Przegląd

Socjologiczny

tom LVII/4
2009

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EDITORIAL

We are happy to offer our readers English translations of selected papers published in Issues 1, 2 and 3 of *The Sociological Review (Przegląd Socjologiczny)* from 2008. The presented issue is not, therefore, thematically consistent. On the contrary, our aim is to demonstrate the diversity of our interests.

We begin with a program article by F. Schütze, wherein the author indicates the benefits of the application of interpretative biography analysis in European studies. The text is accompanied by an article by K. Waniek, which illustrates the *pro et contra* of international social integration.

The subsequent articles concern sociological description of local communities. M. Halamska presents a review of studies, in which she discusses the strengths and weaknesses of social capital in the Polish countryside, while A. Michalska-Żyła analyzes the issue of identification with one's native city.

Recently, numerous countries, including members of the European Union, have begun to incorporate the notion of the knowledge-based society into their programs. In spite of the rapidly growing number of publications, the issue is still rather ambiguous. First, L. Zienkowski offers a review in which the issues concerning the problem of the 'knowledge-based economy' are organized. Next, M. Zemło proposes a critical view of the knowledge-based society from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge.

European integration, social capital and knowledge-based society – these are the keywords of this issue of *The Review*. These are also the keywords of the current debate within the Polish and international sociological milieu.

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EUROPEAN IDENTITY WORK
(FIRST DRAFT OF A PROPOSAL
FOR A JOINT RESEARCH PROJECT)

Summary

Processes of European identity formation are analysed here in terms of identity work and, specifically, relationship (interplay) between biographical and collective identity work. First sections of the text (1 and 2) are focussed on grounding the approach in a range of theoretical orientations (symbolic interactionism and culturalist perspectives), on outlining its methodological implications (the rationale for using the method of autobiographical narrative interviewing and various methods of text analysis), and, finally, on developing research questions and preliminary analytical dimensions of studying the collective identity work, especially in relation to European identity work, the latter being based on results of the author's research on the minority nation society of Wales (e.g. collective identity constructions, and figurations, in terms of cultural periphery / centre, hybridity, and marginality). In the next step of analysis, these preliminary questions and dimensions are related to problems of European identity work in general. In the next section (3) overall heuristic strategies of the offered project are formulated: the attitude of refractive self-reflection, the dialogical principle of calibrating research interactants' perspectives, a multi-layer approach to the interplay between individual experiences and a variety of collective meaning resources, the strategy of contrastive comparison of studied cases and, finally, the

zooming procedure of focussing (coding) empirical materials. The last section of the text (4) relates to the objectives / expected products of the project concerning dimensions and integrated model of collective identity work in Europe, and their practical implications for a range of social / political activities in education, legislation, governance, as well as for NGOs, social arenas and social movements

Key words: European identity work, collective identity, collective identity work, biographical identity, biographical identity work

1. THE PHENOMENON AND BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

1.1 Principles of Looking at Europe in the Planned Research Project

1. European integration is only effective to such an extent as it is accomplished by individual actors and their co-operation in the context of collective units, especially we-groups with their own identities. These actors are not just faced with far-reaching and complicated tasks with an implicit or explicit European dimension, but they have to relate to far more complex collective identities than it had been necessary under the traditional conditions of a national state (Viehoff and Segers 1999). The necessity to continuously and sensibly take over the perspectives of interaction partners who are members of other nations and cultures also partially contributes to the development of more complex individual identity constructions (via the respective constructions of me-images as it has been spelled out by G. H. Mead 1934) than it had been common in the contexts of traditional cultures confined to a national state.

2. Our analysis has to focus on the enormous cultural, historical and ethnic differences in Europe as well as on the development of cultural and symbolic forms of trans-national hybridity. Cultural hybridity and the "marginal" (Stonequist 1937) or multicultural personality emerge and become especially productive by way of translating, interpreting and liaison work.

3. The European principle of subsidiarity in the sense of a strengthening of the aspect of regions and periphery should especially be taken into account. "Periphery" means economic and political dependence, but also cultural diversification (especially on the territory of cultural minority nations) and respective potentials of creativity, i.e., the potential to create new socio-cultural projects of action.

4. The first signs of encompassing European cultural elements of a "lingua franca" should be appreciated with regard to their communicative functionality as well as their necessary and unavoidable superficiality. The acquisition of elements

of a European "lingua franca" culture should avoid all tendencies of fading out of awareness those differences between national cultures, which still remain on a deeper level – differences in terms of orientation, action and knowledge.

5. European complexes of problems and the arrangements of coping with them should also be analysed under the perspective of relevant occupational, especially professional, forms of action. The orientation of projects, the different conditions of action and the difficulties and mistakes at work have to be taken into account. Focusing on professional action has to be methodically "embedded" by a scientific-analytical sensitivity for social processes.

1.2 Basic Theoretical Approach of the Project on European Identity Work

Our research on European identity work is founded on the idea of an intricate relationship between biographical and collective identity work. (This also is the rationale for choosing the method of autobiographical narrative interviewing and of text analysis connected with it as a central empirical instrument for our inquiry.) Therefore it might be worthwhile to put together some notions regarding the basic idea which comes out of the writings of the "Chicago" social scientists George Herbert Mead (1934, 1964), William Thomas (Miller and Park 1921), Robert Park (1922, 1950, 1952, 1955); Everett Stonequist (1937) and Anselm Strauss (1959, 1978, 1993) as well as of the historian Norman Davies (1999).

Another valuable source of ideas which should be mentioned – a source of ideas which is too often overlooked in current sociological discourses – can be found in the Polish tradition of the sociological reflection on nation, nationhood, and culture (re-)production processes forming both collective and individual identities. Abstracting from the 20th century Polish sociological literature on nation as a whole and to begin only with Florian Znaniecki´s study on antagonism against strangers (1930/31), continued and developed in his fundamental work on modern nationalities (1973 [1952]), two other contributions are also worth mentioning: Józef Chałasiński´s (a student and follower of Znaniecki) large study (Chałasiński 1938) on the process of a wide ranging spread of national 'we-feelings' across and against social class differences and inequalities within Polish society in the times before World War II and then Stanisław Ossowski´s (1984) work on nation, nationhood and patriotic attitudes as part of the personal experience of social and cultural feelings of belonging to groups.

Znaniecki´s perspective, albeit focused in his latest work on nation (1952) chiefly on social roles, social groups and collective social processes constitutive of creating and disseminating the national consciousness which was to overcome the

traditional forms of experience, bonds and loyalties, stems from the ideas which were developed in earlier times in cooperation with the Chicago sociologist William Thomas, and published in the series of volumes of *The Polish Peasant in Europe in America* (1918/1927). Integrated with the works by Chałasiński and Ossowski, this perspective has found a continuation in a series of studies carried out by Antonina Kłoskowska (2000), who has been looking to grasp the very phenomenon of how nation and national culture as the collective meaning resource is embedded in, and located on, "the grass-root level" in actual biographical experiences of persons living in the centre of their national culture, in its periphery or its borderlands. Based on a large collection of autobiographical narrative data, analysed with a wide range of hermeneutic methods of interpretation, this work is close to the interpretative sociological approach stemming from, among others, the Chicagoan, symbolic interactionist and phenomenological tradition in sociology.

As mentioned already, there is an intricate relationship between biographical identity work and collective identity work. National and European identity work are part of this collective identity work, which will become more and more important. Biographical identity can only be constituted through interactive co-operation of the respective individuals in collective endeavours. The third, the "neutral" position in interaction – the perspective of the generalized other (using a term by George Herbert Mead 1934) – can only be grasped by the individual (especially, but not only, by the growing up child) if she/he refers to all possible, i.e. experienciable and imaginable, positions of single actors and constituent we-groups that are in the interaction system she/he is participating in, and if she/he imagines their different outlooks through taking the roles, i.e. the perspectives, of the various other interactants. The neutral position to be grasped is not just the abstract intersection, the focussed task structure and/or the (more or less emotional or thoughtful) chorus of we-voices of the different positions of the participating team members in the various interacting (i.e. co-operating and/or competing) we-groups from family up to ethnically and/or culturally defined national collectivities. Constitutive for the individual's building up of the neutral perspective of the generalized other are in addition the positions of the arbitrator, the referee, the liaison worker, the critical observer assessing the projects and the activities of the participating teams and their members as well as defining and deciding the next steps to be taken in conflict situations as well as negotiating between different plans, interests and contributions of the various parties participating. Grasping the perspectives of these four types of positions is necessary in order to acquire a circumspect and responsible personal identity as well as individual citizenship of biographical importance.

The references and role-taking regarding the various positions in the collective we-groups and interaction systems which the individual belongs to – but especially regarding the peculiar neutral positions of shared team tasks (as voiced by a team coach), of the arbitrator and referee, of the liaison worker and of the critical observer – are shaping one's own individual identity features via images and expectations of the "me", which the individual assumes – on the grounds of partial experiences – that the fellow interactants and especially the speakers ("coaches") of the we-groups as well as the arbitrators and the liaison persons in the interaction systems and the critical observers in the audience would have of him/herself. In addition, by the same mechanism, one's own individual identity features are not only configured, stabilized and made flexible for change and self-critical correction, but also abstracted, generalized and standardized. On the basis of this abstraction, generalization and standardization stable expectations of action and interaction regarding behaviour patterns and modes of co-operation (and partially conflict, too) of individuals are made possible, although their personal identities are – and remain – unique. Finally, generalized outlooks on collective concerns, including those of territorially based we-groups and institutionalised interaction systems (regions, nations, international border region co-operations, trans-national units) and the pertinent value orientations are encouraged and calibrated by virtue of shared social symbolisms, cultural productions and discourse arenas, although every individual member has her/his own personal conception and interpretation of them.

Without the entanglement in the dealings, i.e. co-operations and conflicts, with other fellow interactants, we-groups, and the overall interaction systems and the resulting confrontation with "me"-images the individual could not develop her/his own self-identity. But on the other hand, in order to reach a consistent and flexible self-identity the individual must also become enabled to, again, re-distance herself or himself from the various positions of fellow interactants and the generalized other. The individual has always to realize that the generalizations and standardizations of the world-view and the types of social expectations will not totally fit the factual experiences of her/his life. The results of action and interaction are always partially – and sometimes even dramatically – different from incipient expectations and intentions. In addition, the tasks and forecasts of we-groups and (speakers of) interaction systems can never be perfectly met by the individual, because she/he is different from the others in mood, in gusto, in knowledge, in capacities. And there is a constant – sometimes more, sometimes less fervent – desire of the individual of being different from the others and the general public: otherwise the individual would lose her/his sense of being a uniquely existing unit with self-consciousness of its own – unique in relationship

to others and apart from common causes. The differences between expectations and the factual outcomes are resulting from the hidden obtrusive and creative ingredients of individual identity (the "I" in the language of George Herbert Mead 1934) and the unexpected courses of collective and individual histories: i.e. the concatenations of events in the social and individual sphere occurring at odds with their incipient forecast. Therefore there is the permanent necessity for biographical as well as collective-historical work of re-specification of general expectations, outlooks and assumptions at the same time.

Collective identity work and development is as much a dynamical social process as biographical identity work and development. They very much intersect with each other – both on the level of factual events and of fact-transcending images. On the factual level, collective history has a vast impact on individual biographies, and individual biographies contribute to the shaping of collective history. But the level of images might be even more intriguing. Bestowed on the common causes of we-groups and their interaction systems are historical tasks with their own "gestalts" to think about and to work on the change and development of collective identities. These images and notions of collective identity change and development are very important and helpful for recognizing and understanding the tasks and chances how to change and develop one's own personal identity. On the other hand, circumspect notions how to deal with ongoing collective history and its tasks can only be raised on the grounds of experiences of, and reflective insights in, one's own personal identity.

Up to here it has been explained, why biographical identity work is only possible by references to several types and levels of collectivities (including national and international ones). Now there should be the focus on the problematic condition – the factors of power and force set aside – that social collectivities and interaction systems of all kinds can only be upheld, if they are grounded in the biographical work of the individual participants.

Collective identities – and this also applies to national identities and European identity – can only be upheld if they are backed by individual support, biographical engagement of group interaction and we-group co-operation. Especially important in this regard, however, is the individual participation in social worlds and social arenas that bridge the gap between the several we-groups. The communications, reflections and discourses in their special frames of references are pivotal for mentally representing and developing the overall interaction systems of co-operation and competition as constituted between the various participating we-groups for tackling general problems and tasks. By virtue of social arenas the individual can imagine and grasp the positions of neutral analyticity: she/he can

take the perspectives of the referee, the arbitrator, the liaison worker, the negotiator, the cultural hybrid, the critical observer. These are the perspectives of those generalized others, who transcend the traditional milieus and/or ethnic borders of the we-groups. The mentioned perspectives are indispensable for reaching at positions, which are suitable for gaining reflective distance towards the self-understandings, goals and stances of the we-groups and their idealized generalized others. This does not mean to abstain from common causes but to participate in them in a refrained, reflective and critical way. It includes the reshaping of the images and the goals of the involved we-groups. – All this must be based on the complicated biographical work of individuals, which have to come to terms again and again with several types of "me"-images of themselves and internal and external generalized others of we-groups and of interaction systems.

The active participation in social worlds and social arenas is indispensable for arriving at a democratic political quality on the level of the nation state as well as on the level of trans-national communities. Especially important in this regard is the biographical work of comparing the expectations of the various generalised others with whom the individual has to come to terms with in the course of her/his social life and the biographical work of transgressing the demarcation lines of tradition-based milieus and of ethnic we-groups via all sorts of "intercultural" communication. Trans-national identities like European identity – if they are not artificially superimposed by power or force – are only possible on the basis of trans-cultural communication, of mutual acceptance and positive evaluation of the collective national identities or minority identities of the others, the "strangers"; on the basis of acceptance on equal terms, of respectful treatment and of supporting the negotiation capabilities of small, peripheral and/or even minority type national we-groups; as well as on the basis of stressing the importance of regional and institutional identities to be found on both sides of the borders and of cherishing the special multicultural qualities of the border regions. All these new attitudes of orientation to several types of collectivities that are not one's own must be founded on the circumspect individual biographical work of becoming partially knowledgeable and able to move freely in other, "strange" national and regional cultures and interaction areas.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS USED

2.1 A Minority Nation Society as a Laboratory
for European Identity Work

As mentioned above there is an intricate relationship between individual or biographical identities and all sorts of collective identities conceived of as imagined communities (Anderson 1991). Collective concerns regarding these imagined communities (with their symbolic power of binding their individual members) are getting incorporated into individual biographical identity; and collective concerns are not kept alive without individual biographical involvements. The nation as such an imagined community and the nation state as its organisational structure have been two of the most central collective concerns during the last three centuries, and they have been of utmost importance for personal biographical work, for the construction of individual identity involved in it and for the fate and management of individual life courses. But at the same time the going concerns of the minority nations (i.e., imagined communities without their own separate statehood and its gamut of organizations) had to give way to those of the powerful nation states. Today, due to the current frameworks of orientation in a unifying Europe and a globalised world society, the big change is that the going concerns of the nation state tend to be more and more transgressed by European and world society concerns. And at the same time the minority nations regain to a certain amount bits of their former potency for orientation as imagined and symbolic communities; in addition, they become social arenas and organisational structures of political power in their own right. Due to such a tremendous historical change of orientation and joint historical change of political organization, the intricate relationship between biographical and collective identities becomes even more complex than it had been in the historical era of the "sacredness" of the nation state. The biographical work of personal identity construction has now to deal with multi-layer loyalties and responsibilities, with discrepancies between the several forces of binding the individuals to their different symbolic communities, with paradoxes of moral orientation implied in these various involvements of powerful self-binding within several symbolic communities, and with the values of a universalising discursive ethics of "international mindedness" (G. H. Mead 1964).

During the last centuries, even before the eclipse of the nation state, some of the minority nations were forced to become a historical laboratory for all sorts of experiences and experiments with that multi-layer interplay between individual and collective identities and with its paradoxes. People in these minority nation

societies had to learn early in history how to manage the complex task of multi-layer (biographical and collective) identity work from which today all the other inhabitants of a unifying Europe can profit a lot. Therefore, the project will start with research on a minority nation society on which some exploratory research has already been conducted: the minority nation society of Wales.

2.1.1 Research Questions on Minority Nation Societies

The following substantive phenomena connected with the interplay between biographical and collective identity constructions shall be studied:

1) peripheral socio-structural positioning of a society at the European fringe and its conditional relevance for life situations;

2) hybridity, marginality, bilingualism;

3) cultural centre versus cultural periphery and their mutual relationship or "figuration";

4) dealing with "otherness" and "strangeness";

5) socio-cultural movements, social arenas, social worlds and public discourses, which can inspire and foster various collective identities;

6) visual, i.e. pictorial, ritual and performing art as well as mythical symbolisms of collective identity; and finally

7) historical cultural resources (especially "social dramas" and moral debates) of collective identity work;

8) professional work dealing with the creation or fostering of collective identities on the one hand and with the biographical suffering from collective identities on the other.

Connected with these substantive research topics the following basic theoretical phenomena have to be scrutinized:

– basic features of autobiographical narratives of all sorts of persons who either do elaborate collective identity work or severely suffer from it;

– social categorisations of otherness and strangeness of peripheral and marginal persons, on the one hand, and of familiarity and „we-ness" of centre persons, on the other;

– the „figuration work" of centre persons and of periphery persons, which is conducted through their mutual social categorisation as empirically shown in narrative interviews, group discussions/focus groups, novels and/or public discourse materials;

– the interplays and interfaces between individual biographical and collective historical processes (e.g., the dynamic self-empowerments and creative metamorphoses of biographies effected through the interaction, communication,

orientation and working within social movements or social worlds that focus on creative cultural production; or the impact of a disastrous collective trajectory – as, e.g., a long lasting unsuccessful strike – on individual life courses with the result of biographical trajectory processes becoming dominant in the latter);

– ways in which collective images and public discourses shape the orientation of individual life courses and the biographical work involved, and, vice versa, ways in which the biographical work of creative single persons can change collective images and public discourses (e.g., how the individual biographical work of a national movement changed the public discourse, social world and organizational milieu of paradigmatic persons several times);

– "protective" or even "self-delusory" textual practices of fading out, of deny- ing, of repressing, of rationalizing and of producing vague or even void formula- tions of theoretical generalization ("empty formulas") in order to circumvent the recollection of guilt-stricken activities, of encounters of shame and/or of hurting experiences of severe suffering or to disguise or to legitimise them, on the one hand, as well as to reconstruct the biographical work of recollection, working through, self-realizing, coming to terms, redefinition of one's biographical situa- tion, self-critique and self-theorizing – these self-illuminating activities are often pursued and accomplished in cooperation with a supportive significant other or an understanding biographical advisor – , on the other;

– the symbolic power of historical resources of culture for the shaping, sup- port and intensification of present day collective identity orientations (by looking at their inbuilt potential for the symbolic appresentation of collective identity);

– the circumspect historical reconstructions of cultural elite persons (e.g., historians, writers, politicians) by means of narration and argumentation regard- ing the emergence and change of the self-definition of collective identities or – at least – of some of their essential features;

– the expressive and symbolic character of paintings, photographs and other visual materials as artistic means or products of collective identity presentation, of symbolic (idealized) belonging to imagined communities and of remembrance of social dramas; as well as to realize the unavoidable epistemic dependence of their interpretation on narrative texts.

2.1.2 Methodological Implications

The first research on the minority nation of Wales will focus on the impor- tant substantive phenomenon of the interplay between individual biographical work, on the one hand, and constructions of collective (and especially national) identities, on the other, as an instructive example for the accomplishment of

European identity work. The necessary research strategies of biography analysis and the analysis of collective identities will be situated in various traditions of social research: Chicago Sociology and Symbolic Interactionism (Fisher and Strauss 1978, Blumer 1969, Fine 1995), Polish Sociology of Culture (Znaniecki 1952, Kłoskowska 2000), Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge (Mannheim 1964), Psychoanalysis and Psychohistory (Erikson 1987), the analysis of social movements, socio-linguistics and conversation analysis (Ammon, Dittmar and Mattheier 1987, Sacks 1992, Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001), post-modern ethnography or ethno-history (Faubion 2001, Spencer 2001), etc.

The research activities will mainly harness innovative qualitative research approaches and methods – such as biography analysis based on narrative interviews, the analyses of written autobiographies, written historiographic reconstructions and realistic novels, the analysis of published public discourses as part of the dynamics of social dramas, the conversation analysis of argumentative debates in the electronic media or in group discussions (focus groups) on central societal issues; as well as the iconographic analysis of visual materials of historical relevance for collective identity constructions. The analytical work of the projects will be based on qualitative or documentary (Karl Mannheim) empirical materials, such as autobiographical narrative interviews, group discussions/focus groups, historical documents like a debate regarding the relationship between the minority nation and the majority nation and literary productions (e.g. pieces of autobiographical writings), visual representations and historiographic re-constructions. The pivotal research capacity will be to produce overall single case analyses of autobiographical or historiographic materials or of group discussions, to realize and to overcome the specific difficulties of analytical writing about texts with the necessarily "hypostatic" or "oblique" perspective of this type of (meta)writing; and to master the required stylistic devices in writing up the single case analyses. – Connected with it are the following elementary abilities:

1. The capability to assess and define the complex interaction situations of autobiographical story telling and of group discussions.

2. The capability to establish a trust relationship between the conversation partners or interview partners as strangers – a trust relationship that is required for sharing one's own autobiography or one's own personal opinion with the communication partner.

3. A sense for the extempore production of verbal texts with its formal structures of orderly and chaotic features; this sense will be enhanced by the ability to meticulously transcribe extempore text productions.

4. A sense for the careful presentation work of written texts that attempts to make them logical, impressive, convincing, legitimate, important or harmless, non-offensive, etc.

5. A sense for the stylistics and the artistry of verbal and written texts about (individual and collective) identity developments in all their diversity of conditions for text production, of strategies for presentation, of genres, of orientations in style, etc. – in order to understand the presentation work of those (identity focussed) texts to express essential features, the "gist", of social and biographical processes.

6. An attitude of open listening and sensitive understanding regarding the textually presented activities and suffering of the protagonists encountered in the texts, who will, then, emerge as quasi-interaction partners of the analyst.

7.   An ability of looking at, sequencing, contextualising and retrospectively assessing the presentation activities of the text in order to grasp the faculty of the text production to express social and biographical processes in a (partially) "oblique" or "indirect" way.

8. An ability to withstand the pseudo-sociological suggestiveness of ready-made (but often quite misleading) general statements of the informer's theorizing found in the text material and to "refract" them through looking at their embeddedness within the sequential and contextual order of the formal text structures.

9. A sensitivity for analytical coding in order to continuously interrelate empirical data, on the one hand, and theoretical categories (and propositions), on the other; a sense for the openness and fallibility of social science theorizing as well as for the hidden "theoreticity" of the empirical text materials.

10. A sense for the processual, perspective-bound, interpreted, symbolically represented, interactive, negotiated, subjective and, at the same time, objective character of social reality.

11. A sensibility for, and understanding of, the dialectical relationship between the production of social reality by individual biography incumbents, on the one hand, and the forceful structural restrictions for their production activities by obligations, constraints and mechanisms of collective processes (*within* collective identity units as well as *between* them) on the other.

12. The inclination and openness for cooperative research work in the sessions of the research workshop: first, looking at the empirical (textual or visual) material together, i.e. structurally describing, coding and abstracting the textual and/or visual data collectively by harnessing the communicative scheme of description; second, formulating various, often discrepant, perspectives of interpretation in the workshop group, mutually criticising them by referring to empirical data in

the textual and/or visual material and triangulating the different perspectives of analysis; and third, utilizing the dynamics of the communication scheme of argumentation in the session of the research workshop for joint theorizing.

The latter capability can only be developed within the social arrangement of qualitative research workshops. Qualitative research workshops are always constructed in such a way that new empirical materials (e.g., autobiographical narrative interviews with protagonists of social movements like the Occitan nursery school movement) are related to the central theoretical concepts (e.g., on social movements and social worlds). Thereby it becomes possible to gain a deeper analytical understanding of these materials as well as to criticise the theoretical concepts on the basis of the empirical materials and to further spell them out. One must always reserve considerable time for a more detailed structural description and analytical abstractions of the data according to the principles of textual analysis and the analysis of visual materials as they have been developed within qualitative social research, e.g., in the fields of narrative analysis, the analysis of argumentation and the analysis of visual and symbolic materials. In these contexts, participants of the workshops are always encouraged to explicate their respective presuppositions, e.g., the presuppositions on "nationalism" in their respective societies. – Thereby members of the research workshops are also enticed to reflect upon and to analyse common sense knowledge with regard to "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991).

The research workshops also are social arrangements of a fast exploration of, and getting acquainted with, important features of the respective other cultures and societies of Europe: arrangements which break up the traditional hetero-stereotypical categorisations and superficiality and create a special sensitising potential. The development of such a deeper perspective is especially stimulated by structural descriptions and the related contextualising and process-analytical look at qualitative empirical materials like texts of off-the-cuff story telling, detailed descriptions, argumentation's in group discussions/focus groups, institutional records, historical and fictitious (belletristic) presentations of social change, etc. Arrangements of "fast" exploration and learning are an important condition for all levels of co-operation in a Europe, which is growing together. It is fair to say that the expected multi-national collaboration in the research workshop seminars will play a significant role in fostering an atmosphere of trust in the co-operation between the mixed-national scientists involved in the research.

2.1.3 Preliminary Analytical Dimensions of Studying Collective, and Especially European Identity Work

The preliminary qualitative research on the minority nation society of Wales provided us with four main analytical dimensions:

– Collective identity constructions: cultural periphery and cultural centre as well as hybridity, marginality, images of the stranger, and bilingualism;

– Figurations of socio-structural periphery and socio-structural centre;

– Biographical work: individual identity constructions and the impact of collective endeavours and social collectivities; as well as

– European identity work proper.

Due to the multi-level qualitative research using the various methods of data collection and data analysis mentioned before (in chapter 2.1.2), these main analytical dimensions could be broken down into additional five to six sub-dimensions each:

1. Collective Identity Constructions: Cultural Periphery and Cultural Centre as well as Hybridity, Marginality, Images of the Stranger, and Bilingualism

– images, definitions, and arena debates of collective identity: the different impacts of cultural centre on the one hand and cultural periphery on the other and their mutual relationship or "figuration";

– definitions of belonging to minority and majority groups;

– social arenas, elite discourse and symbolic universes of collective identities on the level of the nation state and on other (sub-national and trans-national) levels;

– visual and mythical symbolisms of collective identity; paradigms of merger and clash of collective and biographical identity (e.g., in cherished high culture texts as "El Poema de Cid" and in autobiographical writings of elite persons like R.S. Thomas' autobiographical writings).

– projecting the past: the role of historians and men of letters in shaping images of collective identities.

2. Figurations of Socio-Structural Periphery and Socio-Structural Centre

– social structure of periphery, peripheral social situatedness, and personal as well as collective identity constructions;

– socio-economic conditions of peripheral regions and new cultural developments in the management of firms (including the problems of cultural tradition, cultural otherness/ethnicity, morality, and cultural creativity),

– socio-economic conditions of peripheral regions, the quest for cultural creativity and the paralysis of discouragement;

– migration from peripheral regions and to peripheral regions; its impact on life on constructions of (individual and collective) identity, and on the "figuration" between cultural centre and cultural periphery;

– the impact of socio-economic conditions on peripheral regions, on the exploitation of their natural resources and on the rising of a sense for geo-mindedness.

3. Biographical work: Individual Identity Constructions and the Impact of Collective Endeavors

– neutral positions dealing with collective endeavours: generalized other, arbitrator, referee, liaison worker, critical observer;

– me-images (assumed pictures of others – "we people" as "related" to myself and "they people" as not "related" to myself) and self-definitions in terms of belonging to collectivities and of implied personal responsibilities,

– biographical conditions of getting sensitised towards collective endeavours as well as the impacts of collective endeavours and we-groups on shaping self definitions and personal responsibilities,

– dealing with otherness and strangeness: conceptions of collective and individual strangeness as well as conceptions of the familiar and the unfamiliar foreigner;

– loose and tight bonding mechanisms connecting personal identities and collective identities.

4. European Identity Work Proper

– bi- and multiculturalism: hybridity, marginality, bi-lingualism, the well-informed citizen of Europe, the professional stranger in the social worlds of the professions in Europe;

– cultural hybrids, marginal people, and creativity; the pivotal role of marginal people, cultural hybrids in transcultural endeavours (in politics, management, scholarship and the arts);

– hidden and focussed collective identity work towards Europe (e.g. the various conceptions of familiar national "othernesses" in Europe as contribution to a concert of voices of European identity; everyday way of practicing intercultural communication in Europe);

– European identity work which is focussed on conceptions of national identity, on the one hand, and on conceptions of transgressing national identity on the other; the multi-layer characteristic of European identity work;

– distortions of collective identity work (e.g. xenophobia, ultra-nationalism, right wing extremism; individual disappointment and disengagement; void ritualism of European identity work).

– institutional symbolism of Europe.

The just mentioned analytical dimensions will be put to use for the ethno-graphic field -work and the data analysis connected with it in six societies:

– two minority nation societies without their own separate statehood (Wales and Northern Ireland);

– two smaller nation societies with their own statehood (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic or Ireland);

– two larger nation societies with their own statehood (but with a totally different history of establishing and using their own statehood – Poland and Germany).

Since two societies of the same type each can be compared as well as the societies of the different types in general, the research strategies of minimal and maximal contrast (Strauss 1987) will be used. Thereby it will be possible to take into account historical specificities as well as systematic differences of alternative cultural conceptions and structural conditions. Due to the open, abductive research process the roughly twenty research dimensions will probably be differentiated, partially revised and amended.

2.2 The General Topic of European Identity Work

Collective identity work becomes pivotal in unifying Europe. Grosso modo speaking, there are three features of it. First, nowadays the automatic tendency to refer to collective and societal issues just in terms of nationality and the nation state, which was so typical for the last two or three centuries, has forfeited its base of moral legitimisation. The nation state lost its status of overall meaning resource due to the experiences of many conflicts and wars in the 19th and 20th centuries. Second, due to the extremely varied European experiences, traditions, and philosophies, there are extreme differences between the various national conceptions of nationhood, citizenship, and the nation state in the European Union, which make the single conceptions questionable in themselves. Third, there is the growing importance of biographical and collective sense making practices regarding one's own inclusion into several (territorially bound) we-groups referring to regional areas, to Europe and to world society (as symbolically represented by the United Nations). There are new questions of content and of hierarchy regarding the numerous layers and frameworks of complex biographical work referring to these different collective identities. The differentiated collec-tive concerns and their gradation are very much linked to the biographical work focussed on individual identity construction. The following might sound overly optimistic, but with regard to the layer of sense making practices referring to the

collective identity of Europe, we are at least under the impression that in many parts of Europe there is an underlying, subliminal concept of belonging together in Europe, which essentially excludes any individual willingness of going to war with each other anymore and which includes the individual desire to take the perspectives of the culturally others and therefore to overcome the language barrier by learning at least one foreign language. We could say that a specific European international-mindedness has increased – notwithstanding the fact that certain parts of our continent are marked or threatened by civil warfare. This international-mindedness includes a specific understanding by many individual persons and we-groups in Europe of a European collective (cultural and political) identity in diversity, which should be supported and developed (without excluding a strong feature of trans-European international-mindedness).

The professional producers, designers and mediators of culture who are pivotal for the construction, support, fostering, vulgarisation and change of collective identity images tend to position themselves in the socio-cultural centre field of national and/or European society, and at least some of the receivers of cultural products and services feel forced to position themselves in areas of socio-cultural periphery. (The latter positioning might be connected with suffering.) However, under certain societal conditions, professional producers, designers, and mediators could also intentionally prefer to take a periphery stance which is often a transnational one, and develop a hybrid/marginal personality.

