



Andrzej Sztando

Wrocław University of Economics
Faculty of Economics, Management and Tourism
Regional Economy Department
andrzej@sztando.com

LOCAL CULTURE IN SUPRA-LOCAL PERSPECTIVE OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIC GOVERNANCE OF POLISH SMALL TOWNS

Summary: The article presents how local authorities of Polish small towns perceive and form at the strategic level, these supra-local relations of their towns, which are connected with local culture. The article begins with key categories explanation: local system (LS), local development (LD), local culture, supra-local relations of local system, local development strategic governance (LDSG) and its supra-local perspective. The next part presents rationale, objects, goals, questions, methods of research and information sources. It is followed by discussing the research results divided into 4 parts, corresponding to types of supra-local relations of local systems and activities for their pro-developmental formation.

Keywords: local culture, municipality, local authorities, local development, local development strategic governance.

JEL Classification: R5, R58.

1. Local development (LD) and perspectives of its perceiving

The concept of local development (LD), in spite of being used in literature, media, daily activities of public administration, as well as the common language is frequently incorrectly or incompletely understood. Therefore the relevant discussion must be preceded by its explanation. The category of LD is characterized by a dual nature and thus has to be perceived as the combination of two approaches.

The first approach to LD can be defined as a local one. It consists in perceiving this process as the desirable, positive, quantitative, qualitative and structural transformations of the local socio-territorial composition (the so-called local system – LS), made up of the characteristic economic, spatial and cultural qualities, the social component of which expresses its own needs and the hierarchy of values [Sztando, 2013, p. 239]. Such a composition is identified in many countries with a municipality. The objective of LD, understood in this way, is to improve life quality of a local community by meeting its needs along with generating useful values for the milieu of the LS. Its other characteristics are as follows: strong, consensual reliance on endogenous factors, self-sustainability, long-term functioning, planningness, subjectivity of the local community in defining its directions and in providing it, the absence of supra-local unification and also compatibility with the idea of integrated order. Numerous definitions express such perception of LD [e.g. Brol, 1998, p. 11; Marques, 2011, p. 144].

The second option for approaching LD is of supra-local nature. Such perception means its conceptualization and identification in the scale of supra-local systems, i.e. regions, countries, unions of countries, and in the global scale. In a supra-local perspective it is perceived as the form of structural transformations of the a/m supra-local systems and also the relationships between these structures and their milieu which, to a great extent, result from the LD processes occurring in the LSs made up of them. However, it is not just about the development processes taking place in many LSs and their effects to be combined into the supra-local, simple ‘sums’. It is primarily about network interactions occurring among the LSs, and also between them and other supra-local entities (e.g. countries, companies, organizations) owing to which the existing and new supra-local, thus regional, national and global development processes were initiated, stimulated, protected and intensified. In simplified terms, LD in a supra-local perspective signifies the transformation of LD processes into the supra-local ones. The objective of LD, understood in this way, is to improve life quality of regional, national societies and also otherwise delimited ones, but representing supra-local human collectivities. The supra-local approach towards LD is rarely presented in literature [see e.g. Rezsóhazy, 1988, p. 17; Pietrzyk, 1997, pp. 89-90].

Both perspectives of LD, combined, create the paradigm of LD based on localism, complementary to the paradigm of regional development and incorporated by the paradigm of territorial development.

2. The importance of local culture in local development perceived from the local perspective

Local culture stands for culture oriented activities carried out in the LS, cultural values resulting from it, the localized cultural values (i.e. initially supra-local, however, adopted and related to the local values) as well as the local cultural heritage. Many researchers indicate the extensive importance of local culture in LD perceived from the local perspective. They emphasize its strong, positive impact on the development of the touristic and recreational, sanatory-oriented, educational and other services, as well as on the development of manufacturing both traditional and modern local products, characterized by unique features [e.g.: Małek, 2003]. They also point to its great significance in increasing mutual trust of the residents of LS, social integration, social order establishment, constructing personal and group identity, the development of creativity of residents, reducing social pathologies, environment protection and in other aspects [e.g.: Bartosz, 2011]. Additionally, they emphasize that local culture can and should be transferred directly to the supra-local level, having input in regional, national and international culture-making processes, as well as generating revenues for the local community [e.g.: Markusen, Schrock, 2006]. Having combined all these forms of local culture influence on LD, the researchers underline that in case of some LSs it can even act as their major driving force. Appropriate for the LSs featuring satisfactory level of development and also for the ones facing structural crises or recession and search for socio-economic recovery and reconversion paths [see e.g.: Lazzarotti, 2003; Sacco et al., 2013; Mikulić, Petrić, 2014]. In this context the possibility and practical application in many LSs the new culture-led LD pattern is proposed [see e.g.: Bayliss, 2004; Sacco, Ferilli, Tavano Blessi, 2014].

