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The spatial dimensions of households' resilience²

Summary

The article presents the results of research on spatial dimensions of resilience carried out as part of an international project RESCUE — *Patterns of Resilience during Socioeconomic Crises among Households in Europe* (2014–2017). The empirical basis was individual interviews with members of households affected by poverty and experts working in urban and rural areas covered by research.

The considerations contained in this article focus on the attempt to capture the spatial dimension of the crisis and resourcefulness, experienced in various areas of life — individual, family and local environment. The main goal was to analyze the differences and similarities between coping strategies used by urban and rural households.

Key words: resilience, space, crisis

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Introduction

The main goal of the research was to analyse „the spatial, especially urban/rural dimension of vulnerable households’ resilience. Given that social inequality, poverty, vulnerability and their conditions agglomerate, manifest themselves and are modified through a spatial dimension, it must be hypothesized that this counts for vulnerable households’ resilience as well” (Promberger et al., 2014, p. 36).

The basis of our approach to space can be articulated as the product of interrelations “constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny” (Massey, 2005, p. 9), as the possibility of the existence of multiplicity because space is a “sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist (ibidem) and as an open process (not a closed container) which „never finished” (ibidem). This meaning of space can be found in many social theories (e.g. Harvey, 2009; McDowell, 2016; Castells, 1996; Bourdieu, 2002). We would like to propose socio-spatial concept by Bob Jessop (2008). Following his theory in framing the exploration of spatial dynamics of resilience and relevant processes, we focus on four constitutive dimensions of structures and relations: territory, place, scale, and networks and four scales: body, household, neighbourhood and (supra) local.

That polymorphic perspective of socio-spatial relations “has significant implications for analyzing (...) capitalist development. It suggests (...) that crises of accumulation and regulation can be explored in terms of the growing disjunction among historically specific institutional manifestations of these four socio-spatial dimensions as a basis for the structured coherence of capitalism” (Jessop, 2008, p. 397).

Figure 1. Four key dimensions of sociospatial relations

Dimension of sociospatial relations	Principle of sociospatial structuration	Associated patterning of sociospatial relations
Territory	Bordering, bounding, parcellation, enclosure	Construction of insider/outsider, divides; constitutive role of the “outside”
Place	Proximity, spatia, embedding, areal, differentiation	Construction of spacial division of labor; differentiation of social relations horizontally among the “core” versus “peripheral” places
Scale	Hierarchization, vertical, differentiation	Construction of scale devision of labor; differentiation of social relations vertically among “dominant”, “nodal” and “marginal” scales
Networks/ reticulations	Interconnectivity, interdependence, transversal or “rhizomatic” differentiation	Biulding networks of nodal connectivity; differentiation of social relations among nodal points within topological networks

Source: Jessop, Brenner, Jones, 2008, p. 393.

Therefore following this trial, we combine the social-spatial dimensions with four scales (from mezo-level to micro-level): (supra) local, neighborhood, household and body: **Scale (Supra) local** included labor market (main characteristics, types: formal, informal), transport (connected to cities, service etc.) and public service (state policies relevant to resilience practices in the area, local services, strategies, exclusionary and repressive policies, policing, security).

Scale Neighbourhood — social capital framework is highly suitable for studying the neighborhood and community effect on the households' resilience. We ask: do the citywide networks extend to the neighborhood?; does it integrate its inhabitants to the wider labour market or does it condemn them to informal economy and crime?; how are the relations with the outside?; Is it isolated?)

Scale Household — the household is a multidimensional space, which may and must be explored according to accepted research perspective. In this case, the elements related to transformations caused by crucial and critical moment in a life trajectory of the respondents will be particularly emphasized. Each household, perceived as a residential building, is characterized by external — objective properties such as: the features of an apartment (area, layout, location), location (district, environment), ownership structure or standard, and internal, defined by subjective sense of satisfaction or dissatisfaction from a flat they live in.

Scale Body — the embodiment of the crisis manifests in different fields and in various social practices. Bourdieu's analysis describe body (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 583) as an aspect of habitus and physical capital. So, we analyze changing bodily practices in the life course, resilience practices that depend heavily on the reordering of bodies and the habitus, fatigue, sickness, mental problems that result from crisis/resilience practices, changing rhythm of bodies, long working hours, sleeping less.