But not only the professional producers, designers and mediators of culture should be scrutinised regarding the interplay of their biographical and collective identity work (as outlined in chapter 1.2). It is equally important to study the interrelationship between the biographical and the collective identity work of **ordinary** persons of the general public, who might adopt, reformulate, criticise or reject the formulas of the professional elite. In addition, it might be seen that the ordinary citizens have developed their own conceptions of the interplay between biographical and collective – especially European – identity work that are utterly different from the formulas of the cultural elite. If this would be found, one explanation for such a phenomenon could be that Europe might be seen by them as far away from their own centre of live or, to the contrary, it might be envisioned by them as a matter of the heart. Another explanation could be, that the nation state might have lost the "spiritual" meaning for them, which it still might have for the cultural elite, etc.

The research project will focus on a topic of the social sciences which is important in terms of basic theory: collective identity work – especially the interplay between national and European identity work – of lay people, professionals

and members of the cultural elite. In addition, the research line is prone to be very innovative regarding the further development of qualitative social research methods: biography analysis, analysis of argumentative contexts of collective discourse, analysis of social arenas and social worlds, analysis of "historical tales", mythical symbolisms and social dramas, analysis of socio-cultural movements for the construction of collective identities as well as analysis of historiographic narratives and their productions of pertinent images, concepts and background knowledge regarding collective identity.

2.2.1 Research Questions Regarding European Identity Work

2.2.1.1 Hidden European identity work

Most of the European identity work is still disguised by references to other types of collective identities. The hidden European identity work is embedded in the following phenomena:

– in the existing different types of national we-conceptions,

– in the impact of collective concerns of all sorts (referring to regional, national, international administrative bodies, institutions and territorial spheres with a distinctive culture) on individual biography constructions and biographical work,

– in the conceptions of cultural and national otherness and strangeness (especially in the mode of national hetero-stereotypes),

– in the ways of practicing intercultural communication,

– in social worlds and social arenas of societal core activities of European relevance (e.g., those of professionals and scientists as modern times itinerant scholars), as well as

– in all types of allusions and references to Europe and trans-national affairs within the public discourses on „going concerns" of the respective national societies.

2.2.1.2 Collective identity work that is focussed on conceptions of national identity

As already mentioned, most of the collective identity work in Europe deals with conceptions of national identity. This is always connected with conceptions of "we-ness" as juxtaposed to cultural otherness, of cultural centre as contrasted with cultural periphery, of cultural purity as opposite to cultural hybridisation, of cultural restriction to an in-group image of the primordiality, self evidence and absoluteness of the position of one's own cultural group as juxtaposed to cultural marginality or hybridity in the sense of bi- or multi-culturality with its

concomitant qualifications. These contrast sets of typifications are firstly based on a social figuration of the contrast between social centre and social periphery positions, and secondly on a social figuration of the interrelationship between cultural production workers (as writers, poets, historians), cultural design workers (as language purifiers and developers, politicians, cultural advertisers and propagandists, educational programmers, law makers, etc.), of cultural mediation workers (as journalists, teachers, lawyers, business administrators, social workers, etc.), and of the ordinary recipients of the cultural products, i.e., the individual members of the general public.

2.2.1.3 Distortions in collective identity work

There are several typical distortions in collective identity work observable all over Europe. First of all, on the one hand, there are powerful attitudes and activities of xenophobia, ultra-nationalism and right wing extremism. On the other hand, the general population of Europe is not only disappointed by the organisation, management, and handling of their own political concerns within the European institutions and by their widespread lack of democratic legitimacy, but, in addition, it seems to be always luring and feasible for politicians to elicit anti-European sentiments in their respective national constituencies. Last but not least, people all over Europe are fed up with superficial, ritualised scenic productions of European intercultural exchange.

2.2.2 General Remarks Regarding the Research on European Identitiy Work

Generally speaking, the research on European identity work will, on the one hand, emphasise the work that cultural elite persons and culturally mediating professionals do in order to construct and reconstruct collective (regional, national, trans-national, European and globalised international) identities in Europe and how this is linked to their own biographical identity work and to their educational (meta-)work of modelling the interplay between individual and collective identity work of the general public. Cultural elite persons and culturally mediating professionals are especially sensitised regarding their incumbency of positions either of cultural centre or of cultural periphery. Whereas in the 19th century the transgression of the mental and emotional confinement within the horizons of national identity forced cultural elite persons and culturally mediating professionals into marginality and peripheral political positions, in the 21st century their work of shaping collective identities must be contextualised within a trans-national European and international frame of orientation.

On the other hand, the research on European identity work will focus on the mental and emotional work that ordinary persons of the general populace in Europe do in order to connect biographical and collective concerns and let them get informed by each other. Quite often this double identity work is in the background of awareness. But sometimes it proceeds to the foreground as a focussed concern. This happens not only in situations of public thematization (e.g. as in the case of the public discussions on the enlargement of the European Union as voted for or against it in Ireland), but in biographical situations of deep involvement or confrontation with persons from other nations of Europe – e.g. in a situation of studying abroad, in situations of falling severely ill during a vacation time abroad and getting rescued by medical professionals of a foreign European nation, etc. In addition, it is extremely interesting to find out, whether ordinary citizens of the European Union will – more or less critically – use the formulas of the cultural elite regarding European identity work at all or will develop their own concepts that have little to do with those mentioned first.

In order to empirically scrutinise the collective identity work on the levels of national and European loyalties, symbolisms and debates, the biographical and discourse work (as, e.g., seen in autobiographical narrative interviews and group discussions/focus groups) has to be studied as performed by (a) creative cultural elite persons versus receivers/consumers of cultural productions, (b) socio-political centre persons versus socio-political peripheral/marginal persons, (c) several types of cultural professionals (especially the clear-cut „centre purists" on the one hand and the committed "marginality defenders" on the other hand) and (d) several types of ordinary persons of the general populace in Europe.

2.2.3 Further Methodological Implications for the Advancement of Qualitative Research Methodology: The Link with the Methods of Cultural Studies

The analytical work of the research platform will be based on empirical materials such as autobiographical narrative interviews, group discussions/focus groups, productions of the printed and electronic media, visual, pictorial and musical symbolizations and dramatizations as well as literary productions of cultural elites (poets, historians, politicians, etc.). – Since great emphasis will also be laid on the analytical utilisation of the latter types of empirical materials which are uncommon in social research up to now, there must be again some innovation in qualitative research methods. Therefore, in addition to the necessary methodological implications regarding the utilisation and analysis of autobiographical

narrative interviews and group discussions/focus groups as mentioned in section 2.1.2 already, there have to be refined methodological steps and procedures:

– to select pertinent pieces from productions of the printed and electronic media and to perform structural descriptions on them in order to accomplish the analysis of social dramas (Victor Turner), social movements, public discourses, social arenas and social worlds (Anselm Strauss);

– to study musical, emblematic, pictorial, theatrical and otherwise visual presentations and symbolisations of historical social dramas and social movements, which shape, change and/or support collective identity constructions; and especially to assess the expressive and symbolic character of pieces of music and of stagings of the performing arts, as well as of emblems, paintings, photographs and other visual materials as means for presenting collective identity work in its connection to biographical identity work; and, in addition, to realise the epistemic dependence of their interpretation on narrative texts; as well as;

– to perform the textual analysis of the literary productions of cultural elites (e.g., poets, historians, politicians): regarding their styles of constructing historiographic narratives and their ways of creating, supporting or changing collective identity images and conceptions; regarding their ways of enforcing, legitimating and/or criticising the collective identity work in regions, nations, supranational units by means of elaborate argumentation; as well as regarding their approaches to working through the interplays between individual and collective identity work.

These further methodological implications, which of course are basic-theoretical ones at the same time, demonstrate that in our research project qualitative social research (and the pertinent basic theories like Symbolic Interactionism, Ethnomethodology, Ethnography of Communication etc.) and cultural studies as conducted by scholars of literature have to mutually influence each other. This will result in important basic-theoretical and methodological pieces of innovation (cf. Wallerstein et al. 1996, part II).

3. OVERALL HEURISTIC STRATEGIES OF OUR RESEARCH PROJECT

A complex qualitative research project needs the adoption of heuristic strategies that enhance the conditions for creativity and effectiveness. The following heuristic strategies will be used in our project on European identity work:

3.1 Starting from and getting sensitised by the problematic

The research will start from conscious constellations of problems connected with collective identity work – problems that are experienced as difficult to manage, which are sometimes hurting and which always must be reflected. (Dewey 1929) These conscious constellations of problems of collective identity work can be found in situations of *explicit* relating to we-groups and their difficulties – especially difficulties in finding or keeping satisfying relationships with other we-groups – within minority nation societies, especially in life situations of hybridity and marginality. Thus, the research outlook will get sensitised (Blumer 1969) towards the much *less* distinct and much *less* marked collective identity work in life situations of nation countries that have their own sovereign statehood – life situations which are more or less unproblematic or just an "of course" in terms of relating to we-groups.

3.2 Adopting an attitude of refractive self-reflecting

The research project will harness the potential of creativity implied in confrontations with the unfamiliar, i.e. looking from the perspective of the other as a stranger. (Simmel 1958) Observing from the perspective of the unfamiliar other sheds a new light on oneself and on one's mundane affairs: as something, which has to be thought about, which is not without doubts anymore, as well as which is questionable and can even become strange to oneself. To look at one's own self-conception and self-representations, at one's own collective affairs and at one's own biographical processes from the points of view of the culturally other is extremely enlightening. In epistemological terms, the heuristic strategy of refractive self-reflection, i.e. looking at oneself from the standpoint of the culturally other, is much more powerful than to reflect about oneself and one's affairs from an *autochthonous* standpoint. The culturally unfamiliar or even strange becomes a medium of refraction, through which a creative perspective on oneself, one's history and one's future can be won (Dewey 1934, chapters 3, 4). By having arrived at such a refractive stance of self-reflection, the researcher will also be able to look at culturally unfamiliar or even strange phenomena in a much more circumspect, balanced and differentiated way than from a homogenously autochthonous stance: since she or he has learned that even the familiar phenomena in one's own sphere – including features of oneself – are not an "of course" and that they are based on non-obvious ("deep-structural") *universal* mechanisms, on the one hand, and on quite complex biographical and historical – and therefore *singular* – prerequisites, on the other.

Hence, the heuristic research strategy of refractive self-reflection is pivotal in ethnographic fieldwork (Dumont 1978). Ethnographic fieldwork from the same cultural (or even ethnic or national) background as that one of the persons and groups researched on can be expected to be weaker in terms of generating new social science insights than an ethnographic fieldwork that includes the culturally other as at least part time researcher (compare Bellah et al 1985 and de Tocqueville 1835 and 1840). Therefore the fieldwork will be jointly conducted by autochthonous data collectors and by those from one or even two other nation states, especially from those that are different in type. (E.g., ethnographic research work within a minority or ethnic nation society will be jointly conducted by a researcher from that very society and in addition by a researcher from one of the small nation societies as well by one from one of the large nation societies. Out of financial reasons, this will not be feasible everywhere, but it will be mostly manageable to have at least one autochthonous and one foreign researcher in the field.) The autochthonous fieldworker and the foreign one will look at, understand, recall, reflect and talk about identical social phenomena, which they will approach together, in a quite different, sometimes utterly different way. Therefore, in their field conversations, they must compare, triangulate and calibrate their perspectives, and that is the reason, why they will be able to recognise and understand the phenomena in the field in a much deeper and circumspect insight than just in a culturally totally homogenous situation of fieldwork. – Another social arrangement for taking the perspective of the culturally other and for triangulating the perspectives of the autochthonous and the culturally other is the multi-national research workshop of qualitative social research (see next paragraph).

3.3 Mutually taking the respective perspectives of the others in epistemic dialogues on "third things"

Our planned research project will exploit the dialogical principle of confronting, interchanging and calibrating the perspectives of the conversing research interactants in looking at "third" phenomena at the outside of their social relationship. Through intersection of participants' various perspectives of looking at "third phenomena", which are topically outside of their own interactive relationship, the partners of the communicative interaction will learn about the personal "indexicality" of their own perspective and of those of the others and can gain by imagination the epistemic circumspection of third, "neutral" perspectives. (Mead 1934 refers to the "generalized other".) The dialogical principle also implies that participants imaginatively take the different stances of the various protagonists

and actors coming up within the "stories" of the collected text materials, explore the situations of action and the predicaments of suffering that are referred to in the narratives told, analyse and assess them from different angles, compare the different pictures coming out of it, triangulate their constitutive perspectives and features, and arrive at multi-perspective images that are much more circumspect and much denser than the images of the individual persons acting and suffering within the stories told. - In terms of epistemic advances, this circumspection in terms of insight and density of images from situations of action and predicaments of suffering, reached at through intense communication about observed "third" processes, are even more productive, if these observed phenomena outside the interactive relationship (and quite often even outside the *world*) of the participants of the dialogical conversation are of a kind that is not familiar to the them. For, participants will then detect that the "third" phenomena will be shed in an utterly different light of strangeness and familiarity for each of them. The differences in terms of familiarity and strangeness for each of the partners must therefore be explored, discussed and reflected on.

The most suitable social context for dialogical dealings with processes of third parties is the research workshop arrangement, in which participants from different cultural (especially different national or ethnic) backgrounds will take part. These dialogical workshops of qualitative social research deal with cases presented through the medium of empirical primary materials (e.g., transcriptions of autobiographical narrative interviews or ongoing verbal interactions, written or even published text materials like autobiographies of politicians, visual materials like series of photographs, etc.); the primary materials will be structurally described by starting from the formal (especially: sequentially ordered) features of the texts (or pictures, etc.) and then adding the coding of the pertinent textual contents; the unravelled features of the materials will then analytically commented upon by differentiating between the general features of the involved social mechanisms, on the one hand, and the biographical and historical singularities of the analysed single case, on the other; and by delineating possible analytical dimensions of comparison between single cases, the analytical dimensions will then be used for selecting the next cases to be analysed by taking into regard the optimal comparative contrasts in order to gauge the theoretical variety in the topical field under study (theoretical selection of cases); the analysed single cases will then be compared with each other in terms of the (more or less preliminary) analytical dimensions and the theoretical categories generated yet; and finally the different perspectives of the participants will be theoretically discussed by means of dialogical argumentation; and in a later session - after having contras-

tively compared several single cases – a theoretical model of the social processes under study will be generated. (Strauss 1987; one finds similar arrangements for dialogical data presentation and discussion procedures in the professions like the "training cum research" groups of Michael Balint 1968)

3.4 Using a multi-layer approach

Our research project on European identity work will use a multi-layer approach of looking at questions of collective identity work in Europe. First of all, there is the intricate relationship between individual and collective identities as mentioned above (Giddens 1991). All collective identity work must be conducted by individuals as members of respective social we-groups; otherwise that work would not take place and the groups would even cease to exist after a while. But on top of that, the collective identity work of the individual members of we-groups gains its energy and takes over parts of its images and its meaning from the biographical identity work of the individual members. And vice versa, the autobiographical identity work receives much of its ideas, images and enthusiasm from the arena debates and symbolisms of collective identity work. Hence, on the one hand, all notions of collective affairs belonging to social we-groups and their respective collective identity work occurring in the empirical data of the project will be explicitly indexicalised (Garfinkel 1961) by referring to individual experiences and individual biographical work as it is shown in, e.g., autobiographical text materials of all sorts. And, on the other hand, it must always be demonstrated, how biographical processes of the protagonists and ordinary "practitioners" of European identity work receive their resources for imagination and meaning from collective models, endeavours, symbols and arena debates (by empirically referring, e.g., to pieces of "sacred literature" or to group discussions/focus groups).

Secondly, processes of collective identity work take place within various layers of social reality: within the layer of everyday interaction (e.g., by using European instead of national money), within the layer of joint action projects (e.g., organizing a multi-national ethnographic excursion), within the layer of meso-structural social worlds and social arenas (e.g., NGOs discussing European environmental issues and projects), within the layer of macro-structural and macro-historical processes (e.g., the process of devolution in Great Britain or the socio-economical transformation in Eastern Europe) as well as within the layer of life history and biographical work (e.g., the making of an European minded politician as Jacques Delors). The processes of collective identity work within

the various layers of social reality are very much linked to and conditioned by each other; therefore they must be studied in their intricate interplay.

Thirdly, collective identity work is conducted in we-groups of different quality and size, in different constitutive units and different entities of territorial control. These collective bodies influence each other considerably (e.g., social movements on the local level can be counteracted by national politicians and again, in contrast to this, encouraged by European institutions). The research project will demonstrate the intricate relationship between the relevant processes on all these levels, but it will also take into account that the detrimental *disintegration* between some of these activities on different levels of territorial and constitutive units is still a predicament of European identity work, citizenship and politics.

3.5 Doing cases studies on European identity work *processes* and contrasting them

Collective identity always is a task that must be worked on by the members of the respective collectivity. Like individual identity, collective identity is not a fixed state or even an unchangeable essence, but a permanent process of change and a developing product of practical and reflective activities (Strauss 1993). Processes of collective identity work can be studied as ensembles of coordinated *work* activities (Strauss 1985) on different levels of social reality: on the level of biographical work, on the level of project work (in action terms), on the level of professional work in teaching, encouraging and supporting the development of collective identities, on the one hand, or in controlling and reducing the impact of trajectories (Strauss et al 1985, Strauss 1993) of social disorder and individual suffering, on the other, on the level of the communicative work of arena debates within social worlds, and on the level of societal work of legal processes, of politics and of governance (e.g. producing and discussing the draft of a European constitution). These several levels of work can be studied in depths by looking into the multitude of disparate and in-depths study of social processes, especially processes of identity work and identity development. The sequential order of the activities and phases of the unfolding of these cases are pivotal for a prozessual analysis that also takes into account processes of fading out of awareness, of covering up, of hidden symbolic allusions, even of repression of some features of identity work. The processual and sequential analysis can be accomplished by the structural description of textual (or visual or otherwise symbolic) representations of the single cases, by breaching procedures of the documentary method of interpretation (Mannheim 1964, Bohnsack 1991) and by the triangulation of

the different perspectives of the various actors and experiences involved in the single case.

After the analysis of a first case, there will be the selection of a second case by contrastive comparison within the preliminary analytical dimensions as explored and generated during the analysis of the first case. If the processes of identity work in the first case will have remained opaque to the researcher and difficult to assess, the next case to be chosen will stand in a minimal contrast relationship to the first case studied already, in order to scrutinize the involved processes more closely. If the identity work within the first case under study will have been proven to be transparent, the next case to be chosen for further analysis will be one of maximal contrast in relationship to the first case studied already in order to explore and gauge the overall theoretical variance of the topical processes of collective identity work under study. The contrastive comparisons (and the respective data collection by means of theoretical sampling) will go on as long as new features of processes of collective identity work will show up in the empirical field under study. The ethnographic study of collective identity work in a single nation country will come to an end, when the point of theoretical saturation and theoretical representation connected with it will have been reached (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Strauss 1987). In addition, there will be contrastive comparisons of cases and alternative ways (work processes) of collective identity work *within* the nation countries of the same type (minority or ethnic nation countries, small nation countries with their own sovereign statehood and large nation countries) and *between* nation types – using as criteria for the selection of the contrasting cases or work processes those analytical perspectives and those theoretical categories, which have been generated already.

3.6 Using the zooming procedure of focussing empirical, especially textual, materials

Analysis of primary data in qualitative social research is always quite time-consuming. Therefore our planned research project will start with fast overviews over the materials collected by procedures of open coding (Strauss and Corbin 1990). This will help to decide which interviews and recordings of ongoing interaction and what natural textual units of them should be transcribed and which text materials should be analysed in what order and how meticulously. The research project will start with the analytical work of coding and theorizing almost immediately after the collection of the first data has been accomplished. After having won first overviews and having come across most interesting but opaque

phenomena, the project will also conduct the meticulous analytical procedures of narrative analysis (Schütze 1992) and conversation analysis (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) of the respective natural units of textual (and visual or otherwise symbolical) data.

4. OBJECTIVES OF OUR PLANNED RESEARCH PROJECT

Our research project on European identity work will deliver for the following products:

4.1 Dimensions of Collective Identity Work in Europe

The chapter would spell out the dimensions of collective identity work in Europe, which is done by ordinary individual citizens, members of the cultural elite, educational professionals, politicians, and the pertinent institutions. Most of these dimensions of collective identity work are still activated in terms of national identity work, although they are always done with implicitly taking into account regional, trans-national, European and universal considerations as well as the task of handling intercultural relationships. Collective identity work is intricately linked to biographical sense making practices regarding one's own inclusion in we-groups referring to regional areas, to national collectivities as cultural and organizational units, to trans-national projects, to Europe and its socio-cultural, and political arenas, and to world society. There are new features and arrangements of content and hierarchy of priorities regarding the several layers and frames of biographical work referring to collective identities in Europe. The report would use empirical materials from the first society under study, i.e. Wales, and would uncover roughly 20 dimensions of European identity work. There are four main dimensions:

– biographical work: individual identity constructions and the impact of collective endeavours,

– figurations of socio-structural periphery and socio-structural centre,

– collective identity constructions and the tensions between cultural centre and cultural periphery, cultural majorities and minorities, the cultural straight and the cultural hybrid ("marginal man") as well as the autochthonous and the stranger,

– European identity work: hidden and focussed collective identity work towards Europe, several layers of collective identity work in Europe, distortions of collective identity work.

The chapter would spell out the (roughly) 20 dimensions by using the example of the minority nation of Wales (exploratory studies have already been conducted). We expect that the collective identity work is most conscious and obvious in the minority nation societies which had to struggle very hard to keep their own national identity, which had to develop patterns of cultural hybridity and multilingualism and which have increasingly developed strategies of turning to European arenas of discourse, action and representation.

4.2 – 4.6 Reports on the five other national scenarios in terms of Collective Identity Work

The dimensions of collective identity work as stated in chapter no. 1 will be put to use in ethnographic case studies on the collective identity work within the other societies focussed on in the project (Northern Ireland, Bulgaria, Czech Republic or Ireland, Poland, Germany). The five reports on the national sceneries would start out from the same set of analytical dimensions and categories as developed in report one. However, since the research is an open qualitative one adopting an adductive logic of research, it could and should happen, i. e., this is something that should be encouraged, that during the research activities for the ethnographic reports on the five additional societies some of the analytical dimensions as stated in chapter no. 1 would have to be differentiated, and some sub-dimensions might have to be added to the preliminary list. In conducting the fieldwork in, and the ethnographic reports on, the five national sceneries, there would be constant comparative comparisons – focussed on the incipient 20 dimensions – between the minority national societies (without their own statehood – Wales, Northern Ireland), the smaller nation societies with their own statehood (Bulgaria, Czech Republic or Ireland), and the larger nations societies (Poland and Germany). Of course, the collective identity work is different in the five societies under study: e.g., the collective identity work in a "conflict" society with two battling halves" consisting of two separate minority nations (Northern Ireland) is different from that one done in culturally more homogeneous minority nation societies (like Wales); it is also different from that one pursued in a larger, quite homogenous society at the geographical periphery of the European Union with a national tradition of collective suffering, of having been occupied for whole periods of history and of having been denied its own statehood for a long time (Poland) as well as from that one enacted in a larger, quite variegated and for a long time separated society in the geographical centre of Europe with a tradition of over-aggrandizement of its own statehood and national identity, of national

aggressivity and entanglement in guilt, of feeling stigmatised and of self-stig-
matisation on the basis of an overall sentiment of collective guilt and of getting
inclined to distrust symbols of national collectivity at all (Germany). – By means
of constant comparatative comparison the five reports on the various societies
would show their separate specificities in collective identity work and the general
features of this work. Phenomena, features and mechanisms of doing collective
identity work in the five societies under study would be delineated.

4.7 An Integrated Model of Collective Identity Work in Europe

This chapter would formulate the outcomes of the systematic comparative
comparison of the six reports on the countries under study (e.g. of the dimensional
report on Wales, and of the ethnographic reports on the five other countries).
It would state the general features of collective identity work in Europe, as well
as it would specify and explain the unique features of collective identity work in
each of the six countries (Wales and the five other societies to be studied). From
the latter, conclusions would be drawn regarding social, cultural, and historical
conditions of alternatives for collective identity work. Finally the chapter would
generate an integrated theoretical model of how the dimensions of collective
identity work in Europe are pivotal for the understanding and strengthening
of European citizenship.

4.8 European Identity Work and Its Political Pedagogy

First, this chapter would spell out the hidden and the focussed forms of Eu-
ropean identity work. Whereas national, regional, and local collective identity
work is quite lively, there unfortunately has to be stated the virtual absence of
explicit European identity work. In the near future this might become a severe
problem for the institutions of the European Union (their legitimation, their
democratic control, their sense making functions, etc.) – as is being increasingly
mentioned in documents produced by them – and for its citizens since all over
Europe and in all domains of its everyday life (in economy, especially shopping
and tourism, in cultural events, education, in the handling of political duties and
political rights) topics, opportunities and issues of European import will become
pivotal. Hidden forms of European identity work are, e.g., all types of allusions
and references to trans-national affairs within the national public discourses on
"going concerns" and their "translation" into the spheres of individual life. Fo-
cussed forms of European identity work would be, e.g., international discourses
on European identity issues as on the introduction of the Euro or the drafting

work for a European constitution. The report would also deal with the function of bi- and multiculturalism for European identity work (especially including its potential of political creativity, Soysal 2002); with the question of and how collective identity work focussed on the nation will be of help or detriment to European identity work (we take the stance, that sound European identity work cannot be done without a grounding in sound collective identity work focussing on the nation – e.g. Fischer 2000, 2001); and with the several types of distortion of collective identity work (as xenophobia, individual disappointment with European or other collective concerns, and void ritualisms of presenting and addressing European symbols).

Second, the chapter would deal with the possibility of conducting ethnographic excursions of students of the humanities and social sciences from different countries to another country of Europe. It would include ideas on the question how these students from different nations attempt to get a deeper understanding of a foreign culture and society in a considerably short period of time. It would be asked how much the learning experiences of the ethnographic excursions will enhance the sense for Europe as a diversified cultural, institutional and political unit, and what will be the features of this "Europe-mindedness". From this some general conclusions will be drawn regarding the procedures and social arrangements of teaching European citizenship and "Europe-mindedness".

4.9 Implications of Collective, and especially European Identity Work, for Legislation and Governance

This chapter would spell out, how the sense for European citizenship could be intensified and predicted by appropriate legal rules and pertinent procedures of governance. It is our strong belief that European-mindedness would only thrive on top of the living "tree" of collective identity work concerned with other social collectivities (as local, regional, national and trans-national social bodies) and on top of the respective biographical investments. The multi-layer engagements have to be transformed by legal means and facilitated by governance procedures. One important legal means certainly is the solemn proclamation of the Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the European Union; but it must still be legally insured and by governance procedures facilitated that the charter will make a difference in the everyday life of European citizens. The multi-layer engagements will also be encouraged and protected by the legal and procedural instrument of subsidiarity which, on the one hand, gives precedence to smaller constitutive units (and their respective we-groups) if this is sensible in terms of impact interest,

accountability, expertise and responsibility and, on the other hand, necessitates a strong and autonomous central (or federal) power which most be accountable to a controlling assembly of constituent bodies and to the individual member of the European Union. - The chapter would attempt to "translate" the empirical findings on the dimensions of European identity work and other types of collective identity work as achieved by individual biographical engagements into legal concepts and governance procedures.

4.10 Implications of Collective, and especially European Identity Work, for the Professions

This chapter would deal with the impacts of the Europeanising process for professional work. After the demise of the isolated nation state and its symbolic universe and after the evaporation of trans-national ideological concepts of state socialism and anti-communism new spaces of orientation, communication, and orientation dealing with sub-national, supra-national and European collectivities and institutions have to be explored. This has to be done by European minded cultural centre professionals like cultural creators (artists, writers, lawyers) and cultural mediators (educationalists of all sorts, media people). But many individual members of European societies also severely suffer from the loss of former meaning systems, from the predicament of being in a minority cultural and social position and/or of living under the conditions of structural periphery and/or from being confronted with the dangers of unexpected and misunderstood strangeness (as resulting, e.g., in xenophobism). Giving counsel and support in this context is the task of liaison professionals (as social workers, psychotherapists, teachers, attorneys); liaison professionals have still to come to terms with those European macro-impacts on the life situations of their clients. They must help their clients in finding new symbolic schematisms for their relationships between individual and collective identities and to enhance their capacities for multi-layered biographical work of relating to complex sets of various collectivities.

4.11 Implications of Collective, especially European Identity Work, for Non-Governmental Organisations, Social Arenas and Social Movements

The last chapter would scrutinise the challenge for the creation of a pan-European civil society. First, two types of social movements can be witnessed which have specific European features: (a) social movements in the small non-state minority nations for protecting and strengthening all types of we-groups, cultural identities, national culture institutions and political representation in them; those

social movements increasingly refer to an emphatically conceived of European identity; as well (b) social movements all over Europe, that are concerned with environmental issues especially endangering peripheral regions, which are used as dumping grounds for industrial (especially nuclear) waste and/or as supply areas for natural resources of all kinds (water, wood, etc.). We still have to wait for social movements that would directly focus on specific task of strengthening European political and social institutions. The just mentioned social movements with their specific European sensitivity are quite inventive in their symbolisms and modi operandi. Second, other important social arrangements of European import are social arenas (Strauss 1978, 1993), which centripetally focus on common problems and shared professional, scholarly or art activities. Those social arenas start to develop their own European styles of communication (including a Europe-specific lingua franca) which are also nurtured by the European institutions themselves. In addition, the organizational nuclei for social movements and social arenas develop managerial features of specific European characteristics. On the other hand, most of the political organizations proper (like European political parties) still tend to understand themselves just as annexes of the respective national organisations and have not developed sufficient features of a European culture yet.

Magdeburg 2002

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HOMECOMER. SOME BIOGRAPHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS VISITING THEIR FORMER HOMES

Summary

This paper considers some of possible implications of emigrants' visits back home. Alfred Schütz's seminal paper "The Homecomer" provides a theoretical framework for analysis of autobiographical narrative interviews with young Polish people living in Germany. An attempt is made to explore why and how – typical for the emigration processes – a more critical and objective image of country of origin and a growing feeling of strangeness at home deepens emigrants' capacity for reflection on their life and identity. Consequently, most of them painfully realise that they will never fully assimilate with the country of immigration and they no longer find themselves comfortable in their country of origin. This has crucial implications for their biography. The collected empirical data show that some of emigrants plan to immediately return to Poland in order to save their emotional relationship with those back home. Others find their homeland poorer and less prospective in comparison to Germany. This legitimate their residence abroad. And finally, the negative homecoming experience can perform a very important function in the narrators' common-sense argumentation, i.e., this should reduce psychological and biographical costs of their emigration career.

Key words: autobiography, emigration, homecoming, biographical work, marginality, identity.

INTRODUCTION

The considerations undertaken in this paper are based on empirical material comprised of autobiographical narrative interviews with young Poles who emigrated to Germany, which are analyzed according to the principles of the research method developed by Fritz Schütze (1981, 1983, 1984; cf. also Prawda 1986; Rokuszewska-Pawełek 1995)[1]. Their analysis enabled me to establish the succession of events in the course of immigrants' life as well as the reconstruction of their self-images which accompany these events. Thus, the planning stage of emigration (I decided to label this phase as pre-emigration) which is usually related with perceiving oneself as a citizen of the world, to be someone who feels everywhere at home and is similar – if not the same – to other inhabitants of Europe (or the world). In turn, the sharp and painful realization of conflicts arising from the clash between the native and the foreign culture is characteristic of the initial stage of individuals who live abroad. The most important outcome of these conflicts is the feeling of inner turmoil (Park, 1950: 355) intensified by the sense of national identity and emotional bonds with their homeland which was suppressed or even denied until that point, only then coming to the fore (Stonequist 1961: 121–122). Immigrants notice – much to their surprise – that in their new surroundings they are not perceived on the basis of their belonging to the shared European culture, but as strangers, outsiders or Poles. In Germany, this category is usually negatively charged and constitutes a stereotype which adds to the burden for those who attempt to create their image in the eyes of people with whom they interact. For many immigrants, belonging to a certain national community combined with a sense of being different becomes a pivotal scheme of reference and involve their own self[2] as well as compels them to give a careful consideration to their own lives. Following the immigration process, the clash of cultures and colliding self-conceptions of individuals – who on the one hand would like to keep their cosmopolitan ideas and, on the other, must face their suddenly discovered sense of identification with their country of origin – bring about understandable tension in their biographies. Their uncertain life abroad remains in sharp contrast to the recently abandoned homeland – the safe, sensible and predictable in respect to both performing everyday actions or the natural course

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[1] All the interviews discussed and quoted in this article were carried out in 2001.

