

Sociology of Housing in Poland – Genesis, Development and Future Prospects

Maciej Cesarski*

Abstract

The sociology of housing is understood by the author of the paper as a science concerning the social dynamics relevant in housing, living and inhabited space context. The goal of the paper is to remind the role of Polish sociology of housing in process of showing the importance of the land use planning and combining the qualities of social and physical space in development of the inhabited space. The article also concerns the genesis and the achievements of sociology of housing in Poland as well as the history and the conditions of housing policy in Poland and in Western Europe. The article also contains proposals of future reorientation of the sociology of housing in the global dimension. The future development of settlement infrastructure, which forms the fundamentals of settlement policy, may become a substantial platform for authentic and genuine sustainable development. The settlement infrastructure concept has a potential for balancing the development of the living space, which is determined by the inhabited space, and thus for genuine sustainable development. The aim is to notice the crucial role of the housing policy in modeling the development of the inhabited space. To achieve this the future objectives of sociology of housing in terms of monitoring and diagnosing the social space and physical relations are highlighted. The future sociology of housing should encompass the sociology of settlement – town's and village's sociology as well as rural areas sociology, thus transgressing the boundaries of inhabited space in general and urbanization space in particular. It should evolve into sociology of entire living space.

Keywords: housing policy, sociology of housing in Poland, social bond, social inclusion, social cohesion, settlement infrastructure, settlement policy, inhabited space, living space, social space, physical space, physical space planning, land use planning, sustainable development

* Warsaw School of Economics; cesarskimaciej@interia.pl

Introduction

The decline of social sciences' practical influence on policy-making, including housing policy, is one of the contemporary challenges for the Western civilization. It is rooted in the domination of socio-economic model of development based on economic growth (Wallerstein 2007a: 13–40; Wallerstein 2007b: 65–86). Modernity, including postmodernism, became liquid modernity (Bauman 2000: 5–10; Habermas 2000: 378–412; Bauman 2006: *passim*). Social sciences achieved biggest successes in modernist era on the verge of 19th and 20th century. Modernism was then perceived as a broadly understood cultural movement aiming to shape the civilization development according to the notions of justice and social order. Humanistic hopes for the future clashed with 20th century totalitarian negation of large social projects, also concerning housing. Elimination of amassed pathologies undermined the ideas and values behind them, though (Horkheimer, Adorno 1994: 11–59; Desol 2003: 7–14, 149–164). As the liquid modernity started to gain strength in the Seventies, its neoliberal economic background undermined the social and cultural ideas and values even more. This gave space for the thesis on the rapture between the social space and the physical space (Cesarski 2010b: 43–58). The attempt to consciously model the living space, physical forms of inhabited space in particular, became redundant. Since the half of the 19th century Western Europe is marked with attempts to define housing space based on pragmatic public needs. The trend is started after almost a century of vibrant economic growth and urbanization. At the same time the tensions which may have given birth to social revolution grew.

In Poland some elements of housing policy in the form presented above, apart from uncoordinated attempts of the foreign Powers and philanthropic organizations, may be traced after regaining independence in 1918. Thus, the context of belated evolution of capitalism makes the problems concerning housing particularly complex (Cegielski 1957: 19–98; Andrzejewski 1974 b: 39–119). Contrary to areas specific for social policies, in Interwar Poland there were no central institutions within the government which would deal specifically with housing policy or its social aspects (Grata 2013: *passim*). In such context the beginnings of broader deliberations concerning social housing policy and housing sociology in Poland should be associated with the foundation of Polish Society of Housing Reform (PSHR) in 1929 (L.B. 1929: 17).

Since the middle of 20th century the process of shaping of the housing situation in the leading West European states is based on the system of intervention. It turns into a housing policy based on free market mechanisms. The interventionist policy is particularly legitimized by the Keynesian theory and the welfare state doctrine (Andrzejewski 1987: 32–43). The state transforms negatively defined liberal basic freedoms – allegedly defending the private sphere against state intervention – into positively defined participation rights provided by the state. Thus the liberal tradition is uninterrupted. Both the welfare and the liberal state base their incomes on taxes and interfere in social distribution of wealth and property but not in private property management. The liberal guarantees of the private property are softened by social norms in form of right to work and to accommodation, which do not eliminate the problems of homelessness and unemployment (Habermas 2008: 399–418). The social activity concerning the sphere of life which is the most threatened with the revolt of masses is based on liberal rule of law, in socio-economic dimension from the very beginning oriented toward the economic growth.

