

Europe – region – town: cultural roots in narrations at southern Polish borderland

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Abstract: *This paper reconstructs common concepts of Europe, cultural region and locality, worded by inhabitants of southern Poland, referring to their involvement in cultural changes that appeared after accession to European Union. Ethnographic research and in-depth interviews in small towns at the borderland show strong cultural changes that happened under the influence of opening the borders and reception of the EU's funds and regulations. The most common belief among people who decide about the shape of local culture in those towns is that the constitutive features of the European community are multiculturalism and cultural openness. There is the point to analyze the relation between the experience of the cultural and political changes and the process of construction of the European, regional (supranational) and local identity. That goal is realized by use of the qualitative method of the sequential analysis of text. The results of that analysis show the mechanisms of building one's own identity and perceiving the social world by people with clear nationalistic views and positive attitude to Europe and the EU. The fundamental characteristic of this vision of the world is the existence of two ways of identification with the community: by the community of interactions (the local community and transnational region) and the community of ideas (Poland and Europe). The conclusion is that the process of creation of the European identity is similar to the well-known nation-making processes and the idea of Europe could be created only by translation of transnational experiences of individuals to the level of ideological, imagined community.*

Key words: Europeanism, borderland, local communities, trans-border connections, identity, sequential analysis of text

Cuvinte cheie: europenism, zonă de frontieră, comunități locale, conexiuni trans-frontaliere, identitate, analiza de text secvențială

Introduction

Time goes fast during the late modernity days. It is not exactly a description of the physical world qualities, but rather experiences of people who take part in social life. Those subjective feelings can be different in various places of the global ecumene, as the time does not pass equally fast for everyone. If attention is paid to the Central-Eastern Europe, then a wide catalogue of social processes which favor experiencing a change is revealed to the

sociological view. Not so long ago the first term associated with societies of this part of Europe was multidimensional transformation (that is: political, economic and social one). After 2004 not finished disputes about effectiveness, authenticity and durability of those transformations were supplanted by problems and changes caused by the EU's accession of ten and, a while later, another two countries from that region of Europe.

Scientific recognition and understanding of those latest changes – often unjustifiable called Europeanisation¹ – is possible

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through various ways, as many as there are methods in social science. This paper though takes an anthropological, local perspective (Geertz, 1993b). I did this not only because of Clifford Geertz, who writes that locality concretizes great issues (grand realities in terms of that author) which social sciences try to catch and understand (Geertz, 1993a, 21). Another motive persuading to this perspective is a belief expressed by influent Polish sociologist (*nota bene* with strong functionalist orientation), Paweł Rybicki (1979). He stated that every macrosocial change made from above gains durability only when it becomes acknowledged and familiarized on the microsocial level: in local communities, families and individual's consciousness.

Thus, the goal of this article is to show how strong experiencing of the change related to the accession of Poland to the European Union translates to individuals' consciousness, their perception of their place in this changing world. This strong experience of change in translation to planning field work research was obtained by turning to the borderland local communities (those on the south of Poland), for which lifting the administrative barriers between new EU-members implied a very concrete set of experiences. During this research, the researcher's attention was focused on those people who are personally more involved in the process of local changes related to the accession to the EU. That is, the interlocutors were chosen because their involvement in EU's projects and/or working in institutions engaged in integration processes: educational and cultural institutions, as well in the offices of the local promotion².

Method

Research data, which can be treated as a wide context of those analyses, are much diversified. In five small towns of South

and East Polish borderland four independent groups of researchers were collecting ethnographic data for more than a year. Those data contain: 96 in-depth interviews with aforementioned interlocutors; local materials like magazines, leaflets, other local publishing, public documents, information in the Internet; and carried out two week observation and the iconographic documentation of the towns (e.g. Bojar, 2009, 21-24). From the perspective of analysis of a social consciousness, the vital data used in this elaboration are in-depth interviews. Mechanism of the construction of a new vision of the world, which reacts to macrosocial changes, can be found in those stories. That vision also generates affiliation between what is European, regional and local. The analysis of the part of those interviews presented below is two-staged. The first of them is looking for some general qualities which differentiate the attitude to Europe and Europeanism – searching for types of simple local concepts of Europeanism by holistic analyze of content (e.g. Wojakowski, 2007, 114, 173-174). This analysis, broader described in another elaboration (Wojakowski, 2009), shows that on the borderland the most popular concept of Europeanism is culturalist imaginations (called in that texts as the general cultural project of Europeanism), which sees the root of European community in multiculturalism and cultural openness. Because the initial analysis revealed also a specific reference to local culture, the question is how in such vision of world the issues referring to European, regional (supra-national) and local identity of interlocutors are connected.

