

RESEARCH POTENTIAL OF CENTER OF ETHNOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WARSAW AND THE PROSPECTS OF SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH FOLKLORISTS AND ETHNOLOGISTS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF UKRAINE

Katarzyna Kość-Ryżko
Oyungerel Tangad

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Статтю присвячено святкуванню сторіччя Національної академії наук України. Наголошено на важливості дослідження польсько-українського пограниччя та проаналізовано співпрацю ПАН і НАНУ в цьому напрямі. Передусім увагу зосереджено на дослідницькій роботі Центру етнології та антропології сучасності ПАН. Зокрема, охарактеризовано студії релігійності, віросповідання і побутової обрядовості, виконані К. Баранецькою-Ольшевською, етнічні, міграційні, транскультурні дослідження К. Кость-Рижко та питання вивчення Монголії, аналізовані та продовжені О. Тангад.

Ключові слова: етнологія, дослідження культури та релігії, фольклористика, міграція, дослідницькі проекти, Польська академія наук, Національна академія наук України, Центр етнології та антропології сучасності, польсько-українські дослідницькі проекти.

The article is dedicated to the centenary celebration of Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences. The importance of Polish-Ukrainian borderlands investigation is emphasized. The collaboration of PAS and NASU in this direction is analyzed. Mainly attention is paid to research trends of the Center of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Contemporaneity PAS. In particular, the studies on religiousness, worship and secular rituals by PhD Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, ethnic, migration and transcultural investigations by Dr hab Katarzyna Kość-Ryżko and the issues of the history of the research on Mongolia analyzed and continued by PhD Oyungerel Tangad are described.

Keywords: ethnology, research on culture and religion, folkloristics, migration, research projects, Polish Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, Center of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Contemporaneity, Polish-Ukrainian research projects.

Science has no homeland, as human
knowledge covers the whole world...

Louis Pasteur

The jubilee celebration of the centenary of existence of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NASU) provided not only the chance of solemnize the 100th anniversary, which Ukrainian nation is proud of, but also the ground for making recapitulations and strengthening the international scientific cooperation. The last century, falling for the duration of the NASU, was a difficult time; many things changed: the states' borders, political systems and alliances, ethnic divisions, as well as living and working conditions of «ordinary» people. These changes (their origin and effects) and the

transformation of traditional societies and culture became the objects of interest of numerous research disciplines, especially of those focusing on a human being — on his activities, products of his works and their functions. The specific issues in this field are the domains of a. o. ethnography, ethnology and cultural anthropology. It is rather difficult to make a clear distinction between these three terms, which, as a matter of fact, describe the same research object and scope (at various stages of the development of the discipline, its theoretical and methodological development). Analogically, as the simplification is

to limit, from time to time, the research issue to the narrowly specified field and interpretation direction. Ignoring the broader political and historical context of some cultural phenomena and attributing them to strictly specified positions, according to pre-arranged criteria of territorial divisions, limits the field of knowledge to single-sided perspective. This is so for a few reasons – the most obvious of them is the current shape of state borders, which not always corresponds to actual national, cultural and ethnic divisions. These divisions do not take into account the social relations (the trans-border, transnational and intercultural ones), existing between people, who inhabit a given territory for years.

The artificial practice of fragmentation of research fields usually follow from formal barriers, e. g. the necessity of lowering costs, the difficulties in accessing reliable material and human resources. Yet, sometimes, the researchers are unwilling or frightened to tackle the difficult issues¹, which are either politically inconvenient or able to disrupt the current status quo between the involved sides (e. g. ethnic groups or nations) [18; 24]. That is why the borderlands, although for some people regarded as the sources of conflicts, (often taking advantages of their isolated location, with the sense of extritoriality or even separatist desires) are seen by many researchers as the regions with extreme research value [11]. Some researchers see the borderlands as a kind of prototypes of «social laboratories», in which there can be observed (like through a magnifying glass) the processes barely visible in other regions, while in borderlands having a clear course and strong dynamics [34].

The borderlands are extremely attractive also for ethnologists and folklorists, who document and analyze the products of thoughts and works of people from the regions, where various cultural impacts interweave. However, conducting the field research in borderlands is an organizational challenge and requires great cultural sensitivity and a broad knowledge (including not only a local history but also the knowledge of local authority relations), this provides the access to the abundant and invaluable knowledge. This is particularly so, when field researches are conducted by the

competent, multinational and interdisciplinary teams, e. g. consisting of researchers from neighboring or, on the contrary, remote countries. Yet, the latter case brings the danger of too big cultural distance as well as of the lack of knowledge of local mentality and historical context of coexistence of different ethnic groups in the same territory. This may disable understanding the local uniqueness or capturing the *genius loci* and hence it may be impossible to create the adequate description and interpretation. The former case is not free from difficulties, either, although it seems to have more advantages.

Ignoring the problematic issues of local societies coexistence with their broader historical, social and political context is also the example of self-censorship used by some researchers, who do not want to get engaged into disputes, which are ambiguous and polemical in nature. Such an attitude gives the chance to preserve the safe distance, resulting from the lack of involvement and understanding political correctness in a peculiar way. This is associated with various kinds of taboo, which science is not free from, (e. g. with difficult parts of history, long lasting and unresolved conflicts, complicated relations between nations). Yet, the inconvenience of some issues in public and mass media discourse is, quite often, the encouragement for cultural anthropologists and ethnologists, who willingly act for groups experiencing marginalization, exclusion and incomprehension² [33].