3. The importance of supra-local relationships of the local system (LS) in local development (LD) perceived from the local perspective

Between the LS and its supra-local milieu occur relationships important for the LD of this system. If the direction criteria for these relationships are used along with their impact on LD, perceived from the local perspective, their four types can be distinguished (Table 1).

Table 1. Types of supra-local relationships of the LS from the perspective of LD

	Relationships from the inside of the local system (LS) towards supra-local milieu	Relationships from the supra-local milieu towards the inside of the local system (LS)
Favorable for LD	<p>VALORIZATION RELATIONSHIPS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supra-local, equivalent valorization of local values also in combination with their replication and transformation (e.g. sales, on the domestic market, of the products manufactured in a municipality, which are consumed there (e.g. groceries) or are further processed (e.g. metal ores). Valorization can take place without direct transfer of local values outside the LS. It takes place when e.g. the locally provided services (e.g. touristic, recreational, sanatory) and the local environment (e.g. woods, lakes, mountains) are taken advantage of by visitors. Indirectly, however, such transfer does occur. Such visitors, on leaving the municipality, take these non-material values with them for which they initially arrived (e.g. experiences, knowledge, 'acquired' physical and mental health). • Positive external effects and other forms of non-equivalent, supra-local valorization of local values 	<p>ANIMATION RELATIONSHIPS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Simple reinforcement of social, economic and environmental components of the LS by supra-local factors, i.e. support their existence and functioning (e.g. state subsidies for local schools). • Initiation or 'starting-up' temporary support or impulsive stimulation of LD processes by supra-local factors. It usually refers to funds or other forms of material capital, which are transferred to the LS as a result of an individual decision made by a supra-local authority (e.g. subsidies for the EU funds, capital of enterprises). • Modification of a/m components by supra-local factors, resulting in favorable dissemination (replication) of supra-local values in the LS (e.g. local dissemination of supra-local art). • Modification of the a/m components by supra-local factors, resulting in new local values – local innovations (e.g. new, local products manufactured utilizing supra-local technologies). • Modification of supra-local values by a/m components into new local values (e.g. adaptation of supra-local technical solutions to local conditions). The effect of such relationship (local innovation) remains analogic to the previous one, however, in that case it resulted from modifying the local value by a supra-local factor, whereas in this case it is reversed
Unfavorable for LD	<p>DEPRECIATION RELATIONSHIPS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-equivalent loss of local values in favor of supra-local milieu (e.g. persistent emigration of residents; relocation of economic entities and their capital outside the municipality; supra-local overexploitation of local, natural resources). • Non-equivalent, supra-local fiscal and para-fiscal burdens as well as other public tributes (e.g. PIT and CIT taxes), but some of them are used for the later supra-local animation of LD 	<p>SUPPRESSION RELATIONSHIPS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unfavorable modification of local values by supra-local factors (e.g. inflow of supra-local environment pollution to a municipality, influx of crime). • Reduction or total elimination of local values by supra-local factors (e.g. local culture displacement by the supra-local mass culture; devastation of historical monuments by tourists). • Imposing burdens or limitations on the LS by supra-local authorities forcing its supra-local usefulness and its development products, as well as imposing respect for the common supra-local values and beliefs (e.g. state investments) in the municipality, focused on supra-local beneficiaries though limiting its development; establishing legal forms of nature protection by the state in the area of a municipality, which reduce local socio-economic processes)

