



SCIENCES
D SOCIOLOGY

Włodzimierz Wesołowski
Kazimierz M. Słomczyński

45424

INVESTIGATIONS
ON CLASS STRUCTURE
AND SOCIAL
STRATIFICATION
IN POLAND

1945-1975

THE POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIOLOGY

Włodzimierz Wesołowski
Kazimierz M. Słomczyński

45424

INVESTIGATIONS
ON CLASS STRUCTURE
AND SOCIAL
STRATIFICATION
IN POLAND

1945-1975

WARSZAWA 1977

Cover design
EDWARD KOSTKA

45424



P. 45424



Publisher: The Institute of Philosophy and Sociology
of the Polish Academy of Sciences
tel. 26-52-31 ex. 97
00-330 Warszawa, Nowy Świat 72

Okladkę drukowano w Warszawskiej Drukarni Naukowej, W-wa, Śniadeckich 8
Zam. 177/77

5.12.78
A. 209/88
<http://rcin.org.pl>

C o n t e n t s

| | |
|--|----|
| INTRODUCTION: EARLY PERIOD | 5 |
| 1. The historical background | 5 |
| 2. The period 1945-1956 | 7 |
| PART ONE: THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS | 10 |
| 1. S. Ossowski's Analitical Approach | 10 |
| 2. J. Hochfeld's Marxist Approach | 16 |
| 3. J. Szczepański's Global Approach | 25 |
| 4. Continuation and Extension of the Marxist Approach | 32 |
| PART TWO: EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATIONS | 43 |
| I. <u>1. Development and Types of Empirical Inves-</u> <u>tigation</u> | 43 |
| 2. Sociological Surveys | 45 |
| 3. Studies on Local Communities | 46 |
| 4. Investigations of Factories | 47 |
| 5. Monographs of Social Classes and Occupa- tional Categories | 48 |
| 6. Studies of Life Histories based on Eye- witness Accounts and Memoirs | 50 |
| II. <u>7. Class Structure and its Component Segments</u> . | 52 |
| 8. The Analysis of Global Class Structure | 52 |
| 9. The Working Class | 55 |
| 10. The Peasantry | 58 |
| 11. The Intelligentsia | 60 |
| III. <u>12. Class Structure and Occupational Differen-</u> <u>tiation</u> | 63 |
| 13. Social Classes and Occupational Groups | 63 |
| 14. Hierarchies of Occupations | 66 |
| 15. Class, Occupations and Standard of Living | 69 |
| IV. <u>16. Cultural Consumptions, Style of Life and</u> <u>Value System</u> | 70 |
| 17. Levels of Cultural Consumption | 71 |

| | | |
|------|--|-----------|
| 18. | Cultural Consumption and its Conditioning . . | 73 |
| 19. | Style of Life | 75 |
| 20. | The Value System | 76 |
| V. | <u>21. Class Structure and Occupational Prestige . .</u> | <u>78</u> |
| | 22. Investigations of Occupational Prestige in Various Environments | 78 |
| | 23. Occupational Prestige and the Value System . | 81 |
| | 24. International Comparisons | 82 |
| VI. | <u>25. Psychological Aspects of Social Structure . .</u> | <u>83</u> |
| | 26. Common Images of Social Structure | 84 |
| | 27. Class Self-identification | 86 |
| | 28. Evaluation of Position in the Social Hierarchy | 88 |
| VII. | <u>29. Investigation of Social Mobility</u> | <u>89</u> |
| | 30. Investigations on National Samples | 90 |
| | 31. Rural Migration to Towns and Social Mobility. | 92 |
| | 32. Investigations of Intergenerational and Intragenerational Mobility in Towns . . | 93 |
| | FOOTNOTES | 95 |

INTRODUCTION: EARLY PERIOD

Studies on class structure, social stratification and mobility are among the most developed of all branches of sociological investigation in Poland. This is due to many factors, among which the following should be mentioned:

- 1/ the established tradition of this type of study in Polish sociology,
- 2/ the rapid transformations of Polish society after the Second World War which were brought about by the socialist revolution and were characterised by the nationalization of industry, agrarian reform, industrialization, urbanization and cultural changes,
- 3/ the impact of Marxist theory on the social sciences, which was already felt in the period 1918-1939 but which has been intensified since 1945.

1. The historical background

As early as the twenties, a research centre was established in Warsaw in which the class structure of the

Polish society was studied intensively. This was the Institute for Social Economy under the directorship of L. Krzywicki, a prominent scholar of Marxist persuasion. Among the collaborators of the Institute were M. Kalecki, L. Landau and S. Rychliński. Many empirical investigations carried out under the auspices of the Institute were founded on Marxist assumptions, especially those which dealt with the composition of the labour force, unemployment and the life conditions of the working class¹.

The second important research centre, namely the Institute for Social Problems of the Village, was established in the middle of the 30's and its task was to study the problems of the Polish peasantry. Agriculture faced acute problems at that time. Great fragmentation of the land among the peasantry and great concentration of the land in landlords' agricultural estates, overpopulation of villages and primitive living conditions of peasants were the salient features of the situation. The prospects for change and modernization belonged to the crucial issues.

The Institute, under the directorship of J. Chałasiński, collected 1544 life - histories of young peasants in which they described their life and work conditions, their perception of social reality and their cultural and political aspirations. The analysis of those 1544 personal documents appeared just before the outbreak of the Second World War. It was a 4-volume study, The Young Generation of Peasants, in which J. Chałasiński reconstructed the social world as it was seen by young peasants². The crucial feature of his reconstruction was the division of the Polish culture into two completely sepa-

rated parts, that of "lords" and that of "peasants". According to the young peasants' perceptions, the group of "lords" embraced not only landlords but also all upper strata of society, including the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia strata /free professions/. Young peasants felt completely blocked in their life chances by upper strata and spoke of themselves as the "underclass". At the same time they saw the peasantry as a class which plays an essential role in the survival of the nation, both economically and politically.

Above we have only mentioned the most important studies carried out during the pre-war period and we have selected only those that have greater theoretical significance. Many other studies had been completed which established the basis for various contemporary attempts, mostly by historians, to give an overall picture of class structure in Poland before the Second World War.

2. The period 1945-1956

After the Second World War Polish sociology continued its interests, although under new circumstances. The great social transformation brought about by the socialist revolution pointed out the importance of the phenomena of class structure, class interests and class actions. It should have given a new impetus to sociological empirical studies. However, the new works which appeared emphasized particularly theoretical and political interests. Two authors should be mentioned here, both of whom were professors at the newly created University of Łódź, an industrial town and working class

centre. J. Chałasiński provoked the nation-wide discussion in the Polish intelligentsia, its social origin, snobbery and exclusiveness. He described Polish intelligentsia as descendants of Polish nobility, both genealogically and culturally. His book, The Social Genealogy of the Polish Intelligentsia /1946/³, presented the same theoretical assumptions of "class formation" as those in The Young Generation of Peasants. These assumptions stemmed from the "humanistic sociology" founded in Znaniecki's works.

A year later, Introduction to the Theory of Marxism, by Adam Schaff, appeared and was widely read and discussed⁴. This book included a chapter on Marx's theory of classes. In another chapter it presented an explanation of some specific features of the revolutionary changes in Poland. The peculiarities of class structure in pre-revolutionary Polish society were taken into account in the explanation concerning such economical and political phenomena as the agrarian reforms and political alliance between working class and peasant parties.

A much more empirical orientation prevailed at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. There, under the direction of K. Dobrowolski, a series of monographs on social and cultural change within traditional communities were designed. They focused on selected villages and small towns and attempted to present a thorough description of long-term changes. Special attention was paid to spontaneous processes as well as to the "cultural disharmony" introduced by new patterns of behaviour or new instruments of production. The class structure of a com-

munity was always a subject of analysis and description. These studies have given insight into the complex and intricate class structure of some villages and small towns in the southern region of Poland. Results of these studies were published at a later time in the beginning of the sixties⁵.

An interesting project on working class people was also designed by the same research group. It dealt with the new post-war scheme to promote material well-being and the cultural advancement of workers. Trade Unions took over privately owned pensions in what were before the war exclusive resorts, thus creating new conditions for workers' holidays. Workers were encouraged to spend their vacation in luxury conditions, a style they had never experienced previously. The research project was carried out in 1949 and 1950 in Zakopane, a well-known mountain resort. The team studied the adjustment of workers to the new patterns of leisure time, their anxieties, difficulties, relations with white collar workers, and rising aspirations⁶.

S. Ossowski and S. Nowakowski of Warsaw University started empirical investigations on Polish peasant communities located in the Western territories regained from Germany. These investigations were primarily aimed at the explanation of the survival of Polish folk culture and national identity in those communities which were under German domination over the centuries⁷.

In the following years, 1949-1956 an unfavourable climate toward sociology in general and empirical sociological research in particular, prevented the expansion of both sociology and empirical research. Nevertheless,

some projects were continued and some new ones started. Under the direction of J.Hochfeld and Nowakowski a project was designed and carried out at Warsaw University - it reconstructed the formation of working class consciousness on the basis of memoirs of nearly 5000 persons⁸. At the Polish Academy of Sciences another project under J. Szczepański and J. Hochfeld had the ambitious task of investigating the working class and intelligentsia in the new social and political system. This project specifically included such aspects of class transformations as changing internal composition of both classes, their life and work conditions and their political attitudes. This project was greatly extended in 1956 - 60 and resulted in a series of monographs published under Szczepański's editorship in the 60's⁹.

From 1956 a favorable climate for sociological research opened the way for the expansion of sociological centres and resulted in projects covering almost all fields of interest. Investigations on class structure composed a substantial part of those projects. The development of empirical research has been paralleled and stimulated by the theoretical considerations. Both types of studies, theoretical and empirical, will command our attention in subsequent sections¹⁰.

PART ONE: THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

1. S. Ossowski's analytical approach

S.Ossowski's book, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, was met with great interest in Poland and abroad¹¹.

The theme was presented as never before in sociological literature. The author was neither interested in presenting a new theory of class structure, nor in showing what images of class division dominate among different groups of people, or in different historical periods /as could be understood from the title of this book/. The purpose of Ossowski's book was an analysis and classification of various class structure schemes found in social thought: sociological theories, political doctrines, legends, folk tales. He did not take up the question of the validity of the images under discussion. In this sense, his study is an exercise in methodology.

However, in the second part of the book methodological analysis is surpassed and the study takes on the character of metatheory of social classes.

On the background of his analyses, Ossowski discussed the most general aspects of class structure as well as social functions performed by various images. He discovers, among other things, such aspects of class relations that are approved by almost all concepts of class, and some specific political functions that are fulfilled in social life by particular images of class structure.

The book is proof of the author's great erudition; he traced samples of particular perceptions of structure from biblical legends, ancient Roman tales, theological thought of the Middle Ages, British economists' classical theory, Marxism, and American sociologists' contemporary research. The greatest value of the book, how-

ever, as it may be presently perceived, was the demonstration of a variety of aspects of social reality which could cluster in class relations. It had a definite impact on methodological refinement of Polish studies on class structure.

The recurrent appearance of certain ideas in various places and epochs suggests a passage of thought schemes through the ages. This repetitiveness, the author points out, did not always have to be the result of borrowings, but also could have had its own source in each case. It can thus be assumed that there might well be a repetitiveness in real social relationships, the thought being their reflection, or at least in some aspects of these relationships. It is typical that S. Ossowski searches for the most general aspects of social relationships, such aspects which have a universal character.

In the first part of the book S. Ossowski discusses the basic images of class structures. Dichotomic schemes, gradation schemes, functional conceptions and "the Marxian synthesis" are analyzed in turn.

