Reconstructing Identifications With the Place of Origin in Post-Migrant Communities – the Case of Lower Silesia, Seventy Years After Migration

Jacek KUBERA https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1513-1639

Faculty of Sociology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

j.kubera@amu.edu.pl

ABSTRACT

As a result of the border shift after the Second World War, people belonging to different national, ethnic, and regional groups settled in Lower Silesia, although Poland was portrayed in propaganda as a mono-ethnic state until the political transformation in 1989. This article examines present types of identification related to the place of origin of the oldest inhabitants of Lower Silesia: persons who were resettled from present-day Belarus and Ukraine, re-emigrants from Bosnia and France, settlers from diverse regions of Central Poland, and deportees from Russia and Kazakhstan. The presence of these identifications in the contemporary public sphere is then discussed. The article's results are based on computer-assisted qualitative analysis of in-depth, biographically oriented interviews. They show how the social reconstruction of identifications with the place of origin has become institutionalised and examine the treatment of selected once-Polish regional or migratory groups as separate ethnic groups in a multicultural society. The paper demonstrates the distinctiveness of settlers from Central Poland compared to other categories in terms of defining their ties with their place of origin and their visibility in public space.

Key words: post-migrant communities, place identification, place of origin, Polish Western and Northern Territories, Lower Silesia

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1. CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

What types of individual identification with a person's place of origin exist today, more than seventy years since migration to Lower Silesia came to an end? How is attachment to those places manifested socially, in the public sphere, thirty years after the political transformation in Poland? These are the main research questions addressed in this text, based on findings from research into a subject hitherto little studied. I examine the identifications residents of the Western and Northern Territories (WNT) of Poland have with their place of origin − identifications that may have shifted because of migration and were not permitted to be expressed publicly until the 1990s.

As in other regions that became part of Poland after the Second World War, there was mass migration to Lower Silesia, principally between 1945 and 1950 (Halicka, 2020). As a result, people in that region today have very diverse geographical backgrounds. Towards the end of the 1950s, the population of the Wrocław voivodeship, as it was then, which encompassed most of the present-day Lower Silesia voivodeship, was almost 1.7 million (Central Statistical Office, 1955: 159–164). However, even then, only 85,000 people were pre-war residents: predominantly Germans who had not been expelled, along with other indigenous groups such as Czechs, Sorbs, and the former Polish minority (Kulczycki, 2001). More than half of the residents at that time were settlers from Central Poland (916,000), i.e., from an area whose statehood did not change after the end of the war. These "Centralni-acy" came from ethnographically diverse regions, including the following post-war voivodeships: Poznańskie (127,000), Kieleckie (126,000), Krakowskie (145,000), Rzeszowskie (98,000), Łódzkie (84,000), Katowickie (66,000), Lubelskie (63,000), Warszawskie (61,000), and Warsaw itself (57,000). These were internal and voluntary migrants. The "Kresowianie" were the second-largest category, comprising people who had been resettled from regions in the eastern part of interwar Poland (the Eastern Borderlands – *Kresy Wschodnie*), which today are in Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. In the 1950 census, this group was unwillingly included in the same category as those who declared they came from an area occupied by the Soviet Union after the war (593,000), when in fact the Kresowianie came from an area of interwar Poland that came under Soviet occupation in 1939. This was an element of the Communist government's broader policy towards that group, most of whom were forced migrants. In 1959, they represented about thirty percent of the population of the WNT (Sakson, 2017: 534). An even greater taboo applied to another group that came to Poland from deeper within the Soviet Union; they were Polish repatriates and political deportees who had been sent to the gulags in Kazakhstan, Siberia, and elsewhere. They identified themselves as Siberian

deportees (in Polish *Sybiracy*). In addition, in 1950, other people settled in Lower Silesia who in 1939 had lived in central and western interwar Germany (15,000), France (32,000), or other countries such as Belgium, Romania, and Yugoslavia within their post-war borders (Central Statistical Office, 1955: 159–164). In the WNT in 1950, they numbered about 235,000. They are referred to in the literature as re-emigrants, although in fact, they also included people born in those countries (for example, children of Polish emigrants to France in the 1920s and 1930s) or who had lived there for generations (for instance, the Polish community that had settled in Bosnia in the nineteenth century). As a rule, they came of their own free will, although differences of opinion arose in families as to whether moving to Poland had been a good idea. Over time, some wished to go back to where they had come from; in most cases, the authorities did not allow them to. Re-emigrants from France were sent, in particular, to Wałbrzych, while those from Bosnia were sent to the area around Bolesławiec (Ligus, 2019; Nisiobęcka, 2018; Szarota, 1969: 167–175). These settler groups, who represented a diversity of Polish culture (Gerlich, 2013: 30–35), formed the bulk of the new population of Lower Silesia. The rest were other interwar Polish citizens who contributed to its multiethnic and poly-confessional character: Jewish Holocaust survivors (who were also Centralniacy, Kresowianie, Siberian deportees and re-emigrants), Ukrainians resettled from the Eastern Borderlands, Lemkos from postwar south-eastern Poland, and Roma people. Greek refugees (particularly in Zgorzelec) and Soviet army units also became inhabitants of Lower Silesia after the Second World War.

Although the WNT was not multicultural in the sense used today (Dolińska and Makaro, 2013), its culturally diverse society did comprise various remembrance groups as defined by Wylegała (2014). There was an evolution from limited relations between groups, especially in smaller population concentrations, towards social integration (Bukiel et al., 2020; Lewandowski, 2013; Dulczewski and Kwilecki, 1963; Dulczewski, 1968, 1976). That evolution proceeded according to various models, yet all were shaped by the same political factors. Up until 1989, government propaganda reiterated that the WNT had to be unified with the rest of the country, expressed pride in the region's supposed ethnic and cultural homogeneity, declared the importance of the Piast dynastic tradition, and repeated anti-German slogans. Internationally, a conflict over the new Polish-German border amplified (especially for the Kresowianie) the impression people may have had that they were residing in their new location only temporarily. The situation persisted until 1970, when the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany signed a treaty normalising diplomatic relations (Siekierka, 2015).

