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## Contemporary regionalism in Poland

**Michał Hermanowski and Gerard Kosmala**

Institute of Geography, University of Wrocław, Pl. Uniwersytecki 1,  
Pl 50-137 Wrocław, Poland

### **Abstract**

Forms of Polish regionalism movements are similar to those in Western Europe. Strategic aims are almost similar. The main aim is to possess or to have autonomy and to rule in the region. The only difference between Polish and the Western European regionalism is in its historical background: the development and distribution of Polish regionalistic movements were under pressure of displacements and resettlements of various groups of people during the 1940s.

**Keywords:** political geography, population geography, regionalism, ethnicity, Poland.

## Introduction: the concept and types of regionalism

At least since November 1988, as they've published »The card of community concerning regionalization«, the European Parliament strongly supports regional autonomy<sup>1</sup>. The regionalism is being understood there and than as the phenomenon of searching for your own identity by the means of a territorial unit.<sup>2</sup> Strong cases in this regard have been made in Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Alsace, Catalonia, Friuli and Franconia.<sup>3</sup> The aim of this paper is to show the phenomenon of regionalism in contemporary Poland. The socio-geographic sphere of regionalism, that was not emphasized by now, will be explored. Studies on Polish regionalism are already numerous, many of them point out the special character of regionalisms in Poland.

Regionalism has never been clearly defined. Rembowska (2000) names two forms of regionalism: the modernistic one (more an economic and technological form) and the traditional one (which lays stress on the cultural and historical differences of the regions). Both forms are set against the traditional state's tendency towards unification and integration.<sup>4</sup> Also Gorzelak (1993) marks out two forms of regionalism: the ethnic and the economic. The first one includes elements of culture, language, religion etc. Regionalism therefore arises from ethnic and cultural differences. The economic regionalism is a result of regions' point of view regarding own situation, being either economically strong (as they set against the wealth redistribution of the state) or the weak (as they, in their opinion, are a subject of an inner colonization of the center and the rich regions of the state). Rochmińska<sup>5</sup> in the article „Wieloznaczność terminów...« explores the meaning of the term regionalism in a different way. She points out the reasons that enable regionalism and clearly defines: (1) ethnic regionalism, based on the differences in tradition, culture

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt P., 1992, *Nadrenia Północna -Westfalia jako region europejski a ponadgraniczne euro-regiony*, s. 84, [in:] *Region jako przyszła struktura europejska*, Opole;

<sup>2</sup> Gorzelak G., 1993, *Regionalizm i regionalizacja w Polsce na tle europejskim*, [in:] *Czy Polska będzie państwem regionalnym?*, Gorzelak G., Jałowicki B. (ed.), Warszawa, ss. 45 - 70;

<sup>3</sup> more information about regionalistic movements in Eastern Europe you can find in: Tomaszewicz J., 1998, *Współczesne ruchy regionalistyczne w Europie Zachodniej*, [in:] *Sprawy Narodowościowe, tom VI*, z. 2(11), Poznań, ss. 295 - 317; also Gorzelak, *ibid.*;

<sup>4</sup> Rembowska K., 2000, *Tożsamość lokalna i regionalna. Region Łódzki*, [in:] *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Geographica Socio-Oeconomica 3*, Łódź, ss. 3 - 9.

<sup>5</sup> Rochmińska A., 2000, *Wieloznaczność terminów "regionalizacja" i "regionalizm"*, [in:] *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Geographica Socio-Oeconomica 3*, Łódź, ss. 11 - 29.

and religion; (2) economic regionalism, considered from the point of view of the strong or weak regions (see above); and (3) political regionalism, paving the way towards changes of the state's administrative structure. Rykiel (1993) elaborated on a similar typology. He identified, along the three forms of regionalisms mentioned above, the sc. folk regionalism, which includes the postulates of the preservation of a culture and which becomes outmost essential for the society living on a certain territory. One would speak of ethnic regionalism too. Rykiel identifies also two quasi-regionalisms of Poland: the political and the ecological. The first is based on cultural differences of minorities or ethnic groups and is related to historically based loyalty towards the former administrative center. The second one other is based on the integration of a regional society around a serious ecological problem.<sup>6</sup>

## Ethnic and border changes in Poland in 20<sup>th</sup> century

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Poland was divided by three imperial powers: Prussia, Austro-Hungary and Russia. In 1918 the independence of Poland was restored. Galicia, part of former Austro-Hungary, the sc. Great Poland and Pomerania, part of former Prussia and the sc. Kingdom of Poland, part of former Russia composed the Polish state after the WW1. With the exception of eastern all boundaries were set at the peace talks in Versailles, France. Gdańsk and its surroundings was declared a Free City and put under the patronage of the League of Nations. The eastern borders were set at the conference in Riga, in 1921, soon after the Polish - Bolshevik war has ended. In 1920 Vilnius and the region called "Middle Lithuania" was occupied by Polish forces. After the plebiscite held in 1922 Middle Lithuania was incorporated into Poland.

