

Соціологічна публіцистика

СОЦИОЛОГИЯ ОДНОГО ГОРОДА: ИНТЕРВЬЮ С ПОЛЬСКИМ СОЦИОЛОГОМ ПРОФЕССОРОМ ЯЦЕКОМ КУРЧЕВСКИМ

SOCIOLOGY OF ONE TOWN: AN INTERVIEW WITH POLISH SOCIOLOGIST PROFESSOR JACEK KURCZEWSKI

З професором Яцеком Курчевським спілкувалася та підготувала вступне слово доктор соціологічних наук, професор Світлана Щудло¹

Не раз задавалася питанням, наскільки добре ми знаємо, як розвивається соціологічна наука у наших західних сусідів. Чи, зокрема, є зацікавлення доробком сучасних соціологів Польщі – країни, з якою межує Україна? Відповідь напрошується досить очевидна – маємо обмаль інформації. Знаємо класичні праці З. Баумана, Л. Гумпловича Ф. Знанецького, Б. Маліновського, С. Осовського, М. Осовської та інших науковців, до яких часто апелюємо у своїх наукових розвідках. Однак захоплюючись працями соціологів-класиків, ми залишаємо поза увагою цікавий соціологічний доробок сучасних дослідників. Дзеркально виглядає ситуація і в польській соціологічній науці. Незважаючи на глобалізаційні процеси, наука значною мірою залишається досить герметичною. З-поміж низки причин, що стають на заваді науковому інформаційному обміну, є мовні бар'єри. Ще одним чинником, який робить наші науки замкнутими на себе, є невеликі тиражі, якими виходять з друку наукові праці, не потрапляючи до ширшого кола зацікавлених читачів.

А чи цікаві ми для наших колег-соціологів? Останніми роками, що приємно відзначити, непоодинокими стають намагання поль-

ських науковців пізнати і відкрити українську соціологічну науку, донести польському читачеві праці відомих українських соціологів. Насамперед тут слід віддати належне професору Ягеллонського університету Ярославу Мокляку, який з 2006 року є головним редактором польськомовного часопису «Нова Україна». Серед авторів праць, вміщених до цього авторитетного у Польщі наукового видання, є прізвища таких вітчизняних соціологів, як О. Демків, Н. Коваліско, І. Кононов, В. Середа, Н. Черниш, С. Щудло та ін. У часописі поряд з історико-політологічними працями широко представлені новітні дослідження українських соціологів.

Ще одним прикладом зацікавлення польських колег Україною є тривалі соціологічні дослідження на теренах Західної України одного з найвідоміших польських соціологів професора Яцека Курчевського. Наукові інтереси професора Варшавського університету, учня Зігмунта Баумана та Станіслава Осовського, зосереджені у царині соціології і антропології звичаїв та права. Перше моє знайомство з професором Курчевським, а також його учнем професором Даріушем Вояковським, відбулося ще у 2004 році у Дрогобичі під час проведення польового етапу дослідження національних меншин Дрогобича. Тішуся, що науковий інтерес польського соціолога до Дрогобича впродовж років не знижується, а соціологічні розвідки мого рідного міста залишаються у фокусі уваги науковця. Але часто собі задаю питання: а чому саме Дрогобич, чим цікавий Дрогобич соціологу? Для цього на розмову запросила професора Варшавського університету Яцека Курчевського.

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JACEK KURCZEWSKI – Polish sociologist born 1943 in Edinburgh (Great Britain), professor at Institute of Applied Social Sciences of Warsaw University, Chair of Sociology and Anthropology of Custom and Law Department. In 1970s President of Warsaw Chapter of Polish Sociological Association, in 1990s member of the Board of RC Sociology of Law, International Sociological Association. Member of the Board of Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS). Advisor to “Solidarność” in 1981, in 1988-90 member and deputy chairman of Civic Committee at Lech Wałęsa, participant of the Round Table in 1989, member of the Tribunal of the State (1989-1991), Deputy Speaker of the Polish Sejm of the first term (1991-1993). In

2007 awarded the Officer’s Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta. Member of the Polish Helsinki Committee. Member of the committee in support of Bronisław Komorowski before the presidential elections in 2010 and 2015.

Main works in Polish: *Primitive Law: Legal Phenomena in Pre-State Societies, The Study of Law in the Social Sciences, Dispute and Courts, Conflict and “Solidarność”, Parliamentarians and the Public: the Study of Representation in the Third Republic, Counter-movements, Paths of Emancipation: Private Theory of Transformation in Poland*. In English: *Resurrection of Rights in Poland*, and recently edited collective volume *Reconciliation in the Bloodlands*.