Liberalism approaches the social question, including housing question, basing on a reduction of the importance of the state and the public sphere. Public policy provides the greatest social achievements of capitalism, including the social housing, within the framework of the welfare state while maintaining the liberal rule of law (Cesarski 2014a: 115–134). Neoliberal incarnation of the 19th century economic liberalism is an answer to the shocks caused by the economic growth and the crisis cases dating back to the Seventies. Since then one may mark the general regress of the housing policy based on the social goals. Instead it becomes an element of support for the economic growth (Cesarski 2013c: 255–267).

A housing policy, traditionally perceived as an element of social policy, after the Second World War becomes an independent scientific specialization. At the same period one can also identify the beginnings of the sociology of housing in Poland. It means putting them in context of the changes taking place in Eastern Europe – going away from market economy and developing the socialistic society. However, the real socialism states try to no avail to directly meet the housing needs growing with the development of industry and ongoing urbanization.

The systemic transformation, which has begun in Poland in 1989, brings back the market economy and its dominance over the housing policy. Globalization and accession to the European Union develop new dimensions of the housing policy (Cesarski 2005b: 122–136). One can define the global logic and challenges concerning the public policy, concerning the inhabited space, space urbanization and social cohesion.

After 1989 Poland provides examples of social issues typical for a state in transition. Problems concerning the development of public urbanization space are particularly visible in case of private and closed housing estates of 'common interests' (Gądecki, 2009: *passim*; Blandy, Parsons 2003: 314–324; Wehrhahn 2003: 302–313). The estates are an emanation of the contemporary essential problems concerning the relationship between urbanization space and social cohesion. They provide a specific case study of relationship between physical space and social space. They also become one of the topics of sociological analysis of city anthropology. At the same moment they are an emanation of structural failures of the housing policies since the Seventies, along with the 2008 social and economic crisis of the Western civilization. The reasons of the crisis undermine the essence of capitalism – the preference for private ownership of real estates, especially artificially promoted with speculative credit (Cesarski 2013a: 22–33). The feeling of security and stability based on the ownership of a real estate property rooted in the market economy is questioned. The acquisition and ownership based on access to subprime credit became a reason of a wide range of problems, including threat of losing the property. The economic features of inhabited space are of crucial importance in that respect (Property..., 2011). Based on this example the recently promoted trend to separate the social and the physical space becomes a fiction. Instead, the conscious development of physical and social space, in particular influencing the physical forms of the inhabited space, becomes an imperative.

The main motive of the paper concerns the common ground of Polish residential, urban, urbanization and settlement thought and of sociology. In the paper the sociology of housing is understood as a science concerning the social dynamics relevant in housing, living and inhabited space context. The goal supplementing the major narrative of the paper is to recall the substantial role of the beginnings of Polish sociology of housing in terms of proving that the inhabited space combines the qualities of the social space with the process of modeling of the physical space. The attempts to disconnect this interdependence give short term illusion of resolving the social problems while in reality they just postpone them. In regards to housing policy and the sociology of housing this means the fundamental importance of the relationship of housing situation and its social aspects with individuals and societies perception of their place within the inhabited space, which forms the fundament of society's existence. The choice of literature presented in the study is designed to illustrate such a perspective. The first symptoms, the birth and the achievements of sociology of housing in Poland together with the already presented evolution of the housing Policy in Poland and in Western Europe, as well as the propositions to

reorient the future scope of the sociology of housing in global dimension are both the goal and the topic of the paper.

