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ATTACHMENT TO THE CITY

Summary

In the era of globalization throwing new light on the issue of the territorial attitude of social bonds and the social solidarity, determination of factors which are essential in the process of creation of the bonds of the individuals with their places of residence seems to be very interesting. The problem of the bonds of individuals with the territory grows in importance especially with reference to the urban environment which is much more receptive to occurring transformation. The main goal of the article is the presentation of prevailing types of the attachment of residences to their area of living as well as definition of the correlates of their occurrence in the investigated community of Łódź residences.

Keywords: City, Community Attachment, Łódź

INTRODUCTION

The development of mass media, coupled with the processes of social and spatial mobility undoubtedly result in decreasing the integrative role of space. This, in turn, affects the life of communities, including those based on territorial bonds. Individuals' unrestrained spatial mobility and the emergence of a supranational labor market has impacted the disintegration of local communities. On the basis of copious research, conducted both in Western Europe and in America, a hypothesis emerged that space ceases to function as a permanent basis for social bonds [Wellman, Carrington, Hall 1988; Bryden 1994]. Numerous authors who perceive the need to examine the issues of territorial bonds and identities, emphasize that in the era of globalization, it is difficult to analyze the connections between an individual and the territory that he or she inhabits [Sadowski 1999].

In the conditions generated by the traditional society, which are typified by low spatial mobility caused by geographic restrictions, as well as a low level of productive forces, individuals had no choice but to coexist and cooperate in order to satisfy their needs; this was impossible to achieve through individual effort. Collective behavior led not only to the satisfaction of needs, but also shaped the collective identity and the collective imagination [Starosta 2003]. To a large extent, overcoming geographic restrictions "liberated the individual from the necessity of surrendering to the dictate of aggregate structures" [Starosta 2003: 122].

As regards local systems, it has been established that locality has lost its primordial function of satisfying the inhabitants' needs, and may turn into a factor of social degradation. Such a thesis is advanced by Bauman [1997]. The author suggests that nowadays it is the constant changing of one's residence that express the personal success. Than well established individuals and unconnected to a particular place ones are located the – the author argues – on opposite poles of a new stratification, between which no communication whatsoever occurs [Bauman 1997]. Thus, local rootedness, until recently interpreted as a positive phenomenon [Merton 1982], can now be perceived as a factor of social deprivation.

Consequently, it may be argued that globalization leads to deepening the social divide, which is considerably more noticeable in metropolitan areas. Those members of the urban aggregate who losing their jobs, benefiting from state social security or for other reasons – become paupers, are excluded from the institutional society and, according to some authors, are condemned to localism [Bauman 1997; Starosta 2001]. On the one hand, such "negative localism" may be a factor of social deprivation. However, it may become a basis for establishing communities determined to defend their interests and functioning as mutual aid to its members. As a result of social exclusion, coupled with a loss of a sense of security (economical and otherwise), the territory begins to function as an integrative factor [Rykiel 2000; Starosta 2003]. The other aggregate, comprising individuals of high socioeconomic status, possesses the necessary means to make the aforementioned choices regarding residence, or is at least able to travel. These affluent, well-educated inhabitants of large cities constitute the so-called metropolitan class (world class). According to Kanter, this class is "typified by three 'C's: the concept, i.e. possessing knowledge and ideas; competence, i.e. the ability to perform at the highest level and in any place; lastly, connections, i.e. relations and access to resources belonging to other people and organizations worldwide" [Kanter, cited in: Jałowiecki 2000: 99]. To a growing extent, this group is characterized by individualism, which results in participating in

selected groups founded on shared interests or common business, not necessarily territorially bound. Simultaneously, it functions in virtual space: "a member of the metropolitan class surfing in cyberspace considers another internet user as his neighbor, irrespective of either's place of residence or the physical distance between them" [Jałowiecki 2000: 99].

What is clearly alarming is the loss of collective identity, the sense of spatial alienation, the escape into privacy and other consequences which negatively affect the permanence of local communities. "Increasingly greater masses of people, uprooted from their local communities, live in organizational spaces and in programmed time – without comprehending its meaning. In such a situation, the most typical reflex is escaping into privacy, reluctance towards collective actions, seeking substitute areas of activity, in which one's individuality can be expressed. In extreme cases, this escape is manifested in pathological behavior... [Jałowiecki 1989: 86]. The processes described by Jałowiecki apply mostly to urban communities. According to another author, "...it is chiefly with reference to the variety of social ties that exists in the city that, in describing individual behavior and experience as well as collective behavior, the notions of anonymity, atomization, isolation, solitude, individualization, fragmentation (of ties) and intimacy are introduced" [Stasiak 1982: 67]. To an increasing extent, we are witnessing an atrophy of ties founded on territory. In its specificity as a life world, the city already provided its inhabitants with considerable opportunities for isolation and anonymity as singular expressions of the urban lifestyle; thus, the processes of globalization are not to blame. The novelty consists in the fact that ties based on locality, dominant in industrial cities [Starosta 2003], are more and more often replaced by ties of the supralocal variety, or else are limited to the smallest 'personal communities' [Wellman, Carrington, Hall 1988].

