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THE QUALITY OF LIFE AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN POST-INDUSTRIAL PERIPHERAL CITIES

Abstract

This article presents the subjective dimension of the quality of life of the residents of five post-industrial cities located in Poland, Russia, Turkey, Lithuania and Hungary. The main goal is to determine the level of both overall sense of well-being of the respondents and their satisfaction from particular areas of their lives. The analysis covers the relationships that exist between the level of the quality of life, the components of social capital in the cities under study as well as the degree of their socio-economic development. The author focus on the similarities and differences that exist between the cities with respect to the topics under discussion.

Key words: subjective quality of life, living conditions, social capital, post-industrial cities

INTRODUCTION

The quality of life has long been amongst the most popular problems discussed on the ground of many social sciences. It is also the category increasingly used as one of the main elements of evaluation and comparison among countries, regions and cities. It is highlighted as a primary objective in developing the concept of local or regional development [Borys, 2005; Borys, Rogala, 2008]. The pursuit of personal and social well-being and satisfaction of needs as the basis for the increase of the quality of life of the present and future generations constitute the essence of the sustainable development concept [Kusterka-Jefmańska, 2010].

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The quality of life of the inhabitants of the city is an important factor shaping its image [Glińska, 2010; Ziemia, 2012]. Measures aimed at increasing the quality of life should belong to the most important goals of local policy. High quality of life in a territorial unit is becoming an important asset, giving advantage in the competition for new residents and investors and acting as a kind of incentive for people to bind their existence with the local system. Competition that takes place under the current socio-economic circumstances among cities as well as other territorial units should encourage them to undertake various measures to improve the conditions and the quality of life of the population through the development of favorable socio-cultural environments. One should bear in mind that due to the increased mobility of people and capital, urban centres should make effort to create the best possible environment not only for new users but also those already living there [Glińska, 2010]. Due to the above described trend, the role of traditional, measurable factors of evaluation of attractiveness of cities and regions is increasingly replaced by the cultural and social characteristics, and those related to the quality of life in the area [Fredriksson, 1998]. Economic dimension of competitiveness is thus to a large extent linked to the social dimension.

It is difficult however for post-industrial peripheral cities to meet the requirements of competitiveness. The main cause of peripheralisation of urban centres is above all considered to be their binding with traditional industries. No possibility of change of character of activity causes widening of the distance from the centres in which most lucrative currently sectors of economy associated with modern technologies and services are focused. The industrial city is becoming under the present conditions the synonym of the peripheral city. According to Iwona Sagan “the image of an industrial city is in today’s world identified with the image of a backward and polluted city” [2000: 144]. Such image of the city is an additional barrier to its development. The transformation of the negative image should therefore involve not only changes in the sphere of exploitation and shaping of the urban space but also, and perhaps above all, measures aimed at improving the quality of life of its inhabitants.

The last sentence suggests that the level and the quality of life of the residents of peripheral cities is lower compared with metropolises. The results of studies confirm that both objective and subjective dimensions of the quality of life in post-industrial cities such as Lodz that have not undergone advantageous – from the point of view of the new economic situation – transformation are lower than in other cities [Reports on large Polish cities, 2011; Social Diagnosis, 2013]. The quoted studies describe the situation of the Polish cities. It seems therefore

interesting to investigate whether in the case of post-industrial cities located in other countries the situation is quite similar or not.

The aim of this study is to assess the quality of life at the local level. Determination of the similarities and differences that exist with respect to the subjective quality of life of the city dwellers in Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Hungary and Turkey is the key issue raised in this study work. The analysis is complemented by examination of the relationships among the subjective quality of life and the resources of social capital and the level of socio-economic development of the city. First of all, it is interesting to determine whether the particular components of social capital such as trust, social networks and the values and norms similarly affect the quality of life in the cities under study and whether their impact on the sense of well-being of inhabitants will be different for different collectives? Secondly, the attempt will be made to determine the impact of the degree of the city's development, determined on the basis of data on specified, objective conditions of life in the city, on subjective quality of life of its inhabitants.

The presented analyses are based on the survey study carried out within the project "Resurgence of post-industrial peripheral cities¹" conducted by the international team of researchers. The research material was collected in 2012–2013 in five cities of Central and Eastern Europe – Panevezys (Lithuania), Lodz (Poland), Ivanovo (Russia), Miskolc (Hungary), Adapazari (Turkey). The data were collected by means of questionnaire interviews on representative, random samples of adult residents of the urban centers under study. The total of 2,377 interviews were completed – 400 in Panevezys and Miskolc, 437 in Ivanovo, 440 in Adapazari and 700 in Lodz.

1. THE QUALITY OF LIFE

Quality of life as a research category has become the subject of interest of many disciplines such as psychology, sociology, economics, geography, medicine and statistics. It is worth noting however that other terms that are related to the category of the quality of life are often in use. These include, among others: the conditions of living and standard of living. Despite a large interest in the problems of the quality of life, the concept did not receive, however, one universal and commonly used definition but a number of approaches and research operationalisations. This is due to at least two reasons. First, the term is used on the

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grounds of many sciences, so the differences in the approaches to the empirical analysis of the quality of life are due to different methodologies and specific for particular disciplines interpretations of the phenomenon, its importance and the role it plays in the research areas of these disciplines.

For example, “for the economists the determinant of the quality of life are the objective conditions of living, and especially financial wealth of members of society. Representatives of medicine trace the determinants of happiness in good health treated as mental, physical and social well-being. Sociologists look for the essence of the quality of life in social relations, educators – in upbringing and values, while for psychologists, depending on the adhered paradigm – in the quality of adolescence, satisfactory relationship with the object of attachment, adaptive habits and patterns of cognition or the ability to self-actualisation, self-realisation, self-expression and self-transcendence” [Wnuk, Marcinkowski, 2012: 27]. Moreover, the quality of life is a multidimensional phenomenon, emotionally-loaded, often ideological, evaluative, difficult or even impossible to be unambiguously recognized, and entangled in political and cultural contexts [Adamiec, Popiołek, 1993]. It applies to individuals and entire communities, objective and subjective dimension, global or limited. It is also the valuating and non-valuating concept and having axiological foundations [Boris, Rogala, 2008]². Not taking this issue into account in considerations on the quality of life would not only be a manifestation of reductionism, but shallow treatment of the topic. It should be noted that the dimensions of the quality of life are not separable, on the contrary they overlap. In undertaking research on the quality of life, researchers therefore make selection of the specific spheres of individual’s life to investigate, which is connected to a lesser or greater degree to the limitation of the globality of approach. Moreover, quality of life studies require choosing between either individual or collective, subjective and/or objective approaches (op. cit.)

