



Church of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Biały Bór, Poland. 1992–1997.

Collective actions for reconfiguration of urban space Biały Bór, Poland

Sergiy Ilchenko

Department of Architecture, the Kharkiv State Academy of Design and Fine Arts, Ukraine.
Email: ilchenkosergyi@gmail.com

Abstract: Biały Bór is located in the former German territories that came to Poland after the Second World War. The almost complete replacement of the indigenous German and Jewish populations, initially by Polish and soon Ukrainian communities, was the result of the displacement of state borders by the eviction and relocation of millions of people. To do this, the authorities used certain strategies, which brought different approaches and constraints to local communities and urban spaces. The article considers the differences between the declared principles and the actual actions of the authorities in the context of “small stories” of all actors (national communities), as well as the tactics of indirect resistance of the local community to government pressure. Due to the remoteness of the place from the state center and due to its unanimity, the local community becomes the driving force of the spatial development of the city. And since the city is multicultural, the development of public spaces is influenced by the competitiveness (not confrontation) of two local communities. Therefore, the creation of public spaces is considered in the context of the rights of different groups to the city. This paper argues the conditions under which it is the collective actions of local communities that determine the change in the configuration of urban space.

Keywords: Urban environment; Public spaces; Urban communing; Collective action; Power strategies; Production of space.

Introduction

I started this research in 2019, when I came across a report about a recently developed building included in the register of architectural monuments of the West Pomeranian Voivodeship of Poland. The Greek Catholic Church of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Biały Bór was consecrated in 1997 and was recognized as an architectural monument only twenty-five years later. This fact is of dual interest. First, it somewhat undermines Ricardo Campo's (2016: 59) view that historical (institutionalized) heritage is shaped by the collective values of purely dominant groups. After all, it is difficult to attribute the Greek Catholic Church of the ethnic minority of Biały Bór to the common values of the Catholic (community) of Poland. Secondly, the recognition of a building of the modern period as a monument somehow does not fit into the temporal logic of preservation of historical objects, inherent in monument protection activities. These circumstances prompted to take up this case. And field observations and interviews with city residents and visitors deepened and adjusted the study. If at first I planned to investigate how indigenous Ukrainians from southern Poland transferred their culture to Pomerania, then after interviews with them, in particular with pilgrims who traditionally came from different parts of the region for a temple holiday to Biały Bór, the direction of the search changed. Semi-structured interviews with believers encouraged to dig into a deeper history. According to the conversations, the place chosen for the church was not accidental and was connected, apparently, with the actions of the settlers, who built the first, temporary church here in 1957. From the "small stories" of families broken down during the Vistula campaign, it became clear how deported Ukrainians were resettled in Pomerania, as well as how people define their nationality differently. It is also noteworthy that the analysis of local history at the end of the study did not reveal significant discrepancies with in situ observations.

An important conclusion of the field study was that the local space, using Lefebvre's concept, is "produced" by a non-class (in the neo-Marxist sense) community. This, in turn, resulted in the hypothesis of a large-scale community of the place - that is, the existence of a supra-local community of Ukrainians from Pomerania and the diaspora along with the local community - the "neighborhood" of Biały Bór - all those who feel responsible for this place. The assumption of a larger community involved in the transformation of the place helped to understand the coincidences with the spatial practices of the Polish community better. Indirect opposition to the authorities in the process of reconfiguration of urban space was also similar. In this article we will consider the manifestations of power influence on the local community (and

the actions of the government in relation to the urban space) and the joint action of migrants in response. The generalization of "migrants" or "displaced persons" also applies to Poles (part of the Polish community) who found themselves here against their will. Analysis of the transformations of the urban environment of Biały Bór is impossible Beyond the historical context and appeal to the opposition power/society.