The first type represents the ones extending from the inside of the LS towards its supra-local milieu, which are favorable for LD. They can be referred to as valorization relationships, as they consist in supra-local valorization of values, either genuinely local or localized, just like innovations and non-innovative knowledge, in formation, human and social capital elements, culture components, residents, natural environment elements, services and products. Supra-local valorization stands for gaining by them, in a supra-local milieu, the broadly understood value (not just a material one) and increasing the level of their supra-local

dissemination. The important quality of supra-local valorization is obtaining usually due to it either material or non-material equivalent by the LS, taken advantage of in its LD. The second group of relationships covers ones favorable for LD, advancing from the supra-local milieu towards the inside of the LS. They predominantly consist in the influences of supra-local factors on the genuine local or the localized a/m values and their local and supra-local relationships. Taking their reinforcing, activating and mobilizing impact into account, they can be referred to as animation relationships. The third type of relationships covers the ones progressing towards the inside of the LS from its supra-local milieu, which are unfavorable for the LD. They consist in unfavorable modification, reduction or total elimination of local values by supra-local factors. Therefore they can be defined as suppression relationships. The fourth group includes the relationships advancing from the LS towards its supra-local milieu, which are unfavorable for the LD. They consist in non-equivalent loss of local values in favor of supra-local milieu, and thus can be defined as depreciation relationships.

4. Local governance of local development (LD) and strategic approach to it

Management originates from the output of identification, creation and verification of managerial operations, determinants and desires for success in economic activities. However, in the course of the recent decades it was extended by the new domains. One of them referred to the activities performed by public authorities, which nowadays is usually referred to as public governance. This different term was introduced to reflect the essence of such governance better as consisting in stimulating rather than determining changes in the objects of governance and in multidimensionality of these changes. Initially public governance was referred to individual public institutions which were supposed to achieve certain objectives. The latter approaches also associated them with groups of such institutions. Contemporarily public governance is combined with a society and its organized activities. For this reason the term governance is also used in expressing efforts to achieve collective objectives, strictly based not only on economic rationality, but also that of public choice, incorporating e.g. economic, ecological, scientific or even religious ones. This trend covers the category of local governance of local development. It refers to LD in a local perspective, i.e. to a defined, multidimensional process occurring in a municipal scale, which participants represent local enterprises, public institutions, NGOs, elements of

ecosystems, residents, and not just to a set of organizations creating a municipal institutional system. It means taking advantage of this institutional system to stimulate transformations of the LS' structures, mutual relationships between them and with their supra-local milieu, so that they represent LD. This activity is complex and difficult. In this regard, practitioners and researchers of public governance search for patterns of its implementation. One of them is strategic governance.

Strategic management evolved in the sphere of business, but it has been adopted on the grounds of public governance and, due to the a/m reasons, defined as strategic governance. Despite the fact that LD strategies are often prepared and adopted not only by Polish municipalities, the concept of municipal strategic governance of local development (LDSG) is rarely defined [see e.g.: Klasik, Kuźnik (eds.), 2001; Denicolai, Zucchella, 2005]. Such concepts as 'strategic governance (management) of municipal development' and 'strategic governance (management) of a municipality' are more often defined, but the emphasis is placed on the stages of strategic approach, or on holistic approach to governance of a municipality, representing a multi-entity municipal organization, rather than on structural transformations and LS relationships. The essence of municipal LDSG is, however, the complex impact of the municipal authorities on these structures and relationships in accordance with the stages of strategic approach and by means of entities belonging to the municipality, but ensuring that changes of these structures and relationships have the characteristics of LD, perceived from the local perspective.

5. Supra-local perspective of municipal, local development strategic governance (LDSG)

As it has been indicated, there are valorization, animation, suppression and depreciation relationships of each LS, which have positive or negative impact on LD. Thereupon, municipal LDSG, in addition to other activities, should cover activities which intensify valorization and animation relationships and reduce depreciation and suppression ones. These activities mark of 4 characteristics of municipal LDSG: exogenous utilitarianness, neo-endogenous absorptivity, protectiveness and retentionness (Table 2).

Table 2. Characteristics of municipal strategic governance of local development (LDSG)

