

Krzysztof Hliniak

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3871-5891>

THE DANCE HERITAGE OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IN KRAKÓW AND THE MAŁOPOLSKA VOIVODESHIP CONFRONTED BY THE CHALLENGES OF MODERNITY

Abstract

The dance heritage of selected national and ethnic minorities living in Kraków and the Małopolska voivodeship is currently undergoing dynamic changes. This paper discusses the attitude of minorities towards phenomena such as commercialisation, folklorisation and (self)folklorisation of the heritage, as well as its functioning in the global cultural supermarket. In-depth interviews and informal conversations were conducted with respondents regarding the dance heritage and its importance to minorities. The findings confirmed the thesis that it is an important component of the intangible cultural heritage of the communities discussed, and, in some cases, forms the core of their identity. Although the respondents were aware of the processes mentioned above, they expressed a predominantly conservative attitude towards changes to the heritage, and sought to pass it on to the next generation in an unchanged form.

KEY WORDS: intangible cultural heritage, national minority, ethnic minority, dance, Kraków.

Anotacija

Pasirinktas Krokuvėje ir Mažosios Lenkijos vaivadijoje gyvenančių tautinių ir etninių mažumų šokio paveldas šiuo metu išgyvena dinamiškus pokyčius. Šiame straipsnyje aptariamas mažumų požiūris į tokius reiškinius kaip paveldo komercializavimas, folklorizavimas ir (savi-)folklorizacija, taip pat į jo funkcionavimą globalioje kultūros rinkoje. Su respondentais buvo atlikti išsamūs interviu ir neformalus pokalbiai apie jų šokio paveldą ir jo reikšmę etninėms mažumoms. Išvados patvirtino tezę, kad tai yra svarbi aptariamų bendruomenių nematerialiojo kultūros paveldo dalis, o kai kuriais atvejais – jų tapatybės pagrindas. Nors respondentai žinojo apie minėtus procesus, jie išreiškė daugiausia konservatyvų požiūrį į paveldo pokyčius ir siekė jį perduoti kitai kartai nepakitusiu pavidalu.

Krzysztof Hliniak – PhD in Humanities (Cultural and Religious studies), Post-doctoral researcher at the Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, member of the Polish Choreology Forum (Polskie Forum Choreologiczne) and Polish Ethnomusicology Seminar (Polskie Seminarium Etnomuzikologiczne)

Krzysztof Hliniak – kultūros ir religijos studijų daktaras, Podoktorantūros tyrėjas Lenkijos mokslų akademijos Menų institute (Varšuva), Lenkijos choreologinio forumo („Polskie Forum Choreologiczne“) ir Lenkijos etnomuzikologinio seminaro („Polskie Seminarium Etnomuzikologiczne“) narys

E-mail: krzysztofhliniak@gmail.com

Received 29/03/2026. Accepted 25/04/2026

Copyright © 2026 Krzysztof Hliniak. Published by Klaipėda University Press.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International.

License (CC BY), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: nematerialusis kultūros paveldas, tautinė mažuma, etninė mažuma, šokis, Krokuva.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15181/rh.v34i0.2834>

Introduction

The dance heritage of national and ethnic minorities, as part of their intangible cultural heritage, is subject to continuous change. The point of contact between tradition and contemporary cultural practices is a place of dynamic processes, such as redefinition, reinterpretation, revitalisation, and the reconstruction of the heritage. It seems that in recent years, these phenomena have become particularly visible in the dance heritage of national and ethnic minorities living in Kraków and the Małopolska voivodeship. The dance heritage is also undergoing transformations driven by processes of commercialisation and globalisation of culture. Demographic and national shifts resulting from the arrival of immigrants and expatriates from various parts of the world to the region under discussion are likewise exerting an increasingly significant influence on the local dance heritage.

This paper presents issues raised by participants in interviews conducted as part of doctoral dissertation research at the Centre for Comparative Studies of Civilisations at the Jagiellonian University under the supervision of Dr hab. Tomasz Nowak (professor at the University of Warsaw) and Dr hab. Wojciech Klimczyk (professor at the Jagiellonian University).¹ The analysis also draws on findings from research into the history of dance in Kraków and the surrounding region conducted as part of the ‘White Spots – Music and Dance’ programme of the National Institute of Music and Dance in Warsaw (Gorczyca et al. 2019; 2020; 2021).

Research description and methodology

The research method employed in this doctoral dissertation consisted of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 30 individuals. An additional seven participants took part in less formal interviews. With the exception of four respondents, all the interviewees belonged to national or ethnic minorities. Four individuals declaring Polish national identification were involved in minority heritage and constituted the control group. The research also included extensive participant observation conducted at events organised by, for or dedicated to

¹ The dissertation entitled ‘Dance as a Part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Selected National and Ethnic Groups Living in Kraków and the Lesser Poland Voivodeship’ was presented on 27 May 2025 at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków.

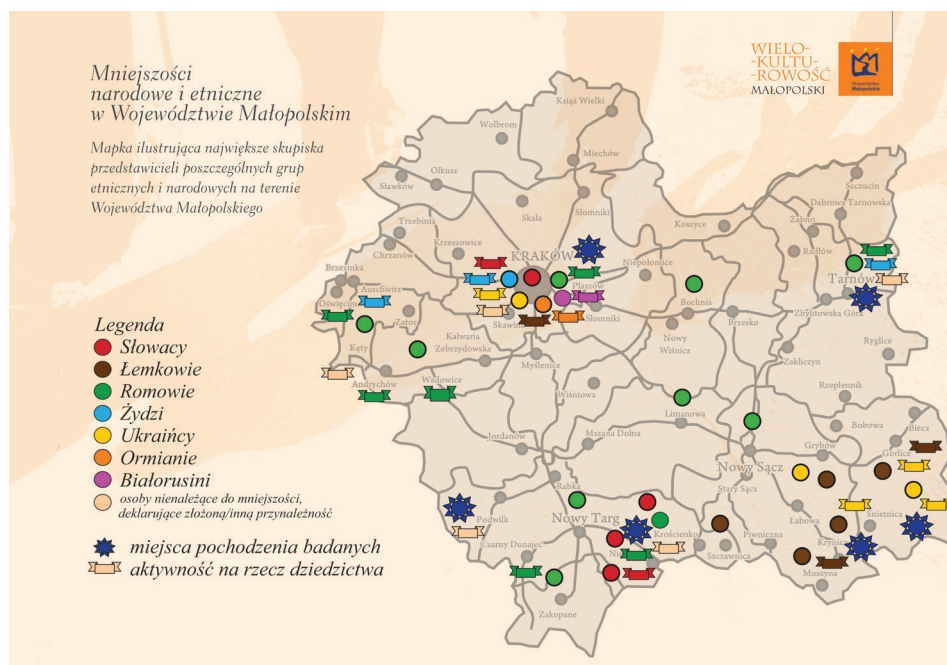


Figure 1. National and ethnic minorities in the Małopolska voivodeship. Prepared based on publications by the Małopolska Voivodeship Marshal's Office (Wielokulturowość Małopolski 2008, 94–95).

minorities. The social media of national and ethnic minorities were also a part of the research.

