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
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. Komorowski, 2010; Gaczek, 2009; Isham et al., 2002; Durlauf, Fafchamps, 2004; Grootaert et al., 2008; Szczepański, 2002; Durlauf, Fafchamps, 2004; Gaczek, 2009). In the literature on the subject, social capital is usually defined as an aptitude for inter-human cooperation, 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 database of 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social capital component</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Source of data</th>
<th>Justification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structural component</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social networks, groups and institutions</td>
<td>Number of associations, social organisations and foundations per 10,000 population.</td>
<td>GUS data</td>
<td>This index helps describe society's capacity for self-organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of non-governmental and public benefit organisations per 10,000 population.</td>
<td>NGO base</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of artistic and interest circles per 10,000 population.</td>
<td>GUS data</td>
<td>This is a measure of the ability to cooperate in order to achieve common aims. Also seen as a measure of an inclination to cooperate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of events organised by cultural institutions</td>
<td>GUS data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage of residents – activists of social organisations and of those performing functions in them</td>
<td>Survey research</td>
<td>Those indices characterise willingness to participate in organisations depending on age, education, and occupational group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regulatory component</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust in local authority</td>
<td>Level of trust in local authority</td>
<td>Survey research</td>
<td>This measure assesses the level of trust in local authority depending on age, education, and occupational group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General trust</td>
<td>Level of so-called ‘general trust’</td>
<td>Survey research</td>
<td>General trust is determined on the basis of trust in social institutions, acquaintances, neighbours, and families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Behavioural component</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic participation</td>
<td>Voter turnout in local, parliamentary and presidential elections</td>
<td>State Election Commission</td>
<td>Voter turnout is perceived as the best measure of civic participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation, assistance, volunteerism</td>
<td>Percentage of residents allocating part of their incomes to support social goals</td>
<td>Survey research</td>
<td>This index assesses willingness to help others depending on age, education, and occupational group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 equaled 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gminas</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luboń</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.4 0.7 11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puszczykowo</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34.8 2.1 28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buk</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18.3 1.7 16.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kostyra</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1  15.2 0.6 13.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kórnik</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22.3 3.2 21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosina</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24.9 1.9 20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murowana Goślina</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25.0 3.1 22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pobiedziska</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24.3 1.8 20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sęsteć</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14.1 0.0 12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swarzewo</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.9 0.7 14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czerwonak</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17.1 0.8 16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobrowo</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19.0 0.7 16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kleszczewo</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24.5 0.0 15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komorniki</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.2 1.3 11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rokietnica</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.2 1.0 22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suchy Las</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18.7 0.7 21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarnowo Podgórze</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28.4 2.0 24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>2,731 177 48.7 3.2 41.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peripheral zone total</td>
<td>786 53 20.6 1.4 24.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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 equaled 3.6 per 10,000 inhabitants, 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 Dobrowo to 15 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 gminas of Kórnik, Mosina and Murowana Goślina (34.8), followed by Tarnowo Podgórze (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 and Murowana Goślina, and the rural gmina of Tarnowo Podgórze (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, with a higher share of primary education (24%) and a lower share of people with secondary vocational education (11%).
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, 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 assessed their 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.

The level of trust in neighbours and acquaintances as low, or none. About 56% of the agglomeration residents polled had complete trust in family members, 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).

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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 Poznańians (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.

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%), 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 Poznan 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 Stęszew and Kostrzyn (51% and 52%) (Table 4).

| Source: www.pkw.gov.pl | 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 Jan'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).

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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