack of younger people in the German community is usually explained with possibilities to leave for Germany in the 1990s. About 85% of members of the German minority, who were active in Poznań in the first half of the 1990s, did not know the German language.²⁷ According to interviewed members of that minority in Piła, in the northern part of the voivodship, the ability to speak and write German is higher (about 50%-60%). It is worth noting, however, that meetings of the minority members in Piła, which I had the chance to observe in 2011, 2012, and 2013, were held in the Polish language.²⁸ German was used by some members only. Some of them were disappointed that the whole meeting could not have been held in the German language. The interview data demonstrate that most members of the German minority in the Wielkopolskie voivodship are Roman Catholics. The interviewees said that the Sunday mass in the Evangelical-Augsburg parish in Piła is attended by about 60 people, some of whom are members of the German minority.

The first German minority organisation in Greater Poland was the Cultural and Social Association of the German Minority in Greater Poland (Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Mniejszości Niemieckiej Ziemi Wielkopolskiej, TSKMNZW) which was registered in the early 1990s by people from Poznań, Luboń and Ostrów Wielkopolski. In 1993, the Association had 426 members and 274 supporters.²⁹ The largest number of its members lived in Poznań and in the former Poznańskie and Leszczyńskie voivodships. The association had three branches covering western and northern Greater Poland, Poznań, and southern Greater Poland. The first leader of that organisation was Włodzimierz Alois Siebert from Luboń. In November 1992, an explosive device was planted at the seat of the Association in Luboń, causing serious material losses. The threatened Board of the Association decided to close its Luboń office. During the initial period of its activity, the Association effectively cooperated with many institutions in the voivodship. In cooperation with the Institute for Western Affairs in Poznań, it organised conferences on the history of the region and the German minority in Greater Poland. However, the lack of a charismatic leader, personal conflicts, and internal differences curbed further development of the Association and it split in 1994. New organisations gradually declined. At the beginning of the 21st century, there was the Social and Cultural Association of the German

²⁶ Information contained in this part of the paper comes from interviews conducted in 2013 with ten persons who declared to be members of the German minority.

²⁷ A. Sakson (1993), *Działalność Towarzystwa Społeczno-Kulturalnego...*, p. 167.

²⁸ Based on observations of the General Meeting of the German Social and Cultural Association (Niemieckie Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne, NTSK) in Piła on 14 May 2011, of the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the NTSK in Piła on 2 June 2012, and of the General Meeting of the NTSK in Piła on 27 April 2013.

²⁹ A. Sakson (1993), *Działalność Towarzystwa Społeczno-Kulturalnego...*, p. 163.

Minority in Poznań (Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Mniejszości Niemieckiej w Poznaniu). In 2007, it reported that the German minority in Poznań and its vicinity was about 760 people strong, including family members.³⁰ That Association had its seat in Poznań. It organised lectures on the German heritage, Advent celebrations and language courses. Its members cared for the graves of German soldiers at war cemeteries. They also collaborated with the Poznań Evangelical Association (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Ewangelickie). In addition, they published a quarterly information bulletin titled *Posener Heimat*. However, a personal conflict combined with a suspicion of fraud and the Association broke down. Due to organisational problems and the lack of a local leader, no attempts were made to rebuild the Association in Poznań. Only now, thanks to the declared active support of the Union of German Social and Cultural Associations (Związek Niemieckich Stowarzyszeń Społeczno-Kulturalnych), about 15 members of the German minority in Poznań try to reconstruct its structure. The rebirth of organisational life of the German minority in Poznań may be successful thanks to new projects financed by the Ministry of the Interior of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In contrast, the German minority in northern Greater Poland has its one NGO which has been active to this day. Members of that community are mostly German citizens since birth who, after 1945, remained in Poland. In Piła, first activities of the German minority members began under the umbrella of the Social and Cultural Association of the German Minority in Gdańsk, and later of the Association in Bydgoszcz. In 1992, an independent German Social and Cultural Association (Niemieckie Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne, NTSK), was established and covered Piła and Złotów. The Association in Piła appointed Edwin Kemnitz to be its chairman. Kemnitz was born in 1934 in the area of the now Chodzieski powiat. He has been the chairman for over 20 years, proving his great commitment despite his age related health issues. Throughout those years, over 1300 people were members of the NTSK in Piła. At present, the Association has 221 members in Piła and 68 in Złotów, including 157 ordinary members with documented German origin; others are supporting members who usually are family members. On 27 April 2013, the General Meeting of the NTSK in Piła was attended by 42 ordinary members and 20 supporting members. When interviewed, activists of the Association explained that the low attendance was due to the old age and poor health of many members. It was also underlined that cultural and social events organised by the Association often enjoy better attendance than election meetings. The persons interviewed were of the opinion that the number of persons of German descent in northern Greater Poland is higher than the number of the NTSK members. They said that some people who declare to be Germans have not joined the NTSK for many reasons including the obligation to pay the membership fee.