Such an attitude is not always understood by the government, which is reflected in current situation in Poland and in the planned reform of primary, secondary and higher education, in which ethnology was erased from the list of scientific disciplines. The lack of any communication and agreement between the representatives of scientists and current Polish government as well as the unwillingness of Polish government to comprehend the destructive consequences of such a step raised great objection in Polish and foreign humanists' environment. The actions of support of Polish humanists, organized by students and international scientific authorities³, together with numerous petitions addressed to the ministry responsible for the new Law on science

(the so-called *Ustawa 2.0/ Konstytucja dla Nauki*)⁴, stay so far without any response or are simply ignored. This is not the first evidence of the repetitiveness of some disgraceful historical events and of the incapability of drawing right conclusions from previous experiences. It remains to hope that ethnology – now practiced in Poland under the name of «research on culture and religion» will preserve its identity and methodological distinctness, as well as the liberty of choice the topics and ways of interpreting them, namely, its intellectual freedom.

All the attempts to surpass the cognitive schemes undoubtedly deserve the esteem and support (both institutional and financial), although the results of such studies not always turn out to be coherent with common knowledge of a given topic so they break many myths and stereotypes. Nevertheless it seems to be the purpose and the meaning of science practiced in a reliable way. The actions taken towards establishing the interdisciplinary, interdepartmental and international cooperation give the chance to practice research in such a way. Undertaking common research topics and conducting in cooperation project in research teams consisting of highly-qualified staff is the purpose, which has been successfully realized for years by The Ryłsky Institute of Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnology NAS Ukraine and Center of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Contemporary, PAS. The effects of their cooperation include not only the substantive exchange, meetings and discussions taking part in conferences, but also publications and field research. The institutions in question have carried out a few initiatives together. We should mention at least the two latest ones: the project carried out in 2012–2016 and entitled: «Social and Cultural Transformations connected with globalization and other social and cultural changes» and the one initiated last year and planned for 2018–2020, entitled: «Social and cultural changes in the Context of European mobility (Poland and Ukraine)».

The fundamental research objectives for this project include, first of all, examining the character of current migration processes taking place on both

sides of Polish-Ukrainian border. Poland is, in this pair, the country, which receives and hosts the citizens of the neighboring country, who come to it to look for a job, education and work experience, but also as refugees, looking for international protection. We focus in our research on examining and describing the social and cultural changes taking place in both countries and caused by the processes mentioned above. We are determined to examine both the forms and ways of migration, and the settlement strategies, mutual relationships between guests and hosts and, finally, the impact of these relationships on mutual perception and treatment. The most interesting aspects for us are the effects of migrations on the shape of social structures (including the strength of family relations), on the attachment to tradition, micro- and macro-economic changes, the sense of individual and group identity, and the transformation of cultural patterns of functioning (namely styles of life, systems of values, aspirations, etc.). We are determined to know the practical effects of acculturation of guests and hosts, which is a bilateral process and hence its effects are experienced by both sides. On the basis of the presence of many Ukrainian citizens in numerous Polish towns and cities, their self-organization and the broad range of their economic activity, we may say that many of them found their homes in Poland or at least good conditions for realizing professional plans. Thus, we can say that many of them have been successful in their adaptation. Yet, we know that the process of acculturation and adjustment is not always an easy one and the cost of migration decisions is, sometimes, very high and usually affects all the people included in the systems of family relations, especially the children and aging parents left in their homeland. In our project cooperation we are particularly determined to know these less positive and more implicit aspects of migration decisions. We hope that our cooperation will result in the knowledge of wide range of trans-border mobility within the perspective of both receiving and sending country (the factors known from migration literature as push and pull)⁵.

The fact that the issue being the subject of the project is an up-to-date and widespread

phenomenon, which brings important social and cultural effects for both the society and individuals, proves the validity of the realization of the project itself. We should also mention here the institutional and staff resources of the institutions involved. We would like to outline the Polish partner, i. e. The Center of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Contemporary, and get our readers familiar with the way it functions within the structure of Polish Academy of Sciences.

Center of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Contemporary. This is a research entity specializing in ethnographic research, which functions within the structure of Polish Academy of Sciences (established in 1951) since 1954. Yet, its name was changed a few times in the course of its existence; initially it functioned as the Department of Common Ethnography and later on – the Department of Ethnology. Its current name is Center of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Contemporary (later: CEAC) and this name was given to it about 10 years ago. From its very beginning CEAC constitutes the common scientific and research unit with various archeological and historical brands. They all function together under the common name of the Institute of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, which was established in 1953. This institution has been named the Institute of Archeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences (Polish abbreviation is IAE PAN) since 1992. This is the only center in Poland, which gathers the researchers practicing scientific disciplines previously practiced as the distinct ones, e.g.: ethnography, ethnology, anthropology, history of material culture of both medieval and modern times, as well as the prehistorical and medieval archeology of Polish land, antic and common archeology.

The tradition of ethnology as an independent scientific discipline allowed for working out many theoretical and methodological proposals, which, in turn, enabled the studies on all the spheres of culture: the material, social and symbolic ones. In order to get familiar with all these spheres, ethnology uses both already existing sources (e. g.: the historical, literary, linguistic and musical

ones) and the obtained ones: (e. g.: interviews, photographs, audio and video records) as well as the virtual ones (first of all the Internet, social media, games, etc.). All these sources serve to examine and describe the condition of man, his relationships with other people and natural environment within the constantly changing world.

