

Integration of Migrants in a Major Polish City. Kraków’s Public Cultural Institutions and the “New Ukrainians”¹

JANUSZ MUCHA²

ORCID: [0000-0002-7795-1053](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7795-1053)

University of Białystok

Abstract: The article deals with the integration processes of Polish native inhabitants of Kraków and the newest (since 2014) migrants from Ukraine (70–100,000 in a city of about 800,000). One of the main actors in these processes are municipal public cultural institutions.

Using a number of methods, the needs of the Ukrainian population in Kraków were assessed and the offer of the local public institutions was studied. A focus group, IDIs, analysis of websites, Facebook profiles, and participatory observation were used. A basic problem for migrants is finding information on the local cultural offer presented in Ukrainian or Russian. Kraków does much to include foreigners into its social life. However, still closer integration, taking advantage of the potential of migrants, would be instrumental to making their life better and to making the city even more attractive to its Polish and non-Polish inhabitants and tourists. Premises and other resources at the disposal of Ukrainian private institutions are too small for large-scale cultural activity. Kraków’s cafes and pubs help, organizing concerts and meet-the-author and meet-the-artist sessions, but these events could be better organized by public cultural institutions, inviting much larger audiences. Sometimes leading Ukrainian artists visit Kraków and turn to municipal institutions looking for support and employment, only to find neither. It would be very beneficial for the city to monitor these initiatives, via Kraków’s Ukrainian websites and Facebook profiles, and take advantage of them.

Key words: cultural integration, Kraków, Ukrainian migrants, local public institutions

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² jmucha@post.pl

Introduction

Most immigrants, aside from agricultural laborers, usually settle in big cities³ and it is here where they try to organize their lives. For their integration with the receiving society, several factors are important, among them a) migrants' own attitudes and real activities, b) attitudes and activities of the "native" population of the "host region," and c) the way the institutional system of that region (and the country) functions. In Poland, with the practical nonexistence of a migration policy on the nation-state level, local administration often tries to solve the problems of integration, using, for instance, the way the local public institutions operate as a mechanism of mutual group accommodation (see, e.g. Szpak 2019; Jaskułowski and Pawlak 2020; Matusz-Protasiewicz and Kwieciński 2018). In the following, I will discuss the functioning of Kraków's public cultural institutions concerning the mass migration from Ukraine in the second decade of the 21st century.

It is difficult to precisely determine the number of Ukrainians in Kraków at the end of 2019, or the social structure and the legal status of Kraków's population coming recently from the state of Ukraine, and its relations with the "Ukrainian national minority" in Kraków (Polish citizens with Ukrainian backgrounds). This article deals solely with those Ukrainian citizens (during the moment of migration) who recently arrived in Kraków. They came due to interconnected events and processes like the Kiev revolutionary anti-authoritarian "EuroMajdan" (November 2013 – February 2014), annexation of the Ukrainian region of Crimea by the Russian Federation (2014), the war in the eastern part of Ukraine ongoing since 2014, as well as the consequences of these events. Kraków's new Ukrainian migrants are foreigners in the sense that their basic cultural identity is non-Polish, regardless of the very rare fact of their enjoying Polish citizenship in 2019 or having elements of Polish national consciousness⁴ or Polish education (which happens more often now).

"Institutions" will not be understood here in the sense close to the theory of neoinstitutionalism (as normative systems or "rules of the game;" see, e.g., Hodgson 2006), but rather in the colloquial sense as "organizations," being "players," "embodied institutional rules" (in the theoretical sense). "Kraków's public cultural institutions" are, therefore, organizations dealing with the production, management and dissemination of culture operating in this city, and are financed first of all by the state authorities, regional (Region of Małopolska) administration, or administration of the City of Kraków. Examples are theaters, museums, exhibition halls and galleries, libraries, radio stations, and local cultural centers. There are about one hundred of them in Kraków. After consultations with the Małopolska Institute of Culture in Kraków and

³ Migrants' choice of a big city (as opposed to small or middle-size towns) depends on various factors, among them the job and housing markets, their time perspective (long- or short-term migration).

⁴ Polish origin and national consciousness give a foreigner a chance to apply for the "Pole's Card" (Karta Polaka), providing some advantages in Poland.

with some migrant NGOs, twelve institutions, located mostly in the city center, were selected for analysis. The article is based on the assumption that these institutions can contribute to the integration of migrants by non-invasively making the heritage and modern shape of Polish culture accessible to them, and by making these institutions' infrastructure available to the presentation of migrants' culture to the general (mostly Polish) audience (see also Jawor, Markowska-Manista and Pietrusińska 2020).

Foreigners in Kraków until 2013⁵

Like most major European historical cities, Kraków has been inhabited over many centuries by various cultural (ethnic, national, religious) groups. Historical statistics sometimes use "ethnic" criteria and terminology, sometimes linguistic, sometimes religious. According to Norman Davies, "the cities of medieval Malopolska [...] were largely German in character" (Davies 1982: 304). Jerzy Wyrozumski says that there were few Jewish people here, but they played roles vital to the functioning of the city. Assimilation of Jews and Germans was rapid (Wyrozumski 1992: 320). However, as late as "in the 1530s the Sunday services in St. Mary's Church in Cracow were in Polish in the morning and German in the afternoon. German remained until the year 1600 the official language of the Cracovian courts" (Davies 1982: 305). During 1586–1782, 30% of the marriage ceremonies in the city had a "foreign" character (Talko-Hryniewicz 1926: 38). At the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, due to the political situation (Kraków belonged to Austria) the Germanization policy was extremely heavy (Bieniarzówna and Małecki 1994a: 17). However, in "1869, Polish was put on an equal footing with German. Yet the Ruthenians [Ukrainians – JM] continued to speak *ruski*; the Jews spoke Yiddish; and both of them demanded the right of education in their own language. Access to the world of high culture was denied to all except the Polish *literati*, and to the numerous intellectual *emigres* who left for Vienna, Prague, or for Germany" (Davies 1982a: 144). In 1869, the Polish language was admitted to schools and courts in Galicia; in 1870 the Jagiellonian University of Cracow reinstated Polish as the principal language of instruction; and at the end of the 19th century Poles constituted 45% of Galicia's inhabitants, Ruthenians 41%, Jews 11%, and Germans 3% (Davies 1982a: 150, 144).

Jerzy Tomaszewski states that during the "Austrian times" some lectures at Lemberg University were conducted in Ukrainian, but after the re-emergence of the Polish

⁵ Kraków was, until 1596, the capital of Poland. It is the capital city of Małopolska ("Little Poland"), a southern region of the country. From the point of view of the regional administration, "Małopolska" usually means "Kraków Voivodeship" or "Małopolska Voivodeship" having, however, in different periods different borders. In the 19th century, under the Austrian partition, the region was often named "Western Galicia." The capital city of "Eastern Galicia" and Galicia as such was L'viv (Lwów, Lemberg), belonging to Ukraine after World War II.

state (1918) this language was abandoned from the curricula. Polish state authorities debated the establishment of a Ukrainian institution of higher education in Kraków, but this plan was never accomplished (Tomaszewski 1985a: 66–67). In the 1922/1923 school year in the Kraków Voivodship there were 79 public schools with Ukrainian as a language of instruction. During the following years Poland witnessed a systematic decrease in the number of public schools teaching in Ukrainian (Chałupczak and Browarek 1998: 69).