Characteristics of municipal strategic governance of local development (LDSG)...	
...referring to the relationships from the inside of the local system (LS) towards supra-local milieu...	...referring to the relationships from the supra-local milieu towards the inside of the local system (LS)...
<p>EXOGENOUS UTILITARIANNESS (intensification of valorization relationships)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – searching for possibilities for supra-local valorization of local values, as well as initiating and supporting such valorization; – creating incentives for the supra-local valorization of a particular local value to imply the subsequent relationships of this type. <p>It directly results in taking an increased supra-local advantage of local values and using them to meet the needs of supra-local collectivities, whereas indirectly in gaining the locally desirable material and non-material values in return, which constitute the LD factors</p>	<p>NEO-ENDOGENOUS ABSORPTIVITY (intensifying animation relationships)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – obtaining LD factors for a municipality from its supra-local milieu. <p>Attracting the simple reinforcement of a municipality by supra-local factors is important, however, obtaining such factors along with linking them to local values have a greater creative potential. It results in the local replication of supra-local values or in the development of local innovations (new values), indissolubly associated with municipality and permanently making for LD. It is also important to attract exogenous factors of initiation, ‘start-up’ temporal support or impulse stimulation of LD processes</p>
<p>PROTECTIVENESS (reducing the suppression relationships)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – detecting and inhibiting impacts of supra-local factors on local values, which are unfavorable for LD. <p>It refers to local values, which are the base for exogenous and endogenous functions of municipality or perceived by the local community as inalienable components of its identity. In the face of supra-local factors inhibiting LD, which force usefulness of a municipality and its development products for supra-local collectivities, along with respect for supra-local beliefs, protectiveness does not consist in direct defence. It, consists in to persuading supra-local authorities towards alternative visions of the role played by a municipality (municipalities) in the supra-local development processes</p>	<p>RETENTIONNESS (reducing the depreciation relationships)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – identifying, preventing and limiting the loss of local values in favor of supra-local milieu. <p>Similarly to protectiveness, it refers to the most valuable local values and means taking a defensive position by the local authorities towards supra-local milieu. In case of supra-local fiscal and para-fiscal burdens as well as other public tributes, lobbying retentionness remains the only possible option, referring to the ones which are evidently remain non-equivalent</p>

The characteristics of municipal LDSG associated with supra-local relationships of the LS, along with the relevant activities performed by the local authorities, altogether constitute the supra-local perspective of such governance. Its importance for LD is extensive. The activities carried out within its framework enlarge the volume of LD factors, obtained from milieu of a municipality for its social, economic and environmental (natural) structures. Such activities also result in combining these factors with structures of a municipality, thus increasing the scale of their positive impact, strengthening this impact and its effects and, at the same time, activating the a/m structures. They disseminate the local approval for these factors and their implementation and also modify them profitably, hence developing local innovations. In addition, these activities protect

a municipality against the influence of supra-local destimulants on its structures and relationships, as well as reduce the non-equivalent loss of local factors responsible for LD in favor of supra-local milieu. They also constitute the form of defence against the decisions made by supra-local entities, which are unfavorable for the municipality, and also a preventive measure against them. Supra-local perspective of municipal LDSG is also important for LD in supra-local perspective. The activities carried out within its framework support transferring the locally created or modified values to the supra-local arena, which are useful for supra-local human collectivities and institutionalized forms of their activity. Therefore they include economies, communities and natural environments of municipalities in supra-local development processes.

6. The reasons, objects, goals, methods, techniques of research and sources of information

The supra-local perspective of LDSG represents the new research area. The research focused on identification of its part or entirety characteristic for the selected LSs are rare [see: Frisken, Wolfson, 2000; Lewis, 2001]. So far, no research was conducted aimed at identifying how the selected group of local authorities perceives and forms, at the strategic level, these supra-local relationships of their LSs which are connected with local culture. For this reason the author decided to conduct research having such objective and chose the authorities of Polish small towns as the research objects. The choice of these authorities resulted from the conviction that expanding knowledge of LDSG of such small towns can contribute to their current socio-economic situation improvement. Some of them are experiencing structural developmental problems and face regression or stagnation, which is always accompanied by a deep decline in local culture activities [see e.g.: Kantor-Pietraga, Krzysztofik, Runge, 2012, p. 9]. The following research questions were put forward:

- which valorization, animation, suppression and depreciation relationships of small towns are perceived by their authorities as strategically significant from the perspective of LD?
- which, predominantly, relationships, connected with local culture, concern modern utilitarianism, neo-endogenous absorptivity, protectiveness and retentionness of LDSG of small towns?

In socio-economic terms a small town is usually perceived as spatially coherent, however, generically diversified relationship of local community and

local economy, characterized by the specific socio-cultural, spatial, infrastructural and economic features. They distinguish it clearly from rural settlements and analogic medium-sized relationships and even more from the large ones [see e.g.: Trutkowski, Mandes, 2005, p. 13]. The methods applied in the course of research, to define which towns are included in this class are, however, diversified. In the conducted research it was adopted that the population number of such towns ranges from 5 to 20 thousand residents. Such criteria, in spite of the problem simplification, were adopted in variety of studies. Therefore the research population consisted of 369 authorities of Polish towns representing urban municipalities or urban parts of urban-rural municipalities and meeting the a/m population criterion. The list of population units was prepared as at December 31, 2013 using data published by Polish Central Statistical Office.

