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The interdisciplinary dimension of regionalism

Regionalism as an idea, phenomenon or process of more than a purely socio-cultural nature is the subject of studies of different academic disciplines, such as anthropology, architecture and urban planning (spatial development), economics, ethnography, ethnology, folklore studies, geography, regional economy, history, linguistics, cultural studies, literature studies, political science and sociology. We can therefore speak about the interdisciplinary nature of studies into regionalism (*Region, regionalizm*, 1993), which responds to its varied nature. This interdisciplinary nature of studies into regionalism is an expression of the variety of both regionalism as such and the fields, methods and techniques applied to study it. This is stressed by Krzysztof Kwaśniewski, who writes that regionalism is “an interdisciplinary concept because regional movements are usually rooted in the tendencies to revive language and poetry, they go through the stage of economic recovery and a certain degree of political autonomy, to eventually seek the establishment of regional academic and cultural centres” (Kwaśniewski, 1993, p. 76). Anna Czerner and Elżbieta Nieroba (Czerner, Nieroba, 2010, p. 171–185) also point to the benefits of interdisciplinary studies of regional cultural heritage.

The literature on the subject also refers to the individualistic, subjective, personified, or even personal nature of regionalism in the spirit of such philosophical trends as personalism, existentialism, phenomenism and intuitionism. Ryszard Ciemiński writes that regionalism “is present in each of us individually. We feel it when we overcome the limits of a cliché in our cognition and experience, and we enter the expanses of authentic, strong, and even mystical faith in the realm of literature which is signified, horror of horrors, with the quite non-regional language, in which this literature is rooted. We feel it intuitively, when this language brings the descriptions of states that are in many ways separate, unique or specific” (Ciemiński, 1989, p. 20). Therefore, the term ‘regionalism’ encompasses a number of different, yet cohesive, ideas, assumptions, desires, events, phenomena, processes, organised and unorganised activities, behaviours,

attitudes, studies, both tangible and intangible products, focusing on a particular region.

Numerous analyses, syntheses and conclusions have produced a considerable intellectual, cognitive and cultural legacy on the topic of regionalism. In this situation, we can boldly speak about the theory of regionalism and its elements (Kwaśniewski, 1993, p. 75–86) as well as of defined dimensions of regionalism among which Beata Słobodzian includes the following: 1) a socio-cultural dimension which stresses the cultural properties of a region, its traditions, cultural heritage, and cultural identity; 2) an economic dimension determined by the economic specificity of the region, internal economic bonds, traditions and models of management; 3) a political dimension revolving around regional interests, around which the political life of the region concentrates, applying the values and norms that are characteristic of this region, and expressed by means of regional socio-political movements, including socio-cultural movements, lobbying and pressure groups (Słobodzian, 2003, p. 175–176).

Consequently, although regionalism encompasses a broad range of interests and a number of different issues, due to its coherent thematic areas, regionalism concentrates on the history, present day and future of a given region – on its general cultural heritage and peculiar regional interest. Thus regionalism can find expression, for instance, in an idea or ideology, social movement, a direction of academic studies (regional studies), linguistic-literary phenomena such as linguistic and literary regionalism and regional literature and an architectural style which refers to regional traditions (Chudziński, 2013, p. 7–8).

The term ‘regionalism’ is most frequently defined in terms of three relatively cohesive conceptual meanings, namely:

- 1) the individual attitude to the region of residence (known in Polish as ‘small homeland’) and to its community (regionalist attitude). Roch Sulima stresses the supraregional sense of the term ‘small homeland’ which has currently become an interesting commodity in the Polish mass culture market, as a result of a certain cultural processing (in literature and the media). “The concepts of ‘small homelands’ have entered the system of supraregional cultural communication, becoming a figure of thinking about ‘familiarity’ and ‘strangeness’, privacy, genealogy, seeking cultural roots, and – first and foremost – they have shaped the emotional content of perceptions of the past; for instance, they have revived the myth of lost childhood and formed part of collective nostalgia and neuroses. By this token, the concepts of ‘small homelands’