1. The Beginnings of the Sociology of Housing in the Interwar Poland (1918–1939/44)

Presenting Polish traditions of sociology of housing requires recollection of the term of social ties in a sense combining the element of territoriality and incorporating numerous interdisciplinary connotations. The term was introduced in Poland by Ludwik Krzywicki, Konstanty Krzeczkowski and Stanisław Rychliński (Krzywicki 1957: *passim*; Krzeczkowski, 1947: 5–24, 56–65, 161–195; Rychliński 1976: 195–362). Already in 19th century, the precursor of Polish socially conscious housing research Ludwik Krzywicki, while writing about housing question and chaotic development of cities undermining the social ties, emphasized the sociological aspects of the accumulation of the cities' population (Krzywicki 1892bm – that is in the publication: L. Krzywicki 1962: 11–13; Krzywicki 1892 – that is in the publication: Krzywicki 1962: 136–138; Ciesarski 1997: 15–32). In this way he has established the fundamentals for development of the sociology of town and for the social ecology of settlement combining the terms of social behavior and social structure with the notion of physical space (Krzywicki 1892c: 196–197; Krzywicki 1898: 68–69, also Krzywicki 1962: 187–191). In Stanisław Rychliński's works the housing issues were intertwined with the sociology of town. Also the issues concerning the urban policy encompass the communication, residential buildings and public utilities today included in settlement infrastructure. He stated that the transformation of the urban environment without disrupting the physical structure of the town is impossible. Stanisław Rychliński emphasizes the necessity to control the negative effects of speculation in the real estate market. Thus, he had noticed the close ties between social space and physical space (Rychliński 1935: 32–33; Rychliński 1936: 42–59 and 61–64). Konstanty Krzeczkowski emphasized the territoriality of municipalities as a problem of social and municipal policies. According to his writings the only difference between the town and the village is the speed of their respective development (Krzeczkowski 1939: 7).

The basic statements concerning the social housing policy are formulated in the Twenties and the Thirties of the 20th century. They are an effect of the development of Polish school concerning housing issues, represented first and foremost by Teodor Teoplitz, Konstanty Krzeczkowski, Jan Strzelecki, Edward Strzelecki, Stanisław

Tołwiński (Cesarski 2013b: 58–86). The school was developed in the moment when in the most developed countries of Western Europe the public sphere had begun the attempts to limit the deficit of apartments available for the less wealthy part of the population. As foretold in the fin-de-siècle concepts of the ‘garden city’ by Ebenezer Howard and of the industrial city by Tony Garnier (separating the communication arteries from inhabited districts closed for motorized movement, countering accidental localization of services, etc.), avoiding the collisions of the physical and social elements in towns’ functioning becomes the goal of architects and town-planners. Since the Twenties and the Thirties of the 20th century the projects aimed to fulfill the above requirements are developed according to Bauhaus architecture, based on concepts of Walter Gropius, Mies van der Roche, Ernst May and others. Since 1920 the conceptual searches of Le Corbusier break with the concept of housing as a simple sum of buildings. Internationalization of the housing issue is supported by le Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne – CIAM, which also includes representatives of Polish school of housing issues studies (Syrkus 1976: passim; Giedion 1968: 507–601, 752–774, 707; Frampton 2001: 20–149; *Friedewald* 2009: 4–128).

According to the Polish school, the housing question is determined by the unsatisfactory standard and the deep structural deficit of apartments in a significant part of the working population. It’s a consequence of management of housing investment according to the free market rules. A broader consensus concerning the issues of architecture and social town planning is required to correctly address the needs of this part of population. The flat and the apartment building should be perceived from the perspective integrated with the natural environment and basic communal and social services. The function of a flat is broadened by other existential issues (Cesarski 2013b: 58–86). Thus, the Polish school perceives the problem of social ties as a task for local policy realized in the environment encompassing consciously managed physical space (Minkiewicz 1999: 5–49).

The Warsaw Housing Cooperative, founded in 1921, became the experimental field of the school. The works are continued during Nazi occupation within the secret Urban and Architectural Planning Workshop, formed under Social Construction Enterprise WSM (Heyman 1976: 80–134; Mazur 1993: 31–153). Stanisław Ossowski becomes one of the partners. He writes important works foretelling the development of the sociology of housing, evolving around the physical inhabited space (Ossowski 1967a: 351–370; Ossowski 1967b: 371–390; Ossowski 1967c: 337–350). He improves the value of the conscious effort in the development of the space and its structure. He argues that given social functions of architectural and urban forms are correlated with social reality they encounter. He acknowledges the cooperation of

sociology with urban planning and architecture in terms of spatial development of towns' and apartments' building forms. He writes about cooperation of architects and sociologists in the sphere of development of social features of the housing estate, including specific features connected to the profile of the given community. He states that the notion of neighborhood gives the ecological distance more humane character. This corresponds with the term of 'spatial value' introduced by Florian Znaniecki to depict the axiological relationship between a human and a space. It's a term bound with cultural and sociological approach characteristic for theoretical fundamentals of social ecology in works of the renown Polish researcher (Znaniecki 1928: 88–119). The modes of thought of Stanisław Ossowski and Florian Znaniecki had traditions dating back to the Twenties of the 20th century. Their roots reach Chicago School of Social Ecology, searching for correlation between social issues and functional solutions within territories, in particular occupied by residential buildings. In this context the achievements of social ecology of settlement are particularly significant, as it studies the relations between social behavior and social structure on one hand, and social behavior and physical space on the other, or in other words with the management of space for colonization purposes (Pióro 1982: 7–20; Czekaj 2007: 358–371).