After 1989, new elements began shaping the identifications of residents in Lower Silesia and other parts of the WNT. The most important ones were a shift

from central to local government, affirmation of ethnic and national minorities, and changes in historical policy. The government reform in 1999 and EU accession in 2004 both increased the importance of regions (Opiłowska, 2016; Skoczylas, 2019). The 1990s saw a transition from the declining old narrative to the increasingly popular new one, which spoke of compensation due for the loss of the Kresy and the wartime suffering inflicted on Poles by the Third Reich, and dissipated the discourse on the identity of local communities or individualised narratives about the places where people had settled (Kledzik et al., 2018: 11–12). A debate also arose on both the pre-war history of the WNT, and the traditions brought to them – the myths of the Piasts, and of the WNT as a uniform whole – were replaced by Kresovian, post-German and multicultural myths (Ciechorska-Kulesza, 2019; Dolińska and Makaro, 2013). As the achievements of communist Poland became marginalised, the myth of the WNT itself, which was closely linked to the previous system, also collapsed. Instead of a single, centrally-proposed narrative, multiple views emerged, and local communities began pursuing their own policy of remembrance (Skoczylas, 2015). At the same time, the categories of remembrance, multiculturalism, the borderlands and the identity of specific places became more popular subjects of academic analysis (Kurpiel, 2019: 88–92; Sakson, 2017: 531; Siekierka, 2015: 174–177).

These processes were experienced for the longest time by people of various ages who came to Lower Silesia, and by those actually born there between 1945 and 1970; the latter growing up in the shadow of wartime destruction and post-war cultural trauma (Sakson, 2017: 535). In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the oldest inhabitants of the WNT were ambivalent towards their subjective ties with the local community and the region; the rupture caused by migration disrupted their sense of continuity, leading them to reconstruct their former identity rather than forming a new one (Głowacka-Grajper, 2012; Mach, 1998; Smolarkiewicz, 2010). As a whole, different generations of WNT inhabitants name the nation as their chief object of identification considerably less frequently than inhabitants of eastern and south-eastern regions of Poland; they also identify with Europe and the world significantly more frequently (Lewicka, 2007: 43).

Today, the question of how to construct a sense of community in post-migration societies has become very important (Gołdyka, 2017; Petersen, 2020). At the same time, it is emphasised that intra-national mobility generates similar place-identity negotiations as trans-national migration, and that there is a link between discourse about the identity of a place and discourse on national identity (McKinlay and McVittie, 2007). Furthermore, the identifications people make can change at different points in their lives (Kaźmierska, 2003). Thus, affiliation is a process that helps an individual define the relationship between their personal and their collective iden-

tities, both of which are contextual and based on social action; an individual can express a sense of affiliation with a certain group even while not being similar to other members of that group (Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2011: 44–47; see Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; Kłoskowska, 2001). Various types of social identifications coexist and can be used as arguments or counter-arguments for a person's social affiliation (Kubera, 2020). Reaching retirement age is an event that often reinforces a person's interest in the country they emigrated from (Bolzman and Bridji, 2019). For long-term migrants, it can be important to have a social network of people from their country of origin, decorate their homes with photographs of relatives and places in that country, and visit their native regions (Meijering and Lager, 2014; Palladino, 2019). From the perspective of memory studies, objects and activities can act as material or immaterial memory carriers (Kula, 2002) or implants (Golka, 2008; Gortych et al., 2017) in both the private and public spheres. However, the social process of producing memory does not take place in isolation from dominant narratives (Welzer, 2002). The possible impact of new discourses that have not been used previously is of particular interest. In the case of the WNT after 1989, this especially concerns the narrative of multiculturalism (cf. Fish, 1997).

2. METHODOLOGY

When addressing the two questions posed in the Introduction ("What types of individual identification with a person's place of origin exist more than seventy years after migration to Lower Silesia came to an end?", and "How is attachment to those places manifested socially, in the public sphere, thirty years after the political transformation in Poland?"), this article focuses on contemporary types of identification with place of origin among older people living in Lower Silesia, and on how those identifications manifest themselves in the local public sphere.

The research material consisted of in-depth and biographically oriented interviews, which, according to humanistic sociology (Znaniecki, 1934), make it possible to gather information about both the individual and the social reality. I conducted and analysed 38 in-depth interviews (IDIs), including 35 with people from the first two post-war generations of inhabitants of Lower Silesia (18 of the first generation – those who came to Lower Silesia in the first years after the Second World War, and 17 of the second generation – those who were born there; the oldest of whom were born in the 1930s and the youngest in the mid-1950s) and with three experts (a regional researcher in one town, a priest in the second, and a representative of the German minority in the third; they are defined as experts due to their very good knowledge of the functioning of post-migrant communities in a given location). I conducted the interviews in September 2020 in eight towns in

Lower Silesia, purposefully selected based on their diverse geographical locations in the voivodeship, population composition after 1945, and the current number of inhabitants. The towns were Bolesławiec (13 interviews, a particularly diverse area in terms of the inhabitants' origins), Głogów (4), Karłowice, residential estates in Wrocław (4), Oleśnica (3), Pęgów (3), Strzelin (4), Wałbrzych (4), and Zgorzelec (3). (Please note that I use the place names in their current linguistic forms in this text.) Conducting interviews in various locations was guided by the literature review, which indicated that people from a given region of origin often settled near each other in Lower Silesia after 1945. The selection of locations in the study takes into account this post-war diversity of the region, particularly the presence of four main categories discussed above, i.e., "Centralniacy" (people from Central Poland), "Kresowianie" (people from the Eastern Borderlands), re-emigrants, and repatriates (Siberian deportees). Regarding the first research question, we expected that the varied migration experiences of these categories could differentiate their current identification with their place of origin. At the same time, migrants from one place rarely constituted a clear majority. Regarding the second research question, we assumed that the degree of diversity in the post-migrant population influenced the dynamics of manifesting attachment to places of origin in the studied locations.

The participants were recruited using the snowball method. After selecting eight locations, I received the initial contact details from public cultural institutions or social organisations. I asked them to suggest local leaders or other individuals representing settler groups in each location. The selection criterion at this stage was to recruit interview participants from various remembrance groups in a given location, especially among the four above-mentioned categories in Lower Silesia after 1945. It was assumed that reaching people with different migration backgrounds would allow us to learn more about the diversity of the studied phenomena and arrive at answers to the research questions. People representing the following categories participated in 35 interviews (second-generation individuals of dual origin were considered representatives of two groups and were counted as 0.5 for each group): people from Eastern Borderlands – 14 (2 from present-day Belarus, and the others from various regions of present-day Ukraine; including one of Jewish origin), re-emigrants – 8.5 (5.5 from France, 2 from Bosnia, 1 from Romania), people from Central Poland – 7.5 (4 from Greater Poland, 2 from Kielecczyzna, 0.5 from Mazovia, 0.5 from Subcarpathia, and 0.5 from Podhale; this category included 0.5 descendants of Polish Germans from Central Poland), Siberian deportees – 3 (including 2 from present-day Belarus, 1 from Hutsulshchyna in present-day Ukraine), and 2 refugees from Greece.