In 1918, immediately after World War I, 178,588 people lived in Kraków; in 1939 the population was 259,000 (Adamczyk 1997: 27). During the whole interwar period, there were only a few Ukrainians in the city. In 1919, 1,677 Greek (Ukrainian) Catholics and 46 Orthodox believers lived in the city (Piech 1997: 243); according to the 1931 census, 1,554 Greek Catholics (or 0.4%) lived in Kraków, and among them around one thousand spoke Ukrainian on an everyday basis (Chwalba 2002: 86). Jerzy Tomaszewski says that in 1931 2,297,800 people lived in the Kraków Voivodship ("according to the mother tongue") including 2,053,000 Poles, 59,000 Ukrainians, 174,000 Jews and 9,000 Germans (Tomaszewski 1985: 78). The situation changed slightly for a short time during World War II when, after the occupation of the eastern part of the Polish state (ethnically mostly Ukrainian) by the Soviet armies, some Ukrainians crossed the border with the German-occupied Polish territories. Some of them (their exact number unknown) came to Kraków, which became, for the period of German occupation, an active center of Ukrainian political emigration (Chwalba 2002: 89).

After World War II, and particularly after 1948, Poland did not, for a long time, keep official state-wide ethnic, national, and religious statistics. What we do know are only scholarly estimates (see Barwiński 2006; for the 1946 census in Małopolska see https://krakow.stat.gov.pl/download/gfx/krakow/en/defaultaktualnosci/1086/4/1/1/2018_malopolska_w_100-letniej_historii_gus.pdf [06.08.2020]). Researchers did not find a significant group of Ukrainians (nor other non-Poles) in the new Kraków Voivodship. Andrzej Chwalba does not mention any non-Poles in the sixth volume of a collectively authored and edited history of Kraków, devoted to the period up to 1989 (see Chwalba 2004). Therefore, Kraków ceased to be a multicultural city; if we understand this expression as a territory inhabited by various ethnic, national, religious groups actively practicing their cultures.⁶ The first "new" significant migration from Ukraine to Poland took place quite soon after the historic systemic transformations in Poland in 1989, then after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (1991) and partial opening of the borders between Poland and the former Soviet countries. This economic migration

⁶ However, for decades, it has been one of the Polish cities most often visited by foreign tourists, and "multiculturality" is a slogan to which both the city authorities and many inhabitants love to refer. In this article, I show how the situation changed after 2013 – multiculturalism became a real fact. The situation in the large and attractive city of Wrocław in the southwest is similar. According to Krzysztof Jaskułowski and Marek Pawlak (2020), real multiculturalism was marginal during the post-World War II period but the idea of multiculturalism has been very popular and influential during the last few decades.

was facilitated by the visa policy and introduction of the “Pole’s Card” in 2007 (see Gadowska et al. 2014a: 54, 58).

At the end of 2013, in the Małopolska Voivodship there were 3,435 migrants from Ukraine who had valid residence permits (Gadowska et al. 2014: 11). Among all the people in Poland who received the permanent residence permit in 2013, citizens of Ukraine constituted 38%. It was the largest group of foreigners staying in Poland (Gadowska et al. 2014a: 51).

Ukrainians in Kraków since 2014

The newest migration waves from Ukraine have been superimposed on the numerically much smaller arrivals of the immediate post-1989 period. The situation in Małopolska, including Kraków, changed dramatically. Migrants became a very visible group in the city. Moreover, they became vital for Kraków’s economy, particularly for such sectors as hotels, restaurants, commerce, construction, and higher education, but also information technology (IT). It is exceedingly difficult to establish the exact size and social structure of the population of (documented and undocumented) migrants from Ukraine to Poland. According to various state institutions in September 2019, 415,000 foreigners had valid residence permits in Poland; in March 2019 609,000 foreigners were paying Polish social security taxes, 323,000 had valid work permits, and more than 1.5 million had special open permits allowing them to be legally employed in Poland. In sum, according to the state institutions, in 2019 the population of migrants in Poland numbered between one million and 1.5 million people, and most of them came from Ukraine (see Brzozowski 2019).

A Polish IT company, DMP Selectivv, studies the practices of users of mobile phones. In 2019 this firm published some data on Ukrainian citizens living in Poland. In these findings “Polish Ukrainians” are those who have an active SIM card registered by one of the Polish operators, are using Ukrainian or Russian as the phone’s preferred language, and who were in Ukraine at least once in 2018 or, in this year, changed their SIM card from Polish to Ukrainian. In January 2019, there were 1,270,398 such users (one year earlier it had been 830,000). On the territory of Poland, 56% of Ukrainians are male, but in large cities there are more women than men. Two-thirds of this population are between the ages of 21 and 40 (see Kisiel 2019; Czubkowska 2019).

Taking advantage of the database, methodology and reports of DMP Selectivv, we can estimate the number of Ukrainians who lived in Kraków for at least three months between August 2018 and July 2019 at 49,770, which is many more than official residence permit data shows. We can assume that this is a minimum estimate. The maximum could be established at 83,000; Kraków’s Ukrainians constitute around 10% of all migrants from Ukraine to Poland (see Pędziwiatr, Stonawski and Brzozowski 2019). According to the Ukrainian General Consulate in Kraków, there are about 100,000 Ukrainians in the city (see Gurgul 2019). Therefore, around 10% of

the inhabitants of Kraków (800,000) are Ukrainians. They are dispersed throughout the city, which can facilitate their integration. They do not live in the low-income areas of the city, as they prefer the new housing developments.⁷

The current presence of Ukrainians in Małopolska and in Kraków is a completely new phenomenon, one hard to compare with former periods. Earlier, Ukrainians in this region were almost exclusively natives (autochthons), and now they nearly all are immigrants. A Ukrainian autochthon population is, however, present in Kraków. This is a group of Polish citizens of Ukrainian heritage, whose families have lived in Poland for decades or even centuries (officially a Ukrainian national minority). It is (at least partly) concentrated around the Kraków Cell of the Union of Ukrainians in Poland.⁸ In 2019 this cell numbered nearly 80 members. There are some loose relations between the Ukrainian minority and the new migrants. There is also a cell in Kraków of the Union of Lemkos,⁹ numbering about 25 members.

