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## **THE SOUND OF CHANGE: Jewish music in small Polish towns**

### **Abstract**

The present convergence in Poland of three factors—a conducive geopolitical environment, increased economic resources and incentives, as well as an ideological proclivity on a national level, has opened a new space for engaging with the country's multicultural heritage. While initiatives such as the Jewish Culture Festival in Cracow began just before the demise of the communist regime in 1989, many smaller communities have only more recently started to explore the multicultural aspects of their collective past. This paper expands the discussion regarding better-known events in major urban centers (Gruber, Lehrer, Waligorska) and examines local initiatives in communities with a population of 20,000 or less that concern Jewish cultural heritage projects. It explores the socio-cultural milieu in which these activities are conceived, realized and experienced—the circumstances favorable to their development and the challenges they face. Activities may range from exhibits, the cleaning of a Jewish cemetery, to events such as concerts, festivals or Days of Judaism and / or Jewish Culture. Music performances in particular offer a non-threatening gateway into attitudes regarding the country's pre-communist past and possibility for reconfiguring prior cultural perceptions. As smaller communities tend to be more conservative politically and culturally than large cities, an appraisal of such projects illuminates how Polish society in general is coming to terms with its Jewish heritage, and ultimately the pluralistic, democratic values that are the foundation of a civil society.

Keywords: Poland, Jewish music, cultural initiatives, festivals, small towns

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### **Introduction**

In the late 1990s, a Polish journalist came to the small town of Belzec where a notorious extermination camp once existed on the outskirts, but by then existed only in memory. The Nazis had done their best to destroy all evidence of the place where about half a million people, including more than 400,000 Jews and an undetermined number of Poles and Roma were murdered between March 1942 and spring, 1943.<sup>1</sup> Today a chilling memorial, in the 1980s the killing field was a weed-covered empty expanse of land. An old woman approached the man and asked if he was Jewish. When he said yes, she went home and returned with a box of bones. She had been waiting to deliver it to the right person. A few months ago, two Israeli visitors to the town of Ostrowiec were shown the way to the Jewish cemetery by a local resident, who then told them he had tombstone fragments at his mother's house. Together they went to bring them back to the cemetery. He too, it seems, had been waiting for the right way to restore a Jewish fragment of memory to where it belonged. Such shards of Jewish memory permeate the Polish landscape. For some, they mean nothing. For others, signs that evoke "Jewishness" resonate with a symbolic power that verges on the magical, as demonstrated by popular pictures and talismans of Jewish men with coins meant to assure their owners good fortune. For still others, retrieving the Jewish part of the Polish past has become a mission necessary for making their town's history whole. This paper profiles two such local activists and projects they have initiated in their local communities to achieve this aim.<sup>2</sup>

Jewish communal life in Poland goes back more than eight hundred years. In 1939, it was the second largest Jewish community in the world, with a population of more than three million. Ninety percent of this population was killed in the Holocaust, thousands of them by Polish perpetrators. Postwar anti-Semitism, culminating in a pogrom in Kielce in 1946 led to the emigration of about 150,000 survivors. Although a small but vibrant community remained, more Jews left in the mid-Fifties. A State-sponsored anti-Semitic campaign in 1968 led to a final mass wave of emigration. After that, it was generally assumed that the long Jewish legacy in Poland had come to an end. The nail on the coffin was an official taboo concerning public expression of Jewish culture or that of other minorities in the last two decades of the communist regime, except for government sanctioned projects such as the Yiddish Theater in Warsaw or the biweekly Yiddish newspaper *Folksztyme*.

In the course of rising popular opposition to the communist regime, however, in the 1970s and early 1980s, individual Poles began to chronicle material remnants of the past, including the former Jewish community—most commonly what was left in overgrown cemeteries, and hundreds of buildings in various stages of ruin or deterioration that had been

synagogues or prayer houses before the war. These isolated memorial projects began to crack the wall of silence. Monika Krajewska's path-breaking photography album, published in 1983 was one of the first to call attention to more than a thousand neglected, damaged or destroyed Jewish cemeteries scattered throughout the country. Indeed, her publication and others were a form of resistance to communist ideological hegemony that dictated that the Jewish Holocaust be subsumed as part of the larger Polish national story and that material evidence of Jewish history was not, in general, worthy of preservation.

