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ECONOMY, STATE, AND SOCIETY
AS AN INTERPRETATIVE TRIAD OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS
PROTECTED AREAS AMONG ITS RESIDENTS.
ON THE EXAMPLE OF PIENINY NATIONAL PARK IN POLAND*

Abstract. This article addresses the issue of the attitude of local people towards protected areas. The subject of the analysis is a special area—the Pieniny National Park in Poland, which is an interesting mosaic of natural and man-made ecosystems. These areas stand out in terms of their historical heritage. The aim of the article is not only to create a descriptive analysis of the issue, but also to present an innovative structure of the diagnosis, which serves to solve the problem of adjustment of the basic spheres of human activity to the areas of natural value. The article therefore consists of two interrelated parts. In the first one, a theoretical structure is presented, built on the basis of key interpretative areas for the discussed issue: economy, state and society. The second part is a report from the conducted research, which supplements the basic concept with attempts at original systematization of the obtained results.

Keywords: national park; park buffer zone; park–people relationships; social awareness; local ties.

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INTRODUCTION

Protected areas are a special kind of lands. They are important to those who visit them, and are the subject of assessment by their residents. A protected area does not always evoke unambiguously positive connotation. It is assessed in terms of the opportunities and threats it creates. At the same time, it becomes an object of state policy and public concern. When analysing such territories, one should take into account the fact of natural variation in attitudes and orientations in this field. This variation is rooted in two competing ideological currents. The former should be referred to as anthropocentrism; the latter as biocentrism (Trempała, 2016). The first position draws on the humanist philosophical tradition of Europe and places man at the top of the hierarchy of being. The second is known as biocentrism—a constructive response to the findings of the anthropocentric perspective (Piątek, 2008). These two basic currents of ideas roughly define the diversification of nature consciousness. Contemporary diagnoses, on the other hand, allow us to identify detailed threads and contexts of its analysis. The research conducted so far includes questions of how national parks are perceived by residents of adjacent areas. Their aim is, among others, to indicate the factors conditioning nature conservation (Brandon, Dragos, 2008), as well as to reach the content of natural awareness and the way of perceiving protected areas (Górecki et al., 2002; Harada, 2003). This research aims to determine the assessment of the areas of natural value (Ciocănea et al., 2016). Protected areas are quite often diagnosed in terms of the tourism functions they perform (Mutanga et al., 2015). At the same time, they can be described more precisely by engaging the categories of social attitude (Mika et al., 2019; Zawilińska, 2020; Kazuhiro, 2003; Mamo, 2015; Allendorf, 2007) and environmental awareness (Repka et al., 2014). Protected areas are examined with equal insight in terms of perceptions of their economic potential (Abukari, Mwalyosi, 2020). An important thread in this type of diagnosis is the differentiation of economic attitudes by spatial attribute (Mamo, 2015). Not least, the research tradition is complemented by descriptors focused on the issue of community participation in local initiatives. These analyses address the relationship between the local community and the national park (Hibszer, 2013). Still other diagnoses address the discovery of protected area management patterns (Dimitrakopoulos, 2010). Attempts to determine the nature of the relationship between the local community and the area of natural value, both in the context of everyday activities (Allendorf, 2007)

and economic impacts (Bennett, Dearden, 2014; Abukari, Mwalyosi, 2020), should also be deemed important.

The literature review leads to the conclusion that protected areas are usually diagnosed in the only selected context: economic or organisational/institutional. There are essentially two analytical categories for such a description: social attitudes or environmental awareness. Such a finding leads to the discovery of a clear methodological gap. Science continues to make demands for the development of a universal model of analysis to describe attitudes towards protected areas. Therefore, it seems expedient to put forward a new holistic proposal, with the aim to form a multidimensional model for the analysis of protected areas, covering three basic areas of interaction: economy, society and state (or its local delegation). This is also the purpose of this article and the motivation of its authors. The first part of this paper is theoretical and oriented towards the construction of a universal model of analysis. It is built on three basic social laws. The second part, in turn, boils down to an attempt to apply said schema empirically.

1. MULTIVARIATE MODEL OF ANALYSIS

The attitude towards areas of natural value is shaped in three dimensions simultaneously: material (existence), social (interaction) and symbolic (normative). They correspond to the dimensions of culture, in the sense given to this concept by Alfred Weber (1927) or Robert MacIver (1942). The indicated dimensions give rise to the formation of specific ‘areas of consciousness’. In each of them, the relationship with the natural environment is built in a slightly different way. They are the fields of meaning that correspond to three important concepts at once, namely economy, society and state (more precisely, its territorial delegation). In the present analysis, they mark the conceptual triad of the schema, with nature as its geometric centre.

1.1. ECONOMY, STATE, SOCIETY—NODAL POINTS OF ANALYSIS

The three identified nodal points are meaningfully derivable from the so-called natural law theories. Referring to them provides an opportunity to relate subsequent nodal points to the ‘geometric centre’ of the schema—the area of nature.

Point one: Economy

This part of the schema is related to Adam Smith's concept which, because of the assumptions made about the individual, should be regarded as natural law. Smith (1776) assumes that by pursuing their own private interests people build a social order and contribute with their activity to the common good (Dzioanek-Kozłowska, 2018). At the same time, the Scottish utilitarian expresses his conviction that on the basis of individual activities the socio-economic order is formed in a spontaneous way (Przybyła, 2005). Smith thus redefines the notion of egoism, looking back to the views of David Hume (1960) in this aspect. According to the latter, focusing on the pursuit of one's own goals and needs does not eliminate altruism; it even makes room for it. The sum of egoisms can result in the success of the entire collective. After all, man is subject to 'moral feelings' and is guided in their actions by sympathy towards others. This in turn determines the operation of the law of the 'invisible hand'.

According to the assumptions adopted by Smith, the basic area of human activity is the market, with profit as central motivation. That is where the 'invisible hand' comes into play. The economy does not need external regulation: the individual acting in their own interest builds *publico bono*. Individual activity is therefore not destructive, quite the contrary: it funds the social order as such. In that way, the assumptions typical of rationalism, empiricism, and utilitarianism become the quintessence of social self-regulation.

