

The Green Lungs "breathing problem"

ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN THE PODLASKIE REGION (POLAND)

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Article écrit par des doctorants de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université de Bialystok, région de Podlasie, une des plus pauvres de Pologne, et aussi une des régions les plus ethniquement, avec un enchevêtrement spécifique de groupes minoritaires qui parlent le biélorusse et l'ukrainien et sont de confession orthodoxe, catholique ou uniate (orthodoxes qui ont fait allégeance au pape). Bien avant l'intégration de la Pologne dans l'Union Européenne, on s'est préoccupé de doter cette région d'une vocation spécifique : celle d'un parc national en particulier en raison de la présence d'une des plus vieilles forêts d'Europe, d'un chapelet de rivières et de marécages, de paysages d'une grande beauté dont les ressources constituent un appoint non négligeables pour la population locale. Cet article montre comment une politique de développement rural basée sur la notion de réserve écologique et de parc régional mise en oeuvre par les nouvelles élites locales, peut être négativement perçue et déclencher des attitudes de résistance de la part des populations locales dont elle bouscule les liens au lieu et reactive des rapports sociaux (stigmatisation d'une minorité biélorusse, suspecte d'être proche des soviétiques). La question écologique est sensible dans toutes ces régions frontalières où la coordination des efforts sera de plus en plus importante pour faire face aux problèmes qui ne manqueront pas de se poser quelle que soit la forme de développement. En effet, la conscience écologique n'y est pas très développée non plus que celle des dangers : rivières laissées en "liberté", menace d'inondations. Les problèmes de pollution hérités de la période précédente sont rarement pris en compte - dimension importante de la politique de voisinage européenne à venir, dans ces régions frontalières. L'article laisse apercevoir le type de conflit qui peut surgir dans ces régions, que les autorités locales, nationales voire européenne auront à gérer dans un proche avenir. Il esquisse également la complexité des rapports sociaux de l'après communisme.

Protected areas in most of Europe's territories are not wilderness anymore. They are more or less shaped by human activity. In many of these places, human pressure on the environment is high but still some of them are, in large part, at least semi-primaeval. On the environmental map of Europe, North Eastern Poland is still a precious part, containing forests (among them the Bialowieza forest, the last natural, lowland forest of moderate climate, awarded by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site), swamps (the Biebrza Marshes - one of the largest in Europe, a Biosphere Reserve, protected by the Ramsar convention), and lakes (the largest in Poland and the longest in-land sailing waterway in Europe).

The good condition of the environment in this area is not an effect of planned policy, but rather a "by-product" of underdevelopment, low urbanisation and industrialisation. Primitive agriculture, low population density and a lack of natural resources has helped to preserve the region in a moderate balance of nature and civilisation. The North-Eastern territories of Poland are also among the poorest in the newly expanded Europe (Warmilsko-Mazurskie with only 34% of average GDP in EU25 in 2002 and Podlaskie with 35%¹ according to Eurostat). They raise the question of how to reduce social inequalities without destroying the value of the

natural environment. The uniqueness of these areas was first noticed almost 20 years ago.

In 1988 the area of present Podlaskie, Warmi ?sko-Mazurskie voyvodships and parts of Mazowieckie, Kujawsko-Pomorskie and Pomorskie voyvodships were formally proclaimed "The Green Lungs of Poland". The idea was to protect the nature of the region by introducing the concept of sustainable development, widening the protected areas, restricting industrialisation, and promoting "clean" economy based on ecological production, tourism etc. The concept was not a state regulation, on the contrary, it was the pioneering initiative of a group of green activists, scholars, and journalists (Krzysztof Wolfram was one of the founders). During two decades of activity, the Green Lungs of Poland have worked out an interesting and compact vision of regional development.

The Green Lungs of Poland as a symbol of the symbiosis of man and nature are highly recognisable (e.g. many products use "Green Lungs" as a trademark of ecological quality) in Poland and abroad. The Program Bureau participates in many activities such as tourist and cultural events, promoting the natural and cultural diversity of the region.