Since the demise of communism in 1989 and Poland's dramatic transition to political democracy, a market economy and its subsequent entry in 2004 into the European Union, the government has made it a priority to bring Jewish and other minority histories into the national fold. With the country's turn toward the West, values of multiculturalism and diversity have been integrated into cultural and educational institutions, and energetic Christian-Jewish dialog is ongoing. Although Poland today is basically ethnically and religiously homogeneous, with minorities numbering less than five percent of thirty eight and a half million, it has become a point of national pride that historically the country was one of the most multi-ethnic countries in Europe, home to sizable minorities of Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and others.<sup>3</sup> Large cities host a plethora of annual festivals that call attention to this view of the Polish past. These include the Festival of Four Cultures in Lodz, but also specifically festivals of Jewish culture, such as the Singer Festival in Warsaw, the Simcha Festival in Wroclaw, and the Jewish Cultural Festival in Cracow.

While the phenomenon of non-Jewish interest in the Jewish past in Poland has been increasingly a subject of academic interest, (Steinlauf, Gruber, Krajewski, Cherry and Orla-Bukowska), little attention has been focused on local residents of small towns and villages throughout the country who have also initiated or encouraged projects that memorialize their former Jewish communities. This is not to say that there is no documentation of activities with these populations. NGOs, cultural and educational institutions, and private initiatives including the Museum of the History of Polish Jews and Galicia Museum conduct educational programs throughout the year for thousands of teachers and students. These programs, supported by government funding, as well as foreign private foundations, are evaluated on a regular basis. An annual festival in Chmielnik (pop. 4000) has also received international publicity. Such events in small towns however have not been the object of much academic reflection, nor have more culturally-oriented projects. This paper is an attempt to fill in this gap, expanding recent publications concerned with cultural manifestations of Jewishness in contemporary Poland, (Waligorska, Lehrer). I emphasize the performing arts, especially music, as a primary means of relating ideas and feelings concerning the Polish past, with implications for future local and national priorities. Music performances in particular make Jewish culture publicly visible. In addition to concerts, singing, dancing, and instrumental workshops also offer a non-threatening entry into this world, as well as an embodied way of engaging with the historical Otherness it represents in Polish society. Further, music performance considered Jewish by presenters and audience may facilitate subsequent incorporation of minority group history into a community's collective narrative. An analysis over time of such events, finally, may indicate attitudes towards what is considered socially acceptable, desirable, or even ultimately representative of contemporary Polish society.

My focus on smaller communities compliments a growing awareness by cultural organizations in Poland of the need for increased outreach to these populations. This summer, the Galicia Jewish Museum in Krakow will launch its first program aimed at providing small town local officials and teachers with information, resources and contacts to initiate their own programs for memorializing the Jewish aspects of their communal histories. The new Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw will also sponsor a mobile museum that will tour small towns with artifacts connected to these communities, and other resources. I am particularly interested in towns of twenty thousand or less which had significant prewar Jewish populations. According to the Polish National Election Commission, most such towns are in the eastern part of the country and voted for the more conservative PiS party (Law and Justice) in the last 2010 presidential election over its principal political rival, PO (Civic Platform).<sup>4</sup> More than fifty percent of the Polish population lives in such municipalities or rural areas, according to 2011 data from the Central Statistics Office (GUS).<sup>5</sup> Although local issues usually take precedence over national political differences in small communities, I propose that these statistics validate the perception of the two informants interviewed for this paper, that political and social conservatism characterize their towns. This presentation examines cultural initiatives that highlight Jewish music that have taken place for at least five years in two localities that fit this profile. Szczekociny (pop. 3800), in the northeast part of Silesian Province was more than 45% Jewish before the war.<sup>6</sup> The neighboring town Lelów (pop. 2000) included an important Hassidic community.<sup>7</sup> Rymanów, (pop. 3500), located in the former area of Galicia, now in the Subcarpathian province was also almost half Jewish, including 80% of the town's tradespeople.<sup>8</sup>

Understanding how musical performances may impact the collective memory of a community and the perception of its history transcends clearly defined academic boundaries. This project, consequently, is purposefully interdisciplinary, incorporating critical theory considered part of the field of cultural studies, as well as ethnomusicology and performance studies. As the efficacy of performing arts depends on the quality of relationships among artists, between artists and

presenters, presenters and the community, and above all between artists and audience, social theory that emphasizes the significance of networks of relations to create social meaning are the most relevant to my project. Actor Network Theory, developed by Bruno Latour, among others is useful in this regard. This approach assumes that networks of relationships construct structures of social meaning. Their formation, evolution and dissolution is a dynamic, evolving process, best understood through close description of social interactions. This methodology, rooted in grounded theory that I find to be complimentary to ANT emphasizes participant-observer interaction and draws on anthropological and ethnomusicological frames of reference. Qualitative research through interviews with presenters, artists, volunteers, officials and audience members provides a general picture of the motivation, organization, support and challenges concerning these events. These interviews are then discussed and reviewed with the informants. As a presenter myself of a Jewish music festival in the U.S., I am an insider. I am an outsider, however, in terms of language and background and rely on translators when necessary. Interactions with presenters are more conversations between colleagues than formal interviews.