Results and analysis

Scale 1: (Supra) local

Economic connectivity: labour market condition

The labor market undergoes structural transformation, having impact on transformation of social space. The restructuring of economy oriented towards liquidation of heavy industry and development of post- Fordist forms of production transforms financial and social and cultural resources of social environments. "Mining industry once flourished, but it has changed now... What is happening in the mines? — It was announced that mines will be closed temporarily. The wheels stopped spinning. It shows that the mines started dying. A mine is closed for a week, sometimes even a month — it increases the costs of start-up. The miners look at coal pits with sorrow" (PL/U/EKS/01). Working districts built next to industrial plants has been economically and socially declining for years.

The first research area — situated in post-industrial town was established in the 19th century by the mine. When the mine was closed in 1994, most inhabitants of the estate

at that time lost their job, and the estate was socially disintegrated within a few next years. "Above all, the main problem is poverty, lack of jobs, on the other side, these people are completely helpless. I know these poor people, they primarily come to me, helpless people can't fix anything, Social Welfare Center must do everything for them" (PL/U/EKS/01). Most people who have a job work in other parts of the city and voivodeship or abroad. Many people are also beneficiaries of social welfare. "It is difficult to describe, because rate of unemployment is high here, people have no future prospects, no one helps us. To be honest, I fear the future of my children because I will manage somehow, I was born poor and I will die poor, but what about them? I can't even buy them a flat!!! And I am a mother" (PL/U/EKS/01). In the second estate, the district was established at the end of 18th century and it related to industrial development, it was stimulated mainly by the mining industry. Its restructuring, that is, the closing of local mines, caused the impoverishment of rich district. Many people do not have a job. This place is perceived, in the region, as a ghetto of poverty.

The restructuring of industry and redundancy in the mining industry results in changes on the local, rural labour markets. Communities living in a commune of rural estate can be defined as „typical” for the areas of post-industrial communities with rural buildings. Most of its inhabitants do not work in agriculture, and their main source of income is a work in industry or services realized in the Polish cities. Similar economic dependences on the urban labor market can be found in a community of fourth estate. For many years, people combined farming with working as a miner or steelworker. At present, after closing coalmines and basic branch of economy is power. Non-ferrous metallurgy also plays an important role as well as craftwork, craft and services. The majority of inhabitants are pensioners and retirees, other people work in neighboring cities and at the airport. There is also a group of miners who were transferred to Silesian plants when the mine has been closed. Agriculture is not common anymore in its traditional meaning — people rather prefer to lease land or think how to develop it. Data of Social Welfare Center showed that 5.7% of the total number of inhabitants received benefits in 2013 and this rate has increased in the last years. "The village has about 1600 inhabitants, people work in different places, we cultivate tradition of farming but we are deeply rooted in the mining industry, it is a typical village (...) we have dozens of retired miners but also some miners who still work.(...)The main problem is unemployment, young people usually can't find a job and problem of poverty, social maladjustment" (PL/R/EX/3).

Integrated households' labour market position to the overall labour market

Professional work is treated as fundamental element of everyday life and it is highly valued by both city and country dwellers. „If you work very hard, you don't have time for stupid things, do you" (PL/U/09). Work is not only a source of income for our respondents. In the city, work is related to something that we do for money. In the village, people work very hard both at home and outside. Work is their whole life: „I admire people who don't work. I am mentally exhausted" (PL/R/11); „because work gives you strength, without work something terrible is happening (...). I feel different when I don't have something

to do, stupid things come into my head” (PL/R/08). Therefore, professional role is a basis of social identity in working and ruralized urban culture. Economic crisis and dynamic economic changes bring new challenges that are difficult to meet. On the one hand, human resources are not attractive on the post-Fordian labour market due to specific professional experience (in collapsing mining industry), age, health condition or cultural capital: “Not too many families (...) are doing well. It is difficult to find a job. Friends at my age also have problems with finding a job” (PL/U/02). On the other side, local labour market does not generate sufficient number of new jobs to mobilize able people who are eager to work. One of the experts said: “If only someone established plants, employing people from here, however, you can't establish a plant and to bring people from (...) other cities. To give jobs to our people (...) to make them feel needed. (...) Whereas, people see this all and they don't want to do anything. No one helps them, it also depends on their character, attitude and psyche. There are many great young people who want to do something with their life” (PL/U/EX/03). This statement shows that there are not enough investments in the post-industrial districts.