However well known and admired outside, the Green Lungs of Poland are, the population of the region is not fully convinced of the advantages of living there. There were no direct protests against the Green Lungs idea, but on the micro level of local communities there has been strong resistance, even conflicts around National Parks within this territory. The conflicts show that the idea of nature protecting and sustainable development can face the barrier of local communities' resistance if those communities are not involved in the decision-making processes. In this article we identify the main factors of this resistance.

The relatively good condition of the environment contrasts with a low ecological consciousness and the low interest of its inhabitants in environmental issues. The environmental conflicts in the region are very specific. They are not caused by "pollutants", ecological fears of lowering the comfort of life because of environmental risks, etc, but on the contrary by the strengthening of protection regimes in, and in the vicinity of, protected areas.

The Institute of Sociology of the University of Bialystok for years had a big interest in the functioning of national parks in their social environment. The empirical material for secondary analysis of this study is research done in the area of the Green Lungs of Poland, Wigry National Park, and in Bialowieza National Park².

Wigry National Park was established in 1989 to protect Wigry Lake with its surroundings (forests, smaller lakes, swamps and rivers). Before that time, from 1975 the area was protected as Wigry Landscape Park, but this form of protection was insufficient while the lake surroundings were a popular fishing and recreational area which caused great pressure on the environment. The conflict

there started soon after the establishment of the Park and reached its peak in the year 2004.

Bialowieza National Park is the oldest and one of the most precious natural areas in Poland, established in 1935, awarded in 1977 as a Biosphere Reserve, in 1979 as a World Heritage Site, and in 1997 a Trans-Border World Heritage Site (together with the Belarussian part of the forest). The Park covers only a part of the forest. In the year 2000 there was a plan to widen the Park to include the whole area of the forest, which caused the resistance of different actors within the local community.

The background of the environmental conflicts in the vicinity of the National Parks on the territory of the Green Lungs of Poland is complex, and cannot be understood without the context of local history, social structure, and the culture of the region. In our opinion the dynamics and the character of the conflicts are determined by :

1. Traditional culture. The main components of this are :

a) Minority traditional culture. Many of the communities in the vicinity of the National Parks are culturally diversified. In Bialowieza and its surroundings a large part of the population are Orthodox Belorussians and Ukrainians (or identifying themselves as *tutejsi* - locals). This causes environmental conflicts to become multi-dimensional. State or park regulations - in social consciousness - were often viewed as actions against religious or national minorities.

b) Conservatism and a strong fear of change. This is visible in many areas of social life : the attitude towards work, methods of household management. Conservatism also shapes attitudes towards the natural environment.

c) Low ecological consciousness, which manifestations are :

► Treating the natural environment as a free and undeletable resource (of food, fuel, or building material) on the one hand, and as a mere “dumping ground” on the other. The second attitude can be partly explained by referring to the etymology of the Polish word *puszcza* (forest) which comes from the core *pusty* (empty).

► Scant knowledge of the Green Lungs of Poland in general (according to an Institute of Sociology study in the year 2001, only the phrase “Green Lungs of Poland” was well known but there was little knowledge as to its aims and function³) but also little awareness of the function and need for protected areas. Among the social problems pointed to by respondents, pollution and environmental hazards were in one of the last positions (3%) - while unemployment (90%) was first. Ecological consciousness as a part of social consciousness is not a one-dimensional scale ; we believe that it is a constellation of values, attitudes, and behaviours of different shape and structure. For example, in areas affected by ecological disasters or where pollution is believed to

be higher, this consciousness is shaped by fears, sometimes based on gossip and irrational notions. However from this complex set of notions, values, and behaviours it is still possible to define following T. Burger (1992), five types of attitudes towards the natural environment. (1) Pro-ecological - those who are strongly convinced of the importance of ecological issues and whose activities are environmentally concerned, (2) moderate pro-ecological - those who are conscious of environmental issues but who are not interested in any ecological activity (3) those who stay neutral towards environmental issues (4) those who are conscious of environmental risks but who believe that there are more important social or economical problems (5) Anti - ecologists - a group which believes that environmental protection is a barrier to development⁴. In the year 2000 in all of Poland the first attitude was represented by 22 percent of respondents, while in 2001 in the area of the Green Lungs of Poland this group consisted of only 11 percent of the population⁵.