The research sample was selected based on the quota sampling technique, using as quota-defining characteristics the number of town residents, relative wealthiness of the municipality budget and proclivity of local authorities to the strategic planning of LD, measured by their current development strategy topicality (distinguishing its 2 levels: above and below average). The sample size (80 units) was decided authoritatively based on the population registry completeness, the capability of sample selection technique to include units from all population subsets, and also experience from other research with similar populations [Bartkowski, Kowalczyk, Swianiewicz, 1999; Dziemianowicz, 2007].

These local authorities who possessed outdated LD strategies (46) were subject to a diagnostic survey method, including the long personal interview technique based on a standardized scenario. The authorities possessed up-to-date strategies (34) were studied using content analysis method and the coding technique within its framework. The tools of both techniques, i.e. the interview questionnaire and the coding sheet were prepared so as to have the possibility of combine the collected information. The interviews and information coding were held from May till December 2014. Apart from these two quantitative research methods the results of qualitative participant observations, conducted in the course of developing and implementing 20 LD strategies of 12 other Polish small towns, were also used in the research. The author carried them out in the years 2000-2014 as the co-author of the discussed strategies, strategic governance advisor of local authorities, chairman of the team for the strategy implementation and the strategy auditor. The quantitative and qualitative research material was processed and interpreted using the methods of descriptive statistics, incomplete induction, deduction, comparing and contradistinguishing.

7. Research results

7.1. Supra-local valorization of local culture and related to it exogenous utilitarianism of governance

The conducted research showed that culture activity, addressed to supra-local recipients are considered as strategically important for town development by 26.3% of the analyzed authorities. High significance assigned to supra-locally addressed local culture is, however, rarely the effect of an opinion about its individual importance for LD. Its crucial meaning is predominantly related to an opinion that it should play a complementary and stimulating role for supra-local touristic, recreational and sanatory functions. The mayors indicated usually large, cyclical or one-time cultural events addressed mainly to tourists and patients. Numerous emphasis put on such events was also recorded while analyzing the content of LD strategies. The supra-local valorization of local culture, significantly or completely independent from tourism, recreation and sanatory treatment, is perceived as strategically important by only 6% of the authorities. In this area mainly short-term cultural events are listed, addressed mainly to visitors, however, the examples of permeant cultural activity, 'extending' outside town are also given. Regardless of culture perception as more or less supportive for other services, all local authorities, considering the supra-local valorization of local or localized cultural values as strategically favorable, recognize it as facilitating the development of local human and social capitals. In the opinions of mayors and the ones recorded in the course of qualitative field research the emphasis was noticed on educational, activating, pro-civic, cooperative and prestigious functions of supra-local addressed culture. Such opinions are expressed even though culture activity rarely result in generating direct material equivalent, require funding from the town budget and obtaining its animating supra-local factors, e.g. the EU aid funds. The already implemented or immediate, significant support for supra-locally addressed cultural activities were declared by 36.3% authorities. 10.0 pp overplus of authorities which declared such support over those approaching this relation as the strategically significant, indicates that in the coming years Polish local governments of small towns will be more involved in this area. The conducted quantitative and qualitative research illustrated extensive differences in the supra-locally addressed cultural activities covered by or planned to be covered by the a/m support. The advanced plans and activities aimed at their nationwide or even international popularization were also observed. For example, the authorities of Połaniec town declared their in-

tention to “[...] create a cultural event [...] of an international range” [*Strategia rozwoju miasta i gminy Polaniec...*, 2013, p. 26], the authorities of Koźienice town decided that “[...] the municipality will promote regional culture at the nationwide forum” [*Strategia rozwoju gminy Koźienice...*, 2008, p. 51], the authorities of Miechów town expressed their commitment to “[...] initiate residents’ activities [...] related to their involvement in local initiatives, providing incentives for the art-creative individuals to become engaged in supra-local range activities” [*Strategia rozwoju gminy i miasta Miechów...*, 2013, p. 55], whereas the authorities of Boguchwała town planned the organization of “[...] an international open-air painting in Boguchwała” [*Strategia rozwoju gminy Boguchwała...*, 2008, p. 23].