have undergone intensive semiotisation and become attractive material not only for literature, but also for mass culture” (Sulima, 2001, p. 139). We make a theoretical assumption that the relation between an individual’s attitude towards a territory and its population does not have to be organic and holistic, therefore in real life we can come across alternative attitudes (or their lack) towards one of these elements; for instance we can have a positive attitude to the territory of the region, and an ambivalent, or even negative attitude towards its population, or *vice versa*. We are also aware of the fact that the term ‘small homeland’ is a social construct that encompasses both natural elements of territorial-environmental-material character and real mental elements (conscience or identity of the place), emerging as a result of verbalised and directed social interaction (Łukowski, 2002) and going beyond the territorial borders of the region to enter into a wider circulation in mass culture. Sometimes an individual’s attitude to a region can be approached in a much broader sense, i.e. in an anthropological and existentialist dimension, for instance in terms of a defined philosophy of life, value system, preserving and experiencing life within one’s small, local (regional) homeland. According to Piotr Kwiatkowski, the regionalist attitude is characterised by the following: “the attachment to one’s own ‘land’; the conviction that this land has positive features that distinguish it from other territories in the national homeland; the belief that the community that inhabits this land creates or created in the past specific values that make up its own, original culture; the sense of identity with this community and its culture, the desire to manifest by means of various social activities one’s attachment to their fatherland, positive assessment of its features, identity with the community to which this land is assigned and its culture” (Kwiatkowski, 1984, p. 143);

- 2) the state of social awareness of a region’s residents (regional awareness), whose regionalist attitude constitutes a regional standard and a cultural formula and is manifested in their behaviour (regional activities). Regional awareness can be assumed to be neither widespread nor homogeneous, especially in a multicultural society, or a politically varied one; this means that there are numerous options and varieties in its social positioning and practical manifestation (*Encyklopedia pedagogiczna*, 2006, p. 130–137). Zbyszko Chojnicki and Teresa Czyż write that “[t]he foundations of regional awareness encompass the sense of bond between the community and the territory where they live, which

is sometimes named regional identity. [...] Regional awareness is a form of social awareness as regards the sense that one's territory and community are distinct. This generates the conviction that all members of regional community are bound by certain values that are attributed to the entire population" (Chojnicki, Czyż, 1993, p. 31). It should be stressed that a regionalist awareness is a somewhat superior form of regional awareness as, alongside the elements of individual or collective traditional territorial-and-spatial regional identity (encompassing primarily territorial, symbolical and sentimental elements), it includes the attitudes and behaviour typical of regionalist awareness and behaviour, where the fundamental kind of regional awareness is externalised, but is complemented with specific activities directed at the given region and involving responsibility for its prosperity;

- 3) the ideology and social movement characterised by guarding multifarious interests of the region (Greta, 2003, p. 15; Szpietowski, 2011, p. 67–73), studies into and promotion of its history (Herbst, 1956, p. 456–468; Mańkowski, 1990, p. 260–268; Tomczak, 1991, p. 9–17; Wrzesiński, 1995, p. 11–21), folklore, natural assets and cultural tradition, as well as maintaining and developing interest in the region, supporting regional art and protection of regional distinctness in the language, customs and practices that shape the identity of the region and regional awareness of its inhabitants. Regionalism is defined in terms of a social movement when it "concentrates either on nourishing and developing cultural heritage of the region or on protesting against this separateness being disregarded in social life and administrative divisions" (Kwaśniewski, 1987). Therefore, Dzierżymir Jankowski finds it essential for regional studies to approach regionalism in terms of the awareness complex (*kompleks świadomościowy*) (Nowakowska, 1980; Polanowski, 1983, p. 157–170; Wysocka, 1981) manifested in the form of regional ideology. "Ideology is a more or less coherent concatenation of beliefs referring to the geophysical, social and cultural whole of a 'region'; beliefs that identify, evaluate and forecast region" says Dzierżymir Jankowski (Jankowski, 1990, p. 7). Seen in this way, regional ideology can have a theoretical foundation or not, assume different forms and encompass different fields of thematic interest (for instance it can concentrate on economic, socio-cultural or political factors) and territorial concentration (region, subregion, local community) thereby determining the range of objectives and activities of region's adherents and providing structural possibilities of cooperation