Selection of a specific approach to the quality of life implies further problems associated with determining of the way to measure this phenomenon. The literature provides many models of the quality of life measurement [see Ostasiewicz, 2004]. Some of them are based on objective, some on the subjective aspects of the quality of life. There are also proposed mixed models covering both the objective and subjective dimensions of the phenomenon. Comprehensive analysis of the quality of life should therefore include both the investigation of its objective and

² The attempt to structure and define the differences and similarities among the criteria of defining the essence of the quality of life was taken by Tadeusz Borys [2008]. The criteria suggested by the author generate as many as seven typologies of the quality of life.

a subjective dimensions. According to the theory proposed by Kurt Lewin [after Ostasiewicz, 2004: 40], people live in an environment that they define objectively yet their perception of it is subjective.

Objective measurements of the quality of life refer to the analysis of the conditions and standard of living. Commonly used indicators of well-being of the society were, until recently, only the economic aspects of life, while the main and widely used indicator of the quality and the socio-economic development was the gross national income. Relying only on this indicator resulted in omitting a number of factors that to a much greater extent reflect the level of development of the society and the quality of life of its inhabitants. Thus, in the 1970s, other indicators reflecting the social dimension of the phenomenon began to be used. In consequence of these changes the HDI (Human Development Index) was introduced as an index of the development of the society. In addition to the gross national income it also takes into account other indicators, creating a more comprehensive way of measuring the quality of life of the society [Wejnert, 2001]. According to Andrzej Kaleta [1998], the main reason for shifting economic indicators of the quality of life into the background and focusing attention on the humanistic aspects was the economic development. The issue of the quality of life appeared in science and journalistic debate particularly in the context of the analysis of uncontrolled economic development in the highly developed countries.

Research in the field of objective quality of life is associated with improving the measurement of economic welfare extended by some social and environmental issues. The objective quality of life as the subject of empirical research therefore includes the analysis of the living conditions of individuals and collectives in relation to the basic dimensions of both the material standard and individuals' existential and environmental security [Borys, 2001]. Most often the following categories are taken into account: material living conditions, health, education, economic activity, social ties and relations, functioning of the state, the quality of infrastructure and the natural environment [Stiglitz, Sen, Fitoussi, 2009: 43–44]

Subjective dimension, in turn, being an essential element of the quality of life research, is associated with the assessment of the individual's satisfaction with own life. This assessment is the result of one's perception of own life within the framework of a certain system of values and one's functioning in specific social, economic and political conditions [Sęk, 1993; Borys, Rogala, 2008]. In studying the subjective dimension of the quality of life, attention is paid to the analysis of non-material elements of a good life such as happiness and satisfaction with life as a whole and its specific areas, as well as issues related to mental well-being and experienced emotional states [Diener, Suh, 1997; Stiglitz, Sen, Fitoussi,

2009]. In this approach, the level of “the quality of human life is shown by mental states accompanying the processes of needs satisfaction, being the result of the cognitive assessment of the relationship between oneself and the surrounding environment and the assessment of one’s achievements, failures and the opportunities for achieving aspirations, desires and life goals” [Chudzicka, 1995: 89]. The measurements of the subjective quality of life thus refer to the assessment of life as a whole and its particular areas [Czapiński, 2011]. According to Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse and Willard L. Rodgers [1976], the quality of life depends on the degree of satisfaction of the needs related to the specific areas of an individual’s life, such as marriage, family life, relationships with neighbours and friends, health, professional work, place of living, free time, housing conditions, education and standard of living.

More and more often attention is paid to the priority of analysing the subjective dimension. As we read in the report by the Polish Chief Statistical Office “Considering the objective and subjective dimensions of the quality of life, arguments for particularly important role of the subjective aspect can be pointed out and highlighted” [GUS, 2013: 7–8]. The authors of this report argue that the purpose of socio-economic development is satisfaction from the changes, therefore “the most adequate measures of satisfaction degree are the assessments made by the interested parties themselves” (op. cit.) Besides, some aspects of the quality of life are possible to be analysed only in the form of subjective assessment by the respondents. This applies to issues such as the minimum degree of satisfaction of higher-level needs associated with social relationships or lifestyle. Knowledge of the social perception of living conditions, the degree of satisfaction and emotional states of the society is also very important in the process of planning specific activities in the realms of social and economic policy.

The importance of studying both dimensions of the quality of life stems not only from the desire to present a complete picture of the phenomenon, but also provides knowledge on the lack of absolute dependence between dimensions. According to Janusz Czapiński [2002], no convincing empirical evidence has been found to support the argument about the direct relationship between economic growth in developed countries and the sense of well-being of their citizens. The studies conducted by Angus Campbell and others [1976] have shown that improving the material conditions of life does not go hand in hand with the change for better of subjective assessments. Meeting all the basic existential needs is thus not a sufficient condition of the sense of high quality of life [Kasprzak, Derbis, 1999]. Limited studies carried out in the slums of Calcutta show that individuals’

satisfaction with life, against the poor conditions of living, is higher there than one could have expected [Biswas-Diener, Diener, 2001].

This work also takes into account the analysis of the relationship between the sense of well-being and the objective conditions of living in the city. Will the results of studies presented in this text provide empirical confirmation of the suggestions proven in some previous studies about the absence or low dependence between these two dimensions of the quality of life?