To date, I have found that a convergence of factors has made Poland today a particularly rich and conducive environment for the efficacy of individual cultural entrepreneurship at the grassroots level. In the post-communist market economy, cultural heritage is often considered a crucial element of local development.<sup>9</sup> Domestic and international resources, including EU funds, exist. Whether local communities include Jewish sites such as former synagogues and/or cemeteries as part of this heritage, however, varies. Some cultural initiatives, performances and/or collateral activities such as festival vendors may reinforce stereotypes. Certain residents may oppose efforts to gather oral history testimonies that are sometimes part of Jewish cultural events. Hostility to events might be expressed through social media. But there are others who do feel a moral imperative to restore the memory of the Jewish communities in their towns. The long-term commitment of a single teacher in one, and the work of two brothers with family roots in another have yielded tangible effects over time.

These initiatives include music performances and participatory activities, such as dance workshops, or singing. Each event also has an international dimension. In both examples, relations with Jewish survivors and their descendants who now live in Israel or other countries have been integral to the projects. I suggest that introduction of this foreign aspect reinforces the historic association in Poland between Jewish culture and Otherness that may be perceived as “exotic,” or alternatively, as suspiciously alien, although the latter is not generally expressed publicly. It is interesting to note a generational aspect as well. The two festival presenters profiled here both came of age in the first years after the transition in 1989; their involvement was spurred by stories conveyed through family networks, and/or relations with material remnants. As I am now in the process of dissertation research, my conclusions at this point are tentative. But I believe my observations to date can contribute to the understanding of how cultural projects in general, and music performance in particular, can stimulate local communities to open pages to difficult history and engage with it in a more reflective way.

## **Szczekociny - Lelów**

Located among scenic rolling hills about sixty kilometers south of the city of Czestochowa, Szczekociny is a small town mentioned first in the fourteenth century. Most of its four thousand residents have roots that go back in the community for generations. Today, many still work in agriculture or have small stores or businesses. Until World War II, the town was approximately half Jewish, with the Jews living mainly in the town center that the Germans bombed early in the occupation. A hundred or so Jews escaped just before to the East, and most of them survived. The rest either stayed or escaped to the local forests and nearby towns. In 1942, the Germans established a ghetto and in September of that year, the Jews were deported to Treblinka. Today, only a few current residents remember the time before the war. Sixteen kilometers away is the smaller town of Lelów, where Mirosław S., a teacher in the regional high school, lives with his family. For the last six years, he has organized an annual Jewish cultural festival in Szczekociny that takes place in July. In Lelów, his sister Ewa, director of the local cultural center, organizes the much larger annual August weekend Ciulim-Czolent, a festival that includes Jewish culture, as well as dozens of vendors, several of whom sell the pictures and figurines of Jewish men with coins, mentioned above. My interview with Mirosław was conducted via Ewa's son, who acted as translator. Mirosław explains that the two festivals are totally separate. From his perspective, Szczekociny focuses on the survivors and the importance of remembering. Lelów, a town that regularly attracts Hassidic pilgrimages, he describes as a meeting of two cultures.

When Mirosław began teaching Polish language and literature in 1991, the Jewish aspect of the Szczekociny past was not spoken about. Today, public items of Jewish history are a book he co-wrote a few years ago with a professor at Jagiellonian University, located in the town and school libraries, and a modest monument put up in the former cemetery during the 2013 Festival. The former synagogue next to it today includes a privately owned restaurant and cosmetics store; a few tombstone fragments are also in private hands. Although the town has no museum, there is a cultural center that contributes financially to the event.