The primary criterion for selecting the research group was the 2005 Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language, which explicitly defines the catalogue of minorities recognised by the Polish state (Ustawa o mniejszościach 2005). Additional criteria included the historical and contemporaneous presence of a given group in the study area, data from the 2002, 2011 and 2021 National Censuses, and the degree of the minority's involvement in preserving the dance heritage. Based on these criteria, the study initially encompassed national minorities such as Armenians, Slovaks, Ukrainians and Jews, as well as ethnic minorities such as Lemkos and Roma. Following the publication of the 2021 National Census, individuals declaring Belarusian origin were also included in the study sample (Przynależność narodowo-etniczna 2023).

The self-identification declared by informants was significantly more complex than the statutory provisions, and was partially mixed. The Lemko community and the inhabitants of Spisz and Orava provide clear examples of the multifaceted nature of national identification. Within the Lemko minority, some

individuals identified as members of a distinct national group, while others considered themselves part of the Ukrainian nation. Respondents from Spisz, in turn, declared Slovak, Slovak-Spisz, or exclusively Spisz identification.

The vast majority of participants in the research were engaged in various forms of activity aimed at preserving the cultural heritage of their respective minorities. Several had higher-education degrees in ethnology or philology, and had completed workshops and choreography courses. More than a third of them led dance classes, directed a folklore ensemble, or organised dance events. Women marginally outnumbered men in the study group.

The dance heritage as part of the intangible cultural heritage

The cultural heritage, including the intangible heritage, has been present in the public and academic discourse for many years. There has been a growing understanding of the importance of protecting historical monuments and humanity's tangible achievements since at least the late 19th century. Awareness of the need to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage has now also increased. This concern for the intangible heritage was formally expressed through the adoption of the 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage' in 2003 (Convention 2003; Konwencja UNESCO 2003), which in Article 2, point 1, states:

The 'intangible cultural heritage' means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith, that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development (Convention 2003).

In paragraph 2 of Article 2, the Convention outlines the categories of intangible heritage that require special protection:

- a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- b) the performing arts;

- c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
- d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- e) traditional craftsmanship (*Convention* 2003).

Although dance is not listed as a separate category of heritage, it can be addressed within subparagraphs 2b), 2c), and 2d) of Article 2 of the *Convention*. This is reflected in the inclusion of dance and movement practices on the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage, established in 2008 (Representative List 2008; *Convention* 2003; *Konwencja UNESCO* 2003; Purchla 2013, 48–50).

Growing reflection on the intangible cultural heritage, including customs, rituals, traditions and performing arts which are passed down from generation to generation, has led to the increasingly frequent use of the concept of 'Intangible Heritage Embodied'. Embodied heritage, particularly dance, passed down through communities and shaped by them from the traces of the past, allows for the expression of national, ethnic and minority identities. Heritage also fulfils several functions: institutional, as a catalyst for action and social relations; instrumental, as an educational tool; and economic, as it can create jobs and generate income for communities. The concept of cultural heritage has thus become dynamic and open to manifestations of human creativity (*Convention* 2003; *Konwencja UNESCO* 2003; Kowalski 2013, 24–25; Ruggles, Silverman 2009, 1–14).

In subsequent generations, and as a result of social changes, cultural heritage will be reshaping the image of the past it had constructed, selecting from history those elements that correspond to contemporary needs (Kowalski 2013, 93–94; Kowalski 2016, 2–3). Such changes lead not only to the preservation or reconstruction of the past, but also to the creation of a new, *invented* tradition (Hobsbawm, Ranger 2008, 9–23). This tendency is reinforced by current efforts to revitalise manifestations of the intangible heritage, especially since traditional dance, taken out of its natural context, ceases to fulfil its previous functions, a phenomenon noted many years ago by Roderyk Lange (Lange 2000, 112–113; Lange 2009, 145–149). Józef Burszta noticed already in 1978:

As such, the elements of folklore that fall within the realm of folklorism are separated from their natural hosts and their natural environment and are called into a kind of secondary, artificial existence in a much broader forum. With contemporary visual mass media, this forum often becomes, in practice, the entire society (Burszta 1978, 263–264).²

² Original: Jako takie zatem, elementy folkloru wchodzące w obręb folkloryzmu odrywane zostają od swych naturalnych nosicieli i od swego naturalnego środowiska i są powoływane niejako do wtórnego, sztucznego życia na forum znacznie szerszym. Przy współczesnych środkach masowego wizualnego przekazu forum tym staje się w praktyce częstokroć całe społeczeństwo (Burszta 1978, 263–264).

A dynamic understanding of heritage thus turns it into a simulacrum of the past, in which facts and ideas are interwoven and selectively chosen for their attractiveness and potential use in the local and global 'supermarket of culture' described by Gordon Mathews (Mathews 2005, 253–256; Kowalski 2016, 273–278; Purchla 2013, 54–56). Heritage is becoming commercialised, and once it is turned into a product, it undergoes (self)folklorisation, a process discussed by Józef Burszta, Ewa Klekot and Ewa Nowicka in relation to Polish folk culture (Burszta 1974, 346–347; Klekot 2014, 94–98; Nowicka 2012, 437–438). These processes affect not only the majority society, but also national and ethnic minorities, a point repeatedly raised by interviewees. At the same time, as E. Klekot notes, the aforementioned (self)folklorisation may function as a survival strategy adopted, consciously or otherwise, by the minority groups (Klekot 2014, 98).

Dance and dance heritage, perceived as particularly attractive cultural expressions, seem to be more susceptible to these processes than other components of the heritage.

The importance of the dance heritage

The dance heritage of the national and ethnic minorities discussed constitutes an important part of their intangible cultural heritage, and in the case of several groups, it may even be regarded as a factor in their identity.

Representatives of the national and ethnic minorities surveyed were generally strongly committed to preserving their dance heritage. They emphasised the significance of dance heritage as part of the intangible heritage of their group, the importance of preserving it for future generations, and its normative and identity-forming role. In this context, one respondent from Spisz stated:

Well, you know, I want to emphasise this [...] that through this dance, through singing, through rituals, customs, we can preserve, and in this way we preserve, our identity, because this is simply what makes us different from others, and we want to maintain this, and through this, through the participation of these children, etc, in the group, to develop this awareness in them³ (Spisz, Slovak 2, 62 years old).

