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Regiony v čase a prostoru: problém regionalizace Regions through time and space: Problem of regionalization

Disertační práce

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Prohlášení:				
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ABSTRAKT

Předkládaná disertační práce vychází z paradigmatu nové regionální geografie, které se v geografickém myšlení prosazuje od 80. let 20. stol. Podstatou tohoto přístupu je pojetí regionu jako sociálního konstruktu, který je historicky kontingentním procesem. Region je tedy v čase vytvářen, reprodukován a posléze zaniká. Práce vychází z předpokladu, že prakticky v jakémkoliv území lze najít pluralitu regionů existující v měnících se časoprostorových kontextech (s rozdílnými mechanizmy konstruování i významy). Zjednodušeně se dá hovořit o pluralitě regionálních obrazů, které jsou na jedné straně vytvářeny regionálními aktéry za určitým účelem a na straně druhé jsou vnímané a reprodukované obyvateli uvnitř i vně regionu ve snaze porozumět okolnímu světu a potřebě najít si ve světě své vlastní místo. Motivace pro vytváření obrazů regionu mohou být různé, od pouhé manifestace svého postavení v regionálním systému, přes snahu připoutat pozornost lidí až po snahu využít potenciál regionu k naplnění vlastních mocenských aj. cílů. Jednotlivé obrazy tak mohou být chápány jako určité vrstvy regionu. Na základě jejich syntézy lze hledat obecnou představu o regionu.

Práce přispívá do diskuse o konceptualizaci regionu, regionální identity a jejich vzájemném vztahu. Konkrétně se pak snaží ověřit možnosti provádět regionalizaci na základě analýzy obecné představy o regionu (regionálního povědomí lidí, pocitu sounáležitosti s regiony a diskursu regionálních obrazů). Klíčové pro tuto práci tak není pouze vymezení a hodnocení regionů, ale především samotný proces formování, reprodukce a zániku regionů v čase. Práce navrhuje koncept regionu jako produktu societálních vztahů, jehož podstatou je neustálá interakce tří dimenzí regionu: praktikování, (re)prezentace a představa regionu. Pro analytické potřeby práce dále navrhuje prolnutí tohoto konceptu s teorií institucionalizace regionu Anssi Paasiho. To umožňuje studovat region skrze tři základní tvary regionu: územní, symbolický a institucionální. Čtvrtý tvar (ukotvení regionu v regionálním systému) je de facto nahrazen interakcí tří dimenzí, která tak dává regionu identitu.

Dizertace je rozdělena do dvou částí. První představuje teoreticko-metodologickou diskuzi základních konceptů zejména z okruhu nové regionální geografie. Druhá je sestavena z osmi vybraných empirických studií, které jsou řazeny do následujících tematických okruhů: syntetizující články obecné povahy, empirické studie a články s přesahem k aplikacím. Potvrdilo se, že navržená koncepce regionalizace je komplexní a má své místo v přístupech nového regionalismu. Přesto ji nelze chápat jako univerzální odpověď na otázky spojené s konceptualizací regionu. Nalézt univerzální odpovědi není možné ani nezbytně nutné. Diskuse nad spletitým fenoménem, kterým region bezesporu je, tak musí a budou pokračovat.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA:

nový regionalismus; regionalizace; regionální identita; institucionalizace regionu; societální produkce regionu

ABSTRACT

The thesis is rooted in the new regional geography paradigm that gained strength in geographical thought since the 1980s. This approach is characterized by emphasizing the socially constructed nature of regions; thus, regions are scrutinized as a historically contingent process. A region is formed, reproduced and eventually disappears in time. The thesis works with the assumption that a plurality of regions, that exists in changing time-space contexts of different mechanisms and meanings, can be experienced de facto in any particular area. In simpler terms, it can be understood as a plurality of regional images produced on the one side by regional actors to fulfil their particular goals and on the other regional images produced by inhabitants in and outside the region in order to understand the outside world and position themselves within it. Motivation for the production of images can vary, from a simple manifestation of one position in the regional system, through the attempt to attract attention towards the region to exploitation of the regional potential in order to fulfil particular power-oriented aims. The general idea of a region can be sought throughout the synthesis of the many regional images that can be understood as somewhat layers of a region.

The thesis contributes to the discussion on the conceptualization of a region, regional identity and their mutual relation. In particular, it tries to verify the feasibility of regionalization based on the general idea of a region (regional consciousness of people, their sense of belonging and identity of a region). Thus, the key objective of this thesis is not only the delimitation and evaluation of regions, but also the very process of their formation, reproduction and disappearance in time. The thesis suggests the concept of region as a product of societal relations that is based on the constant interaction of three dimensions: practice, (re)presentation and idea of region. For analytical purposes it is possible to interlace this framework with Anssi Paasi's theory of the institutionalization of region. The region, thus, can be studied through three regional shapes: territorial, symbolic and institutional, while the fourth shape (embeddedness in regional system) is de facto substituted by the interaction of those three dimensions which gives the identity to the region.

The thesis is split into two parts: a theoretical and methodological discussion of key concepts, especially from the circle of new regional geography and a set of eight selected empirical studies. Studies are arranged in following thematic order: the general synthesizing paper; empirical papers; papers of a more applied character. It was confirmed that the proposed concept of regionalization is complex and has its place within the approaches of the new regionalism. Yet it cannot be understood as a universal answer to questions related to the conceptualization of the region. Such a universal conceptualization is neither desirable nor possible. The debate over a region, the intricate phenomenon, has to and will continue.

KEY WORDS:

new regionalism; regionalization; regional identity; institutionalization of region; societal production of region

REGIONS THROUGH TIME AND SPACE: PROBLEM OF REGIONALIZATION

MICHAL SEMIAN

To my grandmas and grandpas who never had the chance to read my work, but who would be proud

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PROBLEMS OF REGIONALIZATION AND (RE)PRODUCTION OF REGION

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary regional geography paradigm (see e.g. Claval 2007) is characterized by emphasizing the socially constructed nature of regions (see e.g. MacLeod & Jones 2007; Paasi 2010; Jonas 2012; Jones & Woods 2013; Chromý et al. 2014; Harrison & Grove 2014; Vainikka 2015). The "constructivist" approaches can be traced back to the 1980s. However, their main stream of the 1990s was primarily focused on the economic perspective of the region, leaving human beings as merely static occupants of a particular region and reducing regional identity into a mediated image of that region – a mere tool in the hands of economic and political actors to promote their own goals (e.g. Keating 1998; Thompson 2000; Hamin & Marcucci 2008). Despite criticism, the economic and political focus of most studies perpetuates itself even in the contemporary discourse. Although, the main focus is centered on regional actors and their networks that are responsible for the (re)production of regions (Amin 2004; Allen & Cochrane 2007). Region and its delimitation are thus understood as constructed by those regional actor networks that make decisions about the purpose, the territory, symbols, etc. of either an emerging or a reconstituted region. Therefore, region is a (political) process (see e.g. Pred 1984; Paasi 1986). Nevertheless, many other topics are studied in contemporary regional geography, such as the role of ad hoc regions in the regional discourse (Paasi 2013), discussion on regional development (Raagmaa 2002; Süssner 2002; Chromý & Janů 2003; Semian & Chromý 2014) and governance (Antonsich 2010). In part, scholars tend to pay attention to the relation of region and regional identity and to the role of regional identity in the region formation process (e.g. Paasi 2010; Zimmerbauer 2011; Messely et al. 2014) at various scale levels.

This paradigm might be seen as a reaction to humanistic approaches in geography during the 1970s and 1980s (see e.g. Pred 1983; Thrift 1983; Tuan 1990; 2003). These approaches emerged as a reaction to strictly nomothetic geography, making humans and their opinion important part of the scope

of geographical research. They approach region more as lived space of humans. There is a special stream within humanistic approaches that deals with so-called "vernacular region". This stream was popular especially in North American literature of the 1970s and 1980s (see e.g. Meining 1972; Jordan 1978; Zelinsky 1980), but it perpetuates until today (e.g. Reginster & Edwards 2001; Liesch et al. 2015; Vukosav & Fuerst-Bjeliš 2015).

"Popular or vernacular regions are those perceived to exist by their inhabitants and other members of the population at large. They exist as part of popular or folk culture. Rather than being intellectual creation of the professional geographer, the vernacular region is the product of the spatial perception of average people." (Jordan 1978, 293)

However, Zelinsky (1980, 4) argues that other studies can hardly unveil the average population opinion due to the flaw methodology questioning specific-informed-groups of society; the concept searches for the common view of regional organization in the minds of the general public. In general, the addressed regions are both political constructs and areas rich in folk traditions (Jordan 1978; Zelinsky 1980). Thus, the corresponding research works available in Czech literature usually concern ethnographic studies on cultural and ethnographic regions (see e.g. Frolec 1985; Jeřábek 1987; Tomandl & Pargač 1997; Vařeka 1997; Vencálek 1998).

On the other hand, there is still rather a new stream in the "new" regionalism paradigm which regards region as an assemblage (Amin 2004; Allen & Cochrane 2007). This deconstruction, which originates in relational approaches of the 1990s and the early 21st century, suggests the crucial role of relations in the emergence of a region and its perception which may theoretically result into a region delimited across space, i.e. independently on spatial unity (Allen et al. 1998). The assemblage conception is also based on the actor networks decision-making. It can be seen as a plurality of regionalist initiatives which contributes to the general idea of region. This plurality is not only produced by regional actor networks, but also perceived and reproduced by territorial communities and the general public (see e.g. Vainikka 2015). Yet it is this constituent of region and regional identity that still tends to be somewhat neglected by scholars.

Despite this shift in Anglophone literature, the strong and persistent influence of nomothetic approaches to a region can be witnessed in Czech geographical literature. Region is often reduced to a mere category or context in the study of various phenomena (see e.g. Navrátil et al. 2012;

Kůsová 2013; Novotná et al. 2013; Ženka & Pavlínek 2013). In such researches, region is scrutinized as a given, unchangeable and static entity and its nature is not further theorized.

The nomothetic modelling of regions represents one of the most important branches of contemporary regional research in Czechia (Hampl 2005; Hampl & Marada 2015). It is based on the construction of regions according to various relations in space (e.g. commuting, transport, etc.). These functional regions are changeable over time and space as long as the crucial relations in question are changeable. The hierarchy of regions can be sought through the differentiation of the quality of the studied relationships. This kind of regional studies has a long tradition in Czech science and its roots can be traced back to the doyen of Czech human geography Jaromír Korčák (see e.g. Korčák 1934; 1966). Nevertheless, the leading author promoting this approach is Martin Hampl who first presented his idea of sociogeographical regionalization as early as in the 1960s (Hampl 1966; 1967) and further developed the idea later on (Hampl et al. 1978; 1987; Hampl 2005). But socio-geographical modelling is popular even in contemporary literature (see e.g. Halás & Klapka 2010; Halás 2014; Kraft et al. 2014; Hampl & Marada 2015).

The main problem of these studies is their constant revolving around a very similar topic. However, they proclaim a quest for further theorization of the concept of region without introducing many new ideas going beyond the crucial publication. Particularly in the field of relations, their selection and reduction, they often intentionally simplify reality to strictly economic or socio-economic relationships for the sake of modelling, thereby reducing it mainly in terms of human decision-making (not always rational), human consciousness and perception of regional organization.

Despite the aforementioned, approaches of new regionalism gained strength in Czech regional research in the last decade. Their central point is the conceptualization of region as a historically contingent process. This concept was introduced to Anglophone literature in the 1980s (Pred 1984). Nevertheless, what can be considered a milestone in the application of this concept in the Czech academic environment is the publication of the paper titled "Formování regionální identity: nezbytná součást geografických výzkumů [Formation of regional identity: A necessary part of geographical research]" by Pavel Chromý (2003). The author de facto introduces the Anssi Paasi's theory of the institutionalization of region (Paasi 1986) into the Czech academic literature and milieu. Many other papers, books and theses using this conceptual background or methodological framework have been published ever since. Most Czech (and Slovak) authors focus on the analysis of the inhabitantsterritory relationship and its measuring (Nikischer 2013; Bucher & Ištoková 2015) or on the study

thereof in a specific context such as second housing (Fialová et al. 2010) and peripheral regions (Chromý & Janů 2003; Chromý & Skála 2010). Special attention is also paid to its differentiation based on the continuity of socio-cultural development, especially in the context of areas affected by the expulsion of Czech Germans after World War II (Osoba 2008; Šerý 2014). In connection with this recently introduced conceptual framework, many researches deal with individual partial shapes of region and their imprints in people's consciousness. These comprise in particular symbols and logos (Šifta & Chromý 2014; Jan Kopp's unpublished research on Geopark logos), mediated regional images (Kučera et al. n.d.; Kučerová et al. 2015), regional institutions (Kašková & Chromý 2014; Chromý et al. 2014), or people's perception of historical borders (Siwek & Bogdová 2007; Chromý et al. 2009; Šerý & Šimáček 2012; 2013).

It must be said that many of these works incorporate Paasi's concept uncritically. They fail to further elaborate or critically discuss it in view of more recent regional conceptualizations. On the other hand, the concept of deconstructing "region" into four shapes (see chapter 1.1) is an appropriate starting-point for both theoretical and primarily methodological scrutinizing of the examined region. It is mainly because it provides a coherent way to simplify reality. It also constitutes a relevant framework for deconstructing the assemblage of regions in a territory. Nevertheless despite proclamations of openness of the concept of region, I can claim with a bit of hyperbole that numerous works keep scrutinizing regions as a mere category, pegged between the local and national level, which serves as a context for the study of various phenomena, namely "regional identity", i.e. an articulated emotional relationship to a region. In all these researches, region is either poorly defined or reduced to an administrative unit (Nikischer 2013; Bucher & Ištoková 2015; Ryšavý 2015) or, in a worse-case scenario, in the statistical ones (Štefánková & Drbohlav 2014). In order to bring some clarity to the previous statement, I have to admit that the major research interest generally focuses on those administrative regions endowed with self-governing functions that were introduced into the Czech regional system since 2000 (designated as "kraje" in Czech). From the perspective of the regional identity formation process, such kind of newly established self-governing regions represents an interesting subject of study.