³⁰ M. Wittek (2007), *Związek Niemieckich Stowarzyszeń Społeczno-Kulturalnych w Polsce 1991-2007*, Opole, p. 253

The NTSK in Piła is a permanent member of the Union of German Social and Cultural Associations in Poland. The NTSK in Piła cooperates with the Union of Former Piła (Schneidemühl) Residents in Germany and Denmark. The Association offers German language courses at different levels for various age groups. There is also a choir which popularises German songs. The NTSK has its own office with a library of German literature and press. The seat of the Association is the place of meetings with guests from Poland and Germany and of social gatherings of senior persons. In addition, the NTSK has its website. The interviewees emphasised also the relatively good cooperation with the local government. The Association assists two kindergartens in Piła in teaching the German language to children. Celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the Association in Piła held in 2012 were attended by the Mayor of Piła and the head (*starosta*) of the Pilski powiat. Activities of the NTSK in Piła are funded with governmental subsidies for national and ethnic minorities as well as financially supported by the Foundation for the Development of Silesia and Support of Local Initiatives in Opole (Fundacja Rozwoju Śląska oraz Wspierania Inicjatyw Lokalnych w Opolu), the German Consulate General in Gdańsk, and the Union of German Social and Cultural Associations in Poland which has its seat in Opole.

After their dynamic and spontaneous development in the early 1990s, organisations of the German minority entered a stagnation phase. That is best illustrated with the history of the association in Poznań. In the beginning, German organisations were attractive to potential members. Being a member of a minority was useful for those who applied for double citizenship and it helped them get legal jobs in Germany. The process of European integration contributed to the loss of the original appeal of German associations. Activities of those associations have gradually been based on the involvement of their senior members. In contrast to the situation in Poznań, leaders of the NTSK in Piła, despite their old age health issues, have succeeded in keeping the NTSK alive. It is clear, however, that German associations need new younger elites and a wider intellectual base. German minority organisations may provide the still needed support in the difficult task of familiarising residents of Greater Poland with the German cultural heritage.

VI

The Roma people are a group oriented towards intra-group activities and that clearly differentiates them not only from the majority population but also from other minority groups. Having a culture perceived as exotic and archaic, the Roma minority has managed to resist assimilation. At the same time, the cultural distinctness and a specific social and economic situation make the Roma most endangered with social exclusion and negative perception by the majority population.³¹ After World

³¹ E. Subocz, *Romowie w Polsce – między egzotyką a marginalizacją społeczną*, in: A. Chodubski,

War I, when Poland regained independence, different groups of Roma people found their home in Greater Poland. They were descendants of those who lived in the Republic of Poland for centuries, the nineteenth-century immigrants from Wallachia and Transylvania, as well as those whose earlier cultural environment was German or Russian. The Roma in Greater Poland, like in other regions of Europe, have never been a uniform community. They are divided into many groups which differ in terms of their dialects, history, internal laws, and traditions.

According to the 2011 National Census data, the Roma population in the Wielkopolskie voivodship is the fifth largest in Poland. To compare, according to the "Census of Gypsies" carried out by the administration in 1976, there were about 1,500 Roma people registered (permanent residence) in Greater Poland (at the time divided into four voivodships). They formed over 300 families. In Poznań, 78 people (13 families) lived in 1976.³² In an attempt at describing the size and territorial distribution of the Roma in Greater Poland, I will supplement the aforementioned results of censuses with my research findings. I found an analysis of Roma cooperation with local governments, which is part of the governmental Programme for the Roma Community in Poland³³, performed by the Wielkopolskie Voivodship Office to be helpful. Another useful document was a report on Roma pupils which included the number of Roma children in school age and the number of children who actually attended schools³⁴ prepared by the Wielkopolskie Educational Authority for the head (viovod) of the Wielkopolskie voivodship. My analysis also included information on the number of registered unemployed Roma persons and the scale of unemployment in that population provided by the Wielkopolskie Labour Office.³⁵ The above was supplemented with information obtained while interviewing members of the Roma community who determined the size of their groups on the basis of their own knowledge coming from them attending various Roma family events, such as weddings or funerals.³⁶