d) A strong division between "us" and "them" - the local community (often an ethnic or religious minority - *tutejsi* - locals) versus the park headquarters, government and ecologists. In the Bialowieza conflict, the members of the latter group were called *matany* - those who cause social unrest, "mixer-uppers" or "agitators", *navolotch* - "aliens", or *warszawka* - "the Warsaw people" in the Wigry conflict)

2. The heritage of socialism period - Still visible is the strong belief that the development of the region is possible only through intensive industrialisation. In research in Hajnówka⁶ among the elite of the city, there was a very strong clash of two paradigms - industrial versus post-industrial (e.g. tourism as an alternative chance for development). Entrepreneurs and parts of the community administration still believe that the only possibility for future development is heavy, forest-based industry (timber production, dry timber distillation etc.). The National Park would be a strong barrier for such a vision of future. In the conflict in Wigry National Park there was great discussion whether to maintain the old post-communist resort in the heart of the Park, a threat to the ecosystem, but profitable from the point of view of the local community. For many of our interviewees closing the resort was a great waste, changing this area into a "woodworm domain"

3. A lack of the direct environmental threats that, in other regions of Poland, caused the rise of environmental consciousness and the emerging of the Green Movement⁷. The Chernobyl disaster in 1986 and the major train accident involving the danger of a chlorine spill in Białystok in 1989 did little to rise in the level of ecological consciousness.. Pollution was the last problem pointed to by our respondents in the Hajnówka research. On the other side of the border (another part of the research was conducted in Volkovysk - Belarus) the scale of ecological fears was higher⁸ - probably because of the Chernobyl disaster and its strong impact on Belorussian society.

The analysed environmental conflicts can be perceived from two main perspectives :

(1) As a clash of values - ecological (post-material) values versus traditional values on the one side and industrial era values (exploitive attitudes towards nature) on the other side. Traditional values are not always in conflict with the ecological. We believe that for ages they have helped to protect natural areas by promoting moderate use of the resources. But in some aspects (given above) they can be a barrier ; what is functional (from the point of view of natural protection) in the industrial era becomes dysfunctional in the post-industrial. The still strong position of the values of the industrial era can be explained by William Ogburn's concept of the culture lag⁹. Peripheral areas (such as North-Eastern Poland) tend to follow "good and tested" ways of development instead of finding their own way. In central territories, however, decision-makers realise that pollution and environmental degradation are the price paid for raising social and economic level, in peripheral areas the "industrial" attitude is still a "cultural relic".

(2) As a conflict of interests between different social actors (interest groups) whose economic status is in large part dependent on environmental resources (in local communities) or who are acting for the protection of nature (usually on a "country-wide scale"). In reality these two aspects of the social environmental conflict are hard to distinguish. They are tied together in several different ways. Beyond the declared values there can be hidden economic or political interests ; on the other hand, economic and political choices can be influenced by ideologies or "irrational" notions. For example, "rational" material arguments (opportunities for agro-tourism within the paradigm of sustainable development) can be delivered along with environmental values. In other situations, values are used to defend positions of the actors involved. These mixed, partially hidden, and sometimes unclear reasons result in open conflict on the territories where they clash.

In Wigry National Park [WNP] there has been some really serious manifestations of social conflict, i.e. open hostility and drastic actions connected with the tensions and enmity between the local community and the staff of the Park. During our interviews we heard stories of muggings, as well as even arson, where Park Rangers have been harmed. On the other side we heard about the injustice towards inhabitants of the Park surroundings : absurd regulations making everyday life difficult, unfair fines, even Rangers pursuing old ladies for picking mushrooms. By contrast, in Bialowieza National Park [BNP] there has been no open hostility or aggressive acts, but some inhabitants have desperately uttered that they would rather set fire to the forest than "give it away". The Minister of the Environment and Natural Resources, one of the initiators of the idea for broadening BPN, was attacked with eggs by desperate protesters during his visit to Hajnówka. Afterwards the story of the "egg attack" was repeated, and sometimes exaggerated, in the interviews.