2. Sociology of Housing after the Second World War – Polish People's Republic Period

The initial research of Polish Association of Housing Reform, reactivated in 1946–1949, and of the Institute of Housing Construction, created in 1949 at the ministerial level, concerned diagnosing the state of housing conditions and assets, effects of reconstruction and size of construction, changes in housing situation. Thus, they were concentrated on basic physical aspects of the inhabited space. The sociological elements of the studies were present already in works of Adam Andrzejewski and Jerzy Cegielski (Andrzejewski, Cegielski 1950). Same kind researches were continued within IHS, which was reorganized into Economy of Housing Institute in 1968. It was active in various formulas until 2002. Outside of the IHS–EHI the early traces of post-war sociology of housing could be found in Janusz Ziółkowski, Bohdan Jałowiecki and Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska studies (Ziółkowski 1965; Jałowiecki 1968; *Procesy...* 1988). One should also remind the post-war achievements and twists of social integrated housing concept described by Aleksander Wallis – one of the

ancestors of sociology of housing in Poland (Wallis 1971: 63–85; Wallis 1972; Wallis 1974a; Wallis 1974b; 56–87; Wallis 1978: 6–107; Wallis 1986; 55–70). Also famous is the test concerning the housing issues designed by Jan Szczepański (Szczepański 1976: 5–16).

In context of the she structural changes in Poland after the Second World War, the reconstruction of housing relations was sought for in connection with the concept of social integration, surpassing the experience of locality. The concept was consistent with ongoing centralization, including the dissolution of the remains of the local government structures in 1950. The concept of settlement infrastructure, with its unique interpretation by Adam Andrzejewski, and the assumptions of the regional urban planning proposed by Juliusz Goryński, referred to such an understanding of social integration among the works of post-war Polish housing school (Andrzejewski 1974a: 138–150; Andrzejewski 1979: 25–38; Goryński 1966: 120–125). The concept of the settlement infrastructure, which will be discussed later, surpassed the local housing, urban and architecture issues. It concerned settlement politics in both regional and supra-regional dimensions. Juliusz Goryński noticed that along with objective increase of social and spatial mobility of the population, the idea of social bond being reduced to local neighborhood does not survive the test of time against the broader socio-economic background (Goryński 1963: 15–18). The reasons include the advance of employment in large working facilities located far away from place of residence or the development of public transportation, which weakens the need to protect the local, small communities (Czerwiński 1974: 73–91). To sum up, these were pragmatic attempts to go around the gap created by deconstruction of the local government and its role in development of the housing space. Within so perceived housing and settlement social integration the local social bonds do not disappear. The material proof was the postulate of the Polish school concerning the micro-level apartment relations and basic services within the concept of social housing settlements and housing settlement self-government, all of which favored these bonds.

In terms of later IHS-EHI sociologically inclined works, Lucyna Frąckiewicz conducted one of the first studies concerning the conditions of living of older population in context of employment environment. She also researched the popular opinions concerning the preferred forms of habitation (Frąckiewicz 1972: *passim*). One should also mention the work of Wanda Czaczerda. It was conducted when EHI created the housing department within Environment Development Institute (Czaczerda 1978). During this period Ewa Zalewska was analysing the housing conditions and preferences in Warsaw agglomeration (Zalewska 1982: 38–63). The living standard in 1974 and its possible influence on households functioning

was the topic of sociological research of Juliusz Dominowski (former Economy of Housing Institute) (Dominowski 1982: 188–212). Zdzisława Jarząbek (former EHI) discussed the emanations of residential culture in new housing estates within large agglomerations (Jarząbek 1982: 213–242).