between different organised regional movements and forms of regional ideology. Regional ideology has numerous important social functions, such as a programming function (creating the visions of regional development and integrating its supporters), a motivational function (articulating regional interest and stimulating activities), legitimising function (providing an atmosphere of favour and social support for the region) as well as an educational function. According to Mirosław Pisarkiewicz, “[r]egionalism offers enormous educational potential when working with the young. It shapes attitudes and protects tradition. It is the source of knowledge about the past and the school for future lovers of little homelands” (Pisarkiewicz, 2007, p. 3). Assuming that there is a regional ideology results in politicised thinking about regionalism, which has an educational function, given the multifarious aspects of regionalism. In the opinion of Anna Gaşior-Niemiec, “regionalism can emerge as a consequence of bottom-up and top-down social dynamics. It can be an elite or mass attitude. It can be conservative, stressing the importance of tradition understood as something permanent, and progressive, emphasising the development of industries related to cultural heritage, the quality of life, participative democracy, etc.” (Gaşior-Niemiec, 2009, p. 23). By this token, regionalism maintains “complex relations with federalism, nationalism and localism. Its relations with ethnicity, class structure and individual models of economic development are ambiguous. It does not seem accurate to assign it exclusively with progressive or regressive features in terms of the theory of social development, or to describe it in terms of being politically right-wing or left-wing. Similar to populism, which it is sometimes associated with, regionalism is a highly ambivalent term that is extremely sensitive to context and susceptible to ideological manipulation, which can take the shape of a technical academic discourse which aspires to ideological neutrality. This can be exemplified [...] by the new regionalism which has become institutionalised, mainly owing to the discourse and practice of the European policy of regional development” (Gaşior-Niemiec, 2009, p. 22–23). This attitude is represented in the Western literature by Michael Keating, who distinguishes the following types of European regionalism: 1) traditional, conservative and anti-European regionalism, characterised by a regional community and autarkic economy; 2) separatist, right-wing and populist, strongly politicised regionalism, which refers to racist and xenophobic sentiments; 3) progressive (left-wing) regionalism associated

with ecological movements; 4) neoliberal and progressive regionalism; 5) big-city regionalism, typical of metropolises and global cities; 6) quasi-nationalist or ethno-nationalist regionalism (Keating, 1998).

This peculiar three-fold perspective taken when describing and characterising regionalism is reflected in numerous interdisciplinary analyses and studies. A renowned sociologist, Andrzej Kwilecki, approaches regionalism both in terms of a socio-cultural movement and academic and research activities, manifested in the form of multifarious studies on region (Kwilecki, 1993, p. 122). The above-mentioned Anna Gąsior-Niemiec outlines seven basic analytical categories providing the framework for the cognitive representation of regionalism. "Regionalism can therefore be approached as an a) ideology; b) social and/or political movement; c) political and/or socio-economic doctrine; d) type of discourse; e) type of developmental strategy; f) marketing construct; g) literary (artistic) style" (Gąsior-Niemiec, 2009, p. 23–24). Another author quoted above, Dzierżymir Jankowski, presents three interpretations of regionalism in relation to 1) social psychology, where regionalism is treated as an element of awareness and the attitude of constructive commitment to shaping one's geophysical, social and cultural environment; 2) sociology, which approaches regionalism in terms of a social movement that concentrates on the region as a certain value and actively promotes this value; 3) many other humanities and social sciences that study regionalism and treat it as a kind of research methodology allowing them to grasp "general, more or less universal, regularities" (Jankowski, 1990, p. 6–7).