The dichotomic scheme "presents a society as an aggregate of people of whom some are above and others below". It can take the form of contrasts between rulers and ruled, the rich and the poor, those who work and those for whom others work. In some concepts dichotomies can either intersect or cover each other.

In the gradation scheme a society presents a hierarchy of classes according to a scale. While classes in the dichotomic scheme have their contrasting attributes, in the gradation scheme they retain the same attribute, but on a different level. Ossowski distinguishes the two

kinds of gradation schemes: simple gradation and synthetic gradation. In a simple gradation only one attribute is taken into account, e.g. income or education or power. In a synthetic gradation several attributes of social position are included. Ossowski takes note of incomparability of scales. There are no measures for assessing how much income is equal to how much power. Thus, the "synthetization" of gradational attributes takes place in social consciousness as a sui generis psychological process. Although Ossowski does not explicitly formulate the above, we could, out of context, come to the conclusion that according to a common view among sociologists, the social prestige of an individual or his occupation is an expression of this "synthetic valuation".

In the next scheme, the functional one, there are several classes which are supposed to perform differentiated social functions. This scheme was present in the ecclesiastical interpretation of Medieval society as composed of those who prayed, those who defended and those who worked. In modern times, a functional scheme was adopted by the founders of classical economic theory, A. Smith and D. Ricardo. The classes of proprietors of land, capital and labour, which are mentioned by them, vary in their functions in economic life.

The Marxian theory of classes, according to Ossowski is a synthesis of the three above distinguished schemes. We are confronted with dichotomic division when Marx and Engels speak of oppressed and oppressive classes. The gradation aspect is seen in the division of society into the working class, the middle-class and the capi-

talists. The same three classes are held by Marx and Engels in the functional aspect, when treated as groups that play a different role in the capitalist system of production.

Besides those three schemes, S. Ossowski finds in Marx's works a kind of synthesis, which arises from the intersection of three dichotomic divisions:

- 1/ owner and non-owner,
- 2/ working and non-working,
- 3/ user and non-user of hired labour.

From the intersection of these dichotomies, two classes of diametrically opposed attributes arise, and also the third class, namely, "the middle class" which is comprised of all people who lack one or two attributes enlisted within one of the opposing classes.

Analyses done in the first part of the book are used in the following chapters to work out a comprehensive and extended classification of class structure interpretation: The principal criteria of classification employed by Ossowski are: dependence relationships and ordinal relationships, mutual dependence relationships and unilateral dependence relationships. While illustrating the main dependencies, the author examines the concrete form of these relationships to see whether they are relationships of economic dependence, or of submission and superiority in the power structure; and whether they are ordinal relationships in accordance with economic criteria, or in accordance with prestige criteria.

Besides the classification of class structure schemes, the second part of this book is also comprised of deliberations on the concept of class and class affiliation

criteria. At the beginning, the author attempts to settle various class concepts, next, he turns to his interesting considerations on common assumptions of all class concepts and various criteria put forward and thought to be principal. The common assumptions are, according to Ossowski as follow:

1. The classes constitute a system of the most comprehensive groups in the social structure
2. The class division concerns social statuses connected with a system of privileges and deprivations, not determined by biological criteria
3. The membership of individuals in a social class is relatively permanent.

Ossowski summarizes that the following criteria of classes are commonly proposed:

- 1/ privileges and deprivations resulting in the existence of lower and higher social positions;
- 2/ class interests;
- 3/ class consciousness;
- 4/ class isolation.

Discussing these four characteristics, Ossowski points out their interdependence. At the same time, he claims that, although different theories have put forward various characteristics mentioned above as the basic criterion of classes, almost all concepts include these characteristics for class description. Therefore, individual concepts may differ between themselves less than we would presume by solely taking into consideration explicitly stated definitions.

Ossowski's book included a chapter on "nonegalitarian classlessness" which generated much, and not only theo-

retical, controversy. At the time the book appeared, an important aspect of class structure had been overlooked, namely, the span of social differentiation. Within the framework of the categories of social structure, whether dichotomic or gradational, at least some of the differences between classes can be larger or smaller. This is best illustrated though ranges in income or power. In one society the differences between the lowest and highest incomes /or accumulated capital/ can be 1 : 20, while in others they may be 1 : 100. Ossowski's book did not discuss this problem at greater length, but by dealing with "nonegalitarian classlessness" as well as with other related problems, it turned attention to these matter so as to serve as a precursor to later discussions on egalitarianism in socialist society.

2. J. Hochfeld's Marxist approach

J. Hochfeld's interpretation of Marx's theory of class structure was published at first in the periodical Studia Socjologiczne, and then included in the book Studies on Marx's Theory of Society¹². This work had considerable influence on the method of studying class structure in Marxist perspective. It marked a departure from the simplified interpretations which had dominated in the 50's.

Hochfeld aimed at a reconstruction of the Marxian theory of classes, and his approach is the nearest to intentions and premises of Marxist founders when compared with other reconstructions written at about the same time, e.g. by R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset or R. Dahrendorf.

It is also skillfully connected with the remaining parts of Marxist theory of society. J.Hochfeld discusses the theory of classes on the basis of the Marxian concept of work /as a "distinguishing trait" of the human species/, then on the basis of socio-economic formation theory, and lastly, in connection with his own conceptualization of the phenomenon of class interests.

Hochfeld's lecture has a clearly drawn construction of particular character. He begins from the most general "model" of a society, and then, by elaborating it, arrives at more concrete assertions, nearer to the observable and historically real societies. Thus we are confronted at the beginning with the general idea of "a class society", then with class structures typical for a specified socio-economic formation, and lastly, with the complex structure of the concrete society at a specific point of its development within a given socio-economic formation.

The general concept of a "class society" is the first approach to the Marxian theory of classes. This concept defines the general conditions of origin and existence of the polar division of people involved in the production process. On the one side are those who own the means of production and on the other side are those who produce but are not the owners of the means of production. Hochfeld defines these two groups as those who have "qualified control" over the means of production, process of production and product, and those who are deprived of that control.

Here we are confronted with the so called "dichotomic model" of class structure. This model as such does not



reflect directly any real class structure, although it does reflect an important aspect of generalized class relations - e.g. relations of exploitation. It should be taken as a "pure" and abstract model which requires further elaboration. This elaboration takes the form of two steps leading towards "historical concretizations".

At the first step, the author introduces the Marxian concept of "the mode of production" and the concept of "socio-economic formations". These were the key concepts in Marx's economic theory and served as devices for typology of all historically existing societies. In Hochfeld's interpretations the concepts lay the foundation for the crystallization of class theory. In the ancient socio-economic formation and the domination of the "slave" mode of production, there is a dichotomic division of slaves and their masters, in the feudal socio-economic formation there are serfs and feudal lords, and in capitalist formation, workers and capitalists.

The second step towards historical concretization leads through the concepts of the "economic system" and the "economic arrangement". The first concept refers to the frequent coexistence of two /or more/ modes of production /e.g. feudal and capitalist/ within one society. Such a situation existed very often during the periods of transition from one type of society to another /in Marxian theory from one socio-economic formation to another/. As a rule in such a period one mode of production is stronger or more developed and the other weaker or less developed. The stronger should be called "dominant" or "dominating" and the other one supplementary.

What is important for Hochfeld's approach is that both modes of production give rise to their own classes and class relations. This is reflected among others in the complexity of class structure. No society displays a class structure composed only of the two dichotomic classes as outlined in theoretical models.. Coexistence and interpenetrations of two pairs of dichotomically situated classes interact and merge. The history of Germany in the second half of the 19th century provides a good example for that conceptualization. "Junkers" /large landowners/ and agricultural labourers /subjected to Junkers by semi-feudal dependency relations/, and capitalists and workers in the emerging industry, were "two pairs" of dichotomically situated classes.

But there are still further complications in real economic arrangements. Besides modes of production giving rise to dichotomic class structures emerged "simple commodity production" in agriculture and crafts. This mode of production shows persistence and vitality under many circumstances and in various historical periods. It gives birth to a class of small independent farmers and a class of small independent craftsmen and tradesmen /petite bourgeoisie/. These classes which were quite numerous during late feudalism, exist in capitalism and even in the first period of socialism.

Another complication in class structure is introduced by the steady development of the stratum of professionals, bureaucrats and non-manual employees of various kinds. Already in feudalism some administrative staff was needed to help the king and his regional representatives in dealing with state affairs. The number of bu-

reaucrats and, parallelly professionals, steadily have increased in the capitalist formation. The functioning of complex modern capitalist economy and society /services, administration/ is unconceivable without them. But they belong neither to the working class nor to the capitalist class, because they have some characteristics in common with workers and some with the bourgeoisie. So one should see them as a separate stratum, necessary for the functioning of the society.

All the features of the "economic arrangements" have specific consequences for the elaborated class structure. The number of classes, relations between them /economic and political/, as well as specific historical traits of various classes should be seen and explained against the background of the complexity and specificity of "the arrangement". The diagram designed by us, summarizes Hochfeld's method of explanation for both general and specific features of Marxian approach to class structure.

In the second part of his study Hochfeld deals with the processes of class consciousness formation and outlines his interpretation of the Marxist concept of "objective class interest". With regard to Marx's concepts of a "class in itself" and a "class for itself", he gives the historical examples of the complex developmental processes leading from "class-aggregate" to "politically active" class. But the most interesting considerations included in this part concern the concept of "objective class interest" and hypotheses related to it. Hochfeld presents his ideas in a sketchy form, and what follows is our comprehension of his theory.

J. Hochfeld's interpretation of Marx's Theory of Class Structure

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>Pure model of polar division</p> <p>I. Those who control</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1/ the means of production 2/ the process of production 3/ the outcome of production on the basis of the ownership rights in the means of production <p>II. Those who are deprived of</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1/ the means of production 2/ the control over the process of production 3/ the control over the outcome of production although they are producers, they put in motion the instruments of production | <p>"Model" class structures of socio-economic formations</p> <p>Slavery: masters and slaves</p> <p>Feudalism: landlords and serfs</p> <p>Capitalism: capitalists and workers</p> | <p>Elaborated class structures of historically specific societies</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Early capitalism in Germany: Junkers and agricultural labourers Capitalists and workers Independent farmers Petite bourgeoisie Bureaucratic staff and free professions 2. Modern capitalism in Germany: Capitalists and workers Farmers Petite bourgeoisie White-collar employees Upper bureaucratic staff and free professions |
|--|--|--|

Hochfeld does not discuss in detail all of the aspects of Marxian theory of class interests. He concentrates on some selected, but crucial issues. Firstly, his considerations refer to the fundamental phenomenon of the antagonistic interests of dichotomically opposed classes and not to all possible conflicts of interests generated in elaborated class systems. Secondly, he attempts to hammer out the comprehensive formula which covers various specific interests and, moreover, creates the link between short-term and long-term interests.

He starts with the assumption that the interests of antagonistic classes are objectively opposed because of the very nature of their relations within the socio-economic system. Control over the means of production and the lack of control, privileges and deprivation, lay the foundation for the whole spectrum of conflicting needs, goals and orientations. On the basis of that situation the feeling of common interests emerges within opposed classes and it is political leaders who articulate the interest in various ideological and political statements.

