

## PREFACE

The present volume, published by the Jagiellonian University research journal *Politeja* and within the series known as *Jagiellonian Cultural Studies*, contains a collection of articles submitted by Polish and foreign authors which demonstrate an interdisciplinary analytic approach. The presented works concern three fields of research exploration: **ethnicity**, **culture** and **politics**. These fields are related to the basic axioms of the *Jagiellonian Cultural Studies*, namely **man**, **dialogue** and **cultural development**. These elements are noticeable in all of the articles. However, the scale of their appearance is obviously different. Finally, the submitted collection highlights the necessity to endorse the idea of exchanging research experience. In this special case, such an idea has been put forward by the Chair of Ethnocultural Politics from the Institute of Intercultural Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. The above Chair was established in 2012 in response to the call for conducting broad research endeavors on the relations between ethnicity, culture and politics. The research refers to different aspects of interculturalism, the conditions for maintaining intercultural dialogue, as well as conducting analyses of the conflict prerequisites derived from ethnic, national or cultural diversity.

Politicized ethnocultural affairs emerge as a significant area of deepened enquiries, the results of which may affect the political process and prevent ethnic conflict.

The editorial team of this volume wants to express its conviction that the already established research ties, both on a national and international level, will be kept in the future for the benefit of all contributors.

Without any extended discussion, the three fields of research exploration mentioned above, namely **ethnicity**, **culture** and **politics**, may be understood by referring to classic interpretations of them.

According to Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan the category of *ethnicity* was introduced into sociology and political science by David Riesman in 1953. It is defined by them as [...] *a tendency by people to insist on the significance of their distinctiveness and*

*identity and on the rights that derive from this group character.*<sup>1</sup> Ethnicity is thus a set of features relevant to the notion of an ethnic group, hence these two terms are often used interchangeably. Max Weber referred to the ethnic group in his classic interpretation by saying that it is [...] *a human collectivity based on an assumption of common origin, real or imagined.*<sup>2</sup> The reference to Weber is reflected in the opinions of other researchers, for instance, in that of Ellis Cashmore for whom an ethnic group is [...] *a self-conscious collection of people united, or closely related, by shared experiences.*<sup>3</sup> Milton Gordon goes into more detail in his assumption that each ethnic group is determined by race, religion, or national origin, or a combination of these categories<sup>4</sup>. Summing up, it seems that a paradigm for the understanding of ethnic groups is created by culture (especially language and religion), genealogy (including race and origin), special personality features and occupied territory.<sup>5</sup>

In regard to the considerations above, the term *culture* appears as a part of the enumerative interpretation of ethnic group, which corresponds rather closely to the ideas expressed in the present collection. In fact the term culture has a myriad of interpretations. In its broadest sense it is – as defined by Clifford Geertz – [...] *a historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men [sic] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.*<sup>6</sup> Behaviours, values, institutions, and social structure are understood rather as culturally constituted phenomena and not as culture itself.<sup>7</sup> The phenomena as such are applied frequently as a basis for both conflict and conciliation-oriented socio-political activities.

*Politics* comes as the third element interconnected with the two previously mentioned. Customarily, politics may be understood as non-military activity, but this is not the only perception of the term. As a non-military activity it is oriented towards the reconciliation of the interests of various social groups living in an area subject to one power, by granting them access to power proportionally to their importance for the survival and well-being of the whole community.<sup>8</sup> It may be also understood as a mode

<sup>1</sup> N. Glazer, D.P. Moynihan, 'Introduction' in iidem (eds.), *Ethnicity. Theory and Experience*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1975, pp. 1 & 3 (*Political Science. Sociology*).

<sup>2</sup> Weber cited in: *Us and Them. The Psychology of Ethnonationalism*, New York 1987, p. 20 (*Report (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry: 1984)*, 123).

<sup>3</sup> E. Cashmore, 'Ethnicity' in iidem (ed.), *Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations*, London 1984, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Gordon cited in: G. Babiński, *Lokalna społeczność polonijna w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki w procesie przemian*, Wrocław 1977, p. 25 (*Biblioteka Polonijna*, 1).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Kłosowska, *Kultury narodowe u korzeni*, Warszawa 1996, p. 19; E. Nowicka, 'Etniczność a sytuacja mniejszościowa', *Przegląd Polonijny*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1989), p. 44; R.A. Remnick, *Theory of Ethnicity. An Anthropologist's Perspective*, Lanham (MD) 1983, pp. 8-13.