According to my findings, the Roma in the Wielkopolskie voivodship live in thirty communes [smallest administrative units in Poland]. The largest Roma community of 500 people lives in Poznań. About 300 Roma people live in Swarzędz, and groups with more than 100 members live in Leszno, Ostrów Wielkopolski, Kostrzyn,

L. Ozdarska (eds) (2013), *Europejskie doświadczenia mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych*, Warszawa, p. 138.

³² W. Olszewski (1985), *Dystans etniczny Polacy-Romowie*, "Etnografia Polska" Vol. XXIX, No. 2, p. 244.

³³ Letter, Ref. No. BW-II.6113.13.2013.10 of 28.02.2013, in the archives of the Wielkopolskie Voivodship Office.

³⁴ Letter, Ref. No. WKWiO.572.1.2013 of 21.02.2013, in the archives of the Wielkopolskie Voivodship Office.

³⁵ Letter, Ref. No. WUPXX/3-0240/7-3/2013 of 9.01.2013, in the archives of the Wielkopolskie Voivodship Office.

³⁶ Information contained in this part of the paper comes from four interviews and five brief conversations carried in 2012 with nine persons who declared to be members of the Roma minority.

Pleszew, and Kłodawa. Roma communities are also noticeable in Jarocin, Kalisz, Witkowo, Gniezno, Oborniki, Rawicz, Wolsztyn, and Konin. Less numerous groups live in Września, Kępno, Chodzież, Kościan, Kórnik, Piła, Złotów, Turek, Koło, Stare Miasto, Tarnowo Podgórne, Szamocin, Słupca, and Środa Wielkopolska. My research indicates that, in total, about 2,200 Romani people live in the Wielkopolskie voivodship. It is worth noting that the size of the Roma population in Greater Poland reported by Roma non-governmental organisations is frequently more than twice that large.

So far, no detailed research has been conducted to determine the size of specific Roma groups in the Wielkopolskie voivodship. Relevant information on that issue can be found in very few publications on the Roma in Greater Poland, in documents of Roma non-governmental organisations, and some information was obtained from interviewed members of the Roma community. Most frequently, the Roma groups in Greater Poland are Polska Roma and Lovari. The ancestors of Polska Roma arrived in Greater Poland in the 16th century. They came from the territories of German countries where they had been increasingly persecuted.³⁷ For a few hundred years, the territories of the present Wielkopolskie voivodship were an area there they continued their nomadic lifestyle. Polska Roma is divided into a number of subgroups and families whose names derive from a given territory, the name or nickname of an ancestor, a profession practised, and the like. According to the Romani interviewees, most respected families of Polska Roma are *Kaliszaki* and *Jaglanowie*. Individual families in the Polska Roma group are often joined by marriages with Sasytka Roma people originally from Germany and Xaladytka Roma originally from Ukraine and Lithuania. Both Sasytka and Xaladytka groups live in similar parts of the voivodship as Polska Roma groups do.

The Lovari Roma arrived in Greater Poland in great numbers shortly before and immediately after World War I began. They moved to Greater Poland to avoid conscription into the Austrian army. After World War II, new Lovari families arrived in Greater Poland. They came from the former eastern borderlands of Poland and territories of the USSR. Conflicts with the Romani people who already lived in Greater Poland started immediately. The newcomers accused them of abandoning their Romani traditions and way of life. The Lovari, who often invoked their royal descent, were in a much better financial situation. The distance between the Lovari and other Roma groups in Greater Poland is still noticeable today. At present, the Lovari constitute the largest Roma group in Poznań. They also live in Swarzędz, Leszno and Gniezno.

The Kalderash Roma arrived in Greater Poland in the mid 19th century. Most of their traits can be found in Poznań. This group is associated with pre-WW2 artisanal workshops and the Poznań copper boilers factory of Matejasz Kwiek who employed over four hundred workers.³⁸ After World War II, several Kalderash families arrived

³⁷ A. Mirga, L. Mróz (1994), *Cyganie. Odmienności i nietolerancja*, Warszawa, p. 35.