Place of birth and upbringing in these traditional communities make them stay there for good and makes it more difficult for them to meet expectations of labour market based on neoliberal doctrine, a mobile, flexible, active and innovative employee. “(...) these people stay here even if they have a chance to move out from here. I think it is a force of habit, family ties, these factors may be decisive. Maybe it is the fact that maintenance costs are low and flats are cheap. They talk about this district with affection, support it. Even these young people, they are more mobile, for example, people who don't have their own family (...) Therefore, [this district] is a small homeland for many people, a place in which they like to live. It's not that they have to — we may associate (...) with some sort of ghetto, because people with rent arrears were exiled in the district. However, I think that [this place] is a conscious choice for some people, for some people it can be the best choice” (PL/U/EX/03).

Problem of unemployment and lack of infrastructure that would generate jobs is also a problem of rural areas: “Problems are the same everywhere because people have no jobs, some people try to find a job, they look for an additional job. It is more visible here because people have only a slight chance to find any job” (PL/R/Ex/01).

Apart from spatial barriers resulting from lack of job nearby, a problem with finding results from low social capital. The respondents claim that finding a job without having contacts is impossible, formal criteria of recruitment are only a pretence. Complex and developed networks do not exist, because the social world was shaped by monocultural local community. But the local labour market is neither attractive to those with high cultural capital. High professional qualifications, professionalism and high ethical standards are highly valued in the international companies with branches in Warsaw. Qualified young people leave the places where they grew up to populate a global market: “My son graduated in mechatronics. He works in a Canadian company, he has a great job in Warsaw. You know what he says to me? Mom, in five years, I will move to Canada. When you retire, I will bring you there. You alone can't change the Polish mentality, greed, jealousy and chicanery” (PL/U/04).

Formal/informal/underground work

The respondents perform both formal and informal professional work. Professional work is not the only source of income, because they usually don't earn too much, often work below their qualifications. However, they have at least social security: "We encourage people to take legal jobs, to have health insurance. Some of these people work on the building site illegally and they can have an accident (...) we explain them that it is sometimes better to work legally, especially if you are a father of a large family" (PL/U/EX/03). The respondents work during the week and try to make some extra money illegally at the weekends, the so-called jobs on the side. Unemployed people take care of the disabled, the elderly and children, work illegally as cleaners. The fact whether work is legal or illegal does not matter, a person who is able to work and earn as much as she/he can is considered resourceful. "Because girls completed (...) the athletic school [in city], it was PLN 600, it is half of my pension" (PL/R/05). Their salary can't also be compared with benefits, it distinguished them from the so-called "dodgers": "And if someone says »I don't want to work for such money, I prefer to make use of benefits«, but we must ask children for help" (PL/U/09). Apart from professional work, the respondents do the housework, cultivate land. One of the respondents who lost her job said "I have so much time now" (PL/U/03) (she didn't treat 24-hour care of her relative as a job). One of the respondents, asked what he could do if he had two-week leave (he works during the week, in the evenings and on every Sunday): "I have no idea. I think I would be bored to death" (PL/U/09). His attitude is typical to many respondents: "I think that if a person has two hands. You must work if you can because no one will give you anything for free. No one can accuse me of getting anything for free »I helped you, I gave you«. I always managed... I borrowed money if I had to but always paid it back. No one can accuse me that you have... stupid spoon — I bought it (PL/U/09). Keeping job is one of the most important task for the future: "I think it will be fine. If I don't keep this job, I will find another one. I think it will be fine" (PL/U/11) (The respondent earns PLN 1400 a month and spends it all to pay off the loan).

State policies relevant to resilience practices in the area

In the urban communities, the respondents pay attention to spatial accumulation of social problems related to the restructuring of industry and closing of mines. The area of the research is an area of economic, infrastructural, social and cultural deficits. Unemployment, poverty, increase in crime, decrease in health is related, directly or indirectly, to economic decline of the region, resulting from the state neoliberal economic policy. This policy results in additional repercussions, for example, social buildings populated by people from outside. According to the respondents, such policy does not solve social problems and results in housing deficits: "(...) even very young single mothers receive flats here. The flats they receive are here, so maybe it is the reason why there are so many various dysfunctions. (...) Mothers from other districts receive their flats here and they live with children alone" (PL/U/EX/03). Industrial plants and social space around them, once organized, is now declining.

However, the local housing policy is permissive. The tenants are not evicted if they agree to do socially useful works and declare to pay the rent debts off systematically: “We think that it is better to reach an agreement with people, to sign small agreements, even PLN 100 (...) sometimes if people don't have money, they can work off the debt by mowing the grass or collecting rubbish. Now, there is no need for that, people repay debts in instalments. It's not bad (PL/U/EX/04).