<sup>6</sup> Geertz cited in: M.H. Ross, M.H. Ross, *Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict*, Cambridge 2007, p. 18 (*Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics*).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> B. Crick, *W obronie polityki*, trans. by A. Waśkiewicz, Warszawa 2004, p. 28.

of governing divided societies without the use of redundant violence.<sup>9</sup> Thus politics is a course of action undertaken by politically involved persons (objects of politics), which may lead to manifold results.<sup>10</sup> These may come in the form of conflict or conciliation-oriented activities. The military methods of conducting politics are naturally linked to conflict: in such circumstances, politics becomes war. This correlation was noticed for the first time by the Prussian general and military theorist, Carl P.G. von Clausewitz.<sup>11</sup> However, conflict does not naturally appear in its militarized version only.

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The volume consists of six unequal parts, namely (in this order): 'Literature, visual art & ethnicity'; 'Dynamic role of language'; 'Evolution of nations'; 'Images of minorities'; 'New immigrants' and 'Images of ethnic conflict'.

Małgorzata Ossowska-Czader in her contribution to the first part, namely 'Literature, visual art & ethnicity' revisits the issue of the Rushdie Affair by exploring both the real-life dimension of the historical events which took place in the late 1980s as well as the literary dimension of the novel *The Black Album* by Hanif Kureishi. She adopts a wider research perspective by applying theories developed within other disciplines such as political science, sociology and anthropology.

The second part – 'Dynamic role of language' – consists of three articles, in which a different context of the political role of language is underlined. Wawrzyniec Konarski refers to the use of language in ethnic politics (ethnopolitics) as a starting point either for obtaining political and legal results or for maintaining those which have already been achieved. In both cases the evaluation of these activities depends on the expectations of the involved parties which, in fact, shape the language issue in a politically deliberate way. He examines three theoretically formulated ways of perceiving language as a factor – applied by politicians and ideologists – Influencing the existing political, legal and cultural order.

In the subsequent article by Laszlo Marác language is perceived as an intrinsic and largely non-negotiable part of individual culture and identity. The author exemplifies the thesis that language policies remain subject to power conflicts and hegemonic strives by referring to the Hungarian linguistic minorities in Central Europe, particularly in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia (Vojvodina), and Ukraine (Trans-Carpathia). He confirms the presumption that the recognition of one's own language is gradually receiving more and more support in international political and institutional frameworks.

Roman Szul formulates the thesis that the smooth functioning of the European Union institutions, of the EU economy and market, requires the use of a reduced number of languages. This approach may be criticized by less populous nation states belonging

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 45, 191.

<sup>10</sup> F. Ryszka, *O pojęciu polityki*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 22-23 (*Leksykon Demokracji*).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A. Herberg-Rothe, J.W. Honig, D. Moran (eds.), *Clausewitz. The State and War*, Stuttgart 2011 (*Staatsdiskurse*, 17); B. Heuser, *Czytając Clausewitza*, trans. by P. Budny, Warszawa 2008.

to the EU. In order to justify his option, the author enumerates several objectives which serve the language policy of the EU, but underlines that they are in fact contradictory. This creates a dilemma between the idealistic principle of equality and the pragmatic inequality of languages. The fact that this issue generates tensions over the economic and political consequences of both equality and inequality of languages within the EU encourages the author to endorse his initial argument.

Two articles are included in the third part titled 'Evolution of nations'. In his paper on the Republic of Montenegro, Antonio Violante points out that this state has started rebuilding its international image by reinventing its past and present. In fact an extensive campaign in both foreign and domestic media has been carried out as an attempt to change the perception of Montenegro's history, focusing especially on the difference between Serbs and Montenegrins, who are historically intermingled. The author describes how a new form of "soft" ethno-cultural image, which incorporates only the best aspects of the country's culture and history and cleverly minimizes those which are deemed "non-acceptable", is deliberately constructed.

Peter Smuk analyzes the new Hungarian constitution in regard to the concept of nation and situation of Hungarians and other nationalities under the new Fundamental Law. He states that the governing majority included its conservative and patriotic values into the text and hardly tried to integrate the political community. The author also attempts to indicate possible conflicts and problems concerning Hungarian minorities abroad and the thirteen recognized minorities native to Hungary. However, his general purpose is to study what the Hungarian nation and the country's national identity mean according to the 2011 Act.