In the context of the problems outlined above, which shed a new light on the issues of the territorial foundations of local identity as well as on the significance of contemporary man's attachment to a given territory, it seems worthwhile to determine the factors which are decisive in shaping the bond between the individual and his or her place of residence. More and more often, authors writing on the subject assert that globalization affects not only the society's economic foundations, social stratification or urban land development, but also the ties between the individual and his or her surroundings. Thus, social ties become a significant issue addressed not only by sociologists, but increasingly often by politicians and the mass media. The problem of the relationship of individuals to territory becomes particularly significant in the context of urban environments, which are far more susceptible to change. The principal features of urbanity, such

as size, density and heterogeneity, have numerous consequences for the social, economical and spatial foundations of social life. The heterogeneity of city inhabitants in terms of origin, social status and a different living situation may become a factor affecting the character of the individual's relationships with their social environment. Weak rootedness in the urban space may lead to increasing migration and a weakening of the markers of belonging [Wirth 1964]. On the one hand, the contemporary globalization processes, impacts the principal, objective transformations of urban agglomerations. On the other, the increasing importance of factors which diminish the role of the territorial foundations of social ties, render the issues analyzed in this study significant for research conducted in the field of sociology of territorial communities.

THE BOND BETWEEN THE INHABITANTS AND THE CITY – OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE TERM

Generally speaking, the bond inhabitants with the city may be defined as the entirety of relationships sustaining the individual in the city. These relations include the use of terminology introduced by Znaniecki [Znaniecki, Ziółkowski 1984] – objective-social matters (i.e. connections to the work place, the home, the family) and subjective-individual matters (concerning a sense of attachment to the city as a certain value). A definition which embraces the two aspects of the relation between the individual and the city can be found in Malikowski's work, which is a comprehensive study of the bond between the inhabitants and the city. The author defines this phenomenon as "the entirety of objective relationships between the inhabitants and the city, their attitudes to the city and their sense of connection to it" [Malikowski 1984: 9]. Thus, the term involves two principal dimensions: firstly, a set of objective relations between the inhabitants and the city and secondly, their subjective attitude to the city. As the author argues further, "in the former case, the city is perceived rather as a physical (spatial-human) object, whereas in the latter it is seen as a value" [Malikowski 1984: 9].

In American sociological literature, the term 'community attachment' is used in an attempt to describe the bond between the individual and the city or town which he or she inhabits [Kasarda, Janovitz 1974]. The term 'attachment' comprises the entirety of the individual's attitudes towards the local community (a city, a village), the local sentiment, familial and friendly ties, social participation and an interest in local issues [Kasarda, Janovitz 1974]. It should thus be assumed that the term is to be understood broadly, since it embraces both objective factors and the subjec-

tive aspects of relationships between the individual and the local environment. In contrast, in the Polish literature on the subject the term more readily concerns the consciousness-related ties between the individual and his place of residence. More than anything else, terms such as 'connection to the city' or 'ties to the city' reflect the dimension of the inhabitants' objective bonds with their city [cf. Malikowski 1984]. This paper attempts to determine the aspect of consciousness-related connections between the individual and the territory which he or she inhabits. Such ties are often described as the individual's psychosocial connections to their place of residence. In sociology, the concept of the psychosocial bond is often described as identification, which is understood even in colloquial terms as the individual's recognition of belonging to a given community, group, village, city, family, nation, etc. [Turowski 1995: 22]. Therefore, the social bond is the basis for shaping social identity. In this study, it is conceived of as the property of individuals rather than particular social entities [Marody, Poleszczuk 2004]. Consequently, it ought to be emphasized that the psychosocial bond includes the consciousness-related aspect of attachment to a group or aggregate.

Analyses of bonds between individuals and a particular territory involve identification with a certain area, spatially localized symbols, values as well as the historical and cultural tradition of the given territory [Prawelska – Skrzypek 1989]. However, the differences in the application and understanding of the bond with the city render the term problematic. In this case, the city is seen not as a social system in which certain types of connections between participating subjects are developed, but as a value. Jacher contends that "a city with its own character and 'face' constitutes a certain value for its inhabitants, which is a basis for constructing a social bond with the city" [Jacher 1987: 89]. For its inhabitants, the city becomes more than a source of objective connections, "forces which prevent the individual from leaving the city" [Malikowski 1984]; it is an object of attitudes, opinions and a sense of emotional connection.

In the field of Polish sociology, the problem of attachment to the city was analyzed comprehensively by Franciszek Jakubczak, who examined the bond between the inhabitants of Warsaw and their city. In his opinion, "the bond with the city constitutes an ingredient in social ties formed within a particular urban space – neither can, however, be contained within the other. The inhabitants' attachment to the city manifests itself only in certain aspects of general urban ties – those which 'pass through consciousness' and result in a particular attitude towards the city" [Jakubczak 1969: 132]. As indicated by Jakubczak, the difficulty of constructing an unambiguous definition of the inhabitants' bond with the city is linked to the comprehensiveness and complexity of "the general issues of the

social bonds within the city, in which the partial bond that interests us is contained, manifested most clearly in the phenomenon of the 'attachment to the city'" [Jakubczak 1969: 132]. In his research, the author used diary material and chose to analyze the attachment to the city from the following perspectives: employment; organizational participation; bonds between neighbours, inhabitants of the same neighbourhood or members of one family; bonds based on cultural-educational institutions and mass media. It should be emphasized that the discussed study does not differentiate between the social bond within the city and the bond with the city itself. It might even be argued with a considerable degree of certainty that the majority of aspects pertaining to the social bond identified and analyzed by the author concern the bond within the city. What is also noticeable is a seemingly random mixture of objective and subjective factors contributing to the bond with the city.