With respect to the above considerations one can review the characteristics of regionalism as a social phenomenon present in Polish literature.

Henryk Skorowski defines regionalism in terms of object and subject. As far as concerns the objective aspect of regionalism, it is made up of "a set of objective (culture, community, territory) and subjective (the sense of identity, self-awareness, identification) elements of regional identity, i.e. the geographical, social and cultural identity of a given region. [...] Regionalism as the subject is perceived as a defined form of activity. This activity [...] is multifarious [...] it has the nature of a social movement which concentrates either on nourishing and developing cultural heritage of the region or on protesting against this separateness being disregarded in social life and administrative divisions [...] this activity consists in stimulating the cultural and academic life of different regions of the country while preserving their cultural identity. Sometimes this ac-

tivity is expressed by consciously taking joint responsibility for the image of one's own region" (Skorowski, 2013, p. 32–33).

Zbigniew Rykiel claims that "regionalism is a syndrome of the socio-cultural, political and economic properties of a given region. Although culture is always a product of a certain group, collective or community, it is also autonomous to a certain degree. It influences the behaviour of the members of a given collective or community and is relatively independent of its changing composition. [...] Regionalism usually concerns the state of social awareness of the community living in a given area" (Rykiel, 1993, p. 87).

Zbigniew Kantyka understands regionalism as "certain local territorial communities seeking greater independence, which can take the extreme form of demanding extensive autonomy to be granted to such communities, even against the interests of a whole state. Movements of this kind have three-fold goals: cultural and linguistic ones (maintaining identity and spiritual distinctiveness), economic (promotion of the region) and political goals (autonomy or independence). The proportions of their postulates depend on the concrete situation – historical factors, economic and geographical position of the region and state policy" (*Encyklopedia politologii*, 1999, p. 254–255). A similar view is expressed by Grzegorz Gorzelak, who sees regionalism as "the phenomenon of a territorial community seeking its own identity inside a greater state system" (Gorzelak, 1993, p. 45; Sługocki, 1990). Tadeusz Chudziński is another researcher perceiving regionalism as "the expression of emancipatory goals and aspirations of regions (lands) characterised by historically shaped ethnic and cultural differences" (Chudziński, 2007, p. 39).

According to Stanisław Dąbrowski, "[r]egionalism [...] can be defined as a set of original and specific spiritual and material values, an expression of individual and collective views and attitudes and corresponding activities (inspired by specific spiritual and material values of the region" (Dąbrowski, 1990, p. 21).

For Krzysztof Kwaśniewski regionalism is "a social movement whose ideology is to nourish and critically develop the heritage of a socio-cultural region [...] Therefore, regionalism is an ideology where maintaining cultural identity is an essential measure, but only a measure, to achieve the goal of integrating regional society and its activating in order to face up to the challenges of the changing conditions in which the region has to contribute to its own development and the development of the whole country it is a part of" (Kwaśniewski, 1986, p. 3, 5).

Paweł Śliwa, in turn, approaches regionalism as a complex of “social phenomena rooted in the bonds (or rather relationships) that form between an area that meets the criteria of a region and its inhabitants, as well as inside the community they create” (Śliwa, 2008, p. 47–48).

The literary approach towards regionalism is represented by Józef M. Miąskowski, who associates regionalism with the direct and natural interaction of a person, which later assumes a symbolic or even archetypical form, with a multitude of different elements of the immediate socio-cultural environment this person comes across at different stages in life, such as “the home of his birth, the church where he was baptised, the school where he was taught to read and write, the forest where he said ‘I love you’ to hear it back in return, the hospital where his son was born, the cemetery with the graves of his nearest and dearest – the picture of a shared culture, shared dialect and identical customs” (Miąskowski, 1983, p. 9). Much earlier, Konstanty Troczyński believed that regionalism is a “literary current seeking to emphasise the entire set of local properties” (Troczyński, 1933). In the opinion of Stanisław Kolbuszewski, regionalism in literature (literary regionalism) is defined as “embedding in a literary work certain specific local properties, ‘local character’, certain features of a given community that make a mark on the literary work allowing it to be strictly associated with the soil that produced it” (S. Kolbuszewski, 1933). It is clear that later on, especially in the period of socialist realism, regionalist literary works not only emerged as a result of grassroots activities, but the majority was inspired by officials in charge of culture departments and socio-cultural activists (Czapliński, 1998; J. Kolbuszewski, 1993).