1. Theoretical and conceptual framework

The creation of urban space (or its erasure) is an action determined by a specific driving force. Henri Lefebvre (1991) and Michel de Certeau (1998) think differently about it as the influence of power on the urban environment: the former reflects on the field of driving forces that "produce" space, the latter focuses on the opposition tactics of the citizens. That is despite different research tasks, where Certeau and Lefebvre recognize that urban space is created either by the state (de Certeau) or by the bureaucracy (Lefebvre). In both cases, the created space is attributed universality and anonymity. One way or another, the authors consider the role of the state to be dominant in the "production" of space. Attention to power is understandable, but philosophical approaches do not cover all the interaction of agents of such production. At first glance, the coherent system of "state/bureaucracy - local community", where some dominantly "produce" space and others "consume" (or interpret) it, is somewhat simplified. This opposition is enough to identify the forces influencing the formation and subsequent changes in urban space, but it is not enough to take into account all the real factors. There are circumstances, such as remoteness from the state apparatus or the weakness of the local administration, when space begins to be "produced" by non-state forces. Turning to Lefebvre's essay (1996) "The Right to the City", David Harvey (2012) identifies not only the class (proletariat) but also all local residents as a new driving force of change in urban space, and Pascal Gielen (2015) perceives opposition tactics of citizens (according to de Certeau) as a kind of resource for urban development and interaction. It is the joint actions of citizens that come to the fore, and the right to the city is conceived as a common and inclusive right for all who live its daily life (Harvey 2012). The urban community, like the government, determines the transformations of urban space. This other driving force, according to Quintin Bradley (2017), causes "public mobilization to plan protests, but more importantly, focuses on the practical planning of a community that relies on its place in its evidence and goals." (ibid.:21). When joint actions on urban space get to be a practice of solidarity, they "become an important "laboratory" for the shaping of an excellent public

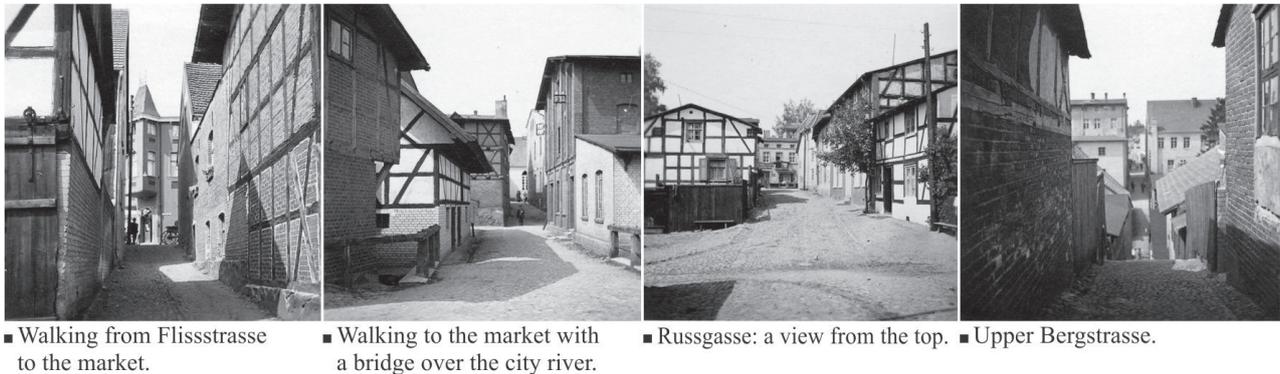


Figure 1 | Archive photos of the city of Baldenburg taken in 1935 by a member of the Bess family (<https://hoelkewiese.de/Nachbarorte/Baldenburg.html>)

sphere” (Vaiou & Kalandides 2016:461). Solidarity practices aim to recreate things that are important to the local community as opposed to the abstract space of power. Collective actions often result in conflicting relations with institutions of different scales (municipal, regional, state), because “in many cases the latter are hard to put to come to terms with “unauthorized” actors and noncodified practices.” (ibid. 2016:469) But it is the cooperation of citizens in relation to public spaces that reveals “the practices of urban commoning, including the forms of “ownership”, production and “governance” which materialize in everyday spaces of urban commoning” (Bresnihan & Byrne 2015:36) Most of these practices are a purposeful response to the limitations of different dimensions of socio-cultural life (ibid. 2015:40) (in our case - the restriction of religious practice).

However, the joint actions of the citizens are not limited to resistance to the imposed restrictions. A separate area of low influence is related to the development-domestication of public space (Koch & Latham 2013), in particular to accommodation, i.e. the process of “adapting or adjusting to others in order to get on with living” (ibid. 2013:17). Everyday practices of spatial development, as a rule, go beyond academic urban criticism, mostly focused on the influence of government and supranational institutions on urban space (Zukin 2009). In our case, it is important to understand how abstract spatial policy changes under the influence of urban everyday life and what is the nature of the relationship of groups that share one space (Koch & Latham, 2013). And contemplating the specific impact of the Polish and Ukrainian communities on the Biały Bór area, we also ask the clarifying question: “How exactly does the nature of the replaced (non-indigenous) community affect the urban environment?”, therefore, the

transformation of the city should be considered in the context of different cultures and everyday tactics of this multinational local community.