A comprehensive analysis of the issue, which takes into account the subjective (i.e. expressed in attitudes towards the city and the identification therewith) and objective foundations of shaping the bond between the inhabitants and their city can be found in M. Malikowski's work titled *Więź mieszkańców z miastem. Studium socjologiczne na przykładzie społeczeństwa miasta Rzeszowa (The Bond Between the Inhabitants and the City: A Sociological Study on the Example of the City of Rzeszów)* [1984]. The research on which the author founded his reflections was based on the analysis of quality data collected from a representative sample of Rzeszów's inhabitants and quantity data in the form of unstructured interviews, student essays and diaries sent in response to a competition entitled "Rzeszów, My City". Combining two research methods, the author – as he admitted – attempted to fuse "the individualizing and the generalizing angle" [Malikowski 1984: 6]. The principal research categories used in the work were: structural-functional relations, i.e. generally unconscious relations between members of one society, chiefly based on norms arising from performing particular social or professional roles, occupying certain positions, etc; relations arising from conscious interactions predominantly within informal groups (families, acquaintances, neighbors); activity for the city and attitudes towards the city, in particular a sense of connection to it [Malikowski 1984].

As a result of the conducted analysis, the author was able to construct the types of bonds between the inhabitants and the city, which took into account mutual relations between objective factors and the consciousness-related aspects of the individual's attachment to the city. Thus, three basic types of bonds with the city were identified including the objective, personal and symbolic bonds. The objective bond, arises from such factors as work, post and dwelling place. The

personal bond is mainly conditioned by such factors as personal advancement, the attractiveness of the metropolitan lifestyle and personal contacts with other inhabitants of the city. The symbolic bond, which had strongest connections to the sphere of consciousness and was based on positive attitudes towards the city, the inhabitants' pride and sense of connection [Malikowski 1984: 130–133][1].

It should be noted that, so far, no truly exhaustive study of the individual's attachment to the city has been published. As the author states, "the research into this matter conducted thus far has generally relied on materials of the 'personal document' variety and it has not been comprehensive". Apparently, such research has yet to be conducted.

Polish sociological literature features few publications presenting a thorough study of the bond with one's place of residence. Most often, the analysis focuses on selected aspects of the bond with the city, such as the sense of spatial stabilization or satisfaction with inhabiting a given place. Furthermore, frequently the bond with the place which one inhabits is presented as local identification, which obviously falls short of exhausting the issue [cf. Turowski 1970, 1974; Kryczka 1974; Olubiński 1991; Starosta 1995, 2003]. Often, the subject of analysis were the attitudes toward the local environment; nevertheless, it was only seldom that the cognitive aspect of the phenomenon was taken into consideration. Currently, questions pertaining to the present issue are included in sociological analyses and monographs devoted to local systems. One should mention such studies as "Miasto. Rozwój, problemy, starania. Studia nad Kielcami" ("The City: The Development, the Problems, the Endeavors. Studies of Kielce") [Frysztacki and Kościołek, eds. 1988], "Życie w Poznaniu 1997. Mieszkańcy Poznania o swoim mieście" ("Life in Poznań 1997. The Inhabitants of Poznań Speak of Their City") [Cichocki, Podemski 1998][2], "Zielona Góra. Socjologiczne studium miasta i jego mieszkańców" ("Zielona Góra. A Sociological Study of the City and Its Inhabitants") [Machaj and Zduński, eds. 2001], "Społeczna mapa Warszawy. Interdyscyplinarne studium metropolii warszawskiej" ("A Social Map of Warsaw: An Interdisciplinary Study of the Warsaw Metropolis") [Grzelak and Zarycki, eds. 2004].

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[1] The author also identifies other types of bonds with the city, taking into account the subject range (spatial, purely social and cultural), the presence of all elements of the bond (complete and incomplete) and the intensity (intense, average, weak) [cf. Malikowski 1984: 133–135].

[2] The book is the result of quantity research (based on questionnaires) supplementing the diary material supplied for the third edition of the competition entitled "What the City of Poznań Means to You".

ASPECTS OF THE PSYCHOSOCIAL BONDS WITH THE CITY

The main aim of this article is to determine which types of bonds with the city are dominant among the inhabitants of Łódź. Identifying the types will consist in verifying the pattern of connections existing in an individual's consciousness between various aspects of the examined phenomenon, isolated on the basis of the literature devoted to the subject. The conclusions drawn from the presented data will also allow to determine whether the connections of the inhabitants to their city include all or only some of the examined aspects of the bond as well as to verify which types of connections between particular aspects of psychosocial relations of the inhabitants to their city are dominant. Therefore, the constructed types will take into account various values pertaining to particular facets of the examined phenomenon. The research procedure employed in order to isolate them will be cluster analysis.

