

Social capital management. A case study of the town of Racibórz

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Abstract:

For many years, social capital has been the subject of research in various areas and social environments. What is worth diagnosing is not so much its functioning or formation, but its management, i.e. deliberate development aimed at achieving individual or collective benefits. The cultural borderland region of the Racibórz area, especially the town, is a good case for an analysis of such phenomena, because, over the centuries, the town has been part of various administrative and economic regimes and thus has developed forms of social capital independent of state structures. The main research questions in this paper are the following: What remains of them today? Are they subject to management processes?

Keywords:

border areas, borderlands, social capital, public management, local development

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Introduction

Since the time of Robert Putnam's research (1993) conducted in the regions of Italy at the end of the last century, social capital has become an area of interest for many researchers from different countries (Baerenholdt, Aarsaether 2002, Dolfisma, Dannreuther 2003, Grooteart, van Bastelaer 2002, Krishna, Shrader 1999, Lin 2001, Lowndes, Wilson 2001, Mohan, Mohan 2002, Mouritsen 2001, Narayan, Woolcock 2000, Nielsen 2003, Petro 1999, Skidmore 2001, Trigilia 2001, Trutkowski, Mandes 2005, Woolcock 1998). The theses proposed by the American scientist were verified in many countries, often without taking into account the cultural factors influencing the forms of capital. Besides Putnam, such factors

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were particularly highlighted by Francis Fukuyama (1996), who complemented analyses with the dimension of cultural elements, which turned out to be very important in the case of analyses of individual regions. It should also be borne in mind that many years before the study conducted in Lombardy, social capital had been analysed in such diversified communities as that of Jewish merchants in New York, cultural communities in France or neighbourhood ties (Coleman 1988, Bourdieu, Wacquant 2001).

In an attempt to join the group of researchers analysing social capital resources, it is worth studying this problem from a slightly different perspective, i.e. approaching it in a cultural borderland region in the full sense of the word. This means that the town belonged in the past to different political and economic regimes. This led people who came from different nations, cultures, citizenships to live together (Szramek 1934, Szczepański 2000). For both Authors, the borderland region was defined as the territory, that changed the place during history belonging to the political, economic, and cultural regimes and finally created its own regional habitus, independent from the nation-states. Border character does not always mean frontier, near to the state border, but results as an outcome of the boundaries changes on a specific area. Within the literature of social sciences, Silesia is such a borderland region, but moving to a lower and local level of analysis, it is possible to focus, among other localities, on the town of Racibórz, which in the course of history has belonged to many administrative, state and cultural regimes and today lies in the close vicinity of the Polish-Czech border (Bahlcke 2001, Czaplinski et al 2002). It is also worth diagnosing whether social capital existed in this region in the past and whether a continuity of social structures can be observed, i.e. answering the question whether, despite the change of borders and nationality and extremely exchange of populations, the inhabitants of the region have developed their own capital resources independent of such macro-structures as the state. Secondly, many former research projects have analysed social capital as a process spontaneously occurring among inhabitants or citizens. Leaving aside theoretical discussions as to whether it is a cause or an effect of other social or economic processes, it is also fair to make an assumption concerning the management of social capital understood as a conscious and purposeful action aimed at achieving specific objectives or results using institutions, informal standards, attitudes and styles of thinking that often ensue from satisfying specific needs of residents or particular groups. For the purpose of this paper, the term *stakeholders* is introduced to denote individual inhabitants or their more or less organised groups that have their own interests, goals and objectives, and want to pursue them, using social capital resources in the local community .

Therefore, the aim of the paper is (1) to diagnose the existence of the continuity or breaking of social structures existence resulting from the development of social capital in a borderland area such as the town of Racibórz, or the absence thereof, (2) and to present the elements of social capital management among particular stakeholders (town inhabitants). The paper does not aspire to a comprehensive analysis of the processes in the town but constitutes a presentation of some examples, that could verify the hypothesis about continuity of social structures existence, apart from belonging to the nation-state. The paper consists of four parts: the first part presents a reinterpretation of the notion of social capital in social sciences, the second part shows the methodological assumptions, the third one is a case study of the town of Racibórz in the historical and contemporary perspectives, and the last part discusses the results of the conducted empirical research.