2. CORRELATES OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE. THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL CAPITAL

Searching for factors significantly differentiating the levels of the quality of life frequently attention is drawn to the role of the social position of the individual. Various conducted studies provide knowledge on the role of age, education and wealth in shaping the sense of satisfaction with life. In *Social Diagnosis, 2013* [Czapiński, 2013: 173] age was proven the most important factor for the overall well-being of Poles. The quoted study found that the older the person, the worse their mental condition. The effect of age on the sense of well-being does not always take the form of linear dependence. The literature often provides contradictory evidence on the relationship between age and the quality of life [Horley, Lavery, 1995]. Some researchers [Diner, 1984] even argue that there is no positive relationship between the well-being of the individual and their age. The tendency assuming that the younger are supposedly more happy than the older is frequently negated. The majority, however, take the opposite view, arguing that age has indeed a significant impact on the sense of well-being.

Much attention is paid to the influence of income on life satisfaction and the sense of well-being [Diener, 1984; Diener, Biswas-Diener, 2002]. The results of studies indicate that generally there exists a correlation between income and a sense of happiness. This means that among the poorer there are more individuals who declare dissatisfaction with life than among the wealthy. It should be noted however that the correlations between income and life satisfaction are higher in poorer countries. This is interpreted in such a way that an increase in income causes much bigger difference in subjective quality of life at the level of the lower income strata than among the wealthier [Diener, Biswas-Diener, 2002].

A common correlate of the quality of life is health condition. Analyses taking into account this factor are usually undertaken on the ground of medical sciences or, more broadly, health sciences. There is even a scientific journal *Quality of Life*

Research devoted to this topic publishing articles on the relationship between quality of life and health or disease.

Less frequently there appear publications discussing the issue of the impact of religion or participation in a religious community on the level of well-being of the individual [Keith Zullig, Ward, Horn, 2006]. It is assumed that religious individuals declare a higher degree of satisfaction with life and are in general happier, more fulfilled, and what is associated with the influence of religiousness on health – they feel less psycho-social, negative consequences of traumatic events in life [Buksik, 2012]. Also, the results of research carried out within the framework of the Social Diagnosis confirm the importance of religiousness for the subjective quality of life. Participation in religious practices was the seventh out of twenty strongest impact factors of mental well-being. [Czapiński, 2013: 173].

A separate category of research are the studies taking up the problem of the relationship between the quality of life and the resources of social capital. Attention is drawn to the significant impact of social capital measured by means of the strength of social bonds, trust and participation both on the particular elements of the quality of life as well as on the subjective well-being of individuals. The studies cover both direct and indirect influence of social capital on the quality of life. As argued by John F. Helliwell and Robert D. Putnam [2004: 1444], social capital is strongly, positively associated with subjective well-being through many independent channels and in several different forms. Family ties, friendships, relationships with neighbours, relationships at work place, civic engagement, credibility and trust seem to be independently and robustly related to happiness and life satisfaction, both directly and through their impact on health. Indirect influence of social capital on the quality of life in an objective dimension is also associated with the impact of its resources on individuals' income. Social Diagnosis, 2013 results confirm that higher levels of social capital are positively correlated with higher incomes of households [Czapinski, 2013: 294]. The studies quoted also proved the direct correlation between the analysed phenomena. Empirically proven is the relationship between social capital and certain dimensions of the quality of life, including its general index. The results of the quoted studies clearly point to the association of the higher social capital with a higher quality of life [Czapinski, 2013: 293].

Attention is also drawn on the relationship between various components of social capital and the sense of well-being. Particularly important for satisfaction with life is the level of social trust. Confirmation of this thesis can be found in John F. Helliwell and Shun Wang [2010]. As these authors argue, in the environment with a high level of trust higher levels of life satisfaction were noted among

respondents. Those with higher horizontal and vertical trust are on average by 18% more satisfied with life. The quoted studies also provide knowledge on the relationship between social bonds and life satisfaction. It has been reported that people with a strong sense of belonging to a community are on average by 11% more satisfied with life. The influence of trust and belonging on the subjective quality of life is so high that when compared with the impact of income on increase of life satisfaction substantial similarity can be noticed.

The positive effect of relationships and social contacts on the subjective quality of life is also frequently pointed out by researchers. Moira Burke, Cameron Marlow and Thomas Lento [2010] have shown the relationship between using Internet social service sites by students and the resources of social capital. It turns out that communication mediated over the Internet is associated with a greater level of integration capital and a lower sense of loneliness, but it has only a slight relationship with bridging social capital which is primarily related to the size of the network of friends. Also, family and marriage relationships are important for the sense of life satisfaction [Helliwell, 2002, Kaczmarek, 2004]. The results of studies clearly confirm that having a spouse or regular partner determines the sense of happiness. People tied by marriage vow as well as those living in informal relationship are generally happier than single.

Negative social consequences of the deficit of social capital have also been observed. Arguments in support of this thesis are provided by the study by Ichiro Kawachi and Bruce P. Keenedy [1997]. They have proven the dependence between low levels of social capital and high rates of crime. The level of crime in the population was treated as one of the dimensions of the objective quality of life.

High levels of social capital resources not only tend to have positive impact on improving the quality of life expressed both in the sense of life satisfaction and psychological well-being but also influence its particular dimensions. Low levels of social capital will, on the other hand, be related with the decline in the quality and standard of living of individuals and entire communities.

Are the results presented in this text going to confirm the thesis about the relation between social capital resources and quality of life of individuals and communities? The attempt to answer this question is one of the objectives of the undertaken analysis.

3. SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE LEVEL OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITIES UNDER STUDIES

The importance of the social capital resources for the well-being of individuals and whole communities has been repeatedly proven in the literature [Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1995; Baker, 2000]. To determine the effect of individual components of social capital on the level of the quality of life of the residents of the cities under study, three synthetic scales being their empirical counterparts were constructed. The basis of design of each scale were the summary values of standardized variables being the indicators of analysed aspects of social capital. And so, the social trust scale consisted of variables: generalized trust, vertical trust (in institutions and organizations) and horizontal trust (in family members, neighbours, co-workers, residents of the city). This scale consisted of 17 items, each of which determined the level of social trust on the seven-point scale from -3 (absolute lack of confidence) to +3 (absolute confidence). After standardizing the reliability of the scale was specified using the Cronbach Alfa method, which in this case amounted to 0,919.