The mentioned book, edited by Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska, an author not affiliated with IHS-EHI, crystallized the sociology of housing in Poland in 1982. In the preface Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska emphasised the importance of IHS-EHI researches in terms of sociology of housing development in Poland. Later she identified the major problems of the discipline (Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska 1982: 16–37). The first one concerned the housing needs, the extent and the ways of their satisfaction, including social and professional groups' needs, specific needs of older and physically challenged people, of young married couples, etc. The second one concerned access to appropriate housing conditions. It's a social value which when unavailable develops deprivation. Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska defined the social-spatial differentiation in class societies or in case of ethnic divisions as the third problem of the sociology of housing. She noted that the problem was traditionally a topic of social ecology research – one of the streams of sociology of town. The model of residential units was the fourth problem as the housing complexes were not a simple summary of buildings but a part of inhabited space. Thus, one should had studied the influence of architectural and urban solutions on the conditions of living and on life satisfaction of the inhabitants. The scope and the level of development of social bonds, including neighbor relations, was and should remain the often researched issue here. Patterns of use of flats were the last significant problem of the sociology of housing, which also helped to define the sub-discipline called sociology of flat. It encompassed: ways to use and to shape the micro-space of the flat by its inhabitants, orientation toward the family values in terms of flat exploitation, the place and the rights of the family members within the flat as an element of their social roles and of status within the family. It also included the researches concerning the dynamics of change of the ways of flats exploitation, their relationship to different stages of life and the level of satisfaction concerning the layout of the flats, the housing conditions they provided, the social and cultural belonging of the inhabitants. The attitudes and preferences in relation to different kinds of buildings and types of flats as well as the ways of their exploitation and arrangement were also included in the scope of interest of the sociology of housing. Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska concluded that in terms of the major research problems, the sociology of housing should aim to bring the owners, administrators, designers and inhabitants of the flats closer together. In consequence, the sociology of housing should warn against

excessive social costs of incorrect decisions concerning the social and the physical space (Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska 1982: 384–395). In that respect, as far as the papers included in the book are concerned, one should particularly emphasize the views of Waldemar Siemiński on the concepts and perspectives in terms of dealing with the building and the housing estate as an emanation of the flat (Siemiński 1982: 244–268).

3. From Social Integration to Social Cohesion – the Nature of the Sociology of Housing after 1989

The contemporary international term ‘social cohesion’ used in EU nomenclature is a product of development of ideas, studies and attempts to introduce social justice. Social cohesion is a significant element and goal of the EU cohesion policy, combining economic and spatial dimensions (*Consolidated...*, 2002; 103–105; *Zrewidowana...*, 2004, s. 1–18; *Agenda 2007*: 1–9). In Poland, after 1989, in consequence of reintroduction of the local government, the term social integration started to give ground to social cohesion understood as an attempt to provide prosperity to the whole society while minimizing the inequalities through democratic means (*Consolidated...*, 2002; 103–105). The idea of social cohesion is based on an attempt to harness the organic differences within inhabited space on the local and regional level by developing connections between societies and local communities while maintaining their identities. It is not entirely conscious reaction to globalization which, against common assumptions, deepens social disparities.

Similarly to land use planning, the inhabited space, including urbanization space, is discontinuous space, within which one can find both traditional, local social bonds and elements of broader social integration. The inhabited space, including urbanization space, transgresses the town-village division (thus also the sociology of the town and of the village division) (Gorlach 2004: 7–49). Large settlement units and their functional spaces shape the urbanization space, where the weight of social cohesion is increasingly important in consequence of progress and of costs of urbanization, which in turn justify the need to perceive the living space, that is the space where human being moves with various frequency, as a whole (Cesarski 2010a: 55–77). Within this space the notion of neighborhood – characteristic for social relation – does not disappear, though (Wojtyszyn 2010: 21–82, 149–167). At the age of civilization threats to the natural environment, the culture of housing is determined by the extent of introduction of sustainable development, including the

role of ecology in shaping the inhabited space. Dealing with ecological challenges to a large extent depends on anthropogenic characteristics of housing (Cesarski 2006: 167–181). Urbanization space introduces both the most significant threats and opportunities and involves the imperative of sustainable development. The social issues organized around the notion of social cohesion are its constitutive element – apart from economic and ecology aspects (*ibidem*).