Social Capital – Theoretical Aspects

Social capital has been a matter of interest of researchers from different areas in the field of social sciences for several decades. The key concepts have been proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988), Francis Fukuyama (1996), and Robert Putnam (1993). In Pierre Bourdieu's concept (1986), social capital exists against the background of other types of capital, such as economic or cultural capital. Unlike these two types of capital, social capital concerns resources possessed by individuals in the context of entering into interpersonal relationships. According to Bourdieu, *social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group* (Bourdieu, Wacquant 2001: 104-105). In other words, the possession of social capital by an individual depends on the size of a network of connections they can effectively use to achieve their goals. It also depends on the level of other types of capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed by the individual by means of which they can interact with other individuals.

James Coleman, on the other hand, uses the term “social capital” to refer to interpersonal relations that shape expectations, obligations and trust existing in a particular social environment. Thus, he identifies three forms of social capital: (1) information channels, (2) obligations and expectations, and (3) social norms and effective sanctions. He defines social capital as a resource existed among communities' members facilitates the undertaking of collective initiatives. Adopting the assumptions of the rational choice theory, Coleman defines actors as primarily driven by their own interest and, therefore, by a well-defined commitment to collective activities (Coleman 1990: 598).

The most popular definition of social capital was formulated by Robert Putnam (1993), for whom it is a resource comprising institutions, relationships, attitudes and values that regulate interactions among individuals for the purpose of economic and social development. In other words, social capital comprises the characteristics of social life, such as social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that facilitate the undertaking of joint actions by the participants of public life. In his work on democracy in Italian regions, he highlighted a network of horizontal associations between people. They are institutions created bottom-up by the actors of life in the region and at the same time fulfilling the basic needs of individuals and the whole community. Thus, social capital consists of networks of civic engagement and social standards (e.g. standards of cooperation), which translate into community development in a broad economic, political and social sense.

In a similar way, Fukuyama analysed the relationship between social capital and economic growth (Fukuyama 1996). He linked social capital to civil society, which is the basis of efficient liberal and economic institutions. Civil society, in this view, is the sphere of free associations and communities that emerge and function in opposition to bureaucracy and centralisation.

An interesting proposal for the definition of social capital at the regional or local level was put forward by Kitson, Martin and Tyler (2004), who listed the following types of capital: human, social-institutional, cultural, infrastructural, creative and productive. Social-institutional capital refers to a combination of institutional and network approaches in the analysis of the formation of people's associations. Its structural and cognitive forms are highlighted in the literature on the subject. The former includes organisations and formal institutions cooperating with each other and characterised by decision-makers' accountability and transparency of their decisions. The cognitive form of this capital concerns shared norms, values (such as trust, solidarity, social bonding), attitudes and beliefs. The micro and macro dimensions of social capital overlap these norms. The micro level concerns associations and horizontal organisations in the local and regional dimension, while the macro level refers to the functioning of the state. The authors mentioned above also assume a conversion of capital, as its various forms primarily affect a region's productivity, employment level and the standard of living of its inhabitants, i.e. they determine the overall development of a region (Krishna, Shrader 1999, Grootaert, van Bastelaer 2002).

As mentioned above, the phenomenon of social capital analysed in different research projects established its definitions as the spontaneously process, not systemic based on process based on aimed oriented activity, results achieving

with strategic thinking and operational activity. Of course, there is the journal of Social Capital Management, however there are a lot of articles related to the implementation of the social capital in the management process, but not exactly to the management of such capital. For the purpose of this article, the definition of the Putnam will be used with the assumption of the management of such kinds of capital due to public policy on the local level.

To sum up, due to the many concepts of social capital, it is defined in different ways, and particular definitions focus on its different elements. The common aspects include activity in the form of associations or self-organisation of people aiming to fulfil their needs or pursue their interests. Also, the spiritual sphere, such as values, beliefs or attitudes concerning the aforementioned issues, cannot be ignored. Studies of such phenomena present its spontaneous character, but an interesting issue could be its management by different stakeholders with aim-oriented activity.

Research Methodology

The paper is based on qualitative research methods such as: desk research, reinterpretation of previous research results, participatory observation, and interviews with experts (stakeholders) in the town of Racibórz. Desk research involves the use of data previously collected by different researchers pursuing different research objectives. A case study means that the subject matter of research is a “case”, i.e. a phenomenon occurring in its natural context. Generalised conclusions are reached on the basis of an in-depth analysis of a phenomenon. In this research project, the case is the borderland town of Racibórz. Finally, interviews with experts and observation are qualitative research techniques that aim to diagnose processes occurring in social reality, taking into account answers to *how?* and *why?* questions. A total of 12 free interviews were conducted with local stakeholders such as Town Hall officials, NGO leaders, councillors and entrepreneurs. The respondents were deliberately selected to represent the circles of councillors, NGO leaders and entrepreneurs. The interviews were conducted between January-February 2021 and were preceded by an observation of the social and political life of Racibórz over a period of a few months. The analyses were also based on public consultations, for example the first open meeting for residents within the process of preparing the town’s Development Strategy for the years 2022-2030, which was held online on 16 February 2021.