7.2. Supra-local animation of local culture and related to its neo-endogenous absorptivity of governance

The inflow of supra-local culture to residents – in the form of concerts, exhibitions, meet the author sessions, festivals, etc., but also other cultural values, e.g. contemporary, new works of art, its creation and perception ideas – is approached as the strategically favorable for LD by 6.3% of the authorities. Qualitative observations indicate that the minor importance associated with this relationship usually results from approaching cultural values as consumer goods, rather than pro-developmental, a kind of investment ones. The influence of culture on the intellectual stimulation of local community and its innovative effects – also in the form of new, sometimes commercial non-material values – are rarely noticed. The a/m observations show that the strategic attention is attracted to the discussed relationship more often in these small towns, where the authorities tend to use it for strengthening the supra-local valorization of local tourist, recreational and sanatory values. However, the primary recipients of the absorbed cultural values (e.g. contracted concerts) remain tourists and patients rather than residents.

Apart from obtaining the elements of supra-local culture, the local culture animating relationship can also take the form of acquiring funds for its direct and indirect stimulation. Cash transfers from the EU funds and other grants allocated to the development or revitalization of the local material foothold for culture are most often perceived as strategically significant for LD. This opinion was expressed by 12.5% of the authorities and the same number declared major, absorptive actions in this respect. It mainly refers to grants for the investments in

municipal culture centres, libraries, community centres and the like. Only 2.5% of the authorities attach strategic attention to the money transfers allocated to the so-called soft projects, as e.g. culture related competitions or trainings. The definitely lower importance assigned to soft projects results not only from their lower financial value. The awareness also counts, that the total value of funds allocated to them in various aid programs is much lower than that granted to hard projects, i.e. investments. This is a supra-local suggestion of what is more important, and by how much, from the perspective nationwide and municipalities development. One more factor should also be mentioned, which remains invisible in official statements and documents, but became disclosed in participant observations. Many members of Polish local authorities, in fact, present a deeply skeptical or negative approach to soft projects. Such attitude derives from not just gaps in knowledge about culture impacts on LD. Pro-developmental influence of material projects, resulting in touchable, long-lasting effects, is much easier to notice, understand and thus appreciate. The authorities also take into account their evaluation by voters in the coming elections and the material effects of projects are much easier to quote in an election campaign than the non-material ones. It is also of paramount importance that many soft projects in the sphere of culture are indeed of just symbolical, ephemeral influence on a LD. Their real effects are much smaller, not that far reaching and less durable than those specified in the underlying applications for grants and reports about grant-in-aid utilization.

As far as cash transfers from supra-local sources are concerned, used in the continuous funding of the current, local culture activity (e.g. state subsidies for a municipality, for the state-owned, local museums), they were not listed by any of the authorities as relationships crucial for LD. Such situation can be explained by the fact that, since directly justified by law and not requiring any absorptive operations, they are perceived more as obvious determinants of development than the factors animating it.

The supra-local relationships animating local culture also include knowledge acquisition by local authorities and municipal administration workers (about initiating and supporting culture activity performed by residents and about the provision of culture services), and also by residents (about culture activities organization). However, as little as 2.5% of the authorities pointed to the strategically important role of such relationship and declared significant activities aimed at its supporting.

7.3. Supra-local suppression of local culture and related to its protectiveness of governance

The first relationship having suppressive impact on local culture, indicated as strategically negative for LD, was the imbibe by residents the mass culture, flowing in from the supra-local milieu and substituting their territorial specific local culture, i.e. associated with a town, a sub-region or a region, frequently the traditional one. This relationship is perceived as such by 6.3% of the surveyed authorities. Such low share is not so much an effect of the discussed impact rarity, as the result of it being neither noticed nor appreciated by the local authorities, or the already major obliteration of the cultural individuality of local community. The conducted participant observations indicate that the strategic attention of the authorities is focused on the supra-local unification of the local cultural identity, mainly there where strong local cultural values, constituting such identity, were remained. There also the evident counteracting these relationship is easily noticeable which, in general, does not happen often (it was declared by 3.8% of the authorities). Its example is the specific strategic manifesto of Radzionków authorities referring to cultural suppression. These authorities consider that “Radzionków, in its centuries-old history, was several times effectively bricked itself off from the influences inconsistent with the values recognized as desirable by the local community. The conservatism of attitudes does not belong to the promoted ones in the global world, however, the future constructed on the prosperity driven influences (e.g. of global corporations or socio-cultural trends) is, in many cases, too risky for these town residents who appreciate the value of Silesian traditions” [*Strategia rozwoju gminy Radzionków...*, 2014, p. 91]. In practice, the protectiveness of governance takes, in this field, the form of local cultural values protection and replication, e.g. by supporting local folklore, traditions, mores, customs and art, collecting, archiving, replicating material carriers of local culture, organizing intergenerational transfers of information about the local culture, etc. The inflow of supra-local culture can by no means be stopped.