Development of inhabited space, in particular urban space, determines the material fundamentals of social cohesion. Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska states that within the sphere of housing the heritage of the Past – the existing housing assets and the conditions of settlement – determine the extent of opportunities to satisfy social needs. The structural changes enabling to address these issues take long, though (Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska 2000: 20–25). In other paper Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska adds, that the limited character of housing aspirations of Poles is determined by their experiences as well as their judgment concerning small individual abilities to meet the financial requirements associated with ownership of an apartment as a basic material good (Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska 2005: 151–169). Thus, one has to note that economic characteristics of the physical space influence the character of the social space. Additionally Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska recalls the concept of Florian Znaniecki's humanistic coefficient – as a part of the 'objective reality' of the space its evaluation and opinions concerning it are not less important in terms of shaping human behavior (Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska 2010: 136–148). Such a view genetically connecting the social and physical space which conditions the social coherence is shared in sociological questionnaires conducted by EHI by Juliusz Dominowski, Elżbieta Świetlik and Ewa Zalewska (Dominowski 1991: 9–93; Świetlik 1996: 54–64; Dominowski, Zalewska 1996: 44–53; Dominowski, Zalewska 1999: 100–111; Dominowski 1997: 27–37; Dominowski 1998: 35–49; Dominowski 2000: 23–36; Dominowski 2001: 79–93).

The guarded settlements, also called fenced settlements, which were developing in Poland after 1989 (Gądecki 2007: 99–112; Gąsior-Niemiec, Glasze, Pütz, Sinz, 2007: 5–27; Gądecki 2009), or more bluntly 'common interest' settlements (Blandy, Parsons 2003: 314–324; Wehrhahn 2003: 302–313), are a testimony to substantial problems concerning sustainable relations between physical living space and social cohesion (Low 2004: 15; McKenzie 1996: 12). The original reason of development of these settlements is too rapid free market driven economic growth enforced both in the East and the West, despite the systemic differences introduced after the Second World War. It magnifies the housing needs and the pressure on development of large housing segments while depreciating association element of multi-family residential

buildings. The fenced settlements are delayed effect of the economic growth enforced by free market mechanisms. In various sociology of town papers they are interpreted as an evidence of disconnection between social and physical space, which was possible mostly thanks to town's 'creative social class' and its 'cultural capital' supported by the capital of real estate companies. This class manages the issues concerning the sub-urbanization, gentrification, culture of control, privatization of security – all so typical for the fenced settlements (Cesarski 2010b: 43–58). It connects its identity with ownership in socio-cultural space (Gądecki 2009).

Modern 'useless capital owners' class' changes the sociological emphasis of description of diversified opportunities of consumption of the urban inhabited space from considering class access to capital and means of production to access to individual consumption, which hides the social inequalities better (Bidet, Duménil 2011: 230–233). Ownership of capital and production means is unnecessary for the 'creative social class' to realize its interests which is basically large scale and elaborate consumption determined by its 'cultural capital'. From the long run perspective of towns' development this class becomes a destructive force (Pasquinelli 2010: 45–59; Harley: 60–84). Directly or indirectly it leads in development of the fenced settlements (Cesarski 2010b: 43–58).

Sociological studies of the guarded settlements are based on scientific approaches emphasizing the role of broadly understood culture in town's research. They encompass analysis of evolution of cultural and economic issues belonging to sociology and anthropology of the town (Gądecki 2009). Their evolution spans from the vision of post-capitalist society living in harmony with the nature present in the Chicago School to the neo-Marxist inspirations of Los Angeles School. The major element in researches of the latter is the influence of the new accumulation of capital on the spatial structure of the urbanized area (Kozielska 2008: 44–56). In that sense, the works of sociology of the town are being connected with the accomplishments of the anthropology of the town in search for a holistic approach based on category of physical space turned by man into the living space.

The guarded settlements are enclaves of prosperity which can't develop a social bond or more broadly social cohesion. They are immersed in the broad spectrum of socio-spatial diversity encompassing spaces of discrimination, social exclusion and social. The sociologist far more often than the social or the housing politician employs narration with a non-fiction plot. Such a narration allows Monika Oliwia-Ciesielska to analyze the physical and cultural aspect of marginalization and exclusion (Przymeński, Oliwia-Ciesielska 2014: 9–103, 191–199). It allows to analyze the interaction of the inhabitants in context of their social dissonances concerning the

neighborhood, alienation of the poor and social stigmatization which influences the inhabited space in terms of security and assistance. Inevitably this leads to physical dimension – the influence of the housing situation on perception of one's place within a society or a community – the inhabited space. 'The worse situated' people are cautious of their situation to a large extent because of the character of their flat and the nature of the inhabitation and living (ibidem).

