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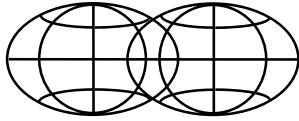
**Social capital in the Poznań
agglomeration**

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Social capital in the Poznań agglomeration

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Abstract. Social capital (like human capital) is an increasingly important factor of socio-economic development today. The role of social capital in technological advancement and economic development has been widely discussed in foreign and Polish literature. The main goal of this article is to analyse differences in the social capital of the Poznań agglomeration. To achieve it, the following cognitive questions will be addressed: (a) the level of social capital in the Poznań agglomeration; (b) the level of and differences in the basic components of social capital, and (c) differences in the level of social capital in the core-periphery system of the Poznań agglomeration.

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1. Introduction

Social capital (like human capital) is an increasingly important factor of socio-economic development today. The role of social capital in technological advancement and economic development has been

widely discussed in foreign and Polish literature. The main goal of this article is to analyse differences in the social capital of the Poznań agglomeration. To achieve it, the following cognitive questions will be addressed: (a) the level of social capital in the Poznań agglomeration; (b) the level of and differences in the

basic components of social capital; and (c) differences in the level of social capital in the core-periphery system of the Poznań agglomeration.

The study area is the Poznań agglomeration, corresponding in spatial terms to Poznań powiat (administrative region of the 2nd order) established by the administrative reform of 1st January 1999. The research was conducted for the agglomeration as a whole and as a core-periphery system. Its core is the city of Poznań in its administrative limits, while its peripheral zone consists of 17 gminas (administrative region of the 3rd order) of Poznań powiat differing in administrative status (urban, urban-rural or rural). The gminas form a ring surrounding the core of the agglomeration – the city of Poznań.

The study of differences in social capital was conducted using both published data and questionnaire interviews with agglomeration residents. The indices employed correspond to the three chief components of social capital distinguished in the literature: structural, regulatory, and behavioural. The period covered by the analysis encompasses the years from 2000 to 2009.

2. Social capital in the literature – terminological questions

Social capital is an increasingly important factor of socio-economic development today. Its role in technological progress and economic performance has been widely discussed in foreign and Polish literature (e.g. Glaeser et al., 1995; Gemmel, 1996; Isham et al., 2002; Durlauf, Fafchamps, 2004; Gaczek, Komorowski, 2005; Chojnicki, Czyż, 2005, 2006; Herbst, 2007; Grootaert et al., 2008; Szczepański et al., 2008; Janc, 2009; Kamińska, Heffner, 2010). Social capital, according to Fukuyama (1999), “is an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals. The norms that constitute social capital can range from a norm of reciprocity between two friends, all the way up to complex and elaborately articulated doctrines like Christianity or Confucianism”. However, he stresses that “Not just any set of instantiated norms constitutes social capital; they must lead to cooperation in groups and therefore are related to traditional virtues like honesty, the keeping of commitments, reliable performance of duties, reciprocity, and the like.”

In the literature on the subject, social capital is usually defined as an aptitude for inter-human cooperation within groups and organisations in order to achieve common interests. This skill results from

trust, social norms, social networks, and organisations making coordinated action possible (Coleman, 1990). The conception of social capital rests on investment in social relations that is supposed to bring the expected profits (Lin, 2001). A strengthening of social bonds allows a more efficient action aiming to achieve common targets. The features emphasised are networks, trust, reciprocity, and norms (Stone, Hughes, 2000; Baron et al., 2002). What determines social capital is infrastructure, cooperation, and the coordination of human behaviour. Formal and informal links among people stimulate cooperation and make the use of the existing resources more efficient. An element of capital is networks of ties in social and economic life (Matysiak, 2000; Bartkowski, 2007). Putnam (1993) lists the following components of social capital: horizontal associations, social norms, and in particular norms of reciprocity and trust. He asserts that the mainstay of social capital are organisations based on horizontal ties among members, like societies, sport clubs or choirs.

