

Paweł Starosta, Ewa Rokicka

Environment and the Quality of Life in the Eastern European Peripheries*

Assumptions

The starting point of our article is the assumption that there is a positive relationship between the quality of life and the state of the natural environment. The specific character of this relationship when referring to the local settings can be explained by the sense of the community concept.

Many definitions indicate that a local community consists of people living in a certain area, involved in a system of interactions and social dependence, having institutions serving to satisfy their needs and linked bonds, the important element of which is a feeling of identity with a group and territory (Lee, Newby, 1983; Flora, Spears, Swanson, 1992; Bryden, 1994). Attempts to define a 'community' deal with many variables or dimensions of local community life such as: territory (location), human resources (population), system of bonds and institutions (social organization), common values (culture), etc., as well as the degree to which the community can be characterized as urban or rural (Klasse, 1995).

Usually it is emphasized that this form of collective life is a certain type of environment (Carlson et al., 1981; Gilford, Nelson and Ingram, 1981). This environment is affected by spatial distinctions and citizen identification with the specific geographical location. Belonging to a clearly defined geographical space and natural environment used by the inhabitants is an important factor describing the community. Space and environment are important because they are connected with the social organization and satisfy-

* The empirical data presented in this article were gathered within an international research project entitled 'Patterns of Social Participation and Social Structure of Local Communities in Bulgaria, Poland and Russia' funded by the Scientific Research Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences (grant 1 H01F 016 09) and partly by Université du Québec à Rimouski (Canada). The previous version of this article was delivered at the 4th European Conference of Sociology, Amsterdam, 1999.

ing the needs of the inhabitants i.e. with the social and economic system. The small size of these places determines the character and scale of the institutions. Moreover, they provide bases for such socio-spatial phenomena as territoriality, sense of roots, satisfaction and identification. In other words, they are bases for the unity of a community's attitudes and one of the platforms for social integration. Regardless of the changes resulting from the process of globalization, territory and its spatial and environmental distinctions still remain the bases for identification for the residents of rural local communities (Starosta, Draganova, 1999). If so, the state of the natural environment (i.e. the level of environmental degradation or protection) inevitably influences the sense of self-esteem, security or broadly, the identity of members of these communities.

Our short remarks on the local community show that the natural environment is a sort of 'filter' for the phenomena and processes occurring within it. Elements of the natural environment pervade the spheres of the local economy, politics, culture, mentality and awareness of the inhabitants of rural and small town localities, and these spheres in turn influence nature. In general, the quality of life in local communities is often lower as regards material goods and income but is often considered better in terms of environmental quality. Residents are usually quite satisfied with most aspects of their place of residence (Carlson et al., 1981; Allen, 1995).

The Meaning of 'Quality of Life' and 'Environment'

In order to characterize the relationship between the quality of life and the environment we have to examine both terms. Two approaches to the term 'quality of life' can be distinguished. The first which is more theoretical, focuses on the evaluative aspects of the concept, indicating that it is culture-bound, value-dimensioned and restrictive of the good state of affairs. It is based on the assumption that man and nature are mutually linked by moral obligations (Elias, 1982; Giddens, 1994; Ammassari, 1994). It is connected with the protest against economic development aiming only at the growth of consumption, which destroys the natural environment and social bonds. It supports an alternative lifestyle the sense of which lies in improving social relations.

The second approach is connected with the measurement of the material standard of living and the level of satisfaction with life. The core of the empirical approach is that it deprives the discussed term of its evaluative meaning. If we want to compare the quality of life in various countries and communities we have to use a term that is free from evaluative aspects (Inkeles, Inglehart, Scheuch, 1994). Within the frames of this approach sociologists distinguish a collective and individual form of the quality of life, depending on whether they refer to objective or subjective indicators. Objective indicators usually measure physical living conditions (i.e. per capita

GNP, housing square footage, percentage of inhabitants having a water-supply system, percentage of inhabitants having a sewerage system). Subjective indicators, in turn, are obtained by asking people how satisfied they are with life and specific aspects of it. The meaning of this approach is to define the dependency between the objective living conditions (collective quality of life) and the sense of satisfaction (individual quality of life) and to specify the factors conditioning the sense of satisfaction.

In the research we will be referring to the quality of life as defined in the quantitative and subjective categories, i.e. it is treated as one of the dimensions of satisfaction with life. 'The environment' is as general and ambiguous a concept as the 'quality of life.' In our paper, we will focus on the ecological dimension of the environment bearing in mind the complexity of the subject (according to J. Theys, the environment, besides ecological dimension, also consists of social, cultural, economic and psychological ones).