The purpose of detailed analyses is to present these issues within temporal perspective – the perspective, which takes into account the past and the present without avoiding the reflection upon the future and the attempts to predict the directions of the transformation of particular social and cultural phenomena. Center of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Contemporary within Institute of Archeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences and its research staff attempts to meet these challenges, that is why the Center and its staff is divided into specialized research teams. The first three of the four mentioned below function nowadays; the fourth one has been dissolved some time ago for formal reasons, although the research in this field is still being carried out:

The Team for Research on Contemporary Cultural Transformations (Zespół Badań Współczesnych Transformacji Kulturowych)

It addresses the following issues: globalization of culture and its effects, styles of life, cultural gender (gender studies), customs and habits, popular culture and media.

The Team for the Research on Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (Zespół Badań Etniczności i Wielokulturowości)

The scope of the research carried out by this team includes: ethnic and cultural identity, cultural borderlines, migrations, trans-nationality, adaptation strategies, ethnic and cultural stereotypes.

The Team for The Research on Local Communities' Culture (Zespół Badań Kultury Społeczności Lokalnych)

The researchers in this team tackle the following issues: the fact of living in communities (wspólnotowość), local homelands (małe ojczyzny), local authority elites, fabularization and mythologization of space, local material culture and folklore.

The Team for the Research on Religiousness and Ritual (Zespół badań nad Religijnością i Rytualem)

This team is interested in the following things: the worship and rituals, new religious movements, religious cults and syncretism, secular ceremonies and rituals.

The territorial scope of the research carried out within the above teams includes Poland (the Carpathians, Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, Mazovia, Podlasie and Suwałki regions, Pomerania), the former Soviet republics (Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldova, Russia-Siberia, Ukraine), Asia China, India, Mongolia and Tibet). The logistics facilities of the Center consist of the library, the archive of ethnographic field sources and photograph materials, work rooms in Cracow and Poznań, as well as the following periodicals and publication: the monograph series «Biblioteka Etnografii Polskiej», and the three journals, which are highly scored on ERIH list: «Etnografia Polska», «Ethnologia Polona», «Journal of Urban Ethnology». Moreover, ethnologists, from the very beginning of their work within Institute of Archeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, broadly cooperate with leading research centers both in Poland and all over the world. The most important ones are: University of Warsaw, Jagiellonian University, Copernicus' University in Toruń, University of Wrocław, Adam Mickiewicz's University in Poznań, University of Silesia (Katowice and Cieszyn), National Museum of Ethnography in Warsaw, Museum of Asia and Pacific, Karol's University in Prague, Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, National Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Latvian Academy of Sciences, University of Bamberg, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, etc.

We will present below the research fields, which have been explored so far by the most engaged persons taking part in the project, obviously, with taking into account the object and the purposes of the bilateral Polish-Ukrainian project.

The Research on religiousness, worship and secular rituals. This research area conducted in the CEAC IAE PAS is represented a. o. by

PhD Kamila Olszewska-Baraniecka (the current head of the Center and the Polish coordinator of the project in question). Her research interests focus particularly on the following notions: experience, performance and representation; and these notions outline the direction of her field and methodological quest. Within this analytical trend, there also can be located her research conducted within the anthropology of religion, which is one of the most fundamental fields, in which she explores the interpretational potential of the categories of performance and experience. The reflection upon the contemporary Catholic religiousness is present in Kamila Olszewska-Baraniecka's work from the very beginning of her career. The example here may be the studies on Easter plays, Epiphany marches (A retinue of Three Kings / Procession of Three Kings) ⁶ and the mystery plays of Christ's crucifixion in Poland [1]. Her other works concerning the contemporary religiousness deal with shaping and managing one's religious experience and with the impact of the so-called sensational forms (Birgit Meyer) on shaping religious experiences, on the tension between programming religious experiences and behaviors by the so-called religious elites and the efficiency of pilgrims and the creative shaping of religious life by them ⁷. In her analyses and interpretations of these issues, she focuses on pilgrimages to Kalwaria Pałacowska and on Kalwaria Pałacowska itself as a pilgrimage sanctuary affecting the faithful and forming their experiences through its material and discursive character, as well as through its localization – it is situated next to the border of Poland with Ukraine [2; 3; 5].

Worth mentioning here is also the project Olszewska-Baraniecka has terminated recently. It concerns historical reconstructions, the attitude of contemporary people to history and the «experience of the past» ⁸. The research included, first of all, the historical reconstructions from early middle ages to the Second World War. The purpose of the project was the studies on the experience of the past and its vision in the contemporary culture, on the way of legitimizing the experience and on its object, i. e. historical reconstruction, understood

here as a cultural phenomenon rather than the method of obtaining the knowledge of history. In her analyses she concentrated particularly on historical reconstructors themselves. In her opinion, the reconstructors combine in their work a few levels: truth — presenting history «just as it was»; constructs — representing the vision of the past; and different meanings of time — the linear one (history undoubtedly belongs to the past and it cannot come back in the present), the non-linear one (the past comes back in the performative activities and strongly shapes the contemporary times). Such a broad topic of research allowed for forming theoretical framework concerning the complex and heterogenous phenomenon, which, quite often, is a controversial one; and hence it tends to be the object of criticism. The attempts on the part of reconstructors to experience history despite its being apparently fleeting and, what is more, to experience it authentically, were described by the researcher as the practice of authenticity. This notion organizes the interpretation of the WW2 historical reconstruction, which was presented in detail in her latest book on the topic [5].