Grootaert and Bastelaer (2002) distinguish two forms of social capital: (a) structural, which refers to such objectively and externally perceived social structures as networks, societies, associations, and institutions, e.g. neighbourhood associations, musical groups, etc., and (b) cognitive, which embraces more subjective and non-material elements such as generally accepted attitudes and norms of behaviour, values, reciprocity, and trust. While those two forms of capital are mutually reinforcing, they can also appear separately, e.g., governmental organisations represent structural social capital in which the cognitive element is not necessary. A similar approach is presented by Działek (2010), who distinguishes two elements of social capital: (a) social activity, or voluntary and non-paid activity for those in need or for a local community, implemented with the help of associations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and (b) citizen activity or various forms of political involvement, e.g., in elections or demonstrations.

In various theoretical conceptions, three fundamental components of social capital are usually listed: structural (networks, social groups, institutions), regulatory (norms, trust, solidarity), and behavioural (cooperation, volunteerism, citizen involvement). In literature it is emphasised that social capital is a cultural phenomenon, a public good built in a long historical horizon, as opposed to human capital, which is an attribute of individual citizens (Czapiński, 2006), and that social capital provides a cultural-organisational basis for human capital to operate on (Komorowski, 2010).

3. Material and research methodology

The study of social capital in the Poznań agglomeration was carried out on the basis of published data and questionnaire interviews with agglomeration residents. The indices employed come under the three main components of social capital distinguished in literature. Their characteristics by component, justification of use, and the source of data are presented in Table 1.

The source materials employed in this paper come from the Poznań Statistical Office, statistical yearbooks of the Central Statistical Office (GUS), GUS Regional Data Bank, and the State Election

Commission. An analysis of public benefit organisations comes from the NGO database. The data on social capital (membership of social organisations, level of trust, and financial support of social goals) were obtained in a survey research conducted in July 2009 in the city of Poznań and the communes making up the peripheral zone of the agglomeration. Questionnaires were distributed among 486 respondents, of whom 189 came from the communes of the peripheral zone. While not being representative since it covered a mere 0.6% of agglomeration residents, the sample still reflects the division into urban, rural, and urban-rural gminas proportional to their population number. The information obtained through the survey research was intended to enrich the analysis resting on secondary materials (Dominiak, 2010).

Table 1. Social capital indices

Social capital component		Index	Source of data	Justification
Structural component	Social networks, groups and institutions	Number of associations, social organisations and foundations per 10,000 population.	GUS data	This index helps describe society's capacity for self-organisation
		Number of non-governmental and public-benefit organisations per 10,000 population.	NGO base	
	Trust in local authority	Number of artistic and interest circles per 10,000 population.	GUS data	This is a measure of the ability to associate in order to achieve common aims. Also seen as a measure of an inclination to cooperate
		Number of events organised by cultural institutions	GUS data	This is a measure of efficiency of local cultural institutions. Such events help to create and develop the spirit of community among groups of people living in the given area
Regulatory component	General trust	Percentage of residents – activists of social organisations and of those performing functions in them	Survey research	Those indices characterise willingness to participate in organisations depending on age, education, and occupational group
		Level of trust in local authority	Survey research	This measure allows assessing the level of trust in local authority depending on age, education, and occupational group
Behavioural component	Civic participation	Voter turnout in local, parliamentary and presidential elections	State Election Commission	Voter turnout is perceived as the best measure of civic participation
	Cooperation, assistance, volunteerism	Percentage of residents allocating part of their incomes to support social goals	Survey research	This measure allows assessing willingness to help others depending on age, education, and occupational group

Source: Own compilation

4. Research results: differences in social capital in the core-periphery system of the Poznań agglomeration

4.1. Structural component: networks, groups, and social institutions

In 2009 there were 3,300 associations, social organisations and foundations recorded in the REGON (National Register of Economic Units) register of the Poznań agglomeration. Per 10,000 inhabitants, the index equalled 34.7 in 2009, increasing drastically in comparison with the 2000 figure of 16.3. It showed a higher growth dynamics in the peripheral zone of

Table 2. Number of organisations from the all-Polish base of non-governmental organisations and associations, social organisations and foundations listed in the REGON register per 10,000 inhabitants in the Poznań agglomeration in 2009