This perception of the dance heritage was consistent with the statement of a Roma researcher and activist:

³ Original: No wie Pan, to jeszcze to podkreślić [...] że poprzez ten taniec, poprzez śpiew, poprzez obrzędy, zwyczaje, można zachować, i w ten sposób zachowujemy tą swoją tożsamość, bo po prostu tym się różnimy od innych i to chcemy utrzymać i przez to, przez uczestnictwo tych dzieci itd. w zespole, żeby rozwijać u nich tę świadomość.

Dancing is this expression, it shows that I'm Roma and I dance in my own way, and we have Roma music. Well, you don't dance in Roma style to other music⁴ (Roma woman 1, 52 years old).

A Jewish interlocutor, speaking about the dance heritage and its special role in the life of the Hasidic community, emphasised its importance not only as a component of the identity, but also as an expression of the social hierarchy, and a way of transmitting social norms in this religious group:

It's also a form of order, because women always dance separately from men. This, in a sense, organises the group. It's also important that, for example, there's no physical contact between men and women, so it also serves as a vehicle for specific rules⁵ (Jewish woman, indigenous, 34 years old).

For some of the respondents, caring for the cultural heritage of their own minority was not only a form of caring for their own identity, but also an ethical imperative, and a life mission in both individual and collective contexts. The head of the Oravian ensemble said:

Being a good Oravian means, above all, remembering: remembering that we came here once, that we created our own culture, our own folklore⁶ (man from Orava, 61 years old).

Passing down the dance heritage was therefore associated not only with learning dance steps, but also, perhaps even primarily, with conveying norms and organising the surrounding world in accordance with the value system prevailing in a given community.

Most respondents were aware of the phenomena related to the transformation of the intangible cultural heritage, such as commercialisation, globalisation and folklorisation, discussed in the previous section.

A Slovak activist drew attention to how difficult it is to balance the preservation of the heritage with its transformation in such a way that it does not succumb to folklorisation:

I mean, I like it that there are ethnologists and they preserve culture, but I'd prefer culture to be constantly created [...] When there were, say, acrobatic things (in dance), they were more spectacular and [...] you could see that this wasn't someone graduating from a regional group, but different choreographers [...] and it was real, wow. But that's precisely why there wasn't any authenticity. And in the staged perfor-

⁴ Original: *Taniec to jest ta ekspresja, to pokazywanie tego, że ja jestem Romem i tańczę w swój sposób i mamy muzykę romską. No nie tańczysz po romsku do innej muzyki.*

⁵ Original: *Jest to też jakaś forma porządkowania, bo zawsze kobieta tańczy osobno niż mężczyźni. To już porządkuje w pewnym sensie grupę. Też jest ważne, że na przykład między mężczyzną a kobietami nie ma kontaktu fizycznego, więc też jest jakimś nośnikiem konkretnych zasad.*

⁶ Original: *Dobrym Orawianinem to znaczy się przede wszystkim pamiętać. Pamiętać o tym, że myśmy tutaj kiedyś przyszli, myśmy tutaj wytworzyli swoją kulturę, swój folklor.*



Figure 2. Dancing audience, 30th Jewish Culture Festival in Kraków. Shalom Concert on Szeroka Street, 1 July 2023, Kraków. Photograph: Krzysztof Hliniak.

mances, you could see that they were of lower quality, but you still felt more at home. But it would be hard for me to say which way I'd go, the staged one. For me, neither is entirely accurate⁷ (Spisz, Slovak 3, 25 years old).

The Belarusian interlocutor noted that the influence of a professional choreographer and the transition of dance from the home environment to folklore groups had a strong impact on dance:

We have a very famous Belarusian group, one of the most famous, called Kharoshki (Харошкі) [...] These are groups that dance Belarusian dances, and they also dance in pairs, and they know the traditional Belarusian dances that were danced in the past, but it's still something different. The idea itself is completely different⁸ (Belarusian woman, 49 years old).

A Slovak activist observed that the forms of presenting the intangible cultural heritage may be incomprehensible to presentday audiences as a result of broader social changes:

⁷ Original: Znaczy mi się to podoba, że są etnolodzy i przechowują kulturę, ale wolałbym, żeby ta kultura była cały czas tworzona [...] Jak były (w tańcu) takie powiedzmy rzeczy akrobatyczne, to były bardziej widowiskowe i [...] widać było, że to nie jest ktoś, kto kończył grupę regionalną, tylko byli różni choreografowie [...] i robiło takie wow. Ale właśnie przez to nie było autentyczności. A w (występach) inscenizowanych widać było, że to jest gorszej jakości, ale jednak człowiek się czuł bardziej tak swojsko. Ale trudno byłoby mi powiedzieć, w którą stronę bym szedł, czy tę inscenizowaną. Dla mnie ta i ta nie jest do końca trafna.

⁸ Original: U nas jest bardzo znany białoruski zespół, jeden z najbardziej znanych, który się nazywa 'Харошкі' [...] To są zespoły, które tańczą białoruskie tańce i też tańczą w parach i umieją te tańce białoruskie takie tradycyjnie, które się tańczyło kiedyś, ale jednak to jest coś innego. Sama idea tego jest całkiem inna.

Yes, yes, because it seems to me that this dance, or this culture, when they cultivated it, say, a hundred years ago, they really got into it, and now people have different problems, they don't really know what it's all about [...] (Spisz, Slovak 3, 25 years old).

The statements published capture aptly the dilemmas faced by many creators and recipients of the dance heritage, who must confront the question of how to preserve the heritage passed down by previous generations, while simultaneously disseminating it among young people living in social, economic and cultural conditions entirely different from those of their ancestors.

Years ago, the ethno-choreologist R. Lange observed that contemporary, urbanised societies readily adopt rural dances and rituals, and present them in a theatrical form; however, in doing so, these practices become detached from the contexts in which they originally emerged. Such shifts in context and function may result in dance becoming a mere reenactment of the past, stripped of deeper meaning and, moreover, incomprehensible to new generations of audiences (Lange 2009, 141–149).

A young interlocutor of Slovak identification highlighted the ambiguity inherent in cultivating the heritage, comparing it to a product:

It seems to me that this is moving in the direction of regionalism, becoming a product that could be sold, that it's for tourists. In the sense that festivals are being created, some kind of regional product, which then gets lost in everyday life but could still be consumed in some other way¹⁰ (Spisz, Slovak 3, 25 years old).