The interviews examined social experiences related to migration in the years following 1945, the transformation of social relationships among settler groups, the

importance of places and communities of origin for the interlocutors' identifications, and how, from their experience, these origins are present at the social level, in the public sphere. After conducting each interview, I took notes, generating a list of topics related to the subject of the study. Familiarisation with the interviews was further enhanced through transcription and multiple readings.

The interviews were subjected to thematic analysis using MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software. Firstly, the content of the interviews was coded thematically. The main codes were constructed based on a literature review. They concerned reasons for migrating to Lower Silesia; comparisons between the family house and hometown "here" and "over there"; manifestations of socio-cultural diversity in a given location in the first years after 1945; relations between inhabitants and forms of cultivating bonds with the place of origin at that time; social integration then and now; answers to the question "where am I from"; contemporary identification with the place of origin; contemporary identification with the place of residence; commemorating events from the past of a given location, especially migration and other phenomena after 1945; generational differences in the importance of the place of origin; attitude towards identifying oneself as a migrant. Subcodes emerged within the main codes, relating to specific examples of the phenomena examined. During coding, some fragments were supplemented with additional notes. A total of 784 coded interview fragments and 139 notes were generated.

Secondly, each interview was described with variables relating to the participant's affiliation to a given geographical location, category of settlers, and the generation of post-war residents in Lower Silesia after 1945. The coded content of interviews was compared from the perspective of four settler groups (their own experiences, or relating to contact with them) that identified with Polish culture: people from the Eastern Borderlands, people from Central Poland, re-emigrants, and repatriates. At this stage, the research material was analysed within two main themes into which the coded fragments were divided. They correspond to the following two empirical chapters of this article: "Identifications Transferred along with Migration" and "(Re)construction of Distinct Identifications in the Public Sphere".

The contents of collective consciousness revealed in the interviews (e.g. references to types of supra-individual activities in the public sphere linked to places and communities of origin) were supplemented with materials produced by local public institutions and media, provided by participants as well as by the public cultural institutions and social organisations contacted. Although these materials were not subject to systematic coding, they provided essential contexts and illustrations for the phenomena analysed through the interviews.

Analysis and discussion of results will appear together in joined chapters in this paper.

3. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Identifications Transferred along with Migration

For the interlocutors from Lower Silesia, the political developments in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989 occurred when they became mature adults. Therefore, they considered themselves at the appropriate age to learn about their family history and felt a yearning for the places where their families had once lived, even if they recalled little or nothing about those places (cf. Bolzman and Bridji, 2019; Kaźmierska, 2003) (e.g., IDI_2, IDI_12). At the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, a large number of social organisations became active in Poland. Focusing on the story of migration to post-war Poland, their principal goals were to preserve their members' collective memory, tradition, and culture, as well as to organise excursions to their places of birth or origin (e.g., IDI_14, IDI_35). Identifications with regions other than Lower Silesia, previously kept mainly in the private sphere by various groups (e.g., IDI_2, IDI_6, IDI_24, IDI_33), have led to new social measures within the changed institutional framework, especially for groups of resettled persons and re-emigrants (cf. Welzer, 2002) (e.g., IDI_11, IDI_15, IDI_16, IDI_19).

"Sentimentality" is a word that many people used in the interviews in relation to their place of origin (e.g., IDI_3, IDI_8, IDI_13, IDI_14, IDI_30). The idea of a permanent return to their native land was not mentioned in any of the interviews; the interviewees explained that their lives had been centred in Lower Silesia for a number of decades and that this was their home and the place where their loved ones lived. There were differences, however, in how they described their identification with their place of origin. Such statements were either made spontaneously or prompted by a question posed at the end of the interview about the first thing that came to mind if they were asked to name their "place on earth". These statements form a typology of the varying but inseparable means by which people of advanced age – whose families emigrated to Lower Silesia seventy years ago – define their ties with their place of origin.

The first type of identification concerns people born both in Lower Silesia and elsewhere, who mention their place of origin first when asked to name the place to which they feel the strongest emotional attachment. This type of identification has the greatest potential to motivate people to act. One clear example of this is their attendance at meetings about their place of origin (IDI_2) or their wish to visit the region where their parents were born or came from (IDI_10). Interestingly, some individuals were less interested in these activities in the past, but their interest has increased over time. They say, for example:

With me, that was a process. I found that something was missing, and it had to be found. (IDI_28)

And I devoted a lot of time to the family, and my business. … It was not until I retired, seven years ago, that I had time, and we started meeting up. Even [name] *told me that the French would meet up at the* [name] *restaurant, so we started going there.* (IDI_17)

Now I have a feeling of sentimentality… I'm coming to the end of my life. This sentimentality towards [town in Greater Poland] *exists. It is the most important thing.* (IDI_3)

For some older people, the extent of their identification with their place of origin is also demonstrated by their wish to be buried there, alongside relatives (e.g., settlers from Greater Poland, IDI_4), or to have soil brought from there and scattered on their grave in Lower Silesia (e.g., in the case of a resettled person from present-day Ukraine, IDI_20).

At the same time, older interlocutors frequently described their region or the place where they currently reside as "their own" or "their place". Therefore, the sentimentality they may have towards their place of origin does not necessarily preclude them from identifying with the place they live in now, although they may assess this in various ways, for example:

I feel that I am a Lvivian. I feel a connection with [town in Lower Silesia]*, but that sentimentality... is hard to explain. Maybe this is because it is beyond reach, it is now a long way away, and has passed me by ... I say that in my heart I am in Lviv, though I live here … There was a kind of atmosphere there, something unique.* (IDI_3)

Other statements made by resettled persons or re-emigrants also reveal how they idealise their place of origin and cultivate a myth of a paradise lost (Topp, 2010).