Ethnic, migration and transcultural research.

The examples of the research realized by the workers of CEAC within this specialization are the projects (either terminated or still finished) carried out by one of the authors of this text, i. e. by Katarzyna Kość-Ryżko. Her research so far concentrates on two — seemingly completely distinct groups — Polish repatriates from Kazakhstan [19; 20] and the foreigners from the post-Soviet territories, who apply for the refugee status in Poland [21; 22]. The most outstanding feature of both groups is the fact that they both start their travel with the conviction that they will find safe and better living conditions. The former resettle with the conviction that, in a symbolic sense, they go to their homeland, while the latter are convicted that they are no longer able to live among their fellow countrymen and in their homeland. Paradoxically, both groups, after coming to the new places, experience alienation, lack of understanding, culture shock and adaptation difficulties, which the author analyzes in great detail in her works [17]. She is convicted that the

repatriates and refugees constitute the opposite mobility poles («into the homeland» and «out of the homeland»), although at the ontological level they are, first of all, migrants («people in their way»). Both the so-far experience of the author and her double education (ethnology and intercultural psychology) constitute the appropriate basis for carrying out the research in the multicultural and ethnically diverse environment.

The issues, Katarzyna Kość-Ryżko is now working upon, concern the situation of women refugees, who stay in Poland alone with their children⁹. Research on this subject was carried out under the grant of The National Center of Sciences in the years 2014–2018. The project included, in particular, the environment of women refugees from the territory of the former Soviet Union, mainly from Chechnya, Ingush Republic, Kirghistan, Dagestan and Tajikistan, but also from Ukraine, because of the big group of people from this country, who have applied for the status of international protection in Poland.

Most of women, who decide to escape from their country of residence and to object to the norms adopted in their country and community, break a strong cultural taboo, so they get exposed to the hostility and, in extreme cases, to «social death». Many of them directly experience the fact that their identity in the face of armed conflicts or geopolitical changes is decomposed and becomes problematic [13, pp. 98–99]. In the face of war, violence and the exile, women are forced to redefine their so far identification indicators based on local tradition and group affiliation (e.g. the clan one), which were functional in their culture of origin, but not necessarily in the circumstances of migration and new place of settlement.

Women migrants are often aware that in the new circumstances they are forced to take masculine roles and functions (the masculine ones according to their culture). This makes them quite often feel socially degraded, depreciated and «outrooted» (disinherited) from their «natural» association defined by their cultural gender roles. We should also remember that many of them experienced war trauma, so they suffer from numerous psycho-

somatic disorders, which, together with PTSD, makes them experience other psychological disorders affecting the way they function in their new environments. Lack of understanding and social acceptance and the necessity to answer the question: «Who am I now?» frequently result in the sense of inadequacy, isolation and even exclusion.

The main purpose of the project is to examine the impact of the situation, in which the women found themselves and the very fact that they are refugees/exiles, who left their own cultural environment (the syndrome of the outrooted) the outlaws. It is also very important to answer the question: to what degree their culture of origin becomes their heavy burden hindering their coping with culture shock and their adaptation to the new environment; and to what degree their culture of origin becomes their treasure, giving them the strength and determination for their daily live – the factor, which broadens their psychological perspective and the spectrum of their experience of the world. Another question is, whether, in their case, culture makes them more noble or humiliated and, as in the title of Polish translation of Freud's book «is the source of suffering» [12]. In other words, to what extent, their culture of origin is the factor intermediating their (auto)stereotypization, negative view of themselves, low self-esteem and finally, the sense of stigmatization.

The research objective of the project being discussed is also the analysis of the course of shaping their own identity on the part of women refugees, as well as the way, in which this process is reflected in their self-description language and their constructed biographic narration – in accordance with the assumptions of creative identity theory [28, pp. 82–83]. The important issue are the categorizations used by the respondents to describe their status before their escape and now and the ethic, aesthetic, prestigious, intellectual, psychological (and other) values, which women refugees attribute to themselves depending on their cultural affiliation.

The research on Mongolia realized in IAE PAS. Ethnological research in Mongolia carried out by Polish researchers have long tradition,

which is now being examined and described by Oyungerel Tangad PhD. The tradition was strengthened by both scientific and publication success, appreciated by international and local experts on Central Asia, and photographic and source documentation gathered in the course of the research. These achievements were thoroughly revised last year. This was done, because of the 80th birthday of professor Sławoj Szynkiewicz – one of the most active participants and a promoter of Asia research expeditions realized by ethnologists from the Polish Academy of Sciences¹⁰. On the occasion, the Center of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Contemporary, PAS organized and hosted a few scientific events, which gathered Polish and international network of people interested in Asia and Mongolia in both local and global context. These events were in particular aimed at the exchange of knowledge, establishing research contact, popularization of the science and promotion of ethnological research. The specialist, who took scientific care of these events was the second author of this article – Oyungerel Tangad PhD.