³⁸ J. Ficowski (1965), *Cyganie na polskich drogach*, Kraków, p. 81.

from the former eastern parts of Poland and the USSR, but the size of that group clearly shrank in the voivodship. Today, the Kalderash live mainly in Oborniki and Swarzędz.

The Bergitka Roma group has been always very small in Greater Poland. Today, few of Bergitka Roma people live in Chodzież, in which they arrived after World War II in result of resettlement from the east. The family of well-known musician Miklosz Deki Czureja, who have lived in Poznań for several years, should be mentioned in this context.

In Greater Poland, there is no big community of Roma people from Romania and countries of former Yugoslavia. After their massive arrivals in the 1990s, they left Poland heading for their native countries or moved to western Europe.

In the 1960s, Roma families in Greater Poland were the most active ones in Poland in pursuing their nomadic life. They settled after 1964, being forced to do so by the state administration. The majority of them settled in cities and towns. Wojciech Olszewski, in his study of ethnic distance on the example of one of Poznań boroughs, mentions that Roma people of the Sasytka Roma group lived in barracks in outskirts of Poznań after years of setting up their summer camps in that place. Few years later, the borough authorities decided to demolish the barracks, and the Roma people were given, *inter alia*, two flats in a housing estate consisting of concrete blocks of flats.³⁹ In the whole voivodship, Roma people were initially offered poor housing conditions in unattractive locations. Richest Roma families were in the best situation. In Poznań, the Lovari would usually choose their places of residence themselves. One of their families bought a residential property in a quiet and sparsely populated area because of its location. With time, its relatives move in nearby.⁴⁰ A similar trend could be observed in Leszno and Kalisz, where affluent families of Polish Roma opted for buying houses next to one another, creating miniature residential Roma districts.

The 2002 National Census data provide more detailed information on the Roma community. It is a young population aged 27.7 years on average. It is also a typically urban community as in 2002, as many as 92.5% of Roma people lived in towns.⁴¹ Characteristic features of the Roma population in Poland include a high unemployment rate and deep income stratification. For 90% of the Roma population the only income are benefits, annuities, or pensions.⁴² When describing the financial situation of the Roma people in Greater Poland, one can refer to the official data on the situa-

³⁹ W. Olszewski (1985), *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 245.

⁴¹ G. Gudaszewski, *Demograficzno-społeczna charakterystyka obywateli polskich deklarujących „narodowość niepolską” w Narodowym Spisie Powszechnym w 2002 roku*, in: L. Adamczuk, S. Łodziński (eds) (2006), *Mniejszości narodowe w świetle Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego z 2002 roku*, Warszawa, pp. 108-127.

⁴² J. Klima, A. Paszko, *Romowie w warunkach przemian wolnorynkowych*, in: M. Zawicki, A. Paszko (eds) (2010), *Polityka wspierania romskiej mniejszości etnicznej na rynku pracy*, Kraków, pp. 129-130.

tion of that community in the labour market. That data, however, needs to be supplemented with information obtained while interviewing members of that community. The Wielkopolskie Labour Office delivers annual reports on employment among the Roma people. That is part of the governmental Programme for the Roma Community in Poland, the implementation of which is supervised by voivods. According to information obtained from Poviats Labour Offices, at the end of 2011, the number of Roma people who registered as unemployed was 205 in the Wielkopolskie voivodship. The registered unemployed Roma people only incidentally took advantage of subsidised employment programmes (work placements), internships and free training courses which help update one's professional qualifications or change a career. In Poland, only about 10% of Roma people make their living out of legal jobs and pay taxes regularly.⁴³ From interviews conducted, it follows that their percentage in the Wielkopolskie voivodship is even smaller. Most frequently, the legally employed earn much less than the national average wage. The Roma who have their own registered businesses are in a better situation but there are few of them in Greater Poland. My research findings on Greater Poland are that among the entrepreneurs were used car dealers, a gas station owner, a hotel owner, and a publisher of local newspaper. For the majority of the Roma in Greater Poland, the source of income are small-scale trading activities, often based on family connections abroad. Usually, such activities are part of shadow economy, both in Poland and abroad. That way of earning money necessitates frequent trips abroad. The Roma interviewees emphasised that many families became rich in the 1980s and 1990s thanks to trips to eastern Europe and differences in currency rates. At present, even most affluent Roma families begin to feel consequences of the economic crisis. A vast majority of Roma interviewees claimed that their earnings from trade have considerably decreased since 2009-2011. The wealth of some Roma families manifested with expensive houses and cars overshadows the poorer part of that community. Luxurious residences, on the basis of which many inhabitants of the voivodship judge the financial status of all Roma people, belong to the already mentioned families of *Kaliszakowie* and *Jaglanowie* of Polska Roma and several families of the Lovari group. Big fortunes have hardly been made overnight. They have been accumulated for generations. In 1979, assets of each of the Lovari families in Poznań were assessed by the militia [police] to be worth at least a few million zlotys, which was a considerable amount as at that time as assets of a moderately affluent family in Poznań were estimated to be worth a few hundred thousand zlotys.⁴⁴ However, next to the wealthy Roma live families whose financial situation is much worse. The same militia reports of 1979 described members of the Sasytka Roma group in Poznań as very poor and prone to law breaking.