Point two: State

The second nodal point of the schema is connected with the notion of power and the basic unit of its exercise. It is the state or its territorial representation. The ideological background of this area is the concept of Thomas Hobbes (1954). The scholar founds the social order on the conviction of the dangerous, hostile and ruthless nature of man. This axiom implies assuming a conflicting context of interpellation. The state of nature for humans, as they really are, leads to a war of all against all. To Hobbes, it seems unwarranted to accept *ex ante* the claim about the derivation of unregulated initiatives by external force. In the state of nature, sympathy and other moral feelings have no right to be formed, for man is an antisocial being, capable of engaging in debilitating struggle and participating in ruthless competition. At the same time, Hobbes accepts that the 'wolf nature' is typical of the human species. Human contacts, according to Hobbes, must therefore be forcibly and externally regulated (Tatarkiewicz, 1959). On the other hand, the Leviathan—a vision of a strong government (Hobbes, 1651)—offers a glimpse of recovery from the chaos. Leviathan is the

answer to the chaos and lawlessness of the state of nature. It is also an expression of disbelief in the self-organization of human actions motivated by natural instincts. The state has a monopoly on absolute power, which is intimidating but at the same time ensuring peace and order. It is also a symbol of social balance and order.

Point three: Society

The last structural point of the schema is associated with the term society and the natural law concept by Jean Jacques Rousseau (1956). It becomes known as the resultant between the extremes proposed by Smith and Hobbes. On the one hand, Rousseau does not want to deprive the individual of agency; on the other, he expresses his conviction of the need to form a social order that goes beyond the narrow field of individual interest. This philosopher begins by confronting social life with the natural world. In his opinion these are two opposing realities. The Genevan thinker attributes two different models of man to these different realities. These are ‘man of nature’ and ‘man of man’. The former is characterized by freedom and a state uncontaminated by civilization; the latter is bound by social conventions. The man of nature enjoys authenticity; the man of culture loses it. To the uncontaminated model corresponds the image of *l’homme de bien*—a noble savage, charming with their innocence and innate tendency to empathy (Baczko, 2009). Society as a form of organized life is an evil and artificial construct. Rousseau, however, sees a chance to save it. This can be achieved by organising social life in a natural way. This, in turn, is the purpose of *volonté generale*—the universal will that constitutes the basis of the social contract (Radwan-Pragłowski, Frysztacki, 2009). It is on that basis that the perfect order is likely to form, with agreement, not external coercive power, at its foundation. It is a ‘democratic Leviathan’ (Szacki, 2012) and the ‘lifeworld’ as referred to by Jurgen Habermas. Its quintessence and structural axis is consensus-oriented action. Under these assumptions, the individual is independent but bound to society. It is deliberation that brings about the popular will, and decisions based on that will serve the common good, survival and development.

1.2. SCHEME OF ANALYSIS

The three structural points: economy, state and society together form an interpretative triad of the attitude of the residents of neighbouring areas towards protected areas. Point one exposes the issue of agency and profit-oriented human

activity. At the same time, it attributes unlimited freedom to the acting individual, thus expressing a belief in the existence of a mechanism of self-regulation. The first structural point subjects the protected area to human interaction and in no way demands regulation of human activity. Embedding the individual in this very area results in the development of a materialistic and exploratory attitude towards the territory neighbouring the protected area. This type of consciousness corresponds to the 'economic man' (Archer, 2008) who is guided by rationality in their actions and pursues vested interests. The natural bond from the typology proposed by Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) is also associated with this area. It finds its source in humans themselves and is rooted in their goodwill, or sympathy, as pointed out by Smith. In doing so, it conditions the functioning of the self-regulatory mechanism. The medium of communication between the economy and the area of natural value is profit.

The second nodal point, i.e. the state, operates with a different simplification. The type of person dominated by the system has to be assigned to it (Archer, 2008). This reductionism allows us to assume that the individual is a product of the social whole and is strictly subject to it, or, one might say, is its exclusive property (Mrozowicki, 2013). By the same token, the territory ceases to have a market character. It becomes a realm where the rules and solutions introduced by an outside force apply. It is the space of the uniform law in force, the influence of the supreme power and the implementation of its relevant policy. It is also the area of the state and/or its territorial delegation. The state does not believe in working out a balance through self-regulation or reaching an agreement. It imposes solutions and enforces their implementation. It thus gains a monopoly on introducing restrictions, bans and orders. This scenery should be associated with an arbitrary link that is formed on the basis of a systemic structure of meaning, principles, rules of objectives.

The third and last point is determined by the notion of society. Graphically, it is placed between the first two areas, as it is the point of balancing and harmonisation. It should be seen as a chance to break through the reductionism indicated earlier. The basis for the formation of this area involves inter-subjective relations. Through these, it becomes a place of communication and value creation. It is a space for dialogue and social participation. The achievement of consensus and pride in belonging to a particular collective are crucial to its survival. In this area one should see potential and aspirations to conform to nature. After all, the social contract aims to form an order that does not collide with the natural realm, but rather reproduces it. As such, this field is a natural reference area to the natural environment. The third point is associated with

the reflexive bond (Marody, Giza-Poleszczuk, 2004) and the model of humanity defined by Archer as relational. We are talking about a man who is subject to the simultaneous influence of three different orders: social, natural, and practical. That man remains an autonomous being and deliberately shapes these orders (Domecka, 2013). The action of an individual empowers their self-awareness and reflexivity. The individual as a reflexive subject of action does not submit blindly to the influence of the power structure, nor are they completely free. They participate in reality in a relational way: by maintaining contact with others and the environment (Leonarska, Wielecki, 2017). An individual builds a bond based on dialogue and understanding. The three structural points mark the area of the triangle, which provides the conceptual basis for further diagnosis (Figure 1). Each side of the figure is a different type of link. The first is the bridge between the economy and the state. This line opposes the independence of intervention. Tie second link (connecting the economy and the society) confronts profit and consensus orientations. Finally, the last part of the figure—the link between state and society contrasts the compulsion to subordinate to social dialogue. The three independent areas form a harmonious whole only when the opposing concepts turn towards each other, i.e. when the rules of subordination are worked out in dialogue; economic independence finds support in the state, and the economy is subject to a process of social and institutional rooting.