An important determinant of regionalism is provided by the special relationship between a certain community and the region where they live. One can speak then about a certain ecology of regionalism, or ecological regionalism, which places importance in such values as the natural and landscape assets, as well as the architectural and urban qualities of the region that evidence its specific natural and cultural (civilisational) character, binding the features of the region with material artefacts made by the people and their behaviour (Górak, 1994; Kosiński, 1981; Radziwanowski, 2005; Suchodolski, 1996; Ziemilski, 1976). As a consequence, we can deal with regionalism in architecture, construction and urban development (its transformation can be traced in ethnographic museums, especially in open-air museums of folk architecture). Mieczysław Kurzątkowski claims that regionalism in modern architecture is an expression of “protest against the uniformity of cultural environment [...]

Formerly, it was aimed against modernism and constructivism, especially in their parochial and imitative forms; at present it is a response to stereotypical forms of construction by industrial methods, construction from the catalogues of typical designs assembled from precasts” (Kurzątkowski, 1985, p. 10). The interest of modern architecture in local (regional) folk buildings, art and style finds expression in vernacular architecture. Teresa Bardzińska-Boneneberg and Agata Boneneberg write that “[t]he tradition of seeking inspiration in local architecture in Poland is a complex phenomenon on account of our history. In the 1920s and 1930s there occurred a trend of spontaneous seeking a ‘national style’, followed after WW II by a period of ‘national forms’ being administratively imposed. Therefore [...] the beginnings of voluntary and conscious references to regional foundations and drawing on the achievements of folk architecture can be noticed in modern architecture in Poland only as late as the 1980s” (Bardzińska-Boneneberg, Boneneberg, 2013, p. 7). Mieczysław Kurzątkowski was rather critical of the vernacular trend in modern architecture as in his opinion this is “architecture without an architect, [...] anonymous, erected without designs, inscribed in the community tradition and compiling building, functional and aesthetic experience passed from generation to generation” (Kurzątkowski, 1985, p. 3). Another, equally important issue concerns the application of local, natural, construction materials, which was stressed in another modernist architectural style, named brutalism (Giedion, 1968; Niebrzydowski, 2009, p. 46–54). A significant element of a region’s cultural landscape is provided by the urban-architectural layouts of towns and villages (Bogdanowski, 1981; Ciołek, 1984; Czerwiński, 2006). Urban design is treated here in broad terms, as professional know-how and practice, as well as the science “on every aspect of urban construction: the history, structure and design of towns. This discipline deals with the geographical, ecological, social, legal, economic, cultural and aesthetic components of town planning and their impact zones” (Kubalska-Sulkiewicz, 2003, p. 426).

The aforementioned approaches show that regionalism can be treated as an objective, observable social phenomenon manifested in the defined attitudes and behaviours of individuals and communities which are reflected in public legal institutions, or as a social movement which to differing degrees is inspired by a regionalist ideology and aims to maintain or restore the socio-cultural, economic or political distinctiveness of a region. There is a peculiar relationship between a community and a given region which is characteristic of regionalism and defined by the following properties:

- 1) attachment to a region which is expressed by a high degree of territorial and mental bond (*Region i ludzie a historiografia i tożsamość*, 1999). For Paulina Rychlewska, “place attachment means an affective, positively charged relationship between an individual and his place of residence and local community, which may produce a tendency to maintain close relations with them and thinking about them in terms of certain emotionally valued categories” (Rychlewska, 2010); what we have in mind then are the two dimensions of place attachment or, in other terms, place identity. One is named rootedness and signifies the physical attachment to the land as a certain living space, which is assessed and valued in a positive manner; the other one is the special relationship with the local (regional) community, social bonding or bonding which was defined by Stanisław Ossowski as the “approving awareness of belonging to a group, [...] the cult of common values, [...] willingness to put the interests of the group before personal interests [...]” (Ossowski, 1962, p. 52). Positive valuation and an individual’s emotional bond with the place of residence (of rootedness), or a more extensive area, do not have to harmonise with this individual’s emotional bond with a given community whatsoever. There are numerous examples of people who somewhat isolate themselves, or are isolated by a given community (being marginalised in a sense), but continue to be faithful to their ‘little homeland’; the reverse can also occur (Elias, 2003);
- 2) regional values encompassing, for instance, regional axiology (Skorowski, 1999), regional symbols (*Symbolika regionów*, 1988), regional authorities, regional history (Aleksandrowicz, 1993, p. 37–48; Dżiki, 2010, p. 367–370), linguistic regionalisms (Kucała, 1994, Piotrowicz, 1991; Piotrowska-Wojaczyk, 2011), dialects and vernacular languages. Janusz Kuczyński wrote that “[s]ymbols – like all objects – last longer than people and symbols carry values, which are in a way the accumulated acts of people” (Kuczyński, 1972, p. 235). Bogdan Wojciszke was among the authors who emphasised the role of authority in maintaining social order, saying that “[o]bedience to authority ensures the maintenance of social order, the efficiency of various groups’ and institutions’ activities. It is also reasonable, since authorities usually know better, and convenient, because obedience to authority frees us from making numerous decisions which we do not want or are not able to take, and it relieves us from the responsibility for the implementation of those decisions we have not made” (Wojciszke, 2002, p. 252). Dialectology, which studies how people speak in different regions of a country, is in-

terested in the geographical diversity of language (geography of language) encompassing dialects and vernacular languages. Dialect is understood as the “speech of rural population in a given part of a country, different than general national language and other dialects in terms of peculiar, primarily phonetic and lexical, features that are typically rooted in the remote past, reaching as far back as the tribal period” (*Encyklopedia języka polskiego*, 1991, p. 58); vernacular language is “the speech of rural population in a small territory, usually encompassing several or over a dozen villages, different than general language and the speech of neighbouring areas in terms of peculiar, primarily phonetic and lexical, features which is subordinate to a dialect” (*Encyklopedia języka polskiego*, 1991, p. 105). Yet another definition of dialect says that it is “a variety of spoken language used in a constrained (when compared to general language) territory by a defined social group (class), distinguished from other varieties by certain phonetic, grammatical and lexical features. Therefore, a dialect is a communicative variety which is linguistically, territorially and socially constrained. [...] It acquires a new sense when adjectives are added: cultural dialect, folk dialect, urban dialect, dialect of Polish minority, etc.” (*Dialekt i gwary polskie*, 1995, p. 29). Social and professional linguistic varieties (sociolects and professional jargons) as well as the language of Polish minorities abroad are mainly studied by sociolinguistics. In the second half of the 20th century, synchronic dialectology gained importance. Applying sociolinguistic methods, it is now related to ethnolinguistics and cultural linguistics (Dejna, 1993; *Teoretyczne, badawcze i dydaktyczne założenia dialektologii*, 1998; *Gwary dziś*, 2001). Using dialects and vernacular language in public and religious life raises a number of controversies in Poland (Greń, 2012, p. 38–54; Szewczyk, 2010, p. 82–93);

- 3) regional culture, namely regional customs and traditions, regional rituals, regional artistic and academic creativity (Grad, 2010, p. 51–68), regional folklore (Burszta, 1974; *Kultura ludowa Wielkopolski*, 1960, 1964), as well as regionalist periodicals (Kowalczyk, 2013);
- 4) regional identification, including regional awareness (Malikowski, 1998, p. 104) and regional identity (Kłoskowska, 1996);
- 5) working for a region, or regional activities, including economic operations which contribute to regional development (Cebulak, 2009, p. 317–341). Henryk Samsonowicz emphasises the essential roles of modern regions, such as: a) ensuring a sense of security and stability to a region’s inhabitants and facilitating social contacts within a region;

b) increasing the scope of a region's inhabitants participation in local authorities and c) working within a region and thereby giving real shape to the concept of the state (Samsonowicz, 1998, p. 60).