The study covers the period from 1945 (“erasure” of the city of Baldenburg) to the present. The assumption of the interaction of urban space and the local community logically leads to the consideration of urban change in the context of local community development. The study is therefore divided into several stages related to structural changes in the group identity of the community. According to Berger and Luckmann (1991), identity is formed by social processes, but it is not an immutable structure and is in a continuous process of reproduction.

2. Historical context

2.1 Starting situation (Baldenburg’s “erasure”)

What was the pre-war development of the West Prussian city of Baldenburg, can be seen from archival photographs of the Bess family, taken during a visit to their hometown in 1935. On them, in addition to the usual motives at that time - churches, estates and taverns, is depicted a fairly dense urban environment of a traditional German town. (Fig. 1) The buildings of the city center are two- or three-storey (partly half-timbered), narrow cobbled streets mostly with sidewalks (with stairs on the terrain), there is an electric network and water supply. In addition to the Evangelical Church and the Catholic Church, the city has a small synagogue (the Jewish community was destroyed during the Holocaust in 1938 (Ottenheimer 1941)).



■ March 15, 1945. Soviet Army in Biały Bór



■ 1939, Evangelical Church.

Figure 2 | Baldenburg Evangelical Church (archive photos). https://fotopolska.eu/zdjecia/m36957,Bialy_Bor.html?zakres=5&podzakres=1&zdjeciaOd=1945&zdjeciaDo=1945&sortuj=dataWykonania&f=889820-foto.

The city center had a typical structure (according to Chelm law) (lokowanych na prawie chełmińskim): a rectangular market square and the correct planning grid of streets. Suburban development is developed along the main roads. Between the city center in the north-west and the railway station in the south-east there is an area of interwar manor buildings with a three-storey school located opposite. By 1939, Baldenburg had a population of 2,292 (mostly Germans, but also a few Poles and Kashubians).

According to the official website of the city and commune of Biały Bór, the city, which until recently was an important point of defense of Germany, was returned¹ on February 26, 1945. (in the English version of the material it was reintegrated²). Local citizens, leaving the city at night, do not mention serious damage or fires³. Nevertheless, returning to the city in June, they found it destroyed⁴. The situation is somewhat clarified by the only archival photo of that time from March 15 (Fig. 2) with a burning church in the background. At that time, the city was controlled by the Soviet military for the second week, and it was virtually out of military actions.

Apparently, the main actions to “erase” the center of Baldenburg took place from early March to late May - when the city was under the rule of the Soviet military administration (actually the Polish administration appears only in June)⁵. There are memories of local residents (suburban village Landeck) about the “erasure”, the devastation of the city (German) cemetery by the Red Army, and then by looters⁶. In general, such actions are one of the systematic destruction of material traces of the German presence in the annexed territories - in particular, inscriptions, monuments and cemeteries (Thum 2011).

Their purposeful nature is proved by the selectivity of the destruction. The suburbs near the train station, the school and the city court (which the new residents later adapted for primary school), the cathedral that used to be a block from the church, as well as an apartment building (2 Shchecinska Street) with the built-in two-section bunker⁷ (as well as most of the defensive fortifications), remained surprisingly intact, but the entire historic part of the city faded away. Therefore, it is noticeable that to the destruction of all reminders of “bad history” (according to Maria Lewicka, 2008) might be added the conscious articulation of the thesis about “fierce combat actions” in the story of the city’s disappearance. One way or another, the new Polish administration found in 1945 a devastated city with missing businesses⁸ due to the destructive attitude of Soviet troops to the German presence. Such actions of “mnemonic decapitation” (according to Zerubavel 1997:85) created a clear field for the construction of new social identities by post-war communist states (Lewicka, 2008:214). Selection and erasure of “urban memory”⁹ were the tools of power strategies aimed at frank (inherent in totalitarian regimes) modification of collective memories, where there was no place for former residents. We have no confirmation of official information that the German community left the city during the combat actions. The process of “cleansing” from the indigenous German population of the territories (re-integrated into Poland by the resolution of the Potsdam Conference of August 2, 1945) began after the combat actions in May 1945¹⁰ (10) and lasted till the end of 1947 (ibid. 2011:323). Thus, the destruction of the city center and the “expulsion” of its inhabitants took place after the combat actions and were mostly associated with the change of borders and the actions of the then authorities. Reconstruction of the urban space as of 1947 (with the placing on the modern



Figure 3 | Reconstruction of the state of urban development dated from 1947 (obtained by comparing the archive map dated from 1936 with modern geodata for Biały Bór <https://polska.e-mapa.net/>).

cadastral plan the Baldenburg topographic map of 1936) allows to see the state of urban development at that time (Fig. 3). The changes took place within the framework of the propaganda program “Returned Lands” (Ziemia Odzyskana), which, in fact, represented a state strategy to legitimize the new territorial division (Górny 2004:125).