Racibórz as a Cultural Borderland Area

Racibórz Yesterday

Racibórz is a model example of a border town as an example of a border region (or a town located at the centre of the border region/borderland region) in each of the dimensions discussed in the literature on the subject. Borderland region/town is defined as a locality, which belonged in the past to different political, economic and cultural regimes, so it is necessary to present some important historical events shaping social capital as independent phenomena from the state. Historically belonging to Silesia, it has witnessed all the events determining its borderland character over the past 1000 years³. A Slavic settlement was mentioned by the Bavarian Geographer back in the 9th century, which testifies to the continuance of the town. Racibórz was granted town privileges in the 13th century, and in 1327, when the Duke of Racibórz paid homage to John of Bohemia, the Count of Luxembourg, it came under Czech rule. The area was marginalised then; from the 16th century it was under Habsburg rule, and after the Prussian-Austrian wars it belonged to Prussia (1740). It was under this state regime that the town experienced its “golden age”, especially due to the development of industry and capitalism, and in particular the construction of infrastructure (railways). The Plebiscite held in 1921 was won by the German majority (87% for Germany and 9% for Poland), as a consequence of which the Polish-German border was established a few kilometres to the east of the town. Thus, in the interwar period, Racibórz was a typical multicultural and multinational border town. Until the end of World War II, Racibórz was a part of Germany, only to become a Polish town in 1945, which involved a change in the national and religious composition of the population⁴. The frontiers’ changes constituted an exchange of the town population. From 49 000 inhabitants in 1939, in May 1945 only more or less 3000 inhabitants were lived and after a year the number increased to 19 000. Most German inhabitants left the town and new settlers and migrants from different parts of Poland, mostly Eastern Borderlands. It could be stated that cultural transmission in the local community was broken, which means that patterns of behavior transmitted from generation to generation, social norms and values, also regarding social capital. During the real socialism period, the town maintained its border area status due to

3 The history of the town from the Middle Ages is important in this paper due to the *long duree* concept of Ferdinand Braudel, who assumed that social and cultural processes should be analyzed from a long-term perspective. It means that in the past, the researcher could try to find the shaping of patterns of behavior, that transmitted from generation to generation decide about social or cultural identity and features of place or inhabitants.

4 In the spring of 1945 after the war front had passed, there were only 3000 inhabitants in the town, most of whom emigrated to Germany in the late 1940s.

its proximity to the Polish border with Czechoslovakia (later the Czech Republic). Through geographical localization, the frontiers relationships among inhabitants and entrepreneurs were developing. In the second half of the 20th century, it was a peripheral town in the Opolskie province, and subsequently, after the administrative reform conducted in 1975, in the Katowickie province (since 1999 Silesian) (Frączek 1998, Kantyka 1981, Kutzner 1965, Kuźniar-Niedźwiedzka, Niejowa, & Woźniak 1967, Mika 2010, Newerla 2008, Sput 2019).

In the town's rich history, one can find numerous interesting examples of the existence of various forms of social capital in the context of its borderland character. The only few were emphasized in the following paper because of long-term shaping and existence⁵. Firstly, in the Middle Ages, craft guilds existed in the town, independent associations of craftsmen who organized themselves to take care of their interests and train their staff, and as a result lived in the same quarter of the town (one could find streets of butchers, shoemakers, clothiers, tailors, bakers, carpenters). In 1787, Racibórz had 24 guilds with 667 members (compared with 16 guilds and 455 craftsmen in Opole at the same time). Guild structures were maintained during the period of real socialism, despite the ideologically negative pressure exerted on entrepreneurs or craftsmen as private property owners. In 1950, there were only 5 guilds with 482 members (Collin 1996, Newerla 2008).