Although the establishment of an administrative function of a region is the utmost manifestation of regional institutionalization, even Paasi (1986, 130) himself recognizes that acquiring such a function is not imperative for the region's very existence. The bond between regions and their inhabitants seems to be more crucial (Semian 2012b) and administrative regions are not necessarily

the best regional manifestation that people feel primarily attached to. Research on regional identity and the region itself deserves more cautiousness toward the conceptual discussions as well as to historical and cultural specificities of the researched area. From aforementioned, it is clear that there is almost no relevant Czech geographical literature devoted to vernacular regions, inhabitants' perception of regions and their territorially articulated sense of belonging. The only exception are research projects on public perception of historical and cultural borders (see Siwek & Bogdová 2007; Chromý et al. 2009; Šerý & Šimáček 2012; 2013). An increased incorporation of qualitative and critically interpretative methods into the methodological framework should be more than useful. Such approaches ought to ensure that the crucial question of human perception and decision-making on the one hand, and the question of power relationships on the other will not disappear from the concept of region. Or in other words, region cannot be reduced simply to an economic, administrative or statistical unit. However, it can be addressed as an "animate", constantly changing, phenomenon which also makes it a resource for regional actors to meet their particular goals, one that people may perceive and feel attached to while further mediating their images thereof.

Based on these grounds, this thesis aims to contribute to this insufficiently explored dimension of region, regional identity and their mutual relations with a particular focus on regionalization. Therefore, the objectives of this thesis are articulated as follows:

- to discuss the various approaches toward region and its delimitation with special focus on the conceptualization of the institutionalization of a region based on the heuristic literature review;
- 2) to explore the possibility of searching for a general idea of region;
- 3) to define the potential for regionalization on the basis of regional identity within the framework of the new regionalism;
- 4) to discuss the role of scale and various actors, aspects, factors and mechanisms in the process of the production of regional images constituting the general idea of region and the possibilities of their evaluation; and
- 5) to analyze the influence of various forms of regions and their images on the reproduction of the general idea of region.

Thus, the key objective of this thesis is not only the delimitation and evaluation of regions, but also the very process of their formation, reproduction and disappearance in time. The main research question is whether and how it is possible to "draw" regions based on the study of regional identity, the inhabitants' regional consciousness, their perception of regional information, their sense of belonging to a region and diverse regional images, both produced and mediated. The other important questions are what differences can be observed in the reproduction of regions with different types of regional identity formation and what mechanisms and conditionalities can be found behind these differences.

The thesis is split into two parts: (I) a theoretical and methodological discussion and (II) a set of eight selected empirical studies. In theoretical part, the main concepts and issues are addressed and a framework for the conceptualization of regionalization based on regional identity is presented, drawing upon these discussions. This theoretical framework is followed by methodological suggestions on how to address the presented concept empirically. In the next chapter, the empirical studies (from the second part) are presented, summarized and put into the context of the whole thesis. The main research goals and questions are addressed in the conclusion which also outlines new possibilities for further research and further development of the concept. The second part consists of eight selected original papers (five published in journals with impact factor, one in peer-reviewed journal without IF, one chapter from an international collaborative monograph and one manuscript ready for submission). The papers are arranged in thematic order: the general synthesizing paper; empirical papers; papers of a more applied character.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH ON REGION AND REGIONAL IDENTITY

1.1 REGION AS A HISTORICALLY CONTINGENT PROCESS

The regional geography paradigm is strongly influenced by the orthodoxy of the resurgence of regions (Johansson 1999; Keating 2004; Harrison & Grove 2014) in the last few decades. As stated by Fawn (2009, 5): "region, regionalism and regionalization matter". However, none of these is new to geography. Region has always been a fundamental phenomenon examined in geographical research (see e.g. Vidal de la Blache 1994; Hartshorne 1939; Gilbert 1960; Grigg 1965; Haggett 1965; Hägerstrand 1970; Urry 1981; Claval 1987; cf. Flint 2009; Henderson 2009; Gregory 2009). The origin of (modern) regionalism is usually connected with the rise of the state system after World War I, however, its patterns can be studied even further back in history (Fawcett 1996; Semian 2015). From a certain perspective, "the regionalized world has always featured in human history" (Fawn 2009, 6-7). Hence, particular meanings, importance and relations are ascribed to regions that are constantly changing. The revitalized interest in regions can be dated back to the 1980s. Being strongly intertwined with the reaction to strictly nomothetic approaches in geography, it strives to replace them with more humanistic ones, stressing the importance of human actions in the reproduction of geographical space and its organization. Yi-Fu Tuan in his Topophilia (1990, 4) argues: "...much of what we perceived has value for us, for biological survival and for providing certain satisfaction that are rooted in culture". Place is produced through human perception and space is structured. Thus, every place has an individual character. Actually, this idea is based on Heidegger's conception of place as lived and experienced space (Heidegger 1971, 152). Moreover, Tuan (1990, 27) further observes that:

"[...] the idea of 'center' and 'periphery' in spatial organization is perhaps universal. People everywhere tend to structure space—geographical and cosmological—with themselves at the center and with concentric zones (more or less well defined) of decreasing value beyond."

In his work, Tuan makes no distinction between a room, house, region and nation-state understanding as a place (cf. Pred 1983). This reflects the fact that a humanistic geographer is more concerned with personal experience and an individual's position within a community, and less with the examination of communities as a complex. It can be concluded that place has a highly personal character and any particular part of space may have different meanings for different people. In distinction therefrom, the concept of region has a collective character (Paasi 1986).

Thus, rethinking the region must equally be seen through the prism of the "cultural turn" and "spatial turn" in social science (Claval 1998; Thrift 2006) and, later, also through the "institutional turn" in economic geography (Jones & Woods 2013; Tomaney 2014) as an attempt to adapt the fundamental concepts to the changes of the forms of the society's geographical organization (Hampl 2002) caused by general development processes in society, namely globalization and transition to postindustrial society. Over time, region came to be understood more or less as a static category that was used by a majority of scholars to sort data and information (Klemenčič 2005). Without any deeper discussion region was often taken as given. The static and given category has nonetheless been brought into question and region has become a subject of geographical research.

The attempts to adapt the conceptualization of region to the dynamic societal changes of the last three decades have resulted into pluralistic approaches toward the concept itself and are regularly criticized for exaggerated constructivism and over-theorizing (Martin 2001; Barnett 2004) on the one hand, and for a vague theoretical embeddedness on the other (Schmitt-Egner 2002), namely in terms of conceptual definition of the concept of the region itself (Harrison & Grove 2014). For many authors region has become a concept hard to grasp and is often labelled as elusive (Keating 1998), chaotic (Lovering 1999) or enigmatic (MacLeod & Jones 2007). Nevertheless, rethinking the region as a social construct (Thrift 1983; Pred 1984; Paasi 1986) can be seen as the central point of the emergence of these discussions. This conceptualization became dominant in the new regionalist discourse of the 1990s (Keating 1998; Süssner 2002) wherein the region is often canonized as a development and governance tool in the hands of economists and policy-makers (Fawn 2009; Jones & Woods 2013). This was most noticeably the case of the vision of "Europe of Regions" promoted by the European

Union (Johansson 1999). Regions were taken for basic economic units with a potential to erode the integrity of national states as an essential factor for further economic and political integration (Harrison & Grove 2014). The same (economic) understanding of the new regionalism can be identified in the United States (Jonas & Pincetl 2006; Hamin & Marcucci 2008), even though with greater emphasis on city or metropolitan regions, and is well documented in other literature (Thompson 2000; Frost 2008; Paül & Haslam McKenzie 2015).

The economy-based understanding of region tended to be unsatisfactory and somewhat narrowing the complexity of the fundamental geographical concept. It is in particular contradictory to the very idea of rethinking the concept of region. Such a narrow conceptualization is often criticized for being strictly pragmatic (Hampl 2002) and ideologically reproduced (Lovering 1999), lacking any critical reflection of the social construct model which is regularly taken as given without any further theorization (Paasi 2010). The economical conceptualization generally lacks any political and power-related perspective: who constructs and reproduces the region and why (Frisvoll & Rye 2009; Paasi 2010; Jonas 2012; Harrison & Grove 2014), but also any cultural perspective: how the inhabitants perceive various regions, how they orient themselves among them and whether they can feel some attachment to them (Semian 2012b; Antonsich & Holland 2014).

Since the late 1990s, rethinking the region as relational may have been considered a parallel stream of reflection but in many ways it has been a complementary paradigm for the aforementioned constructivist conceptualization of region (Johnson et al. 2011). Central to these discussion are, among others, works by Massey (1994), Allen et al. (1998) and Amin (2004). Nevertheless, the idea of relational perspective on region is not new at all. As Jonas (2012, 264) puts it: "in fact, several distinctive strands of relational thinking about regions have emerged from the work of radical human geographers and social theorists in the 1970s and early 1980s (Jonas 1988; Pudup 1988; Sayer 1989)". The idea of spatial organization according to relations and social or actor networks is crucial to these approaches. However, the relations and networks do not necessarily have to be bounded neither territorially nor in scale. They are increasingly dynamic and spatially diverse. Yet truly unbounded, territorially independent regions are still somewhat theoretical imagination (Allen et al. 1998) and their discovery is not absolutely necessary for further progress in theorization of the regional concept (Jonas 2013). Relational approaches emphasizing the idea of the space of flows and actor networks may be identified as crucial in contemporary discussions about regional development

of fuzzy-bounded soft spaces (see e.g. Deas 2006; Allmendinger & Haughton 2010) and city-regions (see e.g. Harding et al. 2006; Lloyd & Peel 2006).

One can witness further theorization of the conceptualization of region in the new millennium which responds to the above-mentioned criticism. While political power relationships have acquired a dominant position, the regional economic framework usually continues to serve as a context for the regional development issue (Amin 2004). The rethinking of region is connected with multilevel governance and metagovernance (Jessop 2004). Owing to the different quality of research interest in regions, some authors refer to such paradigm as "new new regionalism" (Ballinger 2007) or "new regionalism vol. 2" (Harrison & Grove 2014). Such approaches see region as a somewhat contested unit that does not necessarily have to be bounded in space. However, this does not mean that regions cannot be territorially recognizable. Usually, general localization is widely accepted but the specific delimitation may differ according to the purpose of each particular region and its individual perception. Allen & Cochrane (2007) designate regional plurality as regional assemblage, addressing region as an assemblage of actor-networks with an influence on decision-making processes within a particular region. Regional actors do not necessarily have to be embedded in that region and their relational impact may reach beyond any territorial fixity. That is where the authors think beyond simple overlapping and intersecting of various regional initiatives.

"It would be wrong to collapse the two geographies, one the defined outcome of political endeavors, the other the tangled relationships that almost inevitably exceed the boundaries drawn. The likelihood of such excess is why the authors have tried to think through the emergence of a more diffuse and fragmented form of governance as a 'regional' assemblage, rather than as a series of regional institutions that are territorially fixed in some way.

It is worth stressing that by this the authors emphatically do not mean that 'regional' political institutions, or parts of them, have been networked in such a way that they no longer have a settled presence. The authors are not arguing that the professional and business elites owe their points of attachment to the networks rather than to the regions or that their relationships are simply embedded in flows of interaction not the peculiarities of the regional context." (Allen & Cochrane 2007, 1172)

The important question of scale pops up naturally in connection to the understanding of region as an assemblage. It is obvious that this framework of region tends to go through scales, thereby

bringing the scalar unboundedness or scalar relational context into question. However, I will deal with the scale issue more closely later (see chapter 1.3).

I have stated that the contemporary paradigm is strongly influenced by the orthodoxy of the resurgence of region and the so-called new regionalism, or rather by one of its more recent variation. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the other conceptual approaches are not present. Contemporary geographical research basically distinguishes three modalities of understanding regions:

- 1) Probably the most common approach to region in the contemporary discourse is taking region as given. However, such regions, too, are constructed and researchers tend to use them merely as a category for sorting data and information (Klemenčič 2005). Within this approach to region, various scopes of regions can be identified, ranging from natural (delimited and based on natural features) to ad hoc ones (established for a particular purpose). Unfortunately, instead of further scrutinizing the concept of region, most authors use it as a statistical or institutional unit, i.e. as an analytical tool. As stated by Paasi (2010, 2297), this approach go on gaining strength, as it is well linked to applied research wherein region is not the primary subject of the study. This is also true as far as Czech literature is concerned (see e.g. Navrátil et al. 2012; Kůsová 2013; Novotná et al. 2013; Ženka & Pavlínek 2013)
- 2) The traditional geographical approach sees region as a construct of geographical research, searching for "a relatively autonomous complex of mutually intertwined and qualitatively hybrid components of environment" (Hampl 2002, 334). Regions are thus bounded, contiguous subdivisions of broader units (Paasi 2010). Traditional vernacular regions can be counted among them (Jordan 1978; Zelinsky 1980; Reginster & Edwards 2001; Liesch et al. 2015). Additionally, the synthesizing scholar quest for geographical organization can also be ranked into this category. The core of these approaches is, generally speaking, geographical organization modeling according to spatial patterns of various social processes. In this sense, they are still attached to the former ones, since they look for functional regions through the integrity of socio-economic relations. They continue to be very popular particularly in Czech literature (see e.g. Hampl 2005; Halás & Klapka 2010; Kraft et al. 2014; Hampl & Marada 2015), even though their roots can be traced back to Korčák (1934), who broadly discussed the possibility of delimitation of functional regions. Approaching them from the cultural-geographical perspective, he called them *přirozené krajiny* [organic landscapes]

- (Korčák 1934, 421). Korčák's work triggered a diversion to the nomothetic exploration of the concept of region in Czech geographic literature although Korčák (1934, 433) himself admitted that the regions he defined were very similar to those delimited by Václav Dědina. Dědina, who was influenced by Paul Vidal de la Blache, defined regions with the use of the "basin and valley concentration" method (Dědina 1921 as cited in Korčák 1934, 433).
- 3) This most recent understanding of region puts the concept of region in relation to social discourse (Paasi 2010). Region is not only influenced by, but also influences the reproduction of socio-economic, cultural, political and power relations in space. Such relational understanding conceptualizes the region as a product of networks, interactions and articulations of live "everyday" connections (Allen et al. 1998) and thus can emerge across the imposed constructed boundaries, and even across scales. Although this particular understanding of region is still somewhat neglected by mainstream domestic scholars, it has been gaining ground over the last decade (see e.g. Chromý 2003; Siwek & Bogdová 2007; Chromý et al. 2011; Semian 2012b; 2015; n.d.; Šerý 2014).

