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LODZ RESIDENTS' ATTACHMENT TO THEIR CITY

Abstract: Lodz is an example of a city with a rather brief, although turbulent history. Paradoxically, both the flourishing of the city, unique on a European scale, and its subsequent decline were determined mainly by the textile industry. At present, after the difficult experiences of a period of political transformation and in the middle of globalization processes, Lodz is attempting to successively deal with the problems and difficulties of a post-industrial city. Most probably, the crisis cannot be overcome without significant involvement of the community, which seems to be determined, among other factors, by the extent of residents' attachment to the city. Therefore, the aim of this article is an attempt to determine the extent of Lodz residents' attachment to their city. Attachment is understood here as a certain relationship of a person with a given place, expressed both in an emotional (subjective) and objective dimension. The empirical basis for performed analyses is the data obtained during the "Resurgence of post-industrial peripheral cities" research project¹. The conducted analyses indicate that Lodz residents' level of attachment in both dimensions reaches a relatively moderate level. Another aim of the analyses was to determine whether both dimensions are mutually dependent, *i.e.* whether a higher level of the one results in a growth of the other. It turns out that despite the statistical significance, the correlation is on a very low level, which prompts the conclusion that these dimensions are mutually independent. This means people with a strong emotional attachment to the city may not feel any objective attachment.

Keywords: Attachment, Lodz, postindustrial city.

Introduction

In one of his publications, Zysiak [2011, p. 103] metaphorically calls Lodz "an enfant terrible of the industrial revolution, a rapid change and aggressive competition". It is difficult to deny that it was the industrial revolution and the development of the textile industry that shaped the development of the so-called "Polish Manchester".

¹ The *Resurgence of Postindustrial Peripheral Cities Project* was funded by the National Science Centre under the direction of P. Starosta, Ph.D, university professor of the University of Lodz in the years 2011-2014, contract ref. no. UMO-2011/01/B/HS6/02538.

It was possible due to the decision made by Rajmund Rembéliński, the president of the Mazowieckie Voivodeship Committee, who in 1820 included Lodz among industrial cities [Szukalak 2004]. This triggered industrialization, social and demographic processes heretofore unknown on a European scale. It should be noted here that at the end of the 18th century, Lodz, numbering about two hundred residents, was on the verge of losing its municipal rights. However, Rembéliński's decision triggered changes in the opposite direction. In the years 1850–1900, the population of the city grew by 2006%, and it increased 600-fold within a century [Marzec, Zysiak 2009]. In an amazingly short time, Lodz became a significant industry hub, and during the 1920s and 1930s, it was the second biggest city in Poland. Both World Wars had a negative impact on the development of industry and the city itself; however, it was the transformation and globalisation process that made Lodz lose its distinctive industrial function. As a result, at the turn of the 1990s, the city fell into a deep economic crisis, which contributed to its peripherisation [Starosta, Brzeziński 2014].

For over a decade, the local authorities and a part of the community have been trying to bring the city out of the crisis. The idea of building the New Lodz Centre or the recently popular topic of the redevelopment of the so-called central urban zone come to mind. Nevertheless, the renewal process will doubtlessly require the involvement, or at least support, of the majority of the local community. It can be assumed that there may be a link between their involvement and the feeling of attachment to the city. When people feel a connection with a place, they are more willing and find it easier to get involved in initiatives aimed at its benefit. Hence, both from the academic and the purely practical standpoint, it may be an interesting challenge to identify the extent of Lodz inhabitants' attachment to their city. To achieve this aim, the author is going to use the results of a survey study conducted on a representative sample of Lodz residents at the turn of 2013 as part of the "Resurgence of post-industrial peripheral cities" research project².

1. Attachment to the city

In the year 1969, the British psychoanalyst John Bowlby in his book published in Polish as "Przywiązanie" (*Attachment*)³ presented a novel psychoanalytic concept of attachment, which offered a rather interesting explanation of the sources of psychopathic symptoms. The innovation was, among others, the assumption that people are equipped with innate and instinctual mechanisms regulating the drive for closeness and creation of individualised interpersonal ties [Czub 2007]. The British psychoanalyst's concept provided a completely fresh look at the development of personality, although its use may extend beyond the psychological aspects of human functioning

² The survey was conducted on a representative sample of 700 inhabitants of Lodz.