These formulations are common to all Marxist thinkers, but Hochfeld's considerations go deeper into the matter. Hochfeld seems to say that in intellectual and scholarly analysis one has to look in a "detached" way at both popular feelings and ideological articulations concerned with class interests, although one cannot ignore spontaneous processes of class consciousness formation among rank and file members. As a result, he finds that the axiom of maximalizations of advantages and minimalization of deprivations meets the requirement of the proper criterion for "class interests". He writes:

"I would like to put forward the hypothesis that antagonistic social positions /of classes/are the sources of consciousness taking shape in those who occupy the very same positions /.../.The development of consciousness has a tendency to spontaneously concentrate on values and aspirations aimed at either maximalization of privileges or minimalization of deprivations rooted in occupied positions".

And he continues:

"By objective class interest,I would understand a model which combines a rationalization of aspirations and the feasible means for their achievement".

There are two hypotheses in the quotation.Although they are put together by the author,they refer to two social processes which are at least analytically distinct. The first is the spontaneous process occurring within a class at large, the second is a deliberate programming process taking shape within the political leadership of that class. The second process is directed toward measures and actions to promote class interest.Being aware that these two processes are distinct, one can then ask the question of their compatibility. Hochfeld gives the impression that this is the question of greatest significance in the overall process of class-interest articulation.

There are many implicit aspects of Hochfeld's interpretation of Marxist theory of class interest. One of them is an evident linkage between the production and distribution sides of socio-economic systems as reflected in the concept of interests. Objectively opposed interests are rooted in the fundamental aspects of production re-

lations, nevertheless they manifest themselves in the sphere of distribution. Concepts of maximalization of privileges and minimalization of deprivations refer to the latter. At the time at which Hochfeld's interpretation was developed, its emphasis on distribution was not universal among Marxists.

The second implicit aspect of Hochfeld's interpretation of class interests is related to the "subjective" feelings and articulations. The author indirectly refers to the well-known discussion within politically organized labour movements. According to one theoretical orientation, the interests of the working class should be defined on the basis of needs and aspirations clearly conceived by workers themselves and that means first of all short-term economic interest. Every claim transcending this boundary is problematic.

In the second theoretical orientation definitely stronger emphasis is placed on the revolution as a global solution which opens the road for accomplishment of economic, political, cultural and other working class long-term interests. For Hochfeld these two orientations are one-sided and insufficient for both theoretical and practical reasons. That is why he advances the concept of class interest grounded in the maximalization/minimalization axiom and the axiom of rational adjustment of means and ends.

The theory which stresses the need for rationalization of means in relation to the feasible ends of class struggle is bound to produce many theoretical consequences. One of them is mentioned by Hochfeld: that under any circumstances the proper "calculations" of means and

feasible ends have a decisive significance for the outcome of class struggle and the satisfaction of class interest. At present every such calculation is carried out within working class organizations. The whole decision making process and the quality of leaders of organizations appear to be crucial factors in arriving at a proper decision. There is not any predetermined quality of organizations and leaders which would result in their always arriving at the most rational decisions.

Hochfeld's endeavour to interpret and systematize Marxist theory of class structure did not confine his interests completely to class-type social structure. He was interested in M. Weber's theory of "estates", bureaucracy and power as well. He had not written any longer essay dealing with Weberian legacy, but clearly stated his position on the "stratification-type" of social structure. He saw class structure in Marx's sense and "estate order" /or stratification/ in Weber's sense as two relatively autonomous "structurations" of a society. This idea has been taken up and developed by some of his younger associates.

3. J. Szczepański's global approach

Jan Szczepański placed the problems of class structure among his scholarly interests early in his career. At first he concentrated on the intelligentsia stratum, only to widen his scope later to cover the working class and the global class structure. Almost all his sociological studies are guided by some general principles and it is worth while to start with them, because

they provide the clues for the proper understanding of his various writings.

Since 1946, J. Szczepański has advanced the idea that sociological research should perform two functions: cognitive and practical. The latter indicates the supply of thorough scientific information about the processes of social change to politicians, planners and organizers of social life. Sound and systematic knowledge allows one to make the most rational decisions. In the socialist system, he argues, where wide socio-economic planning causes several new phenomena and processes, intended and unintended, this kind of knowledge, is essential for the rational leadership of social life.

The above mentioned characteristic of general orientation is paralleled by another one, we could call "global" and "historical". This is seen in searching for interdependencies between various social phenomena, as well as for antecedents of present-day events and processes. While he analyses the macrostructural processes caused in Poland by the revolution and industrialization, he takes into account the family as a carrier of continuity in life style and value system. On the other hand, while analysing spontaneous processes going on in microstructures, he takes under consideration the growing role of such extensive and formal structures as the economic, political and educational systems.

General features of Szczepański's approach are clearly seen in his preface to the collection of the articles written during the past 25 years, Varieties of the Present Times¹³.

"I can say about myself that I was a keen observer of

the origins of the socialist system in our country and have tried to take the advantage of this great research opportunity opened up by history for sociologists.

And he continues:

"All were impatient. The activists and politicians wanted a new system built in perfect forms very fast and pathetically proclaimed its coming shape. Impatient were also the sceptics looking first of all for confirmation of their doubts. Impatient were as well those who expected that this great experiment would break down. But all did not assess the rules of natural course in human life. We cannot accelerate the current of a river with a stick, neither can we change its course with this stick. Each natural process could be regulated by man under the condition that the technique of this regulation is based on the knowledge of laws of this process. /.../Each vital process of each human community is multidimensional, regardless of whether it is the vital process of a hundred million people nation, or of the habitants of a small country settlement".

Working out jointly with Hochfeld the first empirical investigation programs of class structure changes in Poland, Szczepański embraces various processes, economic, cultural and political.

Because of Hochfeld's other commitments, Szczepański alone took charge of almost all research projects on class structure transformations in Polish society during the period 1955 - 1965. The projects carried out under his direction resulted in 28 monographs, edited in a series which borrowed the title from the first volume: Investigations on the Working Class and Intelligentsia.

The general approach adopted by Szczepański and his team is well exposed in the "Preface" to the first volume and a further elaboration of this approach can be found in the "Preface" to the second volume.

In the first volume, on the working class, he asked himself questions to what extent this class had changed after the socialist revolution, from which strata were the origin of people who joined its ranks during the process of socialist industrialization, what sociological and psychological traits they had brought in with them, what kind of new aspirations have been generated within this class, and what cultural traditions have been continued; in what way class awareness has been shaped by the working class political associations and institutions, and to what extent by other influences stemming spontaneously from a variety of sources.

In the second volume, on the intelligentsia stratum, Szczepański stressed the need for thorough investigation of the educational system as the main channel for entrance to this stratum; he considered the new characteristics of intelligentsia, its growing number, and its changing social genealogy due to the processes of intragenerational social mobility, accelerated by deliberate social policy. Parallely, he emphasised the need for studying a continuity of some social functions performed by the intelligentsia and the stability of its social image, as reflected in high prestige scores of intellectuals and professionals.

The results, obtained from various research projects have been summarised for the English-speaking reader in the book Polish Society published by Random House in

1970. In this small but very informative book Szczepański put the transformations of class structure in the longrun, historical perspective.

Alongside with designing the empirical sociological research program on the working class and intelligentsia, Szczepański wrote several theoretical and historical sketches on the social functions of the intelligentsia and its internal differentiation. Pointing out the growing differentiations within that stratum, Szczepański argued for a closer look at specific functions of various groups. He proposed, already in the late 50's an investigation of the role of "innovators", "experts" and "organizers of social-political life".

The idea of the global and historical approach to class investigations came to light most thoroughly in the article An Attempt at Systematization of Sociological Aspects in Investigations on the Working Class in Poland¹⁵. In this article, Szczepański develops an extensive scheme for the empirical research on the working class. It includes four main domains:

- 1/ investigations of workers' characteristics as the members of a class;
- 2/ investigation of a class as a community;
- 3/ investigation of the relation between the working class and other classes;
- 4/ investigation of the working class role in the functioning of the state as well as the economy and other institutional arrangements.

Under each paragraph Szczepański mentions several detailed themes. Within the first paragraph he mentions the following:

- internal structure of age, sex, social origin, level of education, years worked in the particular profession and at the particular place of work;
- social and political attitudes, aspirations in life, perception of life purposes and the sense of life;
- territorial arrangement /living in a town or small village or in the country/, commuting.

Within surveys of a class as a community Szczepański postulates the close investigation of:

- working family's life, including its size, home expenses and income, the way of upbringing children, family and interfamily system, everyday organization of a household, family traditions /including hereditary professions/;
- family functioning in a local community, including the place of the local community and its institutions in the process of the socialization of the young generation;
- workers' place and role in an industrial plant, including the type of workers' job, possibilities and processes of changing work, qualifications, adaptation to work; system of co-operation in the place of work as a whole and on shop floor; the making of informal groups and their influence on the production level and political behaviour, hierarchy arrangement of formal and informal dependences, satisfaction from work and identification with a place of work, sources of conflicts and stress; work efficiency and attitudes towards technical progress, participation in production rationalization; absenteeism and fluctuation, instances of disorganizations such as waste of raw material, waste of time, bad exploitation of machinery causing their premature wear, etc.

It seems clear that Szczepański, as a promotor of empirical investigations, tries to handle in the most detailed way, all aspects of life. This is why we call his approach a global one.

The second characteristic of the approach is clearly seen in the generalizations he makes on the basis of empirical knowledge gathered from various sources. Almost always, when he gives an interpretation of a phenomenon concerning the structure, he recalls Poland's history. History is the indispensable factor for understanding today's phenomena. We should mention here that all Polish "schools" of sociology have accentuated the need of historicism. But it must be said that Szczepański applies this principle with a considerable skill and on various "levels" of deliberation. He can bring forward the hypothesis that explains behaviour of a complete factory staff on the basis of its peasant origin, or point out in behaviour of the intelligentsia's children some instances that epitomize the reviving fashion of being of noble origin.

However, Szczepański's historicism has its global dimension in the sense that the author perceives the entire present reality firmly rooted into its past and, at the same time, he undertakes futurological questions as to the possible line of evolution of Polish society. Undertaking the futurological questions Jan Szczepański often examines the capabilities of a politician, a planner and a sociotechnician in shaping new forms of life. In Szczepański's general approach one finds a concrete synthesis of the two global orientations which exist within present-day sociology, namely, the theoretical

one and the empirical one. Looked upon from another angle this is an attempt at creating a coherent paradigm which combines fundamental principles taken from the Marxist theory of society /e.g. historicism, holism/ with the specific procedures of investigation, developed within the methodologically-oriented, "positivistic" sociology.

4. Continuation and extension of the Marxist approach

The general orientations outlined above significantly influenced empirical investigations undertaken in Poland on class structure and social stratification. Beginning with the sixties, and benefitting from works of sociologists of the older generation, there has been a development of an orientation among a group of people in the Section of Social Structures headed by W. Wesółowski¹⁶ at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. A couple of research teams from the University of Warsaw, Łódź University and the Jagiellonian University in Kraków co-operate closely with the Section.

This team, first of all, aims at extending theoretical and methodological foundations for empirical investigations based on Marxist assumptions. In its initial orientation the team refers to Hochfeld's interpretations of Marxian theory and Ossowski's refinement of class concepts. In its endeavours to carry out concrete projects of empirical investigations the team continues to develop J. Szczepański's orientation.

The matter of operationalization of the Marxist theory for empirical sociological investigations of presentday social structures becomes one of the main problems. As some parts of Marxist theory are, due to their character, difficult to operationalize - at least in the common understanding of the word - the task is not, as it might seem, easy. It is enough to mention that such basic concepts as class exploitation, class domination, and "objective" class interests are defined by Marx in the context of the economic theory of surplus value which does not yield easily to empirical sociological testing. Nonetheless, there are some preliminary works aimed at "translating" the Marxist theory into observable phenomena and empirical indicators. Another kind of problem arises with regards to the fact that Marx constructed his theory primarily for the capitalist society, while the team undertakes the study and investigation of class structure in a socialist society.

