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SOCIAL RESILIENCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC. THE CASE OF THE GDANSK – GDYNIA – SOPOT METROPOLITAN AREA IN POLAND

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ABSTRACT

Motives: Social resilience is increasingly attracting the interest of researchers and practitioners due to the need to stabilize and adapt societies to new challenges. These challenges result from successive crises, including pandemics. The answer lies in understanding, exploring, and building social resilience.
Aim: The theoretical aim of the article is to identify the components of social resilience based on a review of international literature. The empirical aim is to present a methodology and to examine social resilience based on a survey.
Results: The results show that social resilience is determined by the resources and capital of individuals or households. Among them, social, human, financial and material capital should be distinguished. The surveyed respondents were characterized by high social resilience to the crisis caused by the pandemic due to their predominantly young age, good education, and extensive social contacts despite limited financial and material resources.

Keywords: social resilience, adaptability, Gdańsk, resources, capitals, survey

INTRODUCTION

The concept of resilience refers to various dimensions and components, and their interrelationships that allow us to understand and interpret this concept. The basic dimensions of resilience include environmental, economic, institutional, and social dimensions, while its components include spatial, infrastructural, environmental (i.e. adaptation to climate change; Kalbarczyk & Piegat, 2021), social, and cultural components (Irani & Rahnamayiezekavat, 2021; Masik, 2022).

Initially, the concept of resilience originated in the natural sciences, whereas now it encompasses not only natural or ecological aspects, but is also rooted in the social sciences and, as mentioned above, refers to the social dimension. In social resilience, as well as in social vulnerability, a research pattern has been adopted in line with the constructivist tradition, where the subjective factor of human perception and value is an important consideration (Miller et al., 2010). The social dimension of resilience (social resilience and community resilience) has become an increasingly important area of interest for researchers due to the

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consequences for societies resulting from various types of threats (Adger, 2000; Norris et al., 2008; Obrist et al., 2010; Quinlan et al., 2016).

At the beginning of this century, Adger (2000, p. 347) referred to social resilience. According to the cited author, social resilience is "the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political, and environmental change." These stresses can be various types of continuous or sudden threats, known as shocks or crises. These include financial, economic, geopolitical and public health crises, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Social resilience is also understood as the ability of various actors to access capital in order not only to overcome or adapt to unfavorable conditions (reactive capacity), but also as the ability to seek and create new opportunities (proactive capacity) (Obrist et al., 2010). Research on social resilience emphasizes the importance of livelihood, which includes financial resources, but also other resources and capitals (Speranza et al., 2014).

Although the livelihoods approach is derived from the concept of sustainable development (Sustainable Livelihoods Approach; Chambers & Conway, 1992; Weichselgartner & Kelman, 2015), it is a key perspective in social resilience research. Livelihoods, broadly defined, are the fundamental determinants that result from the possessed human capital, participation, i.e. influence on political and social processes, and social capital, including social networks (Adger et al., 2002). Therefore, in a new study in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the following types of capital related to social resilience can be distinguished: human capital, community capital, social and cultural capital, as well as social cohesion, social networks, social trust, risk knowledge, and the demographic characteristics of societies (Alizadeh & Sharifi, 2021). As part of the social capital, Aldrich (2012) points to the importance of linking social capital. It is defined as the relationship between individuals and local governments, administrations or leaders. It is therefore a capital that allows for the empowerment of individuals and social groups and an appropriate response of both parties to possible future threats.