Secondly, Racibórz serves as an example of the existence of social capital of a very specific group of local elites that resulted in a concrete innovative project, which was the building of infrastructure for the development of industry and capitalism in the 19th century. In 1841, the Koźle-Bohumin Railway Construction Committee was established; its members were, among others, the Prince of Racibórz, the Town Mayor, the Municipal Receiver, the Municipal Counsellor and town entrepreneurs. The Committee is an example of an association of people, in this case the town's administrative and economic elite, whose objective was to prepare and then execute an investment project of key importance for town development. Its implementation undoubtedly contributed to the development of industry, which was followed by a population increase. In 1745, Racibórz had

5 In this section, the authors do not present for example stakeholder collaboration among Racibórz and Czech partners. This kind of cooperation started in 1991 and shaped a strong kind of transnational and European social capital but mostly in short-duree (according to Braudel). In this section, only social capital structures in long-duree were analyzed and presented. Do not forget that 30 years of collaboration local government of Racibórz, sport, cultural and educational institutions from Racibórz and Opava based on projects activities shape a new kind of social capital in the transcultural and transnational sense (Heffner 1996). The new article could be written based on such analyses in cross-border cooperation of frontiers located institutions and building through that local and the European governance structures (Bohm and Opiola 2017, 2019, Heffner 2001).

2,073 inhabitants, in 1765 – 2,410 inhabitants, in 1783 – 2,860 inhabitants. In the period of the town's industrial growth, the number of population increased also. to 3,400 in 1800, and 25,250 in 1900 (Newerla 2008, Sput 2019).

Thirdly, the construction of the railway line contributed to industrial development, but it was local industrial enterprises that created social capital resources. The local enterprises such as Planiawerke, Ratiborer Zucker-Fabrik, Stella-Werke or the Sobotzik chocolate factory shaped the space for various forms of activity, above all of a cultural nature, for their employees and at the same time for town inhabitants. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a time of cultural development, in particular in the area of choirs and various musical groups. As far back as 1834, a male singing association, the Song Circle, linked to the teachers' union, was established in the town. In 1938, there were as many as 14 choirs in Racibórz, most of which were related to workplaces, for example the bands at the Hegenschgeidt, Planiawerke, Wilhelmsbahn and the Singing Association of Bakery Masters (Collin 1996).

The singing traditions were also continued in the town after the Second World War. As early as on 6 January 1947, the Racibórz District of the Union of Polish Choral and Instrumental Groups was organised, which at that time associated seven choirs, including four from Racibórz (Harmonia, Jedność, Cecylia, Plania) and three from the district (Dzwon from Brzeźnica, Chopin from Rudy, Jutrzenka from Brzezcie). They had a total of 450 members, and apart from that, there were eight choirs in the district of Racibórz that were not members of the Union. In the 1950s, more choirs were established in the suburbs of Racibórz or in particular professional groups such as railway workers, teachers or the Town Council (Leśnik 1967).

Fourthly, forms of social capital could be found in the structures of the Catholic Church, which also performed an important social function by integrating town inhabitants. A parish community is a group whose members, on a voluntary basis, meet in a certain place, at a certain time, to take part in certain activities together (i.e. take part in religious services). The parishes of Racibórz over the centuries also had their own sub-structures, such as confraternities, sodalities, associations, schools, libraries, sports teams, and even artistic groups (choirs, music bands). Some of these institutions and associations were not of a strictly religious nature, but only operated under the greater or lesser patronage of Church institutions (Głombik 2010).

Attention should also be drawn here to the links between sport and the structures of the Catholic Church in Racibórz. In 1855, the Katholische Gesselenverin Kolping association was established in the town. In Racibórz,

almost every parish had clubs belonging to DJK, such as “Wiktoria” Racibórz-Starawieś, DJK „Kolping” Racibórz-Town, DJK Silesia – Racibórz Town, DJK Paschalis Racibórz-Płonia and DJK Ostmark Racibórz-Ostróg. The seat of the latter association was located in the parish library of St. John the Baptist church. At the beginning of the 20th century, the parish of St. John the Baptist in Ostróg had numerous associations. Some of them went far beyond the role of prayer brotherhoods, for example apart from associations of a strictly religious nature, there were also aid-oriented ones (Association of Working Women and Maids) or even cooperative and financial ones (Savings and Loan Society). The parish of St. Nicolas in Racibórz-Starawieś, situated on the other bank of the Oder River, from 1910 managed by the charismatic parish priest Rev. Carl Ulitzka, offered similar services. In 1927, he started the construction of the parish house, which accommodated as many as 24 associations and church organisations with a total of 7,000 members (Głombik 2010, Sput 2006).