Another global theoretical problem concerns relations between the Marxist theory of classes and other grand theories of social structures, first of all Weberian theory of class, status and power. This relation is seen by us in a way somewhat different than that of the majority of sociologists of non-Marxist persuasion. It has been argued by many contemporary sociologists that Weber had overcome deficiencies in Marx's theory of classes and society. From this follows that rather Weber than Marx should be taken as the starting point in a present-day research on classes and social stratification.

The theoretical inclination prevailing within the team

is, in a sense, opposite to that position. It is argued that Marx's theory of classes and society forms the background for the proper study of social class, status stratification and power structures. From this position it follows, that the contribution of M.Weber should be incorporated into the overall paradigm for research on social structures based on general Marxist assumptions. The totality of Marx's theoretical analysis, and not merely explicit statements on classes, are relevant for that purpose. From this point of view, for example, economic, social /status/, and power structures could be studied as "autonomous" orders, but the crucial point is how they are related to each other and to what extent the status and power structures should be explained by their interactions with class structure. Marx did not postulate any "reductions" of power or status phenomena to class structure and Weber had developed, rather than contradicted, Marx's assumptions. We are inclined to argue, moreover, that the theoretical considerations on the role of the division of labour, which played a significant role in the thinking of both Marx and Weber should be taken into account in the studies on class-type and status-type structures. This has been overlooked by many sociologists.

The team has not yet completed the elaboration of all "middle-range" hypotheses needed for a full-scale program of investigations. Nevertheless, several empirical investigations have already been completed in the areas for which the assumptions, hypotheses and operationalization had been found. The most extensive project dealt with the social differentiation of the population in big cities. A series of seven books¹⁷ based on this re-

search were published in the years 1970-1976. One should emphasize, however, that constant testing and modifying of the initial hypotheses has been accepted as a general principle in the long-run research program of the team.

In all projects carried out within the team, the emphasis is put on the complexity of social structure. This means that an extensive scheme of class attributes have been designed, various types of "structurations" are provisioned, and three levels of analysis are combined in order to get insight into constellations and processes occurring within social structure.

First of all, the extended scheme of class position attributes was designed in order to get rid of the simplified interpretation of class phenomenon which prevailed among Marxists during the fifties. The preliminary version of that scheme was given by W. Wesółowski in the article published in 1964 in Polish and 1967 in English¹⁸. The scheme shows a whole set of attributes and specifies the connections between them. Diagrams present the two versions of patterning of class attributes as they could be extracted from the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Gramsci and other Marxists. In further studies, still more detailed schemes were developed to cover all the attributes relevant for class structure and status stratification research.

Parallel with this, the hypothesis concerning the changes in the indicated set of attributes was formulated. In the above mentioned article, the author says that the socialist transformations within the sphere of property relations gradually diminish the role of the "classical"

Marxian criterion of class position, namely /property/ relations to the means of production, and enhance the autonomous role of such attributes of the social position as level of professional qualification, education, income, authority, prestige, etc.

Since these attributes have been studied in modern sociology under the label of social stratification, one should assert that stratificational variables are gradually gaining in importance in the domain of social differentiation. If one looks, however, for the underlying forces producing regularities in the distribution of classtype attributes of social positions, one finds the division of labour and its imperatives as the reigning force in that domain.

In the background of these observations, the hypothesis has been advanced that in the long run the division of labour comes to the fore as the factor determining the distribution of numerous attributes of social position within a socialist society. In relation to this hypothesis all attributes have been divided into two groups:

- 1/ investments which the individual bears both while preparing for occupational position /e.g. vocational qualifications/ and during occupational role playing /e.g. work intensity/, and
- 2/ rewards for these investments such as material /e.g. income/ and non-material /e.g. prestige/ gratification.

It is assumed that there is a need for studies concerning the relationship between investments and rewards as well as the specific configurations of social attributes included in each of these two groups.

The next hypothesis claims that causal, functional and co-dependency relationships between at least some of

Diagrams representing the interrelationships between attributes of class position

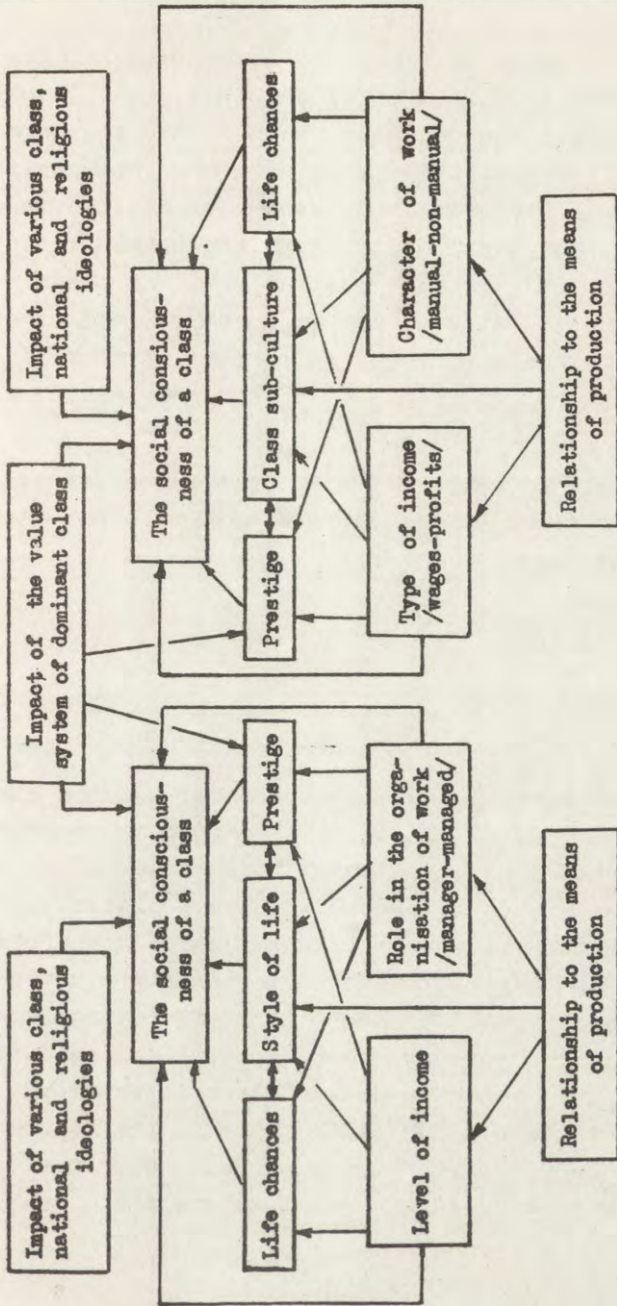


DIAGRAM "a"

DIAGRAM "b"

these attributes will vary at subsequent stages of the development of that type of society. And finally, one can formulate the question whether in the more remote stages of social development processes will arise which will weaken the relations between allocation to occupations and job tasks /e.g. the place within the division of labour/ and income, prestige and some other attributes of the individual. Such a question, and others of a similar nature are asked in connection with "futurological research" carried out within the team, parallel to empirical investigations¹⁹.

As a result of these and still other considerations, the team uses three types of "structural units" in its investigations, namely:

- 1/ classes,
- 2/ socio-occupational categories,
- 3/ occupations.

They correspond to three "levels" of analysis allowing for a deeper penetration of the fabric of society.

The first level of analysis constitutes the class-type groupings treated as the most comprehensive units. These are working class, peasantry and white collar workers. Under the impact of revolution and socialist industrialization they have been to some degree transformed, nevertheless they still show some basic traits "inherited" from the previous socio-economic formation /e.g. capitalism/. The working class is still composed of manual workers and the white collar class is composed of non-manual workers. The differences in the nature of work produce many social consequences which are common to these large groupings. Peasants are still small commo-

dity producers and owners of their land. In that respect, they retained the basic feature of the social position they had in the capitalist socio-economic formation. Classes have retained their specific interests and thus the class structure finds its reflection in the political sphere. The working class party and the peasant class party articulate global and aggregated interests of the two classes respectively. At the same time they propagate socialist ideology and shape social consciousness. This two-way process of articulating interests and of shaping class consciousness is investigated at the most general level of social structure analysis.

On the second level of analysis, socio-occupational categories are units of investigations. They could be established on the basis of various criteria, like specific features of work tasks, professional qualifications, area of occupational activity, the place in the structure of management. In any case, however, the theoretical considerations of the role of the division of labour form the background for procedures leading to the construction of socio-occupational categories.

In the investigation on differentiation of urban population carried out in the years 1964-1967 in Szczecin, Koszalin and Łódź, the following categories were isolated among the white-collar workers:

- 1/ professionals,
- 2/ office employees,
- 3/ technicians.

Among the working class:

- 1/ skilled workers,
- 2/ semi-skilled workers, and
- 3/ unskilled workers were distinguished.

In the same investigation "intermediate" socio-occupational categories placed between white-collar and blue collar workers were also isolated as follow:

- 1/ foremen,
- 2/ service workers /e.g.shop-assistants, postmen, railway-men/ and
- 3/ craftsmen, owners of private workshops²⁰.

Special attention is paid to the "shifting" of these categories on scales of income, education or prestige as well as changes in internal cohesiveness of these categories. To investigate these processes, a panel study covering the ten-year period was designed and field work has already been completed /Łódź 1975/. It is assumed that these processes will signal the specific forms of "structuration" of the socialist society in the early stage of its development. In connection with this, several other hypotheses have been advanced. One of them points out the role of specific "cultural" and "economic" contexts affecting the place of a socio-occupational category within the whole social structure. It is assumed that specific societies belonging to the same socio-economic formation, e.g. socialist, will show some variations in the relative position of socio-occupational categories and these diversities should be explained either by peculiar features of historical development or some specific features of present economic organization, system of planning, system of remuneration for work, etc.

Socio-occupational categories are being studied in two perspectives. The first one is derived directly from the Marxian tradition. Its essence is looking at socio-occu-

pational categories as a type of "strata-structuration" within classes without hierarchical connotation. The second one, strongly emphasized within Weberian tradition, although not totally neglected by Marx, consists of looking at them as hierarchical "status type" orders. Both perspectives are employed since they are considered to be complementary.

Conflict of interests becomes an important element of analysis on the level of socio-economic categories. In a socialist society, the system of remuneration for workers in the public sector is based on the principle "to each according to his work". Thus, the allocation of many goods for white-collar and blue collar workers depends on their work and occupational qualifications. Since there is a scarcity of many goods, the system of distribution is bound to produce contradictions of interest between various socio-occupational groups among which goods are unevenly distributed. W. Wesolowski suggested that this situation is endemic to the socialist system and hence one can speak of "structural contradictions of interests" within that system. In connection with this, he has developed several hypotheses concerning the conditions under which the objective contradictions of interest lead to the articulated conflicts²¹.

On the third level of analysis, that of particular occupations, the following problems are primarily investigated:

- 1/ occupation hierarchies according to various criteria;
- 2/ evaluation of own job, among other traits, ascribing to it general social meaning and importance, which is connected with the perception of one's own position within society;

3/ evaluation of own occupational position in the frame of reference of evaluation of father's occupational position and perception of social mobility processes.

As early as 1958 W. Wesolowski and A. Sarapata carried out the first Polish survey on the evaluation of occupations and jobs according to three criteria: income, job security, and prestige. These types of investigations were continued during the sixties and seventies²². The results have been used for testing the theoretical hypotheses on "the decomposition of social position attributes" under the impact of revolution and industrialization.