⁴³ J. Klima, A. Paszko, *Polscy Romowie i ich strategie gospodarcze. Perspektywa historyczna*, in: J. Balvin, Ł. Kwadrans (eds) (2010), *Situation of Roma Minority in Czech, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia*, Wrocław, p. 33.

⁴⁴ W. Olszewski (1985), *op. cit.*, p. 246.

“Those gypsies commit various crimes, starting from minor scams involving pans and fabrics, through theft and burglaries, to rapes and robberies.”⁴⁵

Formal education, certificates and diplomas are not valued in the Roma culture. In the interviews, the Roma emphasised that they would decide to study if it brought them benefits shortly. The 2002 National Census data demonstrates that over 90% of that population attended primary schools only, 50.8% of whom did not complete their primary education or any level of that education.⁴⁶ In the Wielkopolskie voivodship, the situation of Roma people is similar or worse than in Poland at large. According to the Wielkopolskie Education Authority, in 2004-2011, about 161 to 215 Roma pupils should have been in compulsory education in Greater Poland. The actual number of Roma pupils attending school in those years ranged from 99 to 133. The attendance among Roma children was 60% to 70%. Unfortunately, grades earned by them were very low and ranged from 2.38 to 3.2 [1 is the failing grade and 6 is very good] in the years examined.

Roma non-governmental organisations are clearly more numerous than organisations of any other national and ethnic minority in the Wielkopolskie voivodship. The most active organisation is the Greater Poland Cultural and Educational Association of Polish Roma (Wielkopolskie Stowarzyszenie Kulturalno-Oświatowe Polskich Romów). It was established in 2004 by Mikołaj Głowacki, the first chairman of the association, and Marek Miller, the present chairman and the-then vice-chairman. Both of them have their roots in Pomerania, and stayed abroad in the 1990s, mainly in Germany and Great Britain. According to Miller⁴⁷, the idea to establish a Roma organisation that would safeguard rights of that population in Poland was born during their stay abroad. The first issues the Association dealt with concerned the return of Roma people from emigration and passport issues. In 2007, the Greater Poland Cultural and Educational Association of the Polish Roma received the first governmental subsidy for projects titled “White Saturdays for Roma people in a difficult financial situation” (health care) and “Social integration of Roma children through educational and integrative activities”. Since then, every year, the Association actively participates in the governmental Programme for the Roma Community in Poland. From 2007 to 2012, the Greater Poland Cultural and Educational Association of the Polish Roma implemented 20 projects. In addition to projects mentioned above, the following should be mentioned: “Social integration of Roma children through an educational-integrative trip”, “Promotion of the Roma culture through the participation of the Roma artistic groups in the celebrations of the Days of Swarzędz”, “Prophylactic dental examinations for Roma people in a difficult financial situation”, “Promotion of the Roma culture and history in Poland. Overcoming the barriers and racist biases among school children”, and “Organisation of training courses to upgrade professional qualifications”.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem.*, p. 245.

⁴⁶ G. Gudaszewski (2006), *op. cit.*, pp. 108-127.

⁴⁷ An interview with M. Miller conducted in 2012.