The empirical data in the form of questionnaires, on which the findings herein are based, was gathered as part of the research project entitled "The structure and Conditions of the Social Bond in Peripheral Cities of Central and Eastern Europe in the Era of the Challenges of Globalization" realized by the Department of Rural and Urban Sociology at the University of Łódź. In total, 797 interviews were conducted in Łódź (on average, one in a thousand inhabitants participated) at the turn of 2002. The employed indicators had been constructed on the basis of questions used by other researchers, which to a large extent renders the results comparable [Turowski 1970, 1974, 1976; Kryczka 1974; Hunter 1985; Starosta 1995, et al]. The inhabitants of Łódź who underwent examination were chosen by means of stratified random sampling. This method of determining the examined aggregate ensured the reproduction of the demographic structure[3] of Łódź neighborhoods in relation to the entire population.

Constructing empiric types of bonds between the inhabitants of Łódź and their city is an attempt to characterize the structure of the individual's psychosocial connections with his or her dwelling place. The patterns of connections between the isolated aspects of the bond will be shown. The main aim is to determine

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[3] The calculations were based on the demographic structure of the districts according to the Polish personal identification number (PESEL) data from the year 2000. In addition, the calculations referred to estimated data from the Central Statistical Office of Poland (GUS), used in the 1996 research into Łódź's poverty enclaves [Warzywoda-Kruszyńska 1998] and made available by the author. Thanks to this, the demographic configuration of neighborhood units could be reproduced. The size of the samples in the neighborhood units can be found in the appendix.

whether in their attitudes toward the city the inhabitants of Łódź manifest all or only some of the examined aspects of the bond.

Thus, examining the subjective aspect of the inhabitants' bond with the city, i.e. the individual's consciousness-related connection to his or her place of residence. This entails an analysis of the emotional attitude (attachment) towards it, the sense of satisfaction with inhabiting it, the reluctance to move to another city as well as factors testifying to the local identity of the subjects. Therefore, the object of the examination will be the local sentiment, the satisfaction with inhabiting the city, spatial stabilization and local identification.

Local identification denotes a psychological recognition of belonging to a cultural and material substratum of a community as well as a sense of dissimilarity from other territorial aggregates [Starosta 1995]. In sociology, the notion of identification is employed to determine the individual's consciousness-related ties to a social aggregate [Ossowski 1962]. This also involves the individual's psychological connections which are a source of his or her social identity [Starosta 2003]. The notion of identification employed in this paper refers to the interpretation offered by Wilkinson, who differentiates between the individual's recognition that the object of identification exists ("identification of…") and his or her identifying with this object ("identification with…") [Wilkinson, cited in: Starosta 1995]. In my study, I employ the aspect of identification that denotes identifying emotionally with a given territorial aggregate, which occurs through the individual's self-definition as an inhabitant.

The indicator of local identification is the answer to the following question: "In conversation with others, do you describe yourself as an inhabitant of Łódź?". In this case, the examined phenomenon is the identification with the local system by manifesting one's sense of territorial belonging in contacts with inhabitants of other cities or towns, and simultaneously marking a significant source of one's identity.

Local satisfaction is described as a state of greater or smaller contentment which arises from belonging to a particular group or from residing in a given aggregate's field of interaction. It results from the individual's needs being gratified in the local environment and therefore is a factor that strengthens the inclination to sustain belonging [Starosta 1995]. The indicator question which is most often used to test the level of local satisfaction is: "To what extent are you satisfied with living in Łódź?"

The local sentiment is expressed through approving or disapproving of the territorial aggregate. It indicates a very strong emotional attitude to the place of residence. The most frequent indicators of local sentiment are responses to the

question: "Assuming that, for some reason, you have to move to another city. Would you feel sorry to leave Łódź permanently?". In this case, the object of analysis is the subjects' attitude towards the necessity of abandoning their city. The sense of regret which would accompany such a situation is expressive of a strong bond between the inhabitants and their place of residence. A certain nostalgia towards one's city is often conveyed through a sense of sympathy for it. The extent to which the inhabitants of Łódź manifest the above attitude will be determined on the basis of responses to the question: "Do you like Łódź"? The third indicator which I have included in the bond with the city discussed herein is the will to connect the future of one's children with the place of residence. Information about the subjects' attitudes towards such a possibility will be obtained on the basis of responses to the question: "Do you think that Łódź will be the best place of residence for your children?".

The fourth aspect of psychosocial ties with the city is a sense of spatial stabilization. In an operational sense, the phenomenon is analyzed by asking subjects to declare preferred migration destinations. The indicator of the discussed phenomenon will be the information obtained in response the question: "Do you intend to leave Łódź permanently within the next three years?". The absence of such intentions will testify to the subjects' spatial stabilization.

In order to characterize the connections between particular aspects of the bond, the primary variables assigned to particular facets of the bond with the city on the basis of previous research tradition were grouped into statistically homogeneous sets. Next, attempts were made to determine whether, and to what extent, the facets of the bond indicated in theoretical analyses are congruent with the empirical constructs isolated using factor analysis. The employed method enabled a fuller diagnosis of interrelations between particular ingredients of the psychosocial bond with the city. Furthermore, it was intended to verify the legitimacy of combining individual indicators of the psychosocial bond into particular aspects.

The factor analysis conducted on the isolated set of variables revealed the existence of three factors of the psychosocial bond with the city, explaining 69% of the variance.