What is understood by this is that education, income, prestige, authority as well as other attributes of social position do not show a consistent pattern. Here, reference is made to the discussion started in sociology by G. Lenski's article on status inconsistency. Theoretical interpretations, however, are orientated in a different direction than those found in contemporary sociology. Two new directions of interpretation are particularly noteworthy. First of all, a hypothesis is proposed concerning the positive functions of status inconsistency - both for the social system as a whole, as well as for the individual. Correspondingly, there is the suggestion for policy makers to consider the possibility of adopting the measures aimed at piecemeal reduction of social inequality by promoting status inconsistencies, at least among some attributes of social position²³.

Continually being improved and developed, investigation of self-evaluation of social position is also treated

as an element of analysis of social consciousness transformation under the influence of revolution as well as such global processes as industrialization, urbanization and educational change.

PART TWO: EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATIONS

1.1. Development and types of empirical investigation

In the years 1945-1949, Polish sociology was coming to life anew after the destructions of war. In view of the drastically reduced number of staff and difficulties with organization, empirical investigations on a larger scale were not possible, although their need was deeply felt. The most urgent task was to rebuild universities, organize departments and to fill the gaps in the teaching staff. This was accomplished due to the devotion of the older generation of professors and younger generation of students. The emphasis was put on teaching as a prerequisite for the future development of a discipline.

During the five following years 1950-1955, the political climate towards empirical investigation was rather reluctant. However, it was pointed out that research on the working class is deeply rooted in the Marxist tradition and that it ought to be introduced without further delay²⁴. Consequently, as we have already mentioned, the research projects concerning the working class and intelligentsia were undertaken²⁵.

More intensive progress in empirical investigations of class structure, stratification and social mobility followed after 1956. At first these investigations were concentrated within the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences /IPiS PAN/. With time, more and more scientific organizations were undertaking investigations, mainly the university institutes of sociology. The leading university institutes of sociology are at the University of Warsaw, Łódź University, the Jagiellonian University in Kraków and the University of Poznań.

Up to 1970 particular scientific centres were not coordinated in their work, which on the one hand, incited differentiation of themes and methods, but, on the other hand, led to relatively small cumulative findings. At the beginning of the seventies, investigations of social structure and its transformation were approved by the government as one of the most important areas of sociological study and received much higher subsidies. Thus arised a need for coordination of various research work, and this coordination was entrusted to the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Not only did the Institute have to coordinate themes of projects in progress, but also to suggest some methods of investigative procedure. In this regard the standardization of such sociological variables as occupation, education, income and living conditions have been accomplished²⁶. Researchers complying with this proposition will assure better possibilities for cumulative findings.

Among sociologists specializing in problems of class structure, stratification, and social mobility, we can

list several research orientations, depending on the scope of the field of observation and the dominating procedure and technique in collecting and analysing data. These orientations demarcate some types of investigations, in particular:

- 1/ sociological surveys,
- 2/ studies of local communities,
- 3/ investigations of factories,
- 4/ monographs of social class and occupational categories,
- 5/ studies of life histories based on autobiographies and memoirs.

We omit here the enormously important analyses of official statistical materials, as, in general, these do not represent a separate kind of an investigative process, but are supplementary to the others.

2. Sociological surveys

Surveys on large national samples are usually carried out by specialized organizations, as the Central Statistical Office /GUS/, the Public Opinion Research Centre of Polish Radio and Television /OBOPiSP/, and the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences /IPiS PAN/. The number of surveys that wholly or largely concerned the problems of class structure, stratification and mobility could be estimated as between 20-25. Some representative samples used in these surveys amounted to 10 000 persons²⁷.

Moreover, the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology /IPiS PAN/ and university centres undertake question-

naire surveys among selected population categories, or among inhabitants of particular areas. Usually, samples of these investigations are evidently smaller/1000-2000 respondents/ but their quality is clearly higher due to better possibilities of checking the interviewers.

3. Studies on local communities

Although anthropological regional monographs have a long tradition in Poland²⁸, going back to the beginning of this century, for years a comprehensive analysis of social structure was not the focus of their interest. In general, these studies were on selected social problems - e.g. jobseeking migration²⁹, or ethnic antagonism³⁰ - while one could only indirectly infer the facts about class relations.

In the last years a number of investigations of local communities were carried out, and with the help of different procedures and techniques, the data for a comprehensive description of classes and strata were gathered in a small town as well as in small rural settlement. An example of this kind of work can be found in the publications by S. Nowakowski³¹ and J. Malanowski³² on class relationships and differences in selected towns. S. Nowakowski, in his monograph on the reconstruction and development of a medium size town, gives a lot of attention to classes, and Malanowski closely examines class relationships and social differentiation in a small town with up to 20 000 inhabitants. In their investigations, the authors used data from questionnaires and free interviews, from participant and external observations, from official statistics and historical docu-

ments. Social activity, social life and neighbour behaviour and social barriers make up the sphere of the analysed class relations. Social differentiation has been investigated along dimensions of education and qualification, material standard and participation in culture. The gathered materials have facilitated the confrontation of data obtained by different methods³³.

4. Investigations of factories

Some of the monographs on factories, having class differentiation as their immediate object, are an interesting kind of investigation³⁴. In these studies a plant is treated as an organization, in which class relations become active and the division of more important social goods takes place: authority, wealth, prestige. A plant does not represent a miniature society, but it does allow for the investigation of some of its categories and the relations between them³⁵.

Some investigations of factories concentrate on gathering materials dealing with only one selected class, particularly the working class. Among these we ought to mention books which give a detailed picture of workers' life during a specific period, namely the move towards intensive industrialization³⁶. Other works of this type give a description of the different social categories, primarily with respect to education and qualification, standard of living and participation in culture³⁷.

5. Monographs of social classes and occupational categories

There are many publications in Poland that give a comprehensive description of an individual social class. Usually they deal with the working class and are written to present the working class conditions with regard to defined social problems, e.g. social industrialization³⁸.

More popular works on occupational categories are the so-called "monographs of occupations". Separate books have been devoted to many intelligentsia categories: teachers³⁹, journalists⁴⁰, economists⁴¹, painters⁴², writers⁴³, and others⁴⁴. The idea of undertaking these studies was put forward by its initiator Jan Szczepański:

"We think that all our investigations will supply enough empirical materials to enable us to build a general theory of intelligentsia in its period of transition"⁴⁵.

Although the results of these investigations have not been generalized, knowledge compiled in each individual study allows for a better description of intelligentsia, as a stratum differentiated internally with respect to its objective /e.g. standard of living/ as well as subjective /e.g. political behaviour/ characteristics. They are also of use in papers of a more general topic.

In 1965 S. Widerszpil's book entitled Composition of the Polish Working Class was published⁴⁶. This book which concerned the working class as a whole was complemented soon by monographs on particular working class

occupations. At first these publications were scattered in various journals and books and, thus, did not facilitate the accumulation of knowledge. In order to overcome this inconvenience, a special book series concerning the whole working class as well as its occupational groups was initiated in 1974 by the Central Council of Trade Unions. The first volume of this series was The Birth of the New Working Class, edited by J. Szczepański. Describing in the preface the development of the sociology of working class after 1960, Szczepański writes:

"Many papers and books dealing with various aspects of life, work, and occupational as well as social activities of the working class were published in Poland. There are however no publications which /.../ present the synthesis of the recent development of this class. A question thus arises, whether such a presentation is already feasible. It seems that it is not, that many empirical data are yet to be collected /.../. Hence, the aim of this series will be to provide numerous preliminary monographs which are to constitute a basis for a synthesized presentation"⁴⁸.

The widest ranged monograph of the series is the one concerning the textile workers⁴⁹. It deals with such subjects as social conditions of the technological process in the textile industry and the influence of this process upon human relations, the standard of living and social services, and the management of the labour force. Since the percentage of women among all of the workers in the textile industry is very high, certain papers in this monograph were devoted to the working conditions of women.

Systematic studies on peasantry as a class as well as on its internal differentiation were already undertaken in the fifties by the Institute for Agricultural Economy. Today they are continued within the Institute for the Development of Agriculture and Village. These studies have thoroughly investigated the impact of the land reform and, further, of the subsequent stages of industrialization on the agrarian structure, farming methods and the internal class composition. The most comprehensive accounts of these processes are given in B. Gałęski's Studies on the Social Structure of a Village and D. Gałaj's The Socio-Economic Activity of Peasants⁵⁰.

We can also mention here, as examples, the studies of artisans and craftsmen⁵¹. Data presented in these studies are less comparative in nature than are the monographs on occupations belonging to the intelligentsia and working class.

6. Studies of life histories based on eye-witness accounts and memoirs

This kind of sociological research belongs without doubt to one of the Polish special lines of interest. Towards the end of the twenties, W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, in their work The Polish Peasant in Europe and America⁵², made use of letters and autobiographies for analysis for the first time on such a large scale. In Poland, in the twenties and thirties, at first on Znaniecki's initiation and later followed by other sociologists, frequent competitions for autobiographies were

organized. The most successful one was in 1936, announced for peasant youth, when 1544 answers were received⁵³. These answers supplied materials for J. Chałasiński's four-volume work The Young Generation of Peasants to which we have already referred unquestionably the largest sociological work on one social class based on autobiographical materials.

Soon after the Second World War, many new competitions were again announced in Poland for war occupation autobiographies and memoirs. Organizers collected memoirs written by workers, inhabitants of small villages, and representatives of different occupational milieus. In a 1962 competition a record number of 5500 answers - peasant youths' memoirs - was obtained; these memoirs have been published since 1964 in a ten-volume series under the title The Young Generation of Peasants in People's Poland⁵⁴. In these autobiographies one encounters rich characteristics of the values, patterns and norms of the peasant class in the process of transformation under the new political and economical system.

Collected documents, such as memoirs of physicians⁵⁵, engineers⁵⁶, teachers⁵⁷, are invaluable for a sociologist interested in the intelligentsia. Collections of eye-witness accounts concerning the working class have also been published⁵⁸. In addition, the Polish Memoir Society collects large amounts of such material for its archives, which, in turn, facilitate a synthetic description of social milieus.

We agree with the following statement:

"Nowadays, the significance of eye-witness accounts is thus understood: they provide supplementary materials,

allow one to place investigated attitudes and experience of an individual in the process of his life and to link them with the concrete conditions of the social environment. Nobody would try today to describe the whole social class solely on the basis of autobiographical materials, but with their help it is possible to describe this class's social consciousness and put forward a number of interesting theses about its changes and its dependence on material life conditions⁵⁹.

II.7. Class structure and its component segments

Studies on global class structure and its transformations arise not only in sociology, but also in political economy and modern history. Since the results of these works mesh with each other, it would not make any sense to introduce unnatural divisions. At the same time, we would not like to make an impression on our readers that we encroach far upon the sphere of political economy and modern history. Certainly, this does not take place.

8. The analysis of global class structure

In theoretical works on the class structure of modern socialist societies, three basic segments are differentiated: the working class, peasants and intelligentsia⁶⁰. The petite bourgeoisie forms an additional segment, frequently associated with the remainder of the

capitalist class. Besides, in some studies researchers also distinguish the "intermediary groups" - between the working class and intelligentsia - of persons who take up low qualified jobs in the service sector. However this is not a frequently applied practice, and a lot of studies limit themselves to the basic segments.