Those ties are described by the qualitative method of the sequential analysis of text (e.g. Żurko, 2003, 131-136; Pawłowski, 2001, 26-31), independent from the previous one. This analysis is a complex procedure, which consists of separating particular thematic sequences (as in “incident to incident” coding in grounded

theory; Chamraz, 2006, 53), ascribing them to analytic categories and analyzing relations between those categories by settling connections between sequences in the text (also proposed in clinical research; Miller and Crabtree, 2003, 416-418). Thus to this analysis only one interview was chosen; that with the most narrative character (which enables settling relations between the sequences) and the most typical culturalist perception of Europeanism.

Variety and fluency of recent identities

The motive of fluency and change, to which I have referred in the introduction, in microsocial scale of effects, is recently quite commonly described by the category of identity. Identity is what is fluent, and simultaneously used by an individual as a tool of familiarization of change; that is how Zygmunt Bauman (1998) and Anthony Giddens (1991) describe it, and as it was suggested earlier by George H. Mead (1975). That is why recently identity is the term in common use. Researchers who asked for individual's world-view, its consciousness or experience, usually describe this questions as identity ones. In the age of high reflexivity (Giddens 1991) individual has the attention focused on himself / herself and its identity narration may be the story about culture, and vice versa; its characteristic of culture is often a declaration of one's own competence and cultural preferences. This is relevant, because translating those concepts from the interlocutor's statements analyzed here, we can assume that we register and analyze their identities which are determined here and now, regardless of their deep conviction that their identity is changeless and stable (Baumann, 1998). This, in turn, allows an assumption that this "here and now" identity is not isolated from broader context of local social relations, so it

remains in contact with their work oriented on implementation of European Union's projects and regulations, involvement in local culture and social life and experiences of disappearance of state-border between their community and other similar communities on the south slope of Carpathian Mountains.

The examination of identity declarations in the context of diffusing the state-borders, revealing regionalisms and the integration process within the European Union has become a traditional method of describing national differences and local distinctness in social or group's boundaries category (e.g. Cohen, 1985; Donnan and Wilson, 1999). Identity in the Central-Eastern Europe was exposed to actions that lead both to strengthening and weakening the social borders, especially in the beginning of XXI century, as Joanna Kurczewska notices (2008b, 21-22):

One may say that two different processes are taking place simultaneously in this European space: invalidation of boundaries (meaning those between new EU members such as Poland and Slovakia) and the ascription of significance to these boundaries at the various levels of aggregation of both social life and sociopolitical debate. (...) the nature of various types of boundaries – local, regional, national, state, supra-state and continental – is becoming increasingly problematic in the consciousness and activities of individuals, institutions, and entire societies and cultures. On the other hand, this problematic nature can be restrained via domestic strategies (most of them attempted by major political parties and circles) to legitimize post-socialist states and cultures by referring to a variety of national ideologies.

As a result of that, the identity discourse is taking place in the conditions of "an embarras de richesse of boundaries, divisions, and differences, a fact often leading to a situation in which an excess of real and imaginary boundaries (and dis-

courses about them) are causing many members of national or local communities to conclude that they are insignificant.” (Kurczewska, 2008b, 22-23)

A discussion about Europe in social sciences

Scientific discussion about Europe and Europeanism is today a part of a wider identity discourse, which is taking place on different dimensions in every society of the Old Continent. Moreover, it was added to regional and national debates quite recently. Especially after taking a closer look at the reflection of social sciences (Europeanism appears as the stable and influential element of political discourse after II World War³), the turn of 1980 and 1990 seem to be a substantial moment of introducing the Europeanisation issue. This process was not accidentally converged with two important social-political events: the fall of communism in our part of Europe and acceleration of integration of societies of the Western Europe (Maastricht Treaty). That time significant persons for social sciences, like Jean Marie Domenach (1992), Jurgen Habermas (1993) and Ralf Dahrendorf (1991), spoke about Europe in a brief, but lofty way. Curiously enough, those elaborations were not the analyses of an actual situation, but rather the projects of a future Europe. Especially important conclusions for the consecutive years of functioning of European societies, which resulted from the first debate of sociologists and philosophers, were problems concerning European citizenship (Habermas, 1993) and preserving cultural diversity of Europe (Domenach, 1992). Despite the fact that those concepts did not have any common points of reference, it can be said that later political activities (both European Union and nation-state ones) drew from both of those grounds. Less substantial differences between civic and culturalist visions of

Europe were trivially found in distinguishing ideas of Europe of nations and Europe of regions.