The network scale was created by summing the variables referring to belonging to organizations and the extent of social contacts. The total number of items making up the scale was 7. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient was equal to 0.554 in this case, which should be considered a hardly satisfying result, but close to the threshold value (= 0.600) which allows the scale to be considered a relatively reliable measurement tool. Coherence of the components of the network scale is however smaller than the coherence of the two other components of social capital.

The axionormative scale was created by summing the respondents' responses to questions about the importance of such social norms and values as loyalty, honesty, common good, cooperation, credibility, reciprocity. As in the case of the social trust scale the variables forming the analysed scale took a value of -3 to +3 expressing the respondents' attitudes to the mentioned norms and values – from none to absolute approval. As with the two previous scales, partial variables were standardized and then added together to form the axionormative scale for which the Cronbach Alfa value was 0.735. The comparison of the mean values of the scales created for the cities under study is presented in Table 1.

Among the cities under study, the highest level of social capital in the dimension of trust and networks of contacts was observed in Adapazari, Turkey, the largest deficit of trust was found in Lodz and Miscolc. The residents of Lodz also have less extensive networks of personal and organizational contacts. The situation

is somewhat different with relation to the scale of approval of social norms and values. The highest values were recorded in Panevezys, the lowest in Miscolc.

TABLE 1: Mean values of the scales of social capital components in the cities under study

City	Descriptive statistics	Scale of trust	Scale of networks	Scale axionormative
Panevezys	Mean	.4666	-.4456	1.3388
	Standard deviation	2.13440	2.80505	3.45954
	N	400	395	393
Lodz	Mean	-.7811	-1.3474	.3122
	Standard deviation	1.94171	1.62115	3.78815
	N	700	700	700
Miscolc	Mean	-.6208	.0937	-1.7776
	Standard deviation	2.18008	3.50158	4.20748
	N	399	363	386
Ivanovo	Mean	-.0688	.0116	-.2437
	Standard deviation	1.86696	3.59451	4.87102
	N	436	431	432
Adapazari	Mean	1.4274	2.6890	.1245
	Standard deviation	2.71098	6.53634	4.87009
	N	427	322	401
Total	Mean	-.0120	-.1162	.0014
	Standard deviation	2.30384	3.52914	4.32734
	N	2362	2211	2312
	Min.	-7.32	-2.48	-14.22
	Max.	6.77	29.86	12.25

Source: own study

The question therefore arises whether, and to what extent the social capital resources will differentiate the standard of living in the cities studied, and whether we will deal with the same or different kind of impact in each city?

The analyses also covered the relationship between the subjective quality of life and the level of socio-economic development of the city. The impact of the condition of the city on the subjective quality of life of its inhabitants is in fact an attempt to capture the dependence between the sense of well-being and the objective dimension of the quality of life. The synthetic development index was constructed by summing up the rank of each of the cities within such categories as: average income, unemployment rate and number of offenses, hospital beds, doctors, divorce rate, number of tourists, cars, mortality rate, election turnout, and the city budget per 1000 residents. Standardized values of particular variables

made up the overall development index, the values for each city are presented in Table 2. The selection of applied indicators of development was conditioned by both the availability and comparability of the characteristics for the studied group in each city.

TABLE 2: Average values of the index of economic and social development in the studied cities

City	Mean	Standard deviation	N
Peneveres (LT)	-3.2136	.00000	400
Lodz (PL)	3.3013	.00000	700
Miscolc (HU)	11.4175	.00000	400
Ivanovo (RUS)	-3.2200	.00000	437
Adapazari (TU)	-9.5122	.00000	440
Total	.0000	6.74970	2377

Source: own study

The highest level of development, which indicates the most favourable conditions of living in the city, was recorded in Miscolc and the lowest in Adapazari. Will therefore the relatively high standard of living turn out to be an important predictor of subjective quality of life?

4. OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITIES UNDER STUDY

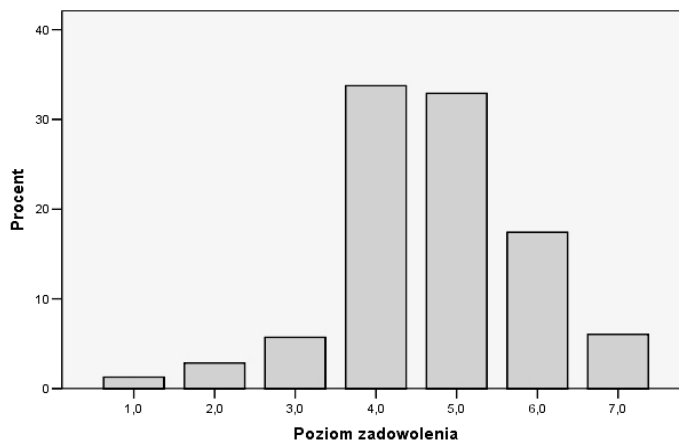
The subjective quality of life which is in the centre of this study is seen as the result of individuals' assessments and valuation of their lives [Diner, 1984; Rożnowska, 2009; Czapiński, 2013]. It is identified with the sense of well-being measured by the sense of satisfaction with life as a whole (global quality of life) and satisfaction with various spheres of life (partial satisfactions).

The first step to study well-being should therefore be the investigation of the global quality of life. The results of the research conducted in Poland [CBOS, 2011, 2012; Czapiński, 2013] show that most people are happy with their lives. A significant improvement in Poles' assessment of their lives over the last two decades has been observed. Percentage of satisfied people was by 21 percentage points higher in 2013 compared to 1991. The rate of people evaluating their lives as successful was almost 45%. However, the total rate of Poles evaluating their lives in positive terms was much higher, reaching nearly 80% [Czapiński, 2013: 163].