The working class, peasants and intelligentsia are classes derived from the capitalist formation. Although the nationalization of capitalist enterprises has liquidated the basis of antagonistic class structure, class inheritance is comparatively strong. Workers are bound up with factory production; the character of their work is manual, determining several traits of workers' social position and interests. Peasants are attached to their land and farms, and represent a typical class of small holders, at the same time being faithful to traditional cultural patterns. The intelligentsia is distinguished by the nature of their professions; members of this class also frequently manifest their inner solidarity in the defence of their own privileges tied up with their work. It can be added, that the representatives of the petite bourgeoisie, as proprietors of small workshops, represent attitudes and behaviour typical of "private sector" members. The authors of certain works try to describe the role of each class mentioned above in relation to others, in the global social system⁶¹.

The quantitative changes in an individual class and their interpretation are an intensively analysed problem. Table 1 shows 1921 and 1970 data regarding the general transformation of class structure⁶². Immediately after the Second World War, as a result of nationaliza-

tion of industry and land reform, the bourgeoisie and land-owners ceased to exist as classes.

Expansion of industry and services stimulated the numerical and proportional growth of white-collar and manual workers, due to reduction of the labour force engaged in agriculture. A distinct fall in percentage of the petite bourgeoisie also took place.

Studies, written for the purpose of explaining general transformations of class structure, concentrate on two groups of factors. The first one can be described as inner economic factors, connected first of all with the

Table 1

Occupationally active population
according to social class, 1921-1970

| | 1921 | 1931 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|--------|------|------|
| Landowners, capitalists | } 7.4 | } 9.5 | - | - | - |
| Petite bourgeoisie | | | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.3 |
| Working class | 22.8 | 25.6 | } 43.9 | 33.8 | 41.2 |
| Intelligentsia | 3.3 | 4.1 | | 18.2 | 22.5 |
| Peasantry | 66.0 | 60.7 | 52.6 | 44.0 | 33.7 |

demands of industrialization. J. Szczepański, in his publication on the process of socialist industrialization, has presented the role of the nationalization of industry as well as that of central planning. These factors resulted in the large quantitative mobility between classes⁶³.

The second group consists of purely political factors. The labour-market was controlled by the state and thus

the government could, at various periods of time, introduce specified channels by which individuals could move between classes⁶⁴. For instance, towards the end of the forties and in the early fifties an ample number of workers passed to managerial staff. This was obviously a political rather than an economic factor.

Economic and political factors intermingle strongly. In socialist countries, economic decisions are derivative from political decisions, and therefore transformations of class structure are also largely due to the effect of political decisions⁶⁵.

Studies on global transformations of class structure are not limited to the analysis of changes among particular classes within the whole structure. None-the-less, studies dealing with the decreasing differences between classes are important. A number of books and papers are devoted to a comparison of the present conditions of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia with those conditions which existed before the Second World War⁶⁶. Separate works, which ought to be discussed here, deal with these three social classes.

9. The working class

Investigations of the working class comprise a wide scope of problems. We shall bring forward the main directions of investigations, and then turn to the analysis of examples that, more or less, present "the Polish specific".

1. Investigations of the social genealogy and inner differentiations of the working class. The following

processes have been more thoroughly examined: the quantitative growth of the working class in the context of industrialization and migration from rural to urban areas, and transformations within the working class considering its level of qualification and its particular branches of industry⁶⁷.

2. Investigations of life conditions and participation in cultural achievements. A lot of studies deal with life conditions of the working class on the basis of statistical materials covering the whole country⁶⁸. In turn, studies carried out in factories supply information about life conditions and cultural participation of either all workers at their place of work, or only a part of them - particularly of the qualified-worker category⁶⁹.
3. Investigations on the young working class generation and its capability of adapting to the industry⁷⁰. Their initial purpose was to help understand the main social problems developing as a result of migration from rural to urban areas. Only later did they undertake a wider theme as well that of the worker youths' culture, or their start in an occupational career.
4. Investigations on workers' consciousness and workers attitudes toward work. The specific character of workers' consciousness, together with class solidarity, have only recently become the object of investigations, and the prospect of this research is conceived on a wide scale⁷¹. In addition, other studies on workers at their place of employment have dealt with motivations towards work⁷².

5. Investigations on workers' activity in political and social organizations. Primarily these are: investigations on workers' participation in the state authority organization and party committees⁷³, in factory workers' councils⁷⁴ and trade unions⁷⁵. From this field of interest - important, as we think, and to a large degree specifically Polish - we shall discuss studies on the workers' council.

These investigations were undertaken between 1957-1958, soon after the workers' councils were established⁷⁶. In those years investigations were mostly concerned with workers' opinions about their council's activities in a factory⁷⁷. The results of all the above investigations show that workers regard their councils as institutions responsible for the social supervision of the appropriate division of work and payments, and for the negotiation for the improvement of workers' life conditions. However, the general functioning of a council seems complex to the workers.

"Investigations /.../ have enabled us to distinguish three orientations in outlining the council's aims; these are:

- a/ the employees' orientation /.../ which understands the council to be the immediate representative of workers' interests in a factory,
- b/ the administrative orientation, which sees the council's functions as providing management with help and consultation, and offering workers incentive for fulfilling their economic and production plan, and
- c/ the functional orientation, which views the council as a multiple unit for setting and negotiating the

collective benefit of all the employees in a factory and which is influenced by workers and management alike"⁷⁸.

Additional problems investigated were concerned with workers' council's social composition and specifically with workers' participation in its activities. Main authority rights in the council are held by the workers council conferences and factory councils. A. Owieczko investigated the percentage of workers within these organizations, and found that in the workers' council conferences these percentages range from 37 to 55, and in the factory councils, from 36 to 69, depending on the particular factory investigated⁷⁹. According to the author, these percentages assure the possibility of the articulation of workers' opinions and supervision over management's decisions. However, the author stresses that the activity of the worker-representatives in the above mentioned organizations is too low in comparison to postulates brought forward by the workers. This creates conflicts, which are the subject of a separate analysis⁸⁰.

10. The peasantry

Studies on the peasantry as a social class are the domain of rural sociology. A number of studies in this discipline deal with the professionalization of farmers work, the urbanization of rural areas, and the gradual socialization of agricultural production. Processes of urbanization influence the physical as well as social environment of the peasant class⁸¹. Processes of work

professionalization have transformed this class from traditional peasants into modern farmers. Their work conditions and standard of living have also changed. The use of modern machines and agrotechnical knowledge have increased. In a study based on empirical investigations, W. Adamski ascertained a growth of rationality in managing farms⁸². All these processes accompany the change in the occupational structure of peasantry. Here is how B. Gałęski depicted the whole situation:

"The baking of bread, processing of farm products, /.../ and to some extent, educational and cultural functions, separate themselves from the activity of the farmers' family and are overtaken by institutions and services, and so by the people who perform all these functions professionally"⁸³.

In Poland about 80 % of cultivable areas are owned privately, and most of this land is occupied by small farms of up to 7 hectares. This does not denote a lack of socialization of farm production. Here the state has an influence on farmers' decisions as to what ought to be produced and how. Even though farmers own land, their production is controlled in an intermediary way. The results of this intermediary stimulus are under investigation⁸⁴. Recently, more and more farmers, having advanced in age with no successors, convey their land to the State Farms /PGR/, and retire on a state retirement pension. There is also a growth in the number of members of farm cooperatives.

A large category of persons with double class membership is specific to the peasants. Among them are the so called "peasant-workers", representing 43 % of those

employed in farming⁸⁵. Investigations on this category are well advanced; particularly conditions under which farmers move to industry and the consequences for farm production are analysed⁸⁶. The peasant-worker is also investigated as a "carrier" of urban cultural patterns to the country and, vice versa, of the culture of rural settlements to a place of work in towns⁸⁷. The double occupation also has its influence on family life⁸⁸.

Recently two large projects on rural population engaged outside agriculture were undertaken⁸⁹. Both of them deal with the estimation of the present quantity of this social category and with the description of its inner differentiation. It is worth noting that in this category, a large number of people have vocational qualifications either for manual or non-manual work outside agriculture. Among these people, some put much effort in farming, while others treat the agricultural source of income as supplementary. This is related to the different affiliation of these two sub-categories with the peasant class. Only the first one strongly relates itself to peasantry in the traditional sense.

11. The Intelligentsia

In 1946, J. Chałasiński published his book The Social Genealogy of the Polish Intelligentsia⁹⁰, comprising, as we have already mentioned, a controversial thesis. J. Chałasiński stated that the Polish intelligentsia originated from nobility and that this was the source of the intelligentsia's specific life style /e.g. tendency to live within close circles of friends/ and the value

system /e.g. lack of respect for manual work/. These statements on the Polish intelligentsia were overdrawn, though they pointed out certain frameworks observed in its particular circles.

In his book, J. Chałasiński was interested in the noble origin of the intelligentsia formed before the Second World War. During the 30 years that have passed since the publication of J. Chałasiński's book, quite a number of studies have been devoted to the genealogy of the intelligentsia in socialist society. At present, the intelligentsia is, to a large degree, of worker and peasant origin.

Industrialization and the ensuing increase of white-collar workers produce a strong process of internal differentiation of this stratum. This poses the question of whether the hitherto common name of "intelligentsia" adequately describes its various groups having different occupational functions, different levels of education and skills. These groups are in different social positions and, as some writers indicate, think of themselves less and less frequently as one class or stratum.

The variety of occupational functions fulfilled and the differing social positions of various groups of the intelligentsia were revealed by studies directed by J. Szczepański and published in the book series devoted to the working class and intelligentsia. On the basis of these studies and other observations, J. Szczepański put forward a proposition of differentiating upper and lower sub-categories within the global category of white-collar workers⁹¹.

Three main groups composing the upper sub-category are

"innovators", "experts", and "managers". The first group encompasses "those who create new ideas"- new solutions to technical, economic, social and cultural problems /e.g. scientists, politicians, writers and artists/. The second group encompasses those who interpret these ideas into practical solutions or simply make use of knowledge gained in higher education to solve everyday problems /e.g. engineers, physicians, administrators/. The third group encompasses leaders of the working force within organizations /e.g. directors, chiefs, captains/.

The lower sub-category contains a large number of unskilled and semi - skilled white - collar workers employed in an industrial society. It is worth noting that among sociologists, the term "intelligentsia" is presently used more and more often only for the upper sub-category. The lower sub-category is called "office workers' group".

The process of group differentiation is reflected in the following fact: in recent years empirical studies no longer refer to the intelligentsia as a whole but to its particular occupational groups⁹². Results of investigations verify that the social position of these groups is very different. Presumably the most significant division is between those with and those without higher education. Thus, the problem of present-day intelligentsia formation is connected with research on education⁹³.

III.12. Class structure and occupational differentiation

In the previous section on the theoretical approach, we indicated that one of the most important problems discussed is the mutual relationship between the class structure and occupational differentiation. The following part of our article deals with empirical investigations on occupational differentiation as the basis of an unequal distribution of social goods and values. We shall present the general scheme of analysis of the relationship between social classes and occupational groups and some results showing the differences among classes and groups, using such variables as education, work responsibility, income and prestige. Additionally, standard of living will be dealt with.

13. Social classes and occupational groups

The hypothesis that occupational differentiation becomes a more and more important element in distinguishing the differences within the population of a socialist society could be verified by several methods. The scheme of analysis given below presents a generalization of several authors' works. This scheme is based on the assumption that several groups can be distinguished within each social class and that each group belongs to only one class⁹⁴.

The internal sub-divisions of social classes is a matter of accepted classification of occupations. Several

classifications have been worked out in our country, but they bear quite a number of common traits, being the result of similar division criteria - qualification and type of work⁹⁵.