Table 1: Factor loadings of observable variables

Individual variables	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Local satisfaction	0,839		
Sympathy for the city *	0,792		
Regret at the necessity of leaving the city permanently *	0,717		
The wish to connect the future of one's children with the city *	0,486		
The sense of spatial stabilization		0,960	
Local identification			0,989
% of explained variance	37%	16,1%	15,6%
% of explaining variance totaling 69%; Extraction – PC, Rotation – Varimax; KMO = 0,73			

* local sentiment variables
Source: own calculations

The first factor is a set of four output variables. It consists of three variables previously included in the local sentiment as well as the indicator of local satisfaction. The result allows one to state that, statistically speaking, local sentiment and the satisfaction with inhabiting a particular place are mutually formative and complementary. The remaining factors include one variable each. Thus, the factors of spatial stabilization and local identity were isolated. It should be stated that, from a statistical point of view, the analyzed aggregate features three aspects of psychosocial ties with the city rather than four, which number is most often indicated in the literature on the subject. In the light of statistical interdependence it may be argued that local satisfaction and local sentiment constitute an identical factor within the bond.

Types of attachment to the city and their determinants

The aim of constructing types of psychosocial bonds between the inhabitants and the city is to determine the patterns of connections between the factors constituting the empirical aspects of the bond with the city, isolated earlier. Cluster analysis will enable the presentation of the types of attachment to the city which are dominant among its inhabitants. Cluster analysis is one of the methods of statistical classification, also described as 'unsupervised learning'; it consists in grouping elements into relatively homogeneous classes. In the case of most algorithms, the basis for grouping is the resemblance between the elements, expressed by means of a similarity function [Wisz-Cieszyńska 2002]. An important element in the analysis will be the scope of the influence of particular independent vari-

ables on the existence of the isolated types of attachment to the city. As a result, the conditioning of particular types of attachment evinced by the inhabitants of Łódź towards their city will be revealed. Among the factors constituting potential determinants of the constructed types of attachment to the city were the variables of the individual's social position[4], the variables of local rootedness[5], the sense of security[6], the sense of local alienation[7], the spatial scope of social contacts[8] and inhabiting a particular urban space (ecological variables)[9].

Statistical analysis helped isolate three most numerously represented types: sentimental localism, negative localism and – the most common – pragmatic localism. The table below contains the values of accumulated variables in particular types of psychosocial bonds between the inhabitants of Łódź and their city.

Table 2: The typology of the subjects' psychosocial bonds with their city

Aspects of the bond with the city	Sentimental localism	Negative localism	Pragmatic localism	Standardized minimum and maximum values[*]
Factor I (local satisfaction + local sentiment)	0,88	-0,22	-0,30	from -1,75 to 1,55
Factor II (local identity)	0,59	-2,52	0,67	from -2,89 to 1,21
Factor III (spatial stabilization)	-0,73	-0,08	0,31	from -2,68 to 0,74
N	25,1% (200)	12,7% (101)	62,2% (496)	-

[*] The values of partial indices for particular types ought to be read in the light of the indicated minimum and maximum values.

Source: Own calculations

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[4] The status variables employed by the present study are age, education, belonging to a particular social-professional category and the level of affluence.

[5] The variables of local rootedness are having been born in and inhabiting a particular place as well as the parents' territorial origin.

[6] The inhabitant's sense of security was determined on the basis of the question: "Is Łódź a safe city?"

[7] I assume that the sense of being able to influence the political scene and the consequent ability to shape one's local environment [Miszalska 1989] may have substantial impact on forming the attachment to one's city, whereas considerable estrangement from the local political scene will probably result in a weak bond with the city.

[8] The influence of social contacts (friends, relatives) within an urban community on shaping attachment and local sentiment towards that community was confirmed in American research [Kasarda, Janovitz 1974; Hunter 1982]. Thus, it is interesting to determine whether establishing social contacts with persons inhabiting the same city will impact the inhabitants' attachment to Łódź.

[9] The aim is to present the spatial diversification of the level and the types of the inhabitants' psychosocial bonds with Łódź. In this case, the basic parameters of the analysis were neighborhood units isolated in the area of Łódź, combined into four functional zones.

The presented data demonstrate that none of the isolated categories contains all the diversified factors of the bond in their maximum extent. Thus, the population under scrutiny does not feature a full bond with the city. The first type, named sentimental localism, comes closest – though not particularly close – to full attachment, manifested in the coexistence of all the isolated factors. Within this type can be found two considerably developed empirical aspects of the analyzed phenomenon. The subjects representing this type are typified by substantial emotional attachment to the city as well as strong identification with the role of an inhabitant of Łódź. Another marked feature of the type is the lack of inclinations to treat Łódź as a permanent place of residence. This type of connection to the territory was described as sentimental localism on account of the dominance of strong emotional ties to the city.

It may be assumed that the presented variety of attachment comes closest to the notion of a private homeland. The place of residence, which is well known and valued, becomes an important element in the individual's identity, which, in this case, may take the form of chosen identity[10]. The subjects who represented a bond of this type seem to construct their identity on the basis of the local, the valued and the familiar. Thus, the city becomes not so much a permanent as a satisfactory place of residence at a particular moment. First and foremost, however, it is a general value, evoking feelings of nostalgia and sympathy as well as inducing positive sensations. Sentimental localism is represented by approximately one fourth of the subjects.