The results of studies carried out in other European countries also show a rather high level of life satisfaction. This is confirmed by the analyses by Maria G. Pittau, Roberto Zelli, Andrew Gelman [2009] based on cross-sectional and representative Eurobarometer survey. The results showing the level of satisfaction with life in the countries of the so-called old 15 Member States, however, provide evidence for significant regional differences. The authors of the study analysed the overall level of satisfaction with life in the period 1992–2002 for the Member States of the European Union. The highest level of satisfaction with life was reported in Northern European countries (the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland and Ireland). The level of life satisfaction measured on a four-point scale, where 1 meant no satisfaction and 4 high life satisfaction for this group of countries was about 3.5. The highest levels of satisfaction were recorded in the Netherlands. The lowest level of life satisfaction was recorded in southern countries (Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece). Average life satisfaction ranged in this case between 2.5 and 3 points on the scale. The lowest level was recorded in Greece. However, in the case of Greece the highest progress between 1992 and 2002 was observed.

Comparing the results of the studies mentioned with the results obtained in the surveyed cities in Central and Eastern Europe and Turkey, the significant similarities should be pointed out. Most residents of the five cities assess their lives positively (see Fig. 1).

FIGURE 1: Overall satisfaction with life (N = 2377)



Source: own study

Using a seven-step scale, where 1 means awful and 7 – great life, more than half of the respondents rated their lives as good or very good. A relatively high, over 30-per-cent share of indications reflecting ambivalent assessments was recorded. 5% of respondents rated their lives as awful. However, the overall proportion of people who see their lives in negative terms exceeded 20%. The average value of respondents' life assessments was 4.7.

The comparison of average assessments of own lives in particular cities proved rather small but statistically significant differences.

TABLE 3: Average values of life assessments in the cities under study

City	Mean	Standard deviation	N
Peneveres (LT)	4.642	1.2579	399
Lodz (PL)	4.451	1.0017	700
Miscolc (HU)	4.739	1.1280	394
Ivanovo (RUS)	4.595	1.0419	437
Adapazari (TU)	5.286	1.2885	416
Total	4.707	1.1656	2346

df = 4; F = 37,693; $p \leq 0.000$

Source: own study

The data obtained show that the lowest level of life satisfaction was recorded in Lodz and the highest Adapazarii. The high level of positive assessments of own life among the respondents in Adapazari is worth attention. It definitely exceeds the level of assessments made by the residents of the remaining cities. It can be therefore concluded that the cities in the countries of the former Eastern bloc show significant similarities in terms of the general well-being of their citizens. Different in this respect is Turkey which differs significantly in cultural, social and economic terms from the group of other countries. Perhaps the explanation of the indicated differences will be provided by the analysis of the determinants of the quality of life.

TABLE 4: Values of the Pearson's R correlation for the variable: assessment of one's life and scale-components of social capital and urban socioeconomic development index

Correlates	Assessment of one's life	
	Pearson's R	P
Social trust scale	0.318	0.000
Network scale	0.193	0.000
Axionormative scale	0.207	0.000
Urban socioeconomic development index	-0.136	0.000

Source: own study

There has been a statistically significant relationship between the sense of satisfaction with life and all components of social capital: trust, network of relationships and social contacts as well as social norms. In all cases, the direction of the correlation is positive, which means that the growth of values of the sub-scales of social capital is associated with increased satisfaction with life. Higher levels of social trust – horizontal, vertical and generalized, the extent of social contacts and respecting social norms translates into higher life assessments. The relationships between the components of social capital and life satisfaction have already been proven in earlier studies. These studies confirmed the special role of social trust [Helliwell, Shun, 2010] which, according to Fukuyama, determines the prosperity of the country. A positive relationship between the level of social trust and economic efficiency is associated with higher propensity to take risks and go into social exchanges. It allows to reduce the uncertainty about the future actions of others [Sztompka, 2006]. It seems that for the same reasons trust may result in increased sense of well-being of an individual, both directly and indirectly by affecting the growth of incomes. Also, the results of the analysed studies prove a strong positive correlation between the level of trust and life satisfaction.

It is interesting to determine whether in all studied cities we will deal with the analogous impact of particular components of social capital on the level of general satisfaction with life? The following table presents the impact of the components of social capital on the overall sense of well-being for each city.

TABLE 5: Components of social capital and the overall satisfaction with life in the cities under study

Correlates	Overall satisfaction with life									
	Panevezys		Lodz		Miscolc		Ivanovo		Adapazari	
	R Pearsona	P	R Pearsona	p	R Pearsona	P	R Pearsona	P	R Pearsona	P
Social trust scale	0.278	0.000	0.189	0.000	0.216	0.000	0.253	0.000	0.393	0.000
Network scale	x	x	0.117	0.002	0.168	0.001	x	x	0.225	0.000
Axionormative scale	0.243	0.000	0.186	0.000	0.140	0.006	0.203	0.000	0.363	0.000

Source: own study

The presented results indicate many similarities in the importance of individual components of social capital for the overall quality of life that exist between the studied cities. There has been observed a significant impact of social trust on the sense of well-being of all the inhabitants of the cities studied. This influence, though in each case positive, was differently intense. From a rather weak one in

Lodz to a relatively strong in Adapazari. Therefore it needs to be considered that the social trust is much more important factor for overall satisfaction with life among the inhabitants of the Turkish city than in other ones. A similar situation exists with regard to the impact of axionormative component for a general feeling of well-being. There was however observed a slightly different scope of impact of the network component. It is not an important correlate of the overall satisfaction with life for the population of Panevezys, Lodz and Ivanovo. The impact of social networking on this dimension of quality of life occurs only among the respondents from Miscolc and Adapazari.