Separate research would be necessary to discover the social (economic class, demography, education, cultural practices, etc.) structure of the Ukrainian population living in Kraków since 2014. "Vernacular" everyday observation, conversations with Ukrainian activists, and fragmentary research reports (see, e.g., Brzozowski 2019) reveal that they represent a nearly full class spectrum – from the upper-middle class (business people, high-level employees of international corporations, highly qualified and very well-paid IT specialists, etc.) down to skilled workers (like cooks, construction and factory workers, drivers) and semi-skilled and unskilled workers (like cleaning persons, childcare workers and elderly care assistants). We see here people from outside of the class structure (in a strict sense), like elementary and high-school students, college and university students,¹⁰ and retired grandmothers taking care of their own Ukrainian grandchildren. These collectivities have different cultural needs. Usually, these needs are not overtly articulated. Access to most of these people is exceedingly difficult. It is possible that many of them are in fact interested not in integration but assimilation, separation, or marginalization (I will return to this issue in due course). Those who represent the integrationist attitudes and are active in the collective life of

⁷ The issue of spatial segregation and dispersion of migrants in cities is complex and demands more research. See, e.g., Kłopot i Trojanowski 2019).

⁸ During the period of 1956–1990, the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Association was active in Poland. There was no Kraków branch of this association (see https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ukrai%C5%84skie_Towarzystwo_Spo%C5%82eczno-Kulturalne; 11.08.2020). In 1990 that association was replaced by the Union of Ukrainians in Poland (see http://www.zup.ukraina.com.pl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1&Itemid=2; 11.08.2020). The Union consists of 10 branches and 90 smaller cells. One cell operates in Kraków. The Union publishes a Ukrainian language weekly "Nasze Słowo" ("Our Word"; established in 1956; see <https://www.nasze-slowo.pl/>; 11.08.2020), with a section devoted to recent Ukrainian immigration to Poland.

⁹ See <http://www.lemkounion.pl/>; 11.08.2020. The Lemkos are a group of eastern Slavonic people, sometimes considered a part of a larger Ukrainian population.

¹⁰ In 2019, about 150,000 people studied full-time in Kraków's colleges and universities, among them around 8,200 foreigners, including 4,300 Ukrainians (see Mucha and Pędziwiatr 2019).

migrants have their own private institutions in Kraków to which they can turn, such as the Foundation of Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation U-Work,¹¹ the Zustricz Foundation,¹² the internet portal “Ukrainians in Krakow” (UAinKrakow),¹³ and the Foundation of Mass Performance – Center of Ukrainian Culture and Art.¹⁴ The activities of these groups are addressed mostly to Ukrainian- (and not Russian-) speaking migrants.

In addition to these groups, the Ukrainian population of Kraków is “organized” mostly on the internet through websites and profiles in social media (usually Facebook). Moreover, one can find other areas of a Ukrainian cultural presence in Kraków in the Ukrainian or Russian languages. Examples are “Evenings of Ukrainian songs”; the “Sounds of Ukraine” musical events popular among Russian speakers at the Shine Club in the city center; schools and institutes teaching the Polish language; groups exchanging experiences of city life and informing about Kraków’s cultural events; gatherings in student clubs of Kraków’s colleges and universities; and stand-up comedy. The Paradox Cinema is an important place, with special screenings of Ukrainian and Russian movies. Some cafes and pubs in the city are occasionally open for Ukrainian events, such as sing-alongs and conversations. (I discuss details in Mucha 2020).

Poles are sometimes present at these events (usually with total attendance of 150–200 people), but not very often. Information on these events is usually distributed through personal Ukrainian channels (word of mouth) which rarely reach Poles.¹⁵

Ukrainian groups, cultural events, websites, portals and Facebook profiles and their activities is a completely different and important research field, with a different story which remains to be told. In this article, I am interested in the activities of Kraków’s public cultural institutions.

Assimilation, acculturation, integration

Classic and radical models of assimilation (in sociology) and acculturation (in socio-cultural anthropology) used in migration research and proposed in the early 20th century, reflecting a belief in the need and possibility of absorption of migrants by the receiving society, had both analytical and ideological meanings. In the first sense they

¹¹ See <https://u-work.pl/>; 11.08.2020 and <https://www.facebook.com/fundacja.uwork>; 11.08.2020.

¹² See <https://zustricz.pl/>; 11.08.2020 and <https://www.facebook.com/zustricz>; 11.08.2020.

¹³ See <https://uainkrakow.pl/>; 11.08.2020 and https://www.facebook.com/uainkrakowportal/?epa=SEARCH_BOX; 11.08.2020.

¹⁴ See <https://fundacjaawmishow.wordpress.com/>; 11.08.2020; and https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=fundacja%20widualna%20masowych&epa=SEARCH_BOX; 11.08.2020.

¹⁵ The author of this text has seen some (not very many) amateurishly painted posters in Ukrainian or Russian, very rarely in Polish, hanging on the boards in the AGH University Student Campus, inviting people to Ukrainian parties and discos. However, these Ukrainian concerts, in which he participated in Kraków’s downtown in the fall and winter of 2019, had not been announced in any other way than via Ukrainian Facebook profiles. It must be said, however, that some cafes and pubs in the city center display Polish-language posters for Ukrainian – or Russian-language concerts,

were to help in studying and understanding the processes of the vanishing of some specific structural and cultural characteristics of migrants, having differentiated them from the new social environment and consequently melding into it. In the second sense, they meant to encourage (in many cases to enforce) the abandoning of these specific characteristics. Difficulties in the realization of assimilationist programs (I do not intend to analyze them) led to new interpretations of the intergroup relations in the spheres of migration (see Gordon 1964).

After decades of criticism of the assimilation models (in both their analytical and ideological dimensions) we have witnessed some suggestions to return to some of their insights (see Morawska 1994), but in the recent (early 21st-century) research and, public policies, much more subtle models dominate. They stress the following facts much stronger than before: different groups of migrants can have different aims and interests; migrant populations (as much as receiving societies) are usually internally differentiated; the structurally complex populations of migrants can prefer various approaches to the host societies; the receiving societies are usually transforming (to varying degrees, depending on many factors) under the influence of migration of various groups; and the preferences of migrants and host societies can change over time. Therefore, it became assumed that scholars should study at least three interconnected fields: 1) assimilationist (acculturalist) attitudes of migrants, 2) real changes in behavior, patterns of life, of migrants in the host societies, and 3) stress resulting from the migration situation. In the new models (see, e.g., Navas et al. 2005; Berry 2009; Mucha 2019) it is assumed that it is necessary to separately analyze the intentions of various groups of migrants towards a) maintaining (at least some of) their own cultural patterns (yes/no) and b) real absorption of (at least some) cultural patterns of the receiving society (yes/no). Immigrants can, therefore (obviously simplifying the complex situations), accept the strategy of integration (yes/yes), assimilation or acculturation (no/yes), separation (yes/no), or marginalization (no/no). Empirical studies have proven that large numbers of migrants prefer the integration model (maintaining some of their own cultural patterns and absorbing some patterns of the host society) and oppose marginalization. People resign more easily from the "peripheral" cultural values and patterns and are inclined to stick to those considered constitutive for their group. Successful integration (but also assimilation or acculturation) processes also demand openness on the part of the receiving society and its institutions. One should not expect integration to be possible without tensions and conflicts.