Table 2

Social classes and occupational groups

| Social classes | Socio-occupational groups |
|----------------------|--|
| Intelligentsia | Professionals Technicians Office employees |
| "Petite bourgeoisie" | Artisans and craftsmen Shopowners |
| Intermediate groups | Foremen Service workers |
| Working class | Skilled factory workers Semiskilled factory workers Unskilled factory workers |
| Peasantry | Members of agricultural cooperatives Owners of small farms Owners of large farms Agricultural workers |

Table 2 shows exemplary occupational groups "fitted" to class structure. Of course, these occupational groups could be divided into several narrow categories. For instance, during investigations carried out among urban populations in the years 1964-1967, some distinguished groups consisted of 4 to 5 narrow categories. In the recently formulated classification of occupations, even smaller divisions are being applied⁹⁶.

Historical analyses have illustrated that in Poland, between 1918-1939 /a/ occupational groups from the same social class differed, with respect to unequally distributed social goods and values, only to a small degree between themselves; while /b/ occupational groups from different social classes varied in this respect quite distinctly⁹⁷.

Nowadays the situation has changed. A relatively larger internal class differentiation, as well as a relatively smaller external class differentiation, can be observed.

From the methodological point of view, empirical testing of the relative importance of social classes and occupational groups in determining their share of the unevenly distributed social goods and values is not complicated. In the majority of studies, occupational groups are treated as nominal variables, while the various amounts of social goods received are measured on interval scales. Often in analyses of occupational groups the averages of share, for instance these of income, are calculated. The use of the significance test of differences between these averages enable us to state /a/ whether some occupational groups from the same social class do, indeed, differ and /b/ whether some occupational groups from different classes do not.

Several analyses fit this scheme. One of them has supplied, for instance, verification of strong educational differentiation among occupational groups within the working class and within the intelligentsia⁹⁸. Z. Jacukowicz, in turn, has analysed wages in industry among locksmiths /working class/ and technicians /intelligentsia/⁹⁹. In conclusion she writes that significant

differences in wages between the above groups do not occur. In the investigation of living conditions and durable household equipment, it was found that within the working class and intelligentsia differentiation does exist to a large extent¹⁰⁰. In some pairs of occupational groups from these different classes, the characteristics of living conditions and standard of equipment are similar. Examples of such investigations are numerous¹⁰¹.

14. Hierarchies of occupations

In most studies, occupations are considered in the functional dimension of differentiation. However, occupations are subject to hierarchies because of some characteristics with which they are correlated: "investments" borne by performers and "rewards" that these performers could get. One can assume that education and work responsibility are approximate indicators of investments, while income and prestige - approximate indicators of rewards. The question arises whether the hierarchies of occupations, according to investments and rewards, are congruent.

In theoretical interpretations it is stressed that for congruence of these hierarchies the rule to everyone according to his work would hold true¹⁰². However, in today's socialist countries the applicability of this rule is limited by the force of another one, that of wider egalitarianization. That is why this problem is the object of intensive investigations. We shall present firstly two examples of investigations, and then outline their general interpretation.

The first investigation has ascertained the relationship between hierarchies of 43 occupations, characteristic for the urban population¹⁰³. The hierarchies according to education and income are measured by the simple forward index of these variables' mean intensity. The prestige hierarchy of occupations is based on the results of several investigations which are to be discussed further on in this article. The hierarchy according to work responsibility was based on an average from the measurement of the individual positions along four dimensions:

- a/ type of official connections,
- b/ supervision of other people's work,
- c/ participation in decision making and
- d/ extent of independence at work.

Spearman rank correlation coefficients have shown that the hierarchies according to education, responsibility, income and prestige are strongly correlated. Hierarchies according to the first two criteria were the most congruent /.96/; and the least - according to the last two /.61/. In the case of the remaining criteria, correlation values were over .81.

Other researchers have analysed the congruence of the hierarchy of 23 occupations according to education, income and prestige¹⁰⁴. In spite of the fact that the investigations have dealt with persons taking up employment for the first time, the results obtained are the same. They indicate quite a large congruence of hierarchies of occupations according to all criteria. If the analysis of relative ranks of these occupations is more thorough, it gives us a chance to work out some additional remarks. The authors of this research write:

"The distinguishing trait of the revealed regularities results from certain occupations, the representatives of which occupy relatively higher ranks in education and income during their first job. And, on the contrary, there are occupations that reach relatively higher levels of income than their actual relative level of education and prestige"¹⁰⁵.

The results that have been obtained in the above investigations are, indeed, complex. Correlation coefficient values among such variables as education and income, education and prestige, work responsibility and income, and work responsibility and prestige indicate the strong operation of the principle: everyone ought to gain according to his work. But further analysis of the particular occupations demonstrates the limitation of the operation of the above principle. For example, in both investigations, results have shown that clerks occupy a much higher position in the dimension of education than that of income.

We have to look with particular care into the matter of relatively small congruence among the occupational hierarchy according to income and prestige. Such a result indicates a low accumulation of rewards. This is usually interpreted as an effect of the operation of the egalitarian principle, which can be formulated: for one kind of investment only one kind of reward. To accomplish the egalitarian principle in this form, correlations between variables of which investments are composed ought to weaken. Discussions taking place in Poland concern such possibilities.

15. Class, occupation and standard of living

So far we have analysed correlations between variables of social differentiation at the aggregate level. We have attempted, for instance, to illustrate to what degree the occupational groups differ between themselves according to the mean intensity of variables. There are, however, studies at the individual level that analyse correlations between occupation on the one hand, and the distribution of social goods and values on the other. Among these works, a separate trend is formed by analyses of a widely conceived standard of living, including housing conditions and durable household equipment¹⁰⁶.

In the majority of studies on the standard of living, class and occupation are taken into consideration as variables, the influence of which has to be controlled for several additional individual and contextual variables. The list of individual variables comprises first of all social origin, education and income. Besides, several contextual variables which characterize the whole household /number of working people, family structure/, as well as the location /part of a country, size of the settlement/ are considered.

It was found in the analyses that, with a large number of controlled variables, the influence of class membership on the standard of living disappears almost completely, while the influence of an actually performed occupation remains. The interpretation of these results is generally based on a determination of subcultures, among which the standard of living as well as its type are

the specific values. However, we have not yet come across interpretations that would explain causes of formation and then persistence of these subcultures. These problems are connected with the differentiation of style of life, which we shall analyse in the next part of this paper.

IV. 16. Cultural consumption, style of life and value system

In Polish sociological literature cultural consumption is generally understood as individual contact with products that are distributed by specialized institutions and organizations of the cultural system. It is accepted, that cultural goods and values form a kind of a market from which individuals can gain accordingly to their needs and abilities. Accordingly in research practice, the notion of cultural consumption embraces such occurrences as reading books and magazines, going to the cinema, theatre and museum, listening to radio and watching television.

Cultural consumption understood in this way has its quantitative and qualitative aspects. A sociologist is interested in both the number of books that have been read and their nature, i.e., what artistic standard they represent. Quantity and quality of particular cultural products with which an individual has an active contact enable us to define levels of cultural consumption. The lowest level denotes a relatively constant state of isolation of an individual from various cultural products. The highest level denotes an intensive contact with cul-

tural goods and values that demand considerable preparation to be of use. These are, of course, exemplary extreme levels, between which the intermediary ones can be distinguished.

17. Levels of cultural consumption

Reports from surveys carried out by the Public Opinion Research Center of Polish Radio and Television systematically supply data about frequency of contact with particular mass media¹⁰⁷. These data are sometimes interpreted as indicators for the level of cultural consumption of various social groups. It has been specifically indicated, that the average indices referring to quantity of contacts with mass media are higher among white-collar workers, than among manual workers¹⁰⁸. Of course, this kind of analysis can describe the cultural consumption level just roughly, as it takes into account only its quantitative aspect, omitting the qualitative one.

Some studies, especially on reading, consider both aspects. For instance, A. Kłosowska analysed the distribution of four types of literature among readers:

- 1/ elementary /school books/,
- 2/ popular /mass culture books/,
- 3/ classical /novels, short stories, and poems, well rooted in the literary tradition/, and
- 4/ elitist /works of the highest artistic value/.

These reflect, to a large extent, the level of difficulty in absorbing the content of the types of books they comprise. During investigations in a small town, the

author ascertained the quantitative domination of the type consisting mostly of classical literature, both Polish and foreign¹⁰⁹.

Employing the same typology, another researcher ascertained that between occupational groups there is a strong disparity in the percentage of individuals having contact with both popular and elitist literature. The readers of popular literature are most frequently from among low-qualified workers, while the readers of elitist literature are comprised almost solely of professionals¹¹⁰.

More complex investigations of cultural consumption levels are based on the construction of synthetic indices combining the quantitative and qualitative aspects of contact with several cultural products simultaneously. In the most comprehensive work, A. Kobus-Wojciechowska constructed an index based on data referring to contacts with books, magazines and television¹¹¹. Each cultural behaviour taken into consideration was given a certain score, and for every investigated individual a sum of scores was assigned. The mean value of scores calculated for each occupational group became the basis for defining the group level of cultural consumption. In the case of investigated urban populations the standardized levels follow: professionals /100/, technicians /83/, office workers /79/, foremen /55/, craftsmen /54/, skilled workers /49/, service workers /48/, semi-skilled workers /45/, unskilled workers /31/. The author stressed two significant facts in comparison with the pre-war period:

1/ the lack of essential disparities between technicians and office workers, and

2/ considerable closeness of skilled and semi-skilled worker groups to other groups in the middle of the hierarchy.

18. Cultural consumption and its conditioning

While discussing cultural consumption and its conditioning, it is worth-while to present the general model of influence of various variables. So far this model has not been adopted in any particular investigation, although its elements were verified in some analyses¹¹². The best way to present this model is to use the following path analysis diagram.

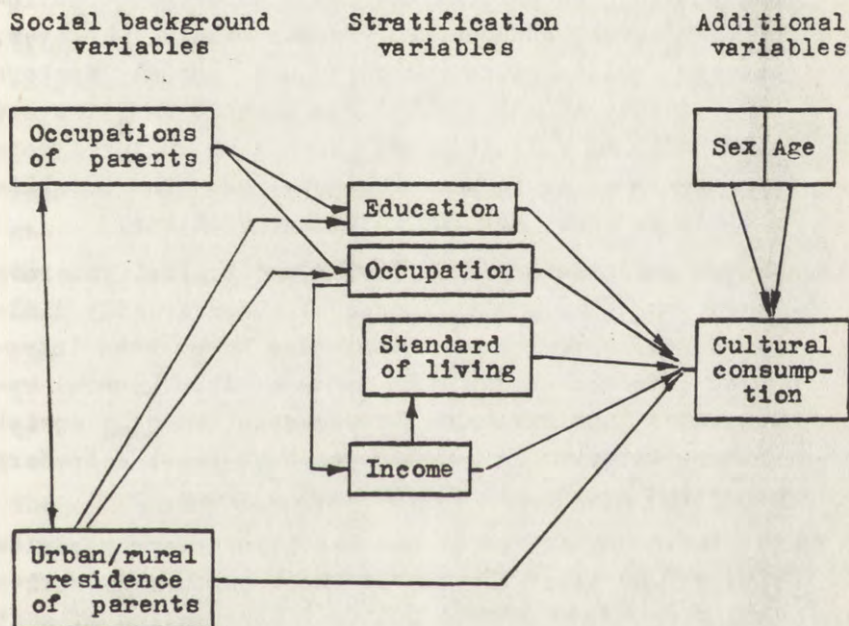


Fig. 1. Variables explaining cultural consumption

1. When all the variables are considered, education is the strongest determinant of cultural consumption. Each kind of education, after primary school, can be recognized as the first clear threshold, the crossing of which considerably improves the level of cultural consumption. The second threshold is university education.
2. The influence of occupation on cultural consumption reveals itself when the population is divided into two groups: white-collar and manual workers. Even when controlling for education, the first group is distinguished by markedly higher cultural consumption from the latter.
3. When all other factors are controlled, the parent's occupation, as well as the place of origin, influence cultural consumption rather weakly. However, between white-collar workers and manual workers alike, those who originate from peasant families and attended their village school have lower cultural consumption than those who originate from the intelligentsia and were brought up in large cities.
4. Income and standard of living are typical intermediary variables the influence of which greatly diminishes if prior causal variables have been introduced into the analysis. In spite of this general regularity, this influence is essential in some social groups. White-collar workers with at least secondary education are an example of such a group.
5. The influence of age is not rectilinear: among adults, younger and older persons are more culturally active than middle aged persons. Cultural consumption of a 45

year old woman is lower than that of a man, presumably due to her housework and child-rearing activities.