Mirosław himself grew up knowing that Jews used to live in the area. As a boy he had been curious about the Christmas card that used to come annually to his family from Warsaw. Mirosław's grandfather had sheltered the Jewish man who sent it for a short time during the war. Originally from Lelów, he had returned immediately after the war, but escaped again thanks to his grandfather, after local Poles wanted to kill him. As a university student, Mirosław took an interest in Polish Jewish history and culture. When he decided to settle in his hometown and work as a teacher, he felt a responsibility to keep the memory of the former Jewish community alive. From the first year, his personal interest amplified lesson content concerning Jewish subjects included in the new post-communist official curriculum. The impetus for a festival came after a Jewish survivor and his family first visited Szczekociny about ten years ago from the U.S and Israel. Public toilets and a private house at that time stood where the Jewish cemetery had been but a campaign by the visitors and other former Jewish residents led to the removal of the toilets.

Titled "Yahad-Razem" ("Together," in Hebrew and Polish), the Festival began in July 2008 as a result of a conversation between Mirosław, another teacher acting as translator, and the Israeli son of the survivor who now heads the Israeli organization of Szczekociny Jews. Music has been an essential aspect from the inception. He says it is the best way to attract local people. Jewish music is close to Polish music, he says, so it is a way to connect the two groups.

As the town's largest cultural event, it has drawn some criticism that it celebrates Jewish rather than Polish culture. Opponents tend to express this sentiment privately, not publicly, as there is a sense that such opinions are not socially acceptable. Several hostile comments on a regional newspaper website after last year's festival, however, targeted Mirosław specifically. He does not take them seriously. In general, he says that residents have become more knowledgeable and open to Jewish culture. A Festival volunteer disagrees, and says that her impression is that the openness is more among young people. In a subsequent conversation, he agreed with that assessment. His nephew, aged twenty, adds that for them, the festival is also an opportunity to meet foreigners and speak English, a language taught from primary school with little emphasis on conversation.

Event funding in the past was two-thirds private Jewish sources from abroad; and one-third the local municipality. Last year, the EU contributed 70 - 80% and the municipality (including the cultural center), 20 - 30%. While the mayor supports the festival, he has to be careful about giving "too much" to avoid criticism. The school headmaster, along with Mirosław, wrote most of the EU grant last year that included funding for the festival. The annual gathering consists of a memorial ceremony on the grounds of the former Jewish cemetery, a participatory activity such as paper rubbing on the few Jewish tombstone fragments that have survived, publication of a book, and a concert dedicated to survivors who have died during the past year. This takes place at the school where Mirosław works. Last year five to eight hundred people attended, mostly local residents, along with two survivors, and twenty descendants of former Jewish residents who now live in Israel, the U.S., Great Britain and Austria.

In terms of the actual music, artists included the Klezmer Divas from Australia and Cantor Shmuel Barzilai from Vienna. Both came to him through informal social networks – the Divas from an acquaintance organizing the band's tour; the latter a referral from the municipality after the cantor contacted them for information about Lelów. Polish groups such as the Chmielnikers and the nationally known Kroke ensemble have also performed. Mirosław tries to choose bands that play at a "high level." He has his own preferences but feels that he has to appeal to popular taste. His approach is to raise the level every year, presenting some music that may be more difficult, such as jazz or modern genres along with more traditional styles and vocalists. Music should be living – something new and different; so variety is important. This includes bands from abroad, but they are expensive. This is the only time in the year when international artists perform in the town. While the emphasis is on Jewish music, musicians who are Jewish add authenticity.

The most recent Festival brochure included articles on the history of Jewish music in Poland, and on cantorial music. Indeed, as a teacher, Mirosław is particularly sensitive to the need for educational materials and sharing of information. In addition to the festival, he, another teacher and the head of the Israeli association of Jews from the town have facilitated meetings between hundreds of Israeli and Polish students in Szczekociny since 2008. Every year since 1991, he has organized field trips to various sites of Jewish significance, ranging from the historic Jewish quarter in Krakow to Treblinka. He has also had students research their own local histories, including Jewish history, and then had them act as guides to their hometowns and villages around the region. He is particularly proud that three of his former students are now in graduate programs in Jewish studies. In June 2010, he accompanied one of them to Israel when she won a national contest on Jewish history sponsored by the Warsaw-based Shalom Foundation. Why does Mirosław organize the festival? "I do it to make the survivors happy. I want to show them that they can say they are home once again. I also want to teach students tolerance, that they should be open to other faiths. Lelów and Szczekociny won't have a complete identity if they don't remember the Jews." As a result of the festival, the townspeople realize that Jews were once residents as well. Now, "both Jews and Poles say it is my Szczekociny." In early March 2014, Mirosław's work received broader attention when he was awarded a Stanisław Musiał Prize for social initiatives towards Polish-Jewish / Christian-Jewish dialog. He has also

received an award granted by the Israeli ambassador and Ministry of Culture entitled “Preserving Memory,” for his work facilitating meetings with Polish and Israeli students.