Public services impact upon the evolution of space

The Welfare Centre organizes educational workshops financed from system programs and EU projects for people who want to raise their professional qualifications and social competences “my husband attended a course last year. (...) It was an EU course. (...) And we got a computer” (PL/R/03). Unemployment and helplessness are accompanied by housing problems and low quality of life. Housing infrastructure is squalid, degraded, worse than housing infrastructure in the voivodeship. It is expected that local authorities will modernize infrastructure in order to improve the quality of life: “It is about institutions, about improving housing conditions, which are very difficult, I think it is more difficult than in other regions of voivodeship. Houses usually don't have bathrooms and have shared toilets. Firstly, change of flats, improving their quality” (PL/U/EX/03).

Administrators of the real estate try to avoid eviction in the poor districts. They prefer to negotiate and let people pay the debts off in instalments. They use various equivalents of paying off rent arrears such as clean-up works and other socially useful works: “We think that it is better to reach an agreement with people, to sign small agreements, even PLN 100 (...) sometimes if people don't have money, they can work off the debt by mowing grass or collecting rubbish. Now, there is no need for that, people repay debts in instalments... it's not bad” (PL/U/EX/04). This direction of cooperation based on cooperation in solving problems of urban environment is characteristic for initiatives motivating people to make decisions about urban policy. One of the actions assessed positively by the respondents is, among others, a project “We change courtyards”, inhabitants of the district participate in transforming space from indifferent into a friendly “for parents, for children”, a space co-created and adjusted by them (PL/U/EX/03). The respondents would also like more developed infrastructure that could be used for spending free time by all age categories (children, youth, adults and seniors) and undertaking social and cultural activities. Social and economic changes and weakened social ties caused that local environments lost its power of self-strengthening and activation, therefore, such initiatives must be controlled professionally from the outside: “That's it, we don't have enough places in which we could spend free time, and made use of educational and training offer. A program of local activity should be created here, a community centre for children, a club for young people, a cafe and something for seniors. We need space for cross-generational activation, to develop passions and interests. A few years ago, most people would support building a district club for everyone. Now, I think they don't” (PL/U/EX/3). PAL, CIS and

KIS³ are also appreciated for helping people: „maybe they will realize that going to KIS, CIS, PAL is as natural as going to Social Welfare Centre” (PL/U/EX/03).

People living in the rural areas have limited access to specialist medical, therapeutic, social services. They are located in a city, which limits the options and even makes it impossible to get specialist, professional help: “Yes, we don’t have access to some specialists here...speech therapist is in [city]. (...) Disabled people do not have occupational therapy workshops, children must go to [city] but we have buildings here, we could make use of them (...), we need a person who could help mothers, show them what to do make life better” (PL/R/EX/02). The respondents also criticize ticket prices. The prices of public transport tickets are too high for the respondents to let them make use of sports and recreational infrastructure (swimming pool) or cultural offer of the clubs (e.g. Senior Clubs). Ticket prices are also a barrier in access to healthcare. “I would gladly go to the swimming pool with my child at 18.00, but I don’t know who would be there, so I don’t go. I would also like to go the senior club but these fucking tickets, to be honest, I have so many fines, mother with a 4-year-old child doesn’t have to pay, my child will be 5 so I will have to pay 1.60 or 1.70, it is a lot of money for me because I can’t pay (...) PLN 14. (...) And it is 22.00 and child falls ill, how can I get to hospital???” (PL/U/06). Exclusionary and repressive policies, policing, security etc.

The urban space is controlled by Police and Municipal Police. Some of their actions are criticized. People criticize them for enforcing the ban on street trading without special permit. “I remember that old ladies could sit down on the pavement and sell carrots or parsnips to earn some money. Nowadays, Municipal Police chases them away” (PL/U/EX/04). In the past, it was an economic practice within the boundaries of social norms, not regulated by the law, nowadays, it is eliminated from non-trading public space.

The respondents claim that their sense of security has decreased. They do not idealize the past and do not question that people were “drinking and beating” in the past, but they claim that the number of negative behaviours in public space has increased. Violence was once limited to the pubs, eating places or pathological courtyards, but it is present on the streets now. The respondents also claim that it is more brutal now as well as its type changed: “There were no assaults, robberies on the streets, no one was assaulted for 10 PLN” (PL/U/EX/04). Hence, the respondents would like to have more police patrols in their district: I have the impression that police simply doesn’t care. The more problem district, the more problems for them so they don’t care. They appear here only during the day at 12 o’clock. Bums usually sleep at this time or take a walk. They gather by the shop only about 17.00–18.00 and police isn’t here at the time” (PL/U/05).