To sum up, Racibórz is not only a cultural border town that has functioned under various state, administrative, economic or socio-cultural regimes, but in the course of its history it has also developed a community taking care of its needs and interests. Social capital or social-institutional capital has existed in the town since the Middle Ages in various forms of associations of people who worked together for the purpose of fulfilling their needs and pursuing both individual and common interests. As a result, inhabitants became active in specific fields (economy, culture) and cooperated in particular undertakings. Within the guild structures, the Catholic Church, enterprises and organizations related to the launching of the railway infrastructure, different forms of social capital were created. The examples mentioned above are also the symptoms of social capital management. In each analysed case, it could be pointed out the concrete aim (defined as a town development), group interest (small business and craftsmen development) or inhabitants’ individual/group needs (as leisure). The organizational structures based on values and social norms of cooperation, mutual activity, taking activity for common goods were built and used for everyday practices.

*Racibórz Today*⁶

Situated at the northern exit of the Moravian Gate, a valley 40 km long and more than 32 km wide, Racibórz is a medium-sized town with approximately fifty thousand inhabitants. As an urban centre, it is situated peripherally with respect to Katowice, the capital of the Śląskie province, and Opole (a distance of 70

6 Statistical data from local data bank and Racibórz Town Hall.

kilometres). It had a population of 49,138 in 2020⁷, of which 7,065 people were at the pre-working age, 34,848 at the working age and 12,826 at the post-working⁸ age. The net migration rate was -82 persons in 2018 and -71 persons in 2017. There are several companies of trans-local importance in Racibórz and the Racibórz district, including Rafako, Tokay Cobex, Mieszko, Henkel and Eko Okna. There is also a number of medium-sized enterprises operating in the town. In total, according to data provided by the Central Statistical Office, there were 5033 registered businesses in Racibórz in 2019. The number of business entities decreased by 347 (-6.44%). It is worth mentioning that between 1995 and 2013, the total number of business entities operating in the town increased by 51.89%, despite the fact that according to the CSO, the population of the town decreased by 14% in the same period of time. Racibórz has a municipal museum, two cinemas, the Racibórz Cultural Centre, the Strzecha Cultural Centre and the Youth Cultural Centre.

With regard to social capital, it is worth analysing three categories of economic entities, namely cooperatives, foundations and social associations and organisations. In the case of cooperatives, the Central Statistical Office data clearly show a decrease in their number in recent years. In 2019, there were half as many cooperatives as there were in 1995. The upward trend, on the other hand, concerns foundations. Their number increased in the town between 1995 and 2019 by 325%. Similarly, the number of associations and social organisations has been increasing in the town every year. In 1995, there were only 20 of them, while in 2019 – there were already 130.

Analysing the number and diversity of associations operating in the town, it is possible to get an image of what the town is like and what its problems, needs, as well as the passions and interests of its inhabitants are. There are many examples of sports associations – folk, company and school sports clubs, where people can practice different sports disciplines – football, basketball, volleyball, wrestling, rowing, etc. Of the total number of 69 associations on the list, around 24 have a sports profile (i.e. 34.78%). Thus, more than a quarter of all official associations operating in the Racibórz area bring people together because of their interests in and passion for sport. A special role is played by sports clubs in districts located away from the town centre. This can be seen in the number of folk sports clubs that operate in the districts that used to be separate villages and were subsequently incorporated into the town. There are also other associations oriented towards senior citizens, children and adolescents, the disabled, people

7 The town had a population of 56,352 in 2010.

8 The number of people in the post-working age group has increased by about 3,000 in the last ten years, which indicates the ageing of the town's population.

in difficult life situations, and associations whose members focus on the issues of their district or neighbourhood.

The activity profiles of the associations presented above allow us to state that they include both organisations (1) established as a result of the beliefs of certain groups of inhabitants that it is necessary to cooperate in order to achieve common goals (e.g. housing estate and district associations), as well as those (2) whose activities fill in the gaps in the functioning of state/municipal institutions providing assistance to people in need (Caritas, Polish Red Cross, associations supporting patients). The largest group, however, are organisations that bring people with common interests together (sport, arts, travel, etc.). At least 40 of the 69 associations on the list can be considered as such, which may prove that the inhabitants of Racibórz, above all, seek interesting ways to spend their free time.

The scale of associations in contemporary Racibórz is also determined by the basic administrative unit of the Catholic Church, i.e. a parish. There are eleven parishes within the present town boundaries. In the parishes located on the town outskirts, there are still many groups that bring parishioners together at various levels of interests and needs. Often, parish houses or parish halls are the places where members of various communities and associations gather. According to the data of the Institute of Statistics of the Catholic Church (ISCC), the religious service attendance rate (dominicantes) was 40.3% and was lower than the rate for the whole of Racibórz district, which was 47.3%. The role of the Church, and more specifically the parish, in the development of social capital is expressed in at least three aspects. Firstly, social networks are established within parish communities. Secondly, it can also be said that, as a rule, the Church is oriented towards helping others, and thus also towards cooperation of its members in providing such help. Thirdly, the church is also a factor of “a group’s social focus”. Undoubtedly, the church, especially in smaller towns, is one of the most important meeting points for inhabitants. In such towns or in neighbourhoods on the outskirts of larger urban centres, it is the parish that organises many events that bring people together, for example harvest festivals, parish fairs, and parish festivities.