2.2 Formation of a new local community

The formation of new local communities (with the “expulsion” of Germans) consisted of several stages and was associated with groups of people who inhabited these lands. The settlement of the region took place in waves. In the study, we specifically distinguish the second and fourth waves as those that occurred by forced displacement. In fact, both groups included citizens from the lands of the former Polish Republic which stayed in the Soviet Union by military division and who were forcibly displaced (at that time by a state with limited sovereignty)^{11,12} (11; 12). That is why these groups, both Poles (Wylegała 2009:59-64; Kledzik et al. 2018:336) and Ukrainians (Kosiek 2017:69-70), in their memoirs show empathy for the indigenous German population, also considering them as victims. However¹³, this perception was not typical of immigrants from central Poland, who (from the memories of indigenous people perceived the Germans more as free labour¹⁴. However, a common feature that united all

groups of settlers, according to Maria Lewicka (2008:209), was a common sense of an uncertain future and it seems to be what most influenced the long and controversial formation of the new local community. In this context, the common name of the region - “Polish Wild West”, which was understandably useless for the communist government (Halicka 2015), seems noticeable. However, in contrast to the official myth of “Returned Lands” this name eloquently conveys the real circumstances of the post-war period, reflecting, on the one hand, the chaos and “law of the stronger” that prevailed in the Western and Northern territories, and on the other - the opportunity to create something new from scratch (ibid. :10-11). So, at the initial stage we have a trilingual (Polish, German and later Ukrainian) multi-ethnic community, from which neighbourhood is formed. Further consideration of joint actions (from the spatial reconstruction of Biały Bór) of the Polish and Ukrainian communities is hardly possible without considering how these communities balanced between the ideas of sameness and difference (Pasięka 2015:60) and without considering their ethnic “religious culture” (Zowczak 2019) and the importance of local priests as leaders of ethnic communities (Verdery 1985).

The authorities’ strategies for urban space with the erasure of “urban memory” coincide with the processes of assimilation of national minorities by the post-war regime - what Timothy Snyder (2003) described as a solution to the Ukrainian question in post-war Poland. The Vistula Military Operation itself (if we do not delve into the definition - some Polish historians consider it ethnic cleansing (Motyka 2006), others - a crime of the totalitarian regime (Partacz 2004)) in this study can be interpreted as a social strategy with a specific purpose and tools. If the aim of the action was to erase the national identity and “reformat” the people to the demands of a unitary state, it seems to have been achieved. During this operation, 140,000 Ukrainians were forcibly relocated, but according to the last census in 2002 (MWW PG, 2002), only 27,000 Polish citizens identify themselves as Ukrainians.

Any social strategy uses several tools. According to Berger and Luckmann (1991), subjective reality is never completely socialized and therefore cannot be completely transformed due to radical social processes. However, there may be changes in subjective reality, which lead to a rethinking of previous social experience, and government strategies aimed at redefining the Ukrainian minority. On the other hand, pressure from the authorities results in the consolidation of repressed events (Pennebaker & Banasik 1997), and the opposite effect occurs. In addition, social experiments always deal with unforeseen circumstances. Thus, shortly after the deportations began, it became clear that the displaced population could not be resettled in accordance with

the requirements of the Ministry of Returned Territories of Poland (PM MZO 1947). Therefore, local authorities began to violate these requirements. In 1950, the town of Biały Bór had 775 inhabitants, and it was one of the few places in Pomerania where deported Ukrainians settled in without separating their families¹⁵.

2.3 Self-preservation of ethnic communities and building a “neighborhood”

Having defined Operation Vistula here as a social strategy, we cannot but refer to the social tactics analysed by Michel de Certeau (1998), who linked the notion of “strategy” with power structures (our case) and “tactics” with the creation of free personality space. No governing body has absolute control. Not surprisingly, the Ukrainian community has preserved family ties, traditions, and its “significant others” (Berger & Luckmann 1991). However, at first such actions caused dissatisfaction¹⁶ of Polish community, which distrusted the new residents. The reason for this was not only the direct experience of the war (when some Poles witnessed or participated in Polish-Ukrainian ethnic conflicts), but also the stereotype of Ukrainian robbers formed by official propaganda (Hałagida 2003:139). From the memoirs of immigrants from the south of Poland, who, in addition to the general category of “Polish”, also distinguished Kashubians¹⁷, appears an image of two groups that first maintained a mutual distance, which began to weaken in the late 1950s (Kosiek 2017:66).