Inclusionary policies: co-optation and clientelistic relations

The respondents describe activities of local organizations working for selected categories of inhabitants, mainly institutions dealing with social work in local environment (PAL, CIS), housing cooperatives, churches. “Children for sure, although I don’t know

³ PAL — Program Aktywności Lokalnej, CIS — Centrum Inicjatyw Społecznych, KIS — Klub Integracji Społecznej.

on what stage is our protection but they work dynamically. Some from the Church, Social Welfare Centre, you know, financially...? At this moment PAL, they help us a lot. I don't know any other foundation or association. As I said — priests, maybe teachers a little bit, but they help rather individually, not as a school” (PL/U/EX/04). The respondents also said about bottom-up local initiatives oriented towards activation and integration. “When it comes to bottom-up initiatives, we have PAL. Parents of these children organize fairs, festivities and they collect money for these children (...). People say that our estate is like Manhattan. They treat us as richer, better... We want to meet each other, without animosities. We want them to know that they also have access to our area — we invite their children here, they can use or area, pitches” (PL/U/EX/04).

Figure 2. Supra local and type of space in crisis

	Urban space	Rural space
Labour market	without jobs for people with high qualifications; and simultaneously low demand for unskilled workers; low remuneration, hence the popularity of illegal work	outside the village; unemployment
Transport	too expensive	reduced and insufficient
Public service	a network of social welfare institutions and non-governmental organizations helping in getting out of the crisis; renovation of municipal housing resources and social revitalization	church, school, library and community centre as a place of financial and educational help; lack of doctors and others specialists
Security	increased sense of danger; frequent presence and police interventions	space received as safe; Neighbourhood control

Source: VII package *Spatial resilience of households* is about diversity of space.

Scale 2: Neighbourhood

Social capital and communities

For our respondents, image of discussed local communities strongly corresponds with territorial aspect (geographic location); although, there are also some elements of social sphere (ties or lack of ties between members of a given community) and psychical (identity). Local system indicates considerable subordination of physical sphere, and relationships observed between members of a given community correlate with quite traditional way of perceiving urban and rural community.

Community connected

In case of both urban communities, we may observe fundamental elements: typical urban stratification, lack of significant social ties, status diversity. Cohesion or signs of cohesion are based on common experience of isolation, sense of sentiment to a place of residence. It is perceived not only by the respondents, but also by the experts. "Community of (first urban communities) is very diverse because we have here people who have been connected with Silesia, with (this place) for generations, and people who came here from different regions of Poland. It is not only Lesser Poland or former Kielce voivodeship, but also people from Lower Silesia. Some people came here in the 60s–70s. Some people were sent here from other cities of Silesian voivodeship" (PL/U/EX/03). Migrations and difficult living conditions cause cooling in relationships between neighbours, which are based on mutual support. As a consequence, crisis situations cause problems with access to the institutions of social support. It favours the spread of attitudes strongly synchronized with a mechanism of innate helplessness and necessity of functioning on the basis of institutional aid: "Moreover, as I mentioned before, (the name of the estate) is a problem district. Many families were affected by unemployment and, as a consequence, by alcoholism, poverty... I don't want to judge but more than a half of people living here receive benefits. They can work but because of protectiveness of our state, they are forced to make use of benefits instead of working" (PL/U/04). She added: "Environment is pathological (...). Most of these people work on the black market but they receive benefits. People can't be responsible for themselves which is passed to the younger generations" (PL/U/04). Both urban environments are characterized by gradual deterioration in proportions between groups of people before and beyond retirement age, which in combination with unemployment and economic slowdown results in larger number of pathological behaviours. Financial problems, lack of future prospects and sense of common fate are the basic factors integrating a dispersed community.

We have two compatible images in rural environments. Both environments are an examples of typical post-industrial villages, gathering — in the past — around the most important workplace (mine, foundry). Redundancy and changes on the labour market forced people to look for different forms of employment. Similarly to urban environments, we also have here a tendency of disappearance of traditional ties between neighbours, however, this process is slower. Financial problems seem to bring people closer within the scope of realized strategies of coping with problems: „They simply go to the Social Welfare Centre (...) they live day by day. (...) They don't have a job, they drink alcohol. They don't care about the future, they don't have plans" (PL/R/03).