Also the direction of the dependence between the degree of socio-economic development of the city and satisfaction with life of its inhabitants turned out to be surprising. The negative direction of the correlation has been observed, which means that the decline in value of the development index increases the level of the general well-being. We deal with the “paradox of satisfaction” in this case. According to psychologists this syndrome occurs when the subjective sense of quality of life does not correspond to objective conditions of life of the individual [Campbell, 1976; Sęk, 1993; Biswas-Diener, Diener, 2001]. Objectively good living conditions do not therefore guarantee high life satisfaction, priority is given to non-material values having much higher importance for the sense of well-being than objective measures [Parkins, Stedman, Varghese, 2001].

5. SATISFACTION WITH SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF LIFE

In addition to the overall satisfaction, a commonly used measure of the quality of life is satisfaction with particular aspects of life of the individual. As Janusz Czapiński underlines [2011: 164] “According to the onion theory of happiness [...] the shallowest layer of well-being in which the person exhibits the greatest realism of assessment is the dimension of partial satisfaction, that is satisfaction with various areas and aspects of life.” This way of measuring the quality of life has been used since the 1970’s, since the classic work of Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse and Willard L. Rodgers [1976]. In the literature and research practice, a more or less limited range of areas of life covered by the analysis is applied. Most frequently the subject of evaluation are areas of life that can be summed up into one of several categories: relationships and social interactions, material conditions, environmental conditions, health condition and other categories including the assessment of leisure time, prospects for the future, own education [Czapiński, 2013]. Examination of particular spheres of life of the individual al-

lows to specify not only which of the spheres are rated highest and which are the source of greatest dissatisfaction, but also whether and how partial assessments impact the overall evaluation of one's life [cf. GUS, 2013].

Evaluation of the particular aspects of individual's life in the framework of this study was constructed using a 7-point scale, where 1 – meant a total lack of satisfaction and 7 – full satisfaction. This way of measuring the quality of life directly refers to the methodology proposed by Frank M. Andrews and Stephen B. Withey [1976]. Their study included satisfaction with such aspects of life of the individual as: family relationships, contacts with friends, financial situation, the possibility to meet the food needs, housing conditions, prospects for the future, education, leisure time activities and currently performed job. In addition to this, the psychological well-being of respondents was also studied by means of the scale (7-point), where at one end depressive and anxiety states were placed, significant emotional tension and high levels of stress, and at the opposite end – great mental condition without emotional tension and stress. The final aspect under analysis was the health condition of the respondents. The degree of coping with everyday activities, taking into account the state of health, was assessed on the scale. In diagnosing satisfaction with particular aspects of life, the total of 11 aspects were analysed. The comparison of partial satisfaction levels in the cities under studies is presented in Table 6.

TABLE 6: Positive assessments of particular areas of life of the individual (in%)

Areas of life	Panevezys (Lithuania)	Lodz (Poland)	Miscole (Hungary)	Ivanovo (Russia)	Adapazari (Turkey)	Total
1. Interactions with the closest family	94	74.7	87	85.6	79.8	83
2. Interactions with friends	85.6	68	76.3	76	85.5	77.1
3. Financial situation in the household	56.3	39.6	39.5	42.3	65.7	47.7
4. Possibility to satisfy food needs	76.5	61.3	63.3	62.9	85.5	68
5. Housing conditions	74.3	57.9	66	57.2	75.9	65.2
6. One's prospects for the future	47.5	38.4	29.8	43.7	71.4	45.6
7. Level of education	64.5	52.6	72.8	65.9	72.3	64.1
8. Leisure time activities	61	55.6	65	61.8	68.6	61.6
9. Current job	72.3	46	62	49.4	71.1	58.4

Areas of life	Panevezys (Lithuania)	Lodz (Poland)	Miscolc (Hungary)	Ivanovo (Russia)	Adapazari (Turkey)	Total
10. Mental condition	75.3	74	70	68.6	78.8	73.4
11. Health condition	76	81	82	71.1	80.4	78.4

Source: own study

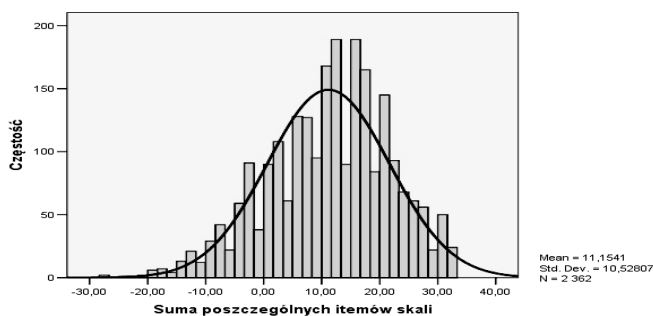
The above data show that the areas of life that are the source of the highest satisfaction of the inhabitants of all the cities are family relationships. Second ranked health, third – interactions with friends. Further, highly rated was mental health and the ability to meet food needs. Referring to the theory and model of Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs [1964], the source of the highest life satisfaction are the needs of belonging associated with the pursuit of love, friendship and participation. In the next place, the needs significantly influencing life satisfaction in the studied collectives were the needs of security, in this case related to health and the desire to maintain and protect it. Only the next, fifth place belonged to the basic, physiological needs referring to the ability to satisfy the requirements of food demands. The most important needs, the fulfilment of which makes up the foundation of life satisfaction, are the higher-level social needs, unrelated to material security.

Comparing the situation in the cities under study it is worth noting that the city whose inhabitants derive the utmost satisfaction from the highest number of categories is Adapazari. Panevezys ranks second in this respect. Interestingly, these cities are at the opposite ends of the socio-economic development index. Worth noting is the lowest, compared to other cities, level of satisfaction with various aspects of life among the inhabitants of Lodz – second in terms of the level of development. Such a situation seems to confirm the thesis about the lack of cause – effect relationship between the objective and the subjective dimension of quality of life. The determinants of the sense of well-being are of another nature.