³ Originally published as "Attachment" in 1969.

[see Michalska-Żyła 2010]. For example, American sociology uses the term “community attachment”⁴, as a suggestion of a term for the bond of an individual with his or her place of residence [Kasarda, Janovitz 1974 after: Michalska-Żyła 2010]. Furthermore, the literature of the subject has long noted the term “place attachment”⁵. As Giuliani [2003] notes, every one of us has experienced a form of bond with a place, whether positive or negative, pleasant or not. He adds that this emotional bond is important for our functioning and for the functioning of a whole group (community), providing a sense of identity and helping to define the sense, meaning and goals of our lives (*ibidem*).

According to Lewicka [2012] the term *place attachment* itself is rather vague semantically, which causes numerous problems of methodological and theoretical nature. To prove her thesis, she refers to synonymous terms functioning in the literature of the subject with a similar meaning. These include, among others, place identity, sense of place, place dependence, insidedness, embeddedness, rootedness, appropriation, belongingness, residence satisfaction, and topophilia. The list could be expanded by adding Ossowski's concept of private motherland [1984], spaces close to the individual which he or she is attached to due to personal experiences, or A. Majer's concept of “micropolis”, which the author defines as subjectively separated and symbolically appropriated part of an urban or other residential territory, which allows one to see it as a personal space – in analogy to the concept of spatial personal distances, zones around our bodies outlined by invisible borders⁶. The terminological diversity, according to Lewicka [2012], is partly a consequence of varying theoretical backgrounds of studies on place. And so, geography and sociology tend to favour the term sense of place, whereas environmental psychology tends towards place attachment and place identity. The term “place attachment”, itself, Lewicka says, was defined for the first time by Daniel Stokols and Sally Shumaker as well as Sally Shumaker and Ralph Taylor. Their works define attachment as: a positive emotional bond between people and their place of residence [Lewicka 2012 after Stokols, Shumaker 1981]. When examining the beginnings of academic studies on place attachment, it is worth to note the interdisciplinary work of Altman and Low published in 1992 and titled *Place attachment*. It stresses that place attachment (...) does not only mean an emotional bond with the place, but includes also a cognitive and behavioural aspect of the relations to the place; that place attachment may concern both individuals and social groups; that the nature of the bond (individual, social, cultural) may vary; that the scale of the “place” may very much vary and that the term includes the temporal aspect of the relation. The subject of attachment may be specific places but also symbolic or even mythical ones. Attachment may be a result of direct human experiences associated with a place but or a consequence of a culturally set symbolism of a place

⁴ Which can be understood as attachment to the local community.

⁵ Which can be understood as place attachment.

⁶ Manuscript made available during a meeting of the Department of Rural and Urban Sociology.

or its political significance [Altman, Low 1992 after Lewicka 2012]. The idea behind Place attachment was the need to clear and specify the term “place attachment”, although the variety of the approaches presented there makes a cohesive methodological and theoretical approach difficult. This problem is highlighted by Rychlewska in her article [2010, p. 2]: The lack of a uniform, interdisciplinary methodology leads to a lack of cohesiveness with regard to definitions and terms. Nevertheless, terms such as social attachment, place dependence, sense of place, sense of community, place identification, come down to an attempt of a description of emotional involvement, a bond between an individual and the local community or a given place. Further into the article, she defines the term as: “(...) affective relation, of a positive nature, of an individual with their place of residence and local community, which may result in a tendency to maintain a close contact with them and think of them in certain emotionally marked categories” (*ibid.*). The definition presented above may be classified as a so-called one-dimensional definition, which refers to the original definition of the term as an emotional connection with a place [Stokols, Schumaker 1981 after Lewicka 2012]. In the case of this group of definitions, measuring attachment is limited to emotions experienced by a person in contact with a place. On the other hand, the literature of the subject also offers a multidimensional approach to attachment. It presents many ways a person may be attached to a place. Lewicka [2012] cites as the most popular one the two-dimensional concept of attachment, which includes emotional attachment (place identity) and place dependence, *i.e.* instrumental attachment. She adds: “In contrast to a purely emotional bond, place dependence is a function of the extent to which a place allows the subject to achieve their important goals” (*ibidem*, p. 115). Rychlewska [2010] also mentions two dimensions of place attachment, namely: rootedness – physical attachment to one’s own land, and social bonding or bonding, which includes “the approving awareness of belonging to a group, (...) cult of mutually shared values, (...) willingness to value the group’s interests over personal ones (...)” [Ossowski 1962 after Rychlewska 2010]. Considering these methodological and theoretical dilemmas, for the purposes of this article, the author adopted the assumption that attachment is understood as a relationship of a person with a given place expressed both in the emotional (subjective) and objective dimension. The emotional dimension, *i.e.* a certain positive attitude toward the place, is going to be verified with the use of the following variables: place satisfaction, feeling of spatial stabilisation, fondness for the place, willingness to recommend the place to others as a place to live, emotional identification with the local community. The objective dimension is going to be understood as a certain rootedness in a given place, resulting from objective causes, and is going to be verified with the use of the following variables: number of years lived at a given address, frequency of leaving the city, number of friends and relatives living in the city and the distance to parents’ hometown.