Reciprocal relations in community

In recent years, the issue of social network has become an inherent element of debates among academic, political, economic and media environments. Positive aspects of the process are commonly emphasized, for example, modernization of public services, computerization of offices and other projects related to digitization, increasing efficiency

of flow of information between people, social groups, consumers. The methods of improving communication, based on creating social networks integrating local community have not been developed in any of these communities. One of the experts said: „Above all, society we live in is changing, we live in the world of digitization, we communicate via Internet. In the past, we usually met on a bench to talk but now we meet in the Internet, therefore, these ties are shaped differently. We talk and meet each other in virtual space” (PL/U/EX/01).

Finding job

Neighbours and acquaintances at the community level are also of help in finding jobs by providing information about the Job availability or by providing recommendation. “I was recommended by my acquaintances. In Chorzów, I was taking care of a one-year-old boy. (...) In general, I got all these jobs from their recommendation. (...) For example, this neighbour Dagmara found me this job in Siemianowice. During an interview, they told me that they look a baby sitter for an autistic boy. I worked there for one year” (PL/U/11).

Community suspended/community disconnected

Despite weakened ties between neighbours — especially in crisis situations — an option of making use of potential of local community is appreciated by the respondents. We can see it especially with reference to help: „I may count on my neighbours. My neighbours, Dorota or Aneta always help me when I am in need” (PL/U/12). Another respondent added: “When Juleczka was born and I needed to go somewhere, my neighbour took care of her” (PL/U/06). However, there are statements which show that neighbourly involvement is not as big as it was in the past: “Yes, we are still in contact. We still inform each other if something happens. We say good morning to each other” (PL/U/10). “We sometimes see that, for example, one mom helps the other mom, picking up her child from kindergarten or school... But sporadically. Not like in the past” (PL/U/07).

Figure 3. Neighbourhood and type of space in crisis

	Urban space	Rural space
Help	find job, childcare, lend money	offering food and a school kit, help in unloading coal and chopping wood, transported (by car) to the city
Dependence	low	smaller than in the past
Disappearance of traditional ties between neighbours	fast	faster than in the past
Social identity of place	getto, problem place	positive

Source: VII package *Spatial resilience of households* is about diversity of space.

“Not. Rather not. Everyone has their own problems. Family lives on the same street but they all have their own problems, they have their own children. We all have no time even to meet with each other” (PL/R/08). Interestingly, these are the words of a respondent from rural community, in which ties and mutual support network are cultivated. Of course, it is difficult to propose unambiguous thesis; some respondents claim that ties have weakened and some people claim otherwise. It concerns both urban and rural communities.

Scale 3: Household

Home ownership

Analysis of the types of households in terms of legal status shows that there are three main forms of using houses/flats by the respondents: council flats, privately-owned flats and privately-owned houses. It differs depending on the place of residence (city-village). People living in the city are usually owners or tenants, whereas country dwellers live usually in privately-owned houses. We may also indicate some subcategories (mortgaged house, grandparent’s house): “This flat is not paid off yet, I will also have to pay the debt off” (PL/U/06). The respondents say that they can buy a flat only if they are supported by their families: “When Kuba was 2, my parents bought me a flat, my brothers went to school so I couldn’t live with them, therefore, we decided to buy a flat. Unfortunately, parents still support me, they help me a lot” (PL/U/02).

Taking refuge: moving to the parents’ house

Looking for methods of coping with crisis situation is related to the issue of managing residential space. Living in the multigenerational family is treated as a form of saving money, rationalizing expenses: “This economic factor was the reason why I moved to mother’s again. It was hard because I went through this phase of becoming independent. Psychologists do not earn too much money, other people think that we earn a lot. Instalment for a flat is about 1300 zlotys per month, it is more than half of my remuneration, therefore, I had to rent my flat to a young married couple to pay my credit off. It helps me financially. Of course, I also help my mother financially” (PL/U/03).

The opposite end: homelessness

In general, the problem of homelessness is not a part of biographies of our respondents. However, they often live near homeless people. One of the respondents claimed that she knows these people: “many of these guys sat on our bench” (PL/U/08). What is more, some respondents take this problem seriously, knowing that a poor financial situation may lead them to homelessness: “My friend recently (...) said (...) that she can’t imagine how it is to become homeless. And I told her: »You know, If I didn’t find a job I would also be homeless, my family too«. She couldn’t understand it” (PL/U/11).