When a decision is made to visit the native locations, it might be due to the quality, form, and frequency of relations maintained with relatives and other loved ones who live there. In the case of people whose families originate from areas outside Poland's present-day borders, these relationships are transnational. For example:

Because my father-in-law was born in Vilnius, … his whole family was over there in Vilnius. He had aunts, who were old spinsters, and we are familiar with Vilnius. (IDI_36)

> *We go over there occasionally as well [to Bosnia]. I have a cousin there of my age, and we have a good relationship. We talk on the telephone a lot, and visit each other.* (IDI_15)

Whether people visit their place of origin or not also depends on the experiences of moving to Lower Silesia that older individuals remember or talk about. Those who were born outside of Poland's present-day borders remember the topographic details of their place of origin, even though they left as children (e.g., IDI_9). Visits there are sometimes described as "journeys of a lifetime" (IDI_12) and may be considered beneficial, including by people born in Lower Silesia. For example:

> *When I heard those stories, "my house", "our house", that was something unknown, but later, as one grows up, one wants to go, and to see... and truly, being there in that place, in that village, there is something enticing about it. You can feel it.* (IDI_30)

> *Both Dad and Grandad instilled that love for Ridkivtsi* [Bukovina, on the Romanian-Ukraine borderland]. (IDI_28)

Those whose story involves re-emigration or resettlement gave detailed accounts of their visits to their former family homes and meetings with area residents (e.g., IDI_8, IDI_11, IDI_17, IDI_28, IDI_33, IDI_36). For them, it was also important to visit the places where their family members or other Poles were buried. Support for activities relating to these and other kinds of memorial sites is often provided by local, regional, and national authorities (for example, the Polish Senate); associations organise excursions for young people to restore or maintain cemeteries (IDI_15, IDI_19). These trips reflect the discourse between Polish national identity and identification with these places (e.g., IDI_14). For some interlocutors, the presence of Polish national symbols and Catholic religious symbols in these places is important. For example:

> *There was one man who came after seventy years* [to Bosnia]*, someone drove him, and he was in tears. What an experience it was for him that he managed to see that! The Polish flag flying in the forest, in those cemeteries, makes an impression.* (IDI_19)

For many of the oldest residents of Lower Silesia, however, their place of origin and migration from that place remind them of traumatic experiences such as fleeing for their lives (Volhynia), displacement, returning from deportation in the Soviet Union, unwillingness to leave their present location, embarking on a long journey into the unknown, etc. An interviewee from the Zolochiv region, which is now in Ukraine,

who left at the age of seven, recalled experiencing fear during two visits there (IDI_23). The daughter of displaced persons forced out of Zbarazh, also now in Ukraine, who was born in Lower Silesia, acknowledges that her father and grand-mother did not share any memories with her, nor did they wish to see that city again (IDI_14). Her father's fear was so strong that he discouraged her from visiting his native land. Visiting a place can also be difficult for reasons other than painful family memories. There might be disapproval of the current situation in those places or of the transformations that have occurred there compared to the image that is recalled or imagined based on information from the past (e.g., IDI_33).

For many interlocutors, recalling visits to their native land, whether on their own or with a group, brought back memories of other visits and former residents of Lower Silesia or their descendants who had left the region after the Second World War and mostly settled in Germany. For example, one interviewee remarked: "As I always say, sympathy for both sides, what is there to say? There are a lot of surprises in war, and pain and suffering for people and the whole of society" (IDI_8). There is, therefore, a discursive connection between discussing attachment to places of origin other than Lower Silesia and acknowledging a similar attachment to Lower Silesia on the part of other remembrance groups (IDI_25, IDI_28).

There is one category of post-war settlers to which the above comments on travelling, idealisation and trauma do not apply: people from Central Poland. Their identification with their place of origin can be equally strong, and even dominant, but the reasons given only partly match those of other groups. These differences are illustrated by the circumstances of interlocutors whose parents came from different parts of Poland and who got to know each other once they were in Lower Silesia in the early years after 1945 (e.g., IDI_11). While visits to family in France, Romania, erstwhile Yugoslavia, or present-day Belarus and Ukraine were sporadic and logistically demanding, the frequency of visits to areas such as Kielce and other regions in Poland was determined by the nature of family relations, and in general, these visits did not pose a problem. Migration from Greater Poland, the Łódzki region or Mazovia to the WNT was similar to other internal migration in post-war Poland, as demonstrated by the fact that the transformation of the political system at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s did not make migratory groups from those regions more visible in Lower Silesia in the public sphere.

The second type of identification characterises people who first define themselves as residents of the place they currently inhabit. For example:

Well, this is the centre of the world. This is where I have my friends, so well... … While that is a nice place to go, it's fun when everybody gets together [in a city in Greater Poland]*, but then it's back to the daily reality... and then what? Then it's better to look to the places you know.* (IDI_32)

This type of identification may be stronger when the person believes the place where their family settled after the war is better than their place of origin. This could be due to a higher standard of living, the benefits of moving from the countryside to the city, the features of the local community formed after 1945, etc. This favourable image of family migration particularly applies to people from the central part of Poland, most of whom made a personal decision to move to Lower Silesia (e.g., IDI_21).

The feeling of having ties with this place is also something that often only happens at a particular point in an individual's family or personal history, distinguishing the younger generation from the older. This also applies to people who were born in Lower Silesia (IDI_30), and in other regions as well (IDI_8). For example:

> *In her mind, my grandmother still considered her home to be there, but Mum was down to earth and realised that they would probably not go back, but there is no doubt in my mind that my homeland is this land, Lower Silesia, Poland is here. Currently, I have a very sentimental feeling towards Kresy, because after all, everyone considers the roots of their ancestors to be important. For me that is enough, that I can stand on the soil that was my Mum's home, where she was born, of my grandparents, and go to that town, see the church where they were christened, and that is enough for me.* (IDI_30)

> Interviewer: *But at what point did you feel that you are from here?*

> Interlocutor: *Once we had settled here, once I was at school, we put down roots. I got married and had children. By that time, it was clear that we would definitely not leave here, that we would be here from now on.* (IDI_8)

In the previous type, which emphasises the importance of the place of origin, the identifications with home, a town, a region, and even with larger entities (such as the Kresy or a whole country other than Poland) seem to reinforce each other. A positive emotional attachment to the family village implied similar feelings towards a broader area, which was more or less familiar. However, in cases of identification with the current place of residence, this pattern is not typically observed. The quotation below shows that the interlocutor is attached to her home and the immediate area (residential estates) where she has lived for many years. At the same time, she expresses a sense of detachment from the larger urban area, i.e. Wrocław. This is partly caused by a yearning for her place of origin and partly by the "German" characteristics of Wrocław's architecture, which she perceives as incompatible with her identity:

> Interviewer: *How do you define "your place on earth", where would that be?*

Interlocutor: *Here. Wrocław is not my hometown, even though I was born here. … In terms of urban layout, Wrocław is not a Polish city. … I have that kind of sentimental feeling in my imagination for that property…* [my mother's native lands] *… Mentally, sentimentally, but not in reality.*

Interviewer: *But a feeling of sentimentality towards that place? Towards that house?*