The second of suppression relations, marked as strategically crucial, referred to the unfavorable legal influences of supra-local public authority bodies. They do not refer to local culture only, but to the general conditions of public tasks realization by Polish local authorities. Such influences were quoted by 15% of the surveyed authorities. The most frequently mentioned ones were as follows:

- Assigning tasks to municipalities without ensuring financial possibilities for their effective implementation, which forces local authorities to minimize expenditures on local culture.

- Demotivating influence of the state standardized components of the social benefits system. In the opinion of the surveyed authorities, apart from animation impacts, it reduces the elements of both human and social local capitals (e.g. the creativity of beneficiaries, their mental vitality, sensitivity to the culture, willingness of personal development and cooperation with other members of local community) including connected with culture ones.
- Financial weakness of counties making them unable to either gratifyingly or in general execute their statutory tasks in culture sphere.
- Deformation of the aid funds distribution systems, including slated for culture ones, reducing the chances for obtaining them, their value, as well as the engagement in obtaining them.
- Protracted inspections of the granted aid utilization, including the culture allocated one and the sanctions having procedural justification only, which result from them.

The legal nature of this relationship reduces the possibilities for counteracting it, which are open to local authorities. They predominantly come down to participating in collective, municipal, lobbying organizations and actions aimed at changing the law. Sometimes they take different, more individualized forms, as e.g. mayors' speeches delivered in parliamentary commissions or entering into legal disputes (appeals, complaints, petitions, lawsuits, etc.), based not as much on the existing legislation, as its ways of interpretation. Sometimes they consist in finding loopholes in the suppressive law. The carried out governance attempts, however, to substitute more often the protective reaction to legal suppression by the compensation reaction, reducing its effects, if possible at all. Therefore the local authorities of Polish small towns, perceiving the discussed relationship as an important one, often feel strategically helpless against it. It is confirmed by 8.8% share of the authorities declaring their involvement, or their intention to get involved in the activities reducing this relationship.

7.4. Supra-local depreciation of local culture and related to it governance retentionness

The depreciation relationships directly related to local culture, approached by the surveyed authorities as the strategically unfavorable for LD, turned out quite rare. One example of perceiving in this way taking away historical utility items from the town, constituting the equipment of local houses and the elements of private collections, was identified. The authorities reporting this relationship

did not actually mean the loss of historical foothold for the present-day cultural activity, but the town tourist potential deterioration. They, however, did not undertake, nor plan any actions restricting this phenomenon. In the opinion of the authorities representing two towns, the strategically unfavorable depreciation relationship, hitting directly the local culture activity is the reduction of cultural services rendered in these towns by the supra-local public entities. The provided examples include the limiting of functioning, to be followed by closing the local, county upper-secondary school offering cultural education and events, as well as reducing the activity and subsequently closing the county cultural institution. In both cases the retentionness of LDSG consisted in granting financial support to county units in order to prolong their functioning as long as possible. Such support was offered until they ceased to exist.

The depreciation relationship was, however, prevailing in respondents' indications, which does not refer to local culture only and is of indirect nature. This relationship is residents' emigration. Such phenomenon was evaluated by 21.3% of the surveyed authorities as strategically unfavorable for the local culture. It is perceived by the surveyed members of local authorities as difficult or impossible to compensate loss of all human and social capitals components used i.a. in culture activity. The emphasis was on the emigration of young people, with above average education, already active in the area of culture or presenting sufficient sensitivity predestined them to take advantage of culture and create it in the future. Great importance associated with the discussed relationship is well reflected in many fragments of the analyzed strategic plans of development. They announce that the strategic problem faced by a town is "an outflow of young people already at the stage of moving to a secondary school; the intensifying phenomenon of brain drain from a municipality" [*Strategia rozwoju miasta i gminy Opole Lubelskie...*, 2012, p. 57], that "[...] town depopulation is visible; young, educated people leave the town most often, whereas older residents, who are not able to face the civilization challenges, remain in it" [*Plan rozwoju lokalnego gminy Poddębice...*, 2008, pp. 47-48], and also: "population drainage to larger centres: Warsaw and Łódź" takes place [*Strategia rozwoju miasta Rawa Mazowiecka...*, 2010, p. 114], "the phenomenon of local human capital drainage" [*Strategia rozwoju miasta i gminy Zdzeszowice...*, 2010, p. 50], "migration processes resulting in the outflow of most valuable persons to larger domestic and foreign centres" [*Strategia rozwoju gminy Koziernice...*, 2008, p. 23]. Many more examples can be pointed to. In order to reduce migration diverse and numerous activities in accommodation and employment spheres are taken up. As many as 65% of the surveyed authorities declared, during interviews or in the adopted