Fighting hard to keep it

Both in urban and rural environment, debt/problems connected with regular paying for housing services (fixed charges, rent, renting costs etc.) is strongly emphasized. Despite the fact that these charges are treated as a priority: “We save money on everything. We try to pay for a flat, we don’t want to plunge into poverty” (PL/U/01), however, we are not always able to pay all bills. Therefore, they have to apply for subsidies, for example, from local authorities: “It is hard, very hard, I even tried and succeeded, I called to a commune office because I couldn’t pay a tax” (PL/R/07), however, these activities often do not give any effects.

Producing at home

The respondents try to use their soil for their own purpose, however, they are usually small gardens: “I don’t have too much” (PL/R/03); “I have carrots, parsnips (...). I like to eat what I cultivated on my own (...). It is fresh and for free” (PL/R/03). Apart from vegetables, the respondents have also fruit trees: “we have three trees, wild cherry tree, sour cherry tree and bushes. We make compotes and cakes” (PL/R/04). The respondents try to cultivate land, although it is often not fertile enough: “I have my own garden but the soil isn’t good. I have apples, plums, grapes” (PL/R/05). However, an option of having: “at least seasonal food products is not appreciated by everyone: some people have gardens and they do not use them” (PL/R/04). Having infields gives a chance to breed chickens for personal consumption. It is appreciated by the respondents from rural areas, what is more, they sometimes also breed pigs: “I bred almost everything (...): Vietnamese pigs, goats... I learnt how to milk them... I am a woman from a city who lives in a village” (PL/R/04). Although, cultivation/breeding gives real profits to rural respondents, the situation is different for city dwellers. Even if they have gardens, they do not try to use them for such purposes because they do not believe it would give them any money. This land is of recreational and leisure value: “it is a recreational garden. Garden house, grass, grill” (PL/U/09). A few years ago, the respondents used their land for cultivation purposes: “most people do not have hens, ducks anymore, this tradition has disappeared, however,

Figure 4. Household and type of space in crisis

	Urban space	Rural space
Dwelling with children	adult children reside with their parents again (lowering costs)	adult children do not move out of their parents' house
Meals	meals eaten with children and grandchildren living separately, planning a menu	heating together at home
Food	prosumption	production
Garden	rest	cultivation and breeding

Source: VII package *Spatial resilience of households* is about diversity of space.

people still breed pigeons” (PL/U/09). The fact that this tradition disappeared may be caused by spread of consumerism and universal access to the products: “My grandma had hens in the garden, she did pasta herself, and now you can buy everything at the shop. Tradition of doing such things yourself is vanishing” (PL/U/09).

Scale 4: Body

Practices that put a burden on the body

Saving money and not buying something for yourself as a method of coping with problems, it also includes changing diet into a cheaper one and amount and quality of meals. People make food “out of nothing”. Biological function is a priority — hunger reduction. The issues of health or prestige are less important. “We don’t spend too much money for food, bread, butter, ham and... for a dinner, cheap food products” (PL/R/06); „if you buy a chicken you can divide it into breast, thigh, wings can be used to make a soup” (PL/R/08). Changes and reduction in consumption expenses can be also seen in purchases of clothes and shoes (using second-hand goods). “Kuba has an aunt, who has a child who is older than Kuba (...). I try not to spend too much on clothes, that is, I buy them in the so-called second-hand shops” (PL/U/02).

Fatigue, sickness, mental problems that result from crisis/resilience practices

Many respondents worry about the future. They are depressed and feel blue: “It has had an influence on my mood, because I observe this crisis in life of many people that I know. (...) I have a job today, but tomorrow I may lose it. (...) I am afraid such crisis can happen to me” (PL/U/10). The respondents focus their attention on the future of their children: “It is hard to describe because there are no jobs, no perspectives for the future. (...) to be honest, I worry about their future (children), because I can manage somehow, I was born poor and I will die poor (...) but what about them?” (PL/U/01). “Lack of sense of security makes people live in constant stress, risk, uncertainty. It forces people to constantly express themselves and people around them; sense of pressure is often too big to handle, hence suicide attempts (...). However, he tried to commit suicide before, it was a difficult time but he managed somehow” (PL/R/EX/02).

Poor mental health condition and exhaustion caused by overlapping of roles is a motif that can be found in the statements of the respondents combining family and professional roles: “I devote most of my free time to my child. I try to invent some creative games for him, we also paint, make plasticise figures, go for walks. I sometimes feel very tired because I have too much obligations” (PL/U/02). Some respondents have to deal with a problem of alcoholism of their husbands (partners), which is a financial, physical, psychical and social burden to women and children. “I gave my husband a choice: either he goes to detox, therapy (...). It was too much for me” (PL/R/07).