The aim of this article was to examine social resilience, taking into account the resources and capitals possessed by individuals or households. The survey assessed the respondents' financial and material resources as well as human and social capital. The respondents' self-assessment provided an original insight into individual social resilience in the face of the challenge of the public health crisis. This type of research provides a new perspective on social issues in the context of future crises and allows the identification of those characteristics of society that may constitute potential resilience to threats of both natural and non-natural origin.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As noted in the Introduction section, social resilience refers to the adaptive capacity of people during a crisis (Copeland et al., 2020). The study of social resilience during a pandemic is particularly relevant. Many recent studies suggest extending the concepts of social capital and resilience to a pandemic case (Alizadeh & Sharifi, 2021; Champlin et al., 2023; Fraser & Aldrich, 2021; e.g. Kimhi et al., 2020; Schubert et al., 2024). Research on social resilience has identified the resources and capitals possessed by individuals, households or societies that can become useful when adverse events occur. The size of these capitals, their number, diversity and balance in their possession positively affect the resilience of societies. Moreover, it should be noted that the more capital individuals or households have at their disposal, the more opportunities they have to protect their livelihoods, and therefore the more resilient they are (Speranza et al., 2014).

Despite the increasing number of studies on resilience, many analyses underestimate the role of social capital in the process of adaptation to adverse events, which has been particularly highlighted by Gong and Hassink (2017). Although resilience related to human and social capital has been studied in the regional perspective (Sagan & Masik, 2014), these issues have been ignored in many studies.

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The importance of social capital was emphasized by Walker et al. (2004) who noted that the adaptive capacity of social groups with higher levels of social capital implies a higher degree of resilience in the process of adapting to adverse events. Research conducted by Kaya and Eraydin (2012), and Kakderi and Tasopoulou (2017) suggests that social groups with networks of connections are less sensitive to crises, and thus have a greater adaptability to changing circumstances. Strong social ties allow for better information exchange, joint activities and better support in the event of threats, creating the so-called "informal insurance".

Recent studies on social resilience have considered the role of bridging and bonding social capital in the response of regions to crises in the context of economic diversification. Their findings indicate that economic diversification (as well as personal skills and qualifications) allows for the building of bridging capital in society. However, bridging social capital is not crucial in the first phase of the crisis. Then, it is the bonding capital that makes societies more resilient to shocks (Antonietti & Boschma, 2021). This is due to the fact that close non-work ties allow people to keep their jobs, even temporarily, or to get a new job quickly.

Other studies highlighting the importance of social capital (Bristow & Healy, 2014) point to the importance of positive relationships between employers and employees as key to mitigating the negative effects of the crisis. The issues concerning employers and enterprises in general have been highlighted by Graddy-Reed and Feldman (2015) who noted that enterprises engaged in social innovation are more active in periods of recession and tend to address environmental issues and support local communities. Therefore, it should be emphasized that social innovations are conducive to building adaptability over a longer period of time. In turn, Huggins and Thompson (2015) demonstrated that local culture and its openness as well as population activity may be more important for building resilience by strengthening entrepreneurship than the classic focus on economic growth. For example, residents and entrepreneurs of metropolitan and suburban areas, who are more active and entrepreneurial, have higher levels of human and social capital, and are better prepared for economic shocks (Di Caro, 2015).

Community resilience is a similar but slightly different category. According to Norris et al. (2008), community resilience is a process that combines adaptive capacity with a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation following disruptions. Community resilience refers to a small group of people living in a city or neighborhood, while social resilience is a more general category in many studies. However, researchers often use these terms interchangeably, which is not correct. In this context, the behavioral change perspective within social resilience research should be mentioned (Champlin et al., 2023). Such studies conducted in cities actually refer to community resilience.

Research on social resilience also highlights the importance of physical (material) resources that can become capital if used to minimize losses caused by the crisis. Pelling (2003) draws particular attention to the importance of tangible capital through the example of property ownership, which is one of the most important forms of capital, especially for the poor. For example, by owning an apartment, they do not have to rent it on the market or from the city, and thus have more resources at their disposal.

Having a job is also important in determining the level of resilience to threats. Meekes and Hassink (2019) studied the resilience of working people in the context of the housing market. This type of research focuses on the characteristics of the people participating in it and their position on the labor market. In general, it should be noted that skilled workers with high incomes have a relatively strong position on the labor market, while younger people at the beginning of their careers are in a weaker position. For this reason, the latter are characterized by lower social resilience.

Summarizing the issues of social resilience, it should be noted that there are more and more studies related to this dimension of resilience, but in most of them social resilience is not indicated as a key.