2. The emotional dimension of Lodz residents' attachment

One of the more significant elements proving residents' emotional attachment to a city is place satisfaction. According to Starosta [1995, p. 130], "place satisfaction (...) means a mental comfort resulting from the positive feedback which the individual receives from a given residential environment. It is a factor supporting the tendency to strengthen the sense of belonging, and its lack may lead to alienation." In other words, place satisfaction is a kind of reflection of the fulfilment of an individual's needs by the local environment in the psychological dimension. Therefore, the more a given local system fulfils individuals' needs, the higher the satisfaction with residing in a given place.

Table 1

Level of Lodz residents' place satisfaction*

To what extent are you satisfied with living in Lodz?	-3 (very much dissatisfied)	-2	-1	0	1	2	3 (very much satisfied)	Total
	3.0	4.6	13.7	22.1	29.9	17.7	9.0	100.0

* data shown in percentage (Tabs. 1-7)
Source: Own work (Tabs.1-8).

As the data presented in Table 1 show, the level of satisfaction exhibited by Lodz residents may be described as moderate, although it should be noted most of those surveyed chose answers above the middle of the scale. Only a little over 20%⁷ of the respondents selected answers proving their dissatisfaction with living in the city.

Another variable used to identify Lodz inhabitants' level of satisfaction was the sense of spatial stabilisation. According to Michalska-Żyła [2011, p. 86], the tendency to leave the present place of residence is a result of numerous socio-economic and psychological factors, as well as an individual's situation in various life stages. The key ones among them are: perspectives for life, strength and type of an individual's attachment to their place of residence, family situation and personal relations within the community, and professional and material status. Therefore, it seems fully justi-

Table 2

Lodz residents' sense of spatial stabilisation

Do you plan to move permanently out of Lodz within the next 3 years?	-3 (definitely not)	-2	-1	0	1	2	3 (definitely yes)	Total
	43.1	18.9	11.1	13.6	7.4	4.0	1.9	100.0

⁷ Answers from -3 to -1.

fied to include a question about plans for moving out of the present place of residence in analyses whose aim is to identify residents' level of attachment to a city.

Analysis of the variable presented above allows for a conclusion that many of Lodz inhabitants are significantly attached to their city. The data in Table 2 show that a little over 70%⁸ of the respondents declare they do not plan to move out of the city in the closest future. In light of the arguments presented above, one can draw the conclusion that Lodz as a city fulfils the needs and expectations of a large part of its residents, which results in their unwillingness to move out. This conclusion is corroborated by answers to the question about fondness for the place of residence. In studies on the bond with the city or place attachment, fondness for the city is usually verified using questions about hypothetical regrets about potential move out of the city. About 50%⁹ of those surveyed asked about hypothetical regrets about leaving Lodz said they would to some extent regret leaving the city. Over 20% chose an answer proving their

Table 3

Lodz residents' fondness for the place

Let's say you have to move out of Lodz for some reason. How much would you regret a permanent move out?	-3 (I definitely wouldn't regret it)	-2	-1	0	1	2	3 (I would definitely regret it)	Total
	6.3	8.7	12.4	20.4	20.9	19.6	11.7	

ambivalent attitude to a hypothetical necessity of leaving the city, and a little under 30%¹⁰ would not feel any regrets.