The ethnological research in Mongolia was initiated more than fifty years ago by professor Witold Dynowski (1903–1986), an of many years' standing head of the Department of Polish and Common Ethnography in the Institute of Archeology and Ethnology (then still under the name: the Institute of Material Culture History). In accordance with the agreement made between Polish Academy of Sciences and Mongolian Academy of Sciences, in the years 1965–1980, the group of Warsaw ethnologists (Danuta Markowska, Lech Mróz, Jacek Ołędzki, Zofia Sokolewicz, Sławoj Szynkiewicz, Jerzy Wasilewski and Iwona Kabzińska) carried out the research expeditions under Dynowski's supervision. This was the broadest program of ethnographic field research abroad after the Second World War. What is more, Polish researchers were one of few groups of foreign ethnologists conducting regular research in Mongolia during the cold war. These expeditions (including most of Mongolian territory,

especially its central and west regions) resulted in gathering the unique database concerning the social situation, the customs and practices of pastoral population in Mongolia. The database in question provided the material for numerous publications, doctoral and habilitation dissertations of Warsaw University and Polish Academy of Sciences staff. Apart from Witold Dynowski, one of the most active participants of Mongolian expeditions was professor Sławoj Szynkiewicz – longtime standing staff member of IAE PAN. His works concerning the systems of kin relations as well as the family and state systems. Moreover his historical study on Mongolian family were internationally appreciated by anthropologists and ethnologists, among whom Szynkiewicz is regarded as an authority within *Mongolian studies* [32].

The 80th birthday of professor Szynkiewicz, celebrated by Center of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Contemporary IAE PAS in 2018, became an occasion to organize a lot of events dedicated to him. The first one was the article devoted to his scientific achievements and published in the institutional research periodic «Etnografia Polska» (no. 61); the article was entitled: «Related through the science – about the researcher of Mongolian family [31].

In May 2018, in turn, there was a photographic exhibition presented in Warsaw, Museum of Asia and Pacific and entitled «The Memory of the Steppe Past. Mongolia in 20th Century»¹¹. The collection presented only a small part of thousands of black and white photographs taken by Szynkiewicz in Mongolia in 1970s. The exhibition was presented for the second time in The Institute of Archeology and Ethnology PAS in Warsaw, during the anniversary conference held on 12th of June 2018. It consisted of two parts; the first one was solemn and the participants were the representatives of Mongolia embassy as well as of scientific and cultural environments from Poland and central Asia. The second part was a scientific session, in which outstanding Polish experts in Asian issues and the researchers focusing their work on Mongolia and China took part. Moreover, at the end of the previous year there was the promotion

and the ceremony of giving the anniversary book to professor Sławoj Szynkiewicz. The book was specially dedicated to the professor and its title was: «Global and local Asian perspectives» and was edited by Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, Iwona Kabzińska and Oyungerel Tangad (2018)¹². The book was written with the support of The Committee of Ethnological Sciences, Polish Academy of Sciences and with financial support of the Bureau of Popularization and Promotion of Sciences, Polish Academy of Sciences. The authors of the book are mainly Polish researchers specializing in Asian issues in selected regions of Mongolia, China, Buryatia and countries of Central Asia. They represent various generations of ethnologists, linguists and regionalists, but, first of all, they are friends, colleagues and students of professor Sławoj Szynkiewicz.

Mongolian issues have also the very important place in the research interests of Oyungerel Tangad PhD. She was born and brought up in Mongolia, but she has been living in Poland for 25 years and she studied ethnology at University of Warsaw. There she defended her doctoral dissertation entitled: «Political transformations in Mongolia and the categories of traditional thinking in culture». Her research interests so far concentrated on looking for the adequate methodological tools (in the sense of Western humanist sciences), which would allow for the reliable description of traditional culture and social phenomena, which take place in contemporary Mongolia. The anthropological works, which resulted from her participation in numerous ethnological projects in Mongolia, are a kind of analyses of particular cultural phenomena at the level of the world of ideas; the presentation of «thick description» of Mongolian realities, as well as the attempt to translate the whole context of a given description from one culture language to the other. The example here may be Tangad's book entitled: «Gengis Khan's heritage. Mongolian-style democracy» (2013). It is devoted to, for example, the cultural definition of an individual and his social relations, connected with the categories of thinking, which are unique for a given culture and which, in the case of Mongolia, are based on the principles

of logic completely different from the Western ones. The analysis presented in this work proves that the traditional categories of thinking are still the essential element determining the behavior motives of contemporary Mongolians. These categories, because of the absence of corresponding notions and terms in Western languages, are usually ignored in social research on Mongolia. The comparative analysis of such notions as the authority, morality, family and the ideals of social relations in the culture of the East and West (in their broad sense), shows why the democracy institutions (associated with the ideals of Enlightenment Europe of the turn of 19th century), cannot function in Mongolian circumstances.

This issue was continued and expanded in the next project supervised by Oyungerel Tangad PhD, and devoted to the analysis of Mongolian voters' behavior on the basis of Mongolian presidential election in 2013. She presented, within the project, the cultural interpretation of good election result got by one of the candidates Badmaanyambuу Bat-Erdene, known among Mongolians, in particular, as many times champion of Mongolian wrestling. Apart from political anthropology, Oyungerel Tangad is also interested in the reflection upon the cultural definition of individual human being with respect to the anthropology of morality. In her research publication, Oyungerel Tangad seeks to present the descriptions of non-Western cultures as precise as possible; she also looks for theoretical and methodological tools, which would allow for taking into account the broadest possible scope of the unique character of local cultures.