Prof. S. Shchudlo: How did it happen that you begun to do the sociological research in Drohobych?

Prof. J. Kurczewski: As usual there is variety of reasons. One is biographical and dates back long ago into my socialization as sociologist. When I entered sociological department at University of Warsaw in 1960s, the intellectually active and politically independent students organization was the Scientific Circle of Students. Those circles belonged to the institutional structure of the universities but they were autonomous at the departmental level and subject to the academic monitoring of the department. Most of teachers at the department were non-communists but even the communist minority was independently minded as young doctor Zygmunt Bauman who was officially designated to watch us. Whatever he was doing in his other capacities, certainly he was helping young sociologists to develop their professional capacity. But otherwise we were organizing ourselves and looking for funds to spend holidays on something useful we were doing each year the monthly summer field research camp getting subsidized from the local authorities in small and medium size towns across the countries. First I was under the command of my elder colleagues, after three years I was in charge of the first research camp myself (where I get acquainted with my wife Joanna). Of course, there was always an academic staff member to monitor the research, the first such camp was visited for few days by Professor Stanisław Ossowski, the main authority in sociology at those days. When I got employed by Professor Adam Podgórecki in the chair led by Professor Maria Ossowska I continued the practice so whole my life I was in the summer at the field research camp with students. Times changed, the curriculum also

and such camps became mandatory part of the sociological education. The research was always “triangular” – though we did not know the word then –there were questionnaires, interviews and observation. Now this is the element of the elaborated methodology, as students we were following the good and basic American handbook *Research Methods in Social Relations* by Claire Selltitz; Marie Jahoda; Morton Deutsch; Stuart W. Cook (1964), before the Polish handbooks were developed by Stefan Nowak. The first research topic I designed in 1963 was the social life of intelligentsia in small town Miastko near Koszalin. Those annual research trips allowed me and my colleagues the direct and uncensored interaction with people from across whole Poland, immunized us against the idiocy of the official Communist description of Poland as constructing socialism and taught respect for social facts in contrast to the dogmatic and backward Marxist-Leninist theory. The side effect was the overgeneralized disdain for so-called sociological theory detached from the everyday life experience. So as you see even this single case study of Drohobych is in fact an element in permanent life-long sociological experience with case to case study of sociological reality.

Prof. S. Shchudlo: But is there any methodological reflection in all that or just jumping from case to case without any attempt at generalization?

Prof. J. Kurczewski: Nobody can study everything so whatever you do is just a part in the collective enterprise that in fact include not only sociologists of different methodological and theoretical persuasions but also anthropologists, folklorists, historians, economists, demographers etc. Any limits are here arbitrary so whatever we study are just

cases, concretizations *hic et nunc* of social life that in fact extends in space and time. With time one realizes that any initial reconnaissance opens the doubts that lead to the next study. One comes back to the studied local community because one does not know what happened after but this is at the same time desire to further study why something happened before. So in the permanent sociology of the type I am practicing one settles somewhere in order to combine “triangulation” of techniques with longitudinal study. And the results are to be shared with those under the study. This ideal is always imperfect, one cannot settle forever in the same locality to study it because one would not know what to ask, at least temporary distance is inevitable. This is why even at national level it is always good to have foreigner who is ALSO studying your country. In Upper Silesia there is a small town inhabited by ca 10,000 people of mixed origin, Silesian natives with German and Polish passports and newcomers, some from Western Ukraine, resettled here after the World War II. I came there by accident in late 1970s, brought students with me and since then four field research camps were arranged there, the last one in 2014. Always the representative sample of more than 200 people was surveyed and deep interviews conducted, and often with the same people over time. This is the longitudinal study which by no means settled all the questions. In fact, each time I read the new data collected I ask myself new questions. It took me more than 20 years to ask people finally what is their identity, national and regional, I repeated this question since and having the figures I still do not know what is behind them. Each locality has its mystery and this mystery is also dynamic. Drohobych in my academic life is another one of such anchor points. We came here with my colleague Professor Malgorzata Fuszara (now Minister-Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment) first time in 2009 to study the Polish minority here and in the neighboring area. Then the two, or three years later I decided to make the survey sampling from the whole population to ask about the national feelings and attitudes to Poles, Jews and Russians who at different period lived here in significant numbers. Last year the new survey was made, this time relating the everyday disputes and the ways people in Drohobych are disputing between themselves. In the meantime I took part in some of the Bruno Schulz festivals organized by Professor Vera Meniok and that enabled me to observe the way the international band of guests feels among locals and how they react. And I visit, several times a year, Drohobych city market and the cities restaurants and bars as those two