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Social resilience, if one indicates not only the importance of capitals, but also the causal role of social, economic or local and regional government actors connected with a network of contacts, finds common issues with the institutional resilience / agency perspective (Masik, 2018, 2021). For this reason, in some studies, the agency perspective is associated with social or local resilience, where it is indicated that the resilience of local communities lies in the mobilization of residents, while the resilience of local authorities concerns the readiness to take anticipatory actions and appropriate measures (Chmutina et al., 2016). The above issues are also taken into account in social resilience research.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The literature review has shown that the available resources and capital have a positive effect on social resilience. In order to measure the social resilience of individuals during external threats (in this case the health crisis caused by the pandemic), a survey was conducted using the Goole Forms internet tool among geography and spatial planning students at the University of Gdańsk. The research was carried out between November 2020 and January 2021, i.e. during the second wave of the COVID-19 pandemic in Poland, and between November 2021 and February 2022, i.e. during the fourth and fifth waves of the pandemic. The students were asked to send the form to ten people in their family or circle of friends for completion and to have them send the form to two more people. This created a relatively large research sample. In the first and the second stage of the study, 735 and 368 completed questionnaires were returned, respectively, giving a total of 1,103 completed forms. Due to the slight differences in the responses obtained for the two research periods, the results of the survey were combined and discussed together.

With the simplified assumption that each of the 87 students involved has a total of one hundred contacts (the average number declared by the students) to whom they could send the questionnaire, i.e. friends and close and extended family members, the population in the study amounted to 8,700 people. Relating the number of received questionnaires to the population of the "students' family and friends" and assuming a random selection of the sample, i.e. random sending of a link with the questionnaire by the students to their family and friends, the result of the survey as a whole can be considered as representative at the level of plus/minus 3%. The survey is not representative of other populations. The presented results should be treated as a kind of research proposal presenting the method of assessing individual social resilience.

The present study considered measures of social resilience (e.g. Masik, 2020), including questions and surveys recommended by the OECD (Figueiredo et al., 2018). This implies, among other things, the use of dichotomous and Likert scales in survey research and, as well as questions related to possible support from different institutions. The questions related to crisis resilience concerned the level of social capital, expressed through the network of social contacts, including, in particular, the possibility of obtaining financial support, the possibility of finding a job with the help of family or friends, possible help from neighbors and involvement in local affairs, as well as raising qualifications. The research took into account the basic demographic and social characteristics of the respondents, such as gender, age and education, as well as additional characteristics that also indicate greater or lesser social resilience, i.e. the number of children, paid work, assessment of own income, material resources such as real estate and a declaration of financial resources. The analysis was performed using the SPSS program and the results were presented using structural graphs and cross tables, taking into account the number of responses in individual categories and statistical significance at a level lower than 0.05.

RESULTS

Approximately 64% of women and 36% of men participated in the study. 59% of the respondents were 18–24 years old, 27% were 25–44 years old,

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11% were 45–64 years old, and 3% were 65 years old or older. Thus, the vast majority of respondents were of the mobile working age (86%), i.e. people who could probably adapt most easily to unfavorable crisis phenomena, e.g. by changing their job or place of residence. Among the respondents, 37% were people with higher education, 53% with secondary education, only 6% with vocational secondary education, and 4% with primary education. The results of the study should therefore be applied to better educated people, including those who are studying and have noy yet received a diploma.

Additional questions were included in the survey to define the characteristics of the respondents in terms of work performed, financial and material resources, and having children (which indicates their potential adaptability). Among the respondents, 37% worked without pay, studied or did not work, while 63% worked for pay. The characteristics of the employment status and income suggest that most of the respondents had an income and were employed, which favors greater resilience. This implies potentially high social resilience.

When assessing financial resources, the respondents were asked to report their income and savings. As many as 79% of the respondents considered their own or their household's income to be sufficient, and only 21% of them considered it to be insufficient. 25% of the respondents admitted that they had significant savings, and 75% of them declared that they had little or no savings. The respondents' assessment of their financial capital was inconclusive. On the one hand, the vast majority of the respondents felt that their income was sufficient, and on the other hand, most of them had little or no savings. These characteristics suggest that the respondents were potentially vulnerable to crises in terms of financial resources.