This division allows one to conclude that region is a social construction. It can be constructed by scholars in an attempt to identify and comprehend the spatial organization on Earth's surface. It is a result of external frameworks and internal conditionality. In view thereof, a region may be constructed by various actors in an attempt to enforce their interests or demonstrate their power. This particular part varies a lot. By these terms one can understand: (a) a simple statistical regionalization whose main purpose is to compare diverse parts of the world and measure the differences; (b) administrative regionalization aimed at decentralizing the existing political power in search for better governance; but also (c) activities of regional actors advancing (by way of founding ad hoc regions) their vision of development trajectories. A region may also be constructed by citizens through their "everyday" activities, relations and perception of the enveloping information of "regional" character (Sørensen 2008).

Region as a social construction is reproduced as a historically contingent process (Pred 1984; Wilson 2007), no matter whether it is endowed with a long historical narrative path or the result of a recent ad hoc initiative. Thus, region is a process. It is changeable in space and time. Region is constructed (formed), constantly reproduced through the process of institutionalization and may disappear some day through deinstutionalization (Paasi 1986; Raagmaa 2002; Zimmerbauer & Paasi 2013). It means that every region is perpetually in a state of being formed and reproduced through both material

and symbolic processes (Granier 2007). Once a region acquires a place in the regional system, it becomes part of the reproductive and transformative process of society. Regions thus influence and are simultaneously influenced by political, economic, social and cultural processes, i.e. the basic mechanisms of all societal changes. Paasi (1986) provides a guideline suggesting to comprehend the process of "becoming" as that of regional institutionalization. Despite having been contested by many scholars, including Paasi himself (cf. e.g. Frisvoll & Rye 2009; Paasi 2010; Riukulehto 2015; Vainikka 2015), this framework remains to be a very useful tool to deconstruct a region, both theoretically and methodologically, when conducting research. Paasi (1986, 121–130) distinguishes four phases of the process of institutionalization of regions, defining them as follows:

- 1) The assumption of territorial shape of a region; the processes leading to the recognition of an area as a particular unit in the framework of the spatial organization of society. Spatial regional awareness acts as a background for the emergence of symbolic and institutional shapes. The borders of the territorial delimitation of a region can be both fixed and fuzzy, generally depending on the way they are constituted and enforced. Borders serving to enforce political, economic, etc. power, or other partial purposes, tend to be fixed, whereas borders of regions (emerging more spontaneously over time) are usually defined more vaguely (Semian 2015). It is apparent that territorial shape is strongly influenced by both horizontal and vertical power relations in society (Frisvoll & Rye 2009).
- 2) The development of symbolic shape of a region; a region's symbolic shape is based on the development of the set of symbols linked to its territory. Besides characterizing the region it is supposed to distinguish it from other regions in space and time, in a similar manner to the role of national symbols (e.g. flag, anthem, coats of arms, etc.) in case of nation-states. The symbolic shape represents a communicational link between individuals, regional institutions and the region itself. For most inhabitants, regional symbols constitute a sort of icons on the basis of which they can identify themselves with their region. Regional institutions can profile themselves as regional through the usage of symbols, thereby influencing the reproduction of the symbolic shape of the region itself (Chromý et al. 2014). On the one hand, symbolic shape is influenced by the power and ideology of those who produce and mediate symbols. On the other hand, it depends on how the inhabitants perceive them (Kučera et al. n.d.). Symbolic shape is discussed in more detail in chapter 2.1.
- 3) The development of regional institutions (institutional shape); here, institution are comprehended in two ways: as formal (media, schools, administrative bodies, etc.)

and informal (values, customs, traditions, etc.). Although a formal institution may be represented by a diversified scope of institutions, the most visible, and hence most important ones are those territorially active regional initiatives that promote their particular aims through regional affiliation. Their objectives may vary: administrative governance; management of regional development; management of tourism industry; environmental and landscape management and protection, etc. Informal institutions represent intangible cultural niches of regions. They are reproduced through socialization. Thus, the family, social communities and schools play an important role in their reproduction (Kučerová et al. 2015). Some informal institutions, though, might be commodified—skanzenified, losing their authenticity and turning into a kind of symbolic heritage. Nevertheless, both (formal and informal institutions) are important for the reproduction of activities in political, economic, administrative, etc. spheres of everyday life. Not only can institutions become symbols, but they also produce and promote symbolic shape (Kašková & Chromý 2014).

4) The establishment of region as part of a regional system; the fourth phase enables regions to reproduce "themselves" (Paasi 2010). The most formal manifestation of the fourth phase is when a region gains an administrative function within the system. Acquiring an administrative function does not necessarily have to be the most important and most effective step towards reproduction of a region. Yet a more important manifestation is the acknowledgement of the region in the regional consciousness of its inhabitants (Semian 2012b). "The substantial legitimacy for the existence of a region is first caught by its inhabitants and secondly by the outsiders. The human factor forms regional institutions, regional identity and regions as well" (Riukulehto 2015, 9). It is, therefore, this fourth phase that combines the institutional and individual spheres of the region. In this respect, it is at work throughout all phases, being generated by them while concurrently contributing to their formation. According to Paasi (1986), it is this fourth phase that de facto provides the region with its identity. Acquiring a regional identity is, thus, an essential condition for the existence of a region.

The order of these phases is purely theoretical. In practice, these phases can take place simultaneously or in a different order varying according to different purposes (types) of region (cf. e.g. Kašková & Chromý 2014). However, each phase and its reproduction mutually influence the reproduction of all other phases (e.g. Messely et al. 2014). Apart from that, some scholars try to establish some chronological order among the four phases; e.g. Zimmerbauer (2011) sees as pivotal the necessity

for the emergence of territorial and symbolic shapes. These should provide a basis for further development of regional institutions, and, potentially, clear the way for regions to get embedded in a regional system.

Nevertheless, there are other modalities showing how to approach the process of institutionalization of region both theoretically and methodologically. The understanding of region as an institution can be dated back to Paul Vidal de la Blache (1994, 26), who argues that region is substantially shaped by human action. In his paper on "American West", Donald Meining (1972, 161) suggests that regional research should focus on four regional features: 1) population; 2) circulation; 3) political areas; and 4) culture. According to Meining, region must be studied in all its complexity, including not only its socio-cultural features, but also all the relations within and between regions. However, under the term "political areas" he understood merely the basic administrative territories that can be replaced, in a more recent perspective, with a region defined as a contested arena of political decisions.

Other authors, too, have listed criteria crucial for the emergence of region. Some of them approach the region from a strictly socio-cultural position. Bill Lancaster (2007, 24) regards common space, language, culture, economy, political movements, traditions, and relationship to the nation-state as key unifiers of a region. His list represents a typical example of scrutinizing region as a community which has revived the humanistic tradition in geography (Tuan 1990). In the same publication, Charles Phythian-Adams elaborates the crucial regional features in more depth (Phythian-Adams 2007, 8–9), listing seven key features for defining a regional community: 1) concentration of population; 2) hierarchical structure of settlement; 3) intra-dependence of region; 4) self-identifying, but inter-locking neighborhoods; 5) regional economic or political interest counterweight against national power structures; 6) a demographic continuity (of indigenous families); and 7) a regional sense of belonging together.

Likewise, scientists based in different (non-Anglophone) scholarly traditions deconstruct region in very similar ways (Riukulehto 2015). Borders, landscape, language, group solidarity, and administrative autonomy are the main criteria defining region mentioned by Desiderio Fernández Manjón (2010, 68–69) based on José Ortega y Gasset's assertion that any human being is defined by her or his circumstances (as cited in Riukulehto 2015, 10). Even though the criteria listed above differ from one study to another, a closer look reveals many significant intersections among the aforementioned concepts.

To conclude this chapter I can state that region here is understood as a process, as a construct in flux. The region thus defined can be deconstructed into three types of shapes: a territorial, symbolic and institutional one. During the fourth phase of the process the region gets embedded in a regional system and human perception. Mostly having the form of an assemblage of various images and initiatives with specific purposes, it ought to be addressed within three mutually interdependent dimensions:

- 1) given: the way "regional assets" are present and organized;
- 2) *made*: the way "regional assets" are produced and mediated by various regional actors having different goals; and
- 3) perceived: the way inhabitants perceive "regional assets" and establish bonds to a region.

Here, the term "regional assets" is used to encompass all tangible and intangible, environmental, natural, cultural, political, economic and historic features of any particular region. It is also clear that an institutionalized region is something more than a mere sum of regional features (Nay 1997). Regional identity is thus one of the key phenomena in the study of regions. "Obviously, regions can be identified and characterized by the use of regional identities" (Riukulehto 2013, 45). This implies that not only regional actors, but also regional community are crucial for the research of regions.

1.2 REGIONAL IDENTITY AND IMAGE OF A REGION

Identity is a very interdisciplinary phenomenon that nowadays resonates as a catch-phrase in social sciences and humanities (Burke & Stets 2009). The phenomenon of identity and its formation has been in focus of geographers for a long time, but due to the transition to a post-industrial society the issue tends to be more diverse and complex (Raagmaa 2002), deserving more attention from scholars. However, it is also criticized for being over-produced and abused by scholars without adequate theorizing (Brubaker & Cooper 2000). Riukulehto (2013, 42) sees the origin of the contemporary discourse on the concept of identity in the works of the psychologist Erik Eriksson (e.g. Eriksson 1968, 15–25): "for Eriksson, identity has to do with one's feelings about one's self, character, goals and origins". Identity is constructed. It is something that everyone has to find in himself (Bauman 1995). Nevertheless, any human choice is influenced through heritage (Kučera et al. 2008). Identity is thus an ancestral phenomenon (Giddens 1991) influenced by the environment a man is born into, the one wherein she/he is brought up in, and the one she/he lives in throughout life (Roubal 2003). It is changeable over time and constantly reproduced through

minor corrections or even major changes. During the reproduction of identity, both individual and collective history is reassessed and reformulated (Řezníková 2004) in a constant dispute between emotional (the way we would like to be) and rational (the way it is profitable to be) approaches (Vencálek 1998). Furthermore, identity is directly connected to representation.

"[Identities] are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation. [...] Though they seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with which they continue to correspond, actually identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation." (Hall 1996, 4)

Hence, identity is a very complex phenomenon that might seem difficult to grasp, mainly because of its interdisciplinary character and some ambivalence in the way it is apprehended by various scholars (see e.g. Brubaker & Cooper 2000; they suggest that identity should be used as a category of analysis rather than a category of practice, and called by less ambiguous terms, such as "identification", "self-understanding", "feelings of commonality", etc.). Therefore, it is hard to find a single definition that should embrace all the nuances in its understanding. Such a definition would also depend on the degree of abstraction and point of view (Knight 1982). In a very broad and loose understanding, identity can be viewed as a need of free will (Havel 1990) and of simply belonging somewhere (Raagmaa 2002). For example, Heller (2011, 5) summarizes that "[identity is] the consciousness of the feeling of belonging to a social network or a locality or an area and the feeling of oneness with these". Generally speaking, identity is the expression of an individual's uniqueness and her/his relationship toward others and her/himself (Nedomová & Kostelecký 1996; Chromý & Janů 2003).

It is apparent that there are two dimensions of identity – the individual and the collective one (Keating 1998). The individual dimension can be described as a unique composition of factors affecting identity, reflecting personal experience, values, narratives, and ancestral heritage, as well as environmental influences (Giddens 1991; Zich 2003). According to Riukulehto (2013, 45), "collective identities can be derived from individual identities". This is most certainly true but one has to bear

in mind that collective identity is something more than a simple sum or intersection of individual identities (Semian 2015). In other words, the collective dimension of identity is based on the duality between "us" and "them", or more aptly "the others" (Carvalho 2006). The expression of one's belonging to some social group and a conscious self-delimitation against those who do not belong to the same group constitute the essential factors in the process of "othering" (see e.g. Massey & Jess 1995; Crang 1998). In theory, this process can be regarded either positively by defining "us" through common unifying symbols (such as history, tradition, mythology, etc.), or negatively by defining "us" as different from those who do not belong to "us" (Koubek 2006). However, "the others" do not necessarily have to be understood negatively as opposite to "us" (Tuan 2003). In reality, both these principles are present in the process of identity formation. The third possibility is often omitted in debates on identity. Any specific group of people can also be identified as distinctive by those living outside this group ("them") while its members do not necessarily have to identify themselves therewith.

The identity of every human being is of plural nature. It can be understood as a multi-layered phenomenon that has to be negotiated across scales (Marston & Smith 2001). Thus, personal identity consists of many partial identities and the relationships between the individual and the outside world (social status, family status, professional status, etc.). Although the spatial aspect and proximity are very important in the process of identification, they are not inevitably essential since the social distance may outdo the geographical one (Tuan 2003). Moreover, people also create bonds with particular types of space and spatial features. Territorial identity is merely one of many layers of identity. Mutually influencing one another, the "partial" identities have a definite hierarchical structure which may change over the course of a person's life. This implies that identity can be internally inconsistent (Paasi 2003; Zich 2003).

Territorial identity is a very complex phenomenon. It is the way people position themselves in the world (Riukulehto 2013) and one of the most important layers of personal identity, even though it need not necessarily bear a lot of importance for everyone. In general, it can be described as a multi-dimensional relationship between human and place which is part of everyday life. That is why it is usually the place where a person has been living, or used to live, for a long time that becomes the subject of identification (Zich 2003). Hence, place is seen as "lived space", a space endowed with the social content of interpersonal relations as well as relations between human and environment. According to Gustafson (2001), there are four basic principles of how individuals

build their attachment to a particular place: 1) differentiation from "the others" on the basis of territory; 2) consciousness of the continuity of life in that place; 3) sense of pride of the place of one's life; and 4) fulfillment of one's needs through that place.