[2] "Me" – the objective aspect of the self which is an interaction-mediated process – is seriously contested. Cf. Kaniowski A.M., 1990, Wokół pojęcia tożsamości w koncepcji Habermasa, in: Witkowski, L.. (ed), *Dyskursy rozumu: między przemocą i emancypacją. Z recepcji Jürgena Habermasa w Polsce*, Toruń: Wyd. Adam Marszałek, p. 264.

of events as well as to their familiarity with the language which surrounds them. The common-sense view shared with others in the society, self-evident routines of everyday life seems to be considerably different in the host country. This usually results in an uncertainty, volatility and ambiguity, consequently leading to some confusion, suffering, anxiety or even loss. In the ex tempore[3] recollected experiences in a foreign country the narrators must face these biographical dilemmas and explain both to themselves and the listener why – in spite of the intensification of their patriotic feelings – they continue with their immigration. For this purpose some of them refer to their experience of paying a visit to Poland, their families and friends. There are at least three outcomes of this experience. Firstly, immigrants may feel a need to return to their homeland immediately, for they feel they are unable to follow the ongoing changes in their original milieu and subsequently become more and more alienated. Secondly, they may strengthen their conviction that they had been right in choosing the other country as a place of residence. And finally, individual visits at home and the negative phenomena noticed there may provide them with – admittedly illusory – arguments supporting their decision of not returning to Poland. This allows them to reduce the profound social and psychological costs of being torn between the two loyalties and responsibilities (Cf. Schütz 1990b).

The experience of homecoming after a long absence as described by Alfred Schütz in his inspiring article 'The Homecomer' (Schütz 1990b: 106–119) is particularly of interest here. "Home" is defined here in broader terms and designates one's homeland – the place which one had left. Referring to the figure of Odysseus, who after years of wandering finally reaches the shore of Ithaca, or veterans returning from a war back to their families the author shows that a homecomer […] *expects to return to an environment of which he always had and – so he thinks – still has intimate knowledge and which he has just to take for granted in order to find his bearings within it* (op. cit.). In the meantime, however, their intimate relationships, the sense of common time and space as well as the ability to empathize shared with those who had left and those who had

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[3] *Ex tempore*, i.e., the narrative told without previous rehearsals guarantees that the task set for a narrator, i.e., recapitulating the course of events in their biographies follows certain rules (Labov, Waletzky 1967: 20–21). The constraints present in every narrative, i.e., the constraint to go into details, the constraint to condense and the constraint to close the textual form allow us not only to reconstruct the complete picture of events in the narrator's life course and attendant emotions (Kallmeyer, Schütze 1977: 118–226) but also allow the identification of some false biographical passages and the narrator's efforts of camouflaging, blurring or disguising some events because of their problematical character.

stayed have been irreversibly undermined. Schütz writes that for a homecomer *(...) the home to which he returns is by no means the home he left or the home which he recalled and longed for during his absence* (op. cit.: 115–116). Moreover, he is not the same person, neither for himself nor for those who await him and, paradoxically, he becomes a stranger in his own home. Although the author refers solely to cases in which individuals return to their homeland for good[4], I still believe that there are some distinct traces of the homecoming experience in Schütz's terms to be found in the short stays of immigrants at home. In other words, the disappointment with local reality and the inability to understand their household members – which earlier had been practically intuitive – as well as an acute sense of alienation are also experienced by those who visit their native country only temporarily. Contrary to all expectations, home and its residents, as well as close friends are not the same. Experiences of those who had left and those who had stayed have become dissimilar in terms of their nature and extent. They notice different aspects of everyday reality, their hierarchies of values and schemes of reference become altered. For many immigrants, the loss of their deep emotional bonds with their family and friends in Poland brings a sense of great disappointment and sadness. They must acknowledge the unpleasant truth that everything – including themselves – has been profoundly changed. Many of them are surprised by the fact that they are treated with distance not only at the place of their immigration but also in their homeland (Simmel 1975). Living – to some extent – in two societies broadens their intellectual horizons and enriches their knowledge. This makes their opinions more balanced and impartial (Park 1961: xvii–xviii). They become more and more marginalized (Park 1950: 354; Stonequist 1961: 2–3) which initially (or permanently) engenders a feeling of discomfort and annoyance.

Many immigrants believe that coming home only for a short time will enable them to forget – at least for a while – about their painful feelings related to their stay in a foreign country, about the fragility of the world there and the accompanying uncertainty. Unexpectedly, however, instead of bringing some relief their visits at home result in disappointment – the consequence of negative experiences of a marginalized man (Stonequist 1961) torn between conflicting attitudes towards both cultures on the verge of which he lives. Immigrants feel more and more alienated and lost in the country of their origin and among their

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[4] I would suggest that the feeling of alienation depends rather on how long one had been absent and how much one had gotten acquainted with the "alternative" reality, not on how long one stays at home (whether it is for good or just a short visit).

family and friends whom they had left. They learn that their visits in homeland do not solve the problems which arose from their choosing the immigration (Riemann, Schütze 1991: 351–352). Therefore – following Anselm Strauss – the phenomenon of homecoming is considered a turning point (Strauss 1969: 93) in the immigration process. This implies a critical, often shocking understanding of specific changes in one's situation and/or a way of feeling and thinking about one's life and oneself that may also deeply transform one's relationship with others (op. cit).

The subjective meaning which the narrators ascribed to their visits at home (in homeland), the role they perform in their biographies as well as their significance for the development of their identity will be analyzed in the later part of this paper. The collected autobiographical recollections of young Polish immigrants in Germany suggest that there are at least three – dependent on sociobiographical conditions and an individual's reference to the immigration process – possible implications of the homecoming experience. I will show how this experience becomes an important part of their biographical work (Strauss 1991: 342) aimed at accounting for their stay abroad and reducing their sense of guilt caused by leaving their homeland (especially in the context of the "reinforced" or discovered patriotism, declared earlier by narrators) as well as sustaining continuity in their self-image.

THE NEED TO RETURN TO THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

In this day and age, many people leave Poland in order to earn money, improve their skills in the fields which are still deviating from European standards or because they are hoping for an adventure. Many of them plan to accumulate a certain sum of money or enrich their knowledge and then return home. They hardly ever realize that even their temporary stay abroad may change their life permanently and profoundly affect their biography. Focusing on difficulties and sufferings associated with their life in a foreign country, they often forget that at home life continues as well. Their successive visits at home where they find themselves excluded from the daily lifeworld of their family and friends give them assurance that they should return to Poland as soon as it is possible. Worried and frightened, they start to realize that the longer they delay their departure, the

less probable it becomes that they find the home they wish to see and desperately long for[5].

In this regard it is interesting to look into the narration of Robert – a 27-year-old dedicated horseman, who has been following his passion for several years – also in his professional field of work – in Germany. The narrator intertwines an argumentative commentary[6] in the flow of his autobiographical rendering with the objective of explaining why, in his current life situation, he decided to return to his native country. Robert comments: Robert (4/22–38)

I say: damn... one should do something at least, settle down in Poland to have something to return to, because... here [in Germany]/ as I was approaching here and and-and/ and-and all these things became not so rem/ not so distant from me, only I was getting to know these sss... that life here, these people, these customs... the whole country, so sss... ehm my relations in Poland those one week long, or two weeks long, or sometimes only at weekends in Poland... ehm were not enough for me to... for a normal life , because hmmmmm I hadn't been here [in Poland] for three months. I came for two weeks, or for one week and... and well, I wasn't able to visit everyone, to <u>talk to</u> everybody again, well I was <u>outside</u>, because/ because l/ l life's been going on and I...

I: Mhm.

N: I'm of course not there [in Poland], y'know? And it's great, I know all these people further, but ... ehh ... when we sit together, they are talking about something, and I don't know what they are talking about, because, damn, I don't know that last year someone did something, fell from his bike or... something happened to him, y'know?... So, that is unfortunately that/ that/ that problem, that/ that... mc... it's already like, damn, <u>a split personality</u>, similarly, because... <u>or/ or</u>/ Either here to the end, or there to the end.

At the beginning, Robert says that he has to do something and finally settle down in Poland "to have something to return to". This short sentence implies

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[5] Anslem Strauss observed this process in the biographies of immigrants to America, who coming to visit their homelands unexpectedly notice: [...] *how little affinity they have retained, how identified they had become with America and Americans. Any return home, insofar as have really left it, will signalise some sort of movement in identity. Some people literally go back home in an effort both to deny how far they have strayed and to prevent further defection.* (Strauss 1969: 93–94).

[6] On the basis of linguistic knowledge about different communicative language schemes i.e., description, narration, and argumentation and their contribution to the reality created in narration, Schütze concludes that if the very narration reflects the processual character of the individuals' life course, in the argumentative part narrators attempt to explain both to themselves and their listener the reasons of their conduct, evaluate the flow of events in their life and give careful though to their identity.

that Robert is fully aware that as a person who lives abroad and occasionally visits his country of origin he must take steps to save his home – a relatively stable point of his biography – a place where he can always return to. In an attempt to explain this issue, Robert enters a biographical commentary in the form of a very careful analysis of his current situation. The narrator already knows that neither his family nor friends share the same community of time and space with him.[7] He is also convinced that their common-sense experiences, schemes of interpretation and frames of reference have become materially divergent and, consequently, their mutual alienation deepens. Robert illustrates this process with the following words: *I know all these people further, but ehhh when we sit together, they are talking about something, and I don't know what they are talking about, because, damn, I don't know that last year someone did something, fell from his bike or... something happened to him, y'know?...* Eventually, the narrator comes to a conclusion that he is not able to live in two remote worlds (in the physical, mental and cultural sense). As a matter of fact, his dilemmas reflect the drama of a marginal man: *So, that is unfortunately that/ that/ that problem, that/ that... mc... it's already like, damn, <u>a split personality</u>, similarly, because... <u>or/ or/</u> Either here to the end, or there to the end.* The narrator's autobiographical rendering acknowledges his marginal position – balancing on the verge of two worlds which is indispensably connected with psychological burden and uncertainty that is colloquially termed a "split identity" by the narrator. In the case of Robert subjecting the influence of the immigration process on his life course and identity (mainly in its collective dimension concerning his "Polishness") to moral judgments and analysis arises the need of (re)interpretation of his place in the world as well as his emotional commitment to the national collectivity. This happens because the feeling of loss and confusion which occurs *when things usually taken for granted become problematic* (Schütz, 1990a: 231) is experienced while visiting Poland. The narrator afflicted by worry notices that some routine procedures of conduct cannot be applied in his case, he cannot follow a casual conversation of his friends and finds himself separated from the ordinary course of events. According to Schütz, it is one of the most painful experiences lived

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[7] Schütz writes: [...] *community of space means that a certain sector of the outer word is equally accessible to all the partners in the face-to-face relationship. The same things are within reach, within sight, within hearing, and so on. Within this common horizon there are objects of common interest and common relevance; things to work with or upon, actually or potentially.* The author continues: *a community of time does not refer so much to the extend of outer (objective) time shared by the partners but to the fact that each of them participates in the ongoing inner life of the other.* (Schütz 1990b: 109–110).

through a person returning homeland when: *He believes himself to be in a strange country, a stranger among strangers* [...] (Schütz 1990b: 106).

This nagging sense of losing intimate bounds with his home is a turning point in Robert's biography and he decides to return to Poland in order to rebuild his weakened relations with his relatives as well as to have something to return to in general terms. He is motivated not only by the need to find a stable and safe place in the world, but also the wish to establish some sort of a firm emotional "foundation". The narrator adheres to his plan because he believes that if he stays abroad he will lose one of the most crucial parts of his own self – his national identity.

However, it is debatable whether Robert will stay in his native country for good or if he will return to Poland at all.[8] Other immigrants' experiences as well as the narrator's former life course (he had already left Germany in order to settle down in Poland "permanently" once) make his future choices doubtful. The narrator had already proved to himself, his family and friends that he is capable of returning and in fact, this experience may help him postpone his homecoming ad infinitum.

The case of Robert indicates one of the most intensive internal conflicts experienced by people who left their homeland for years and plan to come back one day. Some original plans of many immigrants are canceled due to the changes taking place in the surrounding reality: while the country of their immigration becomes more and more close or "familiar", their fatherland seems to become more and more strange and incomprehensible.

THE LEGITIMIZATION OF AN IMMIGRANT'S CAREER

The internal conflict, the roots of which can be found in the experience of marginality, may also contribute to making a choice in favor of the country of immigration. This second option will be discussed in reference to the interview with Ela.[9] In her recollection of her life abroad she explains: *I cannot be concerned about two countries, it doesn't work… to live as if in two countries, it's… hard. In the long run it/ it doesn't work, you know?… I have/ I live here now* [in Germany]

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[8] Robert did return to Poland for one year only. After that, he came back to Germany, at which time the interview was conducted. Although Robert claimed stubbornly that his stay abroad would not last longer than 12 months, when I had a chance to ask about him several years later he was still living in Germany and he was still claiming that he would return to Poland one day.

[9] At the time of the interview the narrator was a 25-year-old woman.

and I live the life that is here, you know? In order to understand her decision we must take into account some social conditions of her immigration process. First and foremost, we must remember that the narrator comes from the Silesia region. Her father – after providing evidence of his German origin – moved to Germany when she was a one-year-old girl, while her mother, her step-brother and she herself stayed in Poland. When Ela was 6 or 7 years old, her mother changed her mind, for the standards of living in Poland deteriorated significantly[10]. In spite of considerable differences in standards of living in both countries, the narrator's mother was not able to adapt to the conditions of living abroad and after a year she took her children and returned to Poland. This led to an irreversible breakdown of her parents' marriage and a herself being cut off completely from her father. A few years later, Ela's brother married a Silesian woman of German descent[11] and they left for Germany. Ela used to spend every summer holiday there because she could work and earn a living. When she graduated from secondary school, she decided to stay in Germany for a longer time. At this point, the narrator took her first crucial step on her immigration path which, at the time of the interview, was four years long. For six months, she has lived at her brother's place. Then, he decided that finding a flat for her was necessary. She had to decide whether to take this chance or give it up. This was of critical importance, because Ela had to make her final decision whether she would look for her own place and stay in Germany or come back to the place of her birth. She opted for the former solution, which was another important biographical choice. In her opinion, having her own place obliged her to stay in Germany, for she claims: *You cannot just take it, stand up, and… and quit it all and leave, you know?* Moving into her new flat – Ela suggests – put an end to all her doubts. Her narrative account, however, implicates that she was not yet entirely certain about her decision and only her visit at her friends' place in Poland when she saw their poor conditions of living confirmed her conviction. This experience was a "milestone" (Strauss 1969: 93–94) in her immigration career. When the interviewer asks her what she thinks about her choice now, she repeats several times that she does not regret her decision and then she explains: Ela (17/27–18/48).

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[10] It was probably in 1982 or 1983: the time of the Martial Law in Poland when the country sank into a state of poverty.

[11] A person having the so-called "red passport", i.e., the German citizenship (which does not necessarily imply one's identification with the German culture or mastering the German language) is mentioned here. Thanks to her (through a formal marriage to a German women) the narrator's brother could apply for the German citizenship. Unfortunately, there is no space here for additional explanations concerning the highly complex situation of Silesians.

I don't, because actually when I came to visit Poland two years ago/ if I'm not mistaken; I was there two years ago, during holiday, during… Easter in Poland, I actually saw these contrasts, this/ this life that is really hard. I visited my friends (2) which was for me/ if you are here for a longer time, you are not in touch with Poland so often, you know?, so it vanishes somehow/ I can remember how it was in Poland, I know it's hard, I know people earn little ehh but you already have this distance as/ and it deepens/ and then you ehm... you'd rather live this life here. I say it sometimes 'there', 'here' or 'at my place', 'at your place', because it's...

I: mhm mhm

N: for me/ Some people are angry if I say: well, at my place eeeh… here… they: 'you come from Poland, you should say here 'at my place', or/ but I live here, I have to… focus on here, cause I live here. I cannot be absorbed in two countries, it doesn't work… to live as if in two countries, it's... hard. In the long run it/ it doesn't work, you know?... I have/ I live here now and I live the life that is here, you know? And I adapt to it. If I am to leave it unsaid… and think, it would be there so and so aah... it doesn't/ it simply doesn't work, you know? This is when I… visited Poland, I met my friends… Generally… these people are totally… they're different/ different than/ than I can remember them. They're so nervous, they're so… uptight. It's all about such trifles that wouldn't matter here, they'd be a small thing here, and there it takes on the proportion of… something really big, you know?... And there were… I actually caught myself doing it all the time, when I visited my friend… mc... She lives with her mother, her sister, she's now married… she's pregnant, and there are only two rooms they live in, you know?, all together. She has a small one, the whole flat is 38 m², you know? (2) And I came to her, you know?, and she was with her husband in this room and she was saying how she'd bought a furniture set, you know?, here/ and there's a fitted carpet and she was describing the room, as if she would live in this room till the end of her life, as if/ as if I'd been furnishing my flat, she was describing this room in this way, you know? And I sit there and I say: 'Well... and I've to change my place, you know, because.. I have no bed/ bedroom, because I can't'/ I have a pain in the spine and always there is only one thing, a large bed. And because there's only one room in my flat, there is only an unfolding sofa there, you know. And you cannot sleep well on the sofa, can you? And I sit there and I talk, you know?: 'Oh, I would find it very useful to have, you know, a bedroom.' This husband looks and me and says:… 'You live alone?'... And I say: 'Well'. And he says: 'And you have this flat for yourself, with all these things?', you know? And I say: 'Well'. (I say): 'The flat is thirty square meters', you know?

And he goes: 'And you've no <u>bedroom</u>? You need a <u>bedroom</u>?, you know?... And I say: 'Well... because on a bed it's'/ and I explain it to him normally, you know?, I ache all over and this one/ this one room it's not enough ... ehh ... And they both sit ((laughing till*)) on their couch* and look at me as if I was from another planet, you know? ehh Only then I realized, that they coop up in this one room ((laughing till*)) and I just came… and I just tell them that I need a bedroom, because 30m² it's not enough for me hm hm* In that moment I felt awful, and awkward, you know?... It means, on the one hand I was ashamed, that I could say something like that, but on the other hand… well, I'd never thought about it (2) you know? There are flats here… In Poland, there were always problems with flats, you know? ehh And here unfortunately <u>there are none</u>. You can have even 100m² and no one would say a word, you know?... In that moment it was… it was totally meaningless for me, what I'd said, you know? And they took it… I really don't know ((laughing))… And then I wasn't talking lot, because I was thinking that I had put my foot into it…

I: Aha

N: and it would be ((laughing)) a complete flop ehh... you know. It's sad/ it's really sad, when she told me how they used to live from the first day of one month to the next [*when the salary is paid*], that it's hard… and at work… and… (it/ it) I thought to myself, I can <u>really</u> live here… These problems they have there, it's-s… well, there's/ it's better by far. And on the one hand, I'm not surprised that all these people are so neurotic and so nervous there mmm... because they <u>have to</u>, they have to <u>struggle</u> to live all in all… exactly this way, you know?, especially young people. Older ones usually have their places… from my mother's generation, let's say, they're coping somehow, you know?, but young people just after college… hmmm ... they have little future… I don't know what it looks like now… eh Well, almost all my friends have children and they're at home and they are crying their eyes out that from the first to the first of each month and it's hard and so on ehh... And I, for instance, have nothing to talk about with people from Poland now… <u>It's hard</u> for me to talk to them, because... well, I/ I always feel as some sort of… a criminal and if I say that I'm satisfied… I feel/ I think I have to find myself guilty/ still… find myself guilty, that everything is going well, you know?... I just don't want to ehm fo/ force it upon them, and it's hard when they keep on asking: 'How is it, how do you live and… and'/ Again, on the second hand, they all think that here… you do nothing, in fact, and all things…one can find in the street… you just pick up the money just like that, you know?... They cannot/ for instance, if I say that I work, that I work a lot, or that I/ they look at me-e… in disbelief. They really think that/ that one can do nothing, and one gets

money. <u>I have to</u> work here, <u>too</u>. It's not easy here. I can't say I just go and and and… I get up <u>for fun</u> to go to work sometimes and and and… I've got a lot of money, because I have to live, I have to pay and… But, for sure, it's not as hard as in Poland, you know?

The quoted passage not only reflects the course of the factual events in Ela's immigration but also gives us an insight into the parallel development of the narrator's internal states. We may reconstruct both her attitude in those days and her current attitude towards her visit at her friends' place in Poland. The narrator maintains that she has already built a stable platform of everyday life in Germany, she is doing well and she is independent and free.[12] Although her decision to have a flat is very important in terms of the consequences which it brings, the narrator still has many doubts about the legitimacy. Her crucial existential reflections were only provoked after visiting her friends in Poland. In comparison with her friends' modest, cramped room in a flat shared with their mother-in-law, one in which – as the narrator believes – they would probably stay for the rest of life – her immigration conditions seem to be incomparably better. She realizes that in Germany she can afford many things that would be unattainable in Poland. While her friends coop up in one room – she is concerned with buying a new bed. Ela finds the difficult and hopeless situation of her friends characteristic of other couples whom she knows and finally associates it with the generally poor and unbearable conditions of living in Poland. By means of her personal experience and through the generalization within the entire Polish society, the narrator can fully justify her decision both in her own eyes and the eyes of the listener. This marks a certain point in her biographical experience when she: *has to take stock, to reevaluate, resee, and rejudge* (Strauss 1991: 322) her life. This resulted in closing certain phases of her biography and starting a new "German" stage. Experiences accumulated during her visits in homeland enabled her to clearly determine her attitude towards Poland. Ela does not want to dwell on what was lost to her after she had left Poland any more, for she knows that the future she wishes awaits her only in Germany. Since that time, her plans, hopes and dreams have been centered in Germany. At this point, the narrator takes the final step

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[12] In Ela's biography, this process of becoming self-dependent and having her "own place" is very significant, because from her early childhood she was saddled with many difficult duties: she had to take care of her siblings – twins who were born after her mother left the narrator's father and returned to Poland, as well as support her mother.

– she decides to find her long-estranged father (formally a German) in order to be able to apply for a German citizenship.[13]

There is a reasonable doubt whether the homecoming experience alone may initiate the process of integration with another culture and regain an orientation in one's life. Ela's biography suggests rather that this is a necessary but not sufficient condition for this process. While analyzing her homecoming experience we cannot forget about her Silesian origins, her step-brother who lives in Germany and performs a role of a significant Other – her biographical caregiver (supporting her both in financial and emotional terms) or at last about the Silesian "familiar" enclave where she ended up in while making a decision to stay abroad. There are complex socio-biographical conditions involved in this process which result in consistent and effective elimination of the trajectory potential and in a successful immigration process.

RATIONALIZATION

The notion of "rationalization" is discussed here in reference to ethnomethodology and denotes the narrator's common-sense practices of reasoning and procedures by means of which they make sense of and account for their world of everyday life[14]. The following analysis of Marek's[15] case shows that immigrants often touch upon common-sense, minor and depreciating experiences or observations during their visits at home in order to account for and justify for themselves and their audience why – in spite of their revived patriotic feelings – they decided to stay abroad. Moreover, an attempt will be made to prove that an apparent way of coping with this biographical dilemma may result in destabilization of one's immigration career.

The crucial question which shall be answered here is: why some immigrants put so much effort into diminishing the value and importance of their home country? It seems intriguing why people whose biographies disclose their great

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[13] It is very a difficult task for the narrator, because she has not seen her father since she returned to Poland as a child after her mother's unsuccessful immigration. At the time of the interview Ela had a dual citizenship.

[14] Here, I am referring to Harold Garfinkel's concept of creating common-sense frames of interpretation: "the documentary method of interpretation". See: Garfinkel H., 2002, *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 77–79. Cf. Czyżewski M., 1984, *Socjolog i życie potoczne. Studium z etnometodologii i współczesnej socjologii interakcji*, "Folia Sociologica", vol. 8, p. 90.

[15] Marek told me his life when he was 38 and had been living in Germany for 11 years.

attachment and commitment to Poland and who, whilst speaking to Germans, refer to interpretation schemes characteristic of their native culture, create a negative picture of Poland on the basis of some insignificant examples.[16]

This kind of rationalization – as the collected data demonstrate – is untrustworthy, as denial and degradation of one's own country of origin – even in its minor aspects – may lead to questioning one's biography as a coherent whole. Another essential feature of this strategy is that such an internal crisis, which has not been fully controlled, may show its potential and disorganize an immigrant's attitude towards the lifeworld as well as towards his self-concept. Consequently, one may find oneself on the border of trajectory defined by Fritz Schütze and Gerhard Riemann (Schütze, Riemann 1992; Schütze 1997, 2004) as disorderly process of suffering in which a person is incapable of sustaining control over his or her life and is forced to surrender to overwhelming external circumstances. This inevitably leads to the end of one's active participation in the reality of everyday life and to chaos within one's world and values. By means of rationalization, immigrants may create some sort of a simplified worldview which allows them to keep the state of a precarious balance (Riemann, Schütze 1991: 349–350) and an active relationship to themselves and the lifeworld. Usually, this attempt to solve problematical issues comes to nothing, for constructing some sort of a falsified reality brings only temporary relief and creates an apparent order in one's immigration career. There is, however, a constant threat that in the face of an actual life's juncture (either directly connected with the experiences of marginality or caused by other critical moments in life) this way of accounting for one's willingness to stay abroad will disclose its provisional character and, thus, elicit a painful feeling of a complete loss of trust for oneself and one's interpretations as well as radically change one's sense of self-identity (Berger, Luckmann 1983: 81).

There is a number of things which a Pole who has never left his country would not find bothersome and which at the same time seem frustrate and aggravate an immigrant who has had a chance to become acquainted with a different world. In comparison with the reality abroad, the native country appears unpleasant and even dangerous – here, people swear, cars are stolen, waiters are rude and the drugstore's assortment is of much worse quality (these opinions may be found in the collected interviews). This observation is in sharp contrast to the recently

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[16] Looking at one's collectivity from a perspective of an objective outsider (Simmel 1996: 39) is conducive to developing unfavourable and very critical opinions about Poland to a certain extent.

"activated" identification with Poland. It is my assertion that some narrators resort to inconveniences of this kind – thus attempting to discredit their original symbolic universe (Berger, Luckmann 1983: 155–158) and moral order – for the purpose of mitigating or even 'anaesthetizing' their feelings of inner turmoil and pain caused by their inability to adjust completely to a strange country. There is a simple guiding principle in the way of their reasoning: if their feelings towards their country of origin have been questioned in a smallest detail – they are no longer obliged to remain steadfast in allegiance to and showing regard for their homeland.

This kind of common-sense reasoning the narrators employ in order to explain the sense of circumstances in which they find themselves, explain the reasons for their actions, evaluate their life course and, lastly, to cope with their problematical identity will be discussed on the basis of a passage taken from Marek's interview. An attempt will be made to prove that my assertion is supported not only by the content of the narrator's account ("what" is recapitulated) but also the format of its presentation ("how" these experiences are told). I will pay particular attention to the fact that certain fabricated[17] for one's immediate purposes clarifications are in contradiction with the real problems of a marginal man. This inevitably results in disorder of presentation reflecting one's identity crisis.

Marek's emigration career started at the turn of the 1980's when his father – an old age pensioner – decided to investigate his German roots and look for his sister in Germany. At that time entry visas were still required at the Polish-German border and people who applied for the German citizenship had to go through the so-called 'Lager', i.e., a camp for resettles. As if by accident – accompanying his father throughout this process – the narrator came to Germany and managed to bring his wife with him (although she was very reluctant to go). Then Marek – a recently graduated engineer – put his diploma away and took up a job at an assembly line as an unqualified worker. In the course of time he was promoted to a foreman position, not only because he had learned German in a very determined fashion, but also because of his fluent knowledge of the Russian language (his crew was composed mainly of Russians). It happened by sheer chance that his superiors learned about his engineering qualifications and transferred him to a higher position. Eventually, the narrator was offered a post in a large German company which was about to enter the East market. With his

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[17] After Goffman I understand "fabrication" as an individuals attempting to induce a false belief in themselves as to what is happening. See: Goffman E., 1974, Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, p. 83.

good command of German as well as Polish and Russian, Marek seemed to be a perfect candidate. At the time of the interview, the narrator's professional and financial position was undoubtedly very good.

The argumentative commentary which will be analyzed below comes directly after the narrator's description of a stereotypical picture of a Pole who – according to most narrators – is widespread in Germany. In general terms, he can be described as a "simpleton" – a seasonal worker who goes abroad and – away from the reference group's control – behaves in an outrageous way, consequently harming the reputation of his fellow citizens[18]. The narrator depicts them as people who are constantly swearing. This causes him to be embarrassed whenever he meets them in the street. Marek is afraid that if they speak Polish he may be associated with this group and he may be ascribed – by virtue of stereotyping – their negative attributes – subsequently, he stays out of their way. At this point of his narration, Marek introduces the argumentation line, which is quoted below: Marek (12/3–13/34)

And hmm I must tell you, that I've realised that how much the Polish language ehm... is... eh <u>dominated</u> by these swearwords it is seen when you are behind Polish borders for a longer time. When I was in Norway/ after eight months... of staying there I return/ I was going by ferry from Oslo ehm from Ystad/ I was going from Oslo to/ to Ystad. This is a port city ehm in Sweden and on the ferry or <u>by the entrance</u> to the ferry... I could hear Polish people speaking ehm that our unfortunately <u>terribly</u> injured Polish language. And that is what... I don't know... how you ehm ehm consider it but I've attached <u>great</u> importance to it that I... I cannot hear this/ these swearwords in the street here... <u>There are</u> also some swearwords and vulgarities in the German language, which one can hear, but in comparison with... with these Polish ehm they are really very soft... And that's the ehm thing, which irritates me in Poland <u>very</u> much. That's the thing that partly caused my decision to stay in Germany.

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[18] The narrators' common-sense definitions suggest that it is a Pole who steals, wangles and drinks excessively, as well as does not want to establish good relations with inhabitants of the country where he works because he is only there for a short period of time. In my research on Polish immigration in Germany, I combine Park and Miller's (1969) description of an Italian immigrant of a "caffone" type with – in fact convergent – characteristics of a Polish peasant in Thomas and Znaniecki's seminal work (1976). The "caffone" is a simpleton who does not care about his appearance, has no regard for the opinion of others, ignores his surroundings and has only one aim in mind: to accumulate a certain amount of money and return home (Miller, Park 1969: 103–105). Referring to 'The Polish Peasant in Europe and America' Park and Miller conclude: men, *removed from the restraining influence of an organized community, tend to follow their immediate impulses and behave in monstrous ways.* (Park, Miller 1969: 288).

I: mhm

N: As I... the more often I was here then... or I was visiting/ or I was visiting/ I started generally visiting the whole world, for... except Norway I was in Sweden and I was in Ireland ehm I was in London and I've se/ I've seen that/ that/ that it might be without these cuss words... ( ) ... I must tell you that the <u>boorishness</u> in the streets which sss... was aaah <u>ubiquitous</u>... in Poland was very disturbing to me... and it disturbs me today; although it has been changed... but... <u>there</u> when I was trying to go to ehm just to have a beer, although today one can have a beer in very cultured pubs and so on. at that time ehm when I was still, let's say ehm I started drinking beer aaah... I had to drink it in this box ehm ehm or in such pub rooms from a mug so I was meeting there ehm people from different ehm beckgrounds and I must tell you that ehm I've had different stages... of <u>longing</u> for Poland. I've had/ it was such/ the worst was perhaps 6th year or 5th year of residence here...