Similarly, the lack of material (physical) resources implies greater sensitivity, therefore the respondents were asked about property ownership (or family ownership). The survey revealed that 68% of the respondents owned some property (e.g. an apartment) or the family owned such a property, while the remaining 32% of the respondents, gave a negative answer. A relatively large group of respondents without real estate results from the sample selection. The sample was largely composed of students who rented an apartment on the market. The same applies to the number of children. Namely, as many as 77% of the respondents had no children, 10% had one child, 11% had two children, and 2% had three or more children. A large group of respondents were residents of the Tri-City (Gdynia, Gdańsk and Sopot, and their suburbs, i.e. 73% in total). Many respondents indicated other places of residence from all over Poland, including large cities and small rural areas. In general, it can be assumed that the majority of the respondents were residents of the Gdańsk – Gdynia – Sopot Metropolitan Area and large and medium-sized cities.

When describing the respondents in general, it should be noted that they were predominantly women, young people, and those with secondary or higher education. A large proportion of the respondents worked and earned an income, but they did not have significant savings or real estate, which implies potential vulnerability to crises. At the same time, most of the respondents had no children and lived in larger urban centers or suburbs, which in turn promotes greater resilience.

The social resilience survey has shown that only 22% of the respondents attended meetings held by social organizations, meetings with neighbors, town/community residents, etc. to resolve a problem in the past year (Fig. 1). This is a low percentage considering that the respondents were young and relatively well-educated. In addition, 44% of the respondents declared that they would get help from their neighbors if they had a problem. These results may indicate that the respondents have more contacts within local communities than within social organizations, and may point to a certain passivity: the respondents can rely on the support from their neighbors in case of problems, but they are less actively involved in solving problems. This suggests that the level of linking social capital was not high, which has a negative impact on social resilience.

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Fig. 1. Assessment of social and human capital
Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

The majority of the respondents (65%) reported that they participated in training or attended courses to improve their skills, or studied. This proportion is high due to the sample selection. An even higher percentage of respondents (77%) indicated that they would potentially receive support from family or friends when changing or starting a new job, and 96% of them indicated that they would receive support from family or friends in case of financial problems. This means that despite the relatively low participation of the respondents in non-family social networks, they believed that they would receive help in finding a job and financial assistance. These results indicate that bonding social capital is more important than bridging capital for the respondents' social resilience (adaptability). The first type of capital is particularly important in the short term during the crisis (Antonietti & Boschma, 2021). These findings also suggest that the respondents are more resilient in the short run, when family and social networks are more important, and less resilient in the long run, when it is important to have higher bridging social capital for employment and income.

The above survey results apply to all respondents. However, it is interesting to examine the relationships between the answers to the questions and the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents. In order to examine these relationships, cross-tables developed with SPSS software were used. Due to the small numbers expected in some table cells, the statistical significance of less than 0.05 does not apply to all results. The results in cells for which no statistical significance was found using the Chi-square test are marked in bold. Only those tables for which differences were found between the categories of responses to the questions and the sociodemographic characteristics were included in the manuscript.

An analysis of the cross-tables revealed no significant differences between the respondents' level of education and the likelihood of receiving support in case of financial problems. Thus, education had no effect on this question. The situation was different when considering the possibility of receiving support from family and friends when changing or starting a new job (following the loss of a previous job). The survey results show that older people are slightly less likely to declare such a possibility (Table 1), suggesting that their networks of contacts are somewhat less extensive.