The Aims

The main aims of the article are about the question of whether and to what extent the attitudes of inhabitants of villages and small towns in Bulgaria, Poland and Russia towards the natural environment tend to vary. The analysis of attitudes towards the natural environment will be carried out at two levels. First, we shall try to show the role played by the natural environment as an element of community life quality and a prerequisite of satisfaction derived from the place of residence. Next we shall analyse in greater detail the general attitudes towards the natural environment of rural and small town inhabitants in Bulgaria, Poland and Russia.

The analysis will seek to provide answers to the following questions:

1. Does the natural environment as a prerequisite of satisfaction and life quality in local communities perform the same or a different role in the rural areas of Bulgaria, Poland and Russia?

2. What are the general attitudes towards the natural environment in the rural areas of the selected countries in Eastern Europe?

When asking about attitudes we are asking, in principle, about three issues: 1) the strength of attitudes; 2) their internal structure; and 3) the determinants of the strength of attitudes. For the purposes of the present analysis we shall be referring to the structure concept of the attitude. It assumes that this term describes 'a relatively stable emotional or evaluative attitude to the object or a disposition to the existence of such an attitude being expressed in positive, negative or neutral categories' (Mika, 1972: 65).

The Data Base

One of the main methodological assumptions of the empirical research was choosing communities consisting of 1000 to 10,000 inhabitants differ-

entiated with regard to their economic, political and social activity in Bulgaria, Poland and Russia. In each country (with the exception of Russia where only two localities were surveyed) there was one community with under 1500 inhabitants, one between 1500 and 5000 and one with over 5000 inhabitants.

Altogether the surveys based on random samples were conducted in 3 Polish communities (Poddebice, Dobroń and Siemkowice) from the administrative province of Sieradz in central Poland, 2 Russian communities (Ilinskoye and Luch) from the administrative province of Ivanovo (central Russia) and 3 Bulgarian communities (Gavrailovo, Biala and Kotel) from the Kotel district in Bulgaria.

The respondents were randomly chosen for questionnaire interviews from the voting registers in particular localities. The collected data only fulfil the requirement of representativeness for the communities in the survey, not for particular countries. Altogether 1616 questionnaires were collected in Eastern Europe, all having used the same set of questions. The collection of data was carried out between July 1996 and February 1997.

The Natural Environment as a Prerequisite of Satisfaction and Life Quality in Rural and Small Town Local Communities

We would like to start the presentation of survey findings by showing the general level of satisfaction with the place of residence in the communities under survey.

Table 1

Levels of satisfaction with rural and small town communities by country

Levels of satisfaction	Bulgaria		Poland		Russia		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Very satisfied	64	10.5	140	22.5	24	6.0	228	14.1
2. Rather satisfied	170	28.4	327	38.0	258	64.5	755	46.7
3. Ambivalent	218	36.4	106	17.2	80	20.0	404	25.0
4. Rather dissatisfied	112	18.7	37	6.0	32	8.0	181	11.2
5. Dissatisfied	35	5.8	7	1.1	6	1.5	48	3.0
Total	599	100.0	617	100.0	400	100.0	1616	100.0

The data included in Table 1 indicate that about 61% of all the respondents had positive attitudes towards their place of residence. Ambivalent attitudes were expressed by 25%, and negative ones by only 14% of the respondents. The variations in emotional attitudes between particular coun-

tries are quite interesting. The inhabitants of Russian villages and small towns rank first with regard to positive attitudes (70% — satisfied, 20% — ambivalent attitudes, and 9% dissatisfied) and followed by the inhabitants of Polish communities (60% — satisfied, 17% — ambivalent attitudes, 7% — dissatisfied). The most negative opinions were expressed by the inhabitants of Bulgarian communities (39% — satisfied, 36% — ambivalent attitudes, and as many as 24% — dissatisfied).

Satisfaction with the local environment is generally quite high in the surveyed countries with the exception of Bulgaria. It could be added that the share of rural and small town inhabitants satisfied with the local environment in Poland has not changed for over ten years and it ranges between 60% and 70% (Starosta, 1995) Thus, the system change here has not exerted any major influence.

In order to determine the role of the natural environment as a determinant factor of positive or negative attitudes towards the place of residence we asked about the respondents' satisfaction with different aspects of their community life.