The *Bahtale Roma* Foundation is active mainly in Poznań and its vicinity. The foundation was established in 2002 at the initiative of Miklosz Deka Czurej, a Roma violinist, and his partner Anna Markowska. Until 2010, its name was the *Fundacja Bahtale Roma – Szczęśliwi Cyganie* [*Bahtale Roma – Happy Gypsies Foundation*]. Since its very beginning, the Foundation has had a specific place in the Roma community due to the descent of its founders. The president of the *Bahtale Roma* Foundation is a woman and a person of non-Romani descent and as such has met with opposition and, often, hostility on the part of traditional leaders of the Roma community. Czureja, in turn, is a member of the Bergitka Roma group and as such has not been fully accepted by the dominant Polska Roma and Lovari groups. Due to the lack of support of traditional leaders, activities of the Foundation are often badly received by the Roma. Projects undertaken by the Foundation are dependent on its relations with particular families. Participation in its activities is conditioned by personal interest and in return for cooperation, the Roma demand money from the Foundation. Not being able to meet such demands, the Foundation is accused of misappropriation of subsidies for the Roma. Such a situation results in the temporal character of activities and the need to manoeuvre to meet expectations of specific groups.

In its activities, the Foundation has concentrated on education. In 2007, its primary and secondary level Schools of Music were entered into the registry of non-public artistic schools kept by the Minister of Culture and National Heritage. In 2007, following a decision of the President of Poznań, the following schools were registered as public schools: the *Bahtale Roma* Foundation Public Primary School for Adults, the *Bahtale Roma* Foundation Public Lower Secondary School for Adults, and the *Bahtale Roma* Foundation Public Upper Secondary School for Adults. The schools have their seat on the premises of the 11th Comprehensive Upper Secondary School at Ściegiennego Street in Poznań. Artistic activities of the *Bahtale Roma* include meetings with artists and exhibitions of visual arts. The Foundation has published a Roma-Polish and Polish-Roma dictionary. It participates in the governmental Programme for the Roma Community in Poland and in 2005-2012, the Foundation implemented the following projects: “Employment of Roma education assistants”, “Employment of a support teacher”, “Education of adults: completion of secondary education”, “Education of adults: vocational training for drivers”, “Activity of the Roma House: purchase of equipment”, “Computer equipment for the Roma integrative daily care centre”, “Organisation of a tailor’s shop”, “Running a citizens’ advice bureau”, “Education of children and teenagers at schools offering the Roma education programmes”, “Provision of an entrepreneurship training course”, “Equipment for an art room for children”, “Purchase of fabrics for stage costumes for an art room for children”, and “Purchase of textbooks for Roma pupils”.

Other non-governmental Roma organisations in the Wielkopolskie voivodship are less active. The oldest one, the Roma Foundation (*Fundacja Romów*), was established by Józef Łakatosz from the Poznań group of Lovari. The foundation was

registered in 1992 and had its seat in Warsaw. According to its president, at the beginning of its activity the Foundation cooperated with Jacek Kuroń who then was the Minister of Labour and Social Policy.⁴⁸ The main area of cooperation was the issue of Romanian Roma who, at that time, arrived in Poland in large numbers. Using its contacts abroad, the Foundation acted as an intermediary in persuading the migrant Roma to continue their journey to western Europe or go back to Romania. As the president of the Foundation claims, all documentation from that period was lost in Germany when a car was stolen. Currently, the Foundation provides assistance mainly in obtaining or confirming Polish citizenship. In 2012, the Foundation officially moved its seat to Poznań and, for the first time, applied to participate in the Programme for the Roma Community in Poland. In fact, it was after the year 2000 that other Roma organisations emerged in Greater Poland. In 2004, the *DROM* Roma Association in Poland (Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce “DROM”) was registered in Pleszew. In 2006, it applied to the governmental Programme to finance the purchase of textbooks for Roma pupils and heating fuels for poorest Roma families. No subsidy was granted and the Association has not been active since then. In 2005, another organisation was registered in Pleszew, i.e. the Greater Poland Association of the Roma (Wielkopolskie Stowarzyszenie Romów). The 2011 elections gave it an impulse to act and, one year later, the Association implemented two projects as part of the governmental Programme for the Roma Community in Poland: “Citizens’ advice bureau” and “Back to the roots. Lessons on working with horses” which was addressed to children and teenagers. Another initiative the aim of which was to bring together individual Roma groups, was the establishment of the World Chamber of Roma Lords in March 2007. The Chamber was set under the aegis of the *Bahtale Roma* Foundation following agreements reached at the 4th World Meetings with the Roma Culture held in Zielona Góra. Attempts were made to make that organisation international. It was decided that its major objectives would include the creation of an international Romani cultural trail and Roma research and development centres, improvement of living standards of the Roma population by advancing the level of employment, education, entrepreneurship, housing, health care, culture and sport, and improving the social situation. Joint acting, however, proved to be difficult, and the World Chamber of the Roma Lords has not launched any initiative so far.