Table 1. Support from family and friends when changing or starting a new job across age groups (in %)

Response categories	18–24 years	25–44 years	45–64 years	65 years and more	Total
Yes	78	76	72	64	77
No	22	24	28	**36**	23

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

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The relationship between the possibility of getting help from neighbors in case of problems and the respondents' level of education is also interesting. Although in this case the statistical significance was lower than 0.075, it can be noted that individuals with primary and vocational secondary education can more often rely on the help offered by their neighbors (Table 2). These social groups are less cut off from neighborly relations due to their importance for daily functioning as a result of relatively lower financial resources than the groups with higher education. In the present study, the members of these groups were usually older people, suggesting that the older generation is more concerned with socializing with people from their immediate environment.

Table 2. Neighbors' help in case of problems and the respondents' level of education (in %)

Response categories	Primary	Vocational secondary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total
Yes	45	63	38	47	44
No	55	37	62	53	56

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

The respondents with higher education (as well as those with vocational secondary education, although their numbers were smaller) reported attending meetings held by social organizations or meetings with neighbors dedicated to solving problems more often than the respondents with secondary education (Table 3). This implies that the former are more likely to engage in social networks (which support social resilience) for the above purposes and, as mentioned above, are less likely to form neighborhood networks.

Table 3. Participation in meetings to solve problems and the respondents' level of education (in %)

Response categories	Primary	Vocational secondary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total
Yes	25	28	16	30	22
No	75	72	84	70	78

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

The above issues related to participation in social life, improvement of qualifications and the possibility of receiving help from family, friends or neighbors, i.e. referring to social and human capital together with financial and material capital, determine the ability to adapt in the event of crisis phenomena. The capital possessed indicates that a large group of respondents is characterized by a relatively high level of resilience, in other words a high level of adaptability to changing circumstances. The latter term was used in the survey because of its common understanding. The respondents were directly asked how they assess their ability to adapt to various types of social and economic changes and crises. The survey results show that 9% of the respondents rate their ability as very high, 37 as high, and the largest group, i.e. 47%, as average (Fig. 2). These findings indicate a relatively high level of adaptability to crisis phenomena: many more respondents reported very high and high adaptability than very low and low adaptability. This result is in line with the general assessment of the capital held, which in a way proves the reliability of the completed questionnaires.

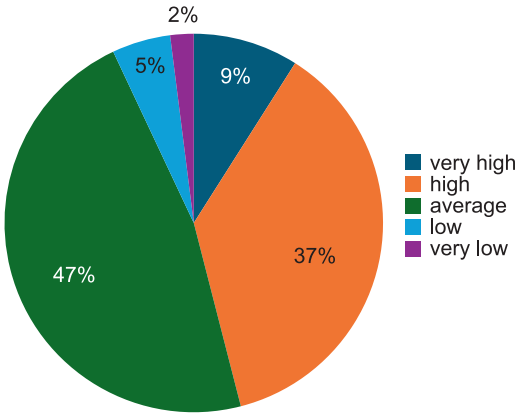

Fig. 2. General assessment of the possibility of adapting to various types of social and economic changes and crises

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

Similarly to the assessment of social and human capital as influenced by the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents, an analysis of the general self-assessment of adaptability as a function of these characteristics was carried out using cross-tables. The numbers of observations that are too small for the result to be statistically significant

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are marked in bold. The results of the study indicate that, compared to women, men are slightly more likely to believe that they have a higher ability to adapt to adverse crisis phenomena (Table 4). Women most often reported average adaptability, which may be associated with their lower overall self-esteem, but also with women's lower employment opportunities and lower average wages.

Table 4. Overall assessment of adaptability (social resilience) and gender (in %)

Response categories	Female	Male	Total
Very high	7	13	9
High	30	49	37
Average	56	31	47
Low	5	5	5
Very low	2	**1**	1

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

Most respondents in the youngest age group described their adaptability as average (Table 5). On the other hand, people aged 25–44 were more likely to describe their adaptability was high. These results corroborate those of Doran and Fingleton (2016) who found that middle-aged people (and men, as also mentioned above) were more resilient. Therefore, younger people may be more vulnerable to crises due to a weaker position in the labor market resulting from less stable employment and lower occupational skills compared to middle-aged people.