I: mhm

N: I've had really serious ehm... ehm... I've been really seriously thinking over, let's say, making a decision of coming back to Poland. Especially as I've had such an opportunity professionally but, <u>among other things</u>... just the fact... that in Poland these streets are so <u>extremely</u> dangerous still... that this/ this cri/ that crime in Poland is still so high and as I've my family and/ and two/ two daughters... that I must say that... that I've started to think whether I should do it, because <u>if not this</u> I might have decided to come back but ehm this country... changes for I... everyday I can see how far it changes but ehm... one thing has not changed... that/ that such <u>boorishness</u> ehm in the street there is still a lot of. Especially in large centres. You come from Łódź, <u>the city of</u> Łódź ehm I don't know, it seems to me that there is also there ehm but there is no need to go to/ to Łódź but it is enough if one goes to any single town in Poland, walks along the street in the evening and see/ sees just guys wearing ehm tracksuits ehm running around in their training shoes and/ and controlling that/ that/ their territories... mmm I often visit Poland by car... and, I must say, that I am <u>so</u> concentrated and so tense when I drive around Poland today so... so no/ nowhere else do I drive so ss/ that is because, I actually c/ at every step eh... perhaps not/ <u>I'm not afraid</u> but... I'm aware that it may happen something to me... something bad. Especially as... I drive a car... which I've ... so/ I'm constantly exposed that someone will want to ... that car from me in any way ehm I don't know either steal or break or destroy ehm I must tell you, that I've <u>no</u> pleasure in it and I drive to Poland <u>often</u>, both on business and privately... so my... I begin to breathe when I'm either, let's say, at my mother's-in-law, when I put the car somewhere away either in a garage or...

in an attended car park because <u>there is constantly</u> this fear that something just may happen in that street . When we walk... around Opole or around Gliwice or around Katowice sp... <u>I haven't</u> (2) I really try not to be distinguished by I don't/ I don't/ I don't provoke, I do not dress in the way that one could see in advance that I just have..... maybe a little bit more money ehm I dress fff as/ as everyone else in jeans and a T-shirt but... in Poland <u>I do not feel</u> safe and this seems to be one... of many eh reasons but one of <u>crucial</u> problems that/ that a man/ <u>that I</u>... have made the decision and it seems to me after talking to others that... it also has disturbed that in Poland there is as it is and that the state... not completely ehm takes care of the safety of these citizens. The subject is much talked about in recent times – that something is to change, that it is improving. Surely, a lot has changed, for instance, border checkpoints today eh eh look completely different than/than/than hmmm 5,6 or 8 years ago... but... hmmm... I must tell you that <u>this</u> country, Germany, is... a very... safe country in the sense that a man may simply feel/ not only financially... but eh in the aspect, let's say, o/of <u>the public</u> security

I: mhm

N: more comfortable tha/ tha/ than in Poland. That is because I'm aware of it that as a citizen of this country I've ... really a lot of possibilities and rights which, let's say, a man who would like to harm me in any way I can very quickly eh eliminate or... cry for help and I'll eh receive the help. But eh I'm afraid that/ that in Poland unfortunately one could still be attacked in/ in the street and/ and others will be watching it and/ and nothing more will happen... So there are surely these things which, which in Poland, unfortunately, hmmm change very slowly...

I: mhm

N: ... very slowly... And having, as I say, children eh <u>because I'm not worried about myself</u> for all in all mm one may hmm...You know, the fact that someone eh will take my jacket away or eh will steal my car these are all things which one may... still buy later or <u>purchased</u> or even if someone will give me a black eye. <u>If only it came to an end in this way</u> so one is welcome but... but actually I'm afraid of this/ this/ this/ that/ that/ that/ this banditry…

The narrator begins with voicing his irritation with the Polish propensity for using profanities. He noticed it particularly when – having been separated from his native language for some time – he unexpectedly met swearing Poles in Germany or when he returned from Norway where he had been working during summer as a student and heard his fellow countrymen swearing. This account is supposed to be an argument in favor of his choice of living abroad: *And that's the thing, which irritates me in Poland <u>very</u> much. That's the thing that partly*

caused my decision to stay in Germany. This declaration is of great relevance to the dynamics of his argumentation for its preposterous character[19] (disproportionate to its importance), which is perceived just after its verbal production, forces the narrator to provide further explanations to his interviewer. This implausible argument significantly contradicts Marek's biography as a whole. It is unlikely that someone who recalls his childhood and youth in Poland with such warmth, could now question the substantial part of his life with such a – so to speak – "shallow" argument . In this context, "the swearing motive" seems to be incoherent and the narrator is put under pressure to provide the listener (and himself) with a more reliable explication. Marek is trapped within the line of his reasoning. In order to validate his choice of Germany as the country of destination he has to refer to more and more shocking experiences while visiting Poland and thus, he comes to a dead end. Let us systematically analyze his arguments. When the abuse of profanities in Polish turns out not to be sufficient to explain his immigration, he uses a broader category and claims that it is the boorishness in the Polish streets and public places that really annoys him. The narrator's cosmopolitan perspective, that of a person who had visited many countries within the scope of their work, is intended to support the accuracy of his account. However, when he gives an example of a pub the patrons of which come off as arrogant[20], he suddenly realises that he can remember these places from the communist times and they may look completely different now. Then, within the background construction, Marek returns to the chain of events in his immigration career and recapitulates the difficult times when he was wondering whether to stay abroad or return to Poland. Again, he refers to the argument concerning rudeness in Poland in order to show that his reluctant attitude towards coming back to Poland – even when it would be profitable in professional terms – was right: *I must tell you that ehm I've had different stages... of* longing *for Poland. I've had/ it was such/ the worst was perhaps 6th year or 5th year of residence here... [I: mhm] I've had really serious ehm... ehm... I've been really seriously thinking over, let's say, making a decision of coming back to Poland. Especially as I've had such an opportunity professionally.* Marek refers here to a stage in his professional career when he was offered a lucrative post of a commercial manager in one of branch offices of a well-known German company in Poland. The narrator did not use this opportunity. Neither his argument about swearing, nor the one concerning rudeness in Poland

[19] In common-sense thinking, it seems to be nonsensical that a decisive argument for leaving one's country is the abuse of profanities by one's fellow citizens.

[20] Marek probably talks about pubs before 1989.

does satisfactorily explain his decision to reject the offer. Consequently, Marek must further degrade the country of his origin in order to justify his choice and by means of the 'but' construction he is forcefully debasing Poland. He depicts it as a place where cars are stolen, people are robbed and killed in the streets for no reason. Simultaneously, the narrator emphasizes that he is not so much afraid of all these crimes as far as he himself is concerned, but because of his daughters (then – primary school first-years). Referring to higher values – a father's concern for his children – should leave no doubts that, as a caring and loving parent, he had chosen Germany as a country which may ensure safety for his daughters. It is difficult to dismiss such an argument.

Another crucial feature of Marek's account is his noticing changes for better in Poland[21]. Being aware of the constantly improving situation in his homeland, its development aiming at reaching the European standards of living, makes his immigrant situation more complicated. The better the living conditions in Poland become, the fewer reasons against returning to homeland the narrator may find. His awareness of similar possibilities for professional development in both countries, and especially the moment when he was offered a lucrative post in Poland as a German company representative, makes him torn and disorientated. His future appears uncertain and his identification either with Poland or with Germany is still complex. For this reason, Marek still struggles with himself and continues to work on his identity. This is defined by Strauss as: *the point where any man is questioning certain important "me's" and finds that he does not know quite how to characterize them, he is "alone" with his experience, wrestling with something that is as yet quite incommunicable.* (Strauss 1969: 38).

In an attempt to control the feeling of psychological discomfort or even suffering after abandoning homeland, Marek attempts to invalidate his emotional bounds and feelings of loyalty towards his native country. Consequently, he must resort to very serious accusations against Poland. The argumentative passage quoted above seems to prove that even now (after ten years of living abroad) the narrator is not able to deal with his problematical identity successfully. By means of forming "apparent" and sometimes "trivial" justifications for his immigration career Marek does not solve the real internal conflict which is bothering him constantly, as its true nature is not discovered. Thus, Marek lives in a constant

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[21] Let me remind you that we are talking about differences between 1990, when the narrator had left his native country as well as the earlier years (the narrator's youth) and the year of 2001 – the time of conducting the interview. One should also bear in mind that I analyze the narrator's subjective attitude towards reality and not the subjectively occurring changes.

state of uncertainty, as if suspended "between" the two worlds. In his everyday life this conflict may be unnoticed, but in biographically significant situations it may come to the fore. Firstly, there may be such critical incidents in biography, which may force him to reflect on painful aspects of his life (in Marek's case it is caused by his father's death, which implies some sort of evaluation of his previous life course and makes him to think his future over). Secondly, the dynamics of the storytelling may coerce a narrator into initiating (if ever undertaken) a biographical work. This in turn confirms a disarray of certain biographical threads and the narrator's marginal identity. All these traits may be found in Marek's storytelling and "reveal" an enormous tension in his immigration career.

CONCLUSION

Biographical experiences of emigrants usually reach a point in which they come to realize that they will never be fully assimilated with the country of immigration and will no longer feel at home in the country of origin. This acute feeling accompanied by conflict due to tension between two cultures often leads to cracks in one's everyday life and a sense of anxiety. Definition of life situation and self (mainly their national identity) usually offered to immigrants by others strengthen their conviction that they are not members of a world of normal life (Schütze 1997: 16) anymore. There is a growing set of contradictions within their life course which create chaos and cannot be easily managed. Under these circumstances, many of them endeavor to redefine their identity (Strauss 1969: 93), the world in which they live and expectations of future. Immigrants' stay at home (in Poland) has crucial implications for their biographically relevant decisions.

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SOCIAL CAPITAL IN RURAL AREAS: A RECONSTRUCTION ATTEMPT

Summary

Social capital, even being an ambiguous phenomenon with number of different definitions, is considered as a one of the important factors of local community's development. The author believes that social capital is a kind of feature or resource of a local community that may contribute to the effective activity of both individual and collective social actors. Relying on the recent sociological research (Public Opinion Research Center, Social Diagnosis) the author attempts to assess the capacity of Polish rural areas in terms of social capital. In order to describe the condition of social capital, the indicators referring to trust, solidarity, membership in non-governmental organizations, information, communication, social integration, and subjectivity are used. The data reveals that the level of social capital in rural areas of Poland is low and no increase can be clearly observed. Instead there are reasons to doubt in the fast development of rural social capital in the near future.

Keywords: Social Capital, Rural Areas, Community Development

1. SOCIAL CAPITAL IN RURAL AREAS AND METHODS OF ITS MEASUREMENT

Ever since social capital entered into academic and public discourse in the 1990s, it has been nearly unanimously proclaimed one of the important resources for community and social development. The emergence of this concept largely

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contributed to the diminishing of the paradigm of modernization, while simultaneously altering the social perception of rural areas, created models and predicted mechanisms of its development. As it transpired, an effective and balanced development required not only economic capital but also human, cultural and social ones as well. Throughout the entire second half of the 20th century, rural areas in Poland struggled with inadequate economic capital, which resulted in grave underdevelopment. There was no mention of other forms of capital during that time. At the beginning of the 21st century, with rural areas receiving considerable economic resources which created an opportunity for a profound change. We are making an attempt to investigate whether social resources of rural areas, its social capital, can aid with their optimal application and increase their effectiveness or conversely, whether some of these resources fail to be utilized.

What is the social capital of rural areas in Poland? An assessment of its condition is difficult mainly due to the fluidity of the concept itself, as well as the resulting problems with operationalization of indicators used for measuring thereof. Thus, such an assessment depends on the methodology of measurement as well as the indicators used. This subject has been discussed by Barbara Fedyszak-Radziejowska, who compared advantages and disadvantages of quantitative and qualitative methods within this area [Fedyszak-Radziejowska 2006a], and by Zbigniew Zagała [2006]as well. As far as the latest studies of social capital of the rural areas are concerned, chronologically speaking, Barbara Fedyszak-Radziejowska has employed the indicators of generalized trust, including that of neighbors, commune authorities and political parties, as well as a willingness to cooperate and a sense of impact on public matters [Fedyszak-Radziejowska 2006b]. Maciej Frykowski and Paweł Starosta make use of four indicators only: organizational activity, local and supra-local political activity as well as mobilization activity [Frykowski and Starosta 2006], while circles of trust and network categories lead to differentiating the types of social capital among rural residents [Frykowski 2006]. Janusz Czapiński's description of the condition of social capital [2007] involves indicators such as: interpersonal trust, voluntary membership in organizations and performing functions therein, active participation in non-compulsory meetings, voluntary activity for the local community, participation in local government elections and a positive attitude towards democracy.

The results of such investigation are quite consistent: the condition of social capital both in rural areas and in the entire Polish society is rather poor, although one may notice an emerging trend towards diversity in opinions on the subject. The most optimistic judgment has been formulated by Radziejowska, although, by her own admission, it does not result from research but from "observing numer-

ous noticeable symptoms of changes". This optimistic view is further enhanced by a singular decomposition of social capital which she carries out, based on the exclusion of social trust, "Is therefore social capital possible without social trust? It seems that this is the only option for the Polish countryside" [Fedyszak-Radzie-jowska 2007b: 144]. The role of trust as the key component of social trust has also been undermined by other authors researching this problem [Zagała 2006].

The most reliable empirical diagnosis of the condition of social capital in rural areas and in small towns has been formulated on the basis of the study conducted in 2004 by the University of Lódź [Frykowski and Starosta 2006, Frykowski 2006, Mularska 2006], which included each commune (*gmina*) within the Łódź province (*województwo*). The results suggest that rural social capital within this region is poor. It is characterized by an 'insular' pattern of spatial distribution and its value decreases progressively with the increasing size of the community. The components of social capital are characterized either by independence or by alternative nature of relations, which leads to differentiation of two varieties of social capital: 'local' and 'civic'. This phenomenon (independence of qualities or their alternating relations) has been labeled as the decomposition of social capital qualities; it also further reduces the potential for social co-operation [Frykowski, Starosta 2006]. The study also led to four types of social capital to be differentiated and evaluated in terms of their size. The largest category of rural residents are those in whose case social capital is non-existent (37%), closely followed by those who only have the so-called network capital at their disposal, "which is mainly used for individual purposes since their distrust towards fellow residents reduces the opportunity of employing the network for the local community" [Frykowski 2006]. Bonding (inter-group) capital is present in only one out of ten rural residents, while local (communal) capital and bridging social capital, in 8% of residents each. This is accompanied, as the study also revealed, by a low level of acceptance for such social norms such as: loyalty, reciprocity, subjectivity, trust and truthfulness. It is worth noting that only 1.7% of the studied population accept all social norms; the largest group (36.6%) approves of no more than two [Mularska 2006]. Thus, one can assume that there is little, if any, exaggeration in the theory that moral relativism, progressing permissivism or moral anomie are widespread in rural areas. What is particularly worth noticing is the **moral conditioning of the weakening of social capital**, which so far has not been explored in depth.

There are at least two reasons which contribute to the significance of the distinction of various types of social capital and determining their 'share' within rural communities. These factors draw attention to the fact that social capital may

assume various forms and that in rural society the principal forms of capital are those which do not have to serve the purpose of development. This particular phenomenon has already been discussed in literature. References to Banfield's idea appear in the writings by Frykowski and Starosta[1], the issue was also discussed by Daniel Wicenty [2004], while Krystyna Szafraniec focused in depth on 'bad' or 'negative' capital in her comments on the very same study on which Fedyszak-Radziejowska based her own analyses. ''The construction of social capital may result in the strengthening of links between members of the community (which leads to he emergence of an elite group of 'fellow members'), it may also lead to the appearance of social capital which allows the creation of 'bridges', namely, opening to new types of links, new values as well as new – different and 'foreign' cultural resources [...]. These (not necessarily this subtle) terminological distinctions lead to the discovery that there is more to social capital than only one, light aspect, since there is not only a 'good', but also a 'bad' social capital. Although far more doubt is engendered by the type of links which R. Putnam labeled as bonding social capital, bridging capital cannot be excluded from suspicion *a priori*.''[Szafraniec 2007: 16].

As evidenced by further study within the framework of „Diagnoza Społeczna" (*Social Diagnosis*) series, social capital of the Polish society is in such poor a condition that it is in opposition to the economic growth rate in the post-reform Polish Republic. Thus, Czapiński has formulated a hypothesis that Poland is in the phase of *molecular growth*, the main source of which is the growth of human capital. Social capital is to become essential in the later phase, namely *community growth*, but the strengthening thereof is much more difficult than that of human capital, as it requires long-term public actions. The third part of this article shall be focused on this issue.

2. SOCIAL CAPITAL OF COUNTRYSIDE IN 2008: DIAGNOSIS ATTEMPT

Basing on the assumption that **social capital constitutes a certain quality, resource and characteristic of a community which encourages effective activity of individual and collective social actors**, here we shall employ numerous

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[1] „A pattern in which social activity is locally accompanied with a widespread distrust is evocative of the 'Montegrano ethos', which Banfield describes as an example of social void in local communities with a high rate of local political activity, resulting from clientist-patronage system [Frykowski, Starosta 2006: 91].

latest study results in order to **propose a diagnosis of its condition**. We are taking the antireductionist standpoint , therefore social capital is regarded as a certain '**synthetic value', the emergence and existence of which comprises of several concurrent elements**, including cultural ones[2]. The problem stems from the fact that we lack information as to the significance of their impact on the entire social resource or social good in question, while the classic literature on the subject, often in a form of literary metaphors, attributes different values to them.

In reference to the best known concept of the World Bank, Jerzy Bartkowski proposes that social capital be analyzed on the basis of its six dimensions or components. These are as follows: „1) organizational participation and its diversity, character of the organization and the scope of network which they produce, 2) trust and solidarity, 3) co-operation: willingness and scope of action for local community, defining the potential of activity available for social mobilization, 4) information and communication, e.g. the use of press and other sources of information, 5) social integration and inclusion: internal stratification and tensions, the scope of integration of minority and marginal groups, 6) sense of subjectivity – the perceived impact on the surrounding world, particularly on its crucial institutions" [Bartkowski 2007: 88–89]. On the basis of this sequence, with the latest study results at our disposal (*Social Diagnosis 2007,* CBOS [*Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej – Public Opinion Research Center*] studies, et al.), we shall describe the social capital dimensions suggested above. However, as it transpires, each of these dimensions may be described with numerous indicators, which makes the phenomenon even more complex in appearance.

a) Groups and networks

Membership in organizations which in the most general terms are labeled as non-governmental, where the mode of operation of such organizations, as well as the character of involvement in the activity thereof constitute an important and often analyzed indicator of social capital. I suggest that two of its aspects be used to characterize it, including: the involvement of rural residents in non-governmental organizations and the structure of organizations operating within rural environment and of their operating methods.

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[2] This is in reference to a suggestion by Andrzej Sadowski, who proposes (in reference to Merton) that social capital be defined as capital which can be obtained or mobilized by 'an organized system of social relationships, while cultural capital as a system of such normative values which, when provided for individuals, result from their participation in various social processes. Thus explained social capital does, however, lack the entire normative sphere [Sadowski 2007].

The data concerning rural residents involvement in various organizations are quite consistent as it is low and remains below 20% percent. In a study carried out in several villages in 2002 [Radziejowska 2006: 87] it was concluded that 12% of respondents were members of any organization. *Social Diagnosis* 2007 quotes a similar level of organization membership. With the general indicator of 15%, in case of rural areas, this indicator amounted to at least 13% of respondents who perceived their membership as significant enough to declare it during the study. It is also emphasized that the membership rate increases steadily with the size of the respondents' place of residence, their education level and their income. The two latter factors also have a positive impact on performing various functions within the organization [Sułek 2007]. A slightly higher level of involvement in organizations has been found in a study of women in rural areas, conducted in 2007. Here, 15.8% of surveyed women declares their membership in social and political organizations of various kinds [Walczak-Duraj 2008].

The network of non-governmental organizations is also sparser in rural areas than in cities. Furthermore it is 'different' and is characterized by problems specific to rural environment and it is rather difficult to distinguish between formal and informal activity, as well as between economic and strictly social ones. According to the REGON registry (*National Business Registry*) [Herbst 2008] it is estimated that in 2007, there were between 31500 and 43000 non-profit organizations operating in rural areas, including entities such as co-operatives, parishes of various denominations and OSPs (*Voluntary Fire Brigades*). Among these were: "nearly 26000 associations – including 15000 Voluntary Fire Brigades, almost 700 foundations (from 8500 in the entire country) 900 so-called other social organizations (mostly hunting associations, but also savings and loans schemes and the few registered social committees), approximately 1300 units of trade unions, nearly 3000 professional and economic associations (in particular: agricultural associations, producers' associations, and agricultural industry associations), over 4000 co-operatives, nearly 8000 organizational units of the Catholic Church (7600) and other denominations (over 300)" [Herbst 2008]. Keeping the specific character of rural areas in mind, the above list should be amended with such organizations which are not registered in the REGON system, in particular ordinary associations (mostly entered into district (*powiat*) registries), organizations and initiatives associated with organizational units of the Catholic Church and social committees for the construction of local technical infrastructure, registered in relevant communes. One should also remember that between 10% and 40% of these organizations are no longer active, having ceased to operate.

Rural organizations are relatively small in terms of the number of their members as one in two of them is comprised of fewer than 35 members, two thirds of them with fewer than 60. The total number of members of various associations and foundations amounts to 750-80 thousands and 600-700 thousands in case of OSPs. In 2007, various types of services provided by social organizations were used by 23% of rural residents. These organizations are characterized by a relatively limited spatial range of operation as 70% operate locally, chiefly for individual persons. The areas of their activity are also specific. As many as 55% of associations and foundations are sports clubs. Aside from sport, there are organizations dealing with areas such as education, social care, local development and culture. A diverse profile has been found in the OSPs, as regulated by applicable law. They operate mostly on the field of fire safety and environmental protection as well as education, sports, cultural activity and local development. The activity of rural organizations based predominantly on social work and voluntary involvement is to a degree far higher than it is the case with urban organizations.

If organizations of various types are to be considered as an important component of social capital which creates these social networks of such significance, one should also focus on the way in which these organizations operate. An important aspect of their characteristics seems to be the values chosen by them as crucial for their functioning. According to their leaders, the values which are the cornerstones of the organizations' activity are: honesty (69% responses), care for the common good (43%), enthusiasm and contribution (39%), efficiency (38%), trust (33%). A slightly different profile of values has been found in the OSPs. In their case, efficiency, trust, honesty, solidarity and care for the common good are important [Herbst 2008].

As far as rural non-governmental organizations are concerned, social and professional organizations of farmers as well as their trade unions occupy a special position. The former ones have a long-standing tradition but their current condition, with the exception of agricultural industry associations, is rather poor. Although at the headquarters of the National Union of Farmers and Farming Clubs and Organizations (KZRKiOR), it is estimated that there are 22500 farming clubs, in the National Court Register at the beginning of 2008. However, only 3300 of such registered organizations can be found. It is also is not true that 850 thousand women belong to the farmers' wives associations (the exact number of which is difficult to estimate). At most, one fourth of that is more plausible[3]. According to the National Court Register, union organizations of farming clubs, such as the

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[3] Detailed estimations based on representative studies – cf.: Halamska [2008].

Commune Union of Farmers and Farming Clubs and Organizations (*GZRKiOR*), operate in 244 rather than 1700 communes. There are only rudimentary field and local structures of the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union and the Solidarity of Individual Farmers (*NSZZ Solidarność RI*). The rally held after 12 years in 2007 proved that there are traces of this organization's structures in 18 out of 49 of former provinces. Any characteristic of the structures of farmers' union Self-Defense (*Samoobrona*) is practically impossible, as no information pertaining to this subject has ever surfaced. The number of its supporters can only be estimated basing on the votes received by the political party by the same name: in 2007 it amounted to approximately 250 000 votes in the entire country. The importance of agricultural socio-professional organizations, which used to be a significant aspect of rural social life, has clearly diminished as of today, if not disappeared entirely, leaving only appearances of such organizations.

Other networks are created within parishes, which also constitute territorial communities. Their number within the rural areas is three times larger than that of communes. They are, therefore, small populations, within which various church organizations can be formed, Catholic or otherwise. The most commonly found parish microstructures include the following: the Living Rosary Club, Pastoral Council, Economic Council, Charity Team, altar boys, Ministers of the Altar or the structures of the Caritas charity. Not all such structures are present in every parish; pastoral or economic councils are found relatively rarely. According to the statistics of the Catholic Church, there are 340 various religious groups with approximately 2.5 million members involved. Many of these people, the so-called parish activists, are involved with several structures. According to the CBOS study, 7% of residents are active in various religious communities. The bond with a parish is not a 'large density bond' [Rogaczewska 2008], nor does a parish constitute a civic community as only 15% feel that they have an impact on the parish life, while as much as 70% does not want this impact to increase [CBOS 2005]. In rural parishes (as well as in metropolitan ones) the activity of various organizations is weaker than it is the case in medium-sized cities. One of the indicators can be charity and is found in 90% of the urban parishes and 62% of the rural ones. Nevertheless, a rural parish performs different functions which should be taken into consideration while analyzing its network-creating functions. After Maria Rogaczewska [2008], the following examples can be listed: "1) mobilization (a rural parish is a convenient venue for meetings, gatherings – not only for religious purposes – and commencement of local actions; 2) distribution of information concerning events in the village and its region; 3) integration of community by publicly visible rituals and festivity gatherings; 4) self-help and

therapeutic function (crucial in case of persons who are elderly, unwell and out of contact with their families)".

The profile of organizations comprising these networks, which are so significant for social capital, is a little obscure. There are formal organizations which are partially inactive, and informal organizations which operate in one way or another, as well as apparent organizations. A somewhat synthesizing outline emerges from the low indicator of membership in these organizations as well as from sense of bonds and identification with them. The latter indicator is even lower than the former with no sense of any bond whatsoever with social organizations as declared by 88% of Poles, while strong bonds by 8% [CBOS 2008/24].

b) Trust and solidarity

Poland is not a country where the culture of trust would prevail. According to European comparison data, Polish people for many years have been receiving the lowest ratings and the so-called generalized trust is three times lower than the EU average and six times lower than in the countries with the highest scores. According to *Social Diagnosis 2007,* this value of this factor amounts to nearly 13% in rural areas, with a slightly lower score found in cities. More optimistic data can be found in the CBOS report: 26% of respondents thinks that the majority of people can be trusted. In relation to the study conducted two years ago an increase of seven percentage points has been registered. What is also worth recording is another result: almost 2/5 of respondents spoke of trust towards strangers met under various circumstances, which also shows an increase in comparison to previous results. Poles distinguish various circles of trust, trusting the most: their closest families (99%), relatives (90%), friends (88%), neighbors (76%), their parson (71%), although in all these circles with the exception of family the dominating type of trust is limited [CBOS 2008/30]. Local authorities are trusted far less. Full or significant trust is extended by 31% of rural residents while the same result is lower by six percentage points in urbane areas. Every second rural resident trusts banks but only 28% have declared that they the Social Insurance Company (*ZUS*) [*Diagnosis...* 2007].

The so-called generalized trust rate is still low, although both *Social Diagnosis 2007* and the CBOS studies conducted systematically after 2002 have registered a slight increase thereof. Rural areas are not an exception in this respect. What provides an explanation for such a deficit of social trust in Poland is the country's unique dramatic history, including the stigmatizing period of the Soviet domination during the People's Republic of Poland (*Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa*, PRL)

as well as the current decisions of public authorities[4]. In case of rural areas there are other contributing factors, such as the traumatic impact of collectivization as well as the repeated attempts to nationalize agriculture [Perepeczko 2003]. Also worth considering are the peasant qualities of the society, common in the rural areas. In peasant culture a clear dividing line is drawn between two distinct worlds: the inner and familiar as well as the outer, foreign one – *orbis interior* and *orbis exterior*. Rural residents trust those who belong to the inner, subjectively defined world. In my opinion, however, the main reason of the lowered trust rate lies in the atrophy of moral norms, as Lucjan Kocik noticed [Kocik 2002]. The first offense is the amoral familism which stems from the described division into the familiar ('our people, fellow residents') and the foreign. However, norms such as honesty, loyalty and reciprocity are also breached. This phenomenon has been illustrated in a study conducted by a team from University of Łódź in rural areas of the Łódź province. Monika Mularska used this study in her analysis of the following norms: loyalty, reciprocity, subjectivity, trust and truthfulness. A she states, the norms are mutually linked, which means that acceptance of one of them encourages the acceptance of the other ones, although "most of the studied respondents (36.6%) approve of no more than two of the studied social norms, while some of them do not accept ay of the norms(2.3%). Only a minimal number of respondents expressed their acceptance for the norms of subjectivity, loyalty, trust, truthfulness and reciprocity (1,7%). The general rate of the acceptance of norms is therefore low, which also confirms the thesis of relativization of moral norms, since what for some people constitutes a norm is not necessary one for others. " Relativization of social norms entails the principle of contextual obliga-toriness, which means that there are certain rules which define the circumstances when a given norm is obligatory and when it can – or even should – be breached" [Mularska 2008: 7–8]. With such widespread moral relativism one can hardly be surprised that the trust rate is so low and even within the closest environment (excluding immediate family) it is chiefly conditional in character. Finally, the results of *Social Diagnosis 2007* bring the conclusion that the state of matters is not even noticed. Sixty-nine percent of rural residents declare that they are satisfied with the functioning of moral norms in their environment.

Group solidarity is "the function of two independent factors: the scope of collective obligations within a group and the extent to which individual members

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[4] Sztompka [2007] lists four contributing traumas: *homo sovieticus*, system reforms with their side-effects, the weakness of political elites who are either unfit for governing or cynically manipulative and finally the traumatic period of the IV Republic of Poland.

comply with such obligations" [Hetcher 1987; in: Starosta 2007: 114]. The norm of reciprocity, as both Kocik and Mularska point out, is still quite widely accepted in rural areas. It is confirmed by the fact that 68% of rural residents agrees with the opinion that" people like me, working together with others can help those who are in need or find solution to certain problems within their own environment ..." (since 2002 the rate has increased by 22 percentage points) [CBOS 2008/14]. Moreover, two thirds of Poles are of the opinion that nowadays one should be more sensitive and willing to help others. Such a pro-social attitude has demonstrated an increase since 2004. Practically speaking, solidarity applies mostly to friends and family. Thirty-seven percent of households use the help of family and neighbors (one in two single-person households, 2/5 single parent households and one in three multi-children families). Financial and material help is a much rarer occurrence. In 2007, 15% of families were the recipients thereof [CBOS 2008/24]. Such popular manifestations and declarations of social solidarity should be confronted with other indicators, which illustrate the attitude towards the common good, which indirectly should also be included in the social solidarity manifestations spectrum. In order for the common good to be created, the costs should be jointly distributed; in order for it to be beneficial for everyone one should restrain oneself from individual egoism and abuse [cf. Czapiński 2007:235]. According to *Social Diagnosis 2007*, rural residents' attitude towards the following issues is as follows:

– 34% were bothered by the fact that someone paid insufficient taxes;

– 33% were bothered by the fact that someone used public transport without paying;

– 39% were bothered by the fact that someone did not pay for electricity;

– 43% were bothered by the fact that someone received unemployment benefit to which they are not entitled;

– 33% were bothered by the fact that someone did not pat rent;

– 27% were bothered by the fact that someone did not pay appropriate customs duty.