Conclusion. The circumstances accompanying the celebration of centenary of establishing National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, apart from those mentioned at the beginning, were exceptional also for other reasons. Imposing the martial law in some Ukrainian districts (from 28th of November on for subsequent 30 days) disturbed the daily routine, peace and the sense of safety of many people. But, as we could observe, they tried to live and work normally, kind of against all of the things, which happen. The unstable social

and political situation in their country is reflected not only in the current mood of the public, but also in their thinking of the future, which is not free from anxiety. Although it is difficult to plan scientific research, let alone celebrating anything, our hosts made much effort to make our stay in Kiev pleasant and cognitively, professionally and socially fruitful. The participation in the festival of Ukrainian science is not only an honor and award, but also the chance to get in contact with people, who are fond of expanding their knowledge; devoted to their work and full of dignity and pride of being the members of Ukrainian nation. The questions of cultural identity, community membership and collective solidarity, despite many differences between particular groups and plurality of attitudes, are not just research categories, but, as we could see during our stay in Kiev and talks with Ukrainian researchers, the reality actually experienced. We all realize, that it is difficult, full of ambiguities and sometimes forces people to redefine the notions adopted or to reject the not adaptive schemes of functioning. But finally acceptance the open attitude towards the grass-roots initiated social and political transformations leads towards the development and reaching constructive consensus. They are the necessary conditions of the stable economic development and the improvement of material status of the most poor parts of society and in particular the intense cultural and intellectual work at the highest world level. The abilities and aspirations of the representatives of Ukrainian sciences are really favorable factors in this respect. The proof is both their current work and the whole of their scientific achievements in numerous disciplines, which they have been making for hundred years of NASU existence.

President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, who was present at the anniversary celebration in National Opera of Kiev, also emphasized that. In his speech, he highlighted the role played by the scholars from National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in building up national self-consciousness and intra-group identification (the ethnic, linguistic and cultural one). A significant role in documenting

and popularizing both material and immaterial national heritage was played by ethnologists and folklorists from NASU, whom we have the pleasure to cooperate with. And although we live in difficult times, in which many nations, groups and individuals are really anxious about their future and self-determination, we hope that scientific progress and education will contribute to the improvement of living conditions all over the world.

That is why, on this very important occasion, we wish our Ukrainian colleagues from NASU the appreciation of their research potential and the role of their work in the civilizational and social development of their country. First of all, we wish

them the optimal working conditions in order for them to be able to realize their bravest plans and research ideas. Instead of conclusion, it is worth recalling the words of the former USA president Barack Obama, as they are still relevant and, what is more, become more and more relevant everyday, which we can see, if we follow daily information services. Barack Obama said:

«Today, more than at any other time, science seems to be the key to survive, both for our planned and for us as a nation and for our well-being and safety. It is time to treat science again as one of the most important parts of our lives» (B. Obama, Radio Information Agency).

Notes

¹ There are many issues in Polish-Ukrainian relationships, which are regarded as difficult. They are tackled with great care, but lately with a bit more courage and understanding on both sides, which is a good thing. The examples of the publications concerning ethnic and cultural issues of Polish-Ukrainian borderland are: [9; 10; 16; 35].

² So far, there is no clear definition of Engaged Anthropology, but it is regarded as a branch of Applied Anthropology. Its disciplinary distinctness is proved by the attitude of a researcher, his willingness to get involved and to be helpful. Moreover, involved anthropology is characterized by activism and focusing on the practical dimension of the research; this is often criticized by the opponents of such an research attitude as a non-scientific one. The issues explored by the representatives of this branch of anthropology include e. g.: social exclusion, discrimination, the effects of poverty, social prejudices and marginalization. In Poland the following authors published their works within this branch: Hana Czervinkova (2011, 2012), Inga Kuźma (2015), Adrianna Surmiak (2014).

³ More on this at: <http://obywatelenauki.pl/2018/10/w-zwiazku-z-wypowiedzia-min-gowina-o-roli-on-w-utworzeniu-dyscypliny-nauki-o-kulturze-i-religii/>, access 23.01.2019; <http://allegralaboratory.net/collectiveletter-against-the-eradication-of-polish-anthropology/>, access 25.01.2019. Also, there one can express his/her support for the representatives of ethnology and cultural anthropology in Poland.

⁴ The complete text of the bill «Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym i nauce» can be downloaded

from <http://konstytucjadlanauki.gov.pl/pobierz-ustawe>, access 22.12.2018.

⁵ The theory of migration based on push-pull factors was developed by Everett Lee. It presupposes that the migration decision depends on the balance of push factors in the place of origin and the pull ones in the destination place. The decision is shaped by indirect barriers and individual characteristics of migrants; these are both positive and negative factors. The positive ones are, for example: family relations, emotional bond with the place of origin (the factors hindering migration and making the migration decision difficult), a well-paid job, the chances of earning additional money, the chance of professional development in the destination place (pull factors). The negative ones, in turn, are the following: lack of the job, poor living conditions, lack of good prospects, experiencing violence in the place of origin (push factors). The negative ones may also include language barrier and the difficulties in assimilation to the new environment in the destination place (the factors making the migration decision difficult) [25].