Table 2

Area of satisfaction in community life

Satisfied with:	Percentage of satisfaction with the place of residence and the ranking					
	Bulgaria		Poland		Russia	
1. Family relationship	88.8	1	86.4	1	82.3	1
2. Social relations in place of residence	53.8	3	70.6	5	62.1	2
3. Flat/house	84.4	2	82.5	2	58.5	3
4. Present income	9.9	14	23.4	13	12.5	12
5. Job opportunities in vicinity	12.5	13	21.4	14	27.4	8
6. Health service	36.8	8	55.3	10	32.6	7
7. Rest and recreation facilities	28.6	9	31.1	12	23.2	9
8. Quality of natural environment	17.0	12	43.3	11	9.9	13
9. Transport services	38.9	7	80.8	3	33.2	6
10. Quality of community services	23.9	10	72.0	4	9.1	14
11. Local public administration	44.7	6	66.4	8	16.5	11
12. Activity of schools and educational institutions	52.0	4	69.5	6	56.2	4
13. Activity of local church	23.1	11	68.0	7	42.9	5
14. Mayor's activities	48.6	5	65.2	9	20.4	10
15. Political parties' activities	6.8	15	8.6	15	2.9	15
N	599		616		400	

The results of this analysis allow us to draw the following conclusions:

The natural environment as a determinant factor in the evaluation of local life quality is rather insignificant in the rural communities of Poland, Russia and Bulgaria. The local satisfaction results mostly from the good quality of family life and good social relations with other residents in the community in all the localities under survey.

The relatively high level of satisfaction of respondents with schools, educational institutions and public administration can also be seen in selected local communities in Eastern Europe.

Residents of the communities under survey were least satisfied with the activities of the political parties, their present income and local job opportunities.

The last factor of dissatisfaction is a relatively new phenomenon in Eastern European Countries since the Second World War. It appeared in the nineties as a result of both the transformation from a planned to a market economy and as an inclusion of the former socialist societies into the global world economic order.

It should be emphasized that dissatisfaction factors with local community life in selected localities of Eastern European Countries don't differ significantly from those identified within American (Brown, 1993) and French Canadian (Starosta, Stanek, Stolbov, 1998) rural communities. In both advanced and East European societies inhabitants are least satisfied with the political parties and local job opportunities.

It should be added that the orders of significance of particular factors of satisfaction in Bulgaria, Poland and Russia are very similar. The correlation is particularly high between the ranking in Russia and Bulgaria.

Perhaps the insignificant role of the natural environment as a determinant factor of local satisfaction is an effect of the contradiction between the local and global approach to environmental problems. Residents of small communities often tend to perceive environmental issues somewhat differently than those from more highly urban areas. This is the result of relative differences in exposure to adverse effects of environmental pollution. People from small communities are less concerned about environmental problems which do not seem to have a direct impact on them. But on the other hand, the nature of small communities has a direct effect on the types of environmental problems they face (drinking water, waste water, storage and utilization of waste) and how they deal with these problems. In East European communities the quality of the natural environment is evaluated very critically. In many of these communities environmental issues constitute a major threat and an unsolved social problem. Hence, we can assume that they are a significant criterion of objective (or collective) local life quality — but not the subjective (individual) local life quality.

Strength and Structure of Respondents' Attitudes Towards the Natural Environment

In order to analyse the general attitudes towards the natural environment we built a scale composed of the respondents' positive answers to the questions concerning:

- 1) evaluation of natural environment quality;
- 2) treatment of the natural environment as an accepted value;
- 3) public behaviour connected with the natural environment.

In this way our scale included all significant dimensions of the attitude concept with the exception of a cognitive component.

Three of the five items were formulated in the form of direct questions to the respondent:

Question 1: Are environment protection and environmental threats discussed among your acquaintances and friends? Yes — no;

Question 2: Please say which of the following statements you agree with:

— It is important to develop business activity even if it is sometimes harmful to the natural environment, or

— Environment protection is so important that it should not be sacrificed for economic issues.

Question 3: Are you satisfied with the efforts made by the authorities and inhabitants to preserve a desirable quality of the natural environment in your place of residence? Yes — no

The next two items were derived from answers to questions concerning:

- 1) reasons of dissatisfaction with living in a given community, and
- 2) types of local activities and actions which the respondent participated in during the year preceding the survey.

All in all, each respondent was classified on a scale from 0 to 5. Zero was given to the person who did not express a positive attitude to the natural environment in any of the five items. The maximum number of points was given to the respondent who: 1) expressed a positive opinion about the natural environment in three direct questions, 2) confirmed participation in the local activities and actions oriented at the protection of the natural environment, and who 3) also listed the natural environment as a significant attribute of satisfaction with the place of residence.