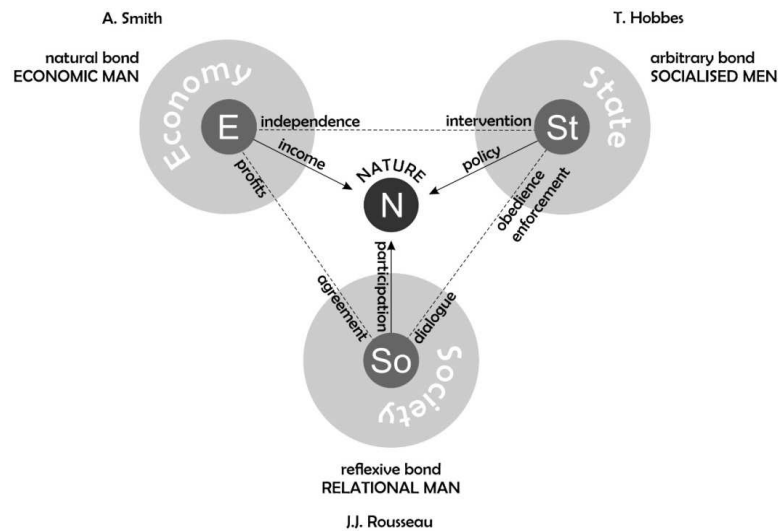


Figure 1. Conceptual framework for the analysis.
Source: own study.

1.3. RESEARCH MODEL

The model of the study flows directly from the presented structure. First, the schema identifies three interrelated fields of analysis: economy, state and society. It encourages us to define their specificity as well as to diagnose their content in the context of relation with nature (protected area), and then makes it possible to treat the structural points of the scheme as interpretative centres.

The first area (the economy) will bring answers to the following questions:

- How does proximity to an area of natural value affect local development?
- To what extent are residents' economic activities supported or restricted by the national park?
- Should the park limit economic expansion, particularly in terms of tourism development?

The answers thus obtained will help determine the extent to which economy remains an independent area. At the same time they will serve to determine the attitude of the residents towards areas of natural value. Answers to these questions will be sorted out by a typological division distinguishing between:

- The explorers,
- The withdrawn,
- The sustainable.¹

The hypothesis involving the category of activities performed to the benefit of the park will be linked to this division:

Hypothesis 1: Sustainability, which can be measured by the acceptance of development that respects heritage, is characteristic of respondents who work for or provide services to the Pieniny National Park (PNP).

The second area (the state—local authority) will bring answers to the following questions:

- To what extent do residents feel like 'citizens' of their place of residence? What is their relationship with the local authority, including the park?
- How do they view their decision-making and participation in the formation of local regulations?
- How do they describe their situation: in terms of opportunities or threats?
- Who do residents feel they are: partners of the authorities or rather their subjects?

This area will allow us to diagnose the degree of residents' involvement in local issues, especially those related to the functioning of the Park. Presumably,

¹ All typologies presented in the article are the original concept of the authors.

respondents will be divided into categories to be distinguished by the criterion of awareness of participation.

The answers to these questions will be systematized by a dichotomous typology of relations distinguishing between:

- (1) Partnership,
- (2) Subordination.

Associated with this division will be the hypothesis linking the type of relationship with the category of ownership.

Hypothesis 2: The partnership-based reaction, measured by the involvement in the initiatives of the national park administration and the positive assessment of the contact, is typical for the respondents who own property in the park or its buffer zone.

The third area (society) will provoke answers to the following questions:

— How is the area of residence assessed among respondents living in the neighbourhood of the area of natural value?

— Is the environment in which they operate a component of their local pride?

— How do residents perceive the opportunity to participate in local affairs?

These answers will determine the degree of orientation towards the area of nature—the original territory of life of *l'homme de bien*. They will be systematized by a typology that suggests the coexistence of 5 groups:

- (1) Reliable enthusiasts (proud and committed),
- (2) Unreliable patriots (proud and uncommitted),
- (3) Engaged sceptics (critical and committed),
- (4) Permanent malcontents (critical and uncommitted),
- (5) Indifferent (people with no opinion).

This division will involve the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: Local pride is a characteristic of the older generation, whilst commitment—of the younger generation, so that the categories of credible enthusiasts and committed sceptics are described as generationally dominated.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY SITE AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. PIENINY—NATURE PROTECTION AND RESIDENTS

Pieniny National Park is located on the southern Polish border, in the mountainous region of the Carpathians. It includes the protection of the central fragment of the Pieniny range. It is one of the most valuable areas in the country

in terms of natural, as well as historical and cultural heritage. The most characteristic elements of the landscape of the national park are the Dunajec River Gorge surrounded by limestone rock walls and the towering rocky peaks of Trzy Korony (Three Crowns) and Sokolica, which are among the most impressive vantage points in the Polish Carpathians. The limestone bedrock, the great diversity of relief and the associated soil and climatic conditions make the Pieniny distinctive from the surrounding mountain ranges in terms of diversity of habitats and species richness (Razowski, 2000). The attractiveness of this area is also created by the mosaic of natural ecosystems and those created as a result of human activity (including pastoralism carried out here for centuries). The area also has an outstanding historical heritage of the former Polish—Hungarian borderland. Its most distinctive element is the ruins of a medieval castle in Czorsztyn, which used to guard the historic trade route leading from Hungary to Poland. Today they rise above the dammed lake created on the Dunajec River, which has significantly changed the landscape of the region. Other distinctive features of the region are the lively folk culture of the Pieniny highlanders and one of the most important attractions of the Pieniny—rafting down the Dunajec Gorge on traditional wooden rafts, which has been organized for two centuries in an almost unchanged form (Ceklarz, Janicka-Krzywda, 2014; Golonka, Krobicki, 2007).

The need for legal protection of these areas was recognized as early as at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. However, the establishment of the protected area became possible only after Poland regained its independence (after World War I). In 1932, the establishment of the Pieniny National Park on the Polish side and at the same time the Slovak Nature Reserve on the other side of the border was proclaimed. These units together constituted the International Nature Park, which was the first in Europe, and the second in the world, area with the status of a transboundary national park (Dąbrowski, 2008). It is also worth noting that it was also the first national park in Poland.

Its protected area has almost tripled (to 2231 ha), including both state-owned lands (and the lands purchased before the war for the purpose of establishing the national park) and private lands belonging to peasants and village communities, which constituted almost half of the park area (Dąbrowski, 2008). The interests of local communities were not taken into account in the legal system of Poland when the park was established, their consent was not required and no compensation was allowed. However, it should be noted that in the case of PNP, the owners retained the right to use the land (fields, meadows, pastures, forests) included in the park. In 1996, a buffer zone was created

around the park, thanks to which the administration gained the possibility to influence the development of the neighbourhood of the protected area. After Poland's accession to the European Union the park areas were included in the Natura 2000 network.