Nowadays in scientific discourse Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande (2009) refer to the tradition of presenting “theories for Europe”. Their vision of cosmopolitan Europe regards to an activist factor – political and economic actions – which stands up to normative attitude, which is associated with culturalism. Regardless of values of the concept of Europe described by previously mentioned authors, their work contains marginalization of Domenach’s perspective of “European cultural space”, the perspective underlining the cultural diversity rendered service to integration practices both in 1990s and now (e.g. students’ exchange programs and scientific cooperation should be associated with his ideas).

The beginning of the XXI century also brings the trials of empiric capturing of Europeanism phenomenon not restricting to the simple questions of the Eurobarometer (e.g. Berezin and Shain, 2003; *European Societies*, 2008; Kurczewska and Bojar, 2009). This material is very various, but there can be seen a new way of struggling with this problem. Firstly, those works show a variety of concepts of Europe and Europeanism. Some researchers, like Krisham Kumar (2003) and Richard Jenkins (2008), enumerate and describe many ideas of Europe. Their conclusions, often convergent, exceed cultural and sociopolitical attitudes toward Europe connected with the ideas of Habermas and Domenach (Jenkins enumerates six of those main attitudes). This new perspective stresses the plurality of the idea of Europeanism.

Another important change of perspective of analysis of Europeanism is acknowledging the diversity of actors taking part in discourse about Europe. R. Jenkins and J. Kurczewska (2008a) realizes this fact and underlines that those actors are located in different spots of European (but also outer-

European) space. Both authors separately appreciate the meaning of local actors. Kurczewska describes this issue in a more complex way, indicating that complex arrangements of imaginations of Europeanism built locally or externally enforced (by EU or nation-state) are present in local communities.

This way of understanding Europeanism, which is internally ambiguous, under conditions of local community, which is one of the typical forms of Europeans' everyday life, coexists with their national, regional and local identification. This coexistence is a reason of searching for connections between those types of identities in the interlocutors' narrations.

The field work: various ways of perceiving one's own Europeanism

The holistic analysis revealed the diversity of local concepts of Europeanism on the Southern and Eastern Polish borderland⁴. There are four types of projects of Europeanism; they were named accordingly to contents that were assigned to them by subjects: 1/ general cultural (internal) projects which define Europe as a conglomerate of various cultures linked together by common tradition and history and the ensuing values of tolerance and openness; 2/ religious (Christian) projects which also refer to the cultural criteria of Europeanism but treat them exclusively and essentialistically; 3/ EU projects according to which the European Union is what determines Europe, its borders and shared cultural features; and 4/ external (western) projects where Europe is treated skeptically, as something unfamiliar and external with respect to the interviewer's situation. Frequency of their appearance is various. Religious and external projects appeared rarely and were strongly connected with sociopolitical views. Religious project was

represented by people with radically right-wing/conservative views (but not every right-wing supporter shared this vision of Europe) and the external perspective on Europe is mainly expressed by the East Slavic minorities (but again not by everyone from this group of respondents). The south of Poland is dominated by two concepts of Europe which, to some extent, resemble attitudes marked out previously in the scientific discourse.

For some reasons the general cultural project is the most interesting from the perspective of searching for connections between European, regional and local identity: 1/ it's the most common (2/5 of subjects), 2/ is the only project that appears in every examined local community and 3/ it definitely dominates in two towns which have the richest tradition of multiculturalism and trans-border connections. Considering the range of this elaboration and the fact that all of aforementioned concepts are described in another paper (Wojakowski, 2009), the project which interests us is only briefly described.