⁶ The Epiphany march is a kind of nativity play celebration carried out on 6th of January. Now it is a mass event, but initially (from 2005) it was celebrated by one of Warsaw Catholic schools (the school was run by the society called «Sternik»). In 2009 this traditional play was performed in the city space in the form of outdoor nativity play. It has grown and got extremely popular since 2009, and now it is performed not only in Poland but also abroad (Orszak Trzech Króli website).

⁷ The research was carried out in the years 2007–2014 within the research grant of National Center of Sciences (NCN) entitled: «Multisensory Religious Imageries in Selected Catholic Shrines in South-Eastern Poland», (no UMO-2013/11/B/HS3/01443), and its manager was Magdalena Lubańska PhD.

⁸ The research conducted in the years 2011–2014 within the grant of NCN, entitled: «Experience of the past. Anthropological study of history representations in the contemporary Polish culture» (no UMO-2011/03/B/HS3/04686).

⁹ The research project in question entitled «Self-perception of refugee women in Poland in the context of stereotypes and traditional gender roles and their impact on the identity and cultural adaptation» was financed by NCN; no UMO-2014/15/B/HS3/02462.

¹⁰ Among other participants of initial Mongolian expeditions realized by the ethnologists from Polish Academy of Sciences were: Iwona Kabzińska, Danuta Markowska, Lech Mróz, Jacek Olędzki, Zofia Sokolewicz, Jerzy Wasilewski.

¹¹ The exhibition was the part of The Second International Mongol Conference entitled: «Mongolia and the Mongols: Past and Present» in Warsaw. It was sponsored by the following institutions: The Department of Oriental Sciences, University of Warsaw; The Museum of Asia and Pacific; The Institute of Archeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences with the financial support from The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sciences and Sport of Mongolia.

¹² The book in question is available at <http://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/publication?id=87467&from=&dirids=1&tab=1&lp=1&QI=>

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Резюме

Ювілейні заходи з нагоди заснування Національної академії наук України (НАНУ) не лише надали можливість урочисто відзначити 100 річницю, якою пишається український народ, але також стали підґрунтям для узагальнення та посилення міжнародної наукової співпраці. Сторіччя діяльності НАН України — доволі складний період. Багато речей змінилося: державні кордони, політичні устрої і союзи разом з умовами життя і праці пересічних людей, час від часу виникають етнічні конфлікти. Ці зміни (їх генеза та наслідки) й викликали трансформації традиційних суспільств і культур, стали предметом зацікавлення численних дослідницьких дисциплін, особливо тих, що зосереджують увагу на діяльності людини та культурній спадщині. Подібні питання належать до царини етнографії / етнології та культурної антропології. Доволі складно чітко роз-

межувати ці три терміни, які насправді описують той самий дослідницький предмет і простір (на різних етапах розвитку дисципліни, виробленні її теоретичних підходів та методології). Аналогічно, як спрощення час від часу обмежує дослідницьку проблему до вузької, точно визначеної галузі та наукового напрямку. Відбувається ігнорування ширшого політико-історичного контексту певних культурних явищ і віднесення їх до чітко окреслених позицій, відповідно до заздалегідь обраних критеріїв територіального поділу, обмеження сфери досліджень до односторонньої перспективи. Цьому є кілька причин — найочевиднішою з них є та, що кордони не завжди відповідають реальному національному, культурному й етнічному складу. Ці поділи не впливають на міжнаціональні та міжкультурні взаємини між людьми, які мешкають на цій території роками.

Штучна практика звуження дослідницької сфери зазвичай спричинена формальними перешкодами, як-от: необхідність зменшити витрати, труднощі в отриманні достовірної інформації та забезпеченні людськими ресурсами. Дослідники ще іноді не хочуть чи остерігаються займатися складними питаннями¹, які є політично незручними, або здатними зруйнувати нинішній статус-кво між етнічними групами чи державами [18; 24]. Тому пограничні терени, які хоча і вважаються певними людьми джерелом конфліктів, багатьма дослідниками розглядаються як регіони, що мають надзвичайну наукову цінність [11]. Низка вчених вбачає в пограничних теренах різновид прототипів «соціальних лабораторій», у яких можна спостерігати (нібито через збільшувальне скло) процеси функціонування та їх динаміку, що менш характерні для інших регіонів [34].

Також пограничні терени є надзвичайно привабливими для етнологів і фольклористів, які фіксують та аналізують специфіку менталітету й матеріальної спадщини груп населення з регіонів, де поєдналися різні культурні впливи. Однак проведення польового дослідження на пограниччі є організаційним викликом і вимагає культурної толерантності й широкої обізнаності (включаючи не лише локальну історію, але й взаємини з місцевою владою), що дозволить отримати ґрунтовні та важливі результати дослідження. Варто, щоб у складі експедицій були компетентні науковці міждисциплінарного профілю, представники сусідніх або віддалених країн. Але остання обставина має небезпеку доволі значної культурної відстані, як і браку знань місцевого менталітету й історичного контексту співіснування різних етнічних груп на одній території. Це може завадити розумінню місцевої унікальності чи захопленню *genius loci* й відповідно унеможливить створення адекватного опису і тлумачення. Хоча обидва випадки не позбавлені труднощів, вважаємо, що перший має більше переваг.