Poland had in 1921 about 27 million inhabitants and an area of 388,600 sq. km. In the interwar period(WW1 - WW2) Poland was a multiethnic state. Censuses show a Polish majority of about 65 percent of the total population. Ukrainian, Byelorussian, German, Jewish, Russian, Lithuanian, Czech, Roma and other minorities constituted over 30 percent of the population. Ukrainians lived in the southeastern part of Poland, Byelorussians in the eastern and Lithuanians in the northeastern part. A small minority of Russians lived displaced in the

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<sup>6</sup> Rykiel Z., 1993, *Regionalism in Poland, with special reference to Upper Silesia, (in:) Region and Regionalism, No. 1, Opole - Lodz, ss. 117 - 125*

eastern area of the state. Germans lived in the west and, in small groups, in the southeastern part of Poland - in Podole. The majority of Jews were settled in towns (76 percent) all over Poland. The size of Czech, Gypsy (Roma) and other minority communities was much smaller. The composition of the religion believe was also very diverse. The Roman Catholics composed a 64 percent majority, while other religions, like the Orthodox Christians, Protestant Christians and believers of Judaism, incorporated close to 30 percent of the state's population. The diverse structure of the population generated conflicts on the ethnical, cultural and religious grounds. Although, their scale was not so significant as in neighboring countries like Germany and in the Soviet Union.

In 1938, as Germans captured Sudetenland (a German minority region in those days Czechoslovakia) and Hungarians entered southern Slovakia, the Polish Army occupied the Czechs Cieszyn Silesia and a small part of Spisz and Orawa. Because of the Polish refusal to grant Germans a corridor connecting Eastern Prussia with the Free City of Gdansk Germany invaded Poland and on September 1, 1939 initiated WW 2. Soon than after, the 3rd Reich and the Soviet Union executed the so called „fourth partition« of Poland. According to the secret agreement between both aggressors, the division of Poland's territory into two zones would have to take place. Generally, rivers Pisa - Narew - Vistula - San would have to divide these tow zones. The war modified this plan: Germans captured the area of the Bug River, while Soviets took Western Ukraine and the Western Byelorussia. Middle Lithuania had been "given back" to Lithuania In summer 1940 Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia joined the Soviet Union, as was than requested by the than strong national communist parties. After WW 2, following the Peace Accords of the Conference in Potsdam, new political borders were set. Silesia, Pomerania and the southern part of East Prussia were granted to Poland on Germany's expense. In contemporary Poland these territories are known as Western and Northern provinces or the Regained Territories. The city of Gdansk became Polish, too. However, former western Ukraine, western Byelorussia and Middle Lithuania remained to be part of the Soviet Union. That new situation generated problems, like migrations, ethnic and political conflicts, etc.

**Table 1. Population of Poland 1921 - 1946**

General Census	Total (in thousand)	Poles (%)	Ukrainians (%)	Byelorussians (%)	Russians (%)	Germans (%)	Lithuanians (%)	Jews (%)	Czechs (%)	others (%)	verified (%)
<b>30.IX.21</b>	27.177	69,2	14,3	3,9	-	3,9	-	7,8	-	0,9	-
<b>9.XII.31</b>	32.107	64,7	16,0	6,1	0,4	2,4	0,3	9,8	0,1	0,2	-
<b>14.II.46</b>	23.930	85,7				9,5				1,6	1,7

Source: *Historia Polski w liczbach. Ludność. Terytorium, GUS, Warszawa 1993.*

**Table 2. Religions in Poland 1921 - 1990 (in %)**

	Roman Catholic	Greko-Catholic (Unionists)	Orthodox	Lutherans	Other Christians	Jews	Ormians.	others	Jehova Witnesses	Adventists
<b>1921</b>	63,8	11,2	10,5	3,7	-	10,5	-	0,3	-	-
<b>1931</b>	64,8	10,4	11,8	2,6	0,5	9,8	-	0,1	-	-
<b>1990</b>	94,0	0,8	1,5	0,3	?	0,0	0,02	?	0,2	0,03