To recapitulate, it can be said that there is a diversified network of associations. However, the dominant role in their activities is played by sports associations, which is also reflected in the level of their financing. In 2019, the town allocated PLN 695,000 for the execution of public tasks in the field of physical culture and tourism, which amounted to 22.10% of the total funds allocated that year for cooperation of the town with non-governmental organisations and other entities conducting activities beneficial for the general public.

Continuity and Sustainability of Social Capital Structures

One of the proposed research problems in this text is the existence of continuity and sustainability of social structures in the form of social capital in Racibórz. It is worth mentioning the adopted assumption that this continuity of structures was not affected by the significant population exchange after 1945. In the previous parts of the paper, four forms of social capital have been diagnosed in the town's history: craft guilds, the elites' involvement in the construction of a railway line, forms of inhabitants' involvement within the structures of business enterprises and inhabitants' organisations established within the structures of the Catholic Church. This raises the question concerning the level of social capital in these communities.

It is important to bear in mind that as the town was changing, all these forms also changed at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century. The craft guilds exist in the form of the Crafts Guild and the Chamber of Commerce. They have several hundred members. However, the conducted interviews show their relative insignificance in town politics or economic development processes. It is undoubtedly a fact that entrepreneurs are organised, but the interviewees indicated the business community's weakness in undertaking joint initiatives or participating in local politics (with the exception of a few businesspeople sitting on the town council).

It is also worth mentioning that there are significantly fewer NGOs operating in the economic sphere than social organisations (Respondent 2).

And we would even like this support for economic development to be diverse. We would like it to be very diverse, and to activate these non-governmental organisations... because here I mean both the Chamber of Commerce and the Guild of Different Crafts, which can also submit such offers to the town hall. And here I can say that there are no such activities. Maybe they don't see the benefits for themselves, maybe they don't have anyone to do it for them, because it is also difficult – preparing reports, implementation requires a lot of involvement from these institutions, from organisations. But I think this is definitely the case. There is certainly room for development and if there was funding for it, I think it could be stimulated and developed even more (Respondent 3).

Interpreting these statements, it can be said that social capital in this community exists in the form of formal structures, but their leaders are not

fully able to stimulate economic development, to create enterprises that would successfully compete in wider markets and in the leading economic sectors such as IT. What is missing is attitudes and mindsets related to the requirements of modern capitalism. The insufficient strength necessary to prepare the business community for breakthrough innovations is accompanied by the cultivation of the traditional capitalism characteristic of the 20th century. The explanation for the absence of such enterprises is the lack of manpower (educated people) and the economic environment supporting innovations and innovative projects. Admittedly, the number of entities of the national economy has increased, but this has not translated into spectacular successes in the sphere of economic growth dynamics. Analysing the social standards in this form of social capital, one may risk a statement that more extensive cooperation standards, and perhaps also reciprocity, are missing. As social bonding is pointed out as a disappearing factor in the town, and this also applies to the business community, as exemplified by the following respondents' statements:

On the one hand, Racibórz is a town rich in social capital, there are various social organisations here (Respondent 7)

So I think this cooperation works very well and I have a very good experience with these organisations. Thus, cooperation between the town office and NGOs is quite active (Respondent 6)

You can see this cooperation (Respondent 3)

On the other hand, the willingness of young people to emigrate from the region does not contribute to the development of entrepreneurship and the local economy but maintains the status quo of insufficient educated human resources needed for development.

The second community of a high level of social capital in history is the urban elites that organised themselves around the construction of the first railway line, which was an innovative project for that time, important for the development of capitalism and industry in the 19th century. It can be said that the local elites of the time saw the need for development and opportunities ensuing from large-scale investment projects. Therefore, the administrative and business elites organised themselves in order to execute a new project, which resulted in the development

of the town, an increase in the number of inhabitants and the dynamics of economic growth. Similarly, today the town faces the need to define key directions for its development in relation to such existing challenges as depopulation (population ageing and related emigration of young people), lack of investors and significant enterprises.