Generally, human attachment is based on a combination of these four principles and is not imperatively restrained to a single territory over an individual's life course. Alike identity itself, territorial identity has a plural character (Semian n.d.). This plurality can be approached from different points of view, permitting to examine it through the prism of scale. The plurality can emerge when a person builds different attachments to different territories of different sizes, hierarchical levels and functions over the course of her/his life. The diversity of personal identification can be in some way seen as complementary and parallel. For example, an individual can feel attached to a state and a particular local area within that state at the same time, but also one can identify her/himself with different territories of the same level at the same time (e.g. place of birth and place of living). It means that the emergence of a new territorial identity (e.g. after a move) does not inevitably mean the disappearance of the former identification. However, different significance is ascribed to various identities in different periods of time and contexts.

From the level point of view, several studies proved that people usually feel the strongest sense of attachment to areas on local and national (nation-state) level, while the attachment to areas on sub-state as well as supra-state levels tends to vary, being much less stronger (see e.g. Heřmanová et al. 2009; Inglis & Donnelly 2011; Nikischer 2013; Antonsich & Holland 2014). However, one has to take these studies into consideration critically as the wording of categories and their understanding by the general public might be confusing. Moreover, this is particularly true in the case of the regional level (both sub- and supra-state) which may be confusing for scholars themselves from time to time (see chapter 1.3). The regional level, too, can be confused with the other levels in some cases. And it is regional identity that has enjoyed attention among scholars in the new millennium, especially in the context of the new regionalism discussion and in connection to regional development and regional governance. Yet despite these discussions, the relation between region, regionalization and regional identity have never been at the center of academic interest.

Regional identity is a specific case of territorial identity. In contemporary studies, it is understood in several ways. It can be addressed as an "empirical entity defined in terms of its inherent qualities" (Paasi 2013, 1208). In the same sense, Klooster et al. (2002, 110-111) use the term "the enlightenment concept" of identity and "the essential nature" of identity. Constructivist approaches in geography

call into discussion the new deconstruction of the regional identity as social construction. On the one hand, regional identity can be seen as a construction with a collective meaning (Tomaney 2015) generated by people both within and outside a particular region, and as their identification with that region. Zimmerbauer & Paasi (2013, 32) understand regional identity as "an emotional phenomenon related to regional consciousness, thus entailing a sense of belonging as well as distinctions between social groups". In the context of new regionalism, regional identity is increasingly understood as a catalyst for regional economic development and a tool in the hands of regional actors (Keating 1998, Tomaney & Ward 2000). Inherently tied to human beings (Riukulehto 2013), regional identities are produced and reproduced by discourse in social practices and power relations (Paasi 2013). Therefore, regional identity is not a mere scale level of territorial identity, but rather a self-standing phenomenon incorporating human perception, attachment and even the politics of regions.

It is obvious that there is a duality in the constructivist understanding of regional identity. On the one hand, regional identity is viewed through the prism of identification. It can be described as "regional consciousness of inhabitants". On the other hand, it is addressed through the prism of created, mediated and perceived "identity (image) of region" (Paasi 1986). These two components of regional identity bring together different kinds of contents relating to identities which are usually studied separately. Such a distinction facilitates better application of the concept of identity in research analysis. However, reality is more complex and individual components of regional identity are interwoven:

"The various discourses, concepts and rationales originating from different traditions may be hard to differentiate from each other. Image, self-image, regional consciousness and identification, the persistence of the place, sameness and whatever else, are interwoven together, and all of them are studied as identities. The neat aim of capturing whole the cluster concept of identities easily to result in misunderstandings" (Riukulehto 2013, 44).

Therefore, one needs to be extremely cautious when dealing with the complex nature of regional identity. It is of particular importance to discuss and theorize not only individual components of regional identity, but, above all, to carefully scrutinize the mutual relationships of these components for the sake of avoiding misunderstanding.

Regional consciousness, the expressed sense of belonging, the distinction of the others and also the perceived idea of regional organization of space are grounded in the lived experience of people which concerns patterns of everyday life (Paasi 1986). These also include perception of regional organization which is based on information both mediated and obtained through people's own experience. Thus, regional consciousness is under process of constant reproduction depending on the acquisition of new experience and on perceptual reevaluation of received information. Nevertheless, regional consciousness is strongly tied to personal history, an individual's life path and all the attachments developed throughout the course of her/his life. Thus, the sense of belonging is an important way of expressing individual regional identity. Moreover, it has a potential of influencing the process of collective regional identity formation and reproduction as whole. The nature of the relations between population and territory is usually addressed in two ways. It can be based on identification with a regional community in a particular territory and/or identification with a particular regional environment (nature/landscape) of an inhabited territory (cf. Pollini 2007; Wessendorf 2010). The balance between these two components varies among different regions. On the basis of several studies it can be supposed that traditional societies tend to emphasize the community component, whereas modern societies emphasize people's attachment to their (physical) environment (cf. Messely et al. 2014; Semian et al. 2016). An intensified environmental attachment can be observed in societies inhabiting areas with a disturbed continuity of settlement. However, the influence of landscape and natural elements on the production of identities has been increasingly recognized and their importance is stressed even in case of traditional societies (Shepard 1961; Hastrup 2008; Olwig & Jones 2008; Kaplan & Herb 2011; Chromý et al. 2014; cf. the privileged status of watercourses in Cusack 2007; Semian et al. 2016). This increase in recognition relates to the conceptualization of regions as the environment surrounding people (see e.g. Vainikka 2012). The very content of surrounding environment (ergo natural elements and landscape) then naturally serves as a meaningful symbol affecting the process of regional identity formation (Sørensen 2008).

Tomaney (2015, 508) further points out that "belonging can be attached to narratives of identity, but it may reflect also practical commitments, investments and yearnings". The sense of belonging can be expressed through common values, symbols, customs, etc. shared by the community (Stratford 2009). These are usually reproduced through socialization. But it can also be perceived through a simple sharing of space. Thus, discursive identities are founded on people's attachment to their everyday surroundings and their awareness thereof (Vainikka 2012, 591). The attachment is

negotiated through symbolic shape. In his concept of "homely landscape" Sulevi Riukulehto (2013, 47–51) argues that this attachment is defined and structured through a complex of three distinctive environments that are recognized as inherent by inhabitants: 1) natural environment (the complex of ground, water, air and the species living in the territory); 2) human-made environment (the complex of buildings, constructions and infrastructure); and 3) mental environment (social and normative institutions such as traditions, customs, language, etc). Nevertheless, it is very important to mention that the narratives constituting regional identity are mutable and selective, and differ among generations (see e.g. Štětinová 2006; Prokkola 2009; Semian 2015).

As stated above, the second way of addressing regional identity is through the prism of natural, created, mediated and perceived "identities (images) of region". The identity of a region is based on the constitution of a regional image both from the inside and outside of the region. Regional images can be produced and reproduced by the general public based on their knowledge and perception of available information (Paasi 1986). Here, the identity of region is directly connected with regional consciousness. Nonetheless, regional images are primarily produced and reproduced by various actors (not necessarily regional ones, but also local, sub-state, state and supra-state ones). The actors use the production of images to meet and promote their own particular goals (Semian 2012b). Mediated regional images are subject to power relations in space. Hence, regions formed through image production and promotion are subjects to commodification, branding and marketing; they are used as a tool in regional development strategies (see the abundant literature on the issue of regional branding and regional marketing that goes beyond the scope of this thesis but deserves attention; e.g. Lee et al. 2005; Fan 2006; Allen 2011; Hospers 2011; Pike 2011; Warnaby et al. 2011; Kašková & Chromý 2014; Semian et al. 2016). Here, it is equally necessary to acknowledge the crucial role of schools and media in the process of mediation of regional images (including stereotypical and biased images; Kučerová et al. 2015). Mediated images of region can also become a subject which inhabitants identify themselves with. Klooster et al. (2002) use terms "imposed and imagined identities" referring to this particular dual nature of the identity of region, i.e. the way regional actors would like to have regional identity structured and the way it is perceived and reinterpreted by inhabitants for their own use.

Therefore, the two components of the constructivist understanding of regional identity – regional consciousness and image of region – are mutually intertwined and complementary, influencing one another. This does not, however, mean that they cannot stand separately, at least theoretically.

Regions can be discerned even in various normative organizations which are more or less mere initiatives. The local inhabitants do not feel any attachment to such regions. There are also regions that exist only in the minds of people (both local residents and those living outside the region) without having any appropriate institutionalized framework available. Such kinds of regions, which can be described as "not fully developed" (Semian & Chromý 2014), are more likely to encounter difficulties in their reproduction. Yet this is true only partially. It can be argued that any regional consciousness automatically produces and mediates a particular image of the region in question. However, region as such may exist even though its inhabitants do not feel attached thereto and do not identify themselves therewith (Antonsich 2010). In this sense, European cross-border regions are commonly given as an example (Hepburn 2007). Of course, one can argue that cross-border regions are recognized by the European Union and state governments and therefore are also present in people's regional consciousness.

This brings into question the quality of regional identity and that of the relationship between inhabitants and region. It can be approached through the prism of the polysemantic meaning of regional consciousness. Either the region is recognized only by a limited group of regional actors who use it to achieve their goals, while the general public's awareness of such a region remains very limited or does not exist at all. Or it is widely recognized by the general public but its inhabitants do not feel any special attachment to it. Or, lastly, the local inhabitants regard themselves as a homogeneous group sharing a sense of belonging.

In connection with such a distinction, it is necessary to define the special group of people designated as "identity bearers". It comprises various groups of actors, entrepreneurs, institutions, inhabitants, visitors and all others who (significantly) contribute to the reproduction of regional identity and, therefore, to the reproduction of region as such (Chromý et al. 2009; Semian 2015). It should be noted that different identity bearers may have different goals. The vision of any particular regional identity and its application need not always be consistent, which could become a source of potential conflict.

It is apparent from the foregoing that the very key aspect of regional identity studies is the problem of perception. Perception is an interdisciplinary and very complex phenomenon which, according to American philosopher George Berkeley, is the basis of the very existence (*Esse est percipi* [To be is to be perceived]). He claims that all human cognition is influenced by perception, and as such, it is subjective (as cited in Siwek 2011, 72). Therefore, perception has become highly important for all

more humanistic approaches in sciences, including geography. According to Tuan (1990, 4), "perception is both the response of the senses to external stimuli and purposeful activity in which certain phenomena are clearly registered while others recede in the shade or are blocked out". In short, perception is a subjective understanding of reality. Not only it is affected by human expectations, values, experience and goals (Meining 1979), but also by the cultural background of the observer (Siwek 2011). Moreover, it is influenced by the available information (Semian n.d.) which is usually mediated. Being contingent on relationships of power and manipulation it also serves as a tool to control space. However, any broader discussion thereof would go beyond the scope of this thesis (for more see e.g. Tuan 1990 or the comprehensive overview by Siwek 2011).

To sum up, I can state that regional identity is the key component of region. It is through regional identity that the region is positioned and recognized within a regional system. I therefore believe that it is possible to delimit region by the study of regional identity which is constructed and has a collective meaning. It should be addressed not only through the prism of self-identification of inhabitants (regional consciousness), but also as (re)produced and mediated images of regions originating both inside and outside the region. Regional identity has thus a potential for binding people together, but also for provoking conflicts, either within a single region or among different regions both horizontally and vertically. Thus, the question of scale pops-up naturally.

1.3 Scale in regions — region in scales

The question of scale is very important in the conceptualization of region (as well as identity; see Marston & Smith 2001). Geographical scale has always been permeating the discourse of geography and since 1980s it has also experienced a kind of revitalized interest from scholars in region and other key terms related to social changes (Herod 2003). The dynamics of the globalizing world appears to be a very important impetus for the scalar discussion (Sheppard 2002). Alike region, scale, too, is no longer reinterpreted as a fixed category, but as the result of social processes (Marston 2000). However, according to Paasi (2004), region is not ordinarily reflected in scale debates (cf. Brenner 2001; Marston et al. 2005; Jonas 2006) despite being unarguably essential to understand social production of regions which are organized both horizontally and vertically.

"Scales are not fixed, separate levels of the social world but, like regions/places, are structured and institutionalized in complex ways in de/reterritorializing practices and discourses that may be partly concrete, powerful and bounded, but also partly unbounded, vague or invisible. Scales are

also historically contingent; they are produced, exist and may be destroyed or transformed in social and political practices and struggles. The institutionalization/deinstitutionalization of region, place and scale are in fact inseparable elements in the perpetual process of regional transformation." (Paasi 2004, 542)

In connection with spatial organization, three facets of geographical scale can occur (Howitt 1998): 1) scale as a size referring to an areal concept; 2) scale as a level with a hierarchical connotation; and 3) scale as a relation. The first two facets can either stand alone or occur in mutual combination. Sometimes, they can be seen as an oversimplifying (Marston 2000) and merely analytical tool, especially when they get irreflectively blended into other geographical concepts (Brenner 2001), while the third one should be approached as "[...] a factor in the construction and dynamics of geographical totalities – rather than simply as a product of geographical relations [...] or simply as a matter of size and level" (Howitt 1998, 56). What should thus matter to geographers is not the depiction of scalar (areal) mosaics or (hierarchical) pyramids (Howitt 1998) but the process whereby a particular scale gets reconstituted (Swyngedouw 2004).