Source: *Historia Polski w liczbach. Ludność. Terytorium, GUS, Warszawa 1993.*

The post-WW2 migrations of people went generally towards west. From former German territories between 6 and 9 million people (different estimations) migrated – almost the complete German population. Poles from Central and Eastern Poland (Eastern Poland = areas annexed by the Soviet Union) filled out the empty space. In 1951 a small, boundary change between Poland and Soviet Union took place. Area near Horodło and Ustrzyki Dolne was exchanged on the ground of border simplification. After WW 2 Poland had 24 million inhabitants and an area of 312.600 sq. km. Only the 1946 census elaborated on the ethnic composition of Poland. The national composition of the population at that time was: 85 percent Poles, 9,5 percent Germans, 1,7 percent »nationally still to be verified«, 1,6 percent Ukrainians, Byelorussians and other minorities. A part from Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians officially there were until the early 1990 no minorities in Poland.

Table 3. National minorities and ethnic groups in Poland (in thousand)

National minorities and ethnic groups	by Kwilec-ki, 1963 (situation in 1954) [1]	by Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna (situation in 1960) [2]	by Sob-czak, 1982 (situation in 1980) [3]	by Minister-stwo Kultury (situation in 1991) [2]	by Haluszko (situation in 1992) [2]	by national minorities organization (situation in 1992) [2]	by Gazeta Górno-śląska (situation in 1993) [4]	by Minister-stwo Kultury i Sztuki (situation 1994) [5]
Byelorussians	148	170	345	200-250	200-300	300	ok. 400	300
Ukrainians	162	180		300	200-220	about 300	200-300	
Lemkos		=Ukrainians		=Ukrainians	50-60	80		
Germans	200	3	4	150-250	300-350	700	850-1000	300-500
Jews	70	30	25	15	15	10-15		10-15
Lithuanians	9	10	12	20-25	about 20	about 30	about 30	20-25
Gypsies	12	12	12	15-20	25	25		20-30
Russians	17	20	10		10-13	13		
Slovaks	19	20		about 25	about 20		about 30	20
Czechs	2	2	22	about 3	2-3			3
Ormians					about 8	about 15		8
Tatars					about 2,5	about 4		5
Karaims					0,15-0,2	about 0,2		0,195
Greeks and Macedonians	9	10		about 4,5	about 5			

sources:

1. J. Tomaszewski: "Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce w XX w."
2. "Geografia Polski społeczno - ekonomiczna" wydanie z 1995 r.
3. "Geografia Polski społeczno - ekonomiczna" wydanie z 1992 r.
4. "Gazeta Górnośląska", nr 21, 3-9.06.1994 r.
5. Informator dla Komitetu Społ.- Politycznego, Rady Ministrów.

At present, when everybody can declare his own nationality without fear, it appears that it was all to the benefit of the communistic propaganda. But the exact data on the number of national minorities is still unknown. Estimations vary and are mostly picked up from reports produced by minorities themselves. Estimates are that Poland has at present between 400.000 and 1 million Germans, 300.000 Ukrainians, more than 300.000 Byelorussians, 30.000 Lithuanians and several thousand Gypsies (Roma), Greeks etc. Germans still live in the west and north, and have a strong center of their activity in the Upper Silesia and Opole region. Ukrainians reside in the area of the so-called Western and Northern Territories and in southeast Poland. A strong concentration of Byelorussians is in the Podlasie region, in eastern Poland. Lithuanians are residents of few communes in the northeast of Poland. Other minorities are territorially dispersed. Several ethnic groups, the Kashubians, Mazurians, Silesians and the Polish Highlanders identify themselves with its own ethnic background and with an ethnic territory as well.

After WW 2 the composition of the population based on their religious beliefs also changed dramatically. No Polish censuses investigated that matter. Estimates are that Roman Catholics make a total majority with 94 percent, whereas other churches, religious organizations and sects and atheist make the rest: the Orthodox Church - 1,5 percent, the Greek Catholic Church - 0,8 percent, the Protestant Churches - 0,3 percent, the Jehovah Witnesses - 0,2 percent, 7th Day Adventists - 0.03 percent. The Church of Moon, Hare Krishna or Scientologists are considered dangerous sects.