The data in Table 3 show that generally the level of pro-ecological attitudes in the surveyed communities was rather low. On the six-point scale where the minimum was 0 and the maximum 5, the mean values for all the communities remain below the theoretical middle point of the scale, which is equal to 2.000.

The most pro-ecological attitudes were identified in the local communities of Poland (mean 2.120), with the inhabitants of Bulgarian communities ranking second (mean 1.756), and the Russian respondents — third (mean 1.660).

Table 3

Main statistics of the scale of pro-ecological attitudes
in the analysed communities and countries

Country	Community	Mean	S.D.	N
Bulgaria		1.756	0.738	599
	Gavrailovo	1.780	0.803	200
	Byala	1.713	0.662	199
	Kotel	1.775	0.746	200
Poland		2.120	0.898	617
	Poddębice	2.065	0.891	293
	Dobroń	2.360	0.903	186
	Siemkowice	1.913	0.841	138
Russia		1.660	0.759	400
	Luch	1.677	0.778	198
	Ilinskoye	1.644	0.741	202

Having analysed the general level (intensity) of ecological attitudes and its variations between countries, we would now like to pass to the question of the structure of ecological attitudes in particular countries. We shall try to determine which of the components influences the general level of ecological attitudes in selected Eastern European communities.

If we take the three analysed dimensions of ecological attitudes into account: normative, evaluative and behavioural, then our studies show that there are no fundamental differences between the declared models of ecological attitudes in public situations between the respondents in particular countries.

The data in Table 4 show that:

1. The inhabitants of rural and small town local communities in Bulgaria, Poland and Russia, with some exceptions, generally do not participate in local activities and actions oriented at the protection of the environment. No variations can here be observed between the researched communities.

2. Equally uniform — and quite high — is the level of involvement in the creation of public opinion connected with natural environment issues in all the analysed countries. This means that the inhabitants of all the surveyed communities are strongly involved in the creation of public opinion concerning the environment, but, on the other hand, they do not take part in collective activities and actions aimed at the protection of the environment. Thus, the dominant attitude is that of an observer and not a direct participant.

3. In East European countries the environment is treated by local community inhabitants as an accepted and recognized value and a counterweight to the ruthless priority of economic values (from 83% to 76%). The variations in this respect between Bulgaria, Poland and Russia are not statistically significant.

Table 4

Percentage shares of pro-ecological opinions, on the basis of which the scale of attitudes towards the natural environment by country was built

Items	Bulgaria		Poland		Russia		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Environment is such an important problem that it should not be sacrificed for economic development (value dimension of attitude)	494	83.2	486	79.3	297	75.8	1277	79.0
2. Quality of natural environment as an attribute of place of residence (evaluative dimension of attitude)	3	0.5	64	10.4	26	6.5	93	5.6
3. Positive evaluation of attempts made by local authorities and inhabitants to preserve quality of environment in place of residence (evaluative dimension of attitude)	102	17.0	265	43.0	39	9.8	406	25.1
4. Talks about environment protection among acquaintances and friends (behavioural dimension of attitude)	444	74.1	470	76.2	298	74.5	1212	75.0
5. Participation in activities and actions aimed at environment protection (behavioural dimension of attitude)	9	1.5	18	2.9	4	1.0	31	1.9
N	599		616		400		1617	

4. A different configuration of opinions was discovered as regards the evaluative dimension of attitude. The East European community dwellers very seldom take into consideration the natural environment as a positive attribute of their place of residence and, on the other hand, they frequently think that the local community (i.e. authorities and inhabitants) takes good care of it. The self-evaluation of local communities with regard to their concern about the natural environment proved to be statistically significant. In accordance with the respondents' declarations, the authorities and inhabitants of the Polish communities take the best care of the natural environment (43.0% positive opinions), the Bulgarian communities ranked second (17%) and the Russian communities third (9.8%).

5. It can thus be concluded that the generally low level of ecological attitudes in the examined communities results from the respondents' complete absence of involvement in local activities oriented at solving natural environment problems.

Taking into account the strength of attitudes on a scale of 0 to 5 and the respondents' inclination to place the responsibility for solving environmental problems on different entities, six basic types of ecological attitudes could be distinguished:

The first was an attitude characterized by a weak pro-ecological orientation and an inclination to place the responsibility for solving ecological problems solely on the institutions of power. This type was not represented very much in the analysed population. It could most frequently be found in Russia.