Currently, PNP covers 2371.8 ha and is surrounded by a buffer zone of 2682 ha. Forests (72.1%) are the dominant form of land cover, with agricultural land also constituting a large share (21.7%). A large part of the park remains in private hands (28.8%), which makes conservation efforts difficult and creates conflict situations between the administration and the owners (Environment, 2020). Administratively, PNP and its buffer zone are located in four communes: Czorsztyn, Krościenko nad Dunajcem, Łapsze Niżne, Szczawnica. There are no inhabited areas within the park boundaries apart from individual buildings.

The main problems of the national park and its surroundings are the abandonment of agriculture, construction pressure (including second homes) and dispersal of buildings, which are negative phenomena from the point of view of landscape protection and biodiversity conservation (Cząstka, 2008; Musiał, Musiał, 2018).

Equally important is tourism pressure. Despite the fact that this park is one of the smallest national parks in Poland, it still takes the top spot in terms of tourist attendance. In 2019, it was visited by almost 1 million tourists (attendance has grown significantly in recent years), who were mainly concentrated in the Dunajec Gorge (visiting it by water and hiking trails 59%) and viewpoints on the peaks of the Trzy Korony and Sokolica (23%). Such a high attendance of tourists with the small size of the protected area causes the highest intensity of tourist traffic among Polish national parks—419 tourists per ha (average in Polish national parks—44 tourists per ha). There are 28 tourists per 1 km of tourist trails (compared to the average of less than 4 tourists in national parks).

2.2. INTERVIEW METHODOLOGY AND RESPONDENTS

In 2019, a survey was conducted among the residents of the areas surrounding the Pieniny National Park. It was conducted in all the towns and villages in the park or its buffer zone, excluding the town of Szczawnica (9 towns and villages in 3 communes). The survey was conducted using the method of direct, individual questionnaire interview (paper and pen personal interview—PAPI). Interviewers conducted surveys across the entire towns and villages. First of all, they surveyed residents living in areas lying within the boundaries of the national park buffer zone. Only permanent residents over the age of 16 were

asked for their opinions. Responses from 280 individuals were collected (which is 3% of the population of the surveyed villages aged over 16), of whom 56.1% were female and 43.9% were male. The age and education structure is presented in Table 1. Primary education was most often declared by respondents in the oldest age group (31.2% of people in this group), tertiary and secondary education was characteristic mainly for the group aged 26–35 (44.1% tertiary and 42.7% secondary), while basic vocational education was characteristic for the group aged 46–60 (37%).

Table 1. Structure of Respondents as Broken Down by Age and Education

Category	Number of respondents	%
Age groups		
16–18	11	3.9
19–25	59	21.1
26–35	68	24.3
36–45	40	14.3
46–60	54	19.3
above 60	48	17.1
Education		
Tertiary	71	25.4
Secondary	119	42.5
Basic vocational	60	21.4
Primary	30	10.7

Source: own study.

Considering the duration of residence, the respondents can be described as strongly rooted in their home towns (86.1% of them have lived there for more than 10 years, 12.1% for 2–10 years, and only 1.4% for less than 2 years).

Interviewees' economic ties to the national park were also strong. 30.4% of them owned private land within the park boundaries (mostly grassland/pasture or forest). 33.2% were owners of houses located within the buffer zone, 11.4% of respondents or their family members worked in PNP or provided services to it and 26.1% derived income from tourism.

3. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

3.1. THE ECONOMY

Most of the respondents have a positive view on their agency in terms of their impact on the natural environment and landscape of the town/village. Almost 49% of the respondents are convinced that the activities of the residents serve the local nature and 36% are ambivalent about it. The least numerous fraction (14%) assesses the possibility of impact on the surroundings in an unambiguously negative way. The same group of respondents shows clear support for tourism development in the vicinity of the protected area. Almost 72% of respondents do not perceive any negative impact of tourism on the natural environment or landscape.

The exploratory attitude towards protected areas seems to be reflected in the support for the removal of development restrictions in these areas. This belief is shared by almost 43% of the respondents. Furthermore, a vast majority (61%) says that more accommodation, catering and other facilities serving tourism should be built within PNP area. Fewer respondents are in favour of more commercialization, which still enjoys strong social legitimacy in terms of the tourism industry. The survey results show that nearly 44% of the respondents approve or strongly approve of major investments. The opposite is true for 40%. In the same group, 3/4 of the respondents believe that park accommodation should be provided only in small-scale facilities. Only one in ten respondents does not request this type of restriction. It is an interesting ambivalence, which hints on the vacillation and temporary character of views in this area. On the one hand, they seem to flow from projections of economic interest; on the other, they find self-limitation in a worldview focused on decommercialization and heritage preservation. The sources of such vacillation should be sought in general social trends, including fashion, decommercialization and tendencies resulting from regional patriotism.

The respondents tend to perceive a positive impact of the protected area on the economy, with the assessment being particularly favourable for the tourism industry.

From the point of view of the relationship between the economy and the protected area, it is important to diagnose the level of involvement in local affairs. The study argues that an entrepreneurial strategy committed to a local product is rare. As many as 67% of the respondents declare that they would not like to use subsidies for the production of local products. At the same

time, almost 3/4 of the respondents (71%) are of the opinion that PNP administration does not support business activities in any way. It is a contradiction, indicative of the ambiguity of attitudes and the lack of a proper, sustainable tension between the area of the economy and the state (PNP authority). Residents clearly view the area of residence as a source of potential income, which they link primarily to the development of the tourism industry. To this extent, they would like to rely on the market mechanism of the 'invisible hand'.

It is worth noting that a large group of people assessed PNP in neutral terms in the economic context. It is to be presumed that the 'neutral' group also includes 'those with no opinion'. This means that an attractive territory is enough to trigger the 'invisible hand' mechanism. The initiatives taken by PNP authorities are not assessed with the same enthusiasm. This is because the residents do not intend to participate in undertakings initiated by PNP. Because of this, the economy appears here as an autarkical area, separated, as it were, from the influence of PNP, i.e. Leviathan. At the same time, the economy as a relatively independent sphere develops the law of self-restraint on its own ground. Residents favour economic expansion, but at the same time prefer small-scale rather than commercial investments. The economy is more likely to be shaped by global socio-cultural trends than by the activities of PNP authorities. The relations between the economy and the environment thus seem to build a harmonious whole.