Gminas	A		B		C
	a	b	a	b	
Luboń	32	2	11.4	0.7	11.6
Puszczykowo	33	2	34.8	2.1	28.5
Buk	22	2	18.3	1.7	16.5
Kostrzyn	24	1	15.2	0.6	13.6
Kórnik	42	6	22.3	3.2	21.1
Mosina	64	5	24.9	1.9	20.7
Murowana Goślina	40	5	25.0	3.1	22.3
Pobiedziska	41	3	24.3	1.8	20.9
Stęszew	20	0	14.1	0.0	12.6
Swarzędz	66	3	15.9	0.7	14.2
Czerwonak	42	2	17.1	0.8	16.4
Dopiewo	29	1	19.0	0.7	16.8
Kleszczewo	14	0	24.5	0.0	15.4
Komorniki	21	2	13.2	1.3	11.2
Rokietnica	26	1	25.2	1.0	22.9
Suchy Las	26	1	18.7	0.7	21.6
Tarnowo Podgórne	56	4	28.4	2.0	24.6
POZNAŃ	2,731	177	48.7	3.2	41.6
Peripheral zone total	786	53	20.6	1.4	24.7
Agglomeration total	3,517	230	37.3	2.4	34.7

Explanation: A – number of NGOs; B – number of NGOs per 10,000 inhabitants; C – number of associations, social organisations and foundations listed in REGON register per 10,000 inhabitants; a – of which public benefit organisations; b – of which public benefit organisations

Source: www.ngo.pl; unpublished GUS materials

the agglomeration from 9.7 in 2000 to 24.7 in 2009. In the core city it increased from 20.1 to 41.6. Among the agglomeration gminas, the leaders in the number of associations, social organisations, and foundations per 10,000 population were Puszczykowo (28.5), Tarnowo Podgórne (24.6), while Komorniki came last (11.2) (Table 2). The index had the highest growth dynamics in the gminas of Kórnik, Mosina and Murowana Goślina (in excess of 450%, with 2000 = 100%).

The material from the REGON register was complemented with data from the all-Polish base of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) accessible on the Internet. According to the base (as of August 2009), there were more than 3,500 NGOs in the entire Poznań agglomeration, 230 of which were public benefit organisations. Per population number, the index amounted to 37.3 for NGOs and 2.4 for public benefit organisations (Table 2). Also in the case of NGOs there was a marked difference between the index calculated for Poznań, at 48.7, and for the peripheral zone of the agglomeration, at 20.6 (Table 2). In the peripheral zone, the number of NGOs per 10,000 inhabitants was high in the gmina of Puszczykowo (34.8), followed by Tarnowo Podgórne (28.4). In turn, the figure for public benefit organisations was the highest in the core city (3.2) and Murowana Goślina commune (3.1).

Cultural institutions are a different kind of social institutions. According to GUS data, in 2009 there were 64 cultural institutions in the Poznań agglomeration, of which 30 were found in the city itself. The number of organised cultural events per number of residents is a measure of their efficiency. Such events help to create and mould a sense of community among groups of people living in the given area (Table 3).

In the agglomeration, high indices were scored by the towns of Buk and Pobiedziska as well as the rural gmina of Kleszczewo (over 100). In Poznań the number of cultural events was close to 2,700, or 48.1 per 10,000 inhabitants. In terms of the number of participants in those events, Poznań dominated decidedly with its figure of more than 200,000 in 2009. Among the agglomeration towns, the highest numbers of event participants were registered in Buk (53,000), and Murowana Goślina (32,000) (Table 3).

The number of circles, clubs, and artistic groups is a measure of the ability of people to get together in order to achieve specified goals. It is also perceived as a measure of their inclination for cooperation. In the Poznań agglomeration, the number of interest circles and clubs equalled 3.6 per 10,000 inhabitants,