VII

Summing up, national and ethnic minorities in the Wielkopolskie voivodship do not play a major role at present. All minorities are small in size and territorially dispersed. Non-governmental organisations of the relatively largest Roma and German communities are most active. German minority associations were active in the 1990s but much less active in the new millennium. In contrast, Roma associations

⁴⁸ An interview with J. Łakatosz conducted in 2012.

and foundations in Greater Poland started to be active only in the early 21st century. The growth of those organisations was largely influenced by the implementation of governmental programmes aimed at reducing social exclusion of the Roma minority. It is also worth highlighting that the Roma community is the least assimilated minority in Greater Poland. In addition to those largest and most active minorities, there are also minority groups which are perceived mainly through the prism of historical heritage. The best example is the Jewish minority which, despite being small, is still present in the awareness of inhabitants of the region. In the case of the Jewish minority but also the Ukrainian minority, most important cultural initiatives are launched and implemented by communities which are not directly related to the minorities. In general, minority organisations are active in their own communities. There are not many initiatives of minority organisations addressed to the majority society. There are also no activities which would significantly influence the political, social or cultural life of the region. The case of the split of the Social and Cultural Association of the German Minority in Greater Poland demonstrates that the existence of minority organisations is based on the activity of leading individuals. Without their dedication hardly anything would be achieved. The charisma and involvement of individual leaders are often the necessary condition for the existence of any organised life of a minority. Finally, the functioning of specific minority organisations largely depends on external (governmental) subsidies.

In the light of the deepening European integration and the related growing mobility of people, the growing number of immigrants working in Poland, and the already observed changes in the identity experience in an multicultural environment, it is likely that the research on national and ethnic minorities in the economically attractive Wielkopolskie voivodship will change its scope to include new phenomena.

ABSTRACT

The paper describes the situation of national and ethnic minorities in the Greater Poland voivodship. In part, it refers to results of a field research carried by the author in 2011-2013. On the basis of the size, territorial location, internal organisation and activities of NGOs, the minorities studied were classified into three groups. The following minorities are described: Russian, Belorussian, Lemko, Lithuanian, Armenian, Tartar, Czech, Greek, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Jewish, German, and Roma.

Minorities in Greater Poland are rather small in number and territorially dispersed. They do not form any compact local communities in any part of the voivodship. Particular national and ethnic minorities differ in the level of their internal organisation. As these minorities live in deep diaspora, their NGOs do not have much impact on the political, social or cultural life of the region.



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Gospodarka niemiecka 20 lat po zjednoczeniu

[German Economy 20 Years after Reunification]

Tomasz Budnikowski, Editor

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Poznań 2011, pp. 238.

This publication is devoted to challenges which German economy faced in the first 20 years after the reunification, a topic which is both current and important from the perspective of research and economic performance. The authors – J. Misala, M. Götz, I. Romiszewska, P. Kalka, T. Budnikowski and M. Żukowski – comprehensively discuss most important issues since East and West Germany merged.

The first issue discussed is how big the economic disproportions between eastern and western lands are at present. Then changes in Germany's foreign trade are analysed in detail as its role in Germany's economic growth is important. Next, the focus moves to the structure of R&D expenditure. A comparison of R&D outlays in Germany and other highly-developed countries shows that the volume of Germany's investments continues to be relatively huge.

Much space is given to Germany's social integration, primarily to unemployment resulting from the introduction of market economy in the former German Democratic Republic. Another issue tackled is the rapid ageing of German society and the functioning of the social security system.

Conclusions offered in each paper are on both the theory and practice of German economic policy, making this publication useful for researchers, students of economics as well as politicians and economists.