The future will show whether the work on the Town Development Strategy carried out in 2021 will be a factor and an impulse to build strong social capital of the local elites. Everything will depend on their attitudes and social standards, such as solidarity and a sense of social bonding. As the research has shown, local leaders are found in different areas of urban life, in different social groups; first of all, they are representatives of all districts, and this territorial element determines the selection and recruitment to the narrow circle of people shaping the character and politics of the town (the legislative and executive authorities). In recent years, it has been impossible to observe any form of the elites' focusing on any project. Thus, it is difficult to indicate a relatively high level of social capital in the town-wide dimension, but it is possible to observe a high level of social capital in connection with the implementation of small projects of a local character, where leaders of Folk Sports Teams and Voluntary Fire Brigades receive numerous resources for the implementation of their tasks.

The third community that was historically characterised by a high degree of social capital comprises various forms of associations within or around enterprises, such as choirs and/or music bands, but also includes the political and national activity of inhabitants, especially at the beginning of the 20th century. Some forms of the aforementioned associations were still present in the period of real socialism, when ideologically different forms of spending leisure time related to culture or sport were offered by business enterprises. The model of the 21st century capitalism, however, does not provide for this kind of large-scale activity of enterprises. Sport may be an exception, as football or volleyball leagues are organised among employees of individual enterprises or within one large enterprise, but forms of cultural life such as choirs or music bands have been abandoned.

The fact that business companies have ceased to organise cultural life does not mean, however, that cultural life in Racibórz has disappeared. Forms of this kind of social capital are developed by various institutions, such as the Racibórz Cultural Centre, Racibórz Castle, parishes or NGOs. It is the associations in the area of culture (beside those in the area of sports, social welfare and social problems solving) that are the most powerful organising force for people in the town. In this case, the justified interpretation is that there are many such registered and active institutions in the town that bring together project managing leaders,

and the presence of informal norms such as cooperation, social bonds, solidarity or attitudes of openness and involvement is characteristic.

Finally, the fourth community with a high historical level of social capital is inhabitants gathered around the structures of the Catholic Church. Despite secularisation processes, the privatisation of religion in connection with broad modernisation mechanisms on a global scale, and the national crisis of religiousness related to pathologies occurring within the Church itself or the close relationship between the state and the Church in politics at the national level, in Racibórz, a significant number of residents still engage in various forms of extra-religious activity.

To sum up, in the course of history, different forms of social capital have existed in Racibórz. To this day, an important role is played by organisations connected with music (choirs, bands) that, as Putnam wrote, develop norms of reciprocity, solidarity, co-create social bonds and create pro-social attitudes. Above all, they bring together senior citizens and young people. Guilds used to be characterised not only by quantitative growth dynamics, but also their members perceived the organisations as satisfying their needs. There is little activity of this kind today. The structures of the Catholic Church have survived for several hundred years in Racibórz despite the fact that the town belonged to different countries. Due to more extensive macro-structural processes such as secularisation and the crisis of the Church institutions, the strength of social capital created within the Church is diminishing. Nevertheless, its activity in many fields is still noticeable. The local elites, on the other hand, are highly capable of fulfilling the needs of their territorial or sectoral communities, but they face the challenge of organising themselves in relation to the overall goal of the common good, which is the development of the town.

Managing Social Capital for Development Purposes – Discussion

As it has been mentioned in the introduction, social capital processes have often been studied as spontaneously occurring phenomena, created by people in a certain community or in a certain territory. From the public policy perspective, the question can be posed whether social capital can be managed, and whether such processes are already taking place in the urban community of Racibórz. The example of building a railway line in the 19th century in Racibórz shows that it is possible to manage this kind of capital in a systemic way, i.e. first to gather a specific group of people around a clearly designed goal and then to shape informal elements such as solidarity, bonds, attitudes of activity or cooperation.

In the community of business stakeholders, there is nowadays relatively little organisational activity, which is perhaps due to the degree of individualisation of society in the 21st century, or perhaps partly to the lack of cooperation and self-organisation standards in relation to pursuing one's own interests and meeting one's own sectoral needs. In this case, it can be said that this is a field for the development of social capital management in order to stimulate or achieve economic growth, build networks of cooperating enterprises or various types of clusters, or even take advantage of the proximity of the border with the Czech Republic in order to develop cross-border cooperation. The management of such resources is necessary and carried out in particular by the Chamber of Commerce and local government structures. The border localisation of the town is a very good example for using networks and relations with Czech enterprises and entrepreneurship. The structure of the local/regional economy shows the relatively peripheral character without key branches from the point of view of the contemporary and future economy as an ICT sector. The local government realized some activities regarding encouraging potential investors, but there is a need to be supported by the local entrepreneurial environment as well as institutions of economic council.