Table 3. Cultural institutions in the Poznań agglomeration in 2009

Gminas	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Luboń	1	65	3,460	9	116	1	40
Puszczykowo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Buk	1	122	53,000	8	133	4	62
of which town	1	122	53,000	8	133	4	62
Kostrzyn	1	35	7,080	7	126	1	10
of which town	1	35	7,080	7	126	1	10
Kórnik	1	38	7,820	11	104	5	41
of which town	1	38	7,820	11	104	5	41
Mosina	1	71	9,000	2	40	6	4,500
of which town	1	71	9,000	2	40	6	4,500
Murowana Goślina	1	50	31,920	13	265	5	104
of which town	1	50	31,920	13	265	5	104
Pobiedziska	1	103	13,400	7	252	2	130
of which town	1	103	13,400	7	252	2	130
Stęszew	1	23	1,400	2	30	2	40
of which town	1	23	1,400	2	30	2	40
Swarzędz	1	15	10,800	6	128	2	40
of which town	1	15	10,800	6	128	2	40
Czerwonak	4	36	7,850	10	87	13	185
Dopiewo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kleszczewo	1	55	632	2	25	8	350
Komorniki	7	138	8,670	5	95	16	360
Rokietnica	1	45	8,520	1	16	4	113
Suchy Las	1	63	11,080	4	32	8	74
Tarnowo Podgórne	11	138	16,655	24	451	14	399
Poznań powiat – peripheral zone	34	997	191,287	111	1,900	91	6,448
Poznań city	30	2,665	200,757	170	2,900	220	6,004
Agglomeration total	64	3,662	392,044	281	4,800	311	12,452

Explanation: A – number of institutions; B – number of events; C – number of event participants; D – number of artistic groups; E – number of members of artistic groups; F – number of circles (clubs); G – number of members of circles (clubs)

Source: GUS Regional Data Bank, www.stat.gov.pl

with the figure a bit higher for the city itself (4.0). In the peripheral zone, the differences were wide, ranging from 0 in Puszczykowo and Dopiewo to 13 in Kleszczewo. In turn, the number of artistic groups in the agglomeration was 3.2 per 10,000 inhabitants, with no significant contrast in terms of the core-periphery system, but differing widely again among the individual gminas of the zone. The list of gminas with the highest indices for artistic groups and their members was similar to that of the units with the largest number of cultural institutions and organised cultural events: the towns of Buk, Kórnik, and Murowana Goślina, and the rural gmina of Tarnowo Podgórne (over 10).

In the fieldwork part of the research, agglomeration residents were asked about their membership of social organisations and functions performed there.

A decided majority of the respondents, as many as 84%, did not belong to any social organisations. A mere 11% declared membership, but 5% admitted that they did not devote their time to them. In the peripheral zone, the percentage was slightly higher (12%), while in Poznań the proportion of passive members was a bit higher (6.4%). About a half of the respondents belonging to social organisations also performed some functions in them (Fig. 1). The age structure of the respondents-members was diversified. There was a large group of young people, aged 18–25 (27%) and also of those aged 56–65 (19%). The remaining groups contributed from 16% (the 25–35 age group) to 7% (the 75+ group). Most respondents-members had higher education (50%), followed closely by the group with secondary education (44%). The occupational structure of social organisation members also varied,

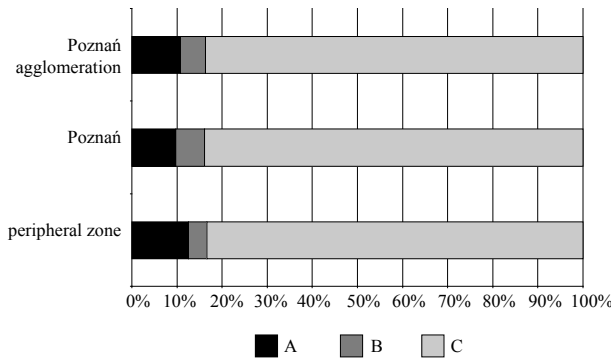


Fig. 1. Membership of social organisations. Distribution of answers to a question: Do you belong to a social organisation?

Explanation: A – I do and devote time to it; B – I do but don't devote time to it; C – I don't

Source: Own compilation on the basis of fieldwork

the largest groups being pensioners (15%), teachers (10%), engineers and office workers (8% each) as well as managerial staff and students (7% each).