The interviewee's emphasis on the ephemerality of the cultural heritage as a product for sale is symptomatic. As the Slovak activist noted, heritage can 'disappear in everyday life', but it can also be 'consumed' in various ways.

The theme of heritage as a product, as well as the issue of the folklorisation of the heritage, resonated particularly strongly in the statements of the Roma interlocutors. According to one respondent, during Roma festivals and in the media, it is primarily the folklorised version of the Carpathian Roma heritage that is showcased, and the version of the heritage that is popularised is the one that panders to low-brow tastes. While respecting the work of the organisers of such events, a Romani activist nevertheless observed:

⁹ Original: Tak, tak, bo wydaje mi się że ten taniec, czy ta kultura, gdy tam powiedzmy 100 lat temu ją kultywowali, to wtedy rzeczywiście oni się w to wczuwali a teraz ludzie mają inne problemy, jakoś nie do końca wiedzą o co w tym wszystkim chodzi [...].

¹⁰ Original: Mi się trochę wydaje, że idzie to w takim kierunku, że ten właśnie regionalizm to będzie taki produkt, który można będzie sprzedawać, że to jest dla turystów. W sensie, że tworzy się festiwale, jakieś takie produkty właśnie regionalne, które później jakby giną w życiu codziennym, ale można by było je jeszcze jakoś skosztować w inny sposób.



Figure 3. The 11th International Days of Roma Culture 2022.
Łąki Nowohuckie, 3 July 2022, Kraków. Photograph: Krzysztof Hliniak.

You know, I don't want offend them in all this, but folklorisation, but also this kind of popularisation, or as you might call it, culture for sale. We also often talk about these festivals as a kind of Roma *disco polo*¹¹ (Roma woman 1, 52 years old).

Another interviewee noted that the Roma themselves (self)folklorise their own heritage, as they strive to meet the stereotypes and expectations of the majority audience. She said in an interview:

It's a product for sale. Roma people are great in various situations, not just musically, but also in the professions ... You know, many of the older people I've spoken to didn't finish school, but they're excellent psychologists. It's like they know, probably through years of life and experience, having always been in a disadvantaged situation, how to respond to someone's needs. We've adapted somewhat to the situation, and can sense what someone wants from us, and we give it to them. Music, in my opinion, shows that we respond to this stereotype with a self-stereotype and create, produce something that others want, but it's not really something that's for us¹² (Roma woman 2, 44 years old).

¹¹ Disco polo is a genre of popular dance music, created in Poland in the 1980s. Original: Wiesz, nie chcę im umniejszać w tym wszystkim, ale folkloryzacja, ale też taka popularyzacja albo inaczej jakby można to nazwać kultura na sprzedaż. My też bardzo często mówimy o tych, o tych festiwalach, że to jest takie romskie disco polo.

¹² Original: To jest produkt na sprzedaż. Romowie świetnie i to jakby w różnych sytuacjach, nie tylko w sytuacji muzycznej, ale też zawody ... Wiesz, wiele osób, z którym ja rozmawiałam, starszych nie skończyło szkół, natomiast są świetnymi psychologami. Jakby wiedzą, pewnie przez lata życia swojego i doświadczeń nauczyli się, będąc cały czas w nieuprzywilejowanej sytuacji jakby odpowiadać na potrzeby kogoś. Myśmy się trochę przystosowali do sytuacji i potrafimy wyczuć, co kto od nas chce i dajemy im to. Muzyka moim zdaniem trochę to pokazuje,

The above statement corresponded with the quoted voice of the Slovak activist about the heritage as a product primarily for tourists. The same interviewee added:

I say, all you have to do is go to some family event, and there, completely different music is played and sung and presented among Roma, that's what I'm talking about.¹³

The Roma respondents also expressed concern that the true cultural heritage of the Carpathian Roma may not arouse interest in others:

People want to see it, so it's just done, but on the other hand, we won't talk about it, because who cares? Me, you, yes. It's not for sale. And that's precisely where we're missing these cultural institutions. What Bartosz¹⁴ was talking about, what we're saying, is that there's no codified framework, that there's a difference between making money and preserving the heritage, that these are two different paths¹⁵ (Roma woman 1, 52 years old).

According to the interviewee, earning a living cannot be reconciled with efforts to preserve the heritage; its safeguarding should be the responsibility of designated institutions, which, however, are lacking. It appears that the dilemma evident in the statements of the Roma interlocutors, between the desire to preserve the heritage and the perception of it as something intimate, or as something that should not be displayed to outsiders, the *gadjos*, is difficult to resolve.

The Roma interviewees' statements also strongly emphasise the adaptation of this minority group and the dance heritage it presents to life in the majority society. The habitus of the Roma community therefore appears doubly determined. On one hand, attitudes towards the heritage are shaped by the internalised norms of conduct embedded in the Romanipen code; on the other hand, they are influenced by the stance of the majority society towards the Roma. It is worth remembering that this minority enters relationships with members of the majority population, on whom they were, and to some extent still are, economically dependent.

że odpowiadamy na ten stereotyp autostereotypem i tworzymy, produkujemy coś, co inni chcą, ale to nie jest do końca coś, co dla nas.

¹³ Original: Mówię, wystarczy pójść na jakąś imprezę rodzinną i tam zupełnie inna muzyka jest grana i śpiewana jakby i przedstawiana między Romami, o tym, o tym mówię.

¹⁴ Adam Bartosz is a Romanologist, creator of the exhibition devoted to the Roma at the Ethnographic Museum in Tarnów, and head of the Committee for the Protection of Jewish Monuments in Tarnów. He was one of the members of the control group.

¹⁵ Original: Ludzie chcą to oglądać, więc po prostu to się robi a z drugiej strony no nie będziemy mówić o tym, no bo kogo to interesuje? Mnie, Ciebie tak. To nie jest takie na sprzedaż. I tutaj brakuje nam właśnie tych instytucji kultury. Tego, o czym mówił Bartosz, o czym mówimy, że nie ma tego skodyfikowanego, że jest różnica między zarabianiem pieniędzy a zachowaniem dziedzictwa, że to są dwie różne drogi.

A folklorist from Orava, who believed that the heritage should not be glamorous, but authentic, expressed a similarly critical view of attempts to adapt it to external expectations:

Showing folklore means showing the culture of our ancestors, which developed during a given period, the costumes, the songs, the dances, the routines, not just dressing up in Orava folk costume and then sitting up all evening or all night thinking about what I could come up with to show it on stage or somewhere to make it look cool. That's not what it's about. Absolutely not. It has to look like it did there, say, before World War I, between World War I and World War II, or some time in the past, but it has to look like this. Impressive or less impressive, it has to be authentic. And these pseudo-regionalists who play with this just irritate me so much that ... Because they'll add it here, and in this region, they had a cool one there, so I'll add it to the dance. What's the point? Then it simply becomes our authentic folklore. Then it's neither theirs nor ours, and it's so bland¹⁶ (man from Orava, 61 years old).