Interlocutor: *I am even sentimental about Karłowice* [residential estates]*. … It would not call it an enclave, but it has a kind of character.* (IDI_33)

Sometimes, there can be a rivalry between a person's identification with their place of origin and their place of residence (cf. Kubera, 2020). For example, activists in local associations sometimes criticise people who campaign for the remembrance of their native lands, arguing that they should instead promote the place where they currently live (IDI_14). Conversely, identification with a group that has undergone similar migration experiences can reinforce identification with a particular place in Lower Silesia. This happens when groups from the same area settle in a certain region, for example:

So, I said that I was returning to [town in Lower Silesia]*, due to a feeling of senti-mentality. One of the reasons for this is that I have always felt comfortable here. Perhaps this is due to the minority… As I said, I was brought up in this kind of little France. … Perhaps it is because of that. Highly sentimental about* [town in Lower Silesia]*. I love that city.* (IDI_21)

Older participants in this research were able to say where people originating from their region now lived in their neighbourhood (e.g., IDI_9, IDI_20). Poles from the village of Chyshky, located in present-day Ukraine, found themselves in Pęgów (IDI_23, IDI_24). They shared the same fate as other Kresy villages and towns whose residents were largely or entirely resettled. One adaptation to their new surroundings involved transferring elements of their former local churches' décor (cf. Meijering and Lager, 2014; Palladino, 2019) (IDI_28, IDI_28, IDI_33). Similarly, many re-emigrants from Bosnia and France arrived on specially provided trains, which facilitated their gathering. An example is the mining estate Szczęść Boże in Wałbrzych, referred to as "French" (IDI_27). People from the central parts of Po-land also wished to settle among familiar people. Today, they often remain neigh-bours with members of their or their parents' former local communities, as in the case of Karłowice in Wrocław (IDI_32, IDI_34).

The third manner of identification is demonstrated by statements in which the reasons for identifying with a place, whether the place of settlement or the place of

origin, include being born there, becoming socialised there, or living within the past or present borders of Poland, or beyond those borders but within a Polish community. Attachment to particular cities or their surrounding areas, whether "over there" or "over here", thus gives way in such cases to identification with a broader collective. This is demonstrated by the following examples:

> *Well, I feel that I am a true Pole. I am a patriot and I would never want to live abroad … So, the place where I was born was Poland, but at first, we were not allowed to say that … But I always felt that I was Polish, and I never heard my parents speak any language other than Polish. … I would never leave.* (IDI_1)

> *I have two homelands: I was born over there, but grew up over here, and I feel like a Pole on Polish soil, and sometimes I yearn to go there. We go there from time to time as well.* (IDI_15)

> *Poland. My identity card says "Polish", after all the Naliboki Forest and all of those regions from which we come were Polish territory.* (IDI_36)

> Interviewer: *Do you feel that you have ties to this place* [in Lower Silesia]*?*

> Interlocutor: *Of course. I feel tied to Poland, to my homeland.* (IDI_24)

> Interviewer: *You described yourself as a local patriot. How was that connection formed in your case, that feeling that you are truly from* [town in Lower Silesia]*?*

> Interlocutor: *I feel that I am Polish even though I was born in France, but the things that Poland gave me, what I achieved in Poland, that is enough for me.* (IDI_17)

Interestingly, this type of identification was not observed in interviews with people from Central Poland. For individuals in this and other migratory groups, the fact that they do not need to refer to their national identification could indicate that they are more certain about their local identifications; the national discourse is not necessarily a context for them.

The fourth distinctive type relates to uncertainty, where the person does not feel that they have ties with the place of settlement but simultaneously yearns for the place of origin, to which they will never permanently return for various reasons. This non-identification could be due to the trauma of forced migration or difficult experiences in the place of settlement, for example:

> Interlocutor: *The impression that I have in these lands: people felt uncomfortable, and the policy was the whole time that the Germans would be back, those older people did not respect anything, they lived for the sake of living, but did not take care of anything, not those houses or anything for many years. Not until the younger generations came along, because that is a different situation.*

Interviewer: *So, does that mean that they felt less certain?*

Interlocutor: *Yes, like strangers. It was their place, but unfamiliar.*

Interviewer: *And when did you feel at home? If at all?*

Interlocutor: *I don't really think that I do. I don't like the general atmosphere here, because, well, it was different there, and it is still different there today.* (IDI_19)

Interlocutor: *Well, I don't think that I have an attachment to any place, I have always rather thought of those regions where I was born, although that was the place I lived for the shortest time.*

Interviewer: *And* [town in Lower Silesia]*? Do you feel at home here?*

Interlocutor: *Well, in fact, nothing good has ever happened to me at any time here, so I don't have anything like that. Instead, I am fighting with this life by myself.* (IDI_9)

While in the first type of identification described above, there does not seem to be any connection between attachment to the place of origin and the level of identification with the place in which someone has had most of their life experiences, in this case, such a connection can be observed. "Over there" is often the only place that evokes good memories. They may relate to a childhood brutally interrupted by a series of unfortunate events (IDI_9), or to a time prior to family migration, as well as to a modern-day return that allows for the nurturing of an idyllic image (IDI_19).

Sociological theories that view identifications as interconnected elements creating dynamic systems provide explanatory interpretations of the results obtained (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2011). According to this approach, a given type of identification, e.g. national one, does not function in a vacuum but is determined by other social affiliations (Kubera, 2020; McKinlay and McVittie, 2007). In this chapter, we noted that interlocutors' self-identification with Poland may support their sense of connection to the local environment. However, a competitive dynamic can also influence the relationship between specific identifications (the more of one, the less of the other). For example, some residents of Lower Silesia perceive the commemoration of their places of origin as detrimental to building identification with their current place of residence. The collected data also confirm that individual identification constructs change throughout life (Kaźmierska, 2003). Participants admitted that their interest in their place of origin increased only when they reached retirement age, a trend previously reported among international migrants (Bolzman and Bridji, 2019). Interestingly, we noticed that a similar process may occur not only regarding migrants' places of origin but also regarding where they currently live. Some interlocutors acknowledged that their identification

with the place of residence appeared only at a certain point in their lives, for example, when they started their own families there.

All the types of identification discussed above can prompt various initiatives in the public sphere in Lower Silesia. The next section of this article discusses this.