In the case of the stakeholder group comprising the local elites, as mentioned before, the work on the town development strategy in 2021 is a good example of social capital management. Its development at the town-wide level will undoubtedly depend on their sense of community and thinking in categories broader than "neighbourhood" or "local community". In this case, the social capital management is existing with the facilitators activity due to strategic document building which is also a social process of network building. However, it is very important to see what the result of such a process will be not only on paper but in reality, which means networks and alliances of people, and perhaps new structures. This new kind of social capital must be based on the common values of the community and its growth, mutual trust and other norms of collaboration.

The social capital groups gathered around the structures of the Catholic Church primarily comprise two demographic groups: senior citizens and young people. In both cases, much depends on leaders representing both the clergy and laity, to what extent their leadership will translate into real projects in the form of utilising attitudes of activity and commitment to various inhabitants. A special role of social capital management will concern young people who emigrate from the town. In this case, the challenge will be to develop such forms of identity and bonds with the place that will persuade these young people not to leave the town and create for themselves spaces of opportunities and development. Social capital management is defined in this case as social project designing, which aims to not

only shape new networks that could be used in the future but to also form strong identity building and ties with the area that should be connected with emigration protection of youth. The special challenge will be talent management for teenagers who aren't able to find a job among companies located in the Racibórz area.

On the other hand, the non-governmental organisations, which appeared on a large scale in Racibórz after 1990 (similarly to the entire country, in connection with the beginning of the political transformation and the end of the period of ideologically controlled management of associations), constitute an important element of building social capital from scratch, based on the principle of identifying individual or collective needs, finding a niche in the functioning of the local government (or the state in general), and then implementing particular projects. Regardless of their being sports, cultural or educational organisations, they are an example of structures generating or recruiting leaders and, subsequently, of real leadership in terms of activity. Coordinators and volunteers are characterised by norms of cooperation, activity, attitudes of commitment and trust. In this case, social capital management is coupled with elements of project management.

Only the relationships between NGOs and the Town Hall deserve attention. Many organisations use funds for pursuing their statutory goals while simultaneously adopting the model of local government unit management, implementing tasks which cannot be implemented by the town. It can be concluded from the conducted interviews that there is a lack of a management unit in the town office or a coordinator of the activities of the NGOs. The NGOs often lack the know-how in terms of fundraising, financial issues or management and, as a result, there are many day-to-day problems with accounting for funds. As some stakeholders pointed out, there is also a lack of a cooperation within the consensus network platform. In other words, there is a lack of communication channels among stakeholders operating in the NGO sphere. One of the challenges related to social capital at the town level is cross-sectoral management, i.e. linking different economic, social, educational or cultural structures.

When discussing social capital management in Racibórz, it is worth looking at it from the perspective of the needs and interests of the inhabitants. Individual and collective needs can be distinguished here. Individual (micro-structural) needs formulated and articulated by inhabitants translate into activity in the form of associations or local groups within the civic budget. These needs are usually satisfied, and when they are not, it becomes the reason for emigration (especially emigration of young people is an indicator that their needs are not satisfied). The question and challenge for the future is the management of social capital aimed at meeting the specific needs of particular groups of inhabitants.

Secondly, macrostructural needs relating to town development can be identified. What is required in this case is comprehensive management of capital in the areas of economy, education, infrastructure, NGOs and tourism.

Besides needs, interests are undoubtedly an important factor related to different forms of social capital. On the one hand, these are individual interests concerning work and leisure time activities. On the other hand, they are collective interests referring to individual neighbourhoods or social groups (adolescents, senior citizens, employees, children, inhabitants' groups). In this case, it is also noticeable that they are articulated by leaders, pressure groups, local groups or NGOs, and their pursuit by individual stakeholders concerns the existence of various forms of social capital.

Conclusions

In conclusion, in the course of its history, Racibórz, as a cultural borderland town, has developed forms of social capital occurring in such communities as craftsmen, town elites, associations established within business enterprises and the Catholic Church. After several hundred years of evolution of the town and its belonging to different administrative and economic regimes, what can be observed is various forms of association in the form of non-governmental organisations in the areas of sport, music or broadly understood culture and a decreasing role of self-organisation of businesspeople and church-related structures. A significant role in the contemporary forms of social capital is played by the town authorities at the level of councillors functioning as town district representatives and at the level of town management in the form of organising competitions for NGOs or using the institution of the civic budget. Social capital management becomes a challenge directly linked to the town's development and future.

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