In order to examine the overall level of subjective quality of life based on the satisfaction from particular areas of an individual's life, the synthetic satisfaction scale was constructed covering all highlighted items. The analysis of the reliability of the scale was carried out using the Cronbach's Alpha method – whose value was 0,851. The constructed scale should thus be regarded as a reliable measurement tool. Each of the variables included in the analysed data set has –3 to +3 value, where –3 is a definite lack of satisfaction with specific aspects of life, and +3 – an opposite declaration. The sum of particular variables' values makes up a synthetic partial satisfaction index. The minimum value of the index in this case is –29 and the maximum 32. However, as can be seen in the figure,

most observations are close to average value. Graphical presentation of the scale shows the histogram with the Gaussian curve below.

FIGURE 2: The scale of satisfaction with particular areas of life



Source: own study {NOTE: ‘Suma poszczególnych itemów skali’ should be (*I think*): ‘Sum of particular items (or specific areas?) on the scale’}

As the graph suggests, and descriptive statistics confirm, the inhabitants of the cities under study have a relatively high sense of well-being measured by the level of satisfaction with the specific areas of their lives. The mean level of satisfaction with the total sum of the distinguished aspects of life of the respondents was 11.15.

Interesting conclusions are however provided by the comparison of mean values of the index in the studied cities.

TABLE 7: Mean values of the sub-scale of the quality of life in the cities under study

City	Mean	Standard deviation	N
Panevezys (LT)	14.4175	9.50627	400
Lodz (PL)	7.9043	9.35002	700
Miscolc (HU)	10.6675	11.06540	400
Ivanovo (RUS)	9.6812	10.14342	436
Adapazari (TU)	15.3944	10.90750	426
Total	11.1541	10.52807	2362

df=4; F= 49,693; p≤0,000

Source: own study

First, much larger differences in mean values are observed among the cities than it was recorded in relation to the overall assessment of life. The levels of satisfaction with the particular spheres of life in the city, for which the highest average index value was recorded is twice as high compared to the city that holds the lowest mean value. The city whose inhabitants derive the utmost satisfaction from the various aspects of their life was Adapazari. In contrast, the lowest quality of life was also in this case noted in case of Lodz. Secondly, noticeable are the important differences in the levels of satisfaction with the various spheres of life in a group of countries of the former Eastern bloc. Therefore it should be considered that these cities are not a category homogeneous in terms of specific dimensions of the quality of life. The differences testify to the primacy of factors other than the objective conditions of life and the similarity of historical experience.

The analysis of the major correlates of subjective quality of life measured by the level of satisfaction with various aspects of life indicates the existence of a statistically significant relationship between the examined phenomenon and the components of social capital and the level of socio-economic development (see Table 8).

TABLE 8: The values of the Pearson R correlation for the index: partial satisfaction and the sub-scales of social capital and the socio-economic development index of the cities under study

Correlates	Partial satisfaction index	
	Pearson's R	P
Social trust scales	0.443	0.000
Network scales	0.161	0.000
Axionormative scales	0.265	0.000
Level of socio-economic development of the cities	-0.168	0.000

Source: own study

Among the analysed group of variables the greatest, positive impact on the partial quality of life has social trust. Measured with Pearson's R strength of the association proves a fairly strong dependence between the two indexes. Resources of social trust therefore become the determinants of the high level of the quality of life in the studied territorial communities. The dependence between trust and the quality of life are, for example, confirmed by the research by John F. Helliwell and Haifang Huang [2011] analysing the social environment of the workplace. The quoted studies have shown that a high level of trust in co-workers is a guarantee of not only the subjective quality of work but also life satisfaction. A significant

influence of the institutional trust on the quality of life in the European Union has also been shown in the analysis by John Hudson [2006]. A higher level of trust in the European institutions and national governments was correlated with psychological well-being of the respondents. Also, the above quoted studies by John F. Helliwell and Shun Wang [2010] not only confirm the relationship between vertical and horizontal trust and the quality of life, but they show how much the sense of well-being increases with increasing social trust resources.

The other components of social capital have slightly less importance in shaping life satisfaction. At the same time, there was a greater impact of approval of the axionormative order on the sense of satisfaction from the analysed spheres of life was observed. Internalized and respected by members of the community social norms are the primary regulators of interpersonal relations, thus contributing to the maintenance of social order [Wódz, 1990]. The positive effects of the existence of a sustainable and coherent axionormative systems within the territorial collectives are beyond doubt. In turn, the degradation of normative orders can lead to a number of negative consequences. One of them is emphasized by Mirosława Marody [1993] “non-normative instrumentalism” manifested in the arbitrary behaviours that are not determined by the general values. Creation of a sustainable axionormative system within communities is important not only for the individual because it offers them the sense of the existence of the social order and thereby increasing the sense of security, but also brings objective benefits to all members of the community. These benefits result from the multiplication of social capital resources.

Robert D. Putnam [1995] emphasizing the importance of the generalized norm of reciprocity states that the individual taking action does not have to expect reciprocation interactions from the partner but to assume that in an indefinite future someone else can offer them help [Putnam, 2008]. Adherence to the rule of reciprocity within the community generates social trust, leading to the increase in the level of cooperation, civic engagement, which as other researchers also suggest contribute to the accumulation of the common good, thereby increasing the well-being of the entire community and its individual members.

The benefits of having a wide network of contacts boil down mainly to the possibility of expanding the resources that can be used for realization of own purposes [Granovetter after Starosta, 2012]. One of the primary resources that can make a positive impact on improving the quality of life of the individual is the support and assistance obtained from the interaction partners. Much attention is paid to the economic benefits that an individual obtains through social contacts. Maria Theiss [2007] draws attention to the possibility of using one’s contacts in

the situation of looking for the job. Extensive social networks both directly and indirectly, through their impact on improving the functioning of the individuals on particular aspects of life, are important for the growth of life satisfaction. So claims Wayne E. Baker [2000], demonstrating a significant impact of social relationships on achieving educational success. And evidence exists that education is a significant predictor of objective dimension of quality of life.

And what is the impact of the particular components of social capital on the partial quality of life in cities under study? The following table presents the results of the correlation analysis.