Undoubtedly then, such a low rate of interest has been affected by the principle of contextual obligatoriness, as mentioned above. It is also worth noting that all these indicators are lower or much lower in rural areas than their equivalents observed in cities. "Both in 2005 and in 2007 the lowest sensitivity was noted among the poorest and least educated rural residents". Furthermore, in comparison with the 2005 study, the rates have demonstrated a significant decrease. "The differences are statistically significant and rather dramatic. After 18 years of working on the country's free-market and democratic structures, the value of one of the

foundations of democracy: namely, of creating and using public good which had been generated jointly, falls within two years!" [Czapiński 2007: 236].

Trust and solidarity constitute basic components of social capital. People in Poland trust mostly their own immediate families. This is their primary circle of trust. The trust of people in general is very low. The reason is first and foremost the attitude towards moral norms, many of which are not observed, and even if they are, they are usually adapted for situational context. In consequence, we never know with any certainty whether in a particular situation a given norm is going to be observed. Such situational contextuality of norms affects the attitude towards the common good and is further reinforced by the division into private and public morality, which remains firmly in place.

c) Collective activity and co-operation

Rural areas have been the field of numerous collective activities for a long time. In times of the People's Republic, these were the infamous *quasi*-voluntary community work ('*czyn społeczny*'). After the 1990 reform, numerous infrastructure elements as well as other objects were implemented owing to the involvement of residents and their co-operation with local authorities. As the CBOS studies demonstrate, since 2002 there has been an rise in belief that working jointly creates an opportunity to help many people in need as well as to find solution to certain problems pertaining to the environment. As referenced above, 65% of rural residents agree with this viewpoint. The same study [CBOS 2008/14] revealed that 57% of rural residents have an experience with voluntary unpaid work for their own environment. It is a larger number that in the city, although it is markedly lower (by 7 percentage points) than in 2004. The real participation in effects and effectiveness, as documented in the systematically conducted CBOS studies.

Table.1. Involvement in community service in 2007

Type of social activity	Rural areas		Farmers	
	2004	2008	2004	2008
1. Persons involved in community service for their own environment and people in need	33	27	51	39
2. persons involved in civic organizations	23	19	22	21
3. total activity rate	39	38	53	47

Source: CBOS 2008/20

According to the CBOS study, in 2007, 27% of rural residents worked for their local community or people in need, while 19% were involved in various civic organizations[5]. In general, the total activity rate among rural residents amounts to 38%, which means that 2/5 rural residents have performed community service. This activity rate is higher than the Polish average, which amounts to 31%. As the studies suggest the involvement depends on previous experience with community service, contact with other social activists as well as willingness to work alongside others.

Unfortunately, other studies do not confirm such high rates of social activity. In *Social Diagnosis 2007* 16% of rural residents and 25% of farmers give an affirmative answer to the question pertain to activity for local community within the previous two years (14% for the society in general). These rates seem more plausible, especially with the measurement of social capital, here measured on the basis of collective activity and co-operation. Further support is provided by the participation rate in another collective enterprise, namely signing petitions. Within the previous two years 9% of Polish residents and 5,8% of rural residents signed any petition. Thus, it should be noted that even with the same indicators from the same studies it is difficult to compare social capital of two segments of society, namely of the countryside and the city, since each of them seems to posses unique forms of its expression.

Farmers have demonstrated exceptional activity; according to the total activity rate in 2007 one in two Polish farmer performed community service, while *Diagnosis...* gives their number as one in four. What is their ability to co-operate within a group? Unfortunately, it is not overly impressive, as confirmed by examples from the past and the present. It was still the People's Republic times when the idea of machines in teams was spontaneously rejected, although there were numerous small groups who would obtain such machines. Nowadays another initiative is becoming increasingly problematic. The Agriculture Producer Groups, an idea and institution which proved successful in the European Union, which allows small-scale producers to control specific product markets. After the act was passed in 2000 which regulates the issue, 753 such groups were created within one year with intensive assistance from agricultural consultancy. However, only 58 lasted until the end of 2004, as farmers for various reasons did not trust

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[5] Such high rates of social activity are probably result from the method of posing questions where two categories were combined: activity for the community and persons in need, which could be treated very broadly by respondents. Also, according to Social Diagnosis 2007, 13% of rural residents belong to organizations. This would mean that non-members are involved in organizations' work which, while theoretically possible, is in fact highly unlikely...

their operations. At the moment the groups are slowly regenerating – in mid-2007 there were approximately 200 of them.

The rural residents and farmers are open to the idea of participation in collective activities, ideally organized by somebody such as local authorities, village representative or a special committee[6]. Their readiness to participate is greater if in doing so they are given an opportunity to increase the by implenting the following collective living standards including waterworks, a sewage system and treatment plant or a gas pipeline. This stems from the rural tradition, in which the community service were rooted; the very same tradition became the basis for the local self-government bodies, which returned in 1990. The continuity of this tradition has not been questioned by the democratic Republic of Poland. It was not the case with group co-operation where one's own interests and resources are concerned. Here, the idea of such co-operation, often in combination with self-help, has been discredited by 'socialist co-operatives'. Considering the low rate of trust in people and in law as well as the attitude towards moral norms, the return of institutionalized forms of co-operation is hindered by many obstacles.

d) The condition of information and communication networks

Rural communities are gradually losing their *societés interconnaissaces* character [Mendras 1976], where everybody used to know everything about one another an information was passed *de bouche a l'oreille,* from mouth to ear. In the Information Society, communications networks are the basic source for obtaining information, collective actions and co-operation. The connection to the so-called global society is achieved through universal access to the radio and television, the possession of which has ceased to be a differentiating factor in social studies; perhaps not entirely rightly, as it should be correlated with ability to understand the communicated message or the scale of the so-called functional analphabetism.

A particular place in the information and communication system is reserved for local press. Except its informative function it serves numerous different purposes, which support the construction of social capital: it encourages the local environment integration, it shapes the local public opinion and has an educational effect which is conducive for the strengthening of local identity. Such press is largely varied and it can be published by political, economic, cultural and religious insti-

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[6] According to *Social Diagnosis 2003* the organizers of collective activities in rural areas were: members of local authorities – 57,7%, pries or parish – 41,8%, teachers or school – 29,3%, social organizations or associations – 14,5%, respondents themselves – 8,1%. [Bartkowski 2005: 177].

tutions. Rapid development of local press occurred after 1989; as Marian Gierula estimates in 2004 the maximum number of all local periodical amounted to 3000, which constituted approximately one half of the total number newspapers and magazines in circulation in Poland [Gierula 2005: 25]. As far as the range of local press in rural areas is concerned, a local publication is available in 27% of rural communes and in 1 in 2 cities (especially in smaller ones). If the average number of publications per 10 000 residents is 0.63 in Poland , it ranges from 0.46 in the Łódź province to 0.86 in the Lesser Poland (Małopolska) province. These local periodicals vary greatly, both in terms of circulation and the frequency of editions. As regards to local publications with a reach extending beyond the district and meeting the criterion of real information and communication (published daily and weekly), their number is 0,79 per district, while sub-local publications available in one district only are published in 42% of communes. Another important characteristic is the fact that these are titles published monthly or more rarely, thus their informative function is negligible. As studies have demonstrated [Gierula 2005], the condition of knowledge about local issues is perceived by people as unsatisfactory. Thus, developing local communication encourages making public information which might prove conducive for common enterprises and the growth of local communities.

Another indication as to the condition of information and communication network is the Internet accessibility. One in three residents of rural areas (and one in four farmers) make active use of the computer and Internet access, with total average time spent on-line amounting to eight hours weekly. The Internet is used for many different purposes, although 42% of rural residents employs to in search of information while 29% uses it to contact other people. Thirty one percent contact their families, while 28% contact friends and acquaintances and 22% to other people whom they meet vie the Internet. The Internet users, aside from contacting people already known to them, may employ this medium in order to make new acquaintances which prevents the sense of loneliness in remote rural areas. It can also be used for contacting various institutions as one can download a form, search for information public institutions websites as well as reading newspapers (29% of rural Internet users) [*Diagnosis 2007*]. The Internet also brings the strengthening of communication and information flow on the local scale. In theory, every commune has its own website, although not all of them function as they should. The websites which are properly maintained contain not only information concerning the history of the commune and the geographical location thereof or the work of the commune office and services but also development plans, the composition of collective bodies, calls for tenders,

etc. Furthermore, numerous parishes have their own websites and so do certain social organizations.

It does not mean, however, that conventional methods of communication and information, such as a gathering, are vanishing. One in four rural residents took part in a gathering of one type or another, while one in two spoke during such a meeting. Parishes are also common venues for exchange of information, as are meetings of parishioners after or before the mass.

Upon a closer inspection, opportunities for communication and information exchange in rural environment seem rather varied. Moreover, specific networks of information exchange assemble a considerable number of rural residents. One should, however, keep in mind that in all probability there is an overlap in case of a large portion of the participants in particular networks, while a significant part of rural communities do not belong to any of these local networks (perhaps with the exception of parish).

e) Social coherence

To what an extent does a rural local community constitute a social entirety? It was this question that Maria Wieruszewska [1991] asked many years ago. It is all the more relevant now as the pace of the changes in rural areas has clearly increased, consequently altering the character of social bonds and of rural community membership. There are reasons to formulate a thesis that the rural areas can still be treated as a highly coherent social structure. What supports this standpoint is the fact that in spite of the recently observed wave of migration to rural areas, the countryside is still an abode of 'locals' ('people from here'). In 2007, 88% of rural inhabitants had lived for the previous 14 years in the same place or within 20 km from it. The same proportion (88%) declared that they were satisfied with living in their village, while 71% were not afraid of crime, drug addiction and vandalism. Such social coherence should be further reinforced by stronger and more frequently practiced religiosity and relatively low propensity for conflicts: nearly ¾ of respondents declared that they had never experienced problems with neighbors [*Social Diagnosis 2007*]. Moreover, a sense of attachment to one's own locality was declared by nearly 4/5 of Poles [CBOS 2008/24].

There are, however, reasons which seem to support the opposite theory that rural communities characterized by numerous dividing lines and a certain portion of residents have been affected by the process of social exclusion. The first aspect which should be discussed is the socio-professional structure of the countryside, as we are actually witnessing its significant recomposition. There

are three mechanisms which are crucial for this issue. Firstly, the vanishing of farmers-laborers (*chłop-robotnik*), who used to be a unique social-professional group, prevailing for a long time in the social structure of rural areas. According to Andrzej Kaleta's estimations, in 1975 there were 30% of farmers-laborers (performing two professions), while in 2002, only 5%; the process of disappearance of this category was particularly strong during the transformation period [Kaleta 2005]. Simultaneously, another mechanism has emerged: namely, that of multi-professionalism which consists in pursuing additional sources of income, both by farmers and non-farmers. This stems from the so-called multi-functional development of rural areas (location of small manufacturing enterprises and services) as well as multi-functionality of agriculture, the function of which is supposed to extend beyond production as well. The third mechanism of highly significant consequences is the decreasing number of farmers. There are two dimensions of this phenomenon including the physical one, manifested as the decrease in absolute and relative input into the social structure, as well as the symbolic, as farmers, deprived of their mythical national 'bread-provider' aspect, are no longer central figures of the countryside. To put in short, a time has come when rural areas are no longer defined by agriculture and farmers. All these processes, with the temporary exclusion of financial migration abroad, have significantly affected the previous social structure of rural areas and the existing hierarchies. The new form of social structure is still being forged, which must be accompanied by a sense of uncertainty and rupture.

Another important aspect, which violates social coherence is the rapidly changing rate of education among rural population. There is a swiftly growing group of people with secondary and higher education. Although primary education is still the most prevalent (nearly 2/5 of rural residents), soon one in three rural residents is going to obtain secondary school diploma or higher. Since education has a strong influence on opinions, attitudes and behavior, new norms and standards are going to emerge in opposition to the former, rural ones. Such violation of coherence is further strengthened as the division according to education level overlaps with generation division: it is the young people who obtain education.

Rural areas have always been very varied in terms of financial status. It is still the case, although the difference is first of all observed between the city and the countryside: average income in rural areas correspond to 2/3 of average income in the city. In this perspective we present the income diversity of rural areas in 2007. According to *Social Diagnosis 2007*, the net income per rural household, amounted to 2195 PLN, income per capita of 677 PLN. The income diversity within a village was rather wide: a high proportion of 5.15 between the ninth

and first decile was observed, with a higher result found in cities with population > 500 000. Also worth noting is the wide (the widest among the specified socio-professional groups) diversity of income found among farmers, the rate of which reached 7.62, while the average income per household was higher by 300 PLN than the average income in rural areas. Such an increasing diversity (in 2005 it was 3.40) must provoke disapproval at least from a portion of rural residents, 74% out of whom supports in a more or less definite form the idea that income should be made equal. What is worth adding, is that 64% of rural residents perceives themselves as poor [Panek 2007: 292].

One of the frequently applied synthetic measures of the lack of social coherence is the scope of social exclusion. Janusz Czapiński lists three types of social exclusion including structural, physical and normative. Particularly interesting is the one which also lasts the longest, namely the structural exclusion, defined by factors such as "place of residence (rural), low level of education (one's own and one's father), as well as the correlated – and likely dependant on these variables – income per capita below the poverty line" [Czapiński 2007: 316–319]. Thus, the rural areas linked with social exclusion practically by definition, which is first and foremost based on factors of education and income. The group of the excluded, defined on the basis of all three factors: structural, physical and normative, is not a very large portion of Polish society (10.7%); decidedly more people fall into the category of those in risk of exclusion (31.7%). The rate of social exclusion and the risk of exclusion seem much higher in rural areas[7], which results from the social structure thereof as well as the significant share of groups particularly at risk of exclusion: persons receiving disability pensions (54.9% at risk of exclusion and 23.3% excluded), persons with non-profit means of support (54.8% and 23.8%), pensioners (39.3% and 13.6), farmers (46.1% and 7.6%), laborers cultivating agricultural farms (42.2% and 9.4%).

Thus, in spite of manifestations of coherence, the rural areas are not a coherent social entity, which results from the on-going recomposition of its social structure, growing diversity of income and a large proportion of groups which are excluded or at risk of exclusion.

f) Subjectivity and potential of political activity

In the analysis of this social capital component numerous indicators can be applied, as discussed below. I will begin my analysis of the aspect in question

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[7] The author does not quote (neither in 2007 nor 2005) distribution according to place of residence.

with an indicator, which in my opinion, is basic: faith in democracy which at least in theory, provides such subjectivity and influence on public issues. As *Social Diagnosis 2007* demonstrates, 17% of rural residents expresses their belief in democracy as the best form of government, with 24% in the entire society in general. It is this very information, meaningful enough on its own for any comment to be redundant, should be the filter for other partial indicators quoted herein. In the context of the lack of faith in democracy the sense of influence on public issues does not seem so low at all. In 2008, 23% of rural residents spoke of their own sense of influence on the national matters (in relation to 30% nationwide), while 2/5 declared their sense of influence on local matters [CBOS 2008/15].

The basic mechanism of influence in democratic systems is the participation in elections, both for the Parliament and for local self-governing bodies. Here, we are presenting the participation rate of rural residents in the last two elections for the Parliament and local authorities. In the 2005 parliamentary election the rural turnout was 36.2% (with 43% in cities), resulting in populist parties winning within the rural areas Samoobrona [Self-Defense], Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe [Polish People's Party] and Liga Polskich Rodzin [The League of Polish Families], having received 45% of the votes. In the 2007 election, the rural turnout amounted to 45.3% (with 58.8% in cities). In the local self-government election the turnout in constituencies with population up to 20 000 (thus mainly the rural ones) amounted to 52.6% in 2002 and 45.9% in 2006. Since 1990, rural residents participation rate in local self-government elections has always been higher than in case of parliamentary elections, in accordance with the more common sense of influence on local issues. Thus, in spite of the general lack of faith in democracy a significant portion of rural residents feels obliged to participate in democratic election procedures, while a large part of those who fail to participate is unwilling to disclose that fact as 66% of rural residents gave an affirmative answer to the question asking them whether they voted in the latest local self-government election [*Diagnosis ... 2007*]. Such discrepancy is often found in social studies. In this case I propose to interpret it also as an expression of the emerging sense of civic duty.

The essence of the democratic order consists in its distinctive institutions and the mode of their operation. As noted in the CBOS studies [CBOS 2008/30], the trust rate in the public sphere (for various institutions) is high, although in relation to particular institution it may be very varied. A constant and high trust rate (85%–79%) is observed in case of charities including the *WOŚP* (The Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity), Caritas and *PCK* (Polish Red Cross). The same rate is high and increasing (73%–68%) in case of international organizations

such as the EU, the UN, the NATO. The results were also high for the following institutions: the army (84%), the Catholic Church (70%) and the police (75%, recently increased). At the very end of the trust spectrum, with the prevalence of distrust, basic institutions of the democratic order are found: both houses of the Parliament (the *Sejm* and the *Senat*) and political parties. To a large extent they probably deserved such a harsh opinion in the eyes of the public, however, it is my belief that another contributing factor was the logic of their functioning, based on disputes, debates and painfully achieved compromise. What confirms this hypothesis are the organizations which the public opinion invests with the highest level of trust, which are strictly public (excluding charities and international bodies): neither the army, the police nor the Catholic Church base their functioning on the democratic order. Instead, they are hierarchical entities within which there is no inner debate; even if there is, it is very limited. In the light of the quoted opinions on democracy as a political system it is hardly surprising.

The assessment of the condition of this component is quite unambiguous, as it is clear that the rate of political participation is low; it is further diminished by the tendency to vote for populist parties and a poor sense of political subjectivity, which in turn can be explained by the low opinion on democracy as a political system.

The analysis of social capital in rural areas, although it is based on numerous indicators, confirms the results of a number of previous analyses based on empirical studies of varied range: namely, social capital of rural areas in Poland is small. This statement gains a particular appeal in the context of the lack of faith in democracy, its procedures and institutions, which discourages from harboring hopes for its rapid recovery. If, after Frykowski and Starosta, we were to assume that there is a 'local capital' and a 'civic capital', then social capital of rural areas has more local qualities, while being civic to a far lesser extent. One of the most significant factors for the condition of social capital is trust. A low trust rate, resulting from numerous unfavorable circumstances has no support not only in the permanent structures and procedures but also in moral norms which regulate social life and which have a different power regulating one's behavior towards familiar people and strangers. As Poles and as rural residents we trust our families and to an extent our neighbors because we know that they are going to be honest, loyal and that we can rely on their reciprocity and help. We often do not trust strangers, as we are not certain of their honesty, loyalty or reciprocity. It likely means that we also feel that when dealing with strangers we do not need to observe these norms. We find this situation quite satisfactory, which is both so much and only so much. This is related to another quality of rural social capital: the relative power of bonding capital, directed inside the group; the countryside

trusts its family and fellow residents ('its own'), there is a strong social bond local solidarity and collaboration as well as formal and informal structures of co-operation. However, such social capital can be easily transformed into negative capital, as many researchers have pointed out, also in Poland. Such capital can be very helpful for the functioning of a small group while being harmful for the development of the entire social system. A certain part of such limited rural social resources is characterized by such negative qualities.

Each of the analyzed herein components of social capital is more or less varied in terms of region. As far as non-governmental organizations are concerned, their dividing lines still run along the former partition borders: the region of the former Congress Kingdom of Poland is the area of the lowest rates for 'classic' NGOs (7–9 NGOs per 10 000 inhabitants); on the other hand, OSPs are a relatively common occurrence. The West Land and the North Land regions, as well as the Greater Poland (*Wielkopolska*), Pomerania (*Pomorze*) and Lesser Poland (*Małopolska*) are the regions of higher rates for NGOs of a new type (10 or more). It seems that it is closely related with a given region's agricultural level, although it also reflects the diverse social and political culture. The one listed first is, according to Herbst, the 'farming Poland', while the other is 'civic activity Poland'. Unfortunately, the distance between these two formulas remains unchanged, as indicated by the pace with which new organizations emerge: they are usually founded in the north and west of Poland. Is there, therefore, as Bartkowski asks [2007], one or multiple social capitals?

3. On tendencies and opportunities of change

What is the condition of the dynamic of such a multi-faceted social capital of rural areas? It can be reconstructed for the previous 4–6 years by tracing, wherever possible, the dynamic of the components thereof. As far as membership in organizations is concerned, there has been a small but steady increase noted since 2003. In the nationwide scale it amounted to approximately three percentage points [Sułek 2007: 250]. The situation is similar in case of NGOs of the new type: associations and foundations. As far as the so-called old rural social organizations are concerned, such as the OSPs, they seem quite active; the crisis did reach, however, traditional socio-professional organizations of farmers. Trust towards strangers and the so-called generalized trust is still low, although it very slowly increases. Its further growth is also going to be slow, since its main obstacle is the relativism of moral norms, which as those who study this phenomenon have observed, tends to deepen. In recent years there has been an

increase in pro-social attitude; the belief in the necessity of helping others has strengthened. Although at the same time, as found in the *Diagnosis* series and CBOS studies, there has been reduction in the number of persons involved in social activity. There is another dangerous trend related to this decrease in social, civic, non-profit activity for others and for the environment. Furthermore, the attitude towards the common good becomes more and more indifferent.

Rural areas have now more varied communication and information exchange networks at their disposal: along with the common access to mass media there is also local and regional press, while the increasingly frequent Internet access significantly expands the range of communication network. The diversification of communication networks is partially related to the phenomenon of hetero-genization of rural areas which no longer constitute a coherent system of social norms and most decidedly do not constitute a community (the frequency with which this term is used is in my opinion a manipulation). Rural populations are split by numerous and systematically deepening dividing lines, its agricultural identity is disintegrating and more and more groups of people excluded or at risk of exclusion are emerging (according to *Social Diagnosis*, their number increased between 2005 and 2007). This is accompanied by a very low (albeit with an growing tendency) democracy acceptance rate as well as an unstable political involvement with populist proclivities. It is, therefore, difficult to draw a single clear tendency of the past several years, as the particular components of social capital are evolving in different directions.

Is it possible to predict the direction which the evolution of social capital in rural areas is going to take? Optimistically, one could expect an improvement in its condition due to the increase of human capital through the so-called conversion of capitals, that the assisted organization development is going to generate and reinforce network capital and that the stable democratic institutions are going to engender structural trust framework, etc... Zygmunt Seręga, however, doubts that such circumstances are ever going to occur and I happen to share his apprehension, at least partially. He doubts "whether the community of residents, created and strengthened through acts of self-organization is in fact comprised of the components and qualities of social bonds which we call social capital" [Seręga 2006 : 110], and the role of social capital in constructing of local democracy and prosperity is in his opinion debatable at best. In his argumentation he points at the limited abilities of capital conversion in diverse social communities with bonds of clientelistic provenance, revaluation of democratic self-governing institutions and turning them into unique institution based on clientelism and patronage, with local elites as patrons, as well as the atrophy of trust and norms.

In order to demonstrate how long and strenuous the process of constructing social capital in rural areas is going to be, one must consult the sources thereof. The concept of the World Bank (quoted herein) lists six types of sources of social capital: families, local/neighbor communities, institutionalized and accumulated forms of action, such as economic organizations, civic society, as it gives everyone the access to influence, public sector or the public authorities and national, regional and local institutions as well as ethnic bonds (shared values and social culture) [Bartkowski 2007 : 88]. This illustrates how many factors contribute to the nature of social capital as well as how many broad areas of interaction can be utilized.

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ATTACHMENT TO THE CITY

Summary

In the era of globalization throwing new light on the issue of the territorial attitude of social bonds and the social solidarity, determination of factors which are essential in the process of creation of the bonds of the individuals with their places of residence seems to be very interesting. The problem of the bonds of individuals with the territory grows in importance especially with reference to the urban environment which is much more receptive to occurring transformation. The main goal of the article is the presentation of prevailing types of the attachment of residences to their area of living as well as definition of the correlates of their occurrence in the investigated community of Łódź residences.

Keywords: City, Community Attachment, Łódź

INTRODUCTION

The development of mass media, coupled with the processes of social and spatial mobility undoubtedly result in decreasing the integrative role of space. This, in turn, affects the life of communities, including those based on territorial bonds. Individuals' unrestrained spatial mobility and the emergence of a supranational labor market has impacted the disintegration of local communities. On the basis of copious research, conducted both in Western Europe and in America, a hypothesis emerged that space ceases to function as a permanent basis for social bonds [Wellman, Carrington, Hall 1988; Bryden 1994]. Numerous authors who perceive the need to examine the issues of territorial bonds and identities, emphasize that in the era of globalization, it is difficult to analyze the connections between an individual and the territory that he or she inhabits [Sadowski 1999].

In the conditions generated by the traditional society, which are typified by low spatial mobility caused by geographic restrictions, as well as a low level of productive forces, individuals had no choice but to coexist and cooperate in order to satisfy their needs; this was impossible to achieve through individual effort. Collective behavior led not only to the satisfaction of needs, but also shaped the collective identity and the collective imagination [Starosta 2003]. To a large extent, overcoming geographic restrictions "liberated the individual from the necessity of surrendering to the dictate of aggregate structures" [Starosta 2003: 122].

As regards local systems, it has been established that locality has lost its primordial function of satisfying the inhabitants' needs, and may turn into a factor of social degradation. Such a thesis is advanced by Bauman [1997]. The author suggests that nowadays it is the constant changing of one's residence that express the personal success. Than well established individuals and unconnected to a particular place ones are located the – the author argues – on opposite poles of a new stratification, between which no communication whatsoever occurs [Bauman 1997]. Thus, local rootedness, until recently interpreted as a positive phenomenon [Merton 1982], can now be perceived as a factor of social deprivation.

Consequently, it may be argued that globalization leads to deepening the social divide, which is considerably more noticeable in metropolitan areas. Those members of the urban aggregate who losing their jobs, benefiting from state social security or for other reasons – become paupers, are excluded from the institutional society and, according to some authors, are condemned to localism [Bauman 1997; Starosta 2001]. On the one hand, such "negative localism" may be a factor of social deprivation. However, it may become a basis for establishing communities determined to defend their interests and functioning as mutual aid to its members. As a result of social exclusion, coupled with a loss of a sense of security (economical and otherwise), the territory begins to function as an integrative factor [Rykiel 2000; Starosta 2003]. The other aggregate, comprising individuals of high socioeconomic status, possesses the necessary means to make the aforementioned choices regarding residence, or is at least able to travel. These affluent, well-educated inhabitants of large cities constitute the so-called metropolitan class (world class). According to Kanter, this class is "typified by three 'C's: the concept, i.e. possessing knowledge and ideas; competence, i.e. the ability to perform at the highest level and in any place; lastly, connections, i.e. relations and access to resources belonging to other people and organizations worldwide" [Kanter, cited in: Jałowiecki 2000: 99]. To a growing extent, this group is characterized by individualism, which results in participating in

selected groups founded on shared interests or common business, not necessarily territorially bound. Simultaneously, it functions in virtual space: "a member of the metropolitan class surfing in cyberspace considers another internet user as his neighbor, irrespective of either's place of residence or the physical distance between them" [Jałowiecki 2000: 99].

What is clearly alarming is the loss of collective identity, the sense of spatial alienation, the escape into privacy and other consequences which negatively affect the permanence of local communities. "Increasingly greater masses of people, uprooted from their local communities, live in organizational spaces and in programmed time – without comprehending its meaning. In such a situation, the most typical reflex is escaping into privacy, reluctance towards collective actions, seeking substitute areas of activity, in which one's individuality can be expressed. In extreme cases, this escape is manifested in pathological behavior... [Jałowiecki 1989: 86]. The processes described by Jałowiecki apply mostly to urban communities. According to another author, "...it is chiefly with reference to the variety of social ties that exists in the city that, in describing individual behavior and experience as well as collective behavior, the notions of anonymity, atomization, isolation, solitude, individualization, fragmentation (of ties) and intimacy are introduced" [Stasiak 1982: 67]. To an increasing extent, we are witnessing an atrophy of ties founded on territory. In its specificity as a life world, the city already provided its inhabitants with considerable opportunities for isolation and anonymity as singular expressions of the urban lifestyle; thus, the processes of globalization are not to blame. The novelty consists in the fact that ties based on locality, dominant in industrial cities [Starosta 2003], are more and more often replaced by ties of the supralocal variety, or else are limited to the smallest 'personal communities' [Wellman, Carrington, Hall 1988].

In the context of the problems outlined above, which shed a new light on the issues of the territorial foundations of local identity as well as on the significance of contemporary man's attachment to a given territory, it seems worthwhile to determine the factors which are decisive in shaping the bond between the individual and his or her place of residence. More and more often, authors writing on the subject assert that globalization affects not only the society's economic foundations, social stratification or urban land development, but also the ties between the individual and his or her surroundings. Thus, social ties become a significant issue addressed not only by sociologists, but increasingly often by politicians and the mass media. The problem of the relationship of individuals to territory becomes particularly significant in the context of urban environments, which are far more susceptible to change. The principal features of urbanity, such

as size, density and heterogeneity, have numerous consequences for the social, economical and spatial foundations of social life. The heterogeneity of city inhabitants in terms of origin, social status and a different living situation may become a factor affecting the character of the individual's relationships with their social environment. Weak rootedness in the urban space may lead to increasing migration and a weakening of the markers of belonging [Wirth 1964]. On the one hand, the contemporary globalization processes, impacts the principal, objective transformations of urban agglomerations. On the other, the increasing importance of factors which diminish the role of the territorial foundations of social ties, render the issues analyzed in this study significant for research conducted in the field of sociology of territorial communities.

THE BOND BETWEEN THE INHABITANTS AND THE CITY – OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE TERM

Generally speaking, the bond inhabitants with the city may be defined as the entirety of relationships sustaining the individual in the city. These relations include the use of terminology introduced by Znaniecki [Znaniecki, Ziółkowski 1984] – objective-social matters (i.e. connections to the work place, the home, the family) and subjective-individual matters (concerning a sense of attachment to the city as a certain value). A definition which embraces the two aspects of the relation between the individual and the city can be found in Malikowski's work, which is a comprehensive study of the bond between the inhabitants and the city. The author defines this phenomenon as "the entirety of objective relationships between the inhabitants and the city, their attitudes to the city and their sense of connection to it" [Malikowski 1984: 9]. Thus, the term involves two principal dimensions: firstly, a set of objective relations between the inhabitants and the city and secondly, their subjective attitude to the city. As the author argues further, "in the former case, the city is perceived rather as a physical (spatial-human) object, whereas in the latter it is seen as a value" [Malikowski 1984: 9].

In American sociological literature, the term 'community attachment' is used in an attempt to describe the bond between the individual and the city or town which he or she inhabits [Kasarda, Janovitz 1974]. The term 'attachment' comprises the entirety of the individual's attitudes towards the local community (a city, a village), the local sentiment, familial and friendly ties, social participation and an interest in local issues [Kasarda, Janovitz 1974]. It should thus be assumed that the term is to be understood broadly, since it embraces both objective factors and the subjec-

tive aspects of relationships between the individual and the local environment. In contrast, in the Polish literature on the subject the term more readily concerns the consciousness-related ties between the individual and his place of residence. More than anything else, terms such as 'connection to the city' or 'ties to the city' reflect the dimension of the inhabitants' objective bonds with their city [cf. Malikowski 1984]. This paper attempts to determine the aspect of consciousness-related connections between the individual and the territory which he or she inhabits. Such ties are often described as the individual's psychosocial connections to their place of residence. In sociology, the concept of the psychosocial bond is often described as identification, which is understood even in colloquial terms as the individual's recognition of belonging to a given community, group, village, city, family, nation, etc. [Turowski 1995: 22]. Therefore, the social bond is the basis for shaping social identity. In this study, it is conceived of as the property of individuals rather than particular social entities [Marody, Poleszczuk 2004]. Consequently, it ought to be emphasized that the psychosocial bond includes the consciousness-related aspect of attachment to a group or aggregate.