Table 3: Cramer contingency coefficient values for the sentimental localism type and the independent variables

Independent variables	Sentimental localism
Age	0,198 (p.<0,01)
Affluence level	0,101 (p.<0,05)
Place of birth	0,121 (p.<0,01)
Parents' territorial origin	0,136 (p.<0,01)
Sense of security	0,167 (p.<0,01)
Inhabiting a particular neighborhood	0,175 (p.<0,05)

Source: Own calculations

[10] In an article on the inhabitants' identification with Warsaw, Maria Lewicka (2004) employed the notion of chosen identity to describe an attitude marked by the inhabitants' positive relations with their place of residence.

The aim of the analysis was to determine which valuables significantly diversify the existence of the isolated types of attachment to the city. Table 3 presents the values of the V Cramer parameter for selected valuables, constituting potential determinants of attachment to the city. The current study presents only those variables whose impact is statistically significant at the level of significance equaling 0,05.

Attitudes of sentimental localism in the analyzed aggregate vary most strongly in terms of the subjects' age. On the basis of the conducted analyses it was established that the discussed type of attachment to the city is fostered by the subjects' advanced age. As they grow older, the inhabitants of Łódź become less critical of their city, while thinking about the city is increasingly connected with feelings of nostalgia and sympathy. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the latter sensations are not supported by an absence of migration intentions. Among the remaining factors of the individual's social position, the level of sentimental localism is affected by the subjects' affluence level. In contrast to the remaining subjects, those with a low level of affluence more frequently display this type of attachment to the city.

A factor which was demonstrated to significantly diversify the existence of sentimental localism is inhabiting a particular neighborhood[11]. The presented interpretations are based on the assumption that the particular type of attachment to the city is formed by the quality of the closest environment [Hunter 1982]. The obtained results make it possible to indicate several neighborhood units the inhabitants of which display attitudes of sentimental localism much more frequently than persons inhabiting other parts of the city. The aforementioned neighborhood units are found below the tenth and twentieth position in the social status ranking concerning the surveyed inhabitants of the city [Frykowski 2003]; these neighborhoods are also situated in the old part of the city, characterized by considerably worse living conditions. Attitudes of sentimental localism were most often displayed by inhabitants of neighborhoods located in the internal zone: Akademicka (62,5%), Stare Miasto (42,3%), Fabryczna (40,9%) and Doły (37,0%).

Another considerable ingredient of the discussed attitude is the sense of security. Sentimental localism is mainly characteristic of inhabitants who declare that they feel more secure. Almost 40% of subjects who describe Łódź as a safe city display this type of attachment to the city. Thus, the sense of security is a factor

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[11] The appendix contains a map which presents the deployment of particular neighborhood units and isolated functional zones.

which not only engenders satisfaction with inhabiting a particular place, but also enables the formation of very strong, emotional ties to the city and its inhabitants.

What should be emphasized, furthermore, is the relationship between the attitudes of sentimental localism and the factors of local rootedness. The latter, deriving from the fact of having been born and raised in the city, has little influence on the shaping of strong emotional bonds with the life world. This type of bond with the city was more frequently demonstrated by inhabitants who were not born in Łódź. It follows that, in this case, the factors determining the inhabitant's current situation are more important in shaping emotional attitudes towards the city than rootedness. The current life world may be viewed through the prism of the place of origin and considered in terms of the individual's social advancement or the improvement of his or her living conditions. Such interpretation seems correct, especially as regards persons whose experience from the previous place of residence is negative.

The second type was distinguished on the basis of negative values in each factor. The individuals exhibiting this type of connection to the city represent negative attitudes towards the local environment in all its aspects. Their presence in the city is not supported by positive emotional bonds. People would have few qualms about moving to another city. They do not also perceive themselves as members of the local community. Nevertheless, it appears that the reason for their remaining is connected with a particular living situation which necessitates it. This type of attachment to the city may be characteristic for two diverse social categories. On the one hand, negative attitudes towards the city may be displayed by people whose economical status and the resulting lack of spatial mobility prevent them from leaving their place of residence. Thus, it becomes a certain symbol of failure; simultaneously, it turns into a factor of social deprivation[12]. Coercive locality, difficult to alter despite the individual's eagerness, grows to the size of an entire world. Other options being unavailable, the unwanted reality becomes the only possible one. On the other hand, negative attitudes can be displayed by individuals belonging to the upper class, young, well-educated and highly qualified, for whom the current place of residence is not sufficiently satisfactory. Here, the critical approach to the local environment is shaped by inadequate satisfaction of sophisticated needs. The relationship between an individual's high status and a negative appraisal of their place of residence has been indicated in previous

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[12] Such an attitude to one's place of residence was presented by Bauman [1997] in the context of the phenomenon of glocalization.

research [Olubiński 1991; Starosta 1995, 2003]. In this case, the place of residence is regarded as an element which enables the individual to realize their intentions and plans. Thus, when it fails to do so, it is abandoned. This type of bond with the territory comes close to what some authors describe as "negative localism" [Bauman 1997; Starosta 2001]. On the one hand, the local territory is regarded as a factor of social deprivation, whereas on the other it is seen as a temporary stopover, similarly to staying at a hotel during a business trip. Negative attitudes towards the city are displayed by 12,7% of the subjects.

Table 4: Cramer contingency coefficient values for negative localism and independent variables.