I am assuming here that the model of integration is much closer to the needs and interests of the Ukrainian migrants than the assimilation (acculturation) model. However, one should not at any time ignore motives toward assimilation and acculturation of a part of any large migrant population. The same can be true of at least some of the citizens of Ukraine who live in Kraków. I am interested in this article, however, in their integration, which is a challenge both to the incoming population and to the native inhabitants.

Methodology of the internet research and of the field research

Attitudes and needs (in the field of culture) of the newest migrants from Ukraine were identified during the late fall and winter of 2019 using two basic interviewing methods. One was the group interview (“focus creative group” according to typology presented in Maison 2001: 25; see also Templeton 1994), which took place in a building of the Małopolski Instytut Kultury w Krakowie (MIK). The participants were the invited Ukrainians, two members of the MIK team and one MIK associate (eight persons). The Ukrainians came from various regions of their country. One was currently a student in Kraków, the others were graduates of Kraków universities and were at the same time employed as specialists. They all were volunteers in Kraków’s Ukrainian groups. The second method was individual in-depth interviews (IDIs) with eleven representatives of Kraków’s Ukrainian (minority and migrants of the end of the 20th century and second decade of the 21st century) groups. We relied also, to a limited extent, on many informal, unrecorded conversations.

The way Kraków’s public cultural institutions operated was studied using three methods. First, we analyzed their websites and Facebook profiles in detail. We were looking for the following: a) information in Ukrainian and/or Russian, b) information on offers addressed specifically and explicitly to a potential Ukrainian public, and c) information on the offers of institutions directed to the general audience but also implicitly to Ukrainians (the Ukrainian public is not the only target but the context shows that its needs are taken care of). Second, we paid (unannounced) research visits to selected institutions to see how they operate in reality from the point of view of the needs of Ukrainians. Third, we interviewed (recorded and transcribed IDIs) twelve representatives of selected Kraków institutions. The whole set of interviewees was made up of many more women than men. The findings are presented here in a synthetic way without quotations from concrete interviews.

It seems to me that this methodology was successful, even though the time limit of the project posed some problems regarding the availability of representatives of some institutions.

Cultural needs of Ukrainian migrants I. Group interview

As mentioned above, Kraków’s Ukrainian population is large, and its social structure is complex. That means that ideally our topic would demand a much larger research sample, and most probably a richer project will be undertaken soon. However, those Ukrainians who participated in our group interview are not only university students but are at the same time employees (and some of their co-workers are of the same nationality) and participants in various Ukrainian events. Therefore, they have a much

wider perspective than that of students. It must be said, however, that our insight into the lives of those lower-class Ukrainians who are not involved in Ukrainian life in Kraków was very limited in this study.

Our respondents compared the access to institutional culture in Kraków (and they consider its offer to be very rich and diverse) with similar access in the regions they came from when they were in elementary and high schools (however, the situation in Ukraine has deteriorated). In Ukrainian schools in major cities, according to all our informants, the standard education embraced mandatory and free-of-charge participation in a wide range of extra-curricular activities. Students went with their teachers to watch movies, to theaters, operas, museums, and art exhibitions. They were encouraged to participate in various activities in local cultural centers. They participated in choir singing, in dance classes, played instruments, painted, crocheted, and much more. They played various sports. Today in Ukraine, all these activities are still available to students, and they are encouraged to participate, but they have to pay for them. As a result, poorer students rarely take advantage of the opportunity. Kraków, from their perspective today, offers even more than their hometowns. However, the migrants are unable to fulfill their deeply home-built aspirations due to their limited financial resources. Migrants work (and/or study) long hours, but most of them do not earn well (for Polish standards) and they send a portion of their income back home. Financially, the best situation is that of those migrants who have the Pole's Card, because it guarantees some reduction of charges in many Polish public cultural institutions.

Our respondents were rarely practicing arts – they did not write poetry or fiction, play instruments, or paint. They were rather consumers of art (although with exceptions). They highly appreciated yoga classes (considered as a cultural activity) taught by Russian or Ukrainian instructors. Yoga, as these teachers practice it, is much more spiritual than that offered by Poles. Our informants were actively involved in the multicultural festivals in the city. They happily talked about the "ArtPicnic" formally organized by Kraków's Festival Office (KBF) at the end of August in 2019. The event was highly publicized, many people came, and the Ukrainian dimension was significant.¹⁶

Our respondents rarely went to theaters, concert houses or even to the cinema, as they consider them too expensive. They attended libraries, but usually those of their universities. They had very warm feelings toward the Małopolska Voivodship Public Library in Kraków (WBP), in particular to its (rather small) collection of Ukrainian books (I will return to this issue). Kraków's Ukrainians participate in the local but highly formalized (on the state level) "Citizens' Budget" initiative (inhabitants of the city or region can vote on which small investments will be financed by the city or

¹⁶ See http://krakow.pl/aktualnosci/232497,33,komunikat,piknik_ukrainski_w_parku_krakowskim.html; 11.08.2020, and it was co-organized by the Consulate General of Ukraine in Kraków (see <https://poland.mfa.gov.ua/pl/index/city/id/51>; 11.08.2020) and by the Zustricz Foundation (see <https://zustricz.pl/2019/09/12/etnopiknik-krakowski-2/>; 11.08.2020).

region).¹⁷ Our informants were very enthusiastic about it because the initiative gave all inhabitants the sense of involvement in the policy of the place where they lived. One of those initiatives was the purchase of new Ukrainian books for the WBP. They mentioned that only few of Kraków's migrants were aware that there were public libraries in the city, and that they could take advantage of them free of charge.

The fact that our Ukrainian respondents did not often go to the cinema does not mean that they do not enjoy new films. Films are available, free of charge (I ignore the issue of legality), on Ukrainian or Russian websites. The fact that migrants other than college students do not often attend libraries does not mean that they do not read books. First, there are online bookstores which import books published in Ukrainian or Russian. Second, there is a constant exchange of books through personal channels: people going to Ukraine for a visit bring back new editions for themselves and friends. Third, there are "meet-the author" sessions with Ukrainian authors (and other artists), for instance in the Zustricz Foundation. Although visits to Kraków's art galleries and exhibition halls do not happen very often, we should not forget that they are more frequent if the guiding is conducted in Ukrainian.