Consequently, socio-cultural regionalism is now treated as a characteristic tendency in the socio-political (Jałowicki, Szczepański, Gorzelak, 2007) and cultural development of the state (*Regionalizm polski w Europie XXI wieku*, 2007, p. 17–26), which promotes both internal and international harmony (*Interregional and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe*, 1994). Its essential feature is the deconcentration of state authority and decentralisation of territorial authority (Śliwa, 2000), which is reflected in advancing the idea and practice of local governance (*Model ustrojowy województwa/regionu*, 1997; Stepień, 2001, p. 7–17) and civic society (*Cnoty i instytucje obywatelskie*, 2002; *Europa obywateli*, 2007), including cultural regionalist movements (Jałowicki, 1992, p. 43; Kociszewski, 2002, p. 128; Kwilecki, 1992, p. 42).

The European Union also stresses the positive role of regionalism in the socio-political and cultural development of states and in international relations. This is illustrated by the division (typology) of regionalism developed by the European Commission (*Interregional and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe*, 1994, p. 81), which distinguishes the following forms of regionalism: 1) primary regionalism, where peripheral national groups and cultural communities of minorities are the subject; 2) secondary regionalism which seeks to decentralise state authorities in line with the needs of defined territorial groups; 3) constitutional regionalism (constitutional school), or conditioning regionalism, assuming that regions form the fundamental structure of state; 4) European regionalism (Europe of Regions) which seeks to replace the system of nation-states with a system of regions.

Modern regionalism is both a manifestation of and a supporting factor for the idea of the decentralisation of state authority (based on the division of power, where its prerogatives are transferred to lower decision-making levels). On the level of regions, one can identify a complex of issues related to the nature, character and scope of relations that occur between the centre of a region and its peripheries. They are frequently defined in terms of the centre-periphery relation.

Stein Rokkan, a classic of such studies, distinguishes three fundamental sets of parameters that define peripheries: 1) distance from the centre, 2) dissimilarity to the centre and 3) dependence on the centre. The centre-periphery relation cannot be reduced to such easily applicable conceptual categories as domination or exploitation, however (Gomuła, 1989;

Zarycki, 2009). In geographical sciences the concept of peripherality is used in two dimensions: a spatial one (where peripherality is determined by such indicators as the distance of a given place from the administrative, economic and cultural centre) and a socio-economic dimension (where a peripheral region is characterised by a relatively low level of social and economic infrastructure when compared to other regions) (Grosse, 2007, p. 27–49; Olechnicka, 2004, p. 55–59).

It is also clear that the theory and practice of regionalism fit well in the concept of civil society. Defining the latter, Karol B. Janowski writes that “[t]he category of civil society comprises a set of elements describing an ideal of human community founded on the free choice of forms and methods selected by individuals to implement their pursuits, where the individuals are citizens equal before the law both in terms of their rights and responsibilities and in terms of their subjectivity. They are constituted by spontaneous and impulsive initiatives and activities demonstrated in everyday life which are independent of state institutions” (*Encyklopedia politologii*, 2000, p. 374).