Analyses of bonds between individuals and a particular territory involve identification with a certain area, spatially localized symbols, values as well as the historical and cultural tradition of the given territory [Prawelska – Skrzypek 1989]. However, the differences in the application and understanding of the bond with the city render the term problematic. In this case, the city is seen not as a social system in which certain types of connections between participating subjects are developed, but as a value. Jacher contends that "a city with its own character and 'face' constitutes a certain value for its inhabitants, which is a basis for constructing a social bond with the city" [Jacher 1987: 89]. For its inhabitants, the city becomes more than a source of objective connections, "forces which prevent the individual from leaving the city" [Malikowski 1984]; it is an object of attitudes, opinions and a sense of emotional connection.

In the field of Polish sociology, the problem of attachment to the city was analyzed comprehensively by Franciszek Jakubczak, who examined the bond between the inhabitants of Warsaw and their city. In his opinion, "the bond with the city constitutes an ingredient in social ties formed within a particular urban space – neither can, however, be contained within the other. The inhabitants' attachment to the city manifests itself only in certain aspects of general urban ties – those which 'pass through consciousness' and result in a particular attitude towards the city" [Jakubczak 1969: 132]. As indicated by Jakubczak, the difficulty of constructing an unambiguous definition of the inhabitants' bond with the city is linked to the comprehensiveness and complexity of "the general issues of the

social bonds within the city, in which the partial bond that interests us is contained, manifested most clearly in the phenomenon of the 'attachment to the city'" [Jakubczak 1969: 132]. In his research, the author used diary material and chose to analyze the attachment to the city from the following perspectives: employment; organizational participation; bonds between neighbours, inhabitants of the same neighbourhood or members of one family; bonds based on cultural-educational institutions and mass media. It should be emphasized that the discussed study does not differentiate between the social bond within the city and the bond with the city itself. It might even be argued with a considerable degree of certainty that the majority of aspects pertaining to the social bond identified and analyzed by the author concern the bond within the city. What is also noticeable is a seemingly random mixture of objective and subjective factors contributing to the bond with the city.

A comprehensive analysis of the issue, which takes into account the subjective (i.e. expressed in attitudes towards the city and the identification therewith) and objective foundations of shaping the bond between the inhabitants and their city can be found in M. Malikowski's work titled *Więź mieszkańców z miastem. Studium socjologiczne na przykładzie społeczeństwa miasta Rzeszowa (The Bond Between the Inhabitants and the City: A Sociological Study on the Example of the City of Rzeszów)* [1984]. The research on which the author founded his reflections was based on the analysis of quality data collected from a representative sample of Rzeszów's inhabitants and quantity data in the form of unstructured interviews, student essays and diaries sent in response to a competition entitled "Rzeszów, My City". Combining two research methods, the author – as he admitted – attempted to fuse "the individualizing and the generalizing angle" [Malikowski 1984: 6]. The principal research categories used in the work were: structural-functional relations, i.e. generally unconscious relations between members of one society, chiefly based on norms arising from performing particular social or professional roles, occupying certain positions, etc; relations arising from conscious interactions predominantly within informal groups (families, acquaintances, neighbors); activity for the city and attitudes towards the city, in particular a sense of connection to it [Malikowski 1984].

As a result of the conducted analysis, the author was able to construct the types of bonds between the inhabitants and the city, which took into account mutual relations between objective factors and the consciousness-related aspects of the individual's attachment to the city. Thus, three basic types of bonds with the city were identified including the objective, personal and symbolic bonds. The objective bond, arises from such factors as work, post and dwelling place. The

personal bond is mainly conditioned by such factors as personal advancement, the attractiveness of the metropolitan lifestyle and personal contacts with other inhabitants of the city. The symbolic bond, which had strongest connections to the sphere of consciousness and was based on positive attitudes towards the city, the inhabitants' pride and sense of connection [Malikowski 1984: 130–133][1].

It should be noted that, so far, no truly exhaustive study of the individual's attachment to the city has been published. As the author states, "the research into this matter conducted thus far has generally relied on materials of the 'personal document' variety and it has not been comprehensive". Apparently, such research has yet to be conducted.

Polish sociological literature features few publications presenting a thorough study of the bond with one's place of residence. Most often, the analysis focuses on selected aspects of the bond with the city, such as the sense of spatial stabilization or satisfaction with inhabiting a given place. Furthermore, frequently the bond with the place which one inhabits is presented as local identification, which obviously falls short of exhausting the issue [cf. Turowski 1970, 1974; Kryczka 1974; Olubiński 1991; Starosta 1995, 2003]. Often, the subject of analysis were the attitudes toward the local environment; nevertheless, it was only seldom that the cognitive aspect of the phenomenon was taken into consideration. Currently, questions pertaining to the present issue are included in sociological analyses and monographs devoted to local systems. One should mention such studies as "Miasto. Rozwój, problemy, starania. Studia nad Kielcami" ("The City: The Development, the Problems, the Endeavors. Studies of Kielce") [Frysztacki and Kościołek, eds. 1988], "Życie w Poznaniu 1997. Mieszkańcy Poznania o swoim mieście" ("Life in Poznań 1997. The Inhabitants of Poznań Speak of Their City") [Cichocki, Podemski 1998][2], "Zielona Góra. Socjologiczne studium miasta i jego mieszkańców" ("Zielona Góra. A Sociological Study of the City and Its Inhabitants") [Machaj and Zduński, eds. 2001], "Społeczna mapa Warszawy. Interdyscyplinarne studium metropolii warszawskiej" ("A Social Map of Warsaw: An Interdisciplinary Study of the Warsaw Metropolis") [Grzelak and Zarycki, eds. 2004].

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[1] The author also identifies other types of bonds with the city, taking into account the subject range (spatial, purely social and cultural), the presence of all elements of the bond (complete and incomplete) and the intensity (intense, average, weak) [cf. Malikowski 1984: 133–135].

[2] The book is the result of quantity research (based on questionnaires) supplementing the diary material supplied for the third edition of the competition entitled "What the City of Poznań Means to You".

ASPECTS OF THE PSYCHOSOCIAL BONDS WITH THE CITY

The main aim of this article is to determine which types of bonds with the city are dominant among the inhabitants of Łódź. Identifying the types will consist in verifying the pattern of connections existing in an individual's consciousness between various aspects of the examined phenomenon, isolated on the basis of the literature devoted to the subject. The conclusions drawn from the presented data will also allow to determine whether the connections of the inhabitants to their city include all or only some of the examined aspects of the bond as well as to verify which types of connections between particular aspects of psychosocial relations of the inhabitants to their city are dominant. Therefore, the constructed types will take into account various values pertaining to particular facets of the examined phenomenon. The research procedure employed in order to isolate them will be cluster analysis.

The empirical data in the form of questionnaires, on which the findings herein are based, was gathered as part of the research project entitled "The structure and Conditions of the Social Bond in Peripheral Cities of Central and Eastern Europe in the Era of the Challenges of Globalization" realized by the Department of Rural and Urban Sociology at the University of Łódź. In total, 797 interviews were conducted in Łódź (on average, one in a thousand inhabitants participated) at the turn of 2002. The employed indicators had been constructed on the basis of questions used by other researchers, which to a large extent renders the results comparable [Turowski 1970, 1974, 1976; Kryczka 1974; Hunter 1985; Starosta 1995, et al]. The inhabitants of Łódź who underwent examination were chosen by means of stratified random sampling. This method of determining the examined aggregate ensured the reproduction of the demographic structure[3] of Łódź neighborhoods in relation to the entire population.

Constructing empiric types of bonds between the inhabitants of Łódź and their city is an attempt to characterize the structure of the individual's psychosocial connections with his or her dwelling place. The patterns of connections between the isolated aspects of the bond will be shown. The main aim is to determine

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[3] The calculations were based on the demographic structure of the districts according to the Polish personal identification number (PESEL) data from the year 2000. In addition, the calculations referred to estimated data from the Central Statistical Office of Poland (GUS), used in the 1996 research into Łódź's poverty enclaves [Warzywoda-Kruszyńska 1998] and made available by the author. Thanks to this, the demographic configuration of neighborhood units could be reproduced. The size of the samples in the neighborhood units can be found in the appendix.

whether in their attitudes toward the city the inhabitants of Łódź manifest all or only some of the examined aspects of the bond.

Thus, examining the subjective aspect of the inhabitants' bond with the city, i.e. the individual's consciousness-related connection to his or her place of residence. This entails an analysis of the emotional attitude (attachment) towards it, the sense of satisfaction with inhabiting it, the reluctance to move to another city as well as factors testifying to the local identity of the subjects. Therefore, the object of the examination will be the local sentiment, the satisfaction with inhabiting the city, spatial stabilization and local identification.

Local identification denotes a psychological recognition of belonging to a cultural and material substratum of a community as well as a sense of dissimilarity from other territorial aggregates [Starosta 1995]. In sociology, the notion of identification is employed to determine the individual's consciousness-related ties to a social aggregate [Ossowski 1962]. This also involves the individual's psychological connections which are a source of his or her social identity [Starosta 2003]. The notion of identification employed in this paper refers to the interpretation offered by Wilkinson, who differentiates between the individual's recognition that the object of identification exists ("identification of…") and his or her identifying with this object ("identification with…") [Wilkinson, cited in: Starosta 1995]. In my study, I employ the aspect of identification that denotes identifying emotionally with a given territorial aggregate, which occurs through the individual's self-definition as an inhabitant.

The indicator of local identification is the answer to the following question: "In conversation with others, do you describe yourself as an inhabitant of Łódź?". In this case, the examined phenomenon is the identification with the local system by manifesting one's sense of territorial belonging in contacts with inhabitants of other cities or towns, and simultaneously marking a significant source of one's identity.

Local satisfaction is described as a state of greater or smaller contentment which arises from belonging to a particular group or from residing in a given aggregate's field of interaction. It results from the individual's needs being gratified in the local environment and therefore is a factor that strengthens the inclination to sustain belonging [Starosta 1995]. The indicator question which is most often used to test the level of local satisfaction is: "To what extent are you satisfied with living in Łódź?"

The local sentiment is expressed through approving or disapproving of the territorial aggregate. It indicates a very strong emotional attitude to the place of residence. The most frequent indicators of local sentiment are responses to the

question: "Assuming that, for some reason, you have to move to another city. Would you feel sorry to leave Łódź permanently?". In this case, the object of analysis is the subjects' attitude towards the necessity of abandoning their city. The sense of regret which would accompany such a situation is expressive of a strong bond between the inhabitants and their place of residence. A certain nostalgia towards one's city is often conveyed through a sense of sympathy for it. The extent to which the inhabitants of Łódź manifest the above attitude will be determined on the basis of responses to the question: "Do you like Łódź"? The third indicator which I have included in the bond with the city discussed herein is the will to connect the future of one's children with the place of residence. Information about the subjects' attitudes towards such a possibility will be obtained on the basis of responses to the question: "Do you think that Łódź will be the best place of residence for your children?".

The fourth aspect of psychosocial ties with the city is a sense of spatial stabilization. In an operational sense, the phenomenon is analyzed by asking subjects to declare preferred migration destinations. The indicator of the discussed phenomenon will be the information obtained in response the question: "Do you intend to leave Łódź permanently within the next three years?". The absence of such intentions will testify to the subjects' spatial stabilization.

In order to characterize the connections between particular aspects of the bond, the primary variables assigned to particular facets of the bond with the city on the basis of previous research tradition were grouped into statistically homogeneous sets. Next, attempts were made to determine whether, and to what extent, the facets of the bond indicated in theoretical analyses are congruent with the empirical constructs isolated using factor analysis. The employed method enabled a fuller diagnosis of interrelations between particular ingredients of the psychosocial bond with the city. Furthermore, it was intended to verify the legitimacy of combining individual indicators of the psychosocial bond into particular aspects.

The factor analysis conducted on the isolated set of variables revealed the existence of three factors of the psychosocial bond with the city, explaining 69% of the variance.

Table 1: Factor loadings of observable variables

Individual variables	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Local satisfaction	0,839		
Sympathy for the city *	0,792		
Regret at the necessity of leaving the city permanently *	0,717		
The wish to connect the future of one's children with the city *	0,486		
The sense of spatial stabilization		0,960	
Local identification			0,989
% of explained variance	37%	16,1%	15,6%
% of explaining variance totaling 69%; Extraction – PC, Rotation – Varimax; KMO = 0,73			

* local sentiment variables
Source: own calculations

The first factor is a set of four output variables. It consists of three variables previously included in the local sentiment as well as the indicator of local satisfaction. The result allows one to state that, statistically speaking, local sentiment and the satisfaction with inhabiting a particular place are mutually formative and complementary. The remaining factors include one variable each. Thus, the factors of spatial stabilization and local identity were isolated. It should be stated that, from a statistical point of view, the analyzed aggregate features three aspects of psychosocial ties with the city rather than four, which number is most often indicated in the literature on the subject. In the light of statistical interdependence it may be argued that local satisfaction and local sentiment constitute an identical factor within the bond.

Types of attachment to the city and their determinants

The aim of constructing types of psychosocial bonds between the inhabitants and the city is to determine the patterns of connections between the factors constituting the empirical aspects of the bond with the city, isolated earlier. Cluster analysis will enable the presentation of the types of attachment to the city which are dominant among its inhabitants. Cluster analysis is one of the methods of statistical classification, also described as 'unsupervised learning'; it consists in grouping elements into relatively homogeneous classes. In the case of most algorithms, the basis for grouping is the resemblance between the elements, expressed by means of a similarity function [Wisz-Cieszyńska 2002]. An important element in the analysis will be the scope of the influence of particular independent vari-

ables on the existence of the isolated types of attachment to the city. As a result, the conditioning of particular types of attachment evinced by the inhabitants of Łódź towards their city will be revealed. Among the factors constituting potential determinants of the constructed types of attachment to the city were the variables of the individual's social position[4], the variables of local rootedness[5], the sense of security[6], the sense of local alienation[7], the spatial scope of social contacts[8] and inhabiting a particular urban space (ecological variables)[9].

Statistical analysis helped isolate three most numerously represented types: sentimental localism, negative localism and – the most common – pragmatic localism. The table below contains the values of accumulated variables in particular types of psychosocial bonds between the inhabitants of Łódź and their city.

Table 2: The typology of the subjects' psychosocial bonds with their city

Aspects of the bond with the city	Sentimental localism	Negative localism	Pragmatic localism	Standardized minimum and maximum values[*]
Factor I (local satisfaction + local sentiment)	0,88	-0,22	-0,30	from -1,75 to 1,55
Factor II (local identity)	0,59	-2,52	0,67	from -2,89 to 1,21
Factor III (spatial stabilization)	-0,73	-0,08	0,31	from -2,68 to 0,74
N	25,1% (200)	12,7% (101)	62,2% (496)	-

[*] The values of partial indices for particular types ought to be read in the light of the indicated minimum and maximum values.
Source: Own calculations

[4] The status variables employed by the present study are age, education, belonging to a particular social-professional category and the level of affluence.

[5] The variables of local rootedness are having been born in and inhabiting a particular place as well as the parents' territorial origin.

[6] The inhabitant's sense of security was determined on the basis of the question: "Is Łódź a safe city?"

[7] I assume that the sense of being able to influence the political scene and the consequent ability to shape one's local environment [Miszalska 1989] may have substantial impact on forming the attachment to one's city, whereas considerable estrangement from the local political scene will probably result in a weak bond with the city.

[8] The influence of social contacts (friends, relatives) within an urban community on shaping attachment and local sentiment towards that community was confirmed in American research [Kasarda, Janovitz 1974; Hunter 1982]. Thus, it is interesting to determine whether establishing social contacts with persons inhabiting the same city will impact the inhabitants' attachment to Łódź.

[9] The aim is to present the spatial diversification of the level and the types of the inhabitants' psychosocial bonds with Łódź. In this case, the basic parameters of the analysis were neighborhood units isolated in the area of Łódź, combined into four functional zones.

The presented data demonstrate that none of the isolated categories contains all the diversified factors of the bond in their maximum extent. Thus, the population under scrutiny does not feature a full bond with the city. The first type, named sentimental localism, comes closest – though not particularly close – to full attachment, manifested in the coexistence of all the isolated factors. Within this type can be found two considerably developed empirical aspects of the analyzed phenomenon. The subjects representing this type are typified by substantial emotional attachment to the city as well as strong identification with the role of an inhabitant of Łódź. Another marked feature of the type is the lack of inclinations to treat Łódź as a permanent place of residence. This type of connection to the territory was described as sentimental localism on account of the dominance of strong emotional ties to the city.

It may be assumed that the presented variety of attachment comes closest to the notion of a private homeland. The place of residence, which is well known and valued, becomes an important element in the individual's identity, which, in this case, may take the form of chosen identity[10]. The subjects who represented a bond of this type seem to construct their identity on the basis of the local, the valued and the familiar. Thus, the city becomes not so much a permanent as a satisfactory place of residence at a particular moment. First and foremost, however, it is a general value, evoking feelings of nostalgia and sympathy as well as inducing positive sensations. Sentimental localism is represented by approximately one fourth of the subjects.

Table 3: Cramer contingency coefficient values for the sentimental localism type and the independent variables

Independent variables	Sentimental localism
Age	0,198 (p.<0,01)
Affluence level	0,101 (p.<0,05)
Place of birth	0,121 (p.<0,01)
Parents' territorial origin	0,136 (p.<0,01)
Sense of security	0,167 (p.<0,01)
Inhabiting a particular neighborhood	0,175 (p.<0,05)

Source: Own calculations

[10] In an article on the inhabitants' identification with Warsaw, Maria Lewicka (2004) employed the notion of chosen identity to describe an attitude marked by the inhabitants' positive relations with their place of residence.

The aim of the analysis was to determine which valuables significantly diversify the existence of the isolated types of attachment to the city. Table 3 presents the values of the V Cramer parameter for selected valuables, constituting potential determinants of attachment to the city. The current study presents only those variables whose impact is statistically significant at the level of significance equaling 0,05.

Attitudes of sentimental localism in the analyzed aggregate vary most strongly in terms of the subjects' age. On the basis of the conducted analyses it was established that the discussed type of attachment to the city is fostered by the subjects' advanced age. As they grow older, the inhabitants of Łódź become less critical of their city, while thinking about the city is increasingly connected with feelings of nostalgia and sympathy. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the latter sensations are not supported by an absence of migration intentions. Among the remaining factors of the individual's social position, the level of sentimental localism is affected by the subjects' affluence level. In contrast to the remaining subjects, those with a low level of affluence more frequently display this type of attachment to the city.

A factor which was demonstrated to significantly diversify the existence of sentimental localism is inhabiting a particular neighborhood[11]. The presented interpretations are based on the assumption that the particular type of attachment to the city is formed by the quality of the closest environment [Hunter 1982]. The obtained results make it possible to indicate several neighborhood units the inhabitants of which display attitudes of sentimental localism much more frequently than persons inhabiting other parts of the city. The aforementioned neighborhood units are found below the tenth and twentieth position in the social status ranking concerning the surveyed inhabitants of the city [Frykowski 2003]; these neighborhoods are also situated in the old part of the city, characterized by considerably worse living conditions. Attitudes of sentimental localism were most often displayed by inhabitants of neighborhoods located in the internal zone: Akademicka (62,5%), Stare Miasto (42,3%), Fabryczna (40,9%) and Doły (37,0%).

Another considerable ingredient of the discussed attitude is the sense of security. Sentimental localism is mainly characteristic of inhabitants who declare that they feel more secure. Almost 40% of subjects who describe Łódź as a safe city display this type of attachment to the city. Thus, the sense of security is a factor

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[11] The appendix contains a map which presents the deployment of particular neighborhood units and isolated functional zones.

which not only engenders satisfaction with inhabiting a particular place, but also enables the formation of very strong, emotional ties to the city and its inhabitants.

What should be emphasized, furthermore, is the relationship between the attitudes of sentimental localism and the factors of local rootedness. The latter, deriving from the fact of having been born and raised in the city, has little influence on the shaping of strong emotional bonds with the life world. This type of bond with the city was more frequently demonstrated by inhabitants who were not born in Łódź. It follows that, in this case, the factors determining the inhabitant's current situation are more important in shaping emotional attitudes towards the city than rootedness. The current life world may be viewed through the prism of the place of origin and considered in terms of the individual's social advancement or the improvement of his or her living conditions. Such interpretation seems correct, especially as regards persons whose experience from the previous place of residence is negative.

The second type was distinguished on the basis of negative values in each factor. The individuals exhibiting this type of connection to the city represent negative attitudes towards the local environment in all its aspects. Their presence in the city is not supported by positive emotional bonds. People would have few qualms about moving to another city. They do not also perceive themselves as members of the local community. Nevertheless, it appears that the reason for their remaining is connected with a particular living situation which necessitates it. This type of attachment to the city may be characteristic for two diverse social categories. On the one hand, negative attitudes towards the city may be displayed by people whose economical status and the resulting lack of spatial mobility prevent them from leaving their place of residence. Thus, it becomes a certain symbol of failure; simultaneously, it turns into a factor of social deprivation[12]. Coercive locality, difficult to alter despite the individual's eagerness, grows to the size of an entire world. Other options being unavailable, the unwanted reality becomes the only possible one. On the other hand, negative attitudes can be displayed by individuals belonging to the upper class, young, well-educated and highly qualified, for whom the current place of residence is not sufficiently satisfactory. Here, the critical approach to the local environment is shaped by inadequate satisfaction of sophisticated needs. The relationship between an individual's high status and a negative appraisal of their place of residence has been indicated in previous

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[12] Such an attitude to one's place of residence was presented by Bauman [1997] in the context of the phenomenon of glocalization.

research [Olubiński 1991; Starosta 1995, 2003]. In this case, the place of residence is regarded as an element which enables the individual to realize their intentions and plans. Thus, when it fails to do so, it is abandoned. This type of bond with the territory comes close to what some authors describe as "negative localism" [Bauman 1997; Starosta 2001]. On the one hand, the local territory is regarded as a factor of social deprivation, whereas on the other it is seen as a temporary stopover, similarly to staying at a hotel during a business trip. Negative attitudes towards the city are displayed by 12,7% of the subjects.

Table 4: Cramer contingency coefficient values for negative localism and independent variables.

Independent variables	Negative localism
Age	0,213 (p.<0,01)
Affluence level	0,155 (p.<0,01)
Professional category	0,146 (p.<0,05)
Inhabiting a particular neighborhood[*]	0,221 (p.<0,05)

[*] The influence of the subjects' inhabiting a particular neighborhood unit on the type of their attachment to the city is discussed in a separate section of the text.
Source: Own calculations

Negative localism is mostly determined by the factors of the individual's social status. The discussed type of relation with the city is more frequently displayed by young people with considerable means and a high professional status. Castells' hypothesis about the cosmopolitanism of the elites is particularly relevant here. This view is also found in the writings of Bauman [1997] and Florida [2002], who emphasize liberation from a particular territory as an indispensable ingredient in an individual's social advancement, and, conversely, the deprivation connected with coercive locality. To a growing extent, the attention of this creative social class [Florida 2002] is focused on seeking a place of residence adequate to the assumed life strategy. In this case, the inhabited environment is perceived in terms of the extent to which it is capable of satisfying the individual's needs. Thus, one is inclined to agree with Starosta [1995, 2003] that the individual's high social status results in a more critical attitude towards one's place of residence.

The factor which most markedly diversifies the analyzed community in terms of attitudes of negative localism is location within the city space. Attitudes of negative localism, albeit displayed least frequently by the inhabitants of Łódź (12,5%), were more common among subjects who inhabit neighborhood units occupying top spots in the social status ranking and characterized by good living conditions. Prominent among those are Śródmiejska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa (the Downtown

Housing Estate), Radogoszcz, Obrzeża Górnej (the outer Łódź Górna), Widzew Zachód (Widzew west) and Zarzew. Particular attention ought to be paid to the Zarzew neighborhood, because among all analyzed units it occupies the highest rank in terms of social status. Interestingly, the research conducted by Frykowski [2003] also confirmed the high potential of social capital among subjects inhabiting the given area. Therefore, it seems that neither the individual's high status nor an adequate 'social base' are decisive determinants of positive attitudes towards the place of residence. Consequently, in this case, high social status may result in critical attitudes towards the city, rooted in personal expectations.

The surveyed inhabitants of Łódź who represent the third type of attachment to the city are characterized by a considerable sense of spatial stabilization and perceive themselves as members of the urban community. However, they do not display an emotional connection to their place of residence. This type of attachment may be described as pragmatic localism, reflecting as it does adaptive attitudes towards the inhabited environment. Perceiving oneself in terms of territorial belonging and an eagerness to maintain one's role as inhabitant are among the crucial elements of local identity. Attitudes of this kind may be indicative of a habitual bond, which results from becoming accustomed to the city in which one has remained for a long time and a certain habit of regarding the place of residence as an important element in one's biography. An absence of positive emotional attitudes may stem from reflection inspired by an ability to compare one's place of residence with other, more favorably appraised places. However, in this case, the lack of satisfaction or nostalgia does not necessarily preclude a sense of connection to the local environment. On the contrary, including one's place of residence in one's perception of oneself testifies to an individual's strong rootedness. Among the analyzed aggregate, pragmatic localism is the most frequent attitude: six out of ten subjects is characteristic of this type of attachment to the city.

Table 5: Cramer contingency coefficient values for pragmatic localism and independent variables.

Independent variables	Pragmatic localism
Age	0,114 (p.<0,05)
Place of birth	0,084 (p.<0,05)
Parents' territorial origin	0,082 (p.<0,05)
Sense of security	0,130 (p.<0,01)
Inhabiting a particular neighborhood*	0,230 (p.<0,05)

* The influence of the subjects' inhabiting a particular neighborhood unit on the type of their attachment to the city is discussed in a separate section of the text.

Source: Own calculations

Similarly to the other types, the attitudes of pragmatic localism are most markedly diversified by the part of the city which the subjects inhabit. The discussed type of connection to the city is chiefly displayed by individuals inhabiting the suburban zone. The neighborhoods distinguished by a considerable share of pragmatic localism are Obrzeża Bałut (the outer Bałuty, 88,9%) and Obrzeża Polesia (the outer Polesie, 81,3%), both situated in the suburban zone, and Widzew Zachód (Widzew West, 80,0%), situated in the internal zone. As regards the inhabitants of neighborhoods located in the outskirts, the attitudes of stabilization are hardly surprising. Being situated away from noise, pollution and other nuisances of the urban life is most certainly a factor which strengthens the durability of residence and shapes the identification with the city. However, it is not sufficient for the subjects to develop emotionally charged bonds with the city.

Such incomplete bonds with the city are characteristic principally for middle-aged people whose families are rooted in Łódź and who were born as well as raised there. Pragmatic localism is also exhibited by subjects who perceive Łódź as a rather unsafe place. Because a sense of security is one of the conditions for constructing a community, in this case its lack becomes a factor which prevents the inhabitants from developing a full (i.e. also emotionally charged) bond with the local environment.

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this study was to determine the dominant types of attachment to the city among the inhabitants of Łódź. However, the results of the discussed research belong to a broader perspective, connected with examining the transformations of social ties and the significance of their territorial foundations. Authors discussing the subject emphasize two dominant theses which accentuate the importance of the territory for the shaping of social ties. In the former, attention is paid to the decreasing significance of the territory for the construction of social ties [Wellman, Carrington, Hall 1988; Bryden 1994]. Individuals do not regard local territory as a positive frame of reference; its status is seized instead by supralocal structures the basis of which is not necessarily territorial. The presented view is confirmed in the attitudes of negative localism, characteristic

for some of the surveyed inhabitants of Łódź. Conditions which must occur to confirm the thesis ought to be complemented by the context of the diversification of the social structure. The significance of the territory is decreasing, particularly when it comes to individuals belonging to the metropolitan class [Jałowiecki 2002], whose world transcends the narrow borders of the local community. This is also true for those who cannot choose their place of residence, for whom the territory becomes a negative frame of reference, especially when they compare their situation to a generalized image of another, better reality.

According to the latter thesis, the territory remains a significant element in shaping social ties; however, the nature of these ties is changing. This attitude is closest to the interpretation of pragmatic attitudes towards the city. In this case, the local environment is regarded as a site for the satisfaction of the individual's needs and the area of their activity. Pragmatic attitudes towards the city come close to what some researchers term the habitual bond, resulting from long-term habitation. The attitudes of inhabitants who display a strong emotional attachment to the city differ from the above in many respects. Such people regard the city as a value, a private homeland, their own place on earth. Characteristically, they evince sympathy, nostalgia and satisfaction with inhabiting the city, all of which – as has been demonstrated – constitute an important aspect which contributes to shaping the individual's identity and a factor which strengthens the sense of belonging to the territorial community. Although the authors underline the conditional nature of the sense of satisfaction, resulting from the extent to which the individual's needs are satisfied in the local environment [Starosta 1995], it appears that in the case of this category of subjects it more readily assumes the form of a generalized positive approach to the local environment.

Considering the degree to which the discussed types of attachment to the city are represented by the inhabitants of Łódź, one may confidently argue that the thesis about the diminishing role of the territory as the basis of the bond and as an element in individual identity is vastly exaggerated. On the basis of the presented results, it must be stated that for the majority of its inhabitants the city continues to be a positive frame of reference as well as an object of psychosocial attitudes. The change only concerns its character and perception, dependent on the individual's belonging to a particular category, isolated in terms of social status, location in the city's spatial structure and the degree of security.

In summary, it may be argued that we are dealing with different displays of the same city, depending on the viewer. For some it is an object of positive emotional reference and thus becomes, to a certain extent, an autotelic quality. For others, it is a means of satisfying their needs and is positively marked until
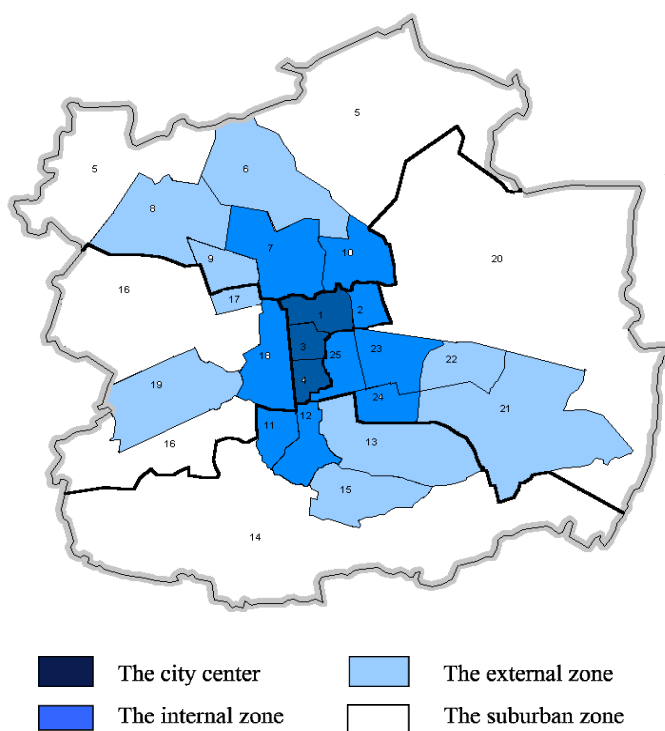
these expectations are fulfilled. In addition, it may be a negative frame of reference. Such interpretation is closest to the perspective of analyzing the city with a humanistic coefficient [Znaniecki 1931], which means that it is not an objective reality, but rather that it exists in individual consciousness. As the results of the research demonstrate, the changes which the concept undergoes are related to the variability of features from one individual to another.