“Our imagination is built by childhood, the memory of the first colours, smells, sounds, the code of first emotions written in the heart. “Getting into the roots” must not mean a percentage calculation of the origin, but a reproduction of the world of images that surround and create a person from birth” (Czerni 2011:17) — This quote by Krystyna Czerni from her biography of one of the authors of the Church of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Yurii Novosilskyi, quite accurately reveals the history of the Ukrainians of Biały Bór. After the resettlement here, Greek Catholics did not have a real opportunity to create their own parish. During this period, the Ukrainian community retains its traditional identity. The decade from 1947 to 1957 can be considered a period of self-preservation of ethnic identity, which in itself is resistant to change and based on language, religion and tradition (according to Anthony Smith 1991).

In relations with their neighbours, from the beginning the Ukrainians chose tactics that exclude conflicts, tactics of refusing to compete with the Polish community for places and buildings in the city. The Ukrainians are

mastering the space mainly at the expense of unoccupied territory. In three weeks, they repaired the ruined German chapel with their own hands, and on November 10, 1957, the new church was blessed with the participation of more than five hundred parishioners. The church was consecrated in the name of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary and became the first Greek Catholic church in Pomerania.

At that time, the cultural landscape of the city did not change considerably. The city was left almost deserted, and it is difficult to call that period “a time of development”. The perception of the new place was influenced by a sense of uncertainty, as all groups of migrants initially considered their stay here temporary. Nevertheless, Monika Jania-Szczechowiak (2018 348) highlights two groups among migrants from the eastern borders, one of which assimilates in the new city, starting all over again, and the other is sceptical and cannot accept a new place¹⁸.

2.4 Stage of institutionalization and joint actions of local communities

The period from 1958 to 1991 was an institutionalization stage of the group identity of immigrants from the south-eastern region. Here it is important to determine the area of our community. It is inexpedient to limit oneself to the Ukrainian community of Biały Bór. Concerning group identity, it is more correct to speak of the Ukrainian community of Pomerania or the northern regions of modern Poland as a whole, not limited to the inhabitants of Biały Bór.

The stage of institutionalization is characterized by the transition to group social tactics. Although political efforts to dissolve the Ukrainian minority have weakened since 1956, one should rather talk about changing the forms and means of state pressure. Yes, the state did not seem to object to the creation of a Ukrainian primary school, but could not allocate funds to repair the building or even closed the school due to poor technical condition.

Therefore, we are talking about a wide community of ethnic Ukrainians in Pomerania. This is evidenced by the fact that the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary celebration gathers at that time the largest number of pilgrims - about 6,000 people. The mobilization opportunities and the level of coordination of such a large community were quite high. The publicity of the educational problem in a small town led to the Ukrainian diasporas of Canada and the United States joining the list of donors. In 1999, as a result of the state educational reform, a full-fledged Taras Shevchenko school complex with Ukrainian



Figure 4 | Analysis of areas of influence on the urban space of government and local communities (based on the geo-portal of open spatial data <https://polska.e-mapa.net/>).

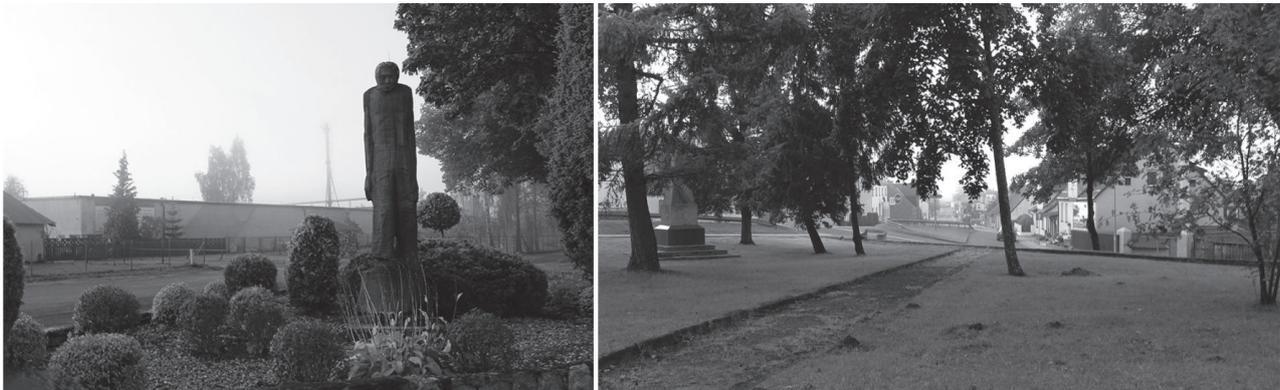
language learning was already operating in Biały Bór, which included a six-year primary school, a three-year secondary school, and a three-year lyceum secondary school.