During the group interview, we were interested in the comments, needs and expectations addressed by participants toward Kraków's public cultural institutions. Quite often satisfaction was expressed that many services were still available free of charge to migrants (who were not aware of this fact). Public libraries (actually, branches of the Kraków Library network; I will return to them) were a good example. Other issues widely discussed during the interview were the subtitles in Ukrainian displayed during performances in some theaters, and guided tours in Ukrainian of some museums and culture centers. These two things are very important for those who are interested in culture and have just come to Poland and settled here, for the elderly, for people who work long hours and have no time to seriously study Polish, and for Ukrainians who come to visit their relatives and friends living in Kraków. Our respondents were pleased that not only cultural institutions but also banks and the city's public transport company (MPK) display a lot of information in Ukrainian. The migrants, as was mentioned earlier, are not always aware, just after coming to the city, that these facilitators exist. Even if information is available on websites and Facebook profiles, one should know that it is worth looking for it and where to expect to find it. "Traditional" information in the form of posters and leaflets displayed in places where the migrants gather out of administrative necessity (e.g. various branches of the voivodship office), or for other reasons (e.g. the Greek-Catholic parish, universities), would be immensely helpful.

¹⁷ "Citizens' Budget" or "Participatory Budget," originated in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 1989. It came to Poland (the city of Sopot) in 2011. Now, more than 300 Polish cities and regions (voivodships) are involved. According to the amendments of the law of the 8th of March 1990 (see <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20200000713/T/D20200713L.pdf> (11.08.2020), all residents (regardless of the formal status of residency) can vote how to spend a certain percentage of the city's budget. Kraków belongs to a small number of Polish cities actively encouraging its foreign residents to participate.

The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians are fluent in Russian and they use this language quite often, for instance reading Russian websites and profiles, reading books in Russian, and watching Russian films. The potential usage of Russian in Kraków's public sphere would be controversial for political reasons, but for practical reasons the idea was not strongly contested by our informants. However, they are pleased with the fact that their national language is more and more present in Kraków. During the interview, an expression of "welcome" was used quite often: where the Ukrainian language is present, its speakers are feeling invited, welcome, "at home." Where this language is not present, even if they do understand the message, this feeling of being welcome is absent. There is another important linguistic issue. In addition to the quite "simple" matter of information in Ukrainian, not always fully recognized by the city authority, respondents mentioned problems with learning Polish. There are many language schools in Kraków (some owned by Ukrainians) but they are expensive. Respondents suggested copying a solution from other countries of mass migration – it would be helpful if educated Poles who have some extra time volunteered to meet free of charge with interested migrants to provide lessons in their everyday language.

Cultural needs of Ukrainian migrants II. Individual interviews

I will concentrate here on those observations and opinions which were not elaborated on in the previous section. The first issue is visits to Kraków by well-known and highly respected figures of Ukrainian culture, sometimes organized by private Ukrainian cultural associations. One good example is a meet-the-author session with writer Irena Karpa.¹⁸ Public institutions of Kraków are sometimes active in this field as well. The Juliusz Słowacki Municipal Theater, on its stage at the Małopolska Garden of Art (Małopolski Ogród Sztuki), organized a concert of the prominent experimental Ukrainian-Canadian pianist Lubomyr Melnyk.¹⁹ Despite the high ticket prices, many Ukrainians and Poles attended. This kind of visit would, according to our informants, if advertised, be very instrumental for the integration processes. This could also be an opportunity for the city administration to participate by subsidizing the expenses of visits of contemporary Ukrainian artists.

The second important issue is the above-mentioned theater performances with Ukrainian subtitles. This is an important signal to the migrant group that it is welcome

¹⁸ See <https://www.facebook.com/events/metaforma-cafe/irena-karpa-w-krakowie-%D1%96%D1%80%D0%B5%BD%D0%B0-%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BF%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%B7%D0%B5%BD%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%86%D1%96%D1%8F-%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE-%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%83/482394485824058/>; 11.08.2020.

¹⁹ See <https://teatrwrakowie.pl/spektakl/lubomyr-melnyk-koncert/>; 11.08.2020.

and invited. On the other hand, the general message of some plays is hard to follow for those migrants who are not deeply embedded in the nuances of Polish culture. Migrants rarely understand tensions within this culture and its experimental and critical art. Ukrainian language summaries or introductions would help.

The third issue is that of museums and exhibition halls. Many Ukrainians (particularly those with small children) attend the Museum of Polish Aviation,²⁰ which does not, however, publish on its website any information in Ukrainian or Russian. Migrants learn of this museum from their compatriots by word of mouth. Our respondents also mentioned the Oskar Schindler Museum²¹ and its exhibition of Kraków during World War II. The National Museum of Kraków²² and in particular its Main Building, was also well attended, mostly because the Leonardo da Vinci masterpiece “Lady with an Ermine” was on exhibition at that time and “everybody wanted to see it, at least once.” This museum does not have a website in Ukrainian or Russian.

The fourth issue is radio broadcasting. Many members of the Ukrainian national minority in Małopolska listen to the show “Radio Kermesz” (“Indulgence”) broadcast in Ukrainian by the public Radio Kraków on Sunday evenings at 10:30–11:00 pm. Information on this show is not present on Radio Kraków’s main website,²³ but the show itself has its own website.²⁴ “Radio Kermesz” has been produced in Kraków since 2003, assuming its current shape in 2017. What is interesting, the show was mentioned only by one interviewed person on their own initiative (in addition to shows’ anchors whom we later also interviewed). “Radio Kermesz” broadcasts interviews with representatives of Kraków’s Ukrainian community, both (legally understood) minority and migrant, but we learnt that the latter would be pleased if the program were to pay more attention to their problems.

The fifth issue is teaching Ukrainian children their mother tongue in Kraków’s public schools. Although the main language-related goal is to learn to speak perfect and fluent Polish, those migrants who have school-age children in Kraków (numbering over 3,000) would like them to maintain the mother tongue in both speaking and writing. The Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic parish organizes such courses for minority members, but the migrants expect the public education system to take care of this need. Actually, this service is provided by some schools, but only a very small number of Ukrainian children are covered. The problem is much larger than Kraków and its region, and it demands nationwide legal regulations and financial support.

Another important matter is the opinion of some of our respondents that the main aim of many migrants from Ukraine, particularly those of lower skills and lower

²⁰ See <http://www.muzeumlotnictwa.pl/muzeum/>; 11.08.2020.

²¹ See <https://www.muzeumkrakowa.pl/sklep/fabryka-emalia-oskara-schindlera-przewodnik>; 11.08.2020.

²² See <https://mnk.pl/>; 11.08.2020.

²³ See <https://www.radiokrakow.pl/>; 11.08.2020.

²⁴ See <https://www.radiokrakow.pl/audycje/kermesz/>; 11.08.2020.

cultural capital, is assimilation and acculturation (which are a different thing than integration). Those who aim at assimilation are rarely interested in Ukrainian education of their children, Ukrainian subtitles in theaters, guided museum tours in Ukrainian, or any other issues presented in this article.