The name of this way of interpreting Europeanism itself indicates that the "culture" category used in it and referring to very various perspective of perceiving this culture plays a significant role. Although basically there is no word "European culture" in the analyzed interviews, the interlocutors coherently "described" this concept of culture, which is said to be a fundamental European value. This culture has its own tradition:

Well, I don't know why, but I associate Europe with, let's say, some kind of classic, I mean Greek-Roman civilization's heritage. [...] So everything which is connected to this heritage or to a norm, a social norm, norm of some kind of behaviour, also some kind of rule of behaviour, certain aesthetic model... all of this for me is Europe. And also now, restoration of the term decency, you know, honesty, some kind of rules of social solidarity, citizens' initiative. This is also Athenian democracy, because it comes

from Europe. All of this is Europe. It's just that Europe is more a spiritual than a political creation, I think. GA_2³

Common tradition translates to internal diversity of European cultures, though:

What is Europe? Hm... [silence]. For me Europe is the coexistence of different cultures, nations, whose languages are different... their appearance is not, to lesser extent, though there are certain differences between a Scandinavian and a Romanian, but, as I say, coexistence of various cultures which live on not that various terrain, which probably have common priorities... SD_3

So in reference to culture understood that way both singular and plural form can be used in a staggered manner. System of common features, which are verbalized mostly as openness and tolerance, runs through various European cultures.

For me Europeanism means a certain tolerance, even if we don't accept some foreign values we don't deny someone's right for those values. It can't be like we, let's say, don't tolerate someone because he or she is an Arab or a German, for example. We cannot tolerate someone because of his or her behaviour, but not because of who he or she is. SU_1.

Common features of European cultures are determining way of perceiving the world, which is also named by other interlocutors as way of thinking or a type of mentality. This way of thinking indicates who can be considered a European and who not.

I think that everyone who feels themselves European is European. BPN_3

This is a quite inclusive, constructivist determined criterion. Peculiar perspective of perceiving the European Union is linked with such understanding of Europeanism. Above all, those respondents direct to two levels of Europe's existence or execution of Europeisation. Foregoing symbolic or ideological level of culture is more impor-

tant, is basic. Although, apart from cultural space of common ideas (e.g. Domenach, 1992, 60) there is also an area of practical or political activities represented by the European Union.

This general cultural project defines Europe as a conglomerate of different cultures, which have common and general frames or features. The last ones are generally tradition (antiquity, and less accented Christianity and Judaism) and history with its values (especially tolerance and openness). Those general features of European cultures define Europeanism and outline the rules of inclusion and exclusion. Because respecting European values is more important than long-lasting rooting in tradition, this is an inclusive vision of Europe. In this context this way of phrasing Europeanism is connected with internalisation of this category by its users. They recognize Europeanism as a feature that defines them and their cultural surroundings; that's why the project could be also called "internal". On the other hand the European Union is perceived as activities which are an emanation of the cultural community. It determines the secondary nature of the political and economic aspects of defining Europeanism.

Those contents of general cultural vision of Europeanism and its universality and dominance in strongly rooted and multicultural local communities was an inspiration for deepening the analysis of gathered data towards the search of connections between European, local and regional identity.

Another look on the narration: sequential analysis of the European-general cultural project

It happens that certain schemes of describing the world and declarations of one's

own identity, which are noticeable in the statements, hide substantial transformations of known categories, hardly seen in general analysis of the interview. Sequential analysis - despite the fact it is a qualitative technique - introduces certain elements of categorization of the contents and even countability of occurrence of those contents and inter-categorical connections. The goal of the introduction of this analysis in this paper is the recognition of connections between different levels of social identification and, alternatively, verifying how various identities are understood by people with evident European identification. To this analysis the interview with local government officer working and living in Sanok was chosen (SU1). Its choice was determined by two criteria. Firstly, his views match the general cultural project of Europeanism, which was plainly described above. This respondent lives in the town where this way of perceiving of Europe is notably dominating. Moreover, as the majority of this project's user, he is a locally-rooted with clearly conservative convictions. He is also oriented towards the local environment. The second reason for the choice of this interview was its narrative character. The interlocutor spoke much and the researcher's interferences were not significant. The interview was in Polish and it lasted for 2h 30 min; the transcript has about 100 000 characters, 1503 lines of text (135 mm of length, Roman Times 12pt) and was divided into 268 sequences.