Table 5. Overall assessment of adaptability across age groups (in %)

Response categories	18–24 years	25–44 years	45–64 years	65 years and more	Total
Very high	9	11	6	**7**	9
High	35	44	28	**7**	37
Average	46	40	66	71	47
Low	7	**2**	**1**	**14**	5
Very low	2	**1**	**0**	**0**	1

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

The above hypothesis is partially confirmed by the results of the study of the relationship between the general assessment of adaptability and education. A large group (11%) of the respondents with higher education assessed their opportunities on the labor market and concluded that their adaptability was very high (Table 6). A slightly smaller proportion of those with secondary education felt the same way, while the small number of those with primary and vocational secondary education does not allow for such a clear assessment.

Table 6. Overall assessment of adaptability and the respondents' level of education (in %)

Response categories	Primary	Vocational secondary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total
Very high	**4**	**17**	8	11	9
High	37	31	35	40	37
Average	52	45	49	46	47
Low	**4**	**3**	6	3	5
Very low	**4**	**3**	3	**0**	1

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

The respondents who did unpaid work (e.g. at home) or studied (slightly more often) rated their adaptability as average or low, compared to those who earned income from work (Table 7). Thus, income opportunities may affect the ability to adapt to health crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic, but this hypothesis could not be fully confirmed because the difference between the analyzed categories was too small.

Table 7. General assessment of adaptability and work performance (in %)

Response categories	No salary / I'm studying	Work for pay	Total
Very high	6	11	9
High	32	41	37
Average	52	44	47
Low	8	3	5
Very low	2	**1**	1

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

An analysis of the relationship between the adaptability and work performance is consistent with the assessment of the earned income (Table 8). The respondents who found their income to be suffi-

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cient rated their adaptability as very high (11%) or high (40%). The respondents who considered their income to be insufficient evaluated their adaptability as lower, usually average (54%).

Table 8. General assessment of adaptability and the earned income (in %)

Response categories	Income is sufficient	Income is insufficient	Total
Very high	11	4	9
High	41	27	37
Average	44	55	47
Low	4	10	5
Very low	**1**	4	1

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

However, no strong correlation was found between property ownership and the assessment of adaptability. This is due to the sample selection, where the majority of young people (the so-called millennials) do not equate tangible capital (e.g. owning an apartment) with stabilization and greater opportunities to counteract crises.

The correlation is evident when we take into account the declaration of savings and the perception of adaptability. A large group of respondents with high savings described their adaptability as very high (14%), and the largest group (44%) of the respondents rated it as high (Table 9). Thus, financial capital, which is more mobile than physical capital, has a greater impact on the perceived ability to adapt to crises and supports the social resilience of individuals.

Table 9. Overall assessment of adaptability and financial capital (savings) (in %)

Response categories	High savings	Little or no savings	Total
Very high	14	7	9
High	44	35	37
Average	39	50	47
Low	**2**	6	5
Very low	**1**	2	1

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

The number of children affected the perception of adaptability to a small extent. The proportion of people who reported a high level of adaptability who had no children or one child was slightly lower than the proportion of people with two children (Table 10). The majority of respondents in each of the analyzed categories described their adaptability as average. Due to the small number of respondents with three or more children, no clear conclusions could be drawn.

Table 10. Overall assessment of adaptability and the number of children (in %)

Response categories	No children	One child	Two children	Three or more children
Very high	10	13	**5**	**13**
High	37	38	42	**31**
Average	45	45	53	50
Low	**7**	**0**	**0**	**6**
Very low	**2**	**3**	**0**	**0**

Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

In summary, the respondents were asked about the importance of limiting their own consumption, material use, and spatial mobility in order to counteract possible future crises resulting from the instability of natural systems. Such an approach

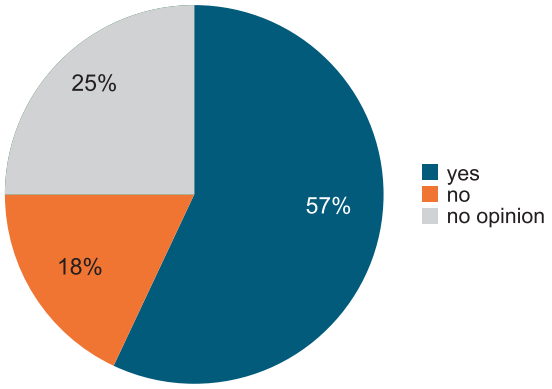

Fig. 3. Assessment that indicates an attitude, consistent with transformative activities, that one should limit one's own consumption, material use, and spatial mobility in order to prevent future crises resulting from the impact of natural systems on societies
Source: own elaboration based on the survey.