3.2 (Re)Construction of Distinct Identifications in the Public Sphere

Due to the transformation that occurred from 1989 onwards, social groups were able to accomplish more and obtain more funds when functioning as registered organisations. Associations representing various remembrance groups use the infrastructure of local and regional institutions (cultural centers, libraries, schools, government offices) to hold meetings for their members and supporters (cf. Bukiel et al., 2020; Kledzik et al., 2018; Welzer, 2002). These meetings are an opportunity to listen to lectures on topics such as places of origin or migration to Lower Silesia (e.g., IDI_10, IDI_20). They also serve to forge links and meet the social needs of the attendees. For example:

> *I learned that this was an* [Polish-French] *association. This is very important to me, perhaps due to my age. Nowadays, I have a sort of greater nostalgia. … I am glad that something is happening and that it is named the way it is, and that we still exist.* (IDI_21)

Authorities at various levels not only sponsor a large number of projects but also inspire them. Interlocutors noted a change in social attitudes (IDI_16, IDI_28) and a "kindling" of memory of origin (IDI_30). Some original grassroots initiatives became permanent and annually recurring elements of the operations of municipal and regional institutions (for example, the Wrocław branch of the National Museum and Ethnographic Museum; the Lower Silesia Voivodeship Marshal's Office), and national institutions (such as the Western and Northern Territories Network and the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage). Organisations also make use of grants from European funds, proposing projects that are aligned with the policies of public institutions (IDI_21). Numerous conferences, exhibitions, workshops for various age groups, journals, academic books, videos and recordings, competitions in knowledge and artistic contests preserve the memory and identity of specific groups that formed post-war Lower Silesian society. These functions are also performed by city or municipal musical groups, including those for children and young people, who present songs and dances characteristic of the regions or countries of origin of immigrants from seventy years ago (e.g., IDI_11, IDI_15, IDI_16).

Some activities supported by public institutions underline the diversity of contemporary residents in a particular place, while others focus on a specific group of settlers. For instance, oral history projects, which are conducted in many towns, showcase the biographies and experiences of people from various geographic origins, focusing on post-war social processes (for example, initiatives in municipalities in the Głogów region or the "First in Oleśnica" project). Collections of these memories, as well as materials published by local publishers, often include maps of Europe and other parts of the world marking the places from which new residents arrived after 1945 (for instance, the album "We Obornikians" from 2005). Many books on particular remembrance groups have been published. For example, the Bolesławiec Ceramics Museum has published one about the Kresowianie, Siberian deportees, and re-emigrants from France and the former Yugoslavia. In Głogów, with which only people from the Kresy have an association, education on the former Polish Eastern Borderlands is particularly well-developed (IDI_35). In a similar way, Rural Housewife Circles in the areas around Strzelin and Bolesławiec frequently discuss Kresy culture (IDI_10, IDI_30). Additionally, various municipalities and cities host cultural festivals, such as the annual Balkan Festival in Bolesławiec, Southern Slovenian Culture Festival in Bolesławiec, Kresy Meetings in Zgorzelec, International Greek Song Festival in Zgorzelec, and Lviv Poetry Recital Competition in Oleśnica. Local authorities in these towns take part in ceremonies marking anniversaries and holidays that are special to various communities (e.g., IDI_5, IDI_7, IDI_11).

Particular groups campaign for public remembrance in various forms, such as renaming streets, plazas, and squares (for example, "Lviv Street" in Oleśnica) or schools (e.g., "Polish Deportees in Siberia" in Bolesławiec), and placing plaques on buildings (for example, one in honour of a teacher and social activist at a school in Pęgowo, or another honouring Greeks at the City Municipal Office in Zgorzelec). In places where multiple communities are active, a proposal from one group often prompts others to underline their presence as well (e.g. IDI_16). As a result, several settler groups may be commemorated in a single place of symbolic value for the local community. This is illustrated by the obelisk near the railway station in Bolesławiec. It was erected in 1995 in memory of the arrival of resettled people from the Eastern Borderlands – the Land of Drohobych. In the years that followed, grassroots initiatives led to the addition of plaques in memory of Yugoslavian Polonia (in 1996), repatriates from France (in 2004), and people who had returned from exile in Siberia (in 2013).

Sometimes, memorials appear in places occupied under the previous political system by other memorials, which local government authorities were required to remove from the public sphere by September 2017 under the "decommunization

law" (*Ustawa z dnia 1 kwietnia 2016 r.*) adopted by the Polish parliament. Decisions in this regard by local municipal and city councils spark debate and, sometimes, conflicts due to differing interpretations of history. One example concerns the fate of Poles deported deep within the Soviet Union, who were allowed to return on condition that they join a faction of the Polish Army under the control of the Red Army. The changes in the national discourse after 1989 triggered a process of eliminating the memory of the First and Second Polish Armies, its members being often collectively branded as propagators of communism. Some Siberian deportees, who were clearly victims of the system created in the Soviet Union, see this as unjust and harmful (e.g., IDI_8). Sometimes other settler groups, or individuals from those groups, are labelled as "communists". For this reason, many pioneers who played a major role in post-war reconstruction still do not have streets named after them, such as the first mayors of Oleśnica (IDI_36) and Strzelin (IDI_28). There have also been cases of memorials being placed in private areas or churches because of opposing views as to their purpose, content, and form. For instance, a plaque commemorating the Polish defenders of Lviv during 1918−1939 (who fought against Ukrainian units) is now in a basilica in Oleśnica because a majority in the municipal council did not support its placement elsewhere (IDI_35).

In Wałbrzych, a Kresy association, a Jewish social and cultural association, a German minority association, and an association of re-emigrants from France invite each other to their events (IDI_21, IDI_26, IDI_27). During city events that celebrate multiculturalism, Germans, Greeks, Jews, Roma people, French people/re-emigrants from France, and also Poles of Boryslav origin (in present-day Ukraine) set up their stands (IDI_27). Associations of various remembrance groups in Bolesławiec are treated in a similar way (IDI_10, IDI_11). During city-wide festivals, the cultural elements considered characteristic of a particular group are presented: food (*kutia*, *borsch* and *pierogi* from the Kresy, escargot, chips and apple pie from France, *pita*, Bosnian-style coffee and *rakija* from Bosnia, cholent from the Jewish community), language (dialects, accents, regional words, words borrowed from other languages), ways of celebrating holidays, songs and dances, and even styles of dress (for example, French people being considered chic, French men associated with neckties). These sociological features are considered core values of migratory groups within an ethnically multicultural society.