TABLE 9: Components of social capital and partial satisfaction with life in the cities under study

Correlates	Partial satisfaction index									
	Panevezys		Lodz		Miscolc		Ivanovo		Adapazari	
	R Pearson	p	R Pearson	p	R Pearson	p	R Pearson	p	R Pearson	P
Social trust scale	0.375	0.000	0.384	0.000	0.512	0.000	0.365	0.000	0.362	0.000
Network scale	x	x	x	x	0.125	0.017	x	x	0.195	0.000
Axionormative scale	0.294	0.000	0.272	0.000	0.295	0.000	0.215	0.000	0.286	0.000

Source: own study

Also in relation to the partial quality of life a significant impact of the trust component and the component of norms and values was observed. It is worth noting that the impact of trust on the quality of life measured by the degree of satisfaction with various aspects of life of the individual is much stronger than in relation to the overall sense of well-being. In all the studies cities at least mean, and in Miscolc even strong, correlation between the analysed phenomena was observed. The impact on the axionormative component on the partial quality of life in all the cities turned out to be almost identical. As in the previous case, the biggest differences among the cities refer to the degree of impact of social networks on this dimension of the quality of life. Social relations and organizational belonging are the important predictors of satisfaction with specific aspects of life only for the residents of Miscolc and Adapazari. It appears, therefore, that if social trust and approval of certain norms and values affect the quality of life regardless of cultural differences, the networking aspect of social capital is not as universal correlate of the quality of life.

Just as was the case in relation to the overall satisfaction with life, also here there was a statistically significant effect of the level of economic and social development. The occurring dependence has the negative direction which means that the decline in the city's position in the ranking of development means increase in the partial quality of life of its inhabitants. Whether we are dealing with the generalized quality of life or related to its specific dimensions it is not a derivative of the favorable socio-economic situation of the city. The sources of life satisfaction, as already has been said, should be identified rather in immaterial factors, which is somewhat confirmed by the significant impact of the level of social capital.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of the presented research results, we can formulate some basic conclusions concerning the characteristics of the quality of life in post-industrial peripheral cities.

It should be noted that the level of life satisfaction – both generalized and referred to the specific areas of life of the residents of the cities under study can be considered rather high. A significant difference was observed in the levels of both studied aspects of the quality of life – for the benefit of the general sense of well-being. It seems, therefore, that making assessments concerning the specific spheres of respondents' lives more often inclined them to formulate make negative assessments than in case of the overall assessment of their lives. There have also been significant differences in the level of the quality of life among the cities. These differences are not so large in relation to the level of satisfaction with life as a whole, but the analysis of the levels of partial quality of life points to significant disparities between the investigated collectives. Definitely, the high level of the quality of life is striking in the case of Adapazari (Turkey). The residents of the city are twice as satisfied with the distinguished aspects of their lives than the respondents from Lodz who showed the lowest level of the sense of well-being among the surveyed populations. However, while the overall life satisfaction ranks rather on the average level, it looks much less optimistic in relation to the particular spheres. Interestingly, this rather average quality of life in Lodz is not a consequence of the relatively favorable socio-economic situation of the city. The relatively low level of development of the city of Adapazari is not an obstacle for the residents to perceive their lives as well as various dimensions of their lives in strongly positive terms. Perhaps the explanation of the indicated

disparities in the assessment of the respondents' lives and in the dimensions of their lives between the inhabitants of the cities studied is the level of aspirations held. Participation in the European Community highly encourages the residents of Polish and other cities in Central and Eastern Europe to numerous comparisons which may result in the increase of life aspirations and at the same time contribute to the formulation of more critical assessments with respect to their own lives.

The analysis of the impact of the components of social capital on the sense of well-being showed the greatest impact of social trust. High public trust resources contribute to the perception of one's life in more positive terms while its deficit lowers the ratings. Other components of social capital also positively correlated with the level of the quality of life in the studied collectives. Both acceptance of axionormative order and the extensive network of social relationships have positive impact on the attitude of the respondents to their own lives. Presumably, the importance of the social capital in creating the quality of life results from a certain predictability, harmony, and social support which are inherent in its resources.

The search for similarities in the factors of the quality of life that, expectedly, would be present in the group of cities has brought surprising results. Dependencies have been observed among the components of social trust and the axionormative component and the general and partial quality of life in all the cities under study. It was also found that the differences in the impact of the indicated components of social capital are much larger in relation to the total than partial quality of life in the cities. The greatest disparity between the study collectives of the five cities were in the range of impact of the network component. Its impact on the overall quality of life and the partial one proved to be the weakest, while in three of the cities under study it turned out to be at all negligible.

The results obtained are confirmation of the results observed in other studies on the role of social capital in shaping a sense of well-being. They can also be an important argument in favour of the development of social capital resources in local communities. Indeed, as proven above, not the objective factors reflecting the situation of the living environment but the potential of the population is a major determinant of the quality of life of its members. The present study is an important voice in the discussion on the impact of the objective conditions of functioning of individuals on their sense of life satisfaction. Once again it was proven that it is necessary to look for the factors of the subjective quality of life among different than the tangible ones.

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JAKOŚĆ ŻYCIA A KAPITAŁ SPOŁECZNY W POSTPRZEMYSŁOWYCH MIASTACH PERYFERYJNYCH

Streszczenie

Artykuł prezentuje subiektywny wymiar jakości życia mieszkańców pięciu miast postprzemysłowych położonych w Polsce, Rosji, Turcji, na Litwie i na Węgrzech. Głównym jego celem jest określenie poziomu zarówno ogólnego poczucia dobrostanu badanych jak i zadowolenia z poszczególnych dziedzin własnego życia. Analizą objęto również relacje jakie występują między poziomem jakości życia a komponentami kapitału społecznego w badanych miastach i stopniem ich społeczno-ekonomicznego rozwoju. Zwrócono przy tym uwagę na podobieństwa i różnice jakie występują między miastami w odniesieniu do prezentowanych zagadnień.

Słowa kluczowe: subiektywna jakość życia, warunki życia, kapitał społeczny, miasta postprzemysłowe