## Contemporary regionalism in Poland

In Poland, which has undergone an accelerated course of social and political changes, we can identify several regionalisms. In this paper we elaborate on three examples: Upper Silesia, the Wielkopolska and the Kaszuby regions.

The regionalism in Silesia has deep, historical roots. The historical and cultural region of Upper Silesia is now situated in two Polish voivodships, until 1999 it was a part of four voivodships. It makes a big part of the Opole Silesia voivodship and covers almost the half of the Silesia voivodship (former Katowice voivodship). Two types of regionalisms are centered around two major centers of the region - Katowice and Opole. An important force in the Opole Silesia voivodship is the German minority, while in Silesia voivodship there are

several regionalistic organizations, often with opposing programs. The German working community „Reconciliation and Future«, in the Opole voivodship, works towards the autonomy of Silesia. The autonomy would be based on the principles of the interwar period. Similar goals has the »Movement for the Autonomy of Silesia«, which is working towards independence of Opole Silesia - understood as the pre-WW 2 administrative region »Bezirk Oppeln«. The worst post WW 2 wrongdoings are seen in the merger of the region with the Katowice voivodship and in the continued Polonization of the region. The »Polish Western Union«, being in opposition to the German minority, sees their goals in region's and Polish self-governing. The Union operates in part within the Movement for Polish Silesia, being an anti-minority organization, fighting against autonomy and for a total unification of the region with Poland. In 1992 seven regionalistic organizations have created a co-operation pact in order to create a lobby to defend their interests.

In the second half of the nineties discussions to change the administrative partition of Poland become alive. Instead of 49 voivodships just several would have to be crated. The aim of Warsaw was to strenghten regions and their economic, natural and cultural resources. Such regions should be able to cooperate and compete with similar regions of the European Union. An Upper Silesia voivodship, that would mainly incorporate territories outside of historical boundaries, and people that have had no Silesian identity, was close to become reality. Hence, when the day of the new division was nearing, different actions to prevent that threat were arranged. Two postulates (1) defending Opole voivodship from being absorbed into Katowice and (2) creating an Upper Silesian voivodship in its historical borders - either as the pre-WW 2 province »Oberschlesien« or as a voivodship which would be identical with the frame of the church province of Upper Silesia. The idea gathered people from different political options. They worked within the Civil Committee of Defending Opole Silesia (the Polish abbreviation means „trench« in English). The second option had far less followers, but was heavily supported by the German minority. As result, the independent voivodship of Opole remained and an Upper Silesia voivodship, consisting out of Katowice, Bielsko and Częstochowa areas was formed. This division consolidated, somehow, the existing two regionalisms of Upper Silesia. The Opole voivodship supports the co-existence of the immigrant and the autochtonous population, being organized in German minority institutions. The Upper Silesia voivodship is organized as a unit of autochtonous peoples of different national heritage and immigrant non-Silesians, few in numbers.



While the Silesian regionalism is based on ethnic and cultural claims and supported by strong economic means, the Wielkopolska regionalism is based only on high-tech economy and standard of living. The drive towards autonomy comes from the conviction that Wielkopolska people could better manage the society and economy, therewith, reaching quickly a higher level of economic development<sup>7</sup>. The Wielkopolska regionalism is supported by several institutions of the civil society. The Union of Wielkopolska People, the Association of Communes of Wielkopolska Region and the Association of Wielkopolska Mayors are the prominent ones<sup>8</sup>. The Union of Wielkopolska People is the oldest among them, being established in the early 1990's. It associates politicians from different political parties. According to the statute, its aim is (1) to represent and defend common Wielkopolska businesses, (2) to create several levels of autonomy within the constitution of the uniformed state, (3) to enrich the economic and societal development of the Wielkopolska region. A characteristic action of The Union of Wielkopolska People was organized in 1994 as they've promoted products and services made by firms from Wielkopolska with the slogan »The Wielkopolska's Quality«. The Union of Wielkopolska People has its territorial branches in Wielkopolska and Lubuskie voivodships<sup>9</sup>. The present existence of the territorially large Wielkopolska voivodship is important for the Wielkopolska regionalism. A similar voivodship in size existed in the interwar period and after WW 2, until 1975. The aspiration to recreate Wielkopolska was an important element of the regionalism - in a similar manner as was the maintenance of Opole voivodship for the Opole regionalism.