## Rymanów

Located in the southeast corner of Poland, Rymanów is close in size to Szczekociny, with almost four thousand residents, who similarly are engaged in farming and small businesses. Some commute to a nearby town for work. Before World War II, it was almost half Jewish. Although Michal L. a successful businessman in his forties lives near the city of Katowice, he spent his childhood summers in his father’s hometown, surrounded by three aunts and their families. When he was twelve or thirteen, he asked about the dramatic stone ruins of a centuries-old synagogue that had a tree growing in the roofless interior. His father told him that everyone who had once prayed there had been killed during the war. An older aunt remembered Jews as a different, strange nation living together with Poles. They were people with their own customs, who smelled of onion and garlic, which she knew they ate for health reasons. But as Michal relayed in the interview, it wasn’t said in a friendly way. Nevertheless, Jews and Poles lived in peace in Rymanów. Those who encouraged a boycott of the Jewish bakery in the Thirties came from the nearby city of Rzeszow, he was told. A Jewish survivor who visited in 2008 said he remembered a good life before the war. Michal thought he was being polite, but subsequently found the survivor’s 1990 interview for the Spielberg archive saying the same thing.

As Michal got older, the questions grew more insistent. Why didn’t residents want to talk about the Jews? Did they do something wrong? One answer he found was that the Germans either killed the local elite or forced them to be quiet. There were no role models. Why was there nothing to mark Jewish memory? Why didn’t the town rebuild the synagogue? It wasn’t theirs. Jews, he said, were not treated as members of the nation. Michal’s questions to me were conveyed with the emotional intensity of someone still wrestling to understand the incomprehensible. By the late Eighties, Michal was at university, where he discovered books by the journalist Hannah Krall who was asking, “why are we walking on the ashes of people and not crying?” In Krakow during the filming of *Schindler’s List*, he also attended an early edition of the Festival of Jewish Culture. For ten years he and his brother thought about how to commemorate the Jews of Rymanów.

After the synagogue began to be renovated in 2005 with the support of the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland, they felt it was time to act. Their first idea was a concert. Why? “When you think about Jewish culture,” he said, “you think about music.” He was also influenced by the success of the Cracow festival. From the March of the Living, they got the idea of a walk from the town center to the train station site five kilometers away on the anniversary of the deportation in mid-August. What they needed was people. They knew that some Jews from Rymanów had fled to the East during the war, so they began to research online and found a website where, indeed, descendants of Jewish survivors were in contact. When sixteen people visited in 2006, Michal helped to organize their trip. For the first time he met Jews, people he had been reading about for fifteen years. He and his brother were subsequently invited to Israel, to stay with the organizer of the Rymanów Jewish descendants group. Together they planned for an official event.

Due to the brothers’ extensive public relations efforts, more than two hundred residents from Rymanów and around the region joined thirty visitors mostly from Israel and the U.S. for that first memorial walk in August, 2008, part of the first edition of Days of Memory (*Dni Pamięci o Żydowskiej Społeczności Rymanowa*.) Earlier in the day, the local priest had participated in a common prayer service at the Jewish cemetery. A Rymanów schoolgirl played the Polish national anthem on the violin. The Israeli organizer played the Israeli anthem. A reading in Hebrew, English and Polish of poetry written by survivors brought the Polish and Jewish audience to tears. The subsequent walk to the deportation site, Michal said, was the funeral of Rymanów’s deported Jewish community, after sixty-six years. Special guests included representatives of the American, Hungarian and Israeli embassies in addition to local, regional and national officials. The event’s overall effect he described as cathartic.

Michal considers that the music presented at the Festival is as important as the commemorative march. “It means emotions, he explains, “and we need emotions.” By the next year, an Israeli survivor from Rymanów, Moshe Bart, said he remembered how they used to sing in the synagogue before the war and that he could do it again. More than two hundred people packed into the partly renovated historic space to hear the music and enter a site that had been in their midst all their lives. In 2011, again hundreds of people attended the event that this time included a mock Jewish wedding. The bride and groom were two young residents from the area. The Rzeszow Klezmer Band accompanied Olga Mieszczuk, a Polish Yiddish singer and Mandy Cahan, an Israeli singer in Hassidic garb, as the audience lined up for free shots of vodka, challah and cholent, a traditional Jewish stew.