In both cases, general complaints concerned breaking the bond between community and nature - a bond which, according to our informants, had existed on their territory for centuries and which defined their way of life. People often felt that they were now devoid of their ancestors' property - as the environment tends to be seen as a natural asset of the local community.

Comparing the causes of the conflicts in WNP and BNP we can point to several important differences as well as similarities. First of all, the roots and the background of these situations were somewhat different - in WNP, a conflict-focused axis could be drawn between Park authorities and the local community, while in BNP it directly originated from the project of widening the Park. Thus, in the first case there was strong discord on a personal basis (quarrels between Park authorities and particular members of local community), lasting for a long time ; while in the second, open conflict became evident in connection with the mentioned plans. However, during our studies we found that the outbreak of the second strife was one effect of the hidden tensions between several groups. Those specificities determined different patterns of conflict. Although a general overview shows some significant common points, these similarities pertain to phenomenon of the deprivation.

As in most social conflicts, these under question have a significant material basis. This partially stems from the particular structure of the local communities. While in the whole of Podlaskie Voivodship about 43% of adults work, in Wigry National Park only 37% of the adult population actively participates in the labour market. Even more interesting is the occupational structure of this area. Farmers make up only 30% of the working inhabitants - this is as low as half the number of similar statistics for other rural territories of Podlaskie. While this territory certainly cannot be seen as a typical agricultural area, it's interesting how farmers living here seem to challenge that point of view. The most frustrated part of the population are farmers who haven't been able to expand their production because of nature preservation regulations (restrictions on animal breeding etc). In their eyes, conservation of nature equals discrimination against people

In Bialowieza National Park the arguments are somewhat different, as the situation of the local community is also distinct (official rates of employment are higher than the voivodship average, but it is a well known fact, that hidden unemployment is also at its peak here). Instead of objections concerning the possibilities for development, the prevailing fears are that the difficult financial situation will become even worse after the expansion of the Park. The spectre of unemployment has seriously haunted people since the '89 transition, after which a large part of the timber industry fell into decline. Announcing the expansion of the park brought even deeper, almost fatalistic feelings of deprivation and pessimism. There was a widespread belief that very soon most of the population would have serious problems in getting by. These attitudes were connected with feelings of powerlessness, isolation and being treated with disdain by the state authorities. Resistance against the widening of the National Park was rationalised in several

ways :

- ▶ Fear of losing the natural resources of the forest (timber, fuel, food) because of new regulations and restrictions
- ▶ Fear of stopping the economic development of local communities through liquidation of factories, workshops and lumberyards, restrictions in the transportation network, etc. One of our respondents complained „they will restrict us in reservations - like they did with Indians“.
- ▶ A lack of information on how to adjust to new conditions (what economic advantages can the widened park give to the local community ? etc.)
- ▶ A feeling of being the object (not the subject) of decisions. Decisions are handed down (forced) from the outside - “them” - the government or Park Headquarters
- ▶ The scientists, the Park Headquarters, and ecologists were blamed for “keeping the side of trees and animals” and not taking care of the community