During our field research, an important and often-raised question was that of the potential organization (or co-organization) and financing (or at least co-financing) by the city of a "center of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation." If built, it could become a very lively point of concentration of people and associations, where they could meet, exchange ideas and opinions, discuss plans, and analyze and co-ordinate projects. It is here where a Ukrainian library could be established. It is here where Poles and Ukrainians could talk with each other. A second, less expensive initiative which could be implemented by the city would be to install electronic boards in vital points of the city (as already exist in the city to serve other purposes) which would transmit important information to migrants, in particular those less active in Ukrainian associations.

Internet websites of selected public cultural institutions in Kraków

The aim of this stage of the project was to discover the ways and the degree to which Kraków's public cultural institutions are open to the growing number of Ukrainian inhabitants of the city. We made a detailed internet search (see Lomanovska 2019; one can also find pictures and scans here) of the websites and Facebook profiles of selected institutions focusing on information on the facilitation for Ukrainian migrants as a potential audience. Some of the analyzed institutions are located in individual separate buildings into which one can enter, look around, and take advantage of their services on the spot. Some operate in more than one building, while some operate almost exclusively outside of a dedicated office space. In sum, we looked into twelve public cultural institutions, but only the six where we were able to make field research visits are presented here.

The Juliusz Słowacki Municipal Theater in Kraków and its stage in the Małopolska Garden of Art²⁵

This is the largest and one of the most famous city theaters nationwide. It was erected in 1893 as the "Municipal Theater." On the two selected stages (the theater uses more stages) some plays are performed with Ukrainian subtitles (e.g., "The Name of the Rose" based on the novel by Umberto Eco; "Old Testament – Reanimation" by

Agata Duda-Graczy; and “Polish-Russian War under the White-Red Banner” by Dorota Masłowska).²⁶

On the front page of the website, there is no information in Ukrainian or Russian. On the English version of the website, there is no information on subtitles in Ukrainian even though potentially all migrants could look for information there.

“International Cultural Center in Kraków”²⁷

This institution, founded in 1991, occupies an attractive building on the Main Square. The center organizes highly respected exhibitions, conferences, and seminars, and it publishes books and albums on Polish and Central-Eastern European arts in several languages.

On the front page of the website, there is no information in Ukrainian or Russian. However, the schedule presented on the website includes guided tours in Ukrainian:²⁸ for the price of a regular ticket, on every first and third Sunday of the month an English-speaking guide, and on every second and fourth Sunday a Ukrainian-speaking guide, will help the public. Anyone interested in any assistance in Russian can visit the website: <http://mck.krakow.pl/dialog-polsko-rosjski-w-miedzynarodowym-centrum-kultury>.

“Museum of Contemporary Art in Kraków” (MOCAK)²⁹

This municipal museum, opened in 2011 and located in an impressive building near the Oskar Schindler Museum,³⁰ is often visited by Polish and foreign tourists. MOCAK’s website is available in Russian.³¹ On the Russian page, all vital facts are displayed except for information that there are guided tours in Russian and Ukrainian. These tours, however, are advertised on the Polish language page³² as well as on the English language page (under the “News” tab). Tours in the Ukrainian language are advertised on the Museum’s Facebook profile; they are announced both in Ukrainian and Russian.³³

“Małopolska Voivodship Public Library in Kraków” (WBP)³⁴

This library, with roots in the 18th century, was re-established and re-named in 1949. It is located in the city center, close to colleges and universities, and it is an appeal-

²⁶ See <https://teatrwnkrakowie.pl/spektakle>; 11.08.2020.

²⁷ See <http://mck.krakow.pl/>; 11.08.2020.

²⁸ See <http://mck.krakow.pl/informacje-dla-zwiedzajacych>>; 11.08.2020.

²⁹ See <https://pl.mocak.pl/>; 11.08.2020.

³⁰ See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oskar_Schindler%27s_Enamel_Factory; 11.08.2020.

³¹ See <http://en.mocak.pl/russian-language>; 11.08.2020.

³² See <https://pl.mocak.pl/edukacja>; 11.08.2020.

³³ See <https://www.mocak.pl/oprowadzanie-po-wystawach-w-jezyku-ukrainskim-i-i-i>; 11.08.2020 and <https://www.facebook.com/events/323414491944830/>; 11.08.2020.

³⁴ See <https://www.rajska.info/>; 11.08.2020 and <https://www.facebook.com/rajska.info/>; 11.08.2020.

ing place for students from many countries to use the reading rooms and borrow books. Foreign citizenship is not an obstacle to register free of charge.

There is no information in Ukrainian or Russian on the library's website. Interestingly, one can find an article published in Ukrainian by the Ukrainian portal UAinKrakow³⁵ stating that this library's collection of Ukrainian books was recently enriched by 120 volumes in Ukrainian. In fact, these books are available in the library, but it was impossible to find them in the online catalogue, whatever language one uses. If one asks, however, the librarians will be happy to help to find them.

Some events organized by the WBP³⁶ are remarkably interesting for its users (and other persons), including foreigners. I will come to them later

"Center for Documentation of the Art of Tadeusz Kantor CRICOTEKA in Kraków³⁷"

This institution was established in 1981, and now, since 2014, it has operated in an striking building on the banks of the Vistula River, in a fashionable part of the Podgórze quarter.

On the website, there is no information on the center in either Ukrainian or in Russian. However, a Polish reader can read about the guided tours in Ukrainian.³⁸ In the building, leaflets on the exhibition published in Ukrainian are available.³⁹

"Kraków Library⁴⁰" (Biblioteka Kraków / BK)

This institution is actually a network (established in 2017) of formerly "independent" neighborhood libraries run by the city administration. The network now has 56 branches operating in all parts of the city. In practice, the branches are frequented not only by Poles, but also by Ukrainian elementary and high-school students.

On the website of the BK, there is no information in Ukrainian or Russian. However, if one types in the catalogues the titles of books in Russian, the electronic system will display information on the availability of a given book. If a book is available, it does not mean that one can find its printed form – one is instead directed to the online library. In general, it is not difficult to find a Russian or Ukrainian-language book online (on the Ukrainian or Russian portals), but not the printed version.⁴¹

³⁵ See <https://uainkrakow.pl/>; 11.08.2020.

³⁶ See <https://www.rajaska.info/1023-warsztaty-wielkanocne.html>; 11.08.2020.

³⁷ See <https://www.cricoteka.pl/>; 11.08.2020.

³⁸ See <https://www.cricoteka.pl/pl/oprowadzania-dla-indywidualnych-zwiedzajacych/>; 11.08.2020.

³⁹ See <https://www.cricoteka.pl/pl/tadeusz-kantor-odslona-czwarta-rzezba/>; 11.08.2020.

⁴⁰ See <https://www.biblioteka.krakow.pl/>; 11.08.2020. The website's tag „Kolekcje” presents, in English, Croatian and Lithuanian, the library's book collection.

⁴¹ See <https://krakow-biblioteka.sowa.pl/sowaccgi.php?KatID=0>; 11.08.2020.