Ігнорування проблематичних питань співіснування місцевих громад із їхнім ширшим історичним, соціальним і політичним контекстом є також прикладом самоцензури, що її використовують деякі дослідники, котрі не хочуть вступати в полемічні суперечки. Подібне ставлення дає можливість зберегти певну дистанцію. Це асоціюється з різними видами перепон, від яких наука не є вільною (наприклад, історичні події, довготривалі й не вирішені конфлікти, складні стосунки між народами). Також доволі часто недоречність певних питань у громадському та медійному дискурсах полягає в заохочуванні культурних антропологів і етнологів, які активно працюють із групами, що переживають маргіналізацію² [33].

Подібне ставлення не завжди є зрозумілим для уряду, що відображається в сучасній ситуації у Польщі та запланованій реформі початкової, середньої і вищої освіти, у якій етнологію вилучили зі списку наукових дисциплін. Брак спілкування й порозуміння між представниками науки та сучасною польською державою, як і небажання польського уряду досягнути руйнівні наслідки такого кроку, спричинили значний протест у середовищі польських і закордонних гуманітаріїв. Дії з підтримки польських гуманітаріїв, організовані студентами та міжнародними науковими авторитетами³, разом із численними клопотаннями, адресованими до міністерства, відповідального за новий Закон про науку (так званий Закон 2.0. «Конституція для науки»)⁴, дотепер залишаються без відповіді або просто ігноруються. Це не перше свідчення повторення минулого негативного

досвіду і неспроможності зробити правильні висновки, спираючись на попередні досягнення. Залишається лише сподіватися, що етнологія, яка наразі існує в Польщі під назвою «наука про культуру та релігію», збереже свою ідентичність і методологічну виразність, як і незалежність вибору тем і способів їхнього тлумачення, тобто свою інтелектуальну свободу.

Розробка спільних тем і проектів у співпраці дослідницьких колективів, які складаються з висококваліфікованих фахівців — мета, що її упродовж років успішно реалізують співробітники Інституту мистецтвознавства, фольклористики та етнології ім. М. Т. Рильського НАН України й Центру етнології та антропології сучасності Інституту археології та етнології ПАН. Результати їхньої співпраці — це не лише науковий обмін, зустрічі й дискусії на конференціях, але й публікації та польові дослідження. Упродовж останніх років було реалізовано декілька спільних задумів, серед яких варто згадати два останні: міжакадемічні проекти «Соціально-культурні зміни в суспільствах Польщі та України» (2014–2016) й «Суспільно-культурні зміни в контексті європейської мобільності (Польща та Україна)» (2018–2020).

Важливу роль у документуванні та популяризації матеріальної і нематеріальної національної спадщини зіграли етологи та фольклористи ІМФЕ ім. М. Т. Рильського НАН України, з якими ми маємо честь співпрацювати. І хоча ми живемо у важкі часи, коли багато народів, спільнот і особистостей насправді занепокоєні своїм майбуттям і самовизначенням, сподіваємося, що науковий поступ і освіта значно покращать умови життя в усіх країнах.

Тому, користуючись нагодою, бажаємо нашим українським колегам з НАН України отримати належну оцінку їхнього дослідного потенціалу та ролі їхньої роботи в цивілізаційно-суспільному розвитку країни. Насамперед бажаємо їм оптимальних умов праці, аби втілити в життя найсміливіші плани та дослідницькі ідеї. Замість висновку варто згадати слова колишнього президента США Барака Обами, оскільки вони і сьогодні актуальні, ба більше — щодня стають доречнішими, як ми бачимо, коли пильно стежимо за даними інформаційних служб. Барак Обама зазначив: «Сьогодні більше, аніж будь-коли, наука видається ключем до виживання як планети в цілому, так і для нас як нації, нашого добробуту і безпеки. Знову прийшов час ставитися до науки як до однієї з найважливіших складових буття» (Б. Обама, Радіо-інформаційна агенція).

Примітки

¹ В українсько-польських взаєминах чимало питань, які вважаються складними. Ними займаються з обережністю, але останнім часом з розумінням з обох сторін, що є гарним знаком. Показовими є публікації, що стосуються етнічних і культурних проблем на польсько-українському пограниччі [9; 10; 16; 35].

² Дотепер немає чіткого визначення антропології «залучення», але вона розглядається як галузь прикладної антропології. Її дисциплінарна відмінність доведена ставленням дослідника, його бажанням бути залученим і корисним. Більше того, антропологія «співучасті» характеризується активністю та сконцентрованістю на практичному вимірі дослідження; це часто критикується опонентами такого ставлення як ненауковий підхід. Питання, що їх досліджують представники цієї галузі антропології, включають:

суспільне виключення, дискримінацію, наслідки збіднілості, суспільне упередження (забобони) та маргіналізацію. У Польщі опублікували праці за цією тематикою Хана Червінкова (2011, 2012), Інґа Кузьма (2015), Адріанна Сурмяк (2014).

³ Більше про це за посиланнями: <http://obywatelenauki.pl/2018/10/w-zwiazku-z-wypowiedzia-min-gowina-o-rolu-on-w-utworzeniu-dyscypliny-nauki-o-kulturze-i-religii/>, access 23.01.2019; <http://allegralaboratory.net/collectiveletter-against-the-eradication-of-polish-anthropology/>, access 25.01.2019. Також тут можна висловити підтримку представникам етнології та культурної антропології у Польщі.

⁴ Повний текст законопроекту «Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym i nauce» див.: <http://konstytucjadlanauki.gov.pl/pobierz-ustawe>, access 22.12.2018.