Some of local community members expressed suspicions of the “conspiracy theory” type. As most inhabitants are Orthodox (some of them of Belarussian national identity) the planned changes were often seen as intentional actions aimed at persecution of the minority. Fears of deprivation brought rationalisation connected with ethnic and religious discrimination. In those rationalisations, the new plans of protecting nature were meant to “place the local community in reservation”¹⁰ - as one of the respondents put it. Although this type of argumentation hadn’t been commonly used in public discourse, it could have been an important factor in the rising opposition to government plans. The local community was often described as traditional, passive in the public sphere and humble towards authorities : “[Locals] don’t have such self-respect, as for example highlanders do. This is a remnant from Tsarist times and communism - these people for centuries have been forced to be obedient”¹¹. This recent opposition has been therefore seen as an indicator of the seriousness of the threats connected with the widening of the Park : “It’s probably the first open demonstration in the last century on this territory. Even in times of socialism no one struck here”¹². The fears of the local community were strengthened by a lack of information. It is not surprising that in such conditions the role of gossip and misinformation was relatively large. Spreading attitudes were ruled by simple logic -since the earlier expansion, all the Park territory has become a nature reserve, thus everyone expected it to be the same afterwards, only now encompassing most of the forest. In reality, according to actual plans, the new Park territories weren’t supposed to be strict reserves, where any human activity is forbidden (including picking mushrooms, gathering wood or wild berries). Most people had only some blurry idea of the proposed widening ; nevertheless, they chose not to believe the official plans. They knew that they could get information about the impending changes in Park offices, but in most cases they treated this source with

suspicion and trusted more in commonly spread news.

Lack of proper communication was also an important factor in the WNP conflict. As in BNP, inhabitants didn't feel that they were being treated as crucial social actors in the situation. Our survey showed that only 18% agreed with the statement that community members had significant influence on decisions made within the Park area, while 75% had the contrary opinion. At the same time, most of the people (56%) saw the possibility for conflict resolution in "dialogue and mutually developed compromise solutions". Therefore we can point to the lack of communication as the first and maybe most significant cause of the conflicts. Certainly part of the blame has to be put on the Parks, which couldn't propose a proper way of informing and - what's maybe more important - convincing the public to accept their policies (the Park headquarters were advised to introduce PR activity, but it was neglected). Both sides seemed to be deaf to the other side's arguments and the initiative in this case should have been in nature preservationists' hands. In such a situation even opinions about the Park's influence on changes in environmental conditions were created on the basis of affection rather than rationale. This led to certain paradoxes. For example in WPN there were about as many people thinking that the condition of nature had got worse since the creation of the Park, as there were people expressing the opposite view. As we can see - facts didn't especially matter in shaping attitudes and views.

Further investigation, in both Parks, led to the drawing of several demarcation lines in the social structure, showing distinct dimensions of the discord. First of all, most of the nature preservationists were people from outside the region, who came here to work in the Park (and so they were labeled as *navolotch*, which is a rather pejorative word¹³). Better educated, often better earning, they were relatively separated from the main stream of community life.

This division is very strongly visible in Bialowieza - as recently as in the 1980s quiet village in the heart of the forest - now, in the year 2005 turning into an exclusive tourist resort. The division between "locals" and *navolotch* (scientists, artists, journalists, tourists, and "Warsaw people") has never been as strong as it is today. The two communities live separate lives. Local people don't go to *navolotch* pubs, don't work at the hotels (even in lower positions), and don't participate in the economic and social advantages of the tourist boom. This negative trend in the nearest future can cause farther alienation, marginalisation, and possibly social conflict on a much larger scale. These divisions create an atmosphere of distrust and hostility. In BNP there is gossip that no local Orthodox person could be employed in the Park. In WNP older Park Rangers well known to the community, have recently been dismissed from work (on suspicion of corruption) and new Rangers hired - all from other parts of Poland, young, well educated, with a strict attitude towards their duties. All this, in the opinion of locals, has created a situation in which a few people from outside have taken away the local community's "natural property"¹⁴. In WNP as many as 43% of the

respondents claimed that the activity of the Park isn't mainly aimed at nature or the common good, but is in the private interests of Park authorities.