To sum up, the research questions should be answered in the following way: firstly, the answers indicate that the naturally valuable area influences the local development, activating its residents economically, in particular in terms of tourism. It also serves other activities, including entrepreneurship, which is key to the economy. Paradoxically, the thesis concerning the alliance between the economy and the protected area does not imply a positive relationship between PNP and the economic activity of residents, which provides an answer to the second question posed. The interactions between PNP and the economy are not traceable. The economic area manages itself and does not expect cooperation. It is also able to determine the limits of its expansion on its own, which is expressed, among others, by answers indicating a protest against the development of the park buffer zone. Above all, however, the protected area is seen as a natural stimulator of the economy, and PNP as an institution that shapes spatial order. Secondly, the residents advocate economic exploitation of the land, which is subject to ideological constraints founded on the biocenosis narrative rather than formal regulations and the dictates of PNP authorities. The responses also allow us to identify three worldview groups: Explorers (31.4% of all respondents), who believe that economic activity should not be

limited in any way and that the protected area should be treated as a source of its stimulation. Explorers advocate the removal of all restrictions on development in the buffer zone and the development of commercial infrastructure for mass tourism within the boundaries of PNP. Concurrently, the same faction expresses opposition to the operation of the buffer zone. It is characterised by the approval of development, including commercial development, and support for the growth of the tourist base in PNP. Two subgroups can be separated within the Explorers group. The first one includes people who do not perceive any negative impact of tourism and local economy on the natural environment in the Pieniny landscape (40.9%). The second one is a conglomerate of those who perceive the negative impact of economic activity, but also put economic issues above the protection of natural and landscape values of the inhabited area (59.1%).

The withdrawn (40.4% of respondents) are characterised by lack of involvement in local product development initiatives and local development activities in collaboration with PNP administration. Furthermore, the withdrawn are in favour of protecting the PNP area from commercial tourist development and maintaining restrictions on buffer zone development. Some of them may have no clear views on these issues.

The sustainable (28.2% of respondents), who advocate economic activity while protecting the environment. Their position is reflected in their support for limiting predatory initiatives. This faction comprises people who build an economic self-restraint order. On the one hand, these people have a positive view of economic activity in the protected area; on the other, they are in favour of limiting expansion by promoting the development of a commercial-scale base. These are, therefore, the respondents who favoured restrictions within the boundaries of PNP and the buffer zone. This group also includes residents who do not have a clear opinion on these issues, but at the same time declared their readiness to become involved in the development of local products and/or in local development activities in cooperation with PNP (28.2%).

Verification of Hypothesis 1 also contributes to the diagnosis of the economic area and further characterization of the indicated systematization. The cross table presented below (Table 2) allows us to draw the following conclusions:

- (1) residents working for the Park (or their family members) were less likely to be the explorers and more likely to be the withdrawn or the sustainable;
- (2) paradoxically, this withdrawal is the most popular orientation also among people personally involved with the park;
- (3) sustainability, on the other hand, as an orientation 'isolated' from the others, is more often attributed to respondents involved with the park;

Table 2. Worldview Groups According to Professional Involvement with the Park (%)

	The explorers	The withdrawn	The sustainable
Professionally involved with PNP*	24.4	42.7	32.9
Not professionally involved with PNP	34.3	39.4	26.3

* Respondent or family members work in PNP or provide services for the park.

Source: own elaboration.

These collective conclusions allow us to formulate the following interpretation of the result. Professional affiliation with PNP seems to be an insufficient factor differentiating the worldview orientation of the residents of the study site. The reason for this is the socio-cultural heritage of the territory. It is part of a country for which all measures of social capital score significantly lower than in the western part of Europe (Skrodzka, 2018). It seems that the withdrawal, lack of involvement in local affairs and resignation from the agency is symptomatic of the population of the Eastern Bloc, for it is known to include the descendants to the habitus of homo sovieticus—a person who, in the name of relative comfort in life, withdraws from an active and subjective participation in public life (Sztompka, 2010, p. 255). Statism, seeking security rather than activity in the place of employment, ultimately leads to the labour area not becoming an identity-creating factor. This is one of the elements of the difficult heritage of communist Poland. At the same time, it should be noted that the place of work, or realization, of the activity is not devoid of ideological and formative power in general. It is a second-degree modeller: it differentiates more strongly between the types of the chosen worldview orientation than between its individual types. This means that ‘sustainability’ as an isolated category is more often represented by staff and service providers to PNP. This in turn allows us to confirm the hypothesis in part.

The initial assumption is also supplemented by the analysis of the relationship between the constraint attitude itself and personal involvement in PNP activity. It is interesting to note that the residents of the buffer zone are slightly more in favour of restrictions (both for PNP and the buffer zone) (Table 3). This means that the residents of the buffer zone treat the living space not only as an area of certain economic potential, but also as a gift of nature and a sort of heritage. Concurrently, the results presented below allow us to

associate the worldview with the spatial attribute: personal, everyday contact with nature, resulting from living there, seems to strengthen respect for the protected area. The orientation of respect, on the other hand, is weaker in residents for whom nature is not their own home. To sum up: the protected area is a point of natural reference above all for those who, by the fact of inhabiting it, feel part of it. This reference becomes the basis for legitimizing restrictions.

Table 3. Attitudes Towards Restrictions on the Development of the Buffer Zone and Tourist Infrastructure in PNP Depending on the Place of Residence

	Supporting restrictions and protection	Undecided	Against restrictions and for development
Development of PNP buffer zone in %			
Living in the buffer zone	43.5	14.1	42.4
Living outside the buffer zone	37.7	14.8	47.5
Development of tourist projects in PNP			
Living in the buffer zone	30.4	13.0	56.5
Living outside the buffer zone	25.3	14.2	60.5

Source: own elaboration.

By differentiating the distribution from the first systematization with ‘living in the buffer zone’ variable, we obtain the following interesting results—a comparative analysis of two cross tables (Tables 2 and 3) allows us to conclude that the distinction into the explorers, the withdrawn and the sustainable as isolated categories is more strongly differentiated by the place of work than by the place of residence. The result obtained also urges us to conclude that opposition to the buffer zone by typical explorers is not at all conditional on living within its boundaries (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 4. Worldview Groups by the Place of Residence (in %)

	The explorers	The withdrawn	The sustainable
Living in the buffer zone	33.3	41.9	24.7
Living outside the buffer zone	32.1	39.5	28.4

Source: own elaboration.