natural sociological observatories always tell us holistically how the people feel and what they are concerned with. I asked native speakers to interview for me some local personalities, slowly I entered in conversation with members of local elite while being from the beginning in working contact with gifted youth from Drohobych students art co-op Alter without whom I would not have been able to do any extended research here. Now I am happy that one of my doctoral student Mr. Paweł Orzechowski who befriended the group speaks Ukrainian enough well to run his focus group doctoral research. If not my lack of command of Ukrainian my research would be much better, but for this one would need at least one month. Such short-term research grants for Ukrainians studying Poland and Poles and other European Union members studying Ukraine would be most opportune. I must not explain why being raised in the high tradition of Polish sociology I always hated the Western manner of nonchalant description of our societies without taking into account our perspective. The notable exception to this rule was the famous study of *Solidarność* headed by Alain Touraine. But Touraine was invited do research by *Solidarność*, personally by one of its advisors professor Bronisław Geremek, was helped by another *Solidarność*'s advisor, sociologist Jan Strzelecki and by Polish team of young collaborators. So this was non-colonialist research commissioned by independent trade union struggling with authorities in Poland. In my Drohobych research I was looking for Ukrainian partners, I was helped by expert in Polish-Jewish-Ukrainian relations such as Dr. Viera Meniok in charge of the Polish Studies Centre at State Pedagogical Ivan Franko University in Drohobych, by Dr. Sofia Dyak who defended her doctorate on L'viv and Wrocław under supervision of my wife Professor Joanna Kurczewska and when I have entered decisively sociological area of study such as in present research grant on patterns of disputes and dispute settlement I found the generous collegial help in Professor Svitlana Shchudlo in charge of the Chair in Law, Sociology and Political Science under development. We need the *Rzecz Pospolita* of researchers as well as *Rzecz Pospolita* of interests and sentiments. Similar pattern of cooperation I have developed earlier in another of my “single city” cases, Daugavpils in Eastern Latvia that offers obvious political and sociological interest due to its Russian speaking majority but embraces three major national groups – Russians, Latvians and Poles (about 14% of population). Again at the beginning was study of local Polish minority published with M. Fuszara as *Polacy nad Dźwin*

(Wydawnictwo UW, Warszawa 1999) and in situ developed reoperation with Professor Vladislavs Volkovs with whom I published in English the pamphlet on Inter-ethnic Relations in Today's Daugavpils.

Prof. S. Shchudlo: With all these efforts is there any intellectual common theme that emerges?

Prof. J. Kurczewski: Yes, but I stress that this is the dynamic process nothing like the old model of testing zero hypothesis I was taught in the 1960s. Step by step it occurred to me that triangulation Poland – Daugavpils – Drohobych allows me to understand that everywhere we are dealing with the phenomenon specific to Central-Eastern Europe and thus ignored by American sociology leading the field since World War I. I call it the “Transitive City”. I was as a child brought to the old German Stettin where there were still German schrift street signs, German-speaking young nannies and fishermen at Baltic Sea. We took it over with the pioneers enthusiasm, mostly people who were expelled or fled from the former Eastern Polish territories. You visit Szczecin today, it is purely Polish town but within the old German city plan modelled after Haussman's reconstruction of Paris. It is Polish in spirit but in the German form or Ur-Body. If you read recent Lviv literature and walk through the streets you see the discovery of the Galician and Polish past by the Ukrainian inhabitants. With Prof. Fuszara we studied Lviv Poles and I know how they feel, adjusted but cut off from the Old Lwów of their nostalgic past. And in Silesian town I am meeting the Poles who came from Lviv, Drohobych or more likely from Ternopol. In Daugavpils the ‘new Russians’ arrived from the USSR and took over the place of the massacred Jews. In Drohobych, city of proverbial “three quarters”, the largest Jewish was murdered, the Polish resettled to the West in 1946, but almost one third of citizens remained. So we have different types of the population “transit”, to sky above, to other areas. Warsaw was cleansed by German authorities first of its Jewish population exterminated until 1943, then after the 1944 failed insurrection of Polish population so the city West of Wisla was practically empty when “liberated” by Red Army in 1945. UPA insurrection against Germans, Poles and Soviets terrorized the remaining Polish population and psychologically helped the peaceful leaving of the places where like in Drohobych xenophobic massacre of Poles and Armenians did not occur. So in “transitive cities” sometimes the empty urban area with its history and memory hidden at extreme in the street, water supply or sewage