Specific features of this interview, which have to be pointed in the context of any extrapolation of the analysis' result, are connected with character of the research and personality of the respondent. In the first case, the subjects of the research that influenced the interview's content are: the questions about the connections of the respondent with region (though the examined person didn't speak much about it), the questions about character of job (though he spoke more about his hobbies here), the

questions about EU funds (this part undoubtedly influenced on development of this sequence) and about the concept of Europe (it increased the number of statements concerning this subject, but didn't change the character of the whole interview, because it was on the end of conversation). The interlocutor has what anthropologists called the "expert's cultural competence". Because the research were carried out among the local leaders, this feature shouldn't be surprising. The analyzed interview was made with a person who has not only specified views on Europe, region and town, but also has possibilities (connected with financial resources, power and prestige) of popularizing them in the local surroundings. This competence influences the structure of the interview. The interlocutor tries to fully describe the particular issue (he gives various examples for his theses and formulates results from the description of facts), but on the other hand has strong tendency towards showing relations between different aspects of social reality. This high reflectiveness caused that many sequences refer simultaneously to different analytic categories. As a result, many sequences are assigned to two analytic categories, which significantly raise the indicator of links between them (which are determined by linking two categories in a one sequence and by syntactic relation of sequences). Though those links are suggested by the subject. Pointing at the consequences of EU procedures for trans-border cooperation can be an example:

This is of course the contact with Slovaks. At the moment there is no problem with reaching, riding through the border... yy... Then when the Schengen really comes, when our children wouldn't need passports, then in general our cooperation will be like, for example, the one between us and... not Rzeszów, because Rzeszów is away, Rzeszów is more distant than Medzilaborce. (page XIII Line 49 to page XIV line 4)

268 sequences were assigned to 13 analytic categories, arranged thematically (e.g. Crabtree and Miller, 2003, 416-421). These are: A/ Personal data (5 seq.); B/ Family (2 seq.); C/ Local history (6 seq.); D/ Professional activity (14 seq.); E/ Local government institutions and their activity (19 seq.); F/ Local community – its features and activity (37 seq.); G/ Local culture (14 seq.); H/ Ethnic relations in local community (38); I/ Trans-border connections (62); J/ Polish nation (23); K/ EU's founds and rules (60); L/ European culture and values (39); M/ Global dimension (3); N/ Other opinions of the respondent (12). They do not sum up to the number shown previously, because 66 sequences were assigned to two categories. Provided that the amount of sequences in D, E, K and L categories is connected with the subject of this conversation planned by the researcher; I and H concerns issues to which the respondent pays the most attention. Earlier, holistic analysis showed that multiculturalism (locally placed) and openness (for the contacts with close abroad) are declared by supporters of culturally perceived Europe. The simple comparison of numbers of the sequences in each category can suggest that there is a connection between recalling those two ideas in the European context and their experiences in local contexts.

The narration makes up a very well-organized image of social world, considering contents of the distinguished categories and relations between the sequences that are assigned to the respective categories. The respondent seldom says anything about his private affairs and recalls the global context equally rare. He closes the story about his opinions, experiences and other persons in the area between the town and Europe as a continent. The interlocutor has no specific inclinations for digging deep into the past. Despite the fact that he recalls historical facts, they are not usually the theme of the sequence, but rather a part of argumentation, a comment of the present:

What the European Union is trying to achieve is what is now obligatory, that there must be an agreement, every country must agree, there is also liberum veto. They don't even know that they are using the rules of Polish Noble's Republic [1569-1795 - DW]. (XXX40-44)

Therefore categories from D to L form multi-leveled and multi-aspectual substantially synchronous social reality described by the respondent. Local community identified both with the town and the Sanok County (virtually it is the South-East corner of Poland) is its base. There are five categories which refer to this community, showing different aspects of its life. I assume that statements concerning to his own work in the office and the activities of town's and local government result from questions and expectations of the researcher, thus they are not treated as hints for the characteristic of the interlocutor's identity. They make up an indubitably essential element of knowledge about local community. Many activities of local communities result from opinions and values shared by the interlocutor, but in the narration those various aspects translate into separate sequences:

For instance I have, if we talk about promotion, 15 thousands for promotion, so this is twenty times less than the town. [E] This is some kind of... But we would like to sign that [new treatment DW] with Truskawiec [Ukraine DW], despite definitely the border is an obstacle. [I and K](XIII 36-40)