In addition, the sustainable are slightly more likely to have tertiary and secondary education (29.6% and 32.8% respectively) than basic vocational education (25%). 36.7% of people with basic vocational education are the explorers. Among those with tertiary and secondary education, the explorers account for 26.8% and 27.7% respectively (Table 5). The withdrawn were most prevalent across all education groups, which must be explained by the low level of social capital in the society as a whole (Skrodzka, 2018; Działek 2011).

Table 5. Worldview Groups by Education (in %)

	The explorers	The withdrawn	The sustainable
Tertiary	26.8	43.7	29.6
Secondary	27.7	39.5	32.8
Vocational	36.7	38.3	25.0
Primary	46.7	40.0	13.3

Source: own elaboration.

The analysis also proves that the socially loaded category of the withdrawn has a gender. Women are overrepresented in this category. This result can also be explained by the cultural context: women in this part of Europe have remained for years outside the labour market and entrepreneurial initiative longer than men (PARP, 2020; Reszke, 1998). Today, however, the tendency is reversed: Polish women are starting to engage in entrepreneurship more than citizens of other EU countries (PARP, 2011).

After aggregating the age groups, it also turns out that profit orientation is characteristic of the oldest group, which must be explained by the ideology rooted in the industrial era, which justifies the use of natural resources (cf. Mumford, 1966) (Table 6).

Table 6. Worldview Groups by Respondent Age (in %)

	The explorers	The withdrawn	The sustainable
35 and below	25.4	47.8	26.8
26–60	35.1	33.0	31.9
Above 60	41.7	33.3	25.0

Source: own elaboration.

Moreover, those who derive income from tourism are more often the sustainable than the explorers, and the explorers group itself includes a noticeable prevalence of individuals who do not derive such profits (Table 7). It can be assumed that people focused on economic profits from tourism feel responsible for the protected area, as their income depends on it.

Table 7. Worldview Groups by Dependence of Income on Tourism (in %)

	The explorers	The withdrawn	The sustainable
Income from tourism	23.3	42.5	34.2
No income from tourism	33.7	40.1	26.2

Source: own elaboration.

3.2. THE STATE

For the most part, residents legitimise PNP authority in the protected area. More than 90% of the respondents said that the institution of a national park serves the purpose of nature conservation. Thus, respondents express the belief that conservation efforts need an external protectorate, including a formally organized authority. The assessment of the agency attributed to the national park is, however, a different matter. As it turns out, voices of support and criticism are mixed together. The vast majority (89%) believe that PNP activities contribute to tourist attractiveness. This result allows us to conclude that nature protection activities of PNP are legitimate, especially when they serve tourism development. It is therefore a conditional validation of PNP authority. This is clearly reflected in the level of participation in initiatives undertaken by PNP authorities. Most respondents expect transparency between the citizen and PNP authorities. This is also to be reflected in transparency at the financial

level. Overall, 62% of respondents expect to have access to information on this topic. A similar fraction—66% of respondents—believe that residents should interact with PNP at the decision-making level. By this, the majority demands participation that would be realized in the deliberative model. Reality, however, seems to be diverging from expectations. As many as 36.4%, or one in three respondents, felt ignorance on the part of PNP authorities; 26.5% of those surveyed described the resident—PNP relationship as ‘informational’. Another quarter sees the resident—PNP relationship as a search for understanding, and the least numerous group of respondents characterizes the relationship with PNP using the concept of cooperation. It is described as a partnership by 11.6%, i.e. every ninth respondent.

There is also a preponderance of opinions among the respondents to draw conclusions about the nature of PNP management interactions. Almost 71% of respondents do not feel personally affected by the restrictions introduced by the PNP authorities. A similar proportion of respondents agree that PNP administration is not involved in local development, which contrasts with the assessment of the impact of the PNP territory itself on the individual economic situation. This implies a certain paradox: while a thread of understanding is established between the individual and the territory, it is impossible to point to arguments supporting the formation of an understanding between the local community and the local authority. This inconsistency can be described as the privatization of space. Perhaps for this very reason, as many as 82% of respondents declare that they do not intend to engage in local development activities in cooperation with PNP.

The information obtained finally makes it possible to answer the previously formulated questions as follows. Firstly, indifference prevails in the relationship between the resident and PNP authorities. The same indifference actually legitimises PNP authorities, who appear as a silent actor in local development. On the one hand, PNP authorities are socially sanctioned; on the other, the activity of these authorities seems to be overlooked. This makes PNP authorities neither a harsh Leviathan, communicating with its ‘subjects’ by means of restrictions and prohibitions, nor does it initiate any social contract worked out through agreement. Secondly, it is a power that does not invite participation in government, although such expectations are directed towards it. Thirdly, ‘silent power’ is not a clearly recognisable threat. It involves no participation, but at the same time it does not bring severe restrictions; consensually, it should serve the territory and the people, but there are also perceived shortcomings in terms of involvement in local development. Therefore, it is difficult to

answer unequivocally whether it creates a climate for opportunities or threats. It is certainly far from a partnership model. It does not, however, use the typical Leviathan restriction.

The answers obtained in this part of the survey are organized by typology, introducing a division into partners and subordinates. The former are those who feel participation in power and recognize its transparency. They describe the relationship with the PNP authority in terms of cooperation and seeking agreement. The latter are residents who associate the PNP institution with losses, feeling ignored and affected by the restrictions issued by the administration. The gap between the two opposing camps is filled by the dominant majority of those who legitimize the status quo with indifference. The first group, i.e. people who perceive the park in terms of benefits and describe their relationship with it as a partnership, is estimated at 23.6%. The second group characterised by negative view on the park (perceiving losses and limitations) and feeling ignorance in relations with this institution, comprises 21.8% of the total. These are therefore categories that are almost equal in numbers. The third group constitutes the expected majority in this situation. It consists of: indifferent (22.1%), as well as people who see the benefits of the Park, but at the same time feel that the park ignores them (23.2%) or see more losses than opportunities, but notice that the park seeks consensus (9.3%). Additionally, the conducted diagnosis allows us to separate 4 groups of respondents:

(1) supporters of the transparency of the park institution and participatory model of protected area management (who expect transparency of the park, access to information about its activities and finances, and also demand participation of local communities in decision making);

(2) passive recipients of information (for whom the park as an institution should be transparent: they leave its management solely to the administration: this attitude should be interpreted as a desire to control the authorities without taking responsibility and the need to participate in activities and all initiatives);

(3) the subordinated (who do not see the need for wider access to information about the park, nor do they express the need for residents' participation in decision making along with the park authorities);

(4) the indifferent.