Independent variables	Negative localism
Age	0,213 (p.<0,01)
Affluence level	0,155 (p.<0,01)
Professional category	0,146 (p.<0,05)
Inhabiting a particular neighborhood*	0,221 (p.<0,05)

* The influence of the subjects' inhabiting a particular neighborhood unit on the type of their attachment to the city is discussed in a separate section of the text.
    Source: Own calculations

Negative localism is mostly determined by the factors of the individual's social status. The discussed type of relation with the city is more frequently displayed by young people with considerable means and a high professional status. Castells' hypothesis about the cosmopolitanism of the elites is particularly relevant here. This view is also found in the writings of Bauman [1997] and Florida [2002], who emphasize liberation from a particular territory as an indispensable ingredient in an individual's social advancement, and, conversely, the deprivation connected with coercive locality. To a growing extent, the attention of this creative social class [Florida 2002] is focused on seeking a place of residence adequate to the assumed life strategy. In this case, the inhabited environment is perceived in terms of the extent to which it is capable of satisfying the individual's needs. Thus, one is inclined to agree with Starosta [1995, 2003] that the individual's high social status results in a more critical attitude towards one's place of residence.

The factor which most markedly diversifies the analyzed community in terms of attitudes of negative localism is location within the city space. Attitudes of negative localism, albeit displayed least frequently by the inhabitants of Łódź (12,5%), were more common among subjects who inhabit neighborhood units occupying top spots in the social status ranking and characterized by good living conditions. Prominent among those are Śródmiejska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa (the Downtown

Housing Estate), Radogoszcz, Obrzeża Górnej (the outer Łódź Górna), Widzew Zachód (Widzew west) and Zarzew. Particular attention ought to be paid to the Zarzew neighborhood, because among all analyzed units it occupies the highest rank in terms of social status. Interestingly, the research conducted by Frykowski [2003] also confirmed the high potential of social capital among subjects inhabiting the given area. Therefore, it seems that neither the individual's high status nor an adequate 'social base' are decisive determinants of positive attitudes towards the place of residence. Consequently, in this case, high social status may result in critical attitudes towards the city, rooted in personal expectations.

The surveyed inhabitants of Łódź who represent the third type of attachment to the city are characterized by a considerable sense of spatial stabilization and perceive themselves as members of the urban community. However, they do not display an emotional connection to their place of residence. This type of attachment may be described as pragmatic localism, reflecting as it does adaptive attitudes towards the inhabited environment. Perceiving oneself in terms of territorial belonging and an eagerness to maintain one's role as inhabitant are among the crucial elements of local identity. Attitudes of this kind may be indicative of a habitual bond, which results from becoming accustomed to the city in which one has remained for a long time and a certain habit of regarding the place of residence as an important element in one's biography. An absence of positive emotional attitudes may stem from reflection inspired by an ability to compare one's place of residence with other, more favorably appraised places. However, in this case, the lack of satisfaction or nostalgia does not necessarily preclude a sense of connection to the local environment. On the contrary, including one's place of residence in one's perception of oneself testifies to an individual's strong rootedness. Among the analyzed aggregate, pragmatic localism is the most frequent attitude: six out of ten subjects is characteristic of this type of attachment to the city.

Table 5: Cramer contingency coefficient values for pragmatic localism and independent variables.

Independent variables	Pragmatic localism
Age	0,114 (p.<0,05)
Place of birth	0,084 (p.<0,05)
Parents' territorial origin	0,082 (p.<0,05)
Sense of security	0,130 (p.<0,01)
Inhabiting a particular neighborhood[*]	0,230 (p.<0,05)

[*] The influence of the subjects' inhabiting a particular neighborhood unit on the type of their attachment to the city is discussed in a separate section of the text.

Source: Own calculations

Similarly to the other types, the attitudes of pragmatic localism are most markedly diversified by the part of the city which the subjects inhabit. The discussed type of connection to the city is chiefly displayed by individuals inhabiting the suburban zone. The neighborhoods distinguished by a considerable share of pragmatic localism are Obrzeża Bałut (the outer Bałuty, 88,9%) and Obrzeża Polesia (the outer Polesie, 81,3%), both situated in the suburban zone, and Widzew Zachód (Widzew West, 80,0%), situated in the internal zone. As regards the inhabitants of neighborhoods located in the outskirts, the attitudes of stabilization are hardly surprising. Being situated away from noise, pollution and other nuisances of the urban life is most certainly a factor which strengthens the durability of residence and shapes the identification with the city. However, it is not sufficient for the subjects to develop emotionally charged bonds with the city.

Such incomplete bonds with the city are characteristic principally for middle-aged people whose families are rooted in Łódź and who were born as well as raised there. Pragmatic localism is also exhibited by subjects who perceive Łódź as a rather unsafe place. Because a sense of security is one of the conditions for constructing a community, in this case its lack becomes a factor which prevents the inhabitants from developing a full (i.e. also emotionally charged) bond with the local environment.