The Kashubian regionalism has roots that reach back into the history, in times ahead of WW 2. Kashubians never stopped with activities promoting autonomy. They were engaged in different forms of actions at different times: in times of hard-line communism they've pointed out their special ethnography, at other occasion activities stressed the unique political, cultural and economic development of Kashuby. The idea of autonomy is strongly supported by the »Kashuby - Pomerania Association« (The Kashubian Association did not contain Kociewie Region until 1964). The journal „Kaszëbe« is an important opin-

<sup>7</sup> Ja'owiecki B., 1993, *Kwestia regionalna w Polsce*, [in:] *Czy Polska będzie państwem regionalnym?*, Gorzelak G., Ja'owiecki B. (red.), Warszawa, ss. 33-42;

<sup>8</sup> Matykowski R., 1996, *Przejawy współczesnego regionalizmu w Wielkopolsce*, [in:] *Polska w Europie Bałtyckiej*, *Materiały z 45 Zjazdu PTG*, Słupsk, ss. 218 - 221;

<sup>9</sup> Budner W., Matykowski R., 1993, *Wielkopolska Regionalism*, [in:] *Region and Regionalism, No 1, Opole - Łódź*, ss. 127 - 142;

ion maker, as it popularizes history and the present day autonomous activities of the Kashubian regionalists<sup>10</sup>. An increasing activity of the »Kashuby - Pomerania Association« has been registered in the late 1980's and early 1990's. It was mainly delivered within the Pomerania voivodship, although several branches of the branches Association have been active in Szczecin, Toruń and Warsaw too. During the second Kashubian Congress, that took place in 1992, in Gdansk, they laid stress on the things important to the Kashuby: (1) the necessity to decentralize the state, (2) the need for a quicker economic growth of the region, (3) the necessity to support the teaching of the language and of their autochthonous culture. At present, there are more and more schools where Kashubian language and history are taught. The Kashubian Lyceum, a secondary school, is proudly spreading the Kashubian culture. The Kashubian language is used in church liturgy and is taught at the University of Gdansk. There are local newspapers for Kashuby, periodic programs aimed at Kashuby nationals are on the radio and TV. The »Kashubian - Pomerania Association« is an active member of the Association of Ethnic Groups of European Unity and is active within the Regions' League, an association promoting regionalism. Wielkopolska and Silesia groups are members as well.

Aside from clearly defined regionalistic associations, as shown above, several organizations, associations and groups promote regionalism. They have become active just recently, or have just disclosed their activity to the public. Podhale regionalists are dynamic in the Tatra Mountains, Podhale and Beskid Wysoki. The Polish Highlanders are looking for an opportunity to receive greater autonomy on the grounds of the cultural differences and the unique highlanders' society<sup>11</sup>. While the activity of the Highlanders is recognized on administrative, economic and cultural level, the Kurpie regionalism is hardly known. Its territory assembles the northern part of Mazowiecka Lowland, at the borderland with Mazury. This movement has cultural and ethnographic character, according to Rykiel. The Podlasie regionalism is spreading in the southern and eastern part of the former Białystok voivodship and is an example of a typical political regionalism. It has been developed on the base of religious and ethnic character of the Byelorussian minority, that dominates the region. With a few reservations, the Galicia regionalism centered in Cracow can be named too. It has been formed on the base of history, that has influ-

<sup>10</sup> Borzyszkowski J., Mordawski J., Tredler J., 1999, *Historia, geografia, język i piśmiennictwo Kaszubów, Gdańsk*.

<sup>11</sup> Matykowski R., Tobolska A., 1997, *Ethnic minorities and regional organisations in the Polish Elections of 1991 and 1993*, [in:] *Beiträge zur Regionalen Geographie Europas* 47, ss. 242 - 251.

enced the economic and cultural life of the people. Szul (1997), analyzing the Galicia regionalistic movement, points out the divergence between the historical and the cultural region in regard to the contemporary economic, technological and scientific reality.