4.2. Regulatory component: general trust and trust in the local authority

General trust. The material on the level of the so-called general trust of the Poznań agglomeration residents was collected via a survey research. Its subject was the level of trust in family, friends, neighbours and acquaintances, and social institutions. The respondents could assess it on a four-grade scale as full, much, little, or none. About 56% of the agglomeration residents polled had complete trust in family members,

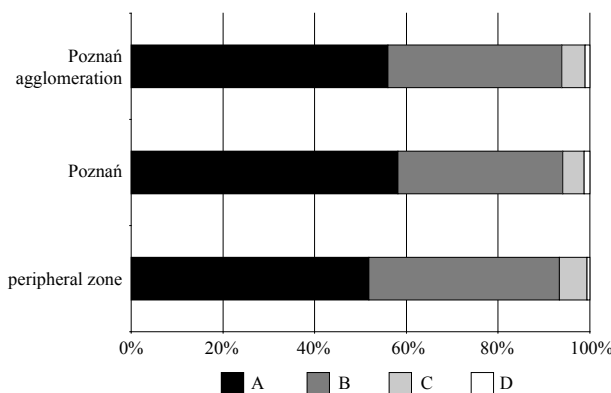


Fig. 2. Level of trust in the family – results of the survey research. Distribution of answers to a question: Do you trust in family?

Explanation: A – full; B – much; C – little; D – none

Source: Own compilation on the basis of fieldwork

38% assessed their level of trust as high, and only 5% as low. Less than 1% declared total lack of trust in family members. Full trust in family members was much more often declared by females (40% of the women polled) than males (only 16% of the men polled). Full trust in family was declared a bit more often by the residents of Poznań than of the peripheral zone, where the 'much' response was more frequent (Fig. 2).

About 40% of the respondents fully trusted their friends. There were no great differences in this respect between the city and the peripheral zone. 51% of the agglomeration residents polled assessed their trust in friends as high, this answer being given slightly more frequently by those from the peripheral zone. Slightly over 7% assessed their trust in friends as little, and 1% declared lack of trust. The share of respondents declaring much trust in friends was slightly higher in the peripheral zone (55%) than in Poznań (48%) (Fig. 3). As in the case of the family, also here a higher level of trust was noted among women.

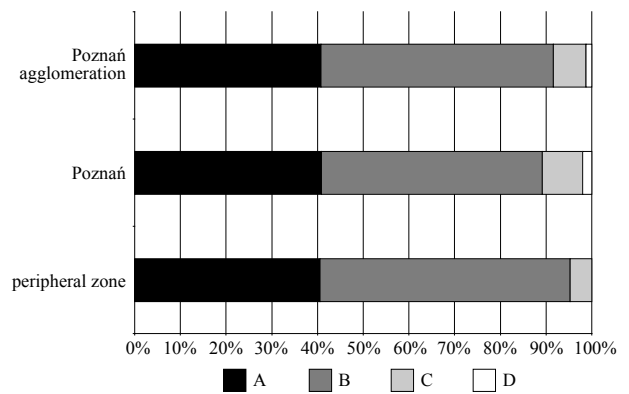


Fig. 3. Level of trust in friends – results of the survey research. Distribution of answers to a question: Do you trust in friends?

Explanation: A – full; B – much; C – little; D – none

Source: Own compilation on the basis of fieldwork

The level of trust in neighbours and acquaintances was much lower. Full trust was declared by a mere 8% of the respondents, while a decided majority (59%) declared much trust. Residents of the peripheral-zone gminas tended to put much trust in their neighbours and acquaintances more often (67%) than Poznanians (54%). About 28% of the respondents assessed their level of trust in neighbours and acquaintances as low, while 6% did not trust them at all. Distrust was declared more often by Poznań residents (Fig. 4).

The respondents' assessment of their trust in social institutions was much poorer. A mere 2% trusted them fully, and a further 32% declared much trust.

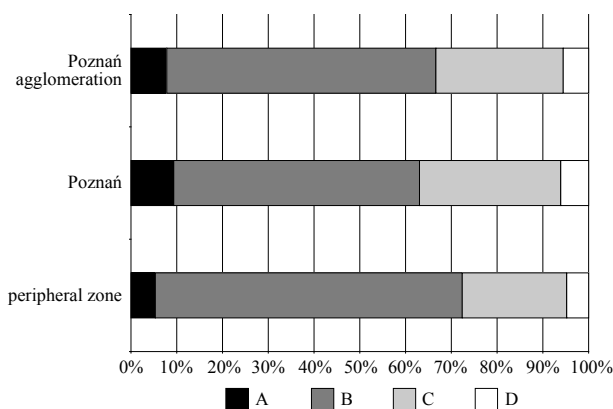


Fig. 4. Level of trust in neighbours and acquaintances – results of the survey research. Distribution of answers to a question: Do you trust in neighbours and acquaintances?