The content of description of the local community is quantitatively concentrating on three subjects: social activities of inhabitants of Sanok and its neighborhood, operations of non-governmental organizations, which are the emanations of this activity, and the inhabitants' attachment to their local homeland. The analysis of syntactic relations of sequences from this category does not reveal any relevant connections: a third of those relations concerns sequences inside this category

(e.g. describing of various forms of inhabitants' activities or enumeration of the symptoms of the local patriotism), a sixth connects those sequences with EU funds and another sixth with an ethnic relations issue. Culture was excluded from the local community as a separate category. The description of the local culture makes up a small and separate part of the narration, which has a certain characteristic feature – the characterization of many local cultural events and emphasis of multi-cultural tradition of the town. Sequences from this category come into syntactic relations almost exclusively with its own and H category (local ethnic relations).

The ethnic relations are the point of the local community where the transition to another level of social connections is made. Sequences describing multi-cultural traditions of the county (which are generally in relation to local culture) and, curiously enough, declarations about disappearance of ethnic prejudices are assigned to this category. Repetition of those declarations and the long XXII34-XXIII2 sequence concern how the promotion of Ukrainian culture was a reason of unfavorable actions taken against the interlocutor can signal certain tensions in the functioning of the local ethnic groups. A third group of sentences in this category contains descriptions of interethnic relations consequent to the nearness or/and openness of the state borders. They remain in the syntactic relation to the trans-border connections category, which outlines transnational region area, and which is very important for the respondent.

Issues of trans-border cooperation, interpersonal contacts, shared regional culture, mental and territorial closeness of the inhabitants make up a significant part of the narration; many other sequences are strongly connected with this category. In the respondent's statements this transnational region is reduced to former Austrian Galicia (the southern Poland and the west-

ern Ukraine at present) and the eastern Slovakia. Budapest and Carpathian Romanians are only mentioned. Two fifths of all syntactic relations refer to the sequences inside the categories. It is due to continual comparisons of various relations that exceed the border in the South and East direction made by the respondent. A fourth of those relations connects trans-border category with ethnic relations. The respondent is convinced that those relations are positive:

You know, we're so close to the border, on the one hand this is what will help with overcoming of all stereotypes among the population, of which I spoke before. XVII5-7

Finally, a fifth of syntactic relations connects this category with the European Union, both in the context of funds and law regulations. The first ones support international cooperation. The second ones are treated ambivalently, because they support the cooperation with the southern part of region, but make it harder with the Ukrainian part.

Interestingly, the meaning of this category does not translate to respondent's declarations of identity. He very clearly speaks about his national identity:

...ethnically I respect everyone, of course. Especially that, as it was lately, my views are around the nationalistic or patriotic ones... XXIV 12-14

The European identity referring to locality is also interesting:

- What is Europe for me? – Yes. – My home, my family home, that's how I would answer this question, generally speaking. XXIII37-40

Those macrosocial levels of life does not show such relevant connections with locality from the perspective of the narration's content. National identity by virtue of both descriptions of Polishness and syntactic relations is strongly deconstructed. It is not connected with ethnic origin, strong statehood or cultural conservatism. For the interlocutor, nationalistic attitude is rather a

choice of national option, the power of culture and openness for the world. It is an opposition for the “stereotype of nationalism from the historiography of nineteenth century” (XXV 26-28) and the considerations about Polishness are located in the context of the European Union (a third of relations) or general European values (a fifth of relations).

From the perspective of sequential analysis Europeanism and the sense of being a European also refers to a small degree to most frequently recalled local and regional mezosocial connections. At one point the respondent (two sequences: XXIX13-22 and XXIX22-28) states that the European values are the most fully realized in the local dimension and the interpersonal trans-border relations. In the different one (XXVIII 11-23) he opposes the natural acceptance of the European values in the local community to the loss of European ideas by Brussels officers. Apart from that, Europeanism is abstractive, alike Polishness. It consists of: freedom, tolerance, openness, traditions of antiquity, multiculturalism and, above all, “community of taste” (according to poet Zbigniew Herbert, in the time of communism the resistance from the imposed dominion resulted from aesthetic values described as “the problem of taste”). Those contents are not contradictory with what is a value in the respondent’s surrounding, but they are out of narration about local tolerance, multiculturalism and openness. The story about European values makes up a very closed part of narration, which can result from the interview’s character. Mostly, those sequences remain in relation to the other ones in this category (almost a half of connections). A sixth of them refer to Polish nationality and a tenth to the European Union, though sometimes they are a contradictory collation.