strategic plans, that they approach these activities as priorities which have already been or are going to be initiated soon. This share is three times higher than in case of the authorities approaching emigration as strategically unfavorable depreciation relationship by virtue of different than culture related, negative consequences detected. What is also important, one fourth of the surveyed authorities places the projects expanding local cultural offer or enabling residents to co-creation of local culture among such retention-oriented, strategic activities.

Conclusions

The research results allow to enunciate few important conclusions which are the author's contribution to the state of art on contemporary local development strategic governance in Poland. Among the supra-local valorization relationships connected to local culture, the authorities of Polish small towns associate more often than not strategic importance to the culture related services supporting the development of supra-local tourism, recreation and sanatory oriented functions of these towns (the opinion of 26.3% of the surveyed authorities). Such services are also most frequently created and supported by them. Supra-local valorization of the locally developed or replicated cultural values, which do not play this function, is definitely less often perceived as strategically favorable for the LD, and thus its support is much less popular. Strategic significance is also rarely associated with gaining supra-local cultural values for the town residents, or funds for gaining such values, along with the knowledge about performing culture activities by the local government and residents. This significance is slightly more often assigned to collecting funds allocated to the development of the local culture material base (the opinion of 12.5% of the surveyed authorities), and in this sphere the most explicit absorptivity of the carried out strategic governance takes place. The strategic suppression of the local culture is most often noticed in these parts of supra-local law which, in the opinion of the surveyed authorities, reduce local government's possibilities and motivation for conducting local culture activity (the opinion of 15% of the surveyed authorities). This suppression is, however, perceived as the component of legal suppression covering the entire local government functioning and not just the cultural one. Its legal nature strongly reduces the possibilities of taking any counteraction. The suppression consisting in local culture displacement by the unified, supra-local mass culture is very seldom perceived as strategically important and the strategic protective actions are equally rarely taken up. When it comes to the strategically significant depreciation relationships referring to cul-

ture, the permanent migration of residents is most often observed in this way, (the opinion of 21.3% of the surveyed authorities), especially regarding the young ones, educated and active or potentially active in the sphere of culture. The activities focused on strategic retention are most often performed in this area. Other forms of culture related depreciation are noticed and reduced in individual cases only.

The research allows concluding that despite employing local culture to supra-local valorization of local tourism, recreation and sanatory services and obtaining aid funds for the development of local culture material base, the supra-local perspective of LDSG of Polish small towns, rarely refers to this culture. The relatively large share of indications pointing to legal suppression and emigration related depreciation mainly result from the non-cultural effects of these relationships, whereas the shares of indications to other relationships remain at the level of a few percent only.

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KULTURA LOKALNA W PONADLOKALNEJ PERSPEKTYWIE ZARZĄDZANIA STRATEGICZNEGO ROZWOJEM LOKALNYM MAŁYCH MIAST

Streszczenie: Artykuł prezentuje jak władze Polskich małych miast postrzegają i kształtują na poziomie strategicznym te ponadlokalne relacje ich miast, które związane są z lokalną kulturą. Na początku wyjaśniono kategorie kluczowe: układ lokalny, rozwój lokalny, kultura lokalna, ponadlokalne relacje układu lokalnego, zarządzanie strategiczne rozwojem lokalnym, ponadlokalna perspektywa tego zarządzania. W dalszej części zaprezentowano przesłanki, obiekty, cele, pytania, metody badawcze oraz wykorzystane źródła informacji. Następnie przedstawiono wyniki badań dzieląc je na cztery części odpowiadające czterem rodzajom ponadlokalnych relacji układu lokalnego i działaniom prowadzonym w celu ich prorozwojowego kształtowania.

Słowa kluczowe: kultura lokalna, gmina, władze lokalne, rozwój lokalny, zarządzanie strategiczne rozwojem lokalnym.