The new political division of Central Europe after WW 2 created new borderlands. We would expect that the phenomenon of regionalism would exist there as well. But, there aren't any regionalistic movements registered neither in Warmia or Mazury, in Western Pomerania or the Lubuska land, in Lower Silesia or in south-eastern Poland. Detailed studies show signs of weak regionalistic activity just in Lower Silesia, in particular in the Lower Silesia Social and Cultural Society which has its seat in Wrocław. The main reason for the absence of regionalistic movements must be linked to the events during WW 2 and immediately than after. Namely, mass-migration, the exchange of the peoples from several regions took place: (1) flights of Germans during the war, which has become intense as the front-line has come closer and closer; (2) the „disappearances« of the German community during the passage of the Russian and Polish troops; (3) the planned expelling of German families from the Western and Northern Territories (1945-1947); (4) the planned re-settlement of Poles from Eastern (Kresy) and central Poland to the Western and Northern Territories; (5) planned forced migration of Ukrainians and Lemkos from south-eastern Poland to by Germans abandoned places in the Western and Northern Territories (action „Wisła«). The post-WW 2 migration has caused a breaking up of identity to former territories of settlement and an absence of identity towards territories of present day settlement. This can easily be identified in the second generation of migrants, as there is feeling of prejudice towards migration and an absence of knowledge, and lack of imagination therefore, of the former homeland registered among them. In such conditions it was impossible for them to develop a new identity. The next generation to come will be the group which would begin regionalistic activities, as they will identify with their new homelands. They will be a generation grown up in the region, deprived from experiences of 30, 40, 50 years ago.

## Features of Polish regionalism

The contemporary regionalistic movement in Poland is based on the autochthonous community of people that lay stress on their difference from Poles (understood as „the other«). Important elements of identification are either language (Silesian, German, Kashubian, Byelorussian) or dialect

(Wielkopolska, Highlanders, Kurpie), being cared about, explored, taught and protected. A different history, especially of the Kashuby, Wielkopolska and Silesia, being in the past under Prussia increases the sense of being something special. Also Podhale and Galicia proudly claim to their past, in opposition to the history of the Congress Poland. The administrative divisions drawn after WW 2 (1950 - 1975) embraced 17 voivodships, including Wielkopolska, Silesia, Gdansk Pomeranian and Cracow. Those provinces could be easily identified with the historical and political divisions of the past. Contemporary regionalistic movements often have applied to the mentioned administrative partition that, by their opinion, expressed the economical and cultural entities of Poland in its best way. The Polish regionalisms stick with traditional values. The most important of them are religion, ethnicity and the ethos of work. Most often traditional religious ceremonies, attachment to ancestors' creed, and respect of hard, enduring and systematic labor make the core of human values seen as regionalists' ideal.

Forms of Polish regionalism movements are similar to those in Western Europe. Strategic aims are almost similar. The main aim is to possess or to have autonomy and to rule in the region. The only difference between Polish and the Western European regionalism is in its historical background: the development and distribution of Polish regionalistic movements were under pressure of displacements and resettlements of various groups of people during the 1940s.

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## Sodobni regionalizem na Poljskem

### Povzetek

Članek obravnava zgodovinsko, demografsko in versko podobo Poljske kot iztočnico za utemeljevanje sodobnih regionalizmov na Poljskem. V nadaljevanju podrobneje obravnava tri regionalizme: šlezjskega, velikopoljskega in kušubskega ter se dotakne še drugih (podhalskega, kurpjeskega, podlaškega in galicijskega,) ki pa jim avtor ne pripisuje posebnega pomena. Pri tem ugotavlja, da sta avtohtonost in alohtonost prebivalstva pogosto vzrok za združevanje v skupine, ki bodisi zahtevajo regionalno avtonomijo ali pa ji nasprotujejo s tem, da zagovarjajo sedanjo upravno delitev in centralistično naravnano državno. Poleg »staroselskosti« in »migracijske komponente« so dejavniki sodobnega družbenega in regionalnega preoblikovanja na Poljskem še verska pripadnost, geografsko-etnološka specifika ali posebnost povezana s preteklo in polpreteklo zgodovino. Avtor posebej izpostavlja odsotnost regionalizmov v območjih, ki so bila deležna obsežnih medvojnih in povojnih, deloma nasilnih selitev. Sedanji priseljenci niso (še) vzpostavili identiteto z območjem v katerega so se bili pogosto primorani naseliti. Avtor ob koncu ugotavlja, da zasledujejo poljska regionalistična gibanja iste cilje kot sorodna v Zahodni Evropi. Na Poljskem stopa v ospredje polpretekla zgodovina povezana s selitvami in kolonizacijo, ki postaja pomemben element regionalizmov.