The new regionalism literature often approaches the issue of scale without any broader discussion, arguing that region can be understood at various territorial as well as hierarchical levels (Knight 1982; Deas & Lord 2006). In compliance therewith, many authors still continue to approach regions as an intermediate territorial level situated somewhere between the local and state level (Keating 1998; Henderson 2009; cf. e.g. Gilli 2007; Holford 2007; Russell 2007). Other authors incline to approach regions as a sort of germs of future states (Wilson 2007). It is equally important to mention that economic geographers usually recognize regions uniquely at a supra-state level (Riukulehto 2015; cf. Kuhn 2013 who regards region as a dialog zone for transcultural and economic interaction at a supra-state level). Schmitt-Egner (2002, 181) provides a more general notion of the intermediality of region, arguing that "regardless of its subnational, transnational or international character, we understand the region to be a spatial partial unit of medium size and intermediary character whose material substratum is based on territory". From this point of view I can conclude that the size and level of a region are a matter of perspective. Of essential importance is the notion of partiality, but not fundamentality of unit in both horizontal and vertical sense. This idea is supported by John Lovering's criticism of new regionalist approaches (1999, 383):

"Such ideas have generated a considerable amount of speculation, hypothesis formation and model-building. So far so good. But it is immediately obvious that this approach is

characterized by a tendency to make very abrupt shortcuts. Firstly, it is not clear how the abstract 'region' posited in these theoretical adventures relates to the actual regions in which real people live and work. The supposedly foundational concept of the new 'paradigm' is nowhere clearly defined. Scott (1998: 1), for example, defines the region as 'a geographic area of subnational extent' and then goes on to give examples, many of which are not subnational at all, while others are US regions larger than many European countries."

On the other hand, this does not mean that the region cannot exist and be studied in between the local and national scale levels; simply stated, many regions meet the "size" criterion of this scale.

The perspective on regional scale brings into question some other concepts, such as locality or state. Their conceptualization shows very similar patterns of framework (cf. e.g. Jones & Woods 2013). "If a region is understood as a self-defined, spontaneous formation, independent from hierarchy of localities and nations, the absolute difference between a regional and national consciousness disappears" (Riukulehto 2015, 20). All these concepts can thus be considered as identical; different are only the perspectives in which they are approached and the terminology they introduce. This was summarized by Hepburn (2007, 116): "[state is] a region with an army". From the point of view of relation, one has to be aware of the intermediary function that integrates a region into the system and therefore it cannot be approached as a single piece of "the Russian doll" (Allen et al. 1998).

As stated by Paasi (2004, 540): "the emergence of regions and scales are two sides of the process of spatial differentiation, but not inevitably the same thing". Hence, the complex understanding of scale along with an insight into its contextual character allows for a better understanding of the reproduction of regions, facilitating orientation in the plentiful and heterogeneous informational discourse on regional organization which emerged in the 1980s and which Tor Selstad (2003) terms as "regional røre" [regional mess] (as cited in Frisvoll & Rye 2009, 175). In the empirical part of this thesis I suggest that the study of the symbolic shape of region represents a very helpful tool for orienting oneself in the plurality of regions. Therefore, it needs to be discussed here, albeit briefly.

REGION AS PRODUCED IN TERRITORIAL REPRESENTATION

2.1 Symbolic shape of a region and its importance

The symbolic shape of region occupies a privileged position in the process of institutionalization of region (see chapter 1.1). It threads through the whole process of the production of region and its further reproduction, mediating the relations between space and identity and, thus, binding region and regional identity together. The symbolic shape is an integral part of any region and is present in any dimension thereof. It makes possible and facilitates a perceived understanding of reality and interaction of all involved actors (Burke 2004). Basically said, the symbolic shape of region can be understood as a rich set of characteristic features, events and processes present in the region; or values, ideas and images assigned to them by people from both within and outside the region. But a territory or region as such can also be viewed as a symbol (Chromý et al. 2014). Typically, symbols are those elements that are in general perceived positively (Shepard 1961). Symbolic shape has the potency to strengthen the regional pride of inhabitants and their sense of belonging to the region and the regional community. Thus, it integrates the region. On the other hand, symbolic shape also represents the region outwardly (Chromý 2009). That is why it has a great potential to influence the general opinion, and therefore, it is a highly exploited part of the region, especially in the hands of regionalists and regional actors who may take advantage of it in order to promote their own goals.

During the process of symbolic shape formation, the region obtains its symbols (including its name). These are usually related to the historic memory/consciousness (Piwnica 2014) of the area as well as to its contemporary reality (Heřmanová et al. 2009). At the same time, collective memory and heritage are being formed. A variety of natural, cultural, societal, political, economic component and factors,

including historical roots both objective and subjective, take part in this process which results in an articulation of regional consciousness and the formation of inner and outer images of the region (Chromý 2009). Thereby the region becomes identifiable among other spatial units.

The symbolic shape of region is a set of regional symbols with a collective meaning for regional inhabitants, and of those symbols that are generally identified by outsiders. At an abstract level, it can be understood as a set of elements within a landscape endowed with a generally perceived value (Cusack 2007; Kaplan & Herb 2011). In a more material way, it can be defined as a set of visual and verbal expressions of those elements with a transferred meaning (O'Connell & Airey 2008). Individual features of the symbolic shape, i.e. symbols, and their transferred expressions play the role of cognitive signs, bearing a hidden sense which is obvious, meaningful and unifying for the group of their users, i.e. community (Bourdieu 1991). The fundamental mission of symbol (to serve as a means of connecting, communicating, mediating and presenting human experience and impressions) permeates all levels of its meaning (O'Connell & Airey 2008; Monnet 2011). Thus, symbol unifies, mediates, represents, and overcomes unlimited distances; it is an articulate expression of intangible values (Monnet 2011).

Symbolic shape is a social construction. It is apparent that it is not stable over time, but it is a subject to constant reproduction in terms of a set of features and the meanings ascribed thereto which reflect changes in the society's value orientation. Moreover, symbolic shape changes are subject to the influence of regional actors and their attempts to pursue their own interests and goals through them. As such, they are a product of power relations in each particular area (Hospers 2011). Symbols, their production and reinterpretation of their meaning, are used as a powerful tool in the ideological struggle over public space (cf. e.g. the discussion on the antiquization of public space in Macedonia; Vangeli 2010; Kouba 2012). Recent symbols are often projected into the past so as to validate the changes that have been carried out and supported by the use of "new" symbols and meanings (e.g. using a current state name to give a name to a territory prior to the factual emergence of the state; Semian 2012a; cf. Čižmárová 2015). Frequently recurring changes of the symbolic shape might weaken the regional identity and cause instability and conflicts within the region.

2.2 NAME AS A KEYSTONE OF A REGION

Regional name, which occupies a very prominent position within the symbolic shape of a region, can even be called "the number one regional symbol" (Paasi 1986; Semian 2012a). Out of all symbols

constituting a region's symbolic shape it is the most easily transferable and the most versatile one. Despite being a unifying element of the region, the name is also a possessive element that can be used as a colonization tool (Siwek 2011). It can thus become the subject of polemics in a community and even provoke its disintegration. Diverse territorially-bound institutions can profile themselves as regional through their name (Zelinsky 1980; Liesch et al. 2015) which enables them to affiliate themselves with a particular identity. Through promotion of the name, they can conduce to its further reproduction as well as that of identity and the region as such. Likewise, the region's inhabitants can conclusively articulate their regional sense of belonging to their region, define their affiliation to the regional community ("us") and delimit themselves against "the others" (Simon et al. 2010; Semian 2012a). It is the regional name that integrates the region inwards while representing it outwards as a certain unit.

Regional name is the product of socio-spatial changes; it reflects the changes of a given territory as well as its perception by individuals and the society as a whole (Olivová-Nezbedová et al. 1995). In a broader context, regional names may provide information about regional differentiations of the qualities of various regional milieus. This is one of the reasons why regional or geographical names became the subject of linguistic as well as sociological, economic, historical and geographical studies (Brendler & Brendler 2004; Simon et al. 2010; Semian 2012a; David & Mácha 2015). It is frequent in geography that the main consideration is the name's promotional (marketing) potential (cf. e.g. Alderman 2008, 208). It is because of its downrightness, apparently unequivocal and direct intelligibility (Hospers 2011; Kašková & Chromý 2014). Nevertheless, the issue of power relations and ideology connected with the "right" to give a name to places and regions is also very common in contemporary Anglophone literature (see e.g. Alderman 2009; Berg & Kearns 2009; Rose-Redwood et al. 2010).

Regional names can be a very rich source of information; studying them can facilitate, among other things, orientation in the plurality of regions and regional information (Simon et al. 2010). However, the plurality of regions might also be seen through the prism of name. One name may refer to various territorial delimitations of a region across scales both horizontally and vertically. Therefore, it is necessary to study regional information thoroughly in order to find out whether they refer to the same regional identity, and thus, contribute to the general idea of the same region. It is clear that the use of regional names in any research has its limits which the researcher should be aware of. Regional name is subject to many influences and a result of both general and specific conditionalities

(Semian 2012a). The choice of name is affected by the region's natural or cultural environment as well as by its history and geographical location (Chromý et al. 2014). It is under the influence of its epoch, fashion and the diverse traditions of choronym formation. Regional names are also a very dynamic phenomenon. They, similarly to the symbolic shape as a whole and the region itself, are constantly reproduced in time. The changes of name usually occur in three areas: linguistic, spatial and semantic (cf. e.g. Šmilauer 1966; Pleskalová 1992; Matúšková 2007; David 2008; Semotanová 2011). I deal with this topic in more detail in Semian (2012a) where also I discuss examples of such changes.

2.3 REGION AND REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE CONTEXT OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

As I have indicated earlier, within the framework of new regionalism region and regional identity are often canonized in relation to regional development issues. Therefore, the theme of this thesis is closely tied to the issue of regional development. Regional development is a very broad term. In this thesis I apply predominantly institutional approaches (Blažek & Uhlíř 2011; Blažek 2012). By these terms I understand the application of both top-down frameworks and the bottom-up activization of regional actors in the process of regional development. Thus, exogenous and endogenous sources of development can be identified during this process.

When considering the development of regions, particular attention must be paid to the problem of regions with a limited development potential where regional identity can be used as one of the few endogenous sources of development. Many studies have scrutinized the importance of regional identity within the framework of regional development (e.g. Raagmaa 2002; Süssner 2002; Chromý & Janů 2003; Hague 2005; Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones 2006; Frisvoll & Rye 2009; Messely et al. 2010). In many cases, they directly relate regional identity to regional development through tourism (e.g. Johnson 1999; Kneafsey 2000; Light 2001; Howard 2003; Moore & Whelan 2007; Ploner 2009), specific local products (Fitjar 2010; Messely et al. 2010; Spilková & Fialová 2013; Kašková & Chromý 2014), or by way of heritage protection (Antrop 1997; Howard 2003; Lowenthal 2005; Kučera et al. 2008). Other research projects focus on the commodification of regions through regional branding as part of a regional marketing process (e.g. Hospers 2006; 2011; Zimmerbauer 2011).

In the context of the multiple attempts to solve regional developmental problems, researchers often discuss the significance of the regions' endogenous potential for development, presence and quality of natural and man-made capital as well as the human and social one (Coleman 1988; Côté 2001;

Janc 2006; Pileček et al. 2013) especially in relation to the preparation of regional development strategies (Mohan & Mohan 2002; Labrianidis 2006; Blažek et al. 2008; Jančák et al. 2008; 2010). Research on the relationship between people and the territory they inhabit has become increasingly important in recent years, along with research concerning the extent to which an individual "belongs" to a region and its regional community (Deas & Ward 2000; Chromý & Janů 2003; Schmitt-Egner 2005). Generally speaking, this entails an interest in regional identity and regional consciousness in particular.

There are two consecutive clues for considering the potential of regional consciousness when it comes to regional development. First, in the process of institutionalization of regions it is important for their full development that the presented idea of a region is shared by its inhabitants; otherwise, the region becomes only a political construct, practically lacking any bonds to its inhabitants. Second, according to Raagmaa (2002), regional consciousness can act at a variety of different levels, ranging from primary socialization, fulfilling the basic human need "to belong" (Maslow 1989), to collective social action, leading to the mobilization of a community. Hence, regional identity can be utilized as a driver in the regional development process (Barnett 2001), although the views of its role may vary depending on the motivations of actors contributing to its formation.

But the regional identity can be approached also from the side where regional identity is seen as an image produced and mediated by regional actors. Thus, region can be approached as a spatial phenomenon that can be used to demonstrate power through, for example, regional development strategies. It can be understood and interpreted as a regional development argument. Through narratives it can de facto be turned into goods which can then become a regional marketing or regional branding tool (Olsson & Berglund 2009; Hospers 2011; Pike 2011) and a proof of targeted demonstrations of power on the part of actors or subjects from the political, economic, and cultural sectors. Within this framework, regional identity is addressed in different ways by actors from the political sector who desire to establish their power in the region, by business people who desire to ensure/increase their economic profit, and by actors from the cultural sector who would like to revive, preserve, or protect local regional specifics. Differing developmental objectives and differing interpretations of regional identity may result in friction among people, threatening to act as a brake (barrier) on regional development.

It is obvious that regional identity can act very differently when it is utilized as part of regional development strategies. It can definitely make positive contributions to regional development

in areas where individual actors in development share common interests and visions. These visions are not only focused on dealing with the existing problems, but are also formulations of long-term development strategies which reflect the changing values of a society and shifts in the meanings that the society attributes to regions. The resulting consensus on the direction of regional development is thus conceived as a "joint action" involving diverse actors in various roles and at various scale levels. Nevertheless, many authors point out that success depends also upon the willingness of inhabitants to participate in regional development and associated activities (Deas & Ward 2000; Schmitt-Egner 2005). It means that the vision has to be accepted not only by actors, but by societies as well. Thus, it should be formulated so as to tackle miscellaneous preconceptions that are often rooted in the past and limit regional development.

On the other hand, regional identity may be a unsuccessful driver in areas where a vision of only one dominant actor, or that of a limited spectrum of actors, has been implemented, or in areas where a joint consensus on the future direction of the region has been neither sought out nor found (Semian & Chromý 2014). In such cases, regional identity is an artificial construct created primarily by actors using power (political, economic, or cultural) without any input from the other actors in the development process, especially from regional inhabitants.

Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind that regional identity can also act as a barrier to regional development (Semian & Chromý 2014; cf. Burda 2014). This is especially true in areas where there are conflicts between several development visions of different actors, hence, conflicting interpretations of what makes up regional identity. Friction between different development visions can arise in situations where actors represent different social spheres (political, economic, cultural, etc.) as well as where there are different actors of different scale levels (local, regional, national, or supranational). Demonstrating uncritical regional patriotism, and emphasizing and celebrating regional characteristics instead of finding ways to use them to develop the region, can act as a barrier. Reproducing stereotypes and preconceptions may similarly hinder the development of cooperation among actors inside and outside the region.

The bases of development strategies are usually in reinterpretation, commodification and exploitation of regional components ranging from the society and its economic activity through natural and cultural heritage and landscape features to historical heritage, including the history of the region itself and the history that takes place in its territory. It is possible to identify four

distinctive strategies used by regional actors to (re)interpret regional identity in their development strategies (Semian et al. 2016):

- 1) adoption of an "original" identity and reproduction of "original" traditions in the spirit of uncritical patriotism;
- 2) utilization of an "original" identity and its rearticulation/revitalization in a new context when new meanings and values are attributed to old traditions;
- utilization of traditionally present but rather unused identities whose major traits include non-conflictness and capacity of evoking positive mental associations;
- 4) formation of brand new identities that may or may not prove to be innovative, creative solutions capable of anchoring in regional patterns, or whether they stand for an ephemeral idea of fashion.

In areas with a strong traditional regional identity (primarily characterized by a common acceptance of its presumed long-term historical continuity), local actors tend to use the first two strategies and, thus, reproduce well-embedded traditions and thereby both the internal and external image of their region, because regional communities are not only unlikely to accept any radical innovations, but with regard to the general awareness about the existence of such regions there is no need to change their image. On the contrary, in areas without any strong traditional regional identity, one can identify the usage of various strategies, including the possibility for local actors of formulating new identities and launching "innovative" processes. In the Czech context, this latter pattern is, however, intensified in areas resettled after World War II (Semian et al. 2016). The chosen strategy of dealing with regional identity in a development strategy has also an impact on the performance of regional identity in the development process.

To conclude this chapter I can sum up that it is important to connect regional development strategies with the consciousness of inhabitants based on the premise that people with stronger bonds of attachment to the territory they inhabit are more willing to get involved in the development of their region as well as in public affairs (Semian & Chromý 2014). Regarding this statement, the question "what is the region the inhabitants identify with," arises immediately. From the point of view characterized by the drafting of development strategies for regions of various scales, it is apparent that Czech current administrative regions which used to be defined "from above" in past are not the only regions that people identify with. Additionally, they are definitely not the most suitable arena for action, meetings and collaboration of actors initializing and implementing development activities.

But what regions might be suitable and how to delimit them in order to facilitate the interconnection of the two aforementioned sides: the goals of actors and the attachment of inhabitants? In the next chapter I propose a deconstruction of regionalization based on regional consciousness, the inhabitants' sense of belonging and the identity of region as a possible platform to bridge this duality. Such a type of research might be considerably helpful to the process of formation and delimitation of ad hoc initiatives, namely when it comes to developing the best starting position and a springboard for future success.

DECONSTRUCTING REGIONAL IDENTITY-BASED REGIONALIZATION

Based on the theoretical frameworks mentioned above I can conclude that so called "regional mess" can be experienced de facto in any particular area (this is especially true for the contemporary European Union). This regional mess can be understood as a plurality of regions, both in terms of produced regions as well as in terms of regional consciousness of inhabitants based among other things on their sense of belonging and their perception of regional information. In simpler terms, it can be understood as a plurality of regional images produced on one side by regional actors to fulfil their particular goals and on the other regional images produced by inhabitants in and outside the region in order to understand the outside world and position themselves within it.

However, the plurality of regions does not have to be necessarily contradictory. It can be complementary as well. Various regions (regional initiatives) established for various purposes can refer to the same regional identity in order to manifest their position in the regional system, attract the attention of inhabitants or simply use (in some cases even exploit) the potential of a particular region. Thus, they can be understood as a kind of layers of the same region (Semian 2015). To summarize briefly, in space one may come across natural regions (delimitated according to natural units, e.g. geomorphologic units, river basins, etc.), ethnographic and cultural regions (based on the ethnic, ethnographic, or cultural specificities of their inhabitants), ad hoc regions (regions delimitated for various specific reasons, including nature conservation, landscape protection, cooperation between municipalities, local and regional development, regional promotion, and the administrative arrangement of associations). Administrative regions possessing administrative and self-governmental functions constitute a special and important type of ad hoc region. Here, it is necessary to mention that when any of these regions ceases to exist, its "identity"

becomes a kind of residual value which might still have an imprint in human's mind and, thus, an influence on the general idea of a region (Zimmerbauer 2011). In connection to this, the vernacular regions have to be listed here as well. Last but not least, functional regions should not be omitted. They represent relations in space that influence not only the self-identification of inhabitants, but also their very idea of the organization of space (Semian n.d.).

With the use of the inhabitants' regional consciousness and their sense of belonging it becomes possible to introduce some order and clarity into this plurality. Thus, the complementarity of images of regions gets synthesized through people's perception in the collective consciousness. Therefore, it should be possible to proceed with regionalization by constructing a general image of various regions based on the synthesis of the many regional images (both constructed and perceived) present in the area of interest. Moreover, it is important to point out that such synthesized regions will not be universal but shared, representing the most common image of a produced, mediated and perceived region.

One can find the link to Lefebvre's constructivist framework of societal production of space (Lefebvre 1976; 1991; cf. Brenner & Elden 2009) which can be adapted to societal production of region. Thus, region can be approached as a product of the interaction between three distinct layers:

- Practice of region the way people interact with their surrounding environment in their everyday life. This interaction reproduces the region as a relation and lived space. The everyday practices are influenced by the existing representational regions and they also produce information which affects human perception.
- 2) (Re)presentation of region the way a region is mediated by various groups of actors with various goals and through various media. This means that information is produced and mediated the way some would like others to perceive the region. This layer involves generating mediated images, but also various constrains that can be imposed on everyday life depending on the level of institutionalization.
- 3) *Idea of region* the way people perceive a region as a spatial entity. Their perception is influenced by many aspects, both outer and inner, wherein the quality and quantity of information are very important. Such perception also has an influence on everyday activity of each person.

This interaction is reproducible in time and space as all the three layers undergo perpetual changes. All the three components are in a constant interaction and mutually influence one another during the process of reproduction. And so, region is a social construct that is reproduced through, de facto, constant teetering at the interface of these layers. Although it can exist lacking one or even two of these layers, it becomes fully developed (institutionalized) only through the blending of all three of them. A fully developed region is more resistant to disappearance.

Furthermore, for analytical purposes it is possible to interlace this framework with the three Paasi's shapes of region: territorial, symbolic and institutional. The fourth shape, termed as "regional embeddedness", is de facto substituted by the interaction of those three layers which gives the identity to the region (see fig. 1). In some papers (see chapter 5) I designate the conducted regionalization as "geosocial". That is why it is based upon the conceptualization of societal production of region. However, the imposition of such a nomenclature deserves a much broader debate among scholars. Therefore, I have decided to leave this designation merely as a working name and I leave it out from the theoretical body of the thesis.

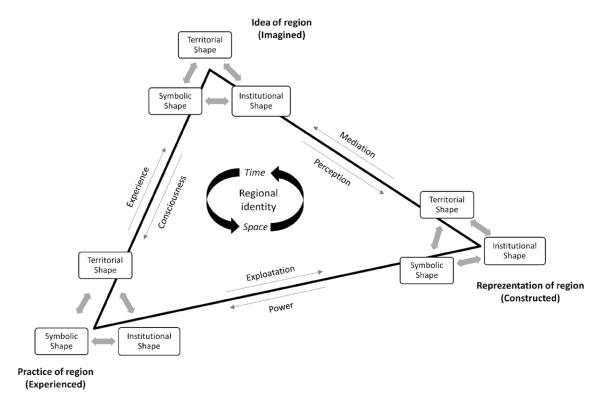


Fig. 1: Societal production of region

Source: author's own framework based on Lefebvre 1976; 1991; Paasi 1986

However, all the shapes and layers should be studied during the regionalization; the key aspect is how to delimit a region territorially. Any single precise demarcation of a territory cannot be expected when considering the delimitation of region based on its general image. Neither it is necessarily desirable to find just one such line. The borders of such regions can be supposed to be rather a sort of transitional zones of a fuzzy nature (Christiansen et al. 2000; Sendhardt 2013; cf. Schlögel 2009, 137; who claims that clear-cut territorial borders exist merely on maps).

"Forming a region is an evolutionary process. The edges of regions bleed across their boundaries into their neighbors' territories. The regions are socially interdependent. Areas of immediate belonging and familiarity are surrounded by labile zones (Phythian-Adams 2007, 7). It is in such a context that regional institutions emerge from amidst such interaction. Sometimes the formal boundaries divide rather than delimit the continuous areas. So, regions should be seen as constantly ongoing creations of individual and institutional choices, constantly reforming themselves anew. A region is a process and the process is both chronological and evolutionary in nature, that is, a process over time, but one that also simultaneously undergoes spatial change." (Riukulehto 2015, 9);

Thus, it is obvious that a region delimited according to its general image has fuzzy borders and is changeable over time, but it also differs according to various groups of users (e.g. the generational difference in delimitation, etc.). Nonetheless, the loose, fuzzy borders should provide a kind of buffer zone for these varying opinions.

The proposed concept integrates functional, normative and perceived regionalization in a complementary way. The partial components have been widely discussed, yet their mutual relation has been at the margin of regional scholars' interest.

METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS ON THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The discussion on region is very broad and complex as I have demonstrated in the previous chapters. Therefore, there are naturally many methodological conceptions of regionalism, methodological approaches to the concept of region and many methods useable in both the research of region and regional research. Because of the complexity of the concept of region it is hard to say what approaches and methods are the most suitable. The selection of methods should be critically discussed in relation to the purpose of each study. It is also dependent on the scale level of the regions discussed. The different methods should be used for the study of different components of region, different processes, inner and outer impetuses, qualities of regional milieu and regional actors, etc. It seems to be fruitful to use a combination of various research methods in order to understand region in its complexity. Emphasis should be put on the complementarity of research methods and on the cumulativeness of knowledge obtained from the research. Further, the combination of extensive and intensive research, using both quantitative and qualitative methods in the spirit of critical realism (Sayer 1989; 1992), seems to be appropriate in the study of such a complex concept.

Traditional methodological conceptions of regionalism primarily focus on region delimitation and evaluation. Nevertheless, these approaches cannot be seen as merely an idiographic description of specific "given" regions and their environment. Their distinctive part is zeroed in on exploration and evaluation of spatial relations constituting the regional system, i.e. functional regions. These particular approaches are well discussed in Czech literature. Key to them is the delimitation of regions based on mathematic and statistics modelling of sociogeographical interactions (Halás & Klapka 2010). The main interest is given to the mobility of people as an indicator of socially integrated areas. The data of work and school commuting is used primarily (Hampl 2005; Hampl & Marada 2015), but other data such as transport flows can also be included (Kraft et al. 2014). These

researches can be regarded as narrowing due to their narrow focus only on a specific type of interaction: the flow of people. The new and new researches which use different statistical methods and various sets of socio-economic characteristics have not brought much new knowledge, but most of them rather tend to be content with verifying previous findings (see e.g. Halás & Klapka 2010; Novák & Netrdová 2011). These approaches usually do not only explore the regional system, but they often aspire at evaluating it by way of quantitative analysis of aggregated data (see e.g. Hampl 2005; Musil & Müller 2008; Novák & Netrdová 2011), allowing for scalar distinction based on the data in use. Nevertheless, such an evaluation is static and descriptive. The dynamic (evolutional) evaluation aspiring to grasp the region as a process is left aside in these researches.

New regionalism has brought the understanding of the concept of region into the scope of scholarly interest. It requires new methods, data and information sources that would reflect changes in subject orientation of research projects. The key research element is no longer the delimitation and evaluation of region but the explanation of the process of region formation and reproduction. One of the characteristic lines of research is represented by studies dealing with the reproduction of region in discourse (Paasi 2013). The unifying aspect of all these studies is their focus on mediated images of region. The content, discourse, semiotic, semantic, and heuristic analysis are useful methods to explore mediated images of both textual and visual nature (see e.g. Rose 2007). It can be done through diverse media, such as school text books (Kučerová et al. 2015), regional postcards (Kučera et al. n.d.), regional newspapers (Frisvoll & Rye 2009; Simon et al. 2010; David & Semian 2015), regional literature including tourist guidebooks (Semian 2012b; 2015), regional promotional materials (Semian 2015), but also movies, music, etc. Probably the most important question that remains generally unanswered in these researches is who has produced and mediated the images and why; i.e. who has the power to influence the discourse and what are her/his objectives. This brings into the scope of interest the power-oriented discourse research. Such an inquiry requires more qualitative methods. The commonly used methods comprise, for example, interpretative analysis of discourse politics towards a region (Paasi 2013), observation of regional council meetings (Frisvoll & Rye 2009) and interviews with key actors of regional life (Messely et al. 2014; Vainikka 2015).

Another distinctive line of research is formed by studies that aspire to investigate regional consciousness of people and their sense of belonging in general. One branch of such approaches is focused on the evaluation of regional differentiation and typology based on these two categories. Such researches are typically based on quantitative analysis of public opinion surveys and censuses.

Questionnaire surveys are assessed across all scale levels, covering international (Antonsich & Holland 2014; Nikischer 2013), nation-wide (Šifta & Chromý 2014; Bucher & Ištoková 2015) and local opinion polls (Jordan 1978; Chromý & Skála 2010; Chromý et al. 2014). The weak point of these researches is their frequent use of secondary data (e.g. Eurobarometr, national census) for merely statistical analysis (Kuldová 2005). The definition of the key terms "attachment" and "region" could be misinterpreted in the survey and must be critically addressed in the research design. On the contrary, minor local polls permit a more intensive research among regional populations, going beyond quantitative analysis of regional differentiation. This might be seen as another branch of approaches. Such queries are focused more on the basis of attachment of inhabitants to region (Chromý et al. 2014; Šifta & Chromý 2014). Nevertheless, more qualitative methods seem to be more suitable, e.g. semi-structured or informal interviews, participant observation (Kneafsey 2000), and the study of regional names that are used in media to report on regional affairs (Simon et al. 2010; Semian 2015), and by enterprises (Zelinsky 1980; Liesch et al. 2015), and people (Jordan 1978; Semian 2012a; n.d.) to express their regional attachment. The last branch of approaches is represented by those studies that focus on public perception of regions, their territorial delimitation, symbols and institutions. The suitable methods, referred to above, include, for example, questionnaire surveys, interviews and observations. In addition to these I have to mention the exploration of mental maps which are especially helpful in the study of how territorial delimitations (borders) of a region are perceived (Semian 2012b; n.d.; Šerý & Šimáček 2013).