The interviewee from Orava emphasised clearly the need to preserve the authenticity of what is presented by folk groups. He identified the state of the cultural heritage in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century as the model to be followed. The choice of the interwar period as a point of reference is deliberate, and reflects the then-prevailing aim of presenting rituals in a theatricalised form, while remaining as close as possible to the everyday reality. Elsewhere, the interviewee elaborated on this idea:

The task of a group leader, regionalist or folklorist is simply to present folklore as it was. They should rummage through documents and papers to find as much authenticity as possible, and work with it, not play around with it¹⁷ (man from Orava, 61 years old).

The interviewee therefore challenged those concerned with preserving the heritage to access and reference relevant sources. Although the young Belarusian

¹⁶ Original: Pokazywanie folkloru to jest pokazywanie kultury naszych przodków, która powstała w danym okresie, czyli stroju, czyli piosenek, czyli tańców, układów a nie, że po prostu ubiorę się w strój orawski i później siedzę wieczór albo w nocy nie śpię i myślę, co by tu wymyślić, żeby to pokazać na scenie, czy gdzieś, żeby to fajnie wyglądało. To nie na tym polega. Absolutnie nie na tym polega. To ma wyglądać tak, jak to wyglądało tam, powiedzmy, przed pierwszą wojną światową, między pierwszą a drugą, czy kiedyś, ale ma to tak wyglądać. Czy to jest efektowne, czy to jest mniej efektowne, ale ma to być autentyczne. A tacy właśnie pseudo regionaliści, którzy się tym bawią, no to po prostu mnie tak drażnią, że ... Bo on se to doda tutaj a tam w tym regionie mieli fajny tam taki, no to ja sobie dołożę do tańca. Czemu to służy? No to po prostu zaczyna się po prostu nasz folklor autentyczny. Później to jest ani ich ani nasze i to jest takie nijakie.

¹⁷ Original: Zadaniem kierownika zespołu czy regionalisty, czy folklorysty jest po prostu przedstawiać folklor w takiej formie i postaci, jaki on był. On ma grzebać w dokumentach, papierach, żeby znaleźć jak najwięcej tego autentyku tam i nad tym pracować a nie bawić się.



Figure 4. A Belarusian dance party.
Planty Park, Kraków, 1 July 2024. Photograph: Krzysztof Hliniak.

activist was many years apart from his Orava interlocutor, he also spoke of the immutability of the heritage, and the need to preserve it as it was:

Speaking of preservation or interpretation, we care more, at least here in Kraków, about preservation. Especially since the people who promote this traditional dance here in Poland often come from a community that was also concerned with preservation, not interpretation; not some modernisation of dance, but precisely the preservation of this traditional culture¹⁸ (Belarusian, 26 years old).

The need for the authenticity of the heritage, emphasised by both respondents, is also visible in the statement of the Slovak activist:

There was dancing, how should I put it, more acrobatic, in the sense that one was about technique, and the other about staging, and this staging made me laugh a bit, that you create space on purpose [...] to feel like you were back in those times, but it was quite an interesting experience¹⁹ (Spisz, Slovak 3, 25 years old).

Even those who accepted a certain variability in the dance heritage expressed rather cautious and conservative views. One Ukrainian woman observed that caring for the heritage requires one to ‘dance and develop these dances, and per-

¹⁸ Original: A propos zachowania czy interpretacji. Bardziej, przynajmniej jakby tu w Krakowie [...] zależę nam na zachowaniu [...] Zwłaszcza, że osoby, które się zajmują szerzeniem tego tańca [...] tradycyjnego tutaj w Polsce, bardzo często się wywodzą z tej wspólnoty, które też się zajmowała zachowaniem, nie interpretacją, nie jakąś modernizacją tańca tylko właśnie zachowaniem tej kultury tradycyjnej.

¹⁹ Original: Były taniec, jak to powiedzieć, taki bardziej akrobatyczny w sensie, że w jednym chodziło o technikę a w drugim właśnie o inscenizację i ta inscenizacja trochę mnie tak rozśmieszyła, że się specjalnie jakoś przestrzeń robi [...] żeby się poczuć jak właśnie w tamtych czasach, ale to było dość ciekawe takie przeżycie.

haps even bring something new to these dances, not in a particularly powerful way, but something contemporary', adding that she wished the dances to remain 'alive and somewhat fashionable' (Ukrainian woman, arriving in Poland in 2022, 52 years old). Another Ukrainian activist stated that safeguarding the heritage requires 'passing it on, but also interpreting it in my own way' (Ukrainian woman, indigenous to the Lemko-Boyko borderland, 31 years old). These, however, were relatively isolated voices.

The ambivalent attitude towards change and the commercialisation of the dance heritage form part of the broader problem of the dual attitudes of national and ethnic groups, as well as the majority society, towards their own heritage, its dissemination, and its transformation. On one hand, the respondents express a desire for this heritage to remain alive and actively cultivated; but on the other, they are reluctant to alter it. Furthermore, as in the case of the Roma, although not exclusively, we encounter a dualism in attitudes toward presenting one's own culture. Groups choose to present only a part of their heritage, considering the remainder too intimate to be shown to outsiders.

The heritage in the face of folklorisation and globalisation

In addition to the issue of commercialisation and changes to the heritage, there is also the issue of its affiliation and folklorisation. In the global cultural supermarket mentioned earlier, and also on a regional level, the previously clear boundaries between what belongs to a given group's heritage and what does not, are becoming blurred. This is particularly true for communities living on cultural, national or state borders.

A female respondent from Spisz noted about local ethnic identification that the situation of borderland populations and their heritage is ambiguous, and defining what is related to a given group's cultural heritage can be difficult. She stated:

Because when it comes to music, musical or dance identity, I will say in a moment that music or dance simply has no boundaries, there are no boundaries and it is difficult to draw a line like the one drawn after World War I, *O tu będzie i dotąd gromy tak a od tyła do tyła gromy tak a tam to już nie wolno, bo to już służ* (Oh it will be here and until now we play like this and from now on we play like this and there it is no longer allowed because it is the limit). So for me it's just defining that something is like this and something is like that, in every border zone nothing is obvious, that this

is ours, this is yours, nothing, because everyone borrows from the other side, those on the Slovak side take something from ours [...].²⁰

A Slovak from Spisz noticed that the same dance heritage can be recognised as their own by different groups, although in her opinion it is a local, Spisz heritage:

I'll say this, it's exactly what it is, it's hard to separate it, I treat it as ours, that is, as Slovak, someone might be from the other side, someone who was raised in a Polish family, so to speak, feels a hundred per cent Polish, they will claim that it's Polish, you know what I mean, we are from Spisz, this is our Spisz²¹ (Spisz, Slovak 2, 44 years old).