Research in WNP shows another interesting aspect of the conflict. As we conducted our survey at the same time in the National Park and in its neighbourhood, we discovered significant differences between the Park and non-Park (vicinity) populations. Some findings were really surprising and gave us important clues as to additional causes of the conflict. As we stated before : in the protected area there was a strong feeling of dissatisfaction and frustration that was strongly connected with life difficulties and the material conditions of life. Inhabitants of neighbouring territories were much less frustrated and had a much better opinions of the Park's policies. It was then pretty surprising to find that Park inhabitants were in general a group that was better off than the second one. They owned more cars, had better earnings, better infrastructure, not to mention the quality of their environment. Looking for some explanation of this paradox we paid more attention to the large discrepancies of wealth in the studied community - there were many prominent people who had bought land in the Park and settled here (many of them were high-ranking figures from Warsaw). This led us to hypothesis about relative deprivation as one of the causes of the general bad attitudes. It is corroborated by the many opinions expressed about injustice - Park authorities were being accused of favouring the more affluent inhabitants, while discriminating against farmers. For example there were suspicions about the issuing of building licenses by the Park director.

In spite of this, there were also people who shared a better view of the Park's policies and actions. Better attitudes towards the institutional preservation of nature prevailed among those who were running different kinds of agro-tourist business. More than 20% of the inhabitants admit to taking some actual profit from the natural resources of the protected zones of the Park. Some of them benefit from mushroom picking and fishing, but the larger part run bed and breakfasts, lend bikes, boats etc. This shows how consistently particular economic interests in care of environment change views about institutional preservation of nature. To paraphrase Marx : being precedes ecological consciousness. Economic interests were also crucial in defining the institutional actors of the conflicts. What at first seemed to be antagonism between the Parks and local communities was in fact much more complicated. The network of links between different interests went beyond what was on the surface. In WNP we saw direct hostility only between the Park and some of the inhabitants gathered in the Association of Inhabitants of Wigry Villages [AIWV]. The association claimed to be the rightful representative of community interests, but one could see mainly individuals who had certain, practical reasons to fight the Park authorities. To challenge AIWV's position as an agent of the community, Park authorities supported the forming of another association (Wigry Touristic Association) which shared the preservationists' point of view. The community as a whole became the object of ideological competition. This was in many ways similar in BNP, where even more institutional actors could be pointed to. On the one hand there were

Park staff and scientists (in many aspects distinctive actors), and on the other, municipalities, the forestry service, entrepreneurs and particular groups of citizens (or certain opinion leaders). The first two groups had government decisions backing their policy.

As a result, all the criticism about the improperly prepared expansion of the Park fell on them. Local politicians and municipality authorities (mainly from other political forces than those in the government coalition) challenged these plans and could easily support their arguments, which were backed by general attitudes in the population. Fears, which we have previously described, gave them a strong mandate to do so. The national forestry service, being subordinate to the government, didn't want to express its point of view directly. But in fact it was an important actor in the opposition to expansion. As for the interests of that institution - introducing the governmental plans would have meant that they would lose entitlement to manage a large part of the woods, and would probably mean some cuts in the budget as well as in employment. In many ways they were competing with the Park for control of the forest administration. As a conflict actor, they played a hidden and indirect role, but their influence on the community was significant, as their ties with the community were much stronger than those of the Park : many inhabitants worked there, there was more cooperation with entrepreneurs from the timber industry.

Some people interviewed expressed suspicions concerning the manipulation of public opinion. It's hard to say whether manipulation is a proper notion here, but certainly in both conflicts we see a struggle to win the public opinion. How important that goal in democratic conditions is shown in the ways of achieving partial resolution of the conflict in both Parks. In the first one, plans of widening the Park were postponed with no specific dates given ; in the second muttering about changes in Park authorities were in the end taken into account by the ministry. In both cases problems were suspended rather than solved, which can cause farther social unrest in the nearest future.

Our Institute research reveals that the social environmental conflicts are complex and multi-dimensional. Their dynamics can be understood only by careful analysis of their cultural and historical background. The involved actors motivate their actions not only with material arguments (making them “rational choice actors”) but also use culturally biased rationalizations rooted deeply within the local and regional history.