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this study was to determine the dominant types of attachment to the city among the inhabitants of Łódź. However, the results of the discussed research belong to a broader perspective, connected with examining the transformations of social ties and the significance of their territorial foundations. Authors discussing the subject emphasize two dominant theses which accentuate the importance of the territory for the shaping of social ties. In the former, attention is paid to the decreasing significance of the territory for the construction of social ties [Wellman, Carrington, Hall 1988; Bryden 1994]. Individuals do not regard local territory as a positive frame of reference; its status is seized instead by supralocal structures the basis of which is not necessarily territorial. The presented view is confirmed in the attitudes of negative localism, characteristic

for some of the surveyed inhabitants of Łódź. Conditions which must occur to confirm the thesis ought to be complemented by the context of the diversification of the social structure. The significance of the territory is decreasing, particularly when it comes to individuals belonging to the metropolitan class [Jałowiecki 2002], whose world transcends the narrow borders of the local community. This is also true for those who cannot choose their place of residence, for whom the territory becomes a negative frame of reference, especially when they compare their situation to a generalized image of another, better reality.

According to the latter thesis, the territory remains a significant element in shaping social ties; however, the nature of these ties is changing. This attitude is closest to the interpretation of pragmatic attitudes towards the city. In this case, the local environment is regarded as a site for the satisfaction of the individual's needs and the area of their activity. Pragmatic attitudes towards the city come close to what some researchers term the habitual bond, resulting from long-term habitation. The attitudes of inhabitants who display a strong emotional attachment to the city differ from the above in many respects. Such people regard the city as a value, a private homeland, their own place on earth. Characteristically, they evince sympathy, nostalgia and satisfaction with inhabiting the city, all of which – as has been demonstrated – constitute an important aspect which contributes to shaping the individual's identity and a factor which strengthens the sense of belonging to the territorial community. Although the authors underline the conditional nature of the sense of satisfaction, resulting from the extent to which the individual's needs are satisfied in the local environment [Starosta 1995], it appears that in the case of this category of subjects it more readily assumes the form of a generalized positive approach to the local environment.

Considering the degree to which the discussed types of attachment to the city are represented by the inhabitants of Łódź, one may confidently argue that the thesis about the diminishing role of the territory as the basis of the bond and as an element in individual identity is vastly exaggerated. On the basis of the presented results, it must be stated that for the majority of its inhabitants the city continues to be a positive frame of reference as well as an object of psychosocial attitudes. The change only concerns its character and perception, dependent on the individual's belonging to a particular category, isolated in terms of social status, location in the city's spatial structure and the degree of security.

In summary, it may be argued that we are dealing with different displays of the same city, depending on the viewer. For some it is an object of positive emotional reference and thus becomes, to a certain extent, an autotelic quality. For others, it is a means of satisfying their needs and is positively marked until

these expectations are fulfilled. In addition, it may be a negative frame of reference. Such interpretation is closest to the perspective of analyzing the city with a humanistic coefficient [Znaniecki 1931], which means that it is not an objective reality, but rather that it exists in individual consciousness. As the results of the research demonstrate, the changes which the concept undergoes are related to the variability of features from one individual to another.

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The map: the city's isolated spatial zone s divided into neighborhood units and administrative districts[*]

	The city center		The external zone
	The internal zone		The suburban zone
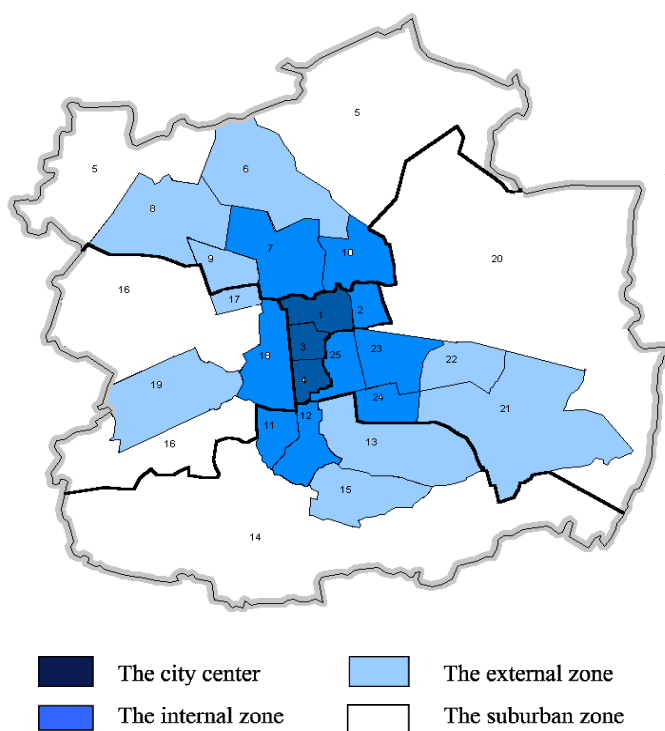
[*] **Śródmieście:** 1-Nowe Miasto, 2-Akademicka**,** 3-Centrum, 4-Śródmiejska Dzielnica Miesz-kaniowa;

Bałuty: 5-Obrzeża Bałut, 6-Radogoszcz, 7-Stare Miasto, 8-Teofilów, 9-Żubardź, 10-Doły;

Górna: 11-Nowe Rokicie, 12-Górny Rynek, 13-Dąbrowa, 14-Obrzeża Górnej, 15-Chojny Zatorze;

Polesie: 16-Obrzeża Polesia, 17-Koziny, 18-Zielona, 19-Retkinia;

Widzew: 20-Obrzeża Widzewa, 21-Olechów, 22-Widzew Zachód, 23-Widzew Zachód, 24-Zarzew, 25-Fabryczna.