Residents' attachment to a given city may also be measured by their willingness to recommend the place to others as a place to live. As Michalska-Żyła [2015], claims this willingness is an expression of a generalised positive attitude to the city where one spent a large part of one's life. One may assume it is not preceded by an in-depth analysis of the factors which make the place attractive. Those surveyed simply want make their place of residence stand out in a positive way [see Starosta 1980; Olubiński 1991; Michalska-Żyła 2010]. Table 4 indicates that about 36%¹¹ of the interviewed Lodz residents would be willing to recommend their city to others. At the same time, it should be noted as many as 30% of the respondents had an ambivalent attitude to this issue. At the same time, a little over 30%¹² would not recommend their city to others. It poses the question: why do Lodz residents not care about making their city stand out in a positive way? One may suppose that in their opinion the city does not offer the level of quality of

⁸ Answers from -3 to -1.

⁹ Answers from 1 to 3.

¹⁰ Answers from -3 to -1.

¹¹ Answers from 1 to 3.

¹² Answers from -3 to -1.

life which would make other people want to live there. On the other hand, referring to the variables analysed before, it may be concluded that the living standard Lodz offers is suitable for the residents, although at the same time, not high enough (according to the respondents) to encourage them to recommend the city to others.

Table 4

Willingness to recommend Lodz to others as a place to live

Would you encourage others to live in Lodz?	-3 (definitely not)	-2	-1	0	1	2	3 (definitely yes)	Total
	9.6	9.4	14.4	30.4	20.0	11.7	4.4	100.0

The last variable used to verify the emotional dimension of attachment was a sense of belonging to the local community. It is one of categories suggested to examine local identification [Starosta 2003]. This in turn may be viewed as a psycho-social bond between an individual and a given place or one of the elements of a bond (author's note) [Turowski 1995, p. 22 after Michalska-Żyła 2010, p. 43]. To verify the emotional level of Lodz residents' attachment to their city, the author used a modified version of the question used by Starosta [1995] in his studies on local communities.

Table 5

Lodz's residents' emotional identification with the city

Which of these sentences sums up your feelings toward Lodz?	-3 (You'll waste your life here, I'm fed up with this godforsaken place)	-2 (Life here isn't very interesting)	-1 (There's a life and work here only for selected groups of people and they are the only ones who like living here)	0 (It's getting more difficult everywhere, what's the difference where you live)	1 (You can get on by pretty decently here)	2 (There are good living conditions)	3 (I feel at home here, I have the best of everything)	Total
	3.7	10.1	13.1	40.4	12.7	7.1	12.7	100.0

As the data in Table 5 show, over 30%¹³ of the respondents identify to a significant extent with their city, over 40% are ambivalent, and a little over 26%¹⁴ probably will not identify with their current place of residence.

¹³ Answers from 1 to 3.

¹⁴ Answers from -3 to -1.

In order to additionally illustrate the issue of Lodz residents' attachment to the city in the emotional dimension, positive answers were summed up¹⁵ in relation to all five analysed variables and presented in the chart below.