Furthermore, these groups are internally divided by the 'contact with authority' variable (Table 8). The most numerous group in this respect comprises people who are in favour of participatory model of national park management and at the same time they negatively evaluate the current relations between PNP and the local community (37.8%).

Table 8. Beliefs About the Expected Park Management Model and Perception of the Current Nature of Contacts with the Park Authorities

	Park ignores or only informs residents	Park seeks consensus or cooperates with residents	Total
Supporters of transparency and participation	37.8	13.5	51.3
Passive recipients of information	4.7	5.1	9.8
The subordinated	4.4	2.5	6.9
The indifferent	16.0	16.0	32
Total	62.9	37.1	100

Source: own elaboration.

The indicated systematization is little differentiated by gender (Table 9). The analyses conducted show that women are somewhat more passive and compliant than men in this aspect as well.

Table 9. Beliefs About the Expected Park Management Model Depending on Gender

Gender	Transparency and participation	Passive reception	Subordination	Indifference	Total
Women	49.4	10.9	33.3	6.4	100
Men	52.9	8.1	30.9	8.1	100

Source: own elaboration.

Interesting results are provided from differentiating the analysed typology by the age of the respondents. It turns out that older people are far more likely to be in favour of transparency and participation. This is probably related to their low trust in authority and their poor belief in the need for nature conservation (CBOS, 2020a, 2020b). Both components of public awareness in this area are generationally determined. The older generation has had experiences of a hostile and authoritarian government seeking obedience and submission. The same generation has also been socialized into an industrial culture that disregards ecological issues. On the other hand, young respondents (up to 35 years of age)

predominate in the subordination group. This is a generation that has been raised in a world dominated by experts; a world where the external voice of the expert is met with subordination (cf. Giddens 2006, p. 690) (Table 10).

Table 10. Beliefs About the Expected Park Management Model Depending on the Age of the Responder

Age	Transparency and participation	Passive reception	Subordination	Indifference	Total
35 and below	39.9	14.5	35.5	10.1	100
26–60	59.6	7.4	27.7	5.3	100
Above 60	64.6	0	33.3	2.1	100

Source: own elaboration.

The same is true for education as a differentiating variable in the typology (Table 11). Paradoxically, participation is expected by the least educated. Perhaps they are the ones who pin their greatest hopes on the co-participation model.

Table 11. Beliefs About the Expected Park Management Model Depending on Education

Education	Transparency and participation	Passive reception	Subordination	Indifference	Total
Tertiary	42.3	15.5	8.5	33.7	100
Secondary	52.9	6.7	10.1	30.3	100
Basic vocational	50	6.7	3.3	40	100
Primary/low er-secondary	63.3	13.3	0,0	23.4	100

Source: own elaboration.

Transparency and participation are expected more often by owners of land properties located in the park or/and houses in the buffer zone (Table 12). They clearly want to participate in the management of their estates. Ownership triggers agency at the level of vested interest.

Table 12. Beliefs About the Expected Park Management Model Depending on Property Ownership

Land property in a park and/or house in a buffer zone	Transparency and participation	Passive reception	Subordination	Indifference	Total
Yes	55.1	7.2	8	29.7	100
No	46.5	12	6.3	35.2	100

Source: own elaboration.

Verification of hypothesis H2 contributes to the confirmation of the above finding. The results obtained are insufficient for this confirmation. It turns out that only 22.5% of people who own property in PNP or its buffer zone express positive view on the contact of PNP with the residents and are involved in the initiatives of the administration. The others either have a negative opinion about the attitude of PNP authorities (65.9% of the total number of owners) or have not yet shown participation in any initiatives of the park (39.9%). This suggests that ownership does not trigger agency at a level beyond private interest. Ownership does not automatically imply reference to the external environment.

3.3. THE SOCIETY

The study allows us to conclude that the environmental context is not without influence on the content of the social awareness of the residents, and local pride as its important component. Overall, more than 57.5% of the residents admit to having it, with only 16.8% of respondents contradicting this declaration. The territory of the park evokes mostly positive associations. 75% of the those indicated by respondents are definitely positive. These associations relate to natural heritage, cultural heritage, tourism or regional products. They testify to the positive assessment of the area of residence. Positive expressions also allow us to define the area of nature as a natural territory of reference; an area that magnetizes *l'homme de bien*. The negative associations include such terms as: prohibition, restrictions, strain on regional development. Their use indicates that a naturally valuable area becomes a burden and living in its vicinity is perceived as restricting. As such, it also ceases to be the territory of natural reference. It should be expected that the negative assessment is a function of low participation rates.

One might have the impression that, instead of mediating the links between residents and nature, PNP is hindering those links. Nevertheless, the assessment is rather ambivalent in this respect. On the one hand, the agency is noticeable; on the other, the lack of involvement in local initiatives is a prominent issue.

In the light of such findings, the questions initially posed must be answered. Firstly, that the assessment of the nature area is definitely positive. However, it does not go hand in hand with an assessment of its administrative structures. On the one hand, we can observe approval for their existence, and on the other, there is no participation in economic, but also in educational and cultural, initiatives. The lack of cooperation between the society and the authorities does not hinder the process of pride formation. This natural environment is an important part of it. Secondly, a positive assessment of the territory does not imply a willingness to participate in initiatives undertaken by PNP authorities. This translates into a repetition of the paradox evident in the field of economy: society is better ‘in touch’ with the territory itself than with its authority. In the opinion of the respondents, the quality of life is affected by the proximity to PNP and not by the activity of its authorities. The answers obtained in this block are systematized by a typology, dividing the residents according to the criterion of pride and involvement.

Reliable enthusiasts (proud and committed)—those who declare emotional connection with the territory and take pride in their place of residence, and also display activity in initiatives undertaken by PNP authorities (36.4% of respondents).

(1) Unreliable patriots (proud and uncommitted)—those who declare emotional attachment to the territory, take pride in their place of residence but do not participate in initiatives undertaken by PNP authorities—21.1%.