Explanation: A – full; B – much; C – little; D – none

Source: Own compilation on the basis of fieldwork

Over 47% gave their trust in social institutions as little, and as many as 19% did not trust this type of institutions at all. Social institutions were less trusted by the residents of the zone, who also declared total lack of trust in them more often (Fig. 5). Unlike the family, friends, neighbours and acquaintances, social institutions enjoyed a bit more trust among men than among women.

Trust in the local authority. Apart from the so-called general trust, a significant element of the regulatory component is the trust in the local authority. According to the survey research, the local authority was fully trusted by a mere 2% of the respondents in the Poznań agglomeration and the percentage did not vary in the city-periphery system. Much trust was declared by nearly one in four of those polled (24%),

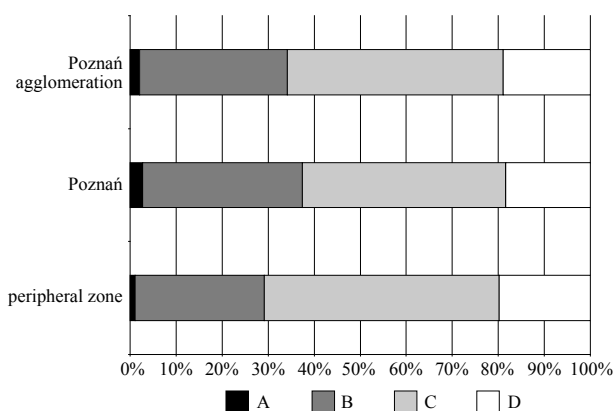


Fig. 5. Level of trust in social institutions – results of the survey research

Explanation: A – full; B – much; C – little; D – none

Source: Own compilation on the basis of fieldwork

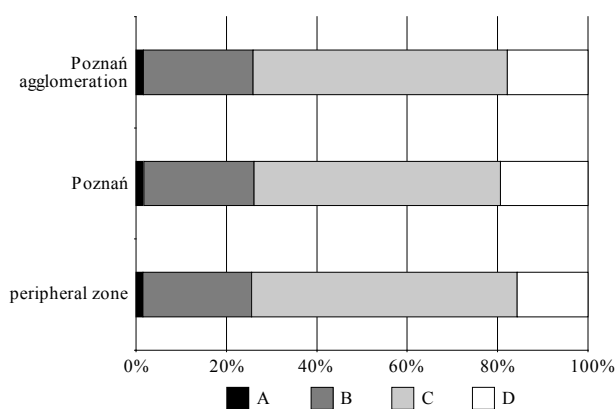


Fig. 6. Level of trust in the local authority – results of the survey research

Explanation: A – full; B – much; C – little; D – none

Source: Own compilation on the basis of fieldwork

most of them declaring little trust in the local authority (56%). A total lack of trust was declared by 18%, the percentage being even higher in Poznań, reaching 19%, while among the residents of the peripheral-zone gminas this figure equalled 16% (Fig. 6).

4.3. Behavioural component: civic participation, cooperation, and assistance

The analysis of the behavioural component was made mostly on the basis of the voter turnout in the local-government, parliamentary and presidential elections (State Election Commission data). The voter turnout among the agglomeration residents varied with the election. In the 2010 local government election, the turnout in Poznań was very low, at 38.4%, while the mean for the agglomeration gminas reached 48%. In the city itself, a higher voter turnout was recorded in the 2007 parliamentary election, at 69%, while the mean for the peripheral zone was 10% lower (Table 4).

In the 2007 parliamentary election, the voter turnout in the Poznań agglomeration was decidedly higher than in Wielkopolska voivodeship, where it reached 55% (as against the national average of 54%). A higher voter turnout was also registered in the agglomeration in the first round of the 2010 presidential election. It was 63% in the core city and 60% in the peripheral zone, as against a mean of about 54% in the country and Wielkopolskie voivodeship. The communes forming the peripheral zone of the agglomeration had a slightly higher turnout in the 2010 local government election (48.3%) than the Wielkopolskie voivodeship and national average of 47%.