It emerges from the interviews that the oldest inhabitants of Lower Silesia continue, to varying degrees and frequencies, to cultivate the culinary customs of Poles who inhabit former Ukraine, Belarus, Bosnia, France, or Romania, although this is not the rule with their children (cf. Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2011; Kłoskowska, 2001) (IDI_5, IDI_13). Other elements of the culture of the region of origin, such as particular words used, have mostly given way to the standardised, nationwide

equivalent – even among the eldest inhabitants of Lower Silesia, although they still recognise the old expressions or use them occasionally (e.g., IDI_36). A similar situation exists regarding social and family life. While they still retain fragmentary knowledge about the origins of some of their neighbours thanks to their parents, their personal relationships with people of similar origin are fewer. The reasons often cited in interviews for these cultural changes include the impact of post-war education and the socialisation of children and adolescents from various regions (IDI_1, IDI_12); the departure over subsequent decades of the parent generation, i.e., individuals who were socialised in places other than Lower Silesia, with deep roots in the culture of origin, and who maintained stronger social relationships with people from the same region (IDI_4, IDI_11, IDI_17); the "mixing" of various groups, including through mixed marriages (IDI_9, IDI_16, IDI_29); and new cultural models that have become common throughout Poland, such as preparing carp for Christmas (e.g., IDI_29, IDI_31). In the private sphere, this process began in the 1950s and 1960s and was recorded in the memoirs of settlers and their adolescent children in Lower Silesia (see Dulczewski and Kwilecki, 1963; Dulczewski, 1968, 1976). Paradoxically, therefore, the shift in how distinctive traits were cultivated due to differing migratory trajectories occurred when those traits were practically disappearing. While interlocutors said they were still discernible in the 1970s and 1980s, by then they were no longer particularly relevant (IDI_6, IDI_20, IDI_35).

Contemporary grassroots and institutional measures support the discourse on multiculturalism in Polish society, whereas post-war propaganda portrayed that society as homogeneous (IDI_28, IDI_29, IDI_32). Similarly, as noted in the case of Wrocław (Dolińska and Makaro, 2013), multiculturalism is understood as something broader than an ethnic notion; it is more festive and "boutique" (Fish, 1997). This is because, unlike in the early years after the war, being from a different background nowadays does not significantly cause antagonism in social relationships:

> This is no longer the case. Even when there is a Ceramics Festival, there are even booths with food, with French here, Bosnian here, and some others there. That's so nice, to go to each other's houses and try each other's food, it's nice now. (IDI_10)

In the discourse about multiculturalism, there has been a tendency to talk about certain settler groups that are neither ethnic nor national groups in the same way as about Greeks, Germans, Jews or the Roma people. This context- and situation-based ethnicisation of once-Polish regional groups (Kresowianie, people from Lviv or Boryslav) and Polish migratory groups that have acquired characteristics of other national cultures (French, Bosnian) also manifests itself in how they were described in some interviews. For example, they were sometimes referred to as

a "minority" (IDI_21, IDI_28) or a "nationality" (IDI_27), although occasionally in a humorous sense.

Interestingly, in the towns researched, other than Wrocław, associations of people from Central Poland were not well-known, even though they also brought their own customs to Lower Silesia (for example, eating stew with potatoes, not pasta, as is typical of Podhale cuisine, IDI_29). Reasons given in the interviews as to why people from Central Poland are not visible as a separate group included geographical proximity to their places of origin, where local traditions were and still are cultivated ("It is hard to expect an association of Kielce or Pomerania supporters to be formed here", IDI_35). The fact that the authorities of the previous system did not follow a policy of repression against them was also important, in particular as compared to the treatment of the Kresy population or Siberian deportees. An example is an association of friends of a county capital city in Greater Poland, founded there in the 1960s. Through the association, former inhabitants of that city cultivated its collective memory in Poznań, Wrocław and elsewhere. One interviewee illustrated that by a certain point in time, it had become less important for people born in Lower Silesia to continue meeting in that organisation, even though their parents had done so: "My Dad was a member of some association… I did not pursue that, unfortunately, because I considered myself to be from Wrocław. I was born in Wrocław, and so... that was something that interested my father", (IDI_34). People from Central Poland frequently identify with their place of origin and like to tell their family stories about it, but they are not visible as a group that is active in the local public sphere. For example, to date, that group's memories (or memories of groups from particular regions in Central Poland) have not been collected or issued in a separate book by the Bolesławiec Ceramics Museum, even though activities initiated and pursued by particular settler groups have already produced publications of this kind:

> *Meanwhile, there is no organisation from Central Poland, no one took on that task. … Even during the Bolesławiec Days festival we always hold a special event to show these groups and have stands. We show the multiculturalism of Bolesławiec, that it is tolerant and open, this mix makes it a cultural community, and so everyone wants to be seen. There has never been an instance when a representative of the people from Central Poland came to us and said that they wanted to be part of it, too.* (IDI_14)

That identifying with regions such as Kielecczyzna or Greater Poland is usually a less powerful driver of community activity than identifying with the Kresy is demonstrated by the fact that the above sentences were spoken by a person whose mother was born in Central Poland. The Kresy have become so popular in Lower Silesia

that even people who do not originate from there at all, but are socially active in a particular local community, become involved in supporting their fellow residents' identification with that area (e.g., IDI_25).

Many projects relating to the origins and migration of various groups of Lower Silesia residents are supported by public institutions or associations that have no direct connection with the collectives in question. Municipalities and cities consider the identifications and cultural characteristics of "new" residents who arrived there in the years following 1945. While the stories of certain groups can also be found in the national discourse (for example, memories of the Kresy and Siberian deportees), many communities in Lower Silesia are specific precisely because of the unique nature of their exploration (IDI_25, IDI_30). Identifications stemming from migration are incorporated into local identity through measures such as organising excursions for young people to their ancestors' places of birth, during which they integrate with their peers from the region, forming official partnerships with the towns from which settler groups came, or by creating special subject-area sections in libraries. Institutionalisation driven by the gradual disappearance of communicative memory is likely to progress due to the decreasing number of first-wave settlers in Lower Silesia. Many interlocutors (e.g., IDI_6, IDI_8, IDI_21, IDI_29) noted that association members are ageing, and that there are an insufficient number of younger people interested in the associations' goals or willing to work as volunteers (for example, in one of the researched towns, Oleśnica, there are only about twenty older people in the Kresy association, IDI_35). In some smaller groups, this has now led them to stop operating under their official emblem (IDI_10, IDI_11). A solution to the ravages of time can be sought by expanding an organisation's scope of activities and making membership more inclusive, as seen in the name of the Association of Re-emigrants from Bosnia, their Descendants, and Friends in Bolesławiec, founded in 2011. For many interlocutors, the goals of organisations concerned with origin will inevitably have to be amended (e.g., IDI_21, IDI_35).