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The map: the city's isolated spatial zone s divided into neighborhood units and administrative districts[*]

| ◼ (dark) | The city center | ◼ (light) | The external zone |
| ◼ (blue) | The internal zone | ◻ | The suburban zone |

[*] **Śródmieście:** 1-Nowe Miasto, 2-Akademicka**,** 3-Centrum, 4-Śródmiejska Dzielnica Miesz-
kaniowa;
Bałuty: 5-Obrzeża Bałut, 6-Radogoszcz, 7-Stare Miasto, 8-Teofilów, 9-Żubardź, 10-Doły;
Górna: 11-Nowe Rokicie, 12-Górny Rynek, 13-Dąbrowa, 14-Obrzeża Górnej, 15-Chojny
Zatorze;
Polesie: 16-Obrzeża Polesia, 17-Koziny, 18-Zielona, 19-Retkinia;
Widzew: 20-Obrzeża Widzewa, 21-Olechów, 22-Widzew Zachód, 23-Widzew Zachód,
24-Zarzew, 25-Fabryczna.

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DOES THE CAPITAL OF KNOWLEDGE AFFECT THE ECONOMIC GROWTH – ECONOMIST'S VIEW

Summary

The author distinguishes three fields of research concerning knowledge and the so-called knowledge-based economy:

– definitions and general reflections based on theory;
– *international comparative analyses of general character;*
– international comparisons and analysis based on statistical and econometric methods.

Then, the results of research within the three afore-mentioned disciplines are discussed.

The conclusion states that knowledge is the main determinant of growth in the long run, but in the short and medium perspective, it is only one of a number of other determinants affecting the growth rates.

In the final part, the author emphasizes the role of the quality of education and intellectual capital in the long-term economic growth of the country.

Keywords: knowledge, knowledge-based economy, determinants of the development

* * *

Knowledge – this word is a key that opens many doors. It is used or rather overused in different meanings, without a clear definition. And thus, for instance, politicians often say "I have no knowledge regarding this subject" (e.g. corruption in town X) instead of saying "I have no information regarding this subject". Similar doubts can rise to the expression "knowledge-based economy" frequently used by economists and economic activists and completed by the statement that

it came into existence only at the turn of the XXth and XXIst centuries, without an attempt at formulation of a precise definition.

The scientific works that focus on the problems of economy - knowledge relationship deal with – to simplify it – subject groups as follows:

–   definitions of the concepts of "knowledge" and "knowledge-based economy" and considerations of generally theoretical nature;

– comparative international analyses and formulation of general conclusions based on them;

– formalised statistical and econometric methods applied in order to discover relations between knowledge and economic development level as well as growth rate.

As publications characteristic for the first tendency two volumes of papers edited by Antoni Kukliński under the title "Gospodarka oparta na wiedzy" (The Knowledge-based Economy") should be mentioned (some fragments could qualify them to the second subject group mentioned).

Two publications: „Wiedza a wzrost gospodarczy" (Knowledge and Growth Rate) ed. Leszek Zienkowski and „Rola polskiej nauki we wzroście innowacyjności gospodarki" (The Role of Polish Science in the Growth of Economic Innovative- ness) ed. Ewa Okoń-Horodyńska could be included to the second group of studies (as above both publications contain papers which should rather be included to the third mentioned tendency of scientific research).

Finally as a publication characteristic for the third subject group, to which the papers on the issues of formalised econometric methods and the results of empiri- cal research which uses these methods, I would mention the book „Gospodarka oparta na wiedzy" (The Knowledge-Based Economy) edited by Władysław Welfe (the title identical with the publication edited by Antoni Kukliński!).

It should be added that a recently (in 2008) published „Raport o kapitale intelektualnym Polski" (The Report on Poland's Intellectual Capital) prepared by the Prime Minister's Team of Advisers, led by Michał Boni, presents in a popular form current data concerning Poland's intellectual capital juxtaposed against data of other EU countries

All above mentioned publications contain relatively highly generalised analy- ses both as far as situational diagnosis and forecasts are concerned.

I would like to stress that the selection of publications is subjectively mine and covers a small number of Polish, arbitrarily chosen, publications whereas rich references in foreign languages are purposely omitted.

Further on I will concentrate on the issues of the impact of knowledge on economic growth, before however, I will try to define what, in this context,

I understand under the concept of "knowledge" and "knowledge-based economy" (a knowledge-managed economy", "a new economy").

According to the PWN encyclopaedia (an encyclopaedia edited by Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Polish Scientific Publishers) knowledge is "a total of pieces of information acquired through learning, stock of information from a certain field". Not every piece of information or piece of news is tantamount to the concept of "knowledge". A stock of information is defined as knowledge (e. g. knowledge of agriculture, military knowledge, knowledge of the world etc.), however always provided that a piece of news or information refers to some broader field and it is not limited to an individual piece of information or knowledge. It should be added that a learning process which leads to acquisition of knowledge cannot be reduced to studying and obtaining higher education. "Learning" also takes a form of scientific-research works and proceeds through an ordinary cumulation of experience within a specific field.

Abstaining from a lengthy discussion about the very definition I will further suggest a list and classification of the fields in which knowledge capital (accumulation of knowledge) comes into existence within the context of knowledge-economy correlation. In this case a term "capital" refers to the traditional in economics definition of factors of production: land, labour, capital (fixed capital). Recognizing that knowledge is a mean of production different from others, accumulation of knowledge can be called knowledge capital. Thus domestic product is manufactured not by three but four factors of production: land, fixed capital, labour, knowledge capital (or by three, if land is to be treated as fixed capital). It is evident model simplification, as knowledge is objectified in fixed assets (fixed capital) and creating the so called educational capital it materialises in people the factor of production which "labour" is. Thus an approach stating that knowledge is not a separate factor of production is possible.

Knowledge capital consists of: (I) scientific knowledge capital (knowledge being a result of scientific research), (II) educational capital (knowledge resulting from education – real knowledge, different from the formal one), (III) accumulated experience capital (knowledge and skills acquired through experience). Knowledge capital is sometimes defined as intellectual capital.
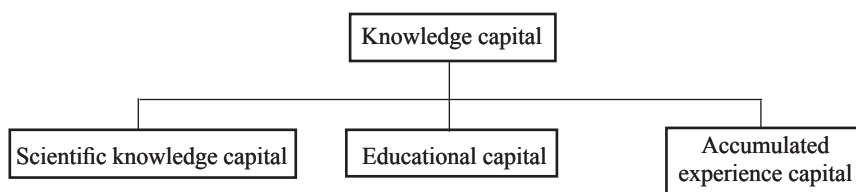
Starting my discussion of the concept of knowledge-based economy I will state that this concept was introduced at the end of the last century and its meaning and scope have not been unambiguously defined yet,   neither generally accepted.

According to Professor Andrzej Koźmiński "knowledge-based economy is such an economy in which a prevailing number of enterprises base their competitive advantage on knowledge" (quoted after Balicki[1]). While agreeing with the merits, a comment is necessary that it is not clear how the knowledge-based "competitive advantage" should be defined. Thus operationalisation of the definition is indispensable.

Then Zienkowski[2] has proposed a somewhat different definition, according to which: as a contemporary existing knowledge-based economy could be recognized the economy in which knowledge (knowledge capital) has become a crucial growth factor (growth determinant), as opposed to fixed capital and labour. Econometric analyses can confirm or deny the existence of such an economy.

Looking at those issues from a broader historical perspective, in my opinion it was knowledge that from time immemorial has determined, as the so called last resort, on development of knowledge. Wasn't it knowledge that was the basis of striking fire skills or wheel construction, that is two "inventions" which, probably to the highest extent, were decisive for the development of the Earth's civilization?

The impact of knowledge and scientific progress as well as innovativeness of economy on growth rate deals with a long time, i. e. dozens or even hundreds of years. Development of knowledge has decided on emergence of new economic powers and intellectual stagnation resulted in their fall (China, Egypt, Arab countries, Turkey). Economic development has always been strictly connected with innovativeness of economy coming into existence basing on knowledge. Knowledge has been "a tool of all progress" and it is not a specificity of the XXth or XXIst century.

However, let us be back to the present. As I am going to prove the results of many economic analyses enable us to formulate a thesis that at the turn of the XXth and XXIst centuries knowledge capital was not a main growth determinant

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[1] Andrzej Balicki, *Uwagi dotyczące realizacji w Polsce programu budowy gospodarki opartej na wiedzy*, (Comments on Realisation of Building the Knowledge-based Economy Program in Poland) [in:] *Gospodarka oparta na wiedzy, perspektywy Banku Światowego*, (Knowledge-based economy, The World Bank's Perspectives) KBN 2003, ed. Antoni Kukliński, p. 123.

[2] Leszek Zienkowski, *Gospodarka „oparta na wiedzy"– mit czy rzeczywistość,* (The Knowledge-based Economy – a Myth or Reality) [in] *Wiedza a wzrost gospodarczy, (Knowledge and Economic Growth)* ed. Leszek Zienkowski, Scholar 2003, p.15.

in a medium 10–15 year period. At the same time a hypothesis cannot be rejected that in the future, in thirty – forty years, the situation of the European continent will change so, that exactly knowledge will become a crucial growth factor also in the medium and not only long-run period.

Economic growth determinants

Direct determinants – short-run

    Capital, labour, independent technical-organizational progress (TFP)

Indirect determinants – medium-run

    Conditions of runnning business activity

    Economic and social policy

Indirect determinants – long-run

    Science, knowledge, innovativeness (scientific knowledge capital)

    Education and level of society's knowledge (knowledge capital)

    Level at civilization and culture – mentality (social capital)

The so called endogeneous growth theory should be considered as a main trend in the economic thought of nowadays as well as the formalised endogeneous growth models based on the above mentioned theory.

Let us remind that the essential assumptions made at construction of an endogeneous growth model are as follows:

– All factors of production (and not only fixed assets) come into existence as a result of accumulation – and it refers in particular to accumulation of the so called knowledge capital.

– Technical and organizational progress depend on a broadly understood social-economic policy and broadly understood society's culture and mentality.

– The factors of production are effectively used only when there exists a stable legal framework that regulates business activity and protects ownership rights.

Thus knowledge is one of the factors of production in theory (and as a model). Accumulation of knowledge capital, that is the results of outlays for science (R&D) and education give grounds for the growth of economic innovativeness,

which in turn is a factor highly decisive for competitiveness of economy. In parallel with knowledge capital the outlays for fixed assets are determinants of economic growth rate, in a degree dependent on development level. Contrary to numerous opinions this "traditional" factor of production keeps playing an important role.

Further on, I give some international comparisons results that characterise the relations between the GDP *per capita* level and volume of fixed assets and level of knowledge (scientific knowledge capital and educational capital). The comparisons results refer to the OECD countries in 1999 and their interpretation should be very cautious, as direct transfer of relations concerning one point in time on change of relations between various points in time (time series) is at the very least doubtful.

The results of analysis of correlation between fixed capital resource (here limited to machines, equipment and means of transport) and the GDP (*per capita*) level indicate – as it could have been expected – a very high relation ($R^2 = 0,87$) between fixed capital resources and the GDP level. Empirical data deviations from the theoretical curve are relatively small.

The correlation between scientific knowledge resources and the GDP level is not so strong as in the case of fixed capital, however also definitely high ($R^2 = 0,69$). What is more important, however, considerable deviations of empirical data from the theoretical curve occur here. The countries having relatively large scientific knowledge capitals are Sweden, Japan, Korea, whereas the ones with relatively low are, as ususal, the countries of Southern Europe (Greece, Spain, Italy) and Ireland.

Then, the comparisons of educational capital *per capita* with the real GDP *per capita* level achieved in 1999 indicate existence of a statistically essential and strong relationship between the society's formal knowledge level (formal education level) and the GDP level. Empirical data are very close to the theoretical curve, except that Switzerland is the country with capital level relatively higher in relation to the theoretical curve and Ireland - relatively lower (Poland – the position close to the theoretical curve).

Actual knowledge level (scholarisation level) is also distinctly correlated with the GDP *per capita* level, although – which can be strange – this relationship is not so strong as in the case of formal knowledge capital ($R^2 = 0,54$). Also considerable differences occur between empirical data and the theoretical curve. The countries in which scholarisation level is particularly high in comparison to the achieved development level are Sweden and the Czech Republic. Relatively low scholarisation level in relation to the GDP level especially occurs in Portugal,

Slovakia and Ireland (!) as well as – at a high absolute level both of the GDP and scholarisation – in the USA (in Poland relatively low levels both of scholarisation and the GDP were observed).

The conclusions that could be formulated on the basis of international comparisons results discussed in the book "Knowledge and Growth Rate" are as follows:

– the structure of the use of available factors of production can differ considerably between the countries with similar economic development level (various "development paths" are possible),

– the impact of scientific knowledge capital on economic development depends not only on the volume of outlays for science but also on the effectiveness of the outlays, creativeness of scientific – research workers and domestic institutions either supporting or slowing down initiatives and innovativeness,

– the innovativeness of economy is not the effect of domestic research and development activity but also of the modern technologies and "know-how" imports

– one can risk a hypothesis on mutual synergistic relationships between the GDP level and outlays for R&D (outlays increase along with the GDP growth, whereas the GDP level increases with the increase of outlays),

– ability to create and absorb technical development, indispensable for achievement of the high economic development rate, must be connected with high outlays for fixed assets (infrastructure included) especially in the countries that are catching up with highly developed countries) – in these countries growth of fixed assets volume keeps being a fundamental factor decisive for economic development; simultaneously economic growth rate is strongly dependent on the advancement of reforms of economic institutions (law and its enforcement, simplicity and clarity of regulations, reduction of bureaucracy etc.),

– the GDP *per capita* level is relatively strongly related to the volume of the so called society's knowledge capital (education level) – the dependence is significant over time, especially as the long-run processes are concerned.

Here, a commentary on recent (2006) international research results referring to intellectual capital of 16 European Union countries. Intellectual capital measures have been presented in *Raport o kapitale intelektualnym* Polski (The Report on Poland's Intellectual Capital). Generally speaking they support the results formulated on the grounds of international comparative analyses carried out a few years ago.

Further on, I will limit myself to these intellectual capital measures that only refer to educational capital (EC). Educational capital measures which characterise

quality of knowledge of primary, secondary and higher schools students, middle age and senior people (people included in the study have been conventionally divided into such groups) enable to distinctly discern "the leading countries" with relatively high EC and "the straggling countries" with a relatively low EC). Simultaneously it should be stressed that the results base on cross-sectional study, i. e. deal with one moment in time.

The countries which can be called leaders in all mentioned groups are Finland, Holland, Sweden, then Germany, Austria, Ireland (a completely different evaluation of educational capital level in Ireland from the one resulting from the studies carried out in the years 1994-1998 is remarkable), Great Britain and Belgium. The straggling countries are: Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Poland and the Czech Republic, whereas the two last ones achieve – which is surprising – rather good results in the evaluations of intellectual capital of school youth.

Of particular interest are EC evaluations of students, that is the group of future intellectual elites. Leading countries are Great Britain, Sweden, Ireland and Finland. Poland is here at the very end together with Greece, Portugal and the Czech Republic, and from among high schools only two from Poland have been included in the world's ranking of 500 best schools. Greece, Portugal and the Czech Republic come close to Poland. Four first places are taken by: Germany, Great Britain, Italy and France.

Highly possible is a hypothesis that a low average EC level of Polish students is affected by a low level of numerous private high schools, which exist as high schools in name only and the low EC level of extramural students. The increase of students number in Poland is not equivalent to the increase of educational capital.

As indicated by the results of analyses carried out a few years ago, a clear relationship was observed, what has not been reflected in *Raport*, between a country's economic development level measured by the GDP *per capita* and educational capital level. In the educational field the GDP *per capita* of eight "leading countries" is running at a considerably higher level from the average in the EU countries (EU 27), and in six "straggling countries" – at the considerably lower level from the average GDP level in the EU countries. In that context a low position of Poland, after all one of the EU's poorest countries, is not a surprise and what is rather interesting, the quality evaluation results of knowledge of school youth are surprisingly good.

A completely different picture of situation appears from the analysis of relationships in time, between the GDP growth rate in the last decade (1995–2006) and the level of education (educational capital) in those same sixteen countries.

And so the GDP dynamics in Greece, Spain, Poland and the Czech Republic, that is in the low educational capital countries, is distinctly higher than in the "leading countries" in the educational field, i. e. there is no clear correlation between the GDP growth rate and the level of education.

Here it can be added that also the econometric analyses carried out in Instytut Ekonomiczny NBP (The Economic Institute at National Bank of Poland) by S. Roszkowska, based on the measures presented in *Raport,* show that there is no statistically essential correlative relationship between the educational capital level (of school youth, students, adults and seniors) and the GDP dynamics in the decade of 1995 – 2006. Simultaneously it can be stressed that the results of analyses indicate the occurrence of a very weak (hardly noticeable) correlation between the educational capital level (students, adults, seniors) and the dynamics of social labour productivity.

The results of analyses confirm the existence of correlative relationship (albeit rather weak) between the GDP per capita level (2006) and the educational capital of students, adults and seniors. No correlation between educational capital and the GDP in the group of school youth can be explained by a small differentiation between the European countries under analysis. Moreover educational capital in this group has no direct impact on the actual GDP level. The latter can be affected only in the future.

A general conclusion to be drawn from all those international comparisons can amount to confirmation of the formerly formulated thesis, according to which educational capital level and scientific knowledge level have a weak impact on the economic growth rate within an average ten-fifteen year period. The effect of other factors is stronger. At the same time the hypothesis according to which a relatively high growth rate in the low GDP per capita countries in the initial time has been achieved, to a large extent, not by the development of domestic scientific research or increase of education level, but due to imports of new technologies and new generation machinery requires in-depth verification. The imports raised a total efficiency of factors of production by leaps and bounds, which is by the way, consistent with basic convergence theory propositions. Simultaneously the achievements of countries were considerably different – some achieved successes, other, and especially Portugal, increased distance to higher developed countries.

It can supposed, however, that a relatively insignificant effect of knowledge capital on yearly acceleration of growth rate cumulates and becomes vital for the changes of relative position of the country in economic growth scale over a long thirty-forty year period. If the hypothesis formulated here matched the reality,

it would indicate there is no contradiction between the results of cross-sectional analyses and the results of time series analyses.

Moving to a concise characteristics of the results of studies based on formalised econometric models I would like to state that, in my opinion, international comparisons and theoretical considerations provide us with irrefutable arguments supporting the thesis on the impact of knowledge capital on economic growth level and dynamics. That does not mean, however, that knowledge capital is a basic factor decisive for growth rate over short and medium periods. Also other factors of production play essential roles here. Thus a task of econometric type analyses is to examine the impact strength of knowledge capital on growth rate and period (long, medium) of its manifestation, moreover a possible indication of the specific conditions found in some countries or periods in which the impact on knowledge capital, or to be specific, educational capital, is negligible.

While evaluating credibility and precision of the results of calculations and model simulations one should realise that behind a description of explanatory variables lie symptomatic measures strongly, as a rule, simplified with regard to the definition of variable. And thus, for instance, writing about human capital it is not always stressed that in reality measurement deals with educational capital, and what more, sometimes measured in a so to say "simplified manner" – this is e. g. the share of expenses for education or scholarisation level in the GDP[3]. Let us remind that theoretically human capital it is not only education level but all psychophysical characteristics, so also inborn skills, cultural level, mentality in general, as well as physical condition and state of health.

Analysing relationship between scientific knowledge capital and the GDP level and dynamics the relations of cumulated expenses for R&D to the GDP are frequently assumed as a measure symptomatic for scientific knowledge capital[4]. Such and similar simplified research procedures are unavoidable, yet it should be remembered.

Unambiguous conclusions regarding the phenomenon dynamics in time are often formulated on the grounds of international cross-sectional studies (dealing with one moment in time) or cross-time ones. In my opinion this kind of interpretation of results of studies is debatable. Frequently, the results of cross-sectional

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[3] This measure can lead to particularly erroneous conclusions in analyses referring to highly developed countries – possibilities of further increase of scholarisation are limited there which can lead to decreasing impact of education on economic growth.

[4] Leszek Zienkowski, *Gospodarka oparta na wiedzy – mit czy rzeczywistość* Knowledge -based Economy – a Myth or Reality), [in:] *Wiedza a wzrost gospodarczy (Knowledge and Economic Growth)*, Scholar 2003, p. 26.

comparisons can lead to erroneous conclusions when they are unreservedly transferred to change processes in time in one country.

Excluding extreme cases the results of econometric models, while confirm theoretical considerations on the impact of knowledge capital on economic growth, considerably vary in the assessment of the scale of this impact.

According to e. g. W. Florczak[5], it can be assumed that economic growth elasticity in relation to human capital (educational capital) in the renown models runs from 0,125 to 0,655. For the economist-researcher so considerable differences in results are very uncomfortable. The same author states that the range of 0,08 to 0,79, thus even larger, should be assumed for the studies on the impact of human capital on economic growth in Poland.

Finally, it is worth stressing that the most general assessment derived from the results of model econometric analyses comes down to a conclusion on a clear very essential impact of the increase of knowledge capital on economic growth in the long-run, lack of short-run effects and an essential impact in the medium period, conditional, however, on co-appearance of other factors, especially such as outlays for fixed assets and openness of economy (in closed economies that have no access to the newest technologies, the domestic knowledge capital does not contribute to the aggregate productivity growth of factors of production).

Accepting as an initial point a realistic assessment of situation – relatively low expenses for R&D, especially in the sector of enterprises, unsatisfactory number of highly qualified scientific and engineering staff, relatively low level of educational capital (formal knowledge) and low scholarisation level (actual knowledge as opposed to formal education level) – one cannot expect a significant increase of outlays (provided it would be possible) for R&D in Poland in the nearest years would bring far reaching effects.

Much better chance of the increase of innovativeness in Polish economy and acceleration of growth rate in the coming years consists, not in a quick growth of outlays for domestic R&D, but in the increase of import of new technologies and technical thought (case of Ireland) and their adequate use for transformation of economic structure. Then outlays for R&D would be oriented to provide for accelerated absorption of imported technologies.

Only higher educational capital of the society and the intellectual elites of all areas of life created on its basis and supported by social-economic policy, as

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[5] Waldemar Florczak, *Kapitał ludzki a rozwój gospodarczy (Human Capital and Economic Development*, [in:] *Gospodarka oparta na wiedzy (Knowledge-based Economy)*, ed. Władysław Welfe, PWE, p. 166.

well as a change of society's mentality can bring about the situation in which domestic scientific-technical thought will make a fundamental development agent. Only then a significant increase of outlays for domestic R&D (up to the level of Finland) can result in the essential acceleration of economic growth rate.

Financial effort of the country directed to R&D can be wasted and the economy unable to effectively absorb the produced scientific-technical progress unless a parallel growth of knowledge and number of educated staff occur.

As the past and present history shows, the inclination for innovations resulting in the fast rate of economic growth is significantly affected by "the social climate". The state can create a climate favourable for creators and talents through its social-cultural policy exposing a role of human thought in development processes. At the same time promotion of elites in all milieus and at every level, starting with school, and not yielding to pressures of mediocrities are necessary. Not lowering but rising the educational quality standards paves the way for progress. It is not an easy task – requires tact and can provoke social conflicts, however necessary, because the very growth of only formally well educated population number does not contribute to economic or social development.

An adequate social climate can create proper conditions for rewarding intellectual achievements adequately to their significance and one does not have to be afraid of public reprobation for the resulting increased differentiation of incomes.

Ethos of a poor outstanding scientist or inventor, if it has ever existed, belongs to the past. This is not an example to be followed by students. Young talented people, who to the benefit of all could be involved in scientific career and even prefer freedom offered by practising science to money, cannot accept exceptionally low material status a scientist has in Poland (an average clerk in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, not to speak about banking sector earns more than a full professor).

One should agree that doubling the amount of remunerations of all involved in science and technology surely would not give desired results. However a chance of promotion for those who achieved success in science should be created, accompanied by pecuniary advancement on a large scale in order to motivate talented and ambitious people. Economic development is created by elites and, for public good, their remuneration should be considerably higher from an average (incidentally, only then it is possible to prevent emigration of the most talented). "One distinguished professor brings more credit and benefit than a great number

of less talented people", are the words of the emperor Joseph II of the XVIIIth c. (quoted after K. Zienkowska)[6].

It should be emphasised that the impact of knowledge on economic growth rate in a medium period should not be overestimated in the countries catching up with highly developed countries and Poland belongs to them. It is one of, but not the only one, factors crucial for narrowing the development gap.

In the less economically developed countries, catching up with highly developed countries, the fixed assets resources (fixed capital) are considerably smaller than in the highly developed ones. That is the importance of outlays for investments in fixed assets is different in those countries in relation to the importance of outlays for knowledge and innovation interpreted as factors of production. The thesis matching with the higher developed economies does not correspond with the situations of less developed countries.

In the economy which has relatively small fixed capital, every additional unit of it results in the growth higher than in the economy which has relatively large capital (falling extreme productivity of factors of production). Thus the impact of outlays for fixed assets on economic growth in less developed economies is relatively significantly higher than in higher developed economies. Whereas the impact of knowledge and innovations is relatively lower than in highly developed economies, which because of already high saturation with fixed assets, have to a large extent base their development on the so called immaterial factors (it should be noted that also in such economies the relation between the level and rate of investment growth and the GDP growth is still essential).

In accordance with model simulations by W. Orłowski[7] a gradual increase of outlays for R&D in Poland from the actual level of 0,7% in relation to the GDP up to 3,7% (as it is nowadays in Finland) can rise, in the year 2040, the GDP level by 8% in comparison to the situation where there is no increase in the share of expenses for R&D in relation to the GDP. Simultaneously, as it results from the model, relatively inconsiderable, only by two per cent points, increase of the share of investments in the GDP, in comparison with the present low level, can bring – at the assumption that the share of expenses for R&D in the GDP does not increase – almost the same percent increase (by 7% percent) as the increase

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[6] Krystyna Zienkowska, *Korzenie polskiego zacofania* (The Roots of Polish Underdevelopment), [in:] *Wiedza a wzrost gospodarczy, (Knowledge and Growth Rate)* ed. by Leszek Zienkowski, Scholar 2003, p. 66.

[7] W. M. Orłowski, *Scenariusze rozwoju sektora wiedzy w Polsce do roku 2040* (The Scenarios of Development of Knowledge Sector in Poland) [in:] *Wiedza a wzrost gospodarczy* (Knowledge and Economic Growth)*,* Scholar 2003, pp. 2009–2210.

of the share of outlays for R&D in the GDP by 3 per cent points at the end of analysed period.

In Poland the significance of knowledge and innovations, understood as the economic growth factor, will keep rising along with the increasing volume of capital resources and reduction of distance towards highly developed countries. Thus significance of the outlays for domestic R&D will increase. All the same in the nearest decade economic growth will still considerably depend on the growth of investment volume and the relevant increased absorption of imported technical progress as well as the advancement of economic reforms.

The above does not mean that already at present economic policy should stop attempts at the increase of knowledge capital and, especially, development of scientific staff and their level as well as at improvement of education quality at the elementary, secondary and higher level. The gap separating Poland from highly developed countries is dramatically high. In the future a significant growth of intellectual capital can condition achievement of success in levelling differences in civilisational development level and living conditions between Poland and highly developed countries.

As many things point to the fact[8], we are the day before the world educational revolution which will result in improvement of education quality not only in the highly developed countries but also in the countries of Asia, Africa and South America until recently considered backward in terms of education level. One can be afraid if Poland, by any chance, does not stand aside of this process considering conservatism and resistance of the circles connected with education, starting from primary through higher education. I would like to believe the fears are groundless. What is alarming, however, is the fact that *Raport* o *kapitale intelektualnym Polski* prepared by the Prime Minister's Team of Advisers has not aroused any particular interest of media and provoked almost no debate. None broader understanding exists for the needs of improvement of the education quality and lowering the age of children starting their education.

BASIC PUBLICATIONS IN POLISH

Gospodarka oparta na wiedzy – Wyzwania dla Polski XXI wieku (The Knowledge-based Economy – The Challenges for Poland of the XXIst Century), Komitet Badań Naukowych (State Committee for Scientific Research), Warszawa 2001, ed. by Antoni Kukliński.

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[8] See: *Special Report: Education*, „Newsweek", August 18/August 25, 2008.

Gospodarka oparta na wiedzy – Perspektywy Banku Światowego (The Knowledge-Based Economy, The World Bank Perspectives) Komitet Badań Naukowych, Warszawa 2003, ed. by Antoni Kukliński.

Gospodarka oparta na wiedzy (The Knowledge-based Economy), Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, Warszawa 2007, ed. by Władysław Welfe.

Raport o kapitale intelektualnym Polski (The Report on Poland's Intellectual Capital), www. kprm.gov.pl Raport.

Rola polskiej nauki we wzroście innowacyjności gospodarki (The Role of Polish Science in the Growth of Economic Innovativeness), Polskie Towarzystwo Ekonomiczne, Warszawa 2004, ed. by Ewa Okoń-Horodyńska.

Wiedza a wzrost gospodarczy (Knowledge and Growth Rate), Scholar, Warszawa 2003, ed. by Leszek Zienkowski.

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KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY – NEAR FUTURE OR DISTANT PROSPECT?

Summary

The submitted paper proposes that the emergence of the knowledge based society does not primarily depend on the structural conditioning of its functioning, its technological infrastructure or proper management of information space, etc., but rather on the quality of knowledge which is at people's disposal and which is to a large extent shaped by the school. The analysis of parameters of the school knowledge which is currently implemented at schools reveals that the formation of graduates does not meet the requirements of the age of the knowledge based society. It can be, thus, extrapolated that the knowledge based society (not to be confused with society whose economy is based on knowledge) still remains a rather remote prospect. Thus, in order to make it a nearer perspective, radical steps must be undertaken to reform institutions responsible for the condition of individual awareness, which applies particularly to schools.

Keywords: knowledge based society, school knowledge, parameters of school knowledge, sociology of knowledge, sociology of education,

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The views on the knowledge-based society are neither systematically organized, nor in fact are they consistent. In literature devoted to the subject the prevailing approach associates the knowledge-based society with a society in which the basis of the economy is not the capital or work force but knowledge. There are at least three reasons why such an approach to the problem might be unsubstantiated: 1) economy is not the only area of human activity – whatever processes occur therein, they should not impose the interpretation network identifying

the entire society; 2) knowledge itself is universal in nature – it constitutes an indispensable element of all the contexts of the collective experience, moreover, it is an essential element of a society as such – thus, in order for the knowledge-based society to be realized, the knowledge should not only achieve a certain position and quality in the economy, but also in all sectors of the collective life; 3) the knowledge-based economy (associated with the knowledge-based society) does not lead to wisdom society – numerous experts who study the discussed research area emphasize that the so-called knowledge-based society is a stage preceding the wisdom society. Thus, the term 'knowledge-based society' including the associated connotation should be replaced with the following: 'a society in which the economy is based on knowledge'. The meaning of the discussed term, coined and predominating in literature, involves an unwarranted appropriation of the semantic field, as even one of the advocates and 'prophets' of the so-called 'knowledge-based society' points out (albeit, perhaps, not entirely aware of this fact): namely Peter F. Drucker, who, by the way, contributed greatly to the establishment of the narrowed down formulation of the category discussed. In Part 3, Chapter 12 of his famous book entitled *The Post-Capitalist Society* (Drucker 1999), the author identifies the knowledge-based society not only on the basis of the context of economy and the collective life sectors associated therewith but also the knowledge which is available to people. Such an approach is correct as it is the sphere of individual awareness which decides whether we are dealing with a societal formation which is of interest to us. It is in this sphere where the basic values of the collective life quality are reflected. Thus, the analysis of an individual scope of knowledge is the best way leading to a correct formulation and an adequate identification of the knowledge-based society. It is, therefore, this way which we shall follow for the purposes of this text

The majority of scholars who study the subject of knowledge-based society are of the opinion that such a society is the state of the future. It does not suffice to prepare an appropriate technological infrastructure which would provide a universal and uninterrupted access to various information resources, to record on electronic media the content of books, periodicals or even manuscripts concerning all possible disciplines and specialties and incorporate them into the Internet network, it is not enough to implement extra-fast data-processing computers and make them available to researchers working on development of various branches of knowledge as well as others who might me interested, nor is it sufficient to popularize the network education system and create virtual workshops, etc. Aside from a proper arrangement of technological and environmental aspects, it is also essential for at least several additional conditions to be observe, such as: adopt-

ing and popularizing the appropriate understanding of the notion of knowledge within the social space , the change of people's approach to knowledge and forging a suitable configuration of individual awareness.