The Slovak choreographer spoke disapprovingly of heritage changes motivated by a desire to please audiences, criticising particularly the disappearance of local distinctiveness and the introduction of foreign elements into choreography. He blamed the troupes' leaders for this:

Although I will say that just a few years ago, it was somehow easier to distinguish these regions, and so on. Things have started to get mixed up. Some company directors, choreographers, etc, tried to diversify, as you mentioned, to make it appealing to an audience, to introduce different elements. Very often, it got mixed up, and the diversity of these regions, or the distinctiveness of the regions, is unfortunately already disappearing in some companies.

Now it's very easy to distinguish what I'm saying, these influences or these ... Because these original dances, both here and in every region, weren't as rich in these elements. And these elements are introduced somewhere, and so on, and some companies have already got mixed up, lost in what is, what is supposed to be original, and what is now²² (Spisz, Slovak 2, 62 years old).

²⁰ Original: Bo jak chodzi o muzykę, o tożsamość muzyczną czy taneczną, to za chwilę powiem, że muzyka czy taniec po prostu nie ma granic, nie ma granic i trudno jest wytyczyć taką granicę, jak wytyczyli po I wojnie światowej, o tu będzie i dotąd gromy tak a od tyła do tyła gromy tak a tam to już nie wolno, bo to już śluz. Więc dla mnie to jest po prostu określanie, że coś jest takie a coś jest takie, w każdej strefie przygranicznej nic nie jest oczywiste, że to jest nasze, to jest wasze, nic, bo każdy sobie zapożycza jeden z drugiej strony, ci ze słowackiej strony coś biorą z naszej [...].

²¹ Original: Ja powiem tak, to jest właśnie, trudno to rozdzielić, ja to traktuję jako nasze, czyli jako słowackie, ktoś może być z innej strony, kto został wychowany właśnie w polskiej rodzinie, że tak powiem, czuje się taki 100% Polakiem, to będzie twierdził, że to jest polskie, wie Pan, o co chodzi, myśmy spiskie, to jest nasze spiskie.

²² Original: Chociaż powiem tak, że jeszcze parę lat temu było jakoś łatwiej rozróżnić te regiony i tak dalej. Zaczęło się to wszystko mieszać, niektórzy kierownicy zespołów, choreografowie itd., starali się urozmaicać, tak jak Pan już wspomniał, żeby to było ładne dla widza, żeby to się podobało, wprowadzać różne elementy i bardzo często się to wymieszało i ta różnorodność tych regionów, czy odrębność regionów niestety już gdzieś tam w niektórych zespołach zanika. W tej chwili jest bardzo łatwo, to, co mówię, że te naleciałości czy te... No bo te pierwotne tańce tak samo u nas i w każdym regionie nie były tak bogate w te elementy. I gdzieś tam te elementy

Another Slovak, when asked how to protect the local Spisz heritage, gave a rather similar answer:

Well, that's a good question, but definitely not to take it from another region or another country, from Slovakia, transform it into Spisz, and say that it is Spisz²³ (Spisz, Slovak 4, 44 years old).

The Slovak woman was very critical of the changes that could be called 'Podhalanisation' or 'Polonisation' of the local heritage. However, she was aware of assimilation processes, and the inevitability of changes affecting the heritage:

Yes, for me it's really important. Things are getting worse in Biała, because the locals are doing a very bad job, they want to separate, because it wasn't Slovak, because we're not here. In short, they're destroying this culture. It's not that it's just developing at its own pace, because we know that assimilation is already happening there to such a large extent that it's disappearing, but it's simply contributing to this big, so to speak, destruction of this culture, and such reluctance, which is a shame. And it's even being done by people who have Slovak ancestors themselves²⁴ (Spisz, Slovak 2, 44 years old).

The folklorist from Orava, among others, mentioned how strongly the specific historical, social and national situation influences the condition of the dance heritage in the case of the heritage of Spisz and Orava:

Since they divided Orava, for the umpteenth time, well, this time, but the last time they divided it, folklore simply began to follow its own path on the Polish side, and its own on the Slovak side. And I won't deny that certain things have also come to us here, a few influences, some from Podhale, some from the Krościenko region, some from Spisz: minor, but still. Of course, most of it is authentic Orava²⁵ (man from Orava, 61 years old).

jakieś się wprowadza itd., no i niektóre zespoły się już pomieszały, pogubiły w tym, co jest, co ma być oryginalne, a co jest teraz.

²³ Original: No to jest dobre pytanie, ale na pewno nie robić to, że zabierać z innego regionu albo z innego państwa, ze Słowacji, przekształcać to na spiskie, i mówiąc, że to jest spiskie.

²⁴ Original: Tak, dla mnie to jest naprawdę ważne. W Białej już nieciekawe rzeczy się dzieją, bo miejscowi robią bardzo złą robotę, chcą się wyodrębnić, że jednak to nie było słowackie, że tu nas nie ma. Tak jednym słowem niszczą tę kulturę, nie żeby to po prostu się rozwijało swoim tempem, bo wiadomo gdzieś tam już asymilacja w tak dużym stopniu, że i zanika, tylko po prostu już przekłada się do tego dużego, rękę, że tak powiem, do zagłady można powiedzieć już tej kultury i taka niechęć, a szkoda, a nawet robią to osoby, które sami przodków mają Słowaków.

²⁵ Original: Od czasu jak podzielili tę Orawę, po raz któryś zresztą, no teraz, ale ostatni raz jak podzielili, to po prostu ten folklor zaczął iść tutaj po polskiej stronie swoją drogą a po słowackiej swoją drogą. I nie ukrywam, że do nas tutaj też pewne rzeczy przyszły, takie troszkę naleciałości, trochę z Podhala, trochę ze stron Krościenka, trochę ze Spisza, takie drobne, ale jednak. Oczywiście większość to są wszystko autentyczne orawskie.



Figure 5. The Hajduki folklore ensemble, *Visegrad Week*.
Biblioteka Kraków, 17 September 2022, Kraków. Photograph: Krzysztof Hliniak.