1958-1991 can be considered a time of formation of a new urban morphology of Biały Bór, while the authorities and urban communities have completely different

attitudes to urban space (Fig.4) and have different purposes.

3. Discussion

In analyzing the two competing - Polish and Ukrainian - communities in the urban space, we turn to the public



■ A public garden at the intersection of Slupska and Gorna streets with a monument to a supposed native of Biały Bór who died during the Solidarity movement protests. ■ A public garden on Slupska Street with a pedestal of the monument to Emperor Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770-1840).

Figure 5 | The space in front of the Church of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary (author's photo, 2019).



■ Holiday preparation time. ■ The holiday season.

Figure 6 | Public spaces of the city of Biały Bor (author's photo, 2019).

space as an arena of constant competition and negotiations according to Koch & Latham (2013). The rights of different groups to the city are reflected in the transformations of urban space. But it should be noted that the community and the neighborhood are close, but not identical concepts. In our case, the neighborhood of Biały Bór consists of at least two communities (Ukrainian and Polish), which are involved in competitions for public space. Their joint actions on government strategies appear to be in opposition. Comparing the two churches (and two parts of the urban space, respectively) - the Blessed Virgin of the Queen of Poland (Polish: Kościół pw. NMP Królowej Polski), built in 1984-2000, and the Church of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Polish: Cerkiew Narodzenia Przenajświętszej Bogarodzicy) built in 1991-1997 (in some sources 1992-1997), we can understand the nature (and size) of the communities that created them.

Both churches were built at about the same time, during the period of active church building in Polish People's Republic, but for a better understanding we should refer to the decisions of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) on church reform.

Parish churches were built in the so-called "managing system" (systemie gospodarczym) and this euphemism meant that parishioners not only invested their own money and supplied materials, but also joined the construction. Due to the personal involvement of local residents, the timing and processes of construction depended on such a resource as their free time. If to compare the terms of construction of Polish and Ukrainian temples, they differ significantly. The Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin was built for 16 years - from 1984 to 2000, and the Church of the