The next part of the volume, 'Images of minorities', includes three articles: the first illustrates the author's fascination with the Roma people in Europe, the second refers to the Jewish Autonomous Region in Siberia and the final text analyzes the influence of EU funds on regional culture and minorities in Bieszczady.

Joanna Talewicz-Kwiatkowska explores the issue of the Roma immigrants in Italy and France. As it is well known both countries have become a haven for them and thus give those immigrants a hope for a better life. The mass exodus of Roma to Western Europe was triggered by the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union, hence the author refers to the specific factors of the Roma people's complex situation in these countries, which they are abandoning on such a large scale.

Alessandro Vitale explores the case of the Jewish Autonomous Region (JAR) of *Birobidzhan* in Post-Soviet Russia as a unique and symptomatic example of interethnic relations shaped by the Soviet national policy and religious rebirth. He emphasizes and analyzes not only the demographical changes since its foundation in 1934, and the influence of migration to Israel after 1991 on the heterogeneous community of JAR, but also presents a unique model of coexistence and living of the Jewish minority in a region where antisemitism merely exists in books, and, instead of assimilation, there has always been the policy of adaptation in regard to minority groups.

Marysia H. Galbraith focuses on the notion of the transnational regional community which in her opinion is the multilayered convergence of seemingly opposing scales

of identity and identification, at the more immediate regional level of “Bieszczady” and at the broader level of “Europe”. The author explores the ways that residents of the Bieszczady region in southeast Poland benefit from EU grants designated to promote regional cultures by revealing the connections between ethnicity, politics and culture and their influence on using the EU’s vision of multiculturalism in order to boost regional pride.

The growing importance of new immigrants, as seen from the perspective of one Asiatic and one developed European country, is contained in the fifth part of the present volume titled ‘New immigrants’. The European case is exemplified by Norway in the article written by five Norwegian authors: Brita Gjerstad, Øystein Lund Johannessen, Svein Inge Nødland, Geir Skeie and Gunn Vedøy. In their article they investigate how public social service institutions and local policies are challenged by and attempt to meet the new realities of migration to Norway. This is done by identifying and discussing the tensions between policies and practices. These tensions are exemplified through focusing on the Education and the Health and Care sectors and their respective treatment of two groups, labour migrants and refugees.

Anna Odrowąż-Coates, in her study concerning the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia’s current realities, presents an anthropological outlook on the political consequences of corporate and economic migration to this country and labour market segregation. The article contains an insight into racial and ethnic relations as seen by Saudi Arabia itself and also allows for a deeper understanding of the power distribution in this particular modern Islamic society. Concerns over ethnic divisions are focused on conflicting ideologies, represented in the interactions between newcomers and the indigenous population.

The final, sixth part of the volume, titled ‘Images of ethnic conflict’, consists of two papers. The content of the first article, written by Caspar ten Dam, refers to conflicts as seen from a long historical perspective. The author’s intention is to ascertain the causes and degrees of any brutalisations, i.e. increasing violations of norms during rebellions by peripheral, marginalised ethnic (including indigenous) communities against their overlords in classical, medieval and “modern”, namely industrial, times. Thus the author introduces his own *brutalisation* theory which combines theorising elements of disciplines ranging from cultural anthropology to military psychology. His motivation of how to explain rebellions or any armed conflicts and their morally corrosive effects is cognitive and analytical.

In her approach to ethnic conflict Małgorzata Kułakowska concentrates on the recent, violent summer riots of 2011 in London. Her aim is to reflect on the issue of whether, and to what extent, race and ethnicity remain a significant basis for these riots. The paper covers the timeline of social unrest, the dominant actors and events, as well as the main theoretical themes and analytical perspectives present in British debate on the riots. In fact, the author argues that while the ethnocultural perspective cannot be seen as a leading one, in order to properly understand the events of August 2011, the links to previous riots and the history of racial tensions between police and members of certain communities should be unfolded and explored.

Politicized ethnocultural issues have become a challenge for contemporary international order, hence they deserve to be explored and analyzed in regard to their importance for this order then and now. These issues constitute the leading motif within the contents of the submitted collection of articles. The members of the editorial board want to express their belief that the contents of the submitted volume will be interesting and cognitively inspiring for the esteemed readers.

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*Karolina Golemo*  
*Małgorzata Kołaczek*