The sociological theories cited in the previous chapter also explain the collected empirical data on a supra-individual level. They emphasise the susceptibility of identification constructions to change induced by interacting individual and collective entities (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; Kubera, 2020). This chapter showed that, among others, the state, associations, churches, local authorities, neighbourhood communities, and families could shape identification with the place of origin. Significantly, the state impacts the narratives dominating a society (Welzer, 2003). Although cultural differences between individual settlement groups in Lower Silesia decreased during the integration process over the several post-war decades, paradoxically, today, when new discourses have emerged, they are more publicly manifested than before 1989. The theories that raise the importance of collective

memory in building migrants' social identification also help better understand the results obtained (cf. Meijering and Lager, 2014; Palladino, 2019). The results show that post-migrant communities aimed to create specific, tangible memory carriers (cf. Kula, 2002) or implants (cf. Golka, 2008; Gortych et al., 2017). In the case under study, they appeared in the public sphere as the cultural competencies of the inhabitants of Lower Silesia related to their places of origin began to disappear, especially among younger generations. The presence of the memory carriers or implants not only in the private sphere consolidated the importance of identification with the place of origin in the social identity construction of the inhabitants of Lower Silesia (cf. Głowacka-Grajper, 2012; Mach, 1998; Smolarkiewicz, 2010). Moreover, the results show that the narrative about multiculturalism was particularly beneficial in reconstructing old-new Lower Silesians' identifications. Multiculturalism is used not only in the language of academics, as previously pointed out (Kurpiel, 2019; Sakson, 2017; Siekierka, 2015), but it has also become popular among the leaders of local communities in the region studied.

4. CONCLUSION

The findings reveal varying levels of identification with the place of origin among the oldest inhabitants of Lower Silesia more than seventy years after their migration or that of their parents. In the first type of identification observed from the data, individually expressed identification with the place of origin overtakes others relating to various spheres; in the second, it gives way in the hierarchy to identification with the place of residence; in the third, it gives way to national identification; in the fourth, it is probably stronger than identification with the place of residence, but the level of that identification is largely due to traumatic migration experiences or the various stages of a person's life in the new location.

The analysis also revealed a number of contextual links between declarations of attachment to a place or community of origin and a sense of affiliation with a variety of groups. One of the most important contexts – especially for re-emigrants, resettled persons, and Siberian deportees – is self-identification with Poles, even in cases where some elements of national discourse are not accepted. In certain social circumstances, identification with the place "over there" may not be perceived as neutral in relation to the person's identification with the place "over here", but as competing against it or reinforcing it. In addition, some interlocutors drew an analogy between the importance of the place of origin for Kresowianie and the attachment on the part of former German inhabitants of Lower Silesia to the places they vacated.

The interlocutors believed that the political and social transformation that began more than thirty years ago has enabled various settler groups to be more visible in the public sphere. The associations that represent them receive support from the authorities at various levels for their activities relating to culture, education, science, remembrance, social contacts with people of similar origin, and relationships between communities living "over here" and "over there". In the cases I observed, institutions play a very active part in reconstructing identifications with place of origin, and their role will probably continue to grow. It is noteworthy that settlers from Central Poland, or individual regions of Central Poland, are not visible as a separate remembrance group. In the places examined, where associations were formed by both resettled people and re-emigrants, they celebrate the identifications they brought with them when they migrated to Lower Silesia as part of the discourse on multiculturalism. In addition, based on the observed cases, it is difficult to state any differences in the declared manifestations of the identity of the place of origin between women and men. This issue is worth taking up in subsequent studies of the research problem raised.

This paper contributes to the literature by demonstrating the process of constructing a specific type of social identification: identification with the place of origin in post-migrant communities. It explains the importance of political and biographical factors in manifesting this identification in the public sphere. Through the analytical separation of four categories of settlers in Lower Silesia, it reveals the heterogeneity of attitudes towards the areas where they or their families lived before migration. The study confirmed that migratory experience, even from several decades ago, shapes contemporary identifications related to the place of origin. This is reflected primarily in the distinctiveness of the "Centralniacy" from the other three categories in terms of defining their ties with their place of origin and their visibility in public space in all locations studied. The assumption regarding the influence of the degree of diversity among the post-migrant population on the dynamics of expressing identification with the place of origin also proved to be correct. The locations where all four categories were important are characterised by the most remarkable vitality in commemorating their diverse pre-migratory roots. The study's limitations include its focus on individuals with a migration background who are, in some capacity, visible to local institutions and organisations. A different selection method for interviews might have revealed new attitudes towards the migration past.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ETHICAL APPROVAL

Research activities were conducted in accordance with the principles of the Code of Ethics for Sociologists of the Polish Sociological Association adopted on 25 March 2012**.**

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Available upon request to the author.

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Rekonstruiranje identifikacija s mjestom podrijetla u post-migrantskim zajednicama – slučaj Donje Šleske, sedamdeset godina nakon migracije

Jacek KUBERA https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1513-1639

Fakultet sociologije, Sveučilište Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań, Poljska
j.kubera@amu.edu.pl

SAŽETAK

Usred premještanja granica nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, u Donju Šlesku naselili su se ljudi različitih nacionalnih, etničkih i regionalnih grupa, iako je Poljska u propagandi sve do političke transformacije 1989. godine prikazivana kao monoetnička država. Ovaj članak ispituje današnje tipove identifikacije vezane uz mjesto podrijetla najstarijih stanovnika Donje Šleske: osoba koje su preseljene s područja današnje Bjelorusije i Ukrajine, reemigranata iz Bosne i Francuske, doseljenika iz različitih dijelova središnje Poljske te deportiranih iz Rusije i Kazahstana. Potom se raspravlja o prisutnosti tih identifikacija u suvremenoj javnoj sferi. Rezultati članka temelje se na računalno potpomognutoj kvalitativnoj analizi dubinskih i biografski orijentiranih intervjua. Pokazuju kako je društvena rekonstrukcija identifikacija s mjestom podrijetla postala institucionalizirana i ispituje tretman odabranih nekada poljskih regionalnih ili migracijskih grupa kao zasebnih etničkih grupa u multikulturalnom društvu. Rad pokazuje posebnost doseljenika iz središnje Poljske u odnosu na druge kategorije u smislu definiranja njihovih veza s mjestom odakle dolaze i njihove vidljivosti u javnom prostoru.

Ključne riječi: postmigrantske zajednice, identifikacija s mjestom, mjesto podrijetla, poljski zapadni i sjeverni teritoriji, Donja Šleska