(2) Engaged sceptics (critical and committed)—those who declare ignorance towards the territory they inhabit and at the same time are active in initiatives undertaken by PNP authorities (10%)

(3) Permanent malcontents (critical and uncommitted)—those who declare ignorance towards the territory they inhabit and do not participate in the initiatives undertaken by PNP authorities (6.8%).

(4) Indifferent (‘people with no opinion’)—classified each time as neutral in terms of local pride, having neutral associations with the park and not taking part in PNP initiatives (25.7%).

Additionally, verification of hypothesis H3 also contributes to the diagnosis of individual groups. The results of the analysis do not entirely confirm the conjecture formulated. Paradoxically, pride is most often expressed by young

residents, and least declared by seniors (Table 13). The same is true of criticism, which is most strongly expressed by the oldest generation. Concurrently, a certain similarity between generations can be observed, which means that the place of residence in the vicinity of the protected area is a factor bridging the intergenerational differences.

Table 13. Local Pride and Criticism by the Age of the Respondents

	Proud	Indifferent	Critical	Total
Young—35 and below	58.7	29	12.3	100
Adults—35–65	60.6	17	22.4	100
Seniors—above 65	47.9	33.3	18.8	100

Source: own elaboration.

At the same time, the second part of the hypothesis is positively verified. It appears that young people, perhaps by associating high level of pride with low level of criticism, declare greater involvement in the initiatives carried out by PNP authorities (Table 14).

Table 14. Commitment to the Initiatives of PNP Authorities by Age

	Committed	Uncommitted
Young—35 and below	66.7	33.3
Adults—35–65	52.1	47.9
Seniors—above 65	50.0	50.0

Source: own elaboration.

Furthermore, the study finds that being a reliable enthusiast is a much more common attitude among women than among men. Among female respondents, this group is clearly dominant, while men are characterized by a greater diversification of views and behaviours (Table 15). It is also worth noting that women are more likely to declare pride in their region (66.7% compared to 45.5% of men).

Table 15. Types of Attitudes According to Local Pride and Commitment by Gender

	Reliable enthusiasts	Unreliable patriots	Engaged sceptics	Permanent malcontents	Indifferent	Total
Women	42.9	23.7	2.6	4.5	26.3	100
Men	27.6	17.9	19.5	9.8	25.2	100

Source: own elaboration.

Pride translates into commitment in the case of young people (Table 16), which may be a confirmation of the socialization effect. The young generation have been raised in a different culture—one that values activity, involvement and the power of social capital. By assimilating the values of this culture, pride does not restrain action but activates it.

Table 16. Types of Attitudes According to Local Pride and Commitment by the Age of Respondents

Age	Reliable enthusiasts	Unreliable patriots	Engaged sceptics	Permanent malcontents	Indifferent	Total
35 and below	42.8	15.9	8.7	3.6	29.0	100
36–60	34.0	26.7	10.6	11.7	17.0	100
Above 60	22.9	25.0	12.5	6.3	33.3	100

Source: own elaboration.

Pride and commitment are more characteristic of better educated people (Table 17). These are people who have been socialized into a culture of social engagement.

Table 17. Types of Attitudes According to Local Pride and Commitment by Education

Education	Reliable enthusiasts	Unreliable patriots	Engaged sceptics	Permanent malcontents	Indifferent	Total
Tertiary	47.9	19.8	4.2	7	21.1	100
Secondary	31.1	25.2	9.2	3.4	31.1	100
Basic vocational	38.3	13.3	16.7	8.3	23.4	100
Primary/lower-secondary	26.7	23.3	13.3	16.7	20.0	100

Source: own elaboration.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The three key areas: economy, state and society seem to be spheres that are isolated from one another. Each of them relates to nature (protected area), which makes it a space of natural reference. Nature comes into interaction with the economy by both stimulating and limiting the activities of individuals. At the same time, nature is the object of state interference, which protects it by utilising both the spirit and the letter of the law. Furthermore, the area of natural value turns out to be an important part of social awareness and a component of social contract.

Paradoxically, linking particular areas of meaning with the natural environment does not result in tightening the ties between the initial spheres: economy, state and society, which appear as mutually isolated. The economy does not want to cooperate with the state by engaging in joint initiatives. The market treats park authorities (state representative) as a partner to challenge rather than cooperate. The same is true of the public, which is clearly isolated from the state (park authority). This, in turn, causes 'geometric' instability of the whole system, which is sustained only by the existence of central links. Peripheral connections interfere with the structural whole and are ultimately responsible for transforming natural references (bonds) into coercive attachments (ties). This finding could thus be linked to a final recommendation to carry out socialization activities aimed at opening the society and the economy towards the authority in the context of the management and use of natural heritage.

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GOSPODARKA, PAŃSTWO, SPOŁECZEŃSTWO
JAKO TRIADA INTERPRETACYJNA USTOSUNKOWANIA MIESZKAŃCÓW
WZGLĘDEM OBSZARÓW CHRONIONYCH.
NA PRZYKŁADZIE PIENIŃSKIEGO PARKU NARODOWEGO W POLSCE

Streszczenie

Artykuł podejmuje kwestię ustosunkowania mieszkańców względem obszarów chronionych. Przedmiotem analizy jest teren szczególny – obszar Pienińskiego Parku Narodowego w Polsce, stanowiący ciekawą mozaikę ekosystemów naturalnych i powstałych w wyniku działalności człowieka. Tereny te wyróżniają się pod względem dziedzictwa historycznego. Celem artykułu jest nie tylko stworzenie opisowej analizy zagadnienia, lecz także przedstawienie nowatorskiej konstrukcji diagnozy, służącej rozwiązaniu problemu dopasowania się podstawowych sfer aktywności człowieka do obszarów przyrodniczo cennych. Artykuł składa się w związku z powyższym z dwóch powiązanych ze sobą części. W pierwszej zaprezentowana została teoretyczna konstrukcja, zbudowana na podstawie kluczowych dla omawianego zagadnienia obszarów interpretacyjnych: gospodarki, państwa i społeczeństwa. Część druga jest raportem z wykonanego badania, uzupełniającym podstawowy koncept o próby oryginalnej systematyzacji otrzymanych wyników.

Słowa kluczowe: park narodowy; otulina parku; relacje ludzie–park; świadomość społeczna; lokalne więzi.