To briefly summarize this section: information in Ukrainian and/or Russian can be found only on MOCAK's websites. However, on the Polish and English-language pages of some institutions (Juliusz Słowacki Theater, International Cultural Center, MOCAK, Cricoteka) one can find information, proving the real interest of these institutions in Ukrainian or Russian-speaking audiences. Interestingly, some of the cultural institutions mentioned in this article are highly frequented by migrants, even though there is no information in any foreign language on their websites.

Research visits to selected cultural institutions

With the assistance of our Ukrainian volunteers, we visited five of the above-mentioned institutions. I will analyze them in the same order as presented above. I present facts and opinions of our volunteers.

In the **Juliusz Słowacki Theater** (in this case, its stage in the Małopolska Garden of Art and its play "Polish-Russian War under the White-Red Banner"; the situation is similar on the main stage) there are no visual signs in Ukrainian or Russian. The dialogue displayed in Ukrainian during the performance was done very well.⁴² At the particular show visited by our volunteer she was the only Ukrainian spectator. She had an interesting opinion on the repertoire made especially available to foreigners: in these cases theaters should concentrate on plays presenting Polish culture in a very good light. "Polish-Russian War..." does not belong to this category.

Our MIK's envoy participated in the guided tour of the exhibition "Skopje. City, architecture and the art of solidarity" at the **International Cultural Center**. The event took place in Ukrainian, but neither in the showcase of the ICC building nor at any of the information desks on the ground floor was there a sign of this event. Before this guided tour started, the center organized a workshop for Ukrainian – and Russian-speaking children. Eleven families with children participated in both events. The tour lasted one hour. The guide, a Ukrainian migrant, was very competent and engaging. It turned out that she had written the information on the Ukrainian tours on the ICC website and on the Facebook profiles of some Ukrainian groups in Kraków. Moreover, she was inviting and encouraging her audience to come again.

We also visited **MOCAK**. Both outside and inside the building there is a lot of helpful information on the museum and its activities in Polish and in English, but nothing in Ukrainian or Russian. However, guided tours in Ukrainian take place and they are announced on the (Polish-language) website. In our tour, six citizens of Ukraine participated. They were students of Kraków and Warsaw universities between the ages of 20 and 24. The young guide, a Ukrainian migrant herself, was a graduate of one of Kraków's universities, employed by MOCAK several months earlier. Like the ICC

⁴² The dialogue list was prepared by a team of members of the Zustricz Foundation.

guide, she was competent, engaging, and ready to answer all relevant questions in Ukrainian or Russian. She said that usually around ten people come to participate in her tours, announced earlier on the internet. Her largest group numbered 29 people, but sometimes nobody comes.

At the entrance to the **Voivodship Public Library**, there is copious important information and guidance for interested readers, but nearly only in Polish (occasionally also in English). Inside, brochures and leaflets can be found, mostly in Polish but some in English. The online directory is available in Polish. In the library's bistro bar one can hear people speaking English, while in the international reading room whispers in Ukrainian and Russian can be heard. This reading room contains a collection of about 100 books published in Ukrainian, dictionaries and fiction by modern Ukrainian authors.

On the walls outside of the **Cricoteka** building, we did not find any encouragements for foreigners. Inside, there is no information in Ukrainian or Russian. Booking a Ukrainian-language guided tour was difficult but possible. Our volunteers were of a very high opinion of the tour. The guide was competent, and she welcomed questions and comments.

All the branches of the **Kraków Library**⁴³ that we know of are very well flagged, well and attractively equipped, and the staff is friendly. Out of the three branches visited, only in one is there any information in Russian (none in Ukrainian). The branch, with an international reading room and circulation desk, displays some signs in English. In this branch, there are many shelves with books in English and several with books in Russian (according to the staff, the latter do not find many borrowers). There are no Ukrainian books, but there are plans to buy them. We did not succeed in collecting information on the number (nor percentage) of Ukrainian borrowers and users but we know that they do come: adults, adults with children of various ages, and children without their parents. Ukrainian university students often go to one of the branches (with an academic reading room), taking advantage of the textbooks. The whole network employs several librarians who are recent Ukrainian migrants. The staff members are aware that the number of contemporary books in Russian (particularly books for children) is too small, but on the other hand the clients usually ask for Polish books, including Polish-language textbooks. During vacation time, children are very much interested in computers with access to the internet.

Our research visit showed that on the one hand Kraków's public cultural institutions are successful in some integrative initiatives and they understand the needs of the Ukrainian migrants, but on the other hand and for various reasons they do not consistently engage in integrative activities.

Activists and employees of Kraków's public cultural institutions and the recent immigration from Ukraine

Activists and employees of Kraków's cultural institutions are usually proud of their achievements in matters discussed in this article, but at the same time they are aware of barriers on the road to making the city still friendlier to migrants. For instance, the purchase of foreign books is expensive, as is the translation of dialogue in theaters. Building (and permanent actualization) of full (or even selective) websites in Ukrainian or Russian would mean employing translators and linguistic editors. Outdoor and indoor information boards and signs were mostly designed and produced just before the mass immigration from Ukraine, and their modification, although possible and needed, would be costly and difficult.

I will now go on to some detailed issues discussed in our conversations (sometimes supported by the joint analysis of institutional websites and visual information) with representatives of some of the institutions covered in the previous two sections.

MOCAK is in fact an important all-Polish institution. Although its offer for the Ukrainian inhabitants of Kraków is not strong (if one concentrates on the websites and the visual outdoor and indoor information), more detailed scrutiny changes that impression. There are realistic plans to modify the visual information, even though it is costly. MOCAK's library is a particularly important space where Polish-Ukrainian relations are being built. It operates as a municipal public library with more than 2,500 registered members, ten percent of whom are citizens of Ukraine. Ukrainian readers are usually students of the Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski University located in the same neighborhood, but also students of the Intermedia Faculty of the Jan Matejko Fine Arts Academy. In addition, Ukrainian grandmothers who live with families in this neighborhood and Ukrainian nannies of Polish children are frequent visitors to the library. Another group are interns and trainees. The Museum staff (and that of the library in particular) is planning to strengthen relations with Ukrainian (and other) employees of international corporations who work in Kraków. The library is searching for new books in Ukrainian and Russian, using the Ukrainian guide mentioned above as an expert and Ukrainian trainees as go-betweens. A few years ago, MOCAK organized an exhibition called "The Art of Kiev's Majdan." Kraków's Ukrainian art students were very supportive. These students are also helpful in the organization of some performances. The Majdan exhibition and one called the "A Journey to the East" intensively engaged the work of Ukrainian artists.