lines is taken by the totally new population with different memory, etc. that is culture, while in some the painful cohabitation is imposed by the external powers and circumstances. These processes are our common experience and they separate us from the West. West of Metz, I should say, as city of Metz, and Alsace-Lorraine in toto, is the Western-most place where I have seen such mutual re-settlement history witness in contrasting style of the French-designed and German-designed architecture. Cities are composed of material structure and human structure. Some cities have been not only fully resettled but also fully reconstructed like Kaliningrad, the Russian town focused on Immanuel Ivanovitch Kant and Baltic Sea Fleet. But the starting point for the old Koenigsberg, that is the Pregola river remains and makes for continuity of both cities, previous German and new Russian. In some the old infrastructure had been colonized by the totally new population like in Szczecin or Wroclaw, but as Polish urban sociologist Bohdan Jałowiecki remarked the criminal lumpenproletariat that arrived from Lviv settled in the same area where old Breslau thieves and lumpen lived while Polish university elite after arrival from L'viv was settled in the German villas district. In this context the study of Drohobych is the typological study of possibly one type of such urban transitivity, where the population was not fully renewed, but the one of “three quarters” won the whole space emptied by the others. How they construct the new society remembering the old one and how is human discontinuity somehow and at some moment repaired? Study of the one case like that is at the same time study of the type.

Prof. S. Shchudlo: But why Drohobych, was there any previous Polish sociological study? Do you have personal links with Drohobych?

Prof. J. Kurczewski: I would be very proud if that would be the case as Drohobych was the cradle city for many outstanding people of Polish or simply European culture such as Bruno Schulz, Kazimierz Wierzyński, Ivan Franko or Gottlieb brothers. But except for a distant cousin Mrs. Jundzi# who was sadly burned alive in her manor further east from Drohobych by the peasants I have neither good or bad personal memories related to the Red Ruthenia as I prefer personally to call this area. Still, as the Pole of my generation born during the WWII I would prefer to keep far from, say, Volhynia. I was meeting compulsory resettled Ukrainians in my summer field research trips from the youth, I had overheard mature men singing in low voice at night bivouac in the Mazurian forest Ukrainian songs and I felt sympathy towards

the defeated. But after meeting in official role Polish Ukrainians after 1989 this developed in the sociological interest in the reconciliation and its mechanisms which I consider basic task still to be accomplished in this 'transient' part of Europe or – as Timothy Snyder calls our living space – in the "Bloodlands". To do this not only I needed to study attitudes of Poles and Ukrainians living in Poland but also both groups as they are living in the Ukraine.

And here nestor of Polish sociology of Ukrainians Professor Grzegorz Babinski and his student, now Professor at University of Rzeszów Dariusz Wojakowski enter. Polish sociologists arrived for the first time in Drohobych in 1996 when under the direction of Professor Babinski local Poles and local university students were interviewed. This led to the M.A. in Sociology theses by Ireneusz Solarczyk who partly published it as "Odrodzenie instytucjonalne mniejszości narodowych na pograniczu polsko-ukraińskim w

okresie transformacji. Na przykładzie Polaków w Drohobycz i Ukraińców w Przemyślu" in: Malikowski M., Wojakowski D. (ed.). Między Polską a Ukrainą. Pogranicze – Mniejszości – Współpraca regionalna. Mana, Rzeszów 1999: 129-147. General findings were published in Grzegorz Babiński Pogranicze polsko-ukraińskie. Etniczność, zróżnicowanie religijne, tożsamość. Nomos, Kraków 1997 while some data on Drohobych Poles in Wojakowski, Dariusz. 1998. Pogranicze polsko-ukraińskie: lokalność jako czynnik warunkujący stosunki etniczne. w: „Studia Socjologiczne” nr 4, 1998: 67-86. In 2009 Wojakowski introduced me to Drohobych when I was selecting the feasible place to arrive with our students from University of Warsaw to study Polish minority south of Lviv. But since youth I was enamoured with novels and drawings by Bruno Schulz. He has gone, his Drohobych too but the mystery of the city with its towers, synagogues and church domes remains.

Prof. S. Shchudlo: Professor Kurczewski, thank you very much for an interesting conversation! Warsaw – Drohobych