As stated in the previous chapters, region should be approached in three mutually interdependent dimensions: "given" (practice of region), "made" (reproduction of region) and "perceptional" (idea of region). These dimensions are complementary and diverse at the same time. Therefore, there is no single method that would make it possible to explore region in its whole diversity. I have hereinbefore presented a methodological framework that covers all these three dimensions. The general idea of region should be studied through the combination of the presented methods with an emphasis on the complementarity and cumulativeness of results and their synthesis. Further, special attention should also be paid to comparative analysis of various regions and experience from different environment. As mentioned earlier, the "given" dimension of region is probably the best explored one covered in literature. That is the reason why I have almost entirely omitted, in the research framework presented herein, those methods that reveal this dimension. Nevertheless, I am well aware of the importance of region-integrating relations in the process of regional formation

and reproduction. Therefore, I take them into account in the interpretation of my findings. Moreover, these relations are included in my research framework e.g. in the form of a condition for the case study selection process (see Semian 2015; n.d.). In my thesis, I have focused more on the study of the process of formation and reproduction of region. The individual methods I employed for this purpose are presented in separate papers. In brief, these include content, semantic, heuristic, discourse and comparative analyses, questionnaire surveys (local polls) and analysis of mental maps. At this point, it is necessary to mention that it is essential to design, perform and interpret such a kind of research with an awakened sensitivity to local history and environment. In order to gain a deeper insight into the studied regions and local life, I carried out participant observation and many informal interviews with local inhabitants as well as semi-structured interviews with selected regional actors. Nonetheless, I do not present any of these methods in any of the aforesaid partial studies.

Although I herein approach region mainly from the socio-cultural perspective, it is not possible to give it priority over the socio-economic, environmental or political ones. A complex research on regions ought to incorporate all these perspectives, encompass their specificities and employ appropriate, critically discussed methods. Moreover, in the study of region I emphasize the historical perspective with a focus on the dynamics of regional reproduction and changes in time-space contexts.

THESIS BRICK BY BRICK

The thesis comprises eight original papers which represent a coherent set. This set of papers contributes to the unveiling of the relationship between region, regionalization and regional identity, thereby serving as a theoretical, methodological and empirical backbone for this thesis as well as for the formulation of ideas and statements presented above. It also helps to meet the research goals outlined earlier. The research activities presented in the set originates in 2009, when the first research was conducted as a basis for my master thesis (Semian 2010). It can be considered as a pivotal probe into the examined issue. This initial project later evolved into continual research activities using various research methods that are presented in the undermentioned papers. Even though the last research presented herein was conducted in 2015, the research activities still continue and will result in subsequent studies further developing the presented framework and conclusions. However, the main research work conducted to meet the aforementioned goals was partially supported by the Czech Science Foundation under projects P410/12/G113: "Historical Geography Research Centre", 2012–2018, and P404/12/1112: "Formation of Spatial Identities in Areas with Intensively Changed Landscape: The Case of North-Western Bohemia", 2012–2014, and primarily by the Charles University Grant Agency under project 632913: "Geosocial Regionalisation: General Questions, Methodological Approaches and their Verification", 2013-2014, and thus had to be designed so as to fulfill the objectives of these projects.

Hereinafter, the individual papers are not sorted chronologically but thematically. However, each of them is constituted as a self-standing research theme and contributes to all theoretical, methodological and empirical frameworks of the thesis. The papers can be divided into several subgroups: the general synthesizing papers (1, 2); papers dealing with partial shapes of region, contributing to a broader understanding of the concept of region in the spirit of new regionalism,

in particular, they deal with territorial (3, 4, 5), symbolic (4, 5) and institutional shapes of region (5) and their relation to the fourth shape – regional embeddedness (3, 4, 5); and papers adjusting the new regionalism discussion in a more applied research with a particular focus on regional development possibilities in the national (6, 7) and even international (8) contexts. The number-coded papers are listed below along with mentions of my authorship contribution:

- 1) Semian, Michal (2015): Historical aspects and influences of the reproduction of regions in Czechia. In: Riukulehto, Sulevi (ed.): *Between Time and Space*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 23–43. [authorship contribution 100 %].
- 2) Semian, Michal (n.d.): 'Geosocial regionalisation': Territorial delimitation in the light of regional identity. [manuscript]. [authorship contribution 100 %].
- 3) Semian, Michal (2012b): Searching for the territorial shape of a region in regional consciousness: The Český ráj (Bohemian Paradise), Czech Republic. *Moravian Geographical Reports* 20 (2): 25–35. [IF (2014) 0,872; authorship contribution 100 %].
- 4) Semian, Michal (2012a): Název jako symbol regionu [Name as a symbol of region]. *Historická geografie* 38 (2): 335–352. [authorship contribution 100 %].
- 5) Chromý, Pavel, Semian, Michal & Kučera, Zdeněk (2014): Regionální vědomí a regionální identita v Česku: případová studie Českého ráje [Regional awareness and regional identity in Czechia: Case study of the Bohemian Paradise]. *Geografie* 119 (3): 259–277. [IF (2014) 0,558; authorship contribution 50 %].
- 6) David, Jaroslav & Semian, Michal (2015): Bohemian Manchester, Moravian Klondike and Silesian Versailles: Attributive structures of foreign place names in contemporary Czech journalism. *Slovo a slovesnost* 76 (2): 129–147. [IF (2014) 0,375; authorship contribution 50 %].
- 7) Semian, Michal, Chromý, Pavel & Kučera, Zdeněk (2016): Name as a regional brand: The case of Local Action Groups in Czechia. *Journal of Language and Politics* 15 (6). [in print; accepted 2. 9. 2015]. [IF (2014) 0,231; authorship contribution 60 %].
- 8) Semian, Michal & Chromý, Pavel (2014): Regional identity as a driver or a barrier in the process of regional development: A comparison of selected European experience. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* 68 (5): 263–270. [IF (2014) 0,418; authorship contribution 50 %].

The following chapter offers a short summary of all these incorporated papers, integrating them into the framework of the thesis.

1) Semian, Michal (2015): Historical aspects and influences of the reproduction of regions in Czechia.

In: Riukulehto, Sulevi (ed.): Between Time and Space. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 23–43.

The first paper has been included herein as a synthesizing study. It provides a brief theoretical summary of the concepts of region and regional identity as particularly popular themes in the contemporary research, but as yet not fully explored especially in their mutual relation and in the historical perspective. The first article is the chapter two of an international and interdisciplinary collaborative book edited by the Finish historian Sulevi Riukulehto. It deals with the relationship between time and space in addition to the issue of region and regional identity, outlining a possibility of periodization of modern Czech history on the basis of regionalism. The paper also covers the discussion regarding the selection of three case study areas: Bohemian Paradise (Český ráj), Bohemian Siberia (Česká Sibiř), and the Humpolec region (Humpolecko). These selected case study areas are used more or less throughout the whole empirical body of the thesis. In short, the unifying and distinguishing aspects were stated prior to the selection in order to ensure the continuity of regional identity development throughout modern history and provide the comparison of regions with different nature of the reproduction of regional identity. These unifying aspects were as follows: being located in the inner periphery of Prague (Musil & Müller 2008), being located within the historical land of Bohemia, and not being influenced by the expulsion of the German population after World War II (Kučera & Chromý 2012). In contrast to this, the distinguishing aspects were: the opened- or closed-nature of functional regions (Hampl 2005), the continuity of administrative jurisdiction (Burda 2014), and assumptions about the strength of regional identity. The case study areas were also chosen in order to enable the interconnection of sociogeographical, normative administrative, ad hoc and perceptual regionalization in discussion parts, and thus, to strengthen the more complex attitudes to the regionalization.

In the empirical part, the paper deals with regional discourse analysis of relevant and available publications and other materials from the period of "modern" regionalism (ca. since 1850). It uses the above-mentioned concept of deconstructing region into four shapes (Paasi 1986) for the presentation of results. Not only does it describe the reproduction of these shapes over time, but also discusses the influence of historical events and changes on their reproduction. In particular, it explores the importance of natural, landscape and administrative features, and that of identity bearers in region reproduction. Such an analysis serves as a background for further research, because

it identifies other regional identities presented in the case study areas that might clash with the studied ones. Although the paper was published in 2015, after the time-consuming process of international and interdisciplinary collaboration, its early draft versions had already been presented at the RSA European Conference in Tampere 2013 and at the EUROGEO Conference in Bruges 2013.

2) Semian, Michal (n.d.): 'Geosocial regionalisation': Territorial delimitation in the light of regional identity. [manuscript].

The next paper reflects the most recent discussion on the conceptualization of region, including the understanding of region as an assemblage of various regional initiatives (Allen & Cochrane 2007), but also the discussion on the sense of belonging to region by its inhabitants (Tomaney 2015). The paper define the place for regionalization based on regional consciousness, sense of belonging and identity of region. These are scrutinized both theoretically and methodologically further in the text, based on the research among the inhabitants of three selected case studies, but also in relation to previously conducted research of their regional discourse (see Semian 2015). The paper verifies the possibility of such delimitation of regions and also confirms the validity of selected methodology. In addition to the pivotal study (see Semian 2012b), it succeeds in delimitating even regions with much less recognizable identity. Based on research, it summarizes the relation between the thereby delimitated general idea of regions and the strength and nature of identity, but it also reflects their relation to the "partial" natural, cultural and functional regions which more or less significantly contribute to the construction of the general idea of region.

Regarding this paper, it is necessary to make clear that it has neither been published nor accepted for publication yet. As a manuscript it would certainly deserve some modifications suggested by peer-reviewers prior to successful publication in a high-ranked journal. Nevertheless, it offers a theoretical discussion and presents empirical findings that are crucial for the understanding of this thesis. Therefore, I gave preference to including it therein in the form of a manuscript over publishing it prematurely. The paper has not yet been presented at any conference. However, its partial aspects were discussed at the Warsaw Regional Forum in 2013 and at the RSA Early Career Conference in Sheffield 2014.

3) Semian, Michal (2012b): Searching for the territorial shape of a region in regional consciousness: The Český ráj (Bohemian Paradise), Czech Republic. *Moravian Geographical Reports* 20 (2): 25–35.

This third paper is the first of the group of more empirically oriented papers within the set. It deals with the territorial shape of region and, from the methodological point of view, represents a pilot study. It brings together the two sides of regional identity: regional consciousness of inhabitants and image of region, placing them into the framework of the process of the institutionalization of region. Specifically, it is focused on the territorial shape of region. It has been serving as a stepping stone for further research. It tested the viability of the proposed methodology and it identified the theoretical, methodological and empirical problems that needed to be addressed and solved in the following research design (cf. Semian 2015; n.d.). That is why the Bohemian Paradise region, which is a region with a strong regional identity (Jeřábek 2005), was chosen as the case study area for this purpose.

In a theoretical framework, the paper discusses, among other things, the key issue of borders. The body of the paper is constituted by two interconnected researches. First, the regional discourse concerning the delimitation of the region is studied. Subsequently, mental maps of the delimitation of the region are used as an insight into the regional consciousness of inhabitants. The paper proves the possibility of defining a general idea of region on the basis of regional identity. It explores the loose nature of such a delimitation according to the selected level of significance throughout the interpretation of results. This blurred record of regional borders appears to be a suitable tool for distinguishing three levels of significance splitting the territory into three different delimitations: core, middle and outer. While the core and middle (inner) delimitation designate the territory that is most commonly recognized as region, the outer delimitation represents the broad discourse on territorial shape. Thus, the paper stresses the fuzzy nature of regional borders identified according to regional identity. The results were announced as guest speaker presentations at 2nd Geoforum in Mikulov 2012 and at the *Český ráj to napohled* [Bohemian Paradise it is to see] workshop in Rovensko pod Troskami 2013.

4) Semian, Michal (2012a): Název jako symbol regionu [Name as a symbol of region]. *Historická* geografie 38 (2): 335–352.

As I have mentioned earlier, "the regional mess" can be witnessed in almost every area. This regional mess is caused by the overproduction of regions, regional images and regional information. Thus,

the orientation among the available information is crucial for the understanding to relations between people (community) and regions. This paper is more methodologically oriented and it proposes the Paasi's (1986) deconstruction of the process of the institutionalization of region as suitable framework to do so. The paper is focused on the role of symbolic shape and especially regional name in particular. The regional name is here addressed as regional symbol number one and a suitable argument to define and distinguish the region (Jordan 1978; Zelinsky 1980; Simon et al. 2010). It is the regional name that integrates the region inwards while represents it outwards as a certain unit (Chromý 2009).

The paper addresses the concept of regional name and its importance in regional studies. It defines the position of the name as a part of the symbolic shape of the region in the context of the new regionalism and stresses its possible usage as valuable source of information within the regionalist research. It brings the examples from the field research in Bohemian Paradise region. On the other hand, it explores the limits of such a source and discuss the main problems, which must be taken into consideration in the study of regional names. The limits and problems are documented based on both field research in Bohemian Paradise region and heuristic analysis of legitimate historic literature regarding also other regions. Finally, it underscores the need to combine different interdisciplinary approaches in the study of regions. The paper is based on the conference paper delivered at 7th Historical Geography Conference in Prague 2012. The findings were also presented among other in the guest speech at the Regional Brand: Identity, Strategy and Communication workshop in Jindřichův Hradec 2012. This paper is written in the Czech language, nevertheless, it contains an English summary.