Among the Voivodship Public Library's registered members, 1,060 had permanent addresses in Ukraine in November 2019. The Ukrainian book collection is small but its growth is now a permanent endeavor, with both the Ukrainian Book Institute in Kiev and Kraków's Zustricz Foundation engaged in this process. However, the Ukrainians taking advantage of the WBP's collections are usually interested in books to help them learn better Polish and books important in their university studies. The library

supports Polish language courses for migrants, in practice nearly exclusively Ukrainian. Between ten and twenty people participate in them. Some Ukrainians are WBP volunteers teaching interested Poles the Russian language. Along with the Zustricz Foundation, Kraków Cartoon Association and Kraków's schools and dormitories, the WBP organizes the "Kraków in your imagination" competition. Its aim is, among other things, to propagate the history of Kraków and strengthen the knowledge on the city among youngsters belonging to ethnic and national minorities and migrant groups, as well as to propagate information on non-Poles living in the city. In practice, the non-Poles are mainly Ukrainians. The posters for the competition are printed, among other languages, in Ukrainian. The WBP organizes cartooning and photography workshops, and then it exhibits their best works. Among the participants are artists from Ukraine as well as Ukrainian art students from Kraków. A big challenge for the WBP is the necessity to update the outdoor and indoor visual information (the one currently used was designed and produced before 2014), and the re-building of the website so it takes into account the needs of Ukrainians.

The Kraków Library is in the process of building a book directory in Ukrainian, and it is working on a Ukrainian language website, and particularly on a Ukrainian version of the regulations. The library plans to launch a new internet platform for studying Polish and intends to purchase new Ukrainian books. It also plans to invite Ukrainian writers and organize meet-the-author sessions.

Summary

This article analyzes only one aspect of the relations between new migrants from Ukraine and the Polish native population of Kraków. The Polish side of the relationship is represented here by public cultural institutions.

Until the end of the period of partition of Poland (1795–1918), people of various ethnic and national backgrounds lived in Kraków. Usually they had their own cultural institutions, such as education, religious communities, associations, and media. For a long time, Latin was the official language (of administration, etc.), to be later replaced by German. Starting in 1867 (the end of the constitutional reforms in the Austrian Empire and the emergence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) a strong process of Polonization took place in the (then) Austrian land of Galicia (in particular its western part) including Kraków. During the interwar period, there were about 60,000 Ukrainians in the Kraków Voivodship. At the beginning of the 1920s, there were nearly 80 public schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. The numbers of these schools decreased steadily. During World War II, many representatives of the anti-Communist Ukrainian political emigration sympathizing with Nazi Germany lived in Kraków. After the war, they disappeared from the city. Information on the number of Ukrainians who lived in Kraków between the end of the war and 1989 is missing.

No branch or cell of the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Association (established in 1956) operated here, although many of today's members of the Kraków Cell of the Union of Ukrainians in Poland lived here at that time.

More reliable data on Ukrainians in Poland have in fact been available only since 2013. Since 2014, large new waves have been superimposed on the small but already institutionalized Ukrainian minority and on the difficult to assess the population of migrants who came slightly earlier. It seems that there are between 70 and 100 thousand Ukrainians in Kraków, including more than four thousand university students who are at the same time employed by various companies in various kinds of positions. The present Ukrainian population in Kraków is a completely new phenomenon, relatively weakly linked to the established Ukrainian communities. New, more or less formal, institutionalization of the Ukrainian population has taken shape in the form of clubs, associations, foundations, coffee-clubs (sometimes with "nothing Ukrainian" in their names), regular concerts of pop music, religious groups, and, above all, Facebook groups. As is usual in the case of migration processes, some migrants who intend to stay in Poland are interested in assimilation, and others in integration.

A practical aim of this text is to contribute to the improvement of the integration processes within the field of the broadly understood cultural life. In my opinion, integration is much easier when both sides are interested in its success and both show and practice goodwill and take pains to meet the partner halfway. It seems to be clear that without the incorporation of Ukrainian migrants into the social life of Kraków, their integration would be difficult. However, this is not the main topic of this article. This text deals with real and potential activities of the other side of the relationship: the social practices of Polish public cultural institutions. Some of these institutions have already done much to assist the integration processes. This is clear to the representatives of the Ukrainian migrant community we have interviewed. For integration, friendly (or at least neutral) attitudes (in all their dimensions) of members of the host society are also very important. It seems to me that their opposite – discriminatory attitudes – while always painful, are not very widespread in Kraków at this time.

The Municipality of Kraków does much to include foreigners into economic, educational, and cultural life. The municipal "Open Kraków" ("Otwarty Kraków")⁴⁴ Project and its Advisory Board work, in my opinion, very well. They communicate with migrants via their websites and Facebook profiles, in Ukrainian and Russian, among others. However, closer integration would be instrumental to making the city and its cultural offer even more attractive for inhabitants and tourists. The city of Kraków and its cultural institutions could, without bigger investments, take advantage of the potential of new immigration. Premises and other resources at the disposal of Ukrainian clubs, foundations and associations are too small for a large-scale cultural activity. Private cafes and pubs help, organizing concerts and meet-the-author and meet-

⁴⁴ See <https://otwarty.krakow.pl/>; 11.08.2020.

-the-artist sessions, but these events could be organized on the premises of public cultural institutions, inviting much larger non-Ukrainian audiences. Leading Ukrainian artists visit Kraków sometimes looking for support and employment in municipal institutions and not finding them. They then leave Kraków, only to enrich other Polish cities.⁴⁵ Monitoring these visits via Kraków's Ukrainian websites and Facebook profiles and taking advantage of them would be very beneficial for the city.

The situation is interesting as seen from the point of view of activists and employees of the cultural institutions. Like most Poles, they were surprised by the large wave of migration but, to the extent the resources at hand allow, they are doing much to face the new situation, to modify the way their institutions operate. What is very easy to spot are the outdoor and indoor information boards, showcases, and visual signs. They are usually attractive and provide for foreigners who read English. Most of them were, however, designed and produced before 2014, before today's needs emerged. The modification of this state of affairs will be costly and difficult, but it is possible and already planned. Remaking and then maintaining new versions of main websites is easier, but also expensive. The purchase of books is possible and will probably be carried out, but again it demands financial resources. It also needs a proper diagnosis of the interests of the potential readers, and perhaps a program of stimulation of needs by showing that they could be met with a positive response. This diagnosis of the interests of migrants and information regarding the city's plans and intentions could be tapped by the Ukrainian institutions operating in Kraków.

The COVID-19 pandemic arriving in Kraków in March 2020 has strongly deteriorated the economic and social situation of the municipality and it may (although it does not have to) change the "migration situation," and, consequently, a new form of multiculturalism in Kraków. The integration of the Polish and Ukrainian communities could – but does not have to – suffer.

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⁴⁵ An Ukrainian poet and manager of culture, Iryna Wikyrczak, before she became assistant to the 2018 Nobel Prize Winner in Literature in November of 2019, Olga Tokarczuk, was looking for employment in Kraków. See https://wroclaw.wyborcza.pl/wroclaw/7,35771,25455904,asystentka-noblistki-obywatelka-swiata.html?fbclid=IwAR0LmuhM9M_5GwfAZ8iao8Dn6LlhGCqEbWYgT4lr8XhKRz9NaPh9LvFb_U; 11.08.2020.

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