4. Sociology of Housing – Global Challenges

The proposition to reorient the future reference point of the sociology of housing in global dimension must reach out further than the modern scope of its interests both in Poland and abroad. It must transcend the limitations of interconnection of the sociology of housing with the space of flat on one hand, and with the space of large residential complexes on the other (Jałowiecki, Szczepański 2009: 379–390). It should also reach over the boundaries of the sociology of the village, where the urbanization space continuum becomes increasingly significant and slowly eliminates the city-country dichotomy (Gorlach 2004: 7–49). The studies of Adam Andrzejewski conducted in the Sixties may be a departure point. He researched the relations between urbanization of town and of the village. He took into consideration the demographic and social changes as well as the evolution of the infrastructure directly influencing the development of housing in various spatial scale (Stasiak, Cesarski 2001: 179–201, 232–233). The studies of this type were continued (Andrzejewski, Cesarski, Majchrzak, Matuszewski, Stasiak 1997: 82–106; Cesarski 2008a: 20–23; Cesarski 2008b: 495–517).

While pursuing this lead, the understanding of the term 'flat' could be broadened to the potential boundaries of inhabitation defined in three dimensions borders of man's presence on Earth. The 'flat' becomes a flexible geographic form having common elements with the spatial planning (Goryński 1982: 17–40). The presented approach combines global perspective with philosophical thinking (Heidegger 1977: 316–336) and justifies the need to holistically approach the whole living space. Thus, it combines the space occupied by the 'flat' in technical (conventional), architectural and settlement sense – the inhabited space – as well as the natural environment complementing the living space (Andrzejewski 1987: 16–19; Cesarski 2001b: 351–366; Cesarski, 2005a: 54–72). The core of the inhabited space consists of conventional flats and other infrastructural objects bound with them in functional, spatial,

social and other ways (Andrzejewski 1974a: 138–150; Andrzejewski 1979: 25–38; Cesarski 1987: 21–37). The inhabited space encompasses also the spatial frames of settlement structures which provide other types of labor and public activity than the settlement infrastructure. Thus the inhabited space encompasses a defined housing infrastructure and inhabitation structure. Inhabited space perceived through such a perspective is identified and evaluated – also in spatial terms – based on the physical management. The inhabited space in narrow understanding is the sphere of settlement. Contrary to the living space it could be observed in practice as it is based on existing spatial management of the natural environment of man. The scope and the content of the living space become close to the ecologic space and its potential character (Kozłowski 2005: 310–329).

The presented logic of argumentation unveils the potential and fundamental role of the housing policy in management of development of the inhabited space. It points out more accurately the future broader goals of the sociology of housing in terms of monitoring and diagnosing the relations between social and physical space.

The flats, as the smallest isolated spatial micro-space attached to man are a constitutive element of inhabitation infrastructure. The concept of settlement infrastructure is the basis of the settlement policy as it provides for the sustainable development. In Anglo-Saxon literature the term settlement infrastructure is used for many years in papers concerning the settlement policy and human settlements (*An urbanizing...*, 1996, passim; Cesarski 2008b: 495–517). One can state that Poland lacks an integrated settlement policy. Polish studies of the sphere of settlement have interwar and earlier traditions not less valuable than the Western Europe, though. The measure of the complexity and of the broad character of the problem is the lack of synthesis of these researches and of a textbook concerning the settlement policy. Sociology of settlement is in an analogous situation – one has to base on translations of valuable but foreign papers (Castells 1982; Hamm 1990).

The key statement in terms of the future reference point of the sociology of housing in global perspective is that the development of settlement infrastructure, while being the fundament of the settlement policy, may also become a significant platform of authentic sustainable development. Up till now the concept follows the paradigm of economic development introduced in industrial revolution times with a slight ecologic touch. The basic dimensions of sustainable development: social, economic and ecologic, don't have a superior common platform, though. A platform which would form a central goal: sustainable development enabling the civilization development more oriented toward the human being. This dimension is shown by the sphere of settlement and in particular by the physically perceivable inhabited

space. A concept of settlement infrastructure may be a methodological solution to translate the complexity of the inhabited space into the operational perspective referring to such a meta-dimension. Generally the assumption is to center the effects of economic management on the sphere of settlement, that is in the living space and in particular in the inhabited space (Cesarski 2012b: 125–149). Such scientific structure is philosophically preceded by individual and non-physical development of inhabited space by subjectively experiencing the space and the physical act of moving (Madurowicz, 2009: 51–58; Buczyńska-Garewicz 2006: 5–44). Such act of creation is achievable for man as a social agent, living in primeval or local society which provide a traditional space of observation of sociology.