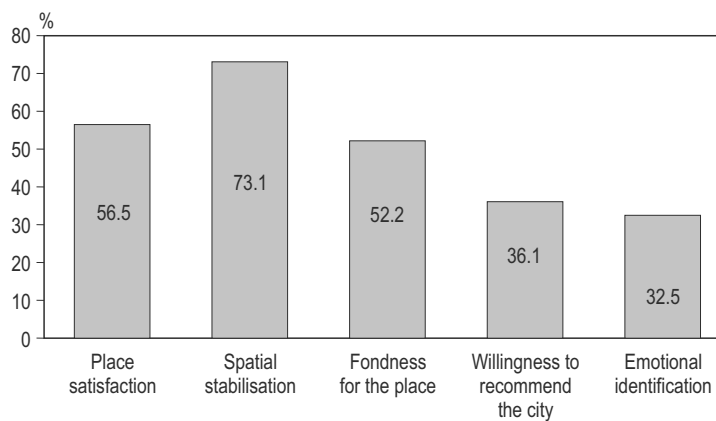
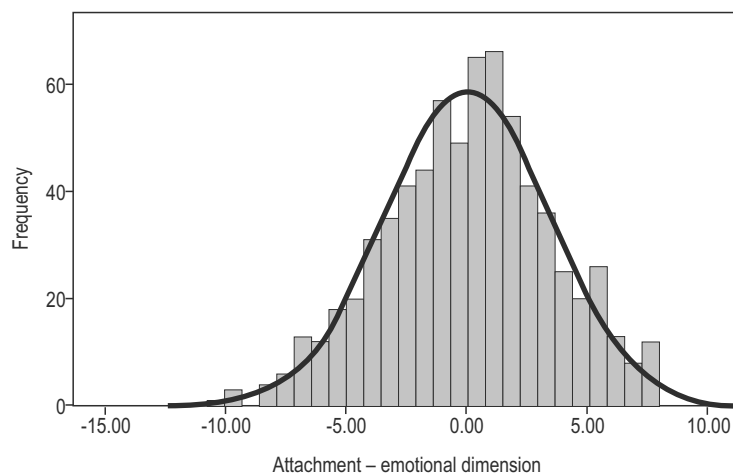


Figure 1. Level of Lodz residents' attachment in the emotional dimension

Source: Own work (Figs. 1-3).

As the data show, 56.5% of the respondents are satisfied with living in Lodz to some extent. As many as 73.1% of the surveyed Lodz inhabitants do not plan to move out of the city in the course of the next three years. What is more, if they were hypo-



N=700, standard deviations 3.407, maximum value 7.8, minimum value -10.1.

Figure 2. Histogram of the synthetic scale of attachment in its emotional dimension

¹⁵ Answers from 1 to 3.

thetically forced to leave Lodz, 52.2% of the respondents would regret it. Despite the results presented above, it turns out Lodz residents would probably not recommend Lodz to others as a place to live. Only 36.1% of those surveyed declared they would do so. The level of local identification is also low, with only 32.5% of the respondents identifying with the city. Considering these variables and results, it may be concluded Lodz residents' level of attachment in the emotional dimension is on a moderate level. In order to illustrate this conclusion better on the basis of the variables used here and after necessary alterations, a synthetic scale of emotional attachment was constructed. Firstly, using Cronbach's alpha coefficient, the reliability of the scale was checked. The value of the indicator was 0.706, which was satisfactory and permitted further analyses. The chart below presents a histogram of the synthetic scale of emotional attachment.

The chart shown above is almost symmetrical and practically corresponds with the normal distribution, which supports the earlier conclusions that the level of attachment to Lodz is moderate.

3. The objective dimension of Lodz residents' attachment

Apart from the emotional dimension of the bond with the city, attachment may also be viewed from the objective-instrumental perspective. Some people, regardless of their feelings about the city, may be attached to it to a significant level due to having a job there, a wide network of friends, *etc.* It may also happen that living in a given place is a kind of family tradition. A history of life in a city which spans generations may lead to a situation where a person is not able to imagine living elsewhere. Considering these arguments, the objective dimension of Lodz residents' attachment was examined using the following variables: number of years lived at one address¹⁶, frequency of leaving Lodz, number of friends and relatives living in the city, and distance from parents' hometown. This selection was partly motivated by the obtained empirical material¹⁷. After that, the variables underwent necessary statistical transformations to present them in a zero-one form, which allowed to create a synthetic indicator of attachment in its objective dimension. The Table 6 presents the results for all variables after transformations. It turns out only 12.1 % have been living at the same address their whole lives. This result is not necessarily surprising, since it is related to the life cycle, including leaving the family home and becoming

¹⁶ The original plan included a question about the number of years lived in Lodz. However, due to an excessively high percentage of missing data, it was decided to replace this variable with a question about the number of years lived at a given address. Therefore, some errors in the reasoning are to be expected. Some people could have been living in Lodz since birth but moved several times between various locations in the city.