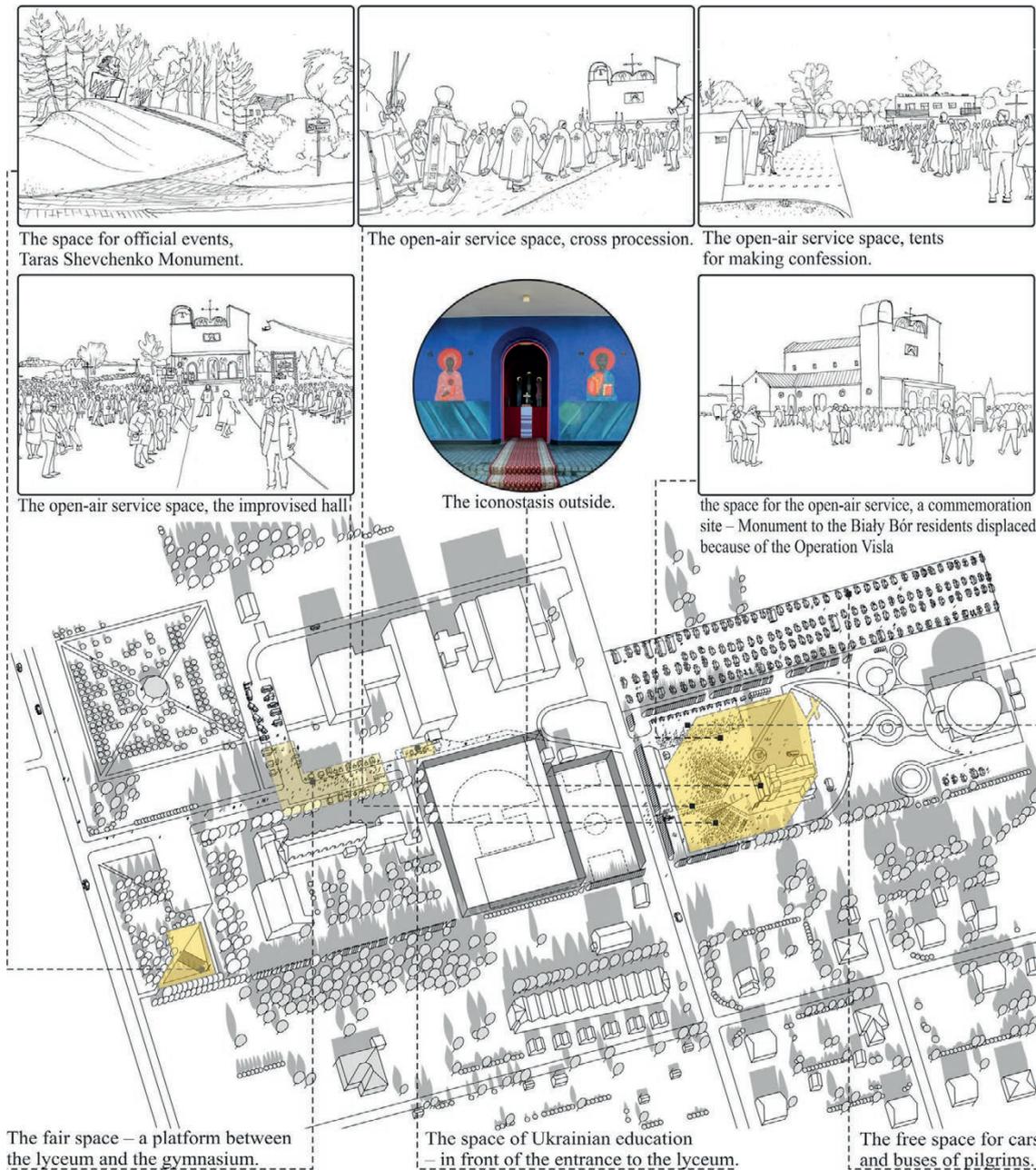


Figure 7 | The structure of the Ukrainian cluster built on the basis of the geoportal of open spatial data <https://polska.e-mapa.net/>).

Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary was built in just 8 years - from 1991 to 1997.

So far, I have not been able to find the author of the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary, built by the Polish community, which is not too strange for the “edge of the world”. At the same time, the authors of the Church of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary are known - the

outstanding theologian Yurii Novosilsky and the architect Bohdan Kotarba. What prompted the professionals to work in this remote area and create a temple of significant artistic value? Its complexly configured formal-informal architecture also demonstrates such regularity as conformity of a high artistic level of authors-performers to a cultural level of customers¹⁹.

Probably, the cooperation of the authors of the temple in Biały Bór was due to the importance of the place for the whole community of immigrants from south-eastern Poland. Analyzing how the public space around the two Biały Bór temples is developing, we can say that it is not created by the class (according to Lefebvre) and not by the government (according to de Certeau). Both spaces were created as a result of cooperation between the residents of the town itself and the larger Ukrainian community of Pomerania. In both cases, the temple buildings do not immediately catch the eye, which is in line with the authorities' intention to hide them²⁰ (Fig. 5). At the same time, the space near the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin includes monuments of both the previous period (Baldenburg times), the post-war years and modern ones (Fig. 6).

The center of long-term formation of space is a seemingly small building, able, however, to unite thousands of people in one festive moment. On weekdays, space is perceived quite differently. Its meaning, structure and nature of influence are fully revealed only during the Birth of the Virgin holiday: the area between the primary school and the boarding school becomes a public fair, and the large empty space around the church is filled with thousands of pilgrims from all over Pomerania. Significant for a small town, this original festival of Ukrainian culture becomes an event when at some point the parish church "broadens its boundaries", turning into a large open church, uniting a huge number of believers (Fig. 6). It is important that this event is important for all residents without division into Ukrainian and Polish communities. This fact indirectly confirms the idea of restoring the local neighborhood as a form of social reality lost during the forced displacement from their native lands²¹.

The actual actions of local communities to produce a (spatial) cultural landscape are proof that these communities are alive²², (22) that their attachment to the place

is based on joint efforts. Spaces created by joint actions create the originality of the place (Fig. 7).