5) Chromý, Pavel, Semian, Michal & Kučera, Zdeněk (2014): Regionální vědomí a regionální identita v Česku: případová studie Českého ráje [Regional awareness and regional identity in Czechia: Case study of the Bohemian Paradise]. *Geografie* 119 (3): 259–277.

This is the last paper in the sub-section of the more empirically-oriented papers dealing with various shapes of regions. This paper discusses the symbolic and institutional shape of region and its contribution to the formation of the general idea of region. Some authors point out that landscape and natural features have a significant role in the process of establishing the attachment of people to their region (Cusack 2007; Kaplan and Herb 2011). Therefore, this paper also aspires to introduce this topic in the Czech context. The Bohemian Paradise region has been chosen for this study because the Český ráj Protected Landscape Area occupies a privileged position in the regional discourse.

In its introductory parts, the paper briefly discusses the concept of region and regional identity and considers the importance of landscape, landscape features and heritage for the formation of attachment of people to the region. The position of nature and landscape conservatory institutions within the institutional shape of region, and in the consciousness of people, is further discussed. Nevertheless, the paper is structured as a complex analysis of regional consciousness. It further discusses the territorial delimitation according to the sense of belonging of inhabitants followed by the analysis of regional symbols and their imprints in human consciousness and analysis of the relationship of inhabitants to the regional institutions. The importance of landscape and landscape features in the process of identification of inhabitants with region has been confirmed, as well as the rather positive attitude to nature and landscape conservatory institutions. These findings facilitate the conclusion that people are aware of other than just economic values even in areas of inner peripheries (Musil & Müller 2008). The quality of regional milieu and the level of belonging to the territory have the potential to be used in the regional development visions in post-industrial period. The findings were presented in the form of guest speaker presentations at 2nd Geoforum in Mikulov 2012 and at the Český ráj to napohled [Bohemian Paradise it is to see] workshop in Rovensko pod Troskami 2013. This paper is written in the Czech language, nevertheless, it contains an English summary.

6) David, Jaroslav & Semian, Michal (2015): Bohemian Manchester, Moravian Klondike and Silesian Versailles: Attributive structures of foreign place names in contemporary Czech journalism. *Slovo* a slovesnost 76 (2): 129–147.

With this sixth paper I am getting to the last sub-section of papers which should present more strongly applied researches with implications on the regional development planning. The paper explores the specific example of toponyms (foreign place names with attributive structure) in the context of new regionalism. In particular, it discusses the promotive nature of such names which might be utilized in the regional branding process. In this context, the paper further discusses the possible appelativization of toponyms that arises from the too frequent usage of particular names. The appelativization may prove to be a burden in the branding process.

Out of all the papers presented, this one has the most interdisciplinary character. It straddles over the edges of the toponomastics, linguistics, historiography, and geography. Therefore, the studied topic and used methodology have to respect the nature of such research. That is why it may seem to be a little bit aside from the mainstream of the thesis. Nevertheless, the theoretical

discussions and results are relevant to the topic of the thesis and therefore I have decided to make this text part of it. The theme was widely discussed and well accepted at the 23rd Congress of Czech Geographical Society in Prague 2014 and at the 16th International Conference of Historical Geographers in London 2015, which proves the relevancy and importance of the study.

7) Semian, Michal, Chromý, Pavel & Kučera, Zdeněk (2016): Name as a regional brand: The case of Local Action Groups in Czechia. *Journal of Language and Politics* 15 (6). [in print; accepted 2. 9. 2015].

The next paper deals further with the potential of regional names as a rich source of information for regional analysis and also as an important instrument in the process of region formation. Thus, the paper elaborates some of the side themes of this thesis: the recent ad hoc initiatives newly introduced to the Czech regional system with the process of entering the European Union; methodological conceptualization of regional names as a source of information; the significance of symbolic shape in the process of institutionalization, and the importance of landscape within the symbolic shape. The paper summarizes these topics in a framework of regional identities exploitation in regional development and regional marketing and branding in particular.

The analysis is based on names of specific regions, Local Action Groups, in Czechia. It is focused on the phenomena that constitute the regional name's essence, and subsequently their territorial differentiation is discussed. It also briefly discusses the linguistic formants of regional names as the Czech linguistic literature dealing with choronyms is particularly poor (cf. e.g. Čechová & Dokulil 2011; Rozenkiewicz & Łach 2012). The analysis affirms the importance of territorial approach towards regional denomination. It has equally been affirmed that region naming strategies are spatially fragmented. Nevertheless, the territorial differentiation of names of LAG regions mirrors the elementary spatial patterns traditionally reproduced in the Czech context. Identified in the conclusion are the possible implications on regional development and four distinctive strategies for the use (exploitation) of regional milieus in regional development are outlined. The partial findings of this research paper were presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Geographers in Chicago 2015 and in the guest speaker presentation at the 1st Ostrava Onomastics Congress in Ostrava 2015.

8) Semian, Michal & Chromý, Pavel (2014): Regional identity as a driver or a barrier in the process of regional development: A comparison of selected European experience. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* 68 (5): 263–270.

The last paper incorporated in this thesis discusses explicitly the role of regional identity in regional development. It reveals the problem of appropriate delimitation of region in order to refine the regional development strategies. The encouragement of the inhabitants' relation to the region they live in and their willingness to collaborate in the process of change seems to be crucial in contemporary regional development literature (Mohan & Mohan 2002; Labrianidis 2006; Blažek et al. 2008; Jančák et al. 2008; 2010; Chromý et al. 2011). That is why it is important to deal with region, its conceptualization and its relation to regional identity in region-developmental studies.

At the theoretical level, the paper discusses the basic concepts of region and regional identity, their mutual relation reflected in the process of institutionalization of a region and especially the role that regional identity can play in regional development. All these are considerations from the position of the new regionalism background. Through a comparative study of relevant scholarly articles published in the first decade of the new millennium, the paper critically discusses six European case studies which deal with the relationship between regional identity and regional development. To date, researchers have examined the role of regional identity as both a successful and unsuccessful driver in regional development. Nevertheless, a third possible role of regional identity is identified on the basis of heuristic and critical reading of narratives contained in those case studies. The regional identity can also act as a barrier to regional development, where the clash of identities in a particular territory is one of the specific factors. This clash is often connected with the abuse of regional identity in inconveniently defined strategies that fail to communicate the (not only) spatial content with inhabitants and their consciousness. The paper was widely discussed at Ph.D. Winterschool in Leuven 2012 and RSA European Conference in Delft 2012.

THE FUTURE AGENDA AS THE CONCLUSION

In accordance with the main research question and on the basis of the research results presented above, it can be concluded that it is possible to delimit regions spatially pursuant to the complex analysis of general idea based on people's regional consciousness, a sense of regional belonging of inhabitants and a discourse of regional images. Such kind of regionalization is very complex phenomenon. It fits within the contemporary rethinking of region as a process. Thus, regions (and regionalization) are constructs and they are influenced by external frameworks and internal conditionality. Therefore, the time and space context is very crucial and regions need to be studied with sensitivity to local and historical specificities as the impetuses (political, economic, social, cultural, environmental, etc.) forming regions, and their importance differ in different time-space contexts.

There is a plentiful complex of regional conceptualization in contemporary geographical literature. Nevertheless, many of these concepts explain the process of regional formation and reproduction only to a limited extent. The proposed concept is not contradictory to them. It suggests their further scrutinizing and discussion leading especially towards complementarity of these concepts. The complex approach to region must incorporate three levels of region: "given" (practice of region), "made" (representation of region) and "perceived" (idea of region). It is possible to explore the general idea of region by way of studying these levels. The change of the society's value orientation comes along with the general changes of society. Thus, the meaning, the importance and the gist of the need of "moorage" are also changing and this change brings into question human relation to place and region (the sense of belonging). Therefore, the third, perceived dimension has been gaining both strength and importance. Moreover, regions delimited according to the general idea appear to be widely accepted by the public, and thus, they have a potential to become a unifier

that builds the community, ties it together and stimulate the inhabitants' willingness to collaborate in regional development and social life. Or, at least it represents a good trademark suitable for the regional promotion often addressed by regional actors.

As far as well-embedded identities are concerned, their general idea should be much broader and their miscellaneous manifestations are expected to be clearly identifiable. The notion of areas belonging to a particular region is generally well recognizable. The sense of belonging in the case of well-embedded regions is also very strong especially in the core areas, but also in the areas commonly designated as part of the region. In contact zones stretching along the boundaries between those regions whose residents have a strong sense of regional identity, one can observe mutually overlapping and blending identities (i.e. fuzzy borders). On the other hand, when a region is not sufficiently embedded in people's consciousness, a more narrow delimitation can be expected as the ideas on the territorial shape of region are varying among inhabitants. In such case it is also likely the spatial delimitation according to sense of belonging will be less sharp and will be mingled with other identities. The relation of different manifestations of regions and their general ideas is discussed more closely in Semian (n.d.).

This thesis brings together the conceptualization of a region from Anglophone geography and post-socialist reality of Central Europe. The universality of the presented concept thus needs to be further verified. A comparative analysis of various European and World experience will be more than fruitful. The testing of the concept on different scale-level regions goes hand in hand with the previous suggestion. Particularly the study of supra-state regions is about to become a very influential course of tomorrow's European regional geography.

International comparison does not seem to be the only important method for further verification of the concept. The transfer and adjustment of the concept and methodology to a broader area covering the whole Czechia might be helpful as well. For such an ambitious concept, analyzing three, regardless of how thoroughly chosen, case studies would still be somewhat narrowing, simplifying and partial. Undoubtedly, the adjustment of methodology will be very difficult. In particular, carrying out a detailed regional discourse analysis involving the whole Czechia could take a lifetime. The study of various partial forms of regionalization and their further comparison seems to be a doable option. The publication Semian et al. (2016) can be viewed as one such particular research. Moreover, any spatially representative survey of regional consciousness and sense of belonging is a very demanding task. Nevertheless, the first steps have been undergone even in this direction in September 2015.

An extensive research was conducted on vernacular regions in Czechia among the population of the first-year geography students of Czech universities.

As previously stated, regional identity is an ancestral phenomenon; regional consciousness is strongly tied to personal history, the life-path. Regional history and the history that unfolded in a region are also further reassessed and exploited in the process of commodification of region and regional identity. They introduce another important and interesting possibility for further research that would deepen the understanding of regionalization (based on regional identity) and the development of regional system. The mutual relation between regions, regional identity and history is a subject of interdisciplinary - mainly geographical and historical - research (Aronsson 2007; Russell 2007; Semotanová & Chromý 2012). The present identity is often validated through appealing to the past and monuments of the past (Fenton 1997). Thus, regional history and historical events can become a symbol the inhabitants might feel attached to (a linkage to their roots). As a symbol, they can get commodified and used as a tool to promote people's identification with a particular territory. They can be rearticulated to support the idea of a long socio-spatial continuity of a region's existence in a particular area and regional system. Nevertheless, it is necessary to always bear in mind that history is an interpretation of time (Riukulehto 2015); a construct written, presented and promoted by the winners in order to validate their former, present as well as future actions. Regional history is thus under the influence of power relations in a given area.

In the regional identity formation process, history is selected, generalized and reinterpreted by regional actors according to their goals. Thus, heritage, both tangible and intangible, is rearticulated and historical images of the region are constructed and mediated in the form of narratives, events, periods, sites, symbols, etc. Historical periods that are understood from a current point of view as "positive times" (the golden age) of regional or national rise, are used and reinterpreted primarily. The rise can be of different nature: political, economic, cultural or even power oriented. On the other hand, different historical periods can be strictly neglected or deliberately omitted from the regional history reinterpretation (Vaňková 2008). The same historical period can be perceived and reinterpreted differently by different people and in different periods of time alike. Therefore, the present reinterpreted image (defined by leading elites) is used retrospectively and is projected to the previous eras in order to strengthen the contemporary idea and validate its existence. The reinterpretation of history in the process of identity formation represents a very crucial research contributing to the mosaic of this thesis. I presented my preliminary

research on the reinterpretation of history by the Czech Local Action Groups at the annual meeting of the American Association of Geographers in Chicago 2015, where the paper enjoyed interest from wide audiences including the session discussant Anssi Paasi. The response to the paper assured me about the importance of the topic. The relevance regional history studies for the contemporary paradigm of regional geography has been summarized by Hroch (2009, 2): "Regional history may modify or even replace a collective identity based on national history".

The next issue addressed has already popped-up several times throughout this paper. It is probably the most important topic that I had to drop off from the framework of the thesis due to its enormous complexity and requirement of a qualitative research that would make the scope of the thesis too broad. It is the incorporation of more critical attitudes to the very framework of the regionalization. In very simple terms, it means asking, after the question "how", the question "who" and "why" produces, mediates and perceives the region? The inclusion of the critical approach to the concept of regionalization and to every single partial research is the biggest challenge for future research.

Aditionally, the presented research is methodologically closely tied to the study of regional names. Regional names are very interdisciplinary topic. They are subject of study for linguists, historians, and geographers. They represent valuable source of information, and heritage (David & Mácha 2015). Even though this line of research may seem to be off the topic, understanding regional names, their nature, and, above all, their potency and potential is very crucial for the study of regional consciousness and sense of belonging. Yet what seems to be even more crucial is the study of the political power needed to name a region (select a narrative to be imprinted in that name). I am dealing with the regional names in various forms in Semian (2012a); David & Semian (2015); Semian et al. (2016), but regional names are truly neglected within toponomastics and deserves further research.

In the light of all that has been said in this thesis, I can conclude that the region is truly an intricate concept. Thus, this thesis should be seen as a contribution to the never-ending discussion on the conceptualization of region and not as an attempt to come up with a universal answer. Such a universal conceptualization is neither desirable nor possible. Nevertheless, a better understanding of the concept of region is still more necessary and relevant especially due to the increasing pressure on the applicability of regional research (regional development, tourism management, etc.). Therefore, the discussion on region should focus more on the understanding of the process of formation and reproduction of region instead of a mere delimitation and evaluation of regions.

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COLLECTION OF SELECTED STUDIES