This statement also reveals an awareness of the inevitability of changes in the heritage stemming from the existence of state borders and social transformations. A Ukrainian working with a Lemko group expressed a similar sentiment:

I think this also ties in to the general question of the prospects for assimilation or not. Because it's clear that these trends are progressing [...] It will certainly continue. However, how it will develop further is difficult to say. I think that at this stage we can't say yet that it will disappear, just like the singing, dancing and folk aspects. Perhaps it will still survive in minorities, whether it's Ukrainian in general, or the distinct Lemko minority²⁶ (Ukrainian, arrived in the 1990s, 43 years old).

The interviewee spoke very critically about the folklorisation of the heritage, and the lack of awareness of this phenomenon among minority people:

It happens that activists from the minority themselves are aware that identification or identity cannot be relegated solely to folklore, to folk culture, because 'the village dances, the village sings,' and that's all the village needs, so it's a bit of a simplification. It's the simplest thing: put on a costume, sing, everyone applauds and praises, but that's just one element²⁷ (Ukrainian, arrived in the 1990s, 43 years old).

²⁶ Original: Myślę, że to się też wiąże z pytaniem w ogóle, perspektywy asymilacji czy nie asymilacji. Bo wiadomo, że te tendencje raczej postępują (...). Na pewno to jeszcze będzie trwało. Natomiast jak się będzie rozwijało dalej, trudno to powiedzieć. Myślę, że na tym etapie nie możemy jeszcze mówić, że to zaniknie, tak samo jak i śpiewy i ten taniec i ten aspekt ludowy, chyba jeszcze w mniejszościach, czy to w ukraińskiej, ogólnie, czy w łemkowskiej tej odrębnej, że to jeszcze przetrwa.

²⁷ Original: Zdarza się, że działacze z samej mniejszości, są tego świadomi, że nie wolno zepchnąć identyfikacji czy tożsamości tylko do ludowości, do tej kultury ludowej, bo „wieś tańczy, wieś śpiewa” i tyle i nic więcej wsi nie trzeba, więc że to jest trochę takie spłycenie. Bo to jest

Just as not everyone was completely negative about the commercialisation of heritage, the same was true about its folklorisation. A Lemko activist said:

I believe that folklorisation is better at the initial stage than a complete disregard of Lemko culture, in short, assimilation. Of course, if we have the opportunity to deepen our knowledge of Lemko history and culture, and limit ourselves solely to folklore, then that's a worrying phenomenon²⁸ (Lemko man, 56 years old).

It seems that folklorisation can also play a positive role in maintaining and protecting the heritage which, in this case, was brought from the Lemko region to the western lands of present-day Poland. However, this interviewee also cautioned that we should not stop at just the staging of folklore.

Recapitulation and conclusions

For national and ethnic minorities living in Kraków and the Małopolska voivodeship, the cultural heritage is perceived as important to their communities and their identity. As the Polish heritologist K. Kowalski wrote:

Heritage is a form of possessing the past, a collection, and therefore a choice that combines and arranges works of art, monuments, sources of knowledge, but also curiosities into a meaningful whole (Kowalski 2013, 19).²⁹

In the face of contemporary social, economic and political changes, the choice the author describes seems increasingly difficult. The respondents' statements presented above describe very different attitudes towards changes in the dance heritage. They ranged from categorical opposition and criticism of changes in the heritage to acceptance and acceptance of them, and a new understanding of their own group's heritage.

Most respondents perceived changes in the heritage as threatening, and drew on what previous generations had left behind. Treating the dance heritage solely as a product was viewed decisively as negative. Few respondents saw the folklorisation of the heritage as one way for a group to survive, and accepted the possibility of change. In this context, the respondents' opinions that the heritage being recreated today may be incomprehensible to the contemporary generation are significant.

najprostsze: ubrać się w strój, zaśpiewać, wszyscy ci biją brawa, chwalą, natomiast jest to tylko jeden z elementów.

²⁸ Original: [...] wychodzę z założenia, że lepsza na początkowym etapie jest folkloryzacja, niż totalne zignorowanie kultury łemkowskiej, czyli krótko mówiąc asymilacja. Oczywiście, jeżeli mamy możliwość pogłębienia wiedzy o historii i kulturze Łemków a ograniczamy się wyłącznie do folkloru, no to już jest zjawisko niepokojące.

²⁹ Original: Dziedzictwo jest formą posiadania przeszłości, kolekcją a więc w konsekwencji – wyborem, który w znaczącą całość łączy i obok siebie ustawia, dzieła sztuki, zabytki, źródła wiedzy, ale też osobliwości (Kowalski 2013, 19).

The interviewees' statements reflected clearly the dilemma of minorities' desire to participate in the global cultural supermarket, coupled with the fear of losing their identity and heritage. In the global cultural supermarket, it is consumers and creators who choose the elements that are most attractive to them, and potentially beneficial. In the context of the commercialisation of the heritage, its folklorisation and (self)folklorisation, and its functioning in the global cultural market, it seems crucial to work on raising awareness of its significance in minority groups. The proposal to establish an institution dedicated to the heritage and codify minority dance is also important.

The intersection of tradition and modernity in the context of the dance heritage of national and ethnic minorities living in Kraków and the Małopolska voivodeship is a space for lively discussion, tension and reflection on what constitutes the heritage, the direction of its dissemination, and how to pass it on to future generations. Although the heritage bearers, as the respondents should be considered, mostly took a rather conservative stance towards changes to the heritage, it is worth noting that they were aware of its inevitability, and the impact of the surrounding reality on what previous generations had left them.

References

- Burszta 1974 – Józef Burszta. *Kultura ludowa – kultura narodowa*. Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza.
- Burszta 1978 – Józef Burszta. *Folklorizm, tradycja, cywilizacja współczesna. Teoria kultury. Folklor a kultura*. Oprac. i wyb. M. Waliński. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski.
- Convention 2003 – *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* [visited 2026 03 19]. Access on internet: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>
- Gorczyca et al. 2019 – Agnieszka Gorczyca, Krzysztof Hliniak, Magdalena Malska. *Podstawa do przygotowania słownika biograficznego tańca w Krakowie i Małopolsce w okresie 1918–2018. Opisanie i upamiętnienie osób działających w Krakowie i innych ośrodkach historycznej Małopolski w okresie 1918–2018*. Kraków: Instytut Muzyki i Tańca.
- Gorczyca et al. 2020 – Agnieszka Gorczyca, Krzysztof Hliniak, Magdalena Malska, *Historia tańca w Krakowie i regionie w latach 1918–1952. Przygotowanie słownika biograficznego tańca w Krakowie i Małopolsce w okresie 1918–2018*. Kraków: Instytut Muzyki i Tańca.
- Gorczyca et al. 2021 – Agnieszka Gorczyca, Krzysztof Hliniak, Magdalena Malska. *Historia i obraz tańca w Krakowie w latach 1918–1956 w prasie Krakowskiej i ogólnopolskiej. Przygotowanie słownika biograficznego tańca w Krakowie i Małopolsce w okresie 1918–2018*. Kraków: Instytut Muzyki i Tańca.
- Hobsbawm, Ranger 2008 – Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger. *Tradycja wynaleziona*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Klekot 2014 – Ewa Klekot. Samofolkloryzacja: współczesna sztuka ludowa z perspektywy krytyki postkolonialnej. *Kultura Współczesna. Teoria, Interpretacje, Praktyka*, 1 (81).
- Konwencja UNESCO 2003 – Konwencja UNESCO w sprawie ochrony niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego, sporządzona w Paryżu dnia 17 października 2003 r. *Dz.U. (Dziennik Ustaw)*, 2011, nr. 172, poz. 1018 [visited 2026 03 19]. Access on internet: <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu20111721018>