4. Concluding remarks

The specific cultural landscape changes as the result of joint actions, and hence the "acquired difference" of the local space. Spatial changes in Biały Bór seem to be one of the few positive examples of how the cultural norms of several communities are translated into an unusual cultural environment in order to master and transform it. Joint action goes far beyond a reaction to various restrictions or opposition. To a greater extent, they show the "domestication" of urban space. And in detail - about coordination: adaptation or adjustment to others (Koch & Latham 2013). At the same time, the newly acquired "others" in the changed social reality have replaced those with whom people interacted daily before resettlement (Kosiek 2016). We see a rare case of conflict-free coexistence of different socio-cultural groups of citizens in one territory in the absence of a common history in the past. Both displaced communities, Polish and Ukrainian, started on equal terms, having enough free space for self-expression. Collective participation in creating important things for the community becomes one of the joyful and useful dimensions of urban life, giving a sense of belonging to the place. Over time, it grows into a unique identity of the place (Hernández et al. 2007:310).

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to Kuba Snopek, who has helped me to understand the nature of joint action in the period of active church building in Polish People's Republic.

Notes

¹ https://www.bialybor.com.pl/strona/menu/9_historia

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bia%C5%82y_B%C3%B3r

³ <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~pommerninterestgroup/genealogy/Menu/Vertreibung.html>

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

⁷ https://fotopolska.eu/Pozycja_Pomorska_-_Bialy_Bor_Dwusektorowy_schron_bojowy_S.5?map_z=13&f=1077661-foto

⁸ https://podroze.onet.pl/polska/dolnoslaskie/zniszczenia-wojenne-wroclawia-i-odbudowa-miasta/hwb2qnd?utm_source=podroze.onet.pl_viasg_podroze&utm_medium=referral&utm_campaign=leo_automatic&srcc=ucs&utm_v=2

⁹ Hayden, D. 1997. *The power of place. Urban landscapes as public history*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

¹⁰ Snyder, T. 2011. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. Random House. p.320.

¹¹ Kledzik, E., Michalski, M., & Praczyk, M. 2018. "Ziemia Odzyskane." *W poszukiwaniu nowych narracji*. Instytut Historii UAM. s. 260

¹² Wawryniuk, A. 2014. Powojenna granica polsko-ukraińska a przesiedlenia ludności ukraińskiej z RP w latach 1944-1947. *Історико-політичні проблеми сучасного світу*, (27-28), 134-141. s. 137.

¹³ Kowacz, Rabunek, [w:] Osadnicy. Nowe życie kresowiaków na Ziemiach Zachodnich, s. 19.

¹⁴ Koglin, B. 2013 *Hölkewiese in Pommern. Eine Chronik*. Verlag Dr. Bodo Koglin: Berlin.

- ¹⁵ "It is this fact that the pilgrims drew attention to in the conversations on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, whose own families were separated."
- ¹⁶ Kosiek, T. 2017. Wybrane doświadczenia Ziem Zachodnich w świetle narracji biograficznych osób wysiedlonych w akcji „Wisła” w 1947 r. *UR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(3), 53-73. s. 64-65.
- ¹⁷ *ibid* s.67.
- ¹⁸ M. Sobków, Do innego kraju, [w:] Osadnicy. Nowe życie Kresowiaków na Ziemiach Zachodnich, s. 58.
- ¹⁹ Cichońska, I., Popera, K., & Snopek, K. 2016. *Architektura VII dnia*. Biuro Festiwalowe Impart 2016. s.24.
- ²⁰ *ibid*:17.
- ²¹ Kosiek, T. 2016. Polacy i Żydzi Bieszczadów i Pogórza Przemyskiego w narracjach biograficznych osób wysiedlonych w Akcji” Wisła”. *Raport z badań. Prace Etnograficzne*, 44(1), 39-50. s. 47.
- ²² "If indeed every society produces a space, its own space, this will have other consequences in addition to those we have already considered. Any 'social existence' aspiring or claiming to be 'real', but failing to produce its own space, would be a strange entity, a very peculiar kind of abstraction unable to escape from the ideological or even the 'cultural' realm. It would fall to the level of folklore and sooner or later disappear altogether, thereby immediately losing its identity, its denomination and its feeble degree of reality." Lefebvre, H., & Nicholson-Smith, D. 1991. *The production of space* (Vol. 142). Blackwell: Oxford. p. XIX.

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