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is in line with transformative activities and policies, and represents the most far-reaching stage in the implementation of the concept of resilience (Bristow & Healy, 2020). The result of the survey is optimistic, as 57% of the respondents agreed that such activities should be undertaken (Fig. 3). Only 18% disagreed with the above statement and the remaining group (26%) did not have a specific opinion on this issue.

There were no differences between the above statement and the respondents' place of residence. Both urban and rural residents expressed the above opinions to a similar extent. Such positive attitudes towards transformative activities that contribute to reducing vulnerability to future crises are likely to be a result of the young age of the respondents and their relatively high level of education, as mentioned above. The declaration of participation in training (Fig. 1) also confirms the importance of human capital in the adoption of transformative attitudes.

CONCLUSIONS

The theoretical aim of the article was to identify the components of social resilience, as described in the literature review section. Research on social resilience in the context of the health crisis is a relatively new research field in social sciences, including socioeconomic geography. Social resilience, which refers to a society's ability to respond to disruptions and to constantly adapt to changing circumstances, results essentially from human and social capital, financial and material resources. Going further, "social capital stresses that people provide, access, and use resources embedded within their social networks" (Champlin et al., 2023, p. 3). Especially during a pandemic, enhancing social resilience requires "strengthening collectivistic values, personal responsibilities and social networks on the other" (Schubert et al., 2024, p. 1).

In the context of social resilience and social networks, the results of the current study indicate that the majority of respondents can rely on support from family and friends in case of financial difficulties or job search, while less support is expected from local authorities. This implies that the importance of bonding social capital is essential in the initial phase of the crisis. In the context of health, other studies have demonstrated that communities with stronger bridging social capital had a greater adaptive capacity during the COVID-19 pandemic. After initial peaks, stronger bridging ties led to a faster decline in infection rates, due to a willingness to adopt new health behaviors (Fraser & Aldrich, 2021).

Research results also show that younger and more educated people can rely on such support more often, which indicates their greater social resilience. However, some studies (e.g. Alizadeh & Sharifi, 2021, p. 6) revealed that "individuals with no academic education and young people (up to 20 years old) have experienced more impacts on the state of social resilience during the pandemic". In the present study, males, people who worked for pay, had sufficient income, and reported having savings were characterized by greater social resilience or adaptability to adverse phenomena. The respondents with low levels of education, the elderly and the unemployed were less resilient. Other studies have also shown that the elderly are generally vulnerable to adverse events (Kimhi, 2020). According to the respondents, support from family and friends and, to a lesser extent, help from neighbors or local authorities have an impact on increasing resilience in the event of a crisis. The results of this study contrast with other studies conducted in Switzerland and Singapore, countries with high levels of institutional capital. They indicate, referring to the linking social capital as defined by Aldrich (2012), that "cooperation with and their trust in their leaders turned to be relatively higher compared to the cooperation of residents amongst each other" (Schubert et al., 2024, p. 1).

Finally, it should be emphasized that mainly women, young people, and people with secondary or higher education participated in the survey. A large proportion of the respondents worked and earned an income, did not have children and lived in large urban centers or their suburbs, which contributed to their greater social resilience. However, the respondents generally did not have significant savings or real estate,

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which implies potential vulnerability to crises. Due to the predominance of the social group described above, further research is recommended on other more vulnerable groups, in particular: (1) the elderly, (2) those living in peripheral areas and (3) those in sensitive occupations. Such studies can guide public policy interventions to make societies more resilient to future crises.

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