The second type was characterized by a weak attitude and an inclination to place the responsibility for the natural environment of issues both on the inhabitants and the authorities. This amounted to only 2.3% of the whole sample. It was most common in Bulgaria.

The third type was characterized by a medium intensity of attitude and an inclination to place the responsibility for solving environmental issues exclusively on the authorities and was stated by 29% of the respondents. It was most common in Russia (34.6%), and least common in Bulgaria (22.3%).

The fourth type was characterized by a medium intensity of pro-ecological attitude and placing the responsibility for environmental issues both on the authorities and inhabitants was stated by 27.6% of the respondents. This orientation type could most frequently be found among the Bulgarian respondents (39.2%) and most seldom among the Polish (15.2%).

Table 5

Types of ecological attitudes by country

Type of Attitudes		Country							
Intensity of attitude	Responsibility for solving ecological problems	Bulgaria		Poland		Russia		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Weak	only authorities	24	4.6	22	4.4	25	7.6	71	5.2
Weak	Inhabitants and authorities	19	3.6	7	1.4	5	1.5	31	2.3
Medium	only authorities	117	22.3	144	28.7	114	34.6	375	27.7
Medium	Inhabitants and authorities	206	39.2	76	15.2	93	28.3	375	27.7
Strong	only authorities	48	9.1	128	25.5	57	17.3	233	17.2
Strong	Inhabitants and authorities	111	21.2	124	24.7	35	10.6	270	19.9
Total		525	100.0	501	100.0	329	100.0	1355	100.0

The fifth type was characterized by a high intensity of attitude and an institutional option was stated by 17.5% of all respondents. This type of attitude could be found most frequently in Poland (25.5%) and least in Bulgaria (9.1%).

Finally, the sixth and last type is also characterized by a high intensity of ecological attitudes, an inclination to place the responsibility for environmental problems both on the authorities and inhabitants and was declared by 19.3% of the respondents. This attitude was strongest in the Polish communities (24.7%), and weakest in Russia (10.6%).

If we take into account the normative and emotional dimension of attitude and the orientation toward institutions, or citizens and institutions as objects responsible for solving environmental issues, it will appear that as a result we shall obtain certain characteristics which significantly differentiate the respondents from particular countries.

A common attitude dominates in Polish and Russian communities giving priority to ecological over economic values, they negatively evaluate the present state of the natural environment and try to place the responsibility for its state mainly on the institutions of power.

Another model of ecological attitudes dominates in the Bulgarian communities. The inhabitants of Bulgarian communities, rather like the Polish and Russian, evaluate ecological values more highly than economic ones. As regards the present state of the natural environment they evaluate it quite negatively, but unlike the inhabitants of Poland and Russia they do not place full responsibility for maintaining its good state exclusively on the authorities.

Determinants of the Intensity of Attitudes Towards the Natural Environment

In this final part we shall try to answer a question concerning the factors determining the intensity of attitudes towards the natural environment. For this purpose log-linear regression equations were calculated. The dependent variable was the respondent's position on the scale of attitudes and the independent variables: the size of local community, the duration of the respondent's residence, the education level, annual income, frequency of trips outside the rural district, level of local political alienation, higher occupational status, frequency of watching TV and listening to the radio, and degree of acceptance of traditional life.

Introducing the above predictors to the statistical analysis we assumed those two inference models could explain the strength of pro-ecological attitudes.

The first can be called a rationalized model. It assumes that the intensity of pro-ecological attitudes can be observed mainly among those with higher education, having high occupational status, higher incomes, spatially mobile

and frequently using mass media. This model thus makes reference to the personality type which derives a positive attitude towards the natural environment from different systems of institutionalized education.

The second model can be called a traditional model. It assumes the existence of a personality with low social status, low education, a low degree of spatial mobility, a low level of mass media use and a high degree of acceptance of traditional values.

The statistical analysis showed that none of the proposed explanations was confirmed in the gathered empirical material. First of all, it should be noted that the proposed regression for Russia is not statistically significant. In Bulgaria the only statistically significant correlation occurs between the community size and the intensity of ecological attitudes. This can mean that the attitudes towards the natural environment in Bulgaria are not significantly dependent upon the attributes of individuals but rather on the size of community where they live. In Poland the size of community plays a significant role but beside this variable a significant predictor proved to be income level. We think that a hypothesis could be accepted for further studying on the basis that pro-ecological attitudes in the East European communities are generally more frequently declared by the inhabitants of rural areas with low social status.