Social capital is essential with regard to the idea of civil society. Being an ambiguous and comprehensive term, social capital can be interpreted in many ways. For Pierre Bourdieu, social capital is “the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. It is the sum of capitals this network can mobilise” (Bourdieu, Wacquant, 2001, p. 104–105). On the other hand, though, Bernd Hamm takes a broader research perspective and approaches human capital as “all the properties and abilities attributable to a single man. One part of human capital is therefore a natural capital, which encompasses everything that can be classified as physical existence and metabolism. The other part is social capital, which encompasses all the activities society undertakes to ‘ennoble’ human nature, that is to alter it through upbringing and education” (Hamm, 2004, p. 52–53). Robert Putnam believes that social capital is made up from “such qualities of community life in a given society as networks, norms and trust – which can improve the efficiency of collective actions and facilitate the achievement of common goals” (Putnam, 1995, p. 56).

Polish literature walks in the wake of such approaches to this subject. In his definition of human capital, Marek Ziółkowski claims that it is composed of the total of assets that allow an individual to improve and/or maintain the desired status and position in social, economic, political and

cultural environment. They also facilitate the achievement of various interests, goals and values (Ziółkowski, 2006, p. 17–18). According to Janusz Czapiński, social capital encompasses “social networks regulated by moral norms or customs (and not by formal laws, or not only by them) which bind an individual with society, enabling him/her to cooperate with other for common good” (*Diagnoza społeczna*, 2009, p. 271).

Social capital is thus presented in individual terms (personal, referring to human features and assets), in terms of a group or class (where it occurs inside defined social groups or classes, as well as local, regional, national and ethnic, religious and cultural communities) and in collective terms (where it characterises the entire society and its assets, manifested primarily in interpersonal relations in the form of the norms, values and rules of social life that facilitate communication, cooperation, understanding, the exchange of opinions, assessments and views). The measure of the scope, level and quality of social capital is provided by such indicators as the level of social trust, the number and activities of organisations, the participation of society in local events, the degree of involvement in voluntary work, the level of financial aid for NGOs, voter turnout at elections and referenda, the scope and extent of knowledge about state, political parties, local government and newspaper readership (Fedyszek-Radziejowska, 2007, p. 70; Putnam, 1995, p. 21). Apart from positive social capital there are also layers of negative social capital (dirty, pathological capital), including cliques, closed circles of power redistribution and structures generating xenophobia (Lewenstein, 2010, p. 31).

It is also worth noting the value that is appreciated by numerous individuals and public institutions, but frequently marginalised, namely the social capital of senior citizens, who on account of their age or illness are not professionally active and seem to be a redundant and useless element which serves no purpose in regional development. Nothing could be more wrong, because the life experience of older people, their knowledge, skills and enthusiasm can and should be used in the creation of social development (Klimczuk, 2012; Niezabitowski, 2007; Trafiałek, 2004, p. 159–167).

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Interdyscyplinarny wymiar regionalizmu

Streszczenie

Artykuł jest próbą przedstawienia interdyscyplinarnego charakteru regionalizmu. Autor wskazuje przykłady interdyscyplinarności regionalizmu jako obszaru zainteresowania poznawczego oraz praktyki społecznej. Dlatego przedstawia szereg definicji regionalizmu, które są usytuowane w różnych perspektywach poznawczych, na przykład: antropologii, architektury i urbanistyki, ekonomii i gospodarki regionu, etnografii, historii, języka i literatury regionu, kultury regionu, politologii, socjologii, turystyki i krajoznawstwa. Autor odnosi się również do osobliwego związku, jaki zachodzi po-

między zbiorowością a regionem, wskazując na jego zasadnicze cechy, do których zalicza: 1) przywiązanie do regionu (więź terytorialna, więź mentalna); 2) wartości regionu (aksjologia regionalna, symbolika regionu, autorytety regionalne, historia regionu, regionalizmy językowe); 3) kulturę regionalną (obyczaje i zwyczaje regionalne, obrzędowość regionalna, regionalna twórczość artystyczna i naukowa, folklor regionalny, czasopisma regionalistyczne); 4) identyfikację z regionem (świadomość regionalna, tożsamość regionalna); 5) działalność na rzecz regionu (aktywność regionalna, w tym aktywność na polu gospodarczym, która wspiera rozwój regionu).