Sequences about the European Union mostly refer to the funds directed to the local community and to introduced and

practiced law regulations. Those two issues appear in the conversation as a certain form of “filler” of the story about various levels of social connections. And it is a “filler” which appears on every of those levels, marking its presence in the professional activity of the respondent, local government institutions, activity of local community, trans-border connections, Polish nationality and European values. From the perspective of funds, it is a desired presence; from the perspective of law regulations and possibilities connected with them, it is mostly ambivalent. It concerns both the level of local community and transnational region, where new rules simplify many things, but also block certain matters and European values. According to the respondent, in the second case, the European Union, created for the maintenance of European values, often plunges itself in solutions not necessarily compatible with them. Only in reference to the development and maintenance of national identity the EU’s activities are treated as an unambiguously positive factor. It makes up an interesting contrast in regard to the views about the loss of national identity after the accession to the EU, which were common (especially in the southern Poland) before 2004.

Conclusions

The results of the sequential analysis of contents of the interview which is characteristic for general cultural vision of Europeanism presented above show the mechanisms of building one’s own identity and perceiving the social world by people with clear nationalistic views and positive attitude to Europe and the EU. The fundamental characteristic of this vision of the world is the existence of two ways of identification with the community: by the community of interactions (the local community and transnational region) and the community of ideas (Poland and Europe).

This diversity precisely conforms to the theoretical concept, presented after the Second World War by Stanisław Ossowski (1967), in which he analyzes the identity of an individual in the context of the private homeland – emotionally experienced, but weakly brought to her/his attention – and ideological homeland, which is an extrapolation of local experiences on the national group's territory. Nowadays, two identities appear per each analyzed empiric material. Using the Ossowski's concept to the received results it is visible that from the vision of local community, which is a community of citizens with multi-cultural tradition, the ideological picture of Polish nation which functions in the multi-cultural European Union was taken away by the respondent. The local Europeanism, given directly, is the direct interactions through the border with members of the nations which are connected by the similarity of

territories, customs and history. The great Europe of values and ideas would be then a community whose identity can be created only by translation of such transnational experiences of individuals to the level of ideological, imagined community (e.g. Aderson 1983).

This last sentence is only a hypothesis that appeals to well-known theories of the nation-making processes in the description of the European identity creation process. Some similarities between those two kinds of social processes are obvious. Because of the qualitative character of the used method there is no possibility to say how popular that form of the European identity creation is. The results of presented analysis only indicate that the local rooting of European identity appears in the social world. I think that the hypothesis should undergo further research in new states of the EU.

Notes

1. As Joanna Kurczewska (2008a) points, the process of integration in the European Union should be rather called “the unionization”, because it is only a part of large and long-lasting cultural and social flows inside the European space
2. The research was granted by Polish Ministry of Sciences (No. 1H02E 051 30. The title of the grant was: *Europeizacja interpretacji granic i pogranicz w ideologiach i praktykach społecznych elit lokalnych na wschodnim i południowym pograniczu III RP po akcesji Polski do Unii Europejskiej* [Europeanization of interpretations of borders and borderlands used by local elites on the Eastern and Southern borderland of the IIIrd Republic of Poland after its accession to EU]; time of realization 2007-2009; leader Hanna Bojar, cooperators Jerzy Bartkowski and Dariusz Wojakowski).
3. The idea of Europeanism had appeared from time to time before 1945. Norman Davies (1998, 34-35) states that the political discourse about Europe after 1945 in the western part of this continent was inspired by the activities and ideas of Aristide Briand and the League of Nations. Although only after the World War II Europeanism became the factor which effectively modified the policy of national states.
4. This analysis was based on 53 selected in-depth interviews made in four borderland towns: Bielsk Podlaski near the Polish state border with Belorussia and Ukraine; Sanok at east-south corner of the Poland (near the border with Ukraine and Slovakia); Gorlice at the Polish-Slovak borderland and Cieszyn – the town crossed by Polish-Czech state-border.
5. The signature informs about the interlocutor: her/his place of living (BP – Bielsk Podlaski, G – Gorlice, S – Sanok), her/his occupation (A – cultural officer; D – journalist; N – teacher; U – local government's officer). The last number distinguishes different interviews within the same category of interlocutors.

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