The changing rhythm of bodies

The respondents try to use “free time” to find an additional work in the afternoons and at the weekends: “Last free Sunday... only one. Over two and a half year, I had only one free Sunday. It was last year and I made a pilgrimage to the St. Anne Mountain. It was my only free Sunday in two and a half year” (PL/U/09).

The respondents also do not go anywhere for a holiday. Leisure function is reduced to family visits, walks, meetings with friends. Lack of organized, systematic leisure is caused by not having enough money. “It is difficult because it is at the costs of personal sacrifices. I used to go for trips in the past. Now, we go for trips on foot” (PL/U/04).

Figure 5. Body and type of space in crisis

	Urban	Rural
Food	cheap and less	cheap and own production, charity parcels
Health	cheap replacements, payment for the purchase of prescriptions, refraining from a visit to a dentist	cheap replacements, payment for the purchase of prescriptions
Clothes	borrowed, donated	donated, reworked
Diseases	alcoholism, depression, deep fatigue, permanent sleeplessness	alcoholism, deep fatigue

Source: VII package *Spatial resilience of households* is about diversity of space.

Conclusions

Both urban and rural environments are some sort of enclaves, characterized by specific problems/social pathologies, having some features of a ghetto. However, it doesn't mean that inhabitants are isolated from neighbouring cities/communes; they leave their environment due to professional issues or will to make use of infrastructure allowing to spend free time in an attractive way (mainly — children). Despite the fact that the respondents strongly emphasize loosening of ties uniting local communities, their way of life is still determined by — urban/rural space — that the respondents function in. Neighbourly control (in the rural communities), and a greater sense of anonymity (urban community) play an important role, showing strong impact of the traditional village and city culture. Moreover, crisis situations/problems (financial problems, disease, unemployment) are characteristic for regions/ places where respondents live. A common feature of all discussed spaces is a badly developed infrastructure, which does not meet the needs of the inhabitants. In the rural areas, lack of basic and specialist services (social, educational, cultural) and communication limitations on access to urban resources.

A common element in the respondents' statements is difficult or very difficult living conditions, mostly in respondents living in urban environments. They emphasize most frequently: low standard of buildings and too large number of people in particular flats/

houses. The respondents take actions that aim at increasing standard of living; they carry out repairs on their own, renovate furniture, look for “opportunities” (e.g. sales or by word of mouth) to buy/get for free furniture or other elements of furnishings. With reference to legal forms of apartment ownership, we can see differences due to a place of residence: urban respondents more often live in council and cooperative flats, whereas rural respondents live in private homes or homes owned by family members. The respondents from rural areas show higher self-resourcefulness in using home gardens/infields to cultivate vegetables or fruits for personal use. It seems that this element is passed on from generation to generation, because similar practices (making preserves, bottling, picking up mushrooms) appeared here in a trajectory of family history. Urban respondents are less involved in such practices; their infields are adjusted for recreational purposes (grill, garden house). Help of the family plays a big role in preventive strategies of our respondents; eating meals together, using products, reserves of the members of the family. The respondents are aware of this — a little parasitic — way of life; this form of dependence is a psychological burden, giving many bad consequences. Analysis of division of social roles in respondents indicates close relationship between realized patterns and habitus and type of family. It is revealed in both patterns of partnership division of rights and obligations, indicating professional activity of all members of the family, and patriarchal balance of power and caging women in a household. Traditional families are typical for rural environments, however, both in urban and rural environments, there are situations (single mothers), in which the respondents look for additional sources of income even when they make use of benefits and other forms of institutional support.

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Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiono wyniki badań nad przestrzennymi wymiarami rezyliencji, które zostały przeprowadzone w ramach międzynarodowego projektu RESCUE — *Patterns of Resilience During Socioeconomic Crises among Households in Europe* (2014–2017). Podstawę empiryczną stanowiły wywiady indywidualne z członkami gospodarstw domowych dotkniętych biedą oraz ekspertami pracującymi na obszarach miejskich i wiejskich objętych badaniami.

Rozważania zawarte w niniejszym artykule koncentrują się na próbie uchwycenia przestrzennego wymiaru kryzysu i zaradności doświadczanych w różnych płaszczyznach życia — jednostkowym, rodzinnym i środowiska lokalnego.

Zasadniczym celem badań była analiza różnic i podobieństw między strategiami radzenia sobie realizowanymi przez gospodarstwa miejskie i wiejskie.

Słowa kluczowe: rezyliencja, przestrzeń, kryzys