An approach based on systemic analysis is an effective one to analyze the relations between settlement infrastructure and sustainable development concept (Quade 1985: 13–55; Straszak 1985: 57–82). Settlement infrastructure fits the requirements of a system, which is a central category within the theory of systems. Systemic analysis is commonly used in studies concerning the sustainable development, including the new paradigm of this form of development, replacing the paradigm of economic growth (Clarck, Cruzten, Schellnhuber 2004: 1–28; Magnuszewski 2010: 44–70). Applying the systemic analysis to the sustainable development issues shows the potential to form a holistic system model in which we exist (Shaw 1994: 193–214; Soroczynski 2002: 133–138). Within the framework of the analysis one may find studies concentrated on the eco-development concept, where the spectrum of analysis encompasses the whole globe (Lyle 1999: 23–124). The functional and spatial criterion referring to the theory of systemic analysis emphasizes the integration capacity of the settlement infrastructure. It also demands interaction of the three dimensions of the sustainable development. The unique role of the settlement infrastructure is based on the opportunity to achieve the fundament for sustainable development.

Societies and local communities may be translated into social, economic and ecologic dimensions, which, when cleared of deformations, may become the elements of the sustainable development (Auty, Brown 1997: 3–20; Kośmicki, 1996: 97–112; Zabłocki 2002: 46–63; Cesarski 2012a: 9–25). The existence of the societies requires effective production respecting the natural resources and enabling common consumption and full employment of people who mainly provide basic goods and services fostering the feeling of community, order and balance. These issues are desirable elements of sustainable space of inhabitation, in particular inhabited space. The residential buildings, objects and both communal and social infrastructure facilities (like transportation infrastructure) are long term reproducible assets. These assets provide a material base for satisfying the basic social needs in terms of sedentary

life. The labor intensity and long-term exploitation, including renovation of flats and other construction elements of the settlement infrastructure, the requirement to adapt them to the changing ways of exploitation and developing the reserves for the future are desirable elements of the sustainable development concept.

Modern multidimensional evolution of the inhabited space, including urbanization space, delimitates the physical frames of social cohesion seen from the perspective of the Western civilization, including the European one (in EU terms). The right organization of the settlement infrastructure and of the relations between its elements in the regional and local dimension provide a fundament for sustainable development. The size and the relations of the settlement infrastructure determine the availability of the inhabited space and the standards of its exploitation which are decisive for sustainable development success. In Europe 2020 strategy and in other EU documents connected with it, the term 'settlement infrastructure' is not employed, though. There are no statements concerning the function and the spatial types of this infrastructure, its position in context of spatial planning and management or a temporary horizon of its introduction. Mainly because of these reasons the social cohesion policy's role in EU practice plays secondary role to the stimulation of the economic growth. The economic growth paradigm does not favor the true sustainability of the inhabited space and living space as understood within sustainable development concept. Thus, from EU perspective it's difficult to discuss the social economy and the progress of social cohesion at the regional level (Cesarski 2014b: 35–46).

The future sociology of housing, while adapting the global understanding of the term 'flat' should incorporate the sociology of settlement, that is sociology of town and sociology of village and sociology of rural areas by transgressing the inhabited space, including the urbanization space, and reach out to the places where man lives and where man frequents. It should become the sociology of living space which may far more significantly warn against the threat of excessive costs of civilization development introduced by wrong decisions in terms of social and physical space, especially in context of a crisis of practical influence of social sciences as the neoliberal economic crisis continues.

The sustainable development is not entirely achievable perspective which could be analyzed only in terms of opportunities. Because of the political and business resistance there is a need for grassroots actions to develop ecological consciousness and social justice, including intergenerational one. Thus, the traditional reference points of the sociology of housing and settlement do not disappear. This category of

sociology transforms into sociology of living space. However, its scope has to broaden significantly.

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