As professor Piotr Glinski put it : “the studied conflict is not only a symptom of rivalry for money and power, it's also the effect of a fight for - on the one hand - human dignity - and on the other - for ideals ; for reason and for understanding of fears and phobia ; for new alternative ways of life and for the right to maintain tradition. In the end, the conflict about the Forest shows misery resulting from lack of mutual understanding”¹⁵.

To conclude we would like to point out after Andrzej Sadowski that effective

protection of nature is possible only with the co-operation with local communities in working out a symbiosis and balance between the local (regional) society and the natural environment¹⁶. We believe that this is possible only within the long process of adjusting the traditional, local culture to the new conditions by preserving its "functional" elements. On the other hand a process of education should be started which could help to accommodate the communities to the conditions of contemporary society and the world economy. Notions on the priority of environmental issues or on the contrary social and economic issues should be replaced by the concept of balance. State regulations and ecological initiatives should always take in consideration the local social context in order to avoid anti-environmental attitudes and behaviours.

Notes

- 1 Eurostat. News Release 47/2005, 7 April 2005, 30 Sept 2005 2 1. "Green Lungs of Poland" - a quantitative study of a random sample (1131 interviews), conducted in the territory of the Green Lungs of Poland, 2001. Beata Borawska, Piotr Glinski, Andrzej Sadowski (ed.) Zielone Pluca Polski w opinii mieszkanców północno-wschodniej Polski, Instytut Socjologii UwB, Bia ?ystok 2002
2. "Conflict over Forest" - a qualitative study using in-depth reviews, conducted in Bialowieza Forest and vicinity. Conducted in 2000. Piotr Glinski (ed.), "Konflikt o puszcze" in : Pogranicze. Studia społeczne, Wyd. UwB, Białystok 2001
3. "Social integration processes on the territory of Wigry National Park" - qualitative and quantitative study, random sample size : 502, conducted on the territory of the Wigry National Park and its vicinity. Conducted in 2004
- 3 Beata Borawska, Piotr Glinski, Andrzej Sadowski (ed.) Zielone Pluca Polski w opinii mieszkanców północno-wschodniej Polski, Instytut Socjologii UwB, Białystok 2002, p. 106
- 4 Tadeusz Burger, ?wiadomo ?? ekologiczna : Mi ?dzy I ?kiem a dzia ?aniem. Raport z bada ?, Instytut na Rzecz Ekorozwoju, Warszawa 1992
- 5 Beata Borawska, Piotr Glinski, Andrzej Sadowski (ed.) Zielone Pluca Polski w opinii mieszkanców północno-wschodniej Polski, Instytut Socjologii UwB, Białystok 2002, p. 52
- 6 Radoslaw Poczykowski, „Uwarunkowania współpracy transgranicznej w dziedzinie ochrony przyrody na pograniczu polsko - białoruskim” in : Boguslaw Plawgo, Integracja europejska. Wyzwania dla Podlasia, Białystok 2003
- 7 Piotr Glinski, Polscy Zieloni. Ruch społeczny w okresie przemian, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 1996, p. 150
- 8 Radolaw Poczykowski, Uwarunkowania w współpracy...

9 William Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature*, Viking, New York 1950

10 Some literal comparisons with American Indians were actually made.

11 Piotr Glinski (ed.), "Konflikt o puszcze" in : *Pogranicze. Studia społeczne*, Wyd. UwB, Białystok 2001, p. 76

12 Piotr Glinski (ed.), *Konflikt...* p. 76

13 It could be translated as : „those who came here unwanted”.

14 There was even loud court case in recent years. Some inhabitants sued Park regulations concerning lake-fishery. Suit was based on XIX century privileges given to community by Tsar. Inhabitants claimed that these privileges hadn't been derogated by any law since then.

15 Piotr Glinski (ed.), "Konflikt o puszcze" in : *Pogranicze. Studia społeczne*, Wyd. UwB, Białystok 2001, p. 59.

16 Andrzej Sadowski, „Społeczno - kulturowe następstwa poszerzenia Białowieskiego Parku Narodowego”, in : *Pogranicze. Studia społeczne*, Wyd. UwB, Białystok 2001, p. 9.

23