¹⁷ The number of variables used for the description of the instrumental dimension of attachment could be much larger. However, this type of material was not obtained within the "Resurgence of postindustrial peripheral cities" project.

independent. This makes the variable not fully suited to the role of an indicator of attachment in its emotional dimension. Much more can be gleaned about Lodz residents' links with the city from the data about the frequency of leaving the city. Over 86% of those surveyed leave the city once a month or less frequently¹⁸, which may be a proof of a strong rootedness in the city. This may be a consequence of the city fulfilling most of the residents' needs and expectations, which eliminates the necessity and need to leave it. On the other hand, sporadic trips out may indicate that Lodz residents are to an extent "doomed" to their city because they cannot afford to leave it more often, *e.g.* at weekends. A high level of attachment to the city is further proved by the results referring to the number of family members and friends living in the city. Over 58% of the respondents declared that most of their relatives and friends live in Lodz¹⁹. This variable may be related to the next two ones, that is the hometown of the respondents' parents. In both cases, the percentage of people naming Lodz as the place where their father or mother grew up is about 60%.

Table 6

The variables of Lodz residents' attachment in the instrumental dimension

Variable	Yes	No	Total
Living at the same address since birth	12.1	87.9	100.0
Sporadically leaving the city*	86.1	13.9	100.0
Most of family and friends living in Lodz	58.6	41.4	100.0
Lodz is the place where my father grew up	58.3	41.7	100.0
Lodz is the place where my mother grew up	60.0	40.0	100.0

* Most frequently once a month.

Next, having zero-one type data, a summary indicator was prepared²⁰, which allowed to identify what percentage of the Lodz population exhibits objective attachment to the city. The collected data are presented in the Table 7.

¹⁸ Before the transformation, the response options included the following: every day; almost every day; two, three times a week; once a week; once a month; five, six times a year; I didn't leave last year at all; during the transformations, the latter three variants were classified as "sporadically leaving the city".

¹⁹ The question posed to the respondents was phrased as follows: What part of your family (apart from members of your household) and friends live in Lodz? Please use a scale where 1 means no one from your family and friends lives in Lodz, and 7 means all your family members and friends live in Lodz. This question was recoded as follows: values from 1-4 were assigned value 0, values from 5-7 were assigned value 1.

²⁰ The indicator was prepared excluding the variable referring to living since birth at the same address. The indicator was prepared based on four variables: frequency of leaving the city, number of friends and family members living in Lodz, parents' hometown.

Table 7

Types of Lodz residents' attachment to the city

0	1	2	3	4	Total
4.7	19.6	18.3	22.9	34.6	100.0

Based on these results, one may say that as far as the objective dimension of attachment to the city is concerned, five basic types can be identified, from a lack of attachment to full attachment. Only 4.7% of those interviewed are people not attached to the city at all, *i.e.* these are people who often travel out of Lodz, do not have a large number of friends or family members there, and Lodz is not their parents' hometown. Probably these are people who at some point in their lives chose to move to Lodz. On the other end of the scale are people fully attached to the city. They leave it sporadically; most of their relatives and friends live in Lodz. The city is their hometown, where their parents spent their childhood and youth. They equal a little over 34% of the respondents. The remaining identified categories are in-between types who exhibit the analysed variables with varying intensity. And so, 19.6% of those surveyed exhibit just one element proving their attachment to the city, which makes people from this category weakly attached to Lodz. 18.3% of the respondents exhibit at least two of the four elements verifying the level of attachment to the city, which makes them moderately attached. The last group, numbering 22.9% of the respondents, are people exhibiting three of the four elements proving objective dimension of attachment. After adding people from the group exhibiting three elements to those exhibiting all four ones, it turns out as many as 57.5% are strongly attached to Lodz.