- Kowalski 2013 – Krzysztof Kowalski. *O istocie dziedzictwa europejskiego – rozważania*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.
- Kowalski 2016 – Krzysztof Kowalski. Dziedzictwo. Produkt – Symulakrum – Konsumpcja. *Rocznik Antropologii Historii*, VI (9).
- Lange 2000 – Roderyk Lange. Znaczenie tańca we współczesnej kulturze europejskiej: przegląd ogólny (p. 103–130). In *Taniec, Choreologia, Humanistyka. Tom jubileuszowy dedykowany profesorowi Roderykowi Langemu*, red. Dariusz Kubinowski. Poznań: Rhythmos.
- Lange 2009 – Roderyk Lange. *O istocie tańca i jego przejawach w kulturze*. Poznań: Rythmos.
- Mathews 2005 – Gordon Mathews. *Supermarket kultury. Kultura globalna a tożsamość jednostki*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.
- Nowicka 2012 – Ewa Nowicka. *Świat człowieka – świat kultury*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Przynależność narodowo-etniczna 2023 – *Przynależność narodowo-etniczna, język używany w domu, przynależność do wyznania religijnego – wyniki ostateczne Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego 2021*, Tabl. 1. *Ludność według rodzaju i kolejności identyfikacji narodowo-etnicznych w 2021 r.* [visited 2026 03 19]. Access on internet: https://stat.gov.pl/download/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/6536/10/1/1/wyniki_ostateczne_nsp2021_narodowsc_jezyk_wyznanie_2023_11_29.xlsx, 2.01.2024
- Purchla 2013 – Jacek Purchla. Dziedzictwo kulturowe (p. 41–53). In *Kultura a rozwój*, red. Jerzy Hausner, Anna Karwińska, Jacek Purchla. Warszawa: Narodowy Instytut Kultury.
- Representative List 2008 – *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* [visited 2026 03 19]. Access on internet: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists>, 19.02.2024
- Ruggles, Silverman 2009 – D. Fairchild Ruggles, Helaine Silverman. From Tangible to Intangible Heritage (p. 1–14). In *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles, Helaine Silverman. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Ustawa o mniejszościach 2005 – *Ustawa z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 r. o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym*. Dz.U., 2005, nr. 17, poz. 141 [visited 2026 03 19]. Access on internet: <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu20050170141>, 7.06.2023
- Wielokulturowość Małopolski 2008 – *Wielokulturowość Małopolski*. oprac. meryt. Mirosława Kopyciańska. Kraków: Urząd Marszałkowski Województwa Małopolskiego, Departament Kultury, Dziedzictwa Narodowego i Turystyki.

Krzysztof Hliniak

KROKUVOS IR MAŽOSIOS LENKIJOS VAIVADIJOS TAUTINIS BEI ETNINIS ŠOKIO PAVELDAS IR JO MODERNUMO IŠŠŪKIAI

Santrauka

Krokuvoje ir Mažosios Lenkijos vaivadijoje gyvenančių tautinių ir etninių mažumų šokio paveldas, kaip jų nematerialiojo kultūros paveldo dalis, šiuo metu išgyvena dinamiškas transformacijas. Tradicijos ir modernumo sąlyčio taškas yra tokių procesų kaip komercializacija, folklorizavimas ir (savi-)folklorizacija vieta. Šokio paveldas ir jo perteikėjai taip pat susiduria su iššūkiais, susijusiais su pokyčiais vietinėje ir globalioje kultūros rinkoje. Demografiniai ir nacionaliniai

pokyčiai, susiję su emigracija ir imigracija regione, šiam procesui taip pat daro vis didesnę poveikį.

Šiame straipsnyje pristatoma choreografinio paveldo reikšmė tautinėms mažumoms, tokioms kaip baltarusiai, armėnai, slovakai, ukrainiečiai ir žydai, taip pat lemkų ir romų etninėms mažumoms. Taip pat aptariamas šioms mažumoms priklausančių asmenų požiūris į minėtus procesus. Su šių mažumų dalyviais buvo atlikti išsamūs interviu ir neformalus pokalbiai apie šokio paveldą ir jo reikšmę jų bendruomenėms.

Respondentų teiginiai patvirtino, kad šokio paveldas išlieka svarbia aptariamų mažumų nematerialiojo kultūros paveldo dalimi, o kai kuriems iš jų tai sudaro jų tapatybę. Daugelis šio kultūros paveldo perteikėjų pareiškė norą jį išsaugoti tokia forma, kokią gavo iš ankstesnių kartų, laikydami šią formą vienintele priimtina. Tik nedidelė dalis priėmė savo paveldo transformacijas arba norėjo jį pritaikyti šiuolaikinei epochai. Nors respondentai laikėsi konservatyvios pozicijos paveldo pokyčių atžvilgiu, jie žinojo apie jį veikiančius procesus ir su jais susijusias dilemas.

Tekste pateiktas problemas dalyviai minėjo dalyvaudami interviu, kurie buvo atlikti rengiant daktaro disertaciją Jogailaičių universiteto Lyginamųjų civilizacijos studijų katedroje, vadovaujant habil. dr. Tomaszui Nowakui (Varšuvos universiteto profesorius) ir habil. dr. Wojciechui Klimczykui (Jogailaičių universiteto profesorius). Taip pat buvo panaudoti 2019–2021 m. atlikto ekspedicinio darbo, susijusio su šokio istorijos Krokuvoje ir regione tyrimais, kurie buvo Varšuvos nacionalinio muzikos ir šokio instituto programos „Baltosios dėmės – muzika ir šokis“ dalis, rezultatai.