The gminas of the peripheral zone displayed wide differences in their voter turnout. In the 2010 local government election, the percentage of voting citizens varied between 39.8% in the gmina of Kostrzyn and 59% in Puszczykowo. In the 2007 parliamentary election the turnout was the highest in the gminas of Suchy Las (71%) and Puszczykowo (69%), and the lowest in Kostrzyn (50%). The situation was similar in the 2010 presidential election, with the highest voter turnout recorded in Suchy Las and Puszczykowo (71.6% and 68.3% respectively), and the lowest in Sęszew and Kostrzyn (51% and 52%) (Table 4).

Table 4. Voter turnout in the Poznań agglomeration (in%)

Gminas	A		
	a	b	c
Luboń	65.97	44.05	61.74
Puszczykowo	69.74	59.05	71.64
Buk	57.45	48.61	55.81
Kostrzyn	50.41	39.81	52.29
Kórnik	61.79	47.33	59.49
Mosina	60.97	51.83	59.99
Murowana Goślina	57.14	48.16	56.54
Pobiedziska	56.86	52.50	57.36
Sęszew	52.18	49.65	51.11
Swarzędz	64.34	47.33	60.81
Czerwonak	63.89	42.27	59.73
Dopiewo	64.37	51.47	62.20
Kleszczewo	58.42	55.07	61.81
Komorniki	63.84	44.86	61.57
Rokietnica	59.85	52.14	61.56
Suchy Las	71.49	51.10	68.29
Tarnowo Podgórne	66.95	51.02	63.22
POZNAŃ	69.08	38.43	63.20
Peripheral zone	61.99	48.27	60.10

Explanation: A – voter turnout; a – 2007 parliamentary election: Sejm (lower house); b – 2010 local government election; c – 2010 presidential election (I round)

Source: Materials of the State Election Commission, www.pkw.gov.pl

Additionally, when analysing the behavioural component, a study was made of whether the agglomeration residents polled supported any public goals with their money. A decided majority (70%) declared earmarking some of their income for this purpose. The most popular forms were deciding about 1% of their taxes when completing the yearly tax return and supporting charitable activities. 30% of those polled

did not back financially any public goals. There was a minor difference in the inclination to allocate funds for public goals in the city-periphery system: in the gminas of the peripheral zone, the percentage of those declaring their financial assistance was a bit higher (74%) than in Poznań (69%).

5. Conclusions

On the basis of the results of the above analysis one can definitely state that there are differences in the level of the development of individual components of social capital between the core city of the agglomeration – Poznań, and its peripheral zone. Social activity, an important component of social capital, as measured by the number of associations and non-governmental organisations, is decidedly higher in Poznań. In turn, as measured by the number of events organised by community centres and the number of artistic circles and interest groups and their members, the activity is higher among residents of the peripheral zone. The situation is similar in the case of civic engagement. As measured by voter turnout, civic engagement varies with the kind of election. As in Janc's (2009) study, in the local government election the turnout was markedly higher in rural areas and in small towns, but in the parliamentary election it was decidedly higher in Poznań. Greater civic engagement of the residents of the peripheral zone in the local-scale elections is accompanied by their higher level of trust. They usually trust not only in friends, but also in neighbours and acquaintances, while the distrust of friends and acquaintances was more often declared by the Poznanians. In turn, the residents of the zone showed less trust in social institutions than the Poznanians. While trust in the local authority was practically at the same level in the Poznań-periphery system, there was still a slight predominance of Poznań residents declaring no trust in the city authority. As in the study by Iyer et al. (2005), this lower level of trust in Poznań is connected with the anonymity and alienation of big-city residents. This is corroborated by a negative correlation between the level of urbanisation and that of social trust (Iyer et al., 2005). Poznań, the core of the agglomeration, is less conducive to the formation of social bonds than the rural areas and small towns located around it.

The residents of gminas making up the peripheral zone of the Poznań agglomeration also show a higher level of civic participation as measured by membership of social organisations. Not only could a higher

percentage of social organisation members be found in the peripheral zone than in the core city, but also its residents devoted more of their time to those organisations and performed a variety of functions in them.

Note

- (1) The article based on research on the National Science Centre project (N N306 791940) *Socio-economic development and the formation of areas of economic growth or stagnation*, implemented by the staff of the Department of Regional Analysis in the Institute of Socio-Economic Geography and Spatial Management, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

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