4. Correlates between the subjective and objective dimension of attachment

The introduction to this article highlighted the fact that Lodz has been trying for some time to deal with detrimental effects of political transformation and globalisation. Additionally, it was assumed that this attempt to handle cumbersome problems may depend on the extent of local residents' involvement and support, which in turn may be linked to their level of attachment to the city. The data presented here point to the conclusion that Lodz residents are characterized by a rather moderate level of attachment in the emotional dimension and a little higher one in the objective dimension. It seems important to determine whether there are any correlations between these two dimensions, *i.e.* whether an increase in one dimension is related to a rise in the other. If there turns out to be a correlation between the analysed dimensions, it will be possible to predict that both the residents emotionally connected with the city

and those connected instrumentally will probably get involved, or at least support, actions aimed at a broadly understood socio-economic development of the city. On the other hand, if further analyses do not prove any correlation, it will contribute to further research, whose aim will be to determine which of the dimensions has more influence on the level of activity and involvement of residents in local issues.

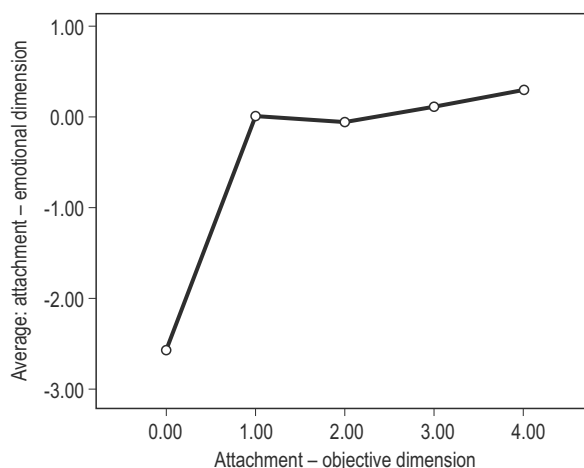
Table 8 shows the results of correlation analysis between the attachment scale in the emotional and objective dimension. As the presented data show, there is a statistically significant relation between the analysed scales, although the correlation is not considerable.

Table 8

Attachment in the emotional vs. instrumental dimension

Specification	Emotional dimension of attachment scale	
Instrumental dimension of attachment scale	Pearson's correlation	0.110
	Significance (two-tailed)	0.004
	N	700

These observations and conclusions are corroborated by the results of one-way analysis of variance, which compared the level of attachment in the emotional dimension in subpopulations with differing levels of attachment in the instrumental dimension. It turns out the instrumental dimension of attachment alters slightly the emotional dimension. The phenomenon is illustrated by the Figure 3.



$$F(4, 695) = 5.252 \quad p < 0.001^*$$

Figure 3. Standard of quality of residence and the psycho-social bonds scale

Conclusions

Similar to other Central-Eastern European post-industrial cities which used to play the role of important industry centres, Lodz has painfully experienced the effects of first transformation and then globalisation processes. Due to that, it seemed academically significant to examine the existing level of the residents' attachment to their city, which has for some time been plagued with numerous socio-economic problems. Furthermore, for some time the local authorities, NGOs, and a part of the local community have been trying to deal with the difficulties Lodz has been facing. It seems these actions can succeed only with the strong involvement and support of the residents. It may be assumed that their involvement may be related to the extent of their attachment; the more attached to the city they are, the more of them will become involved with initiatives aimed at solving the city's problems. Therefore, the empirical material collected as part of the "Rebirth of post-industrial peripheral cities" research project underwent necessary analyses with the goal to present Lodz residents' attachment to their city. For the purposes of this article, attachment is understood as a relationship of a person with a given place expressed both in the emotional and instrumental dimension.

The conducted analyses indicate that Lodz residents' level of attachment in both dimensions reaches a relatively moderate level. Another aim of the analyses was to determine whether both dimensions are mutually dependent, *i.e.* whether a higher level of the one results in a growth of the other. It turns out that despite the statistical significance, the correlation is on a very low level, which prompts the conclusion that these dimensions are mutually independent. This means people with a strong emotional attachment to the city may not feel any instrumental attachment.

Additionally, the obtained results beg the question whether the existing level of attachment is enough to make Lodz residents become actively involved in dealing with the city's numerous problems. The analyses do not offer an unambiguous answer, since it would require further tests on variables which verify the activity level. Nevertheless, the city authorities and many NGOs would do well to intensify their efforts aimed at creating a communal identity and bond with the city in the Lodz community, which may result in a high level of inhabitants' involvement in local issues.

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