Final Remarks

Coming back to the general questions formulated at the beginning of this presentation the following conclusions could be formulated:

Firstly, many studies indicate that the importance of the natural environment as an element of life quality has increased in recent years, but it is still ranked after such values as the quality of social relations, the quality of operation of the local authorities or the respondents' material living standards. Our analyses confirm that outcome.

Secondly, pro-ecological attitudes were not characterized by a great intensity. The inhabitants of Eastern Europe obtained a mean value on the scale of ecological attitudes, which was below the medium measurement on the scale. Pro-ecological attitudes are organized mainly around the emotional and normative component. On the other hand, they are deprived of the behavioural element, that is, for example, participation in public activities oriented toward the protection of the environment in the place of residence.

Thirdly, the detailed analysis revealed some variations in the structure of pro-ecological behaviour in particular countries.

The inhabitants of the Bulgarian, Polish and Russian communities highly appreciate the environment as a value but simultaneously, express very negative opinions about the state of the environment in their place of residence. The variation between the Eastern European communities boils

down to the fact that the inhabitants of Poland and Russia place the responsibility for preserving an appropriate state of the natural environment exclusively on the authorities, while the inhabitants of Bulgaria believe that ordinary citizens also play an important role.

Fourthly, the results of statistical analyses suggest that pro-ecological attitudes are determined primarily not by the individuals' attributes but by the characteristics of local communities.

References

- Allen, J. C. (1995), *Community — based Environmental Mediation*, [in:] J. W. Blackburn, W. M. Bruce (eds.), *Mediating Environmental Conflicts. Theory and Practice*, USA.
- Ammassari, P. (1994), *Ecology and the Quality of Social Life*, [in:] *Ecology, Society and the Quality of Social Life*, W. V. D'Antonio and others (eds.), Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick and London.
- Beck, U. (1992), *Risk Society. Towards a New Modernity*, Sage Publications Ltd.
- Brown, R. B. (1993), *Rural Community Satisfaction and Attachment in Mass Consumer Society*, *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 53, No. 3.
- Bryden, J. (1994), *Some Preliminary Perspectives on Sustainable Rural Communities*, [in:] J. M. Bryden (ed.), *Toward Sustainable Rural Communities*, University of Guelph, Guelph.
- Eissel, D., Rokicka, E. (1996), *Sustainable Development and Democracy*, [in:] D. Eissel, J. Leaman, E. Rokicka (ed.), *Towards Sustainability: Challenges to the Social Sciences and Local Democracy*, Absolwent, Łódź.
- Flora, C. B., Flora, J. B., Spears, J. D., Swanson, L. E. (1992), *Rural Communities: Legacy and Change*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colo.
- Giddens, A. (1994), *Industrialisation, Ecology, and the Development of Life Politics*, [in:] W. V. D'Antonio and others (eds.), *Ecology, Quality of Social Life*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick and London.
- Klase, K. A. (1995), *Mediation Preparation for Resolving Small Community Environmental Problems*, [in:] J. W. Blackburn, W. M. Bruce (eds.), *Mediating Environmental Conflicts. Theory and Practice*, USA.
- Lee D, Newby H. (1983), *The Problem of Sociology*, UNWIN HYMAN, London.
- Rokicka, E. (1998), *Jakość życia społecznego a środowisko w ujęciu globalnym i lokalnym* (Quality of social life and environment in global and local perspective), [in:] *Socjologia i społeczeństwo polskie* (Sociology and Polish society), Omega-Praxis, Łódź.
- Rokicka, E., Kawka, Z. (1998), *Spółeczność lokalna wobec globalnych wyzwań ekologicznych* (Local communities in the face of global environmental challenges), *Przegląd Socjologiczny* (Sociological Review), T. XLVII/2.
- Starosta, P. (1995), *Poza metropolią. Wiejskie i małomiasteczkowe zbiorowości lokalne a wzory porządku makrospołecznego* (Beyond metropolis), Wyd. Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź.

- Starosta P, Draganova M. (1999), *Social Identification with Local Communities and the Globalization Process in Rural Areas of Eastern Europe*, [in:] Ch. Kassis, A. G. Papadopoulos (eds.), *Local Responses to Global Integration*, Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Szalai, A., Andrews, F. M. (eds.) (1980), *The Quality of Life: Comparative Studies*, Sage, London.
- The Environment. Global Problems, Local Solutions* (1994), E. Hickey, J. and L. Longmire (eds.), Hovstra University, USA.
- Tramblay, K. R., Dunlap R. E. (1978), *Rural — Urban Residence and Concern with Environmental Quality: A Replication and Extension*, *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 43.