On the basis of the view expressed by Wojciech Cellary in the statement: "The key to transformation of the society of today into the knowledge-based society is education..." (Cellary 2008)[1], we shall endeavor in this text to find an answer to the question whether the currently operating educational institutions contribute to the construction of the personality and intellect formation of those who benefit from the services thereof, and which is essential for the emergence and further functioning of the knowledge-based society.[2] In an attempt to solve this problem, we shall begin with demonstrating a range of qualities shaped by the educational institutions of today which reflect the school knowledge in a broad sense (including also the awareness states), and then we shall confront them with the parameters of knowledge which should be associated with the knowledge-based society, which in turn shall bring us directly to the solution of the problem discussed in this article.

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Every institution which follows the stipulations of its chosen strategy engenders a characteristic operation style of its own, with a corresponding cognitive style. School not only acts in an appropriate manner and, in doing so, manages to 'mold' students, but its basic purpose, one which has been openly acknowledged and universally exhibited, it to shape the awareness-related formation of those who remain in its charge. Researchers who study the field of knowledge sociology are fully aware that, depending on various factors (temporal, cultural, political, economical, etc.), the effects of its activity assume diverse features. Let us focus our attention on the qualities within the field of knowledge which are shaped by modern school operating in developed societies. The main point of interest here

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[1] One of the reasons is the fact that educational institutions have exceptional power of influence on human awareness. One can, more or less successfully, liberate oneself from other sources of knowledge, but not from knowledge transferred in school institutions which in developed societies are universal and obligatory. Moreover, they affect individuals for a long time in the period when they are the most susceptible to environmental influence. Thus, they instill certain qualities in the awareness formation, determining the epistemic model which to a large extent is a reference point for all forms of knowledge and cognitive relations which involve the activity of individuals.

[2] The significance of such question has been pointed out by Lech Zacher (Zacher 2004, p. 106).

is the formal aspect of the knowledge in question. Reflections on this subject will bring us closer to the answer to the question posed above.

1) Knowledge is characterized by atomic structure. Subjects included in school curricula are not coordinated. Each of this subjects implements its own independent plan, favoring facts from within its field, emphasizing the unusual and unique nature of the presented approach. In the adopted strategy, educators are not concerned with finding links between individual disciplines of knowledge and demonstrating to the students that various disciplines complement one another in the process of learning about the world. As a consequence, they are perceived not as elements synchronized with one another but rather as subordinated to individual priorities or even mutually competitive (Stevens, Wineburg, Herrenkohl, Bell, 2005, p. 139).

The situation is similar in the case of topics presented within the scope of the subjects taught. Their arrangement does not bear any signs of integration. Frequently, they do not correspond with one another and the provided information functions as if separated from the whole problem, thus creating an impression of randomness. No efforts are made in order to find links between them nor does anyone attempt to establish a common denominator for them.

2) Knowledge is not ordered[3]. Educational knowledge lacks clear regulations. At school, often values, behavioral patterns and models of action are demonstrated which lack inner consistency. In many cases, they are even contradictory. There is not a single dominant which would arrange them in order. Young people are also frequently given dissimilar, often mutually exclusive interpretations of facts and topics without a final evaluation. For example, on the one hand, a view is presented stating that a fight for a just cause is worthy of undertaking, that it is an imperative founded on honor and higher good, while on the other, opinions are evoked which stress that any armed action is indeed a nonsense, explaining that it is a contradiction to fundamental values, an utter absurd and as such all armed activity should be immediately ceased and unconditionally rejected (Wądołowski 2008, p. 99, 120). By presenting alternative solutions, possibilities and positions as well as leaving their formula open puts students in an ambivalent situation, which they are not capable of solving on their own. They are left with dilemmas far beyond their abilities and then they are either directed by their teacher's personal preferences or left to their own devices in creating an individual project, of whose suitability they are neither certain nor convinced.

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[3] These remarks particularly apply to subjects from outside the canon as well as humanities.

Another case related to the discussed problem concerns creating problematic situations which students should solve on their own, of initiating discussions which they are to settle themselves and of presenting tasks which they are to perform, etc. The purpose of this is to transform adepts of education into creators of knowledge (Popkewitz 2000, p. 20). It should be added here that they are not given a reference point which would enable them to correct the achieved results. Thus, they are faced with the necessity to determine cognitive values. In doing so they are made not only creators but also arbiters of their own achievements. The evoked case is another proof confirming that the obstacles put in front of students are not placed where they should be. This creates an opportunity of a broad (sometimes unlimited) arbitrariness which frequently results in errors as well as in confirming one's – not always correct – convictions, opening various paths of heresy, equating the achieved results with knowledge based on scientific methods and epistemic authorities and competing with the said knowledge, which might entail attempts to remonstrate it or even fight against it.

The basis of such educational practice is the ideology which assumes the lack of universal truths, standards and norms of research conduct, etc. Individual experiences and single solutions are a point of reference for themselves, as well as the voucher of their reliability and an unerring augur. The constant is replaced with the volatile, the unequivocal becomes ambiguous, the fixed becomes flexible, etc. There are no definite borderlines nor are there unambiguous and simple answers (Popkewitz 2000, p. 20). The described situation is particularly relevant in the case of humanities which are taught with considerable liberty (Stevens, Wineburg, Herrenkohl, Bell, 2005, p. 134).

3) Knowledge is relative. The multiplicity of presented theoretical directions, research perspectives and alternative viewpoints (feminist, racial, ethnical, etc.) is not so much treated as an enriching outlook opportunity which provides a fuller view of the studied reality but rather it is utilized as a evidence of the existence of ambiguity and incommensurability as well as leads to undermining of universalism. In practice, this results in frequent attempts to put to test the certainties accepted by students. It also leads to the situation when the participants of educational contexts are incapable of differentiating truth from false, good from evil or beauty from ugliness. Values became mixed with anti-values. Students are not given the instruments to divide one from the other. They are not shown ways nor methods to find a reference point which would show directions and help to determine purpose as well as instill values in cognitive acts.

Such state of affairs stemming from the context of didactic actions is further reinforced with the contents of the communicated doctrine. Within the school

symbolic space, options negating the existence of truth, beauty and good are in conflict with those which advocate the adherence to these values. Nowadays, a greater power of influence is observed in the case of such standpoints which argue that speaking of objective truth is utterly preposterous, that it is an archaism born out of fossilized anti-progressive minds; for everything is fractional and limited, everything can be undermined and refuted. The foresaid features of educational knowledge are fitted within the quality of knowledge established in the general – extramural – circulation (Melosik 2002, p. 119–121).

Considering the arguments presented, it may be concluded that schools no longer advocate a clear vision of the world while simultaneously arguing that the world cannot be objectively recognized and interpreted. Thus, the only "scientific" standpoint is to acknowledge of the ubiquitous relativism. Under such circumstances, the measure and canon of scientificity is non-scientificity or even anti-scientificity, which leads to the borderline dividing knowledge from pseudo-knowledge being gradually abolished (Bloom 1997, p. 390, 402 *ff*).

4) Knowledge is blurred and ambiguous. The language of school discourse is not sufficiently clear nor transparent. Notions become obscure. Instead of unambiguous, precisely defined terms, ambiguous expressions appear with fluid, undetermined limits. The precision of argument is replaced by colorful phraseology. Language becomes laden with euphemisms which dilute the undertaken topics and the reality itself. Empty rhetoric displaces substantial reference to the specific. The real world disappears, flooded with the language of appearances, fiction and artificiality. Real problems are replaced by pseudo-problems. Pompous formulas are constructed, as well as ephemeral and bizarre verbal constructions, the purpose of which is to induce an impression of professionalism and erudition. In fact however, they only incite disorientation and chaos, without any construction contributed to the recognition of reality. Instead of attempting to simplify the world, an opposite direction is taken – where everything becomes entangled and obscure (cf. Kozyr-Kowalski 2005, p. 115).

5) Knowledge lacks a strong setting in tradition. The fast increase in new discoveries, theories, concepts and interpretations causes that calling upon what had earlier functioned as the canon of knowledge requisite to be learnt at school, cannot be presented as the starting point for reflection. In the majority of cases such knowledge is either dismissed entirely or treated perfunctorily; it might also be deemed exotic – a type of information which one might quote as an anecdote, curious detail and a confabulation element. Generally, however, it is pushed aside and treated as extracurricular, meant only for those who are exceptionally interested and ambitious. Organizational limitations of the modern school system

do not provide an opportunity to present everything that has been discovered, completed and what once had belonged to the canon of basic data taught to young people of that time. Thus, it became necessary to undertake a selection. As a result, such knowledge is dismissed which - from the perspective of contemporary science – seems outdated or – from the point of view of social expectations – does not contribute to progress in any way.

The trend which is discussed here fits well within the strategy of knowledge focused on the present and the future, implemented by educational institutions. From this point of view, reaching for (theoretical) roots of current knowledge is not useful in the process of subjecting the world nor does it permit solving of problems with which the contemporary population is struggling. It is assumed at this point that knowledge should face current challenges or even exceed the present – by providing answers to questions which appear on the horizon of the future times. The result of such outlook is the shortening of cognitive perspective which ultimately stifles the opportunity to construct a formation which would enable understanding of people and the world in which they function (cf. Koutselini, 1997, p. 92; cf. Kozyr-Kowalski 2005, p. 36–37).

6) **Knowledge is fragmentary. Student is not presented with a broad cognitive** perspective which would entail a complete set of facts related to a given subject, a field or a discipline. What is exposed instead are only the selected issues, aspects or extracts of the studied reality, temporal perspectives, while others are neglected or dismissed entirely. No attempts are made to produce a reasonably complete picture of the discussed thematic field. Comprehensive approach is no longer favored, while instead minute, often insignificant facts are highlighted, which function mainly on their own without any important contribution into the understanding of the whole. The constructed image of the world becomes ridden with ambiguity, cracks and gaps. The fabric of knowledge is full of holes, ripped and often disjointed. This does not provide an opportunity to view the studied issues in full perspective. It is often accompanied by unbalanced proportions between the events included in the school communication and the actual events. All these factors contribute to the difficulty in achieving objectivism and properly organized facts (cf. Stanley 1982, p. 590)[4].

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[4] Such a state of matters on the domestic education ground is discussed by W. Wądołowski in his doctoral thesis: *Elementy polskiej tożsamości społeczno-kulturowej w wybranych podręcznikach języka polskiego dla III klasy gimnazjum [Elements of the Polish Socio-Cultural Identity in Selected 3rd Grade Textbooks for Polish in the Gymnasium]*, Lublin 2008.

A separate issue which should be touched upon at this point placing an emphasis on specialization and not on shaping of a thoroughly prepared intellectual formation and building of strong personality. School's concern is not directed towards educating students with broad horizons, capable of an open-minded attitude and reflectively approaching the surrounding facts, etc., but towards developing selected areas of their personality[5], working on specific skills and preparing them to a narrow scope of activity and tasks. The employed practice aims at producing experts in narrow fields, people enclosed within limited framework of specialization. The point is to achieve such formation of educational institution graduates which would make them the motive force of civilization progress[6]. In this perspective, the very shaping of student is a secondary issue. In the light of the presented formulations it is not an unsubstantiated conclusion that student is largely treated instrumentally and it can ultimately be concluded that school systems are not assembled with students in mind but rather realize (in a conscious or unconscious manner) the strategies representing particular interests of various social forces (cf. Melosik 2002, p. 106–107).

7) Knowledge is superficial and limited in character[7]. Teachers are usually deprived of an opportunity to thoroughly present the issues included in school curricula. Thus, they limit their activity to referencing information contained in books and concerning achieved results of research, suggested models, schemes or divisions, etc. They do not, however, offer (at best, they clearly marginalize it) any method of arriving at these conclusions or constructing them. The material given to students is routinely simple and non-controversial – thus, it does not provoke them to an intellectual effort. It should be noted that such option is favored by those who are being educated and who expect that their educators will indicate a specific scope of knowledge to be learned, hoping that it is as narrow as possible. Clearly specified requirements liberate them from any deeper involvement in the mapping of the analyzed issues about which they are not passionate (which

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[5] A comprehensive approach to student is not possible as the educational system is not co-ordinated. There is no synchronization in pedagogical activities aimed at awakening a consistent formation in the following dimensions: intellectual (proper thinking, single logic, unambiguous rhetoric), emotional (unambiguous direction of emotional states and a congenial canon of sensory reception and evaluation), axiological (consistent system of values, norms and models of behavior) etc. (cf. Znaniecki 1994, p. 248 *ff*). Usually, various points of view are assumed to which schooling practice is then adjusted. It leads to intellectual and emotional anarchy as well as a world-view chaos.

[6] A high level of specialization is one of the pillars of the knowledge-based economy (Drucker 1999, p. 43–44).

[7] This applies mainly to the canon subjects and the so-called 'pure' sciences.

applies to an overwhelming majority of learners). Young people *en masse* are content with acquiring only such a scope of facts and to such a degree which is required of them. Exceeding teachers' and examiners' expectations is a rare occurrence indeed, despite the fact – and it should be stressed – that each year the threshold of these expectations is lowered (cf. Stanley 1982, p. 590; cf. Melosik 2002, p. 106; cf. Kozyr-Kowalski 2005, p. 36, 52).

8) Knowledge is practical in character. Knowledge does not provide the possibility of understanding but rather opens an opportunity to solve specific problems. Understanding becomes a secondary category, marginalized in work with students[8]. Its place is taken by usefulness. The knowledge which is sought after allows to overcome difficulties of practical nature, provides an opportunity to control the course of events and increases the effectiveness of actions, etc.[9] Such perspective determines the criteria of what is considered important and what less so, what is worth striving for and what is only treated as a 'filler'. It is this knowledge which is pursued by students, to whom the answer to the question 'Why?' seems redundant and who defy theoretical, immeasurable and humanistic background in general. Such knowledge is desired by the participants of the labor market who realize that employers will require from them specific skills and familiarity with knowledge which is useful in various sectors of collective life, and thus knowledge which provides an answer to the question of 'How?' (How to overcome an obstacle? How to perform the ordered task? How to achieve a better result?). The prevalent opinion is that knowledge which is general, theoretical and which enables understanding does not constitute a sufficient motivation to undertake cognitive efforts (cf. Stanley 1982, p. 590; cf. Reilly 1989, p. 10; Labaree 1998, p. 6; Gumport 2000, p. 83; Ravitch 2001, p. *408ff*)[10].

A similar attitude can be observed even among people of science, including the greatest authorities in their fields. For example, such stance is illustrated

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[8] Ewa Narkiewicz-Niedbalec (2006, 227–230, 237–239) proves in her research that university education does not instill in its recipients the skill of 'deductive-nomological explanations'. In a test which she conducted, approx. 80% of students were unable to apply such an explanation (that is, they failed to demonstrate the understanding of facts from the given field). What is interesting, the same proportion is found among both 1st and 5th year students. This indicates that higher education does not contribute to the development of thinking and that it effectively continues the strategies realized on lower levels of education.

[9] The usefulness and effectiveness of knowledge are features particularly valued in the knowledge-based economy (Drucker 1999, 43, 157).

[10] This conclusions find their confirmation in the number of people who apply for 'theoretical' faculties in Poland in recent years. Philosophy, classical philology, theoretical physics, mathematics or even history barely manage assemble a full body of students.

by the statement from a famous English physics experts, Stephen Hawking. He writes, „I [believe] that physical theories are just mathematical models we construct and it is meaningless to ask if they correspond to reality, just whether they predict observations."(Hawking 1997, p. 166). The quoted statement can be read as an expression of doubt in the power of knowledge as a method of understanding of reality or in the possibility of learning it. It should be noted here that the aforementioned author is not a practitioner but a theoretician *par excellence* (Cieśliński 2008, p. 59).

The above examples confirm that at present we are dealing with distinct tendency toward instrumentalization of knowledge. They attest to the contemporary longing for that which can be measured, verified and applied (Koutselini 1997, p. 90). It is also a tendency towards contextual knowledge (in which the context (of usage) decides what is significant, valuable, worth striving for) and not universal knowledge (which is characterized by a fixed cognitive horizon; aiming at understanding the world or its fragments) (Gumport 2000, p. 83).

9) Literary and rational character of knowledge is gradually replaced by a pictorial and emotionally charged one[11]. Verbal discourse which entailed the requirements of abstract thinking was aimed at coherent and unambiguous description of the world as well as allowed for a precise explanation thereof. An image entails a rather liberal interpretation. The communication which it carries is not as sharp and unambiguous as the one communicated by terms. It leaves a large area for maneuvering to its interpreters: it creates a number of possibilities of various interpretations, it presents a range of judgments and opinions as well as opens a rich palette of likely associations. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to keep the detailed requirements of precision. Moreover, discourses based on visual forms are not always eligible for comparison, juxtaposition or adjustment[12].

Let it be noted that the employed means of expression operate to a larger extent in the area of emotional impressions than that of intellect. Thus, it is not a reflection, analysis, measuring or criticism but rather emotions, associations,

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[11] It might be worthwhile to compare textbooks for primary and secondary (*gymnasium*) schools with those used in Poland 30 years ago by young people of the same age. Also the methods of teaching classes have changed – the traditional form of a lecture is gradually replaced by presentation, field trips, films, etc.

[12] E. Narkiewicz-Niedbalec noted in her research conducted among students of higher education institutions that in the studied group, narrative thinking is predominantly observed (corresponding to pictorial culture). It is discernable over paradigmatic thinking. (Narkiewicz-Niedbalec: 2006, p. 237).

images or intuitions which become the basis of cognitive references. The affective sphere begins dominating over the rational one[13]. The evoked para-rational states become the fundament on which the construction of student's knowledge is erected (cf. Szkudlarek 1993, p. 114–115, 146–147).

10/ The level of educational knowledge is lowered. At public schools, the educational requirements are reduced to the level of young people's low expectations, people who have minimum educational ambitions, who treat school as their unwelcome duty and who have been neglected in terms of their upbringing, while students who are passionate, who have a large intellectual potential, who are eager to learn are usually left to their own devices. Teachers do not have time to devote to them as their entire attention and all efforts are concentrated on weaker learners who require their unrestricted support. Lowering the requirements to the standards determined by this category of students, who are already a largest group within school communities, clearly reduces the level of educational knowledge and in doing so, it lowers the level of knowledge of the entire society (Hartman 2003; Zemło 2006, p. *82ff*].

In terms of its quality, what also suffers is the knowledge employed on higher levels of education. Secondary and higher schools operating in today's age of the market is oriented on gaining the largest possible number of 'clients' which entails the adaptation of these institutions to the expectations of the clientele. This latter group includes a significant number of individuals with rather limited perceptual abilities. Still, schools' struggle to remain on the market and their effective rivalry with competition often consists in a strategy of lowering educational standards. In the conditions of mass pursuit of various diplomas and certificates, the minimum level of what is required of students is constantly reduced (Labaree 1998, p. 6).

One of the features characterizing modern times is the penetration of mass culture elements into the school knowledge. In many cases, a reference to the current discourse is an experience rooted within the ordinary world. The starting point is that which is more familiar and specific as well as the manner in which it is given to subsequently follow towards that which is less obvious and more abstract. The direction of educating runs from contextual approach towards a universal one. It should be noted, however, that frequently the initial stage is not exceeded. It is easier to move within the field of (trivial) specific elements

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[13] In many cases, this formula also governs scientific discussions. A convincing example of such situation can be found in the text by Mirosław Filipowicz (2008). Based on the example of a dispute between Polish and Russian historians specializing in the history of Russia, he demonstrates how stereotypes occlude rational arguments and how the circumstances win over objectivism.

than reality which must be recalled, imagined or conceptualized. More ambitious forms of knowledge begin to be replaced by those which are easier and which do not require any additional effort or are less sophisticated, etc. Ultimately, the ordinariness and the mass culture evidently impose the standards of school knowledge. An old Copernican rule is at work here, which states that better currency is replaced by a lesser one (cf. Szkudlarek 1993, p. 15, 119, 131, 133–134; cf. Bloom 1997, p. 384).

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We have presented a list of features of school knowledge. It is not definitive but it seems to include the more important – from the point of view of issues discussed – parameters which can be both identified and differentiated. We have assumed that the quality of educational knowledge is significant from the point of view of achieving by the society the state of the knowledge-based society. Let us, therefore, return now to the opening question: Does the knowledge which is created by educational institutions bring us closer to a society of that kind? In order to answer this question fittingly, one should first solve another issue expressed in the following question: Are the features listed above in detail indeed the first-rate qualities?' Or, to phrase the problem more gently: Is the knowledge created by educational institutions aimed at achieving the ideal? The solution of this problem is crucial from the point of view of undertaken considerations. It is, after all, obvious that the knowledge –based society should be based on knowledge of the highest quality and not one which has a number of weak points and shortcomings[14], just like the community of knights is comprised of men who are brave, just and honorable and not a cowardly, evasive and miserable mob.

Let us, therefore, look at the currently updated features of school knowledge which affect its character, confronting them with the states perceived as worth striving for.

1) Atomic knowledge – integrated knowledge. Atomization, isolation, dissipation, the lack of corresponding etc. are all features of immature knowledge. There are theories according to which the existence of these qualities in some form of a

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[14] In spite of the multiplicity of various criteria and evaluations, there is a set of values which can be deemed worth more than the others. Many contemporary experts avoid any association with them and never exhibit them in the stances which they take, or even go as far as to refute them, thus becoming advocates of absurd, i.e. voicing an opinion that a truth is not as important as the honing of skills. Thus, a following question comes to mind: what about the skills such as killing, perfect cheating, breaking the law, etc. – are they also above the truth?

theoretical communication makes it impossible for it to be labeled as knowledge. We only have to do with it when the form in question assumes the structure of a consistent, systematic and comprehensive approach. What occurs otherwise is joggling of facts, results and concepts which can be multiplied *ad infinitum* and which lack heuristic qualities when separated, nor do they lead to understanding. It is particularly important that at the initial stage of recognizing the world (which is experienced on all levels of the educational ladder) appropriate conditions be created for understanding thereof (Znaniecki 1991, p. 421–429).

2) Open, chaotic knowledge – regulated, systemic knowledge. Scientific cognition (which in modern societies constitutes the model of cognition of the highest quality) sets several targets, including: 1) reducing the complexities of the world to simple and clear theoretical constructs; 2) explaining and interpreting of the world in a systemic manner; 3) logical inclusion of free observations into a consistent image; 4) discovering of the relationships and laws existing between individual phenomena; 5) attempts to create a communication in a manner free of contradictions (describing the world consisting in adjusting the facts rather than in contrasting them); 6) attempts to approach the world through the order existing within (Tatarkiewicz, 1986, 24–26, 34; cf. Znaniecki: 1991, p. 434; Kamiński 1992, p. 225–229). The tasks assigned to science which are detailed above are at the same time the universally accepted standards of scientificity, which warrant the understanding of the world to the largest possible extent. Without them, chaos, confusion and obscurity occur. School knowledge, for which the scientific knowledge is a referential point, should emulate the evoked standards, although the presented herein portrayal of the school knowledge exhibits such features thereof which not only do not consider these guidelines but are headed in opposite directions.

3) Relativism – universalism. The competition of opposing theoretical and research options, negating of the existence of constant cognitive priorities, the lack of agreement as to the importance of the on-going conclusions etc. – all this engenders favorable conditions for relativism to be established within the space of educational knowledge as well as prepares a welcoming background for the emergence and development of skepticism. This does not encourage the creation of positive atmosphere within the school environment. It places students in the situation of confusion, it provokes doubts in human cognitive abilities as well as deprives of the motivation to become involved in an 'intellectual adventure', etc.

Moreover, it should be noted that the occurrence of relativism in all its forms as well as its consequences in the context of scientific knowledge (being a refer-

ence point for school knowledge) does not incite cognitive activities nor does it introduce any constructions which accompany such activities. In such case, as Popper stated, we are deprived of the basic factor regulating the research findings as well as the opportunities to hold a rational discourse, which opens the way for subjectivity, arbitrariness and indoctrination (Popper 1986: p. 369ff). Thus, the practice implemented in schooling institutions also in this case departs from that which is conducive to the achievement a more beneficial quality in the epistemic dimension.

4) Ambiguous, unfocused knowledge – precise knowledge. High standards of knowledge are guaranteed by the logical culture of the discourse. One of its elements is linguistic purism. It entails using unambiguous terms, coherence and cohesion of the utterance, precision of argumentation and avoiding verbosity. Adherence to these rules is the condition of achieving a transparent and rational image of the world (more understandable than that which appears in the case of a more ordinary approach) and this is the purpose of science, and thus, it is also the purpose of schooling which constitutes an 'atrium' through which scientific knowledge can be accessed (Twardowski, 1919; Ajdukiewicz, 1985b).

5) Un-rooted knowledge – rooted knowledge. There are several significant reasons supporting the reference to the foundations of modern knowledge. Such practice allows to demonstrate the genesis and development lines of notions, problems, theories, trends etc., while it also reveals the motives which were at the base of specific search and research programmes. This way, current knowledge is established more firmly and contemporary achievements, as well as disputes and discussions become better understood. Calling upon the tradition of knowledge reveals such areas of research to those who are interested which had not been previously penetrated by their predecessors. This allows for an orientation in the achieved results (not only those acknowledged to be fundamental and 'timeless') and in doing so, it enriches the cognitive horizon, thus providing an opportunity to awaken creative imagination and inspiration. No matter what arguments are given to justify the resignation from the roots of contemporary knowledge, they are not able to undermine the ruling which states that it is a manifestation of ignorance which does not suit a serious attitude to cognition (cf. Szacki 1983, p. 14–15).

6) Fragmentary knowledge – comprehensive knowledge. Comprehensive approach provides a perspective which prevents from getting lost and becoming confused within a specified area of facts – which is a hazard of an abridged approach. In the case of the latter, a detail may obscure the whole or sometimes even replaces it. This results in disappearance of a landscape, of which the given fragment is but a small fraction. The observer's perspective becomes shortened

and narrowed down, which makes it difficult – if not downright impossible – for a full an objective vision to be achieved. Doubtless, familiarity with certain section of reality or applicable theory is indeed important but – as Hegel said – the fundamental meaning can only be achieved in reference to the whole. Comprehensive vision allows for a broad specter of elements pertinent to a given research area to be discerned, detailed and mutually linked. It is an indispensable condition of proper measuring and evaluating particular constituents as well as of the understanding thereof (cf. Hegel, 1994, p. 28–29).

7) Superficial knowledge – established knowledge. **One may be familiar with**: the course and consequences of some war activity, countries which contributed to the development of world culture, mathematical theorems etc., but knowledge is infinitely more valuable if the familiarity with these issues is accompanied by an orientation concerning: the conditions of battles, cultural context and ethos of artistic endeavors, methods of educing those theorems, etc.

Similarly, the value of knowledge acquired from others is nor the same as that of the knowledge which we achieve on our own by our own efforts. In the first case we are faced with the risk of thoughtless acceptance of the message, in the latter situation we have an opportunity to shape our own character and grow in the atmosphere of intellectual effort.

8) The 'how?' knowledge – the 'why?' knowledge. The 'how?' knowledge allows to function efficiently, albeit mechanically, within the world of problems. The 'why?' knowledge renders this functioning rational. It provides an understanding as to why a certain 'how?' works in this way and not another; why the applied method brings effects while a different one proved inefficient; why elements of a given set of cooperate with one another while other do not do so, etc. The foundations of such knowledge protect from incapacity and helplessness in case if a familiar formula or rule does not work. It also gives an opportunity to reproduce old systems and to enter into a new reality in a constructive manner. Furthermore, it generates an occasion to reach beyond the trivial and the banal, opening more profound cognitive perspectives, which is an effective measure against the awareness becoming instrumentalized and technicalized, as Heidegger warned.

8') Practical knowledge – theoretical knowledge. Practical knowledge is important. It ensures basic conditions facilitating human functioning in a natural and social environment. It must, however, be supported by theoretical knowledge. It is this latter one which provides the former with significant discoveries, allows learners to understand the occurring relationships, helps them to anticipate future problems and prepare for a confrontation therewith, as well as indicates new

practical tasks. It should also be noted that the functions of theoretical knowledge reach beyond human biological dimension, associated with practical action. They allow to fulfill the needs of spiritual nature. Such needs make humans distinct from other living organisms. Such fulfillment constitutes not only their inner yearning (related to enrichment and growing) but also their destiny[15] (Ajdukiewicz 1985 a; Tatarkiewicz 1986, p. 26, 29–30).

9) pictorial knowledge – literary knowledge. From the point of view of maintaining high standards of knowledge, there are at least two reasons why we can speak of the domination of literary knowledge over its pictorial equivalent. 1) Literary knowledge guarantees greater precision and accuracy of discourse (the features listed above are indispensable conditions which ensure proper quality of knowledge, the purpose of which is to recognize the world and which introduces into the secrets of various disciplines); 2) literary knowledge is to a larger extent devoid of emotional factor (scientific cognitive process is aimed at eliminating emotions and similar psychological states from cognitive structures – which should be as rational as possible) (Krąpiec 1982, p. 183). Interpretations based on emotional factors are private and should not be seen as an interpretation of what is universally attempted as objective (Hempoliński: 2005, p. 80).

10) Low level of knowledge – high level of knowledge. We have now entered an age in which sees the increasing numbers of people bearing certificates issued by various educational institutions, with a particularly rapid growth amongst the graduates of higher education schools. It is not accompanied, however, by a parallel increase in the level of knowledge which they have at their disposal on leaving such educational institutions. It is beyond dispute that the knowledge-based society can be created only on solid foundations, such as, undoubtedly, a sufficiently high quality of the intellectual capital and not paper certificates. Such documents can be reproduced in any given number and equipped with them persons who paid the appropriate fee, although not necessarily spent the number of hours specified in the program in lecture halls and demonstrated the required knowledge.

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Having analyzed the parameters which correspond to the educational knowledge realized at the moment in schooling institutions as well as having evaluated them from the perspective of knowledge of the highest quality, it can be concluded

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[15] One important issue should be added here. The imposition of standards of usefulness on disciplines which are theoretically inclined by nature, such as history, anthropology, philosophy, etc., leads to their degeneration. They either become entangled in praxism or became ideologies in service of various social forces (Reale 1994, p. 25–26).

that we are still far away from the knowledge-based society (with the – seemingly obvious – assumption that such society can only be achieved on the foundations of knowledge of the highest quality).

Educational institutions which shape the aforementioned features of school knowledge do not prepare the awareness formation of the contemporaries so that they are ready to create the knowledge-based society and function therein. The condition of school knowledge is far from the desired, ideal-oriented state. It can be said more – current development tendencies indicate that the disparity between the qualities of knowledge shaped by school and those which are characteristic of the knowledge-based society is going to become deeper, thus making the prospect of such society even more distant, instead of drawing it nearer[16].

In order for education to contribute to creating such a state of society which would be of interest for us, considerable effort should be directed at increasing the quality of the intellectual 'product'. Such efforts should lead to the knowledge acquiring qualities contrary to those which characterize it as of today. This requires the change of place of knowledge in the society. It must be granted the central position, it must become a reference point for all undertaken activity and not, as it is the case at present, be dependant on various social subjects (particular ministerial groups, corporations, employers, students, etc.) which dictate its parameters from the point of view of their own best interests. It prevents knowledge from achieving the quality which would bring it closer to the ideal. As soon as knowledge becomes the central value, its features will be infused with qualities contrasting with the ones currently established.

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[16] Such statement does not mean that we are getting further away from the society in which economy is based on knowledge. Some of the parameters of knowledge detailed in this text, which are is currently implemented in schools, seem to confirm that schools meet the expectations of such economy, thus contributing to the realization thereof.

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