After the fifth year, some residents complained that it was too much, and that Polish heroes should be the ones commemorated, although the event has honored three people from Rymanów killed during the war for helping Jews. Other people have told him how good it is that this event takes place. The city contributes the stage, sound equipment and

technicians, as well as a bus to bring people back to town after the commemorative march to the train station. In Michal's opinion, about ten percent of the local population actively supports the Days of Remembrance, about ten percent oppose the event, and most of the community is indifferent. He says that you won't destroy the Jewish stereotype that exists in Poland in a hundred years, but he sees hope in new people settling in Rymanów and in young people. This is the audience he wants to attract in future years with more sophisticated content. For next year, he is thinking of inviting again Raphael Roginski, a Polish Jewish musician who combines elements of blues, free jazz, swing, rock and Jewish music in original compositions and who believes the public should have a choice between folklore and the living style of Jewish music in Poland, as it might still exist if not for the war. "We have to have more Roginskis and less weddings," says Michal.

## Conclusion

This profile of Jewish culture festivals in two small Polish towns suggests preliminary conclusions to be explored in further dissertation research. For the present, a comparison between the experiences of festival presenters in Szczekociny (approx. pop. 4000) and Rymanów, with a similar population, yields intriguing commonalities concerning the relation of such events to the recovery of minority history. Within living memory, the Nazis murdered almost half the pre-war populations in each town. Jews had lived in these communities for generations, but their collective disappearance was unacknowledged in the public sphere. Both in their mid-forties, Michal L. and Mirosław S. came of age at the beginning of Poland's political and economic transformation. They had been introduced to this traumatic aspect of the national past as children through information told to them by their families. They eventually came to feel a moral imperative to restore the public memory of the Jewish communities in these towns. Coincidentally, in 2008, both launched cultural initiatives in cooperation with Jewish survivors and their descendants who began to visit in the early 2000s. The "Yahad-Razem" Jewish Cultural Festival in Szczekociny, and the Days of Memory of the Rymanów Jewish community have since become annual events attracting hundreds of local residents. There is some opposition, which in general, is expressed privately. Other major community institutions are supportive, such as the rector of the parish in Rymanów who directly participates in the memorial ceremony. While the rector in Szczekociny does not, the high school there provides the space.

Music performances have been essential to both events since their inception. For Mirosław, they attract the audience. They also serve to connect local residents with the visiting Jewish survivors and their families, as Jewish and Polish music are "close." While his emphasis is on the music rather than the players, Jewish performers add authenticity. For Michal, too, music epitomizes Jewish culture. It also stimulates emotion, vital to the event. Further, site-specific performances on the former synagogue grounds, such as the mock wedding, or the remembered melodies of a survivor sung inside the sanctuary, have brought hundreds of local residents to a space formerly unacknowledged in the community. Finally, while organizers in Szczekociny and Rymanów present music they consider traditionally Jewish, both also view contemporary genres including jazz and original composition as a way to incorporate the memory of local Jewish past into the future life of these small Polish towns. For them, Jewish music, indeed, represents the sound of change.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005191>, accessed 3-13-14

<sup>2</sup> This paper is based on initial ethnographic interviews with activists in two communities. More extensive fieldwork in additional towns will take place in spring and summer, 2014

<sup>3</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/culture/archive/dialogue/pdf\\_word/strategy\\_poland.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/culture/archive/dialogue/pdf_word/strategy_poland.pdf), accessed 3-14-14

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbr/gus/SY\\_concise\\_statistical\\_yearbook\\_of\\_poland\\_2013.pdf](http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbr/gus/SY_concise_statistical_yearbook_of_poland_2013.pdf), p. 125, accessed 3-15-14

<sup>5</sup> [http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbr/gus/SY\\_concise\\_statistical\\_yearbook\\_of\\_poland\\_2013.pdf](http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbr/gus/SY_concise_statistical_yearbook_of_poland_2013.pdf), p. 128, accessed 3-9-14

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/szczekociny/5.history/>, accessed 3-9-14

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/lelow/6.demography/>, accessed 3-9-14

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/rymanow/5.history/?action=view&page=1>, accessed 3-8-14

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Monika Murzyn-Kupisz, "Using heritage as a vehicle for local development - The perspective of Niepołomice, a little town in Southern Poland", *arcade.acted.org*, 2009, p.1, accessed 3-10-14