19. Style of life

Let us begin the discussion about the investigation of life style from the reconstruction of the main research problem. This reconstruction could be included in the question: to what degree is the style of life a correlate of the standard of living. Implicitly, style of life is understood to be a syndrome of means for the fulfilment of needs which, to a given degree, responds to the achieved standard of living.

A problem formulated in this way maps out two directions of investigation. First, to settle the degree to which variables like education or income determine the elements of life style. Some investigations on budget of time, holidays, and on how time is spent with family and friends belong to this direction¹¹². Sometimes, investigators take under consideration large sets of elements of life style and ascertain correlations between them for each social class and social stratum separately¹¹³.

The second direction of investigation is based on:
a/ distinguishing the dominant types of life style, and
b/ ascertaining social groups that represent each of these types.

The case study by A. Tyszka is an example of such an investigation¹¹⁴. This author, with the help of different procedures and techniques, gathered data on cultural behaviour of people in a small town. On the basis of

these materials, he distinguishes the following types of life style: exclusive, white-collar, neo-bourgeois, folkcumplebian, and people socially abandoned. Each of these types has a particular social group as its main bearer. The analysis has shown that each such group joins different classes and strata.

20. The value system

In Poland empirical investigations on the value system were carried out among rural and urban populations in a small town, among youth, and also in several factories¹¹⁵. Usually, these studies were directed not on the whole system of values, but on certain of its elements. Investigators attempted to show to what degree and in what social groups private and state property, observance of the law, work and money, and everyday social contacts with others, are valued¹¹⁶. The results usually demonstrated that relationships between attributes of social position and desired values are rather weak. The thesis about uniformity of the value system in the whole society is formulated in this context.

One book in particular, on the relationship between the value system and class structure ought to be mentioned. We refer here to J. Koralewicz-Zębiak's book¹¹⁷, based on empirical investigations among three occupational groups belonging to different social classes: the first group consisted of skilled workers /part of the working class/, the second - engineers /part of the intelligentsia/, the third - craftsmen /part of the petite bourgeoisie/. The author made an effort to determine the hie-

rarchy of four values for each group:

- a/ education,
- b/ authority,
- c/ income, and
- d/ cultural consumption.

The method used during the investigation consisted of presenting to respondents with several situations in which they were to choose one out of two values being in conflict. These values were illustrated in a very concrete way. For instance, a respondent was faced with a choice between achieving a higher level of education or reaching a higher managerial position, and was not simply asked to declare greater desire for education or authority as abstract values. Sixteen descriptions of such conflicting situations - called stories - were worked out on the basis of verified biographical materials.

The analysis of material carried out with the help of several scaling techniques showed that the hierarchy of values is the same in all three occupational groups. Education is valued most, next comes income, followed by cultural consumption, and finally authority. Furthermore, in each occupational group, the above hierarchy of values had a similar degree of coherence. In addition it is worthwhile to stress that the preference for education was very frequent and amounted to over 70 % in all groups. Dissimilarities in treating education as an "end-value" /autotelic/ and a "means-value" /instrumental/ were also of no importance.

The author ascertains that not only occupational groups but also social attributes correlated with them, such as

social origin, education and income, weakly influence differentiation of the value system. For this reason she writes:

1. "It seems that the formation of a value system of an individual evolves under the influence of several complicated, psycho-social factors, among which the place the individual occupies in the social structure is not the most important determinant".
2. "Among social conditions causing a given value to become particularly treasured and formulated in autotelic categories, there is an inconsistency of factors of social position. The factor which has too low intensity, begins to function in the consciousness of an individual as the value particularly esteemed"¹¹⁸.

V. 21. Class structure and occupational prestige

Poland is one of the countries in which surveys of occupational prestige have been carried out for many years. These investigations were usually undertaken using the same procedure: respondents evaluated particular occupations on a five point scale, from very high to very low prestige. The lists of occupational titles contain from 9 to 42 items of a wide variety of types of work.

22. Investigations of occupational prestige in various environments

Investigations of occupational prestige have been carried out among greatly differing groups:

- a/ adult urban dwellers, in particular in Warsaw¹¹⁹, Ko-
szalin, Szczecin, Łódź¹²⁰,
- b/ adult rural inhabitants representing the whole coun-
try¹²¹,
- c/ school youth and university students¹²², and
- d/ some occupational groups¹²³.

Besides, in 1973 a survey was undertaken of a sample of the adult national population¹²⁴. Although these investigations have embraced different groups and have been carried out over a long period of time /from 1958 to 1973/ their results show a high degree of consistency.

The mean value of the rank-order correlation coefficients for the occupational hierarchies is .94 for eleven investigations. In 1975, the Warsaw survey of 1958 was repeated. The correlation between both occupational hierarchies is .93. This indicates a high stability of results in the seventeen year time span.

Table 3 presents the average prestige scores for socio-occupational groups. These averages were calculated on the basis of measures which were attributed to particular occupations belonging to greater socio-occupational groups. The results are given separately for each of the three largest investigations and also for eleven investigations taken together.

The resulting hierarchy of socio-occupational groups is univocal. The highest position is taken by professionals, followed by technicians, foremen, skilled workers, individual farmers, office workers, service workers, craftsmen, unskilled workers, and lastly, farm labourers. In comparison with the period before the Second World War marked changes have taken place in the rank

Table 3

Prestige of occupational groups

| | Warszawa 1958 | Rural areas 1962 | Łódź 1967 | Eleven surveys 1958-73 |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| Professionals | 82.7 | 82,6 | 83.2 | 82.5 |
| Technicians | 77.5 | - | 74.6 | 75.1 |
| Foremen | 71.0 | 66.0 | 70.0 | 69.5 |
| Skilled workers | 75.0 | 71.5 | 69.6 | 69.5 |
| Office workers | 58.2 | 59.0 | 64.3 | 59.0 |
| Service workers | 52.0 | - | 53.4 | 52.9 |
| Craftsmen | 49.1 | - | 51.3 | 49.9 |
| Unskilled workers | 38.5 | 47.0 | 48.8 | 46.4 |
| Farmers | 64.0 | 64.0 | - | 64.5 |
| Farm labourers | 37.0 | 44.0 | - | 41.2 |

order of these groups¹²⁵. According to various data, in pre-war society the prestige ranks of the office workers and craftsmen were higher than the prestige ranks of the skilled workers and farmers. In the present hierarchy, the high prestige of technicians and foremen, who previously had similar prestige to office workers is also noteworthy.

Polish sociologists point to two sources of changes in the prestige hierarchy of occupational groups¹²⁶. The first source is an improvement of the situation of some groups in such dimensions of social differentiation as education, income or authority. The second source is of a subjective nature and concerns the value system. To be sure, under the influence of the socialist ideology,

changes have taken place with reference to the views of the type of work which ought to be held in esteem. In particular the repulsion towards all manual labour has decreased.

23. Occupational prestige and the value system

K. Żygulski attempted to substantiate P. Hatt's hypothesis that people are capable of ranking occupations constituting a common situs, but that they are not capable of ranking occupations belonging to other situations¹²⁷. This hypothesis was rejected in a later investigation by M. Pohoski¹²⁸ and K. Słomczyński¹²⁹. In particular, both these authors ascertained that evaluation of occupations differing in their situs fulfil scalogram conditions. In addition, K. Słomczyński, making use of other scaling techniques, showed that occupational prestige can be treated as a quasi-linear variable.

According to all Polish investigations, the prestige hierarchy of occupations is nearly identical in the opinion of all demographic and social categories. In these studies, categories of respondents were distinguished according to sex, age, social origin, education, occupation, and income.

Also present among various social categories are similar distributions of answers to the question: "Why do you have a high or very high esteem for some occupations?" Independently of the investigated milieu, respondents usually mention such factors as "higher education", "high professional skill", "heavy work" and only

later do they mention factors such as "high earning" or "esteem held by the society". Thus, the factors most often mentioned characterized a significant part of work investments, which the individual bears while both preparing for the occupation and carrying out the job itself. These data can be interpreted in such a way that these investments form a system of values deeply rooted in the society.

24. International comparisons

W. Wesołowski and A. Sarapata¹³⁰ confronted the results of the survey carried out in Warsaw in 1958 with data concerning England, Japan, West Germany, New Zealand, and the United States, which were previously used by A. Inkeles and P. Rossi. The congruence of the occupational hierarchy in Poland with corresponding hierarchies in capitalist countries turns out to be high: the Pearson correlation co-efficients are .84 to .88. Nevertheless, in Poland, skilled workers occupations have a decisively higher rank than in capitalist countries, whereas office workers occupations a lower one. W. Wesołowski and A. Sarapata explain the relatively higher prestige of skilled workers by the influence of the socialist value system and the ideology claiming the foremost importance of productive work and the guiding role of the working class¹³¹.

At the same time they point out that "the socialist ideology exerted its influence at the time when it coincided with another, more universal value" - primarily the value of vocational qualifications. They indicate

that the growth of skilled workers education and earning, in comparison with other social groups, is taking place relatively quickly in Poland.

The significantly higher prestige position of skilled workers in Poland as opposed to that of capitalist countries has been ascertained in other studies¹³². This result should not be underestimated as some studies clearly accentuate a world-wide unification of occupational prestige.

From data in M. Koraszewska's study, one can draw the conclusion that the average correlation of the occupational hierarchy in Poland with occupational hierarchies in capitalist countries is .76 and that it is significantly lower than the average correlation for the capitalist countries taken by themselves $r=.87$ ¹³³. It can be assumed that this difference is related to the socio-political system. As substantiation of this supposition, one can regard the fact that the congruence of the occupational hierarchy in Poland with the analogous hierarchy in another socialist country, namely Czechoslovakia, is very high $r=.97$ ¹³⁴.

VI, 25. Psychological aspects of social structure

The social structure has its extension in the feelings of people - it is subject to perception and evaluation. These feelings can be treated as elements of social consciousness which reflects reality through emotional states. This subjective reflection of social structure is a social fact demanding investigation. In particular,

three questions arise:

- 1/ what are the categories in which people perceive the social structure?
- 2/ with what social classes do they identify themselves?
- 3/ how do they evaluate their position in the social hierarchy?

Whereas the first question concerns images of the social structure, the second and third concern self-definition within this structure. We shall, however, differentiate class and stratification frames of reference within which self-definition in the structure takes place.

Before we go on to the results of empirical investigations, it is worth noting that they have their theoretical and methodical roots in works, originating both from the traditions of Marxist sociology as well as from other theoretical orientations. In Poland, the various aspects of class consciousness were demonstrated in Ossowski's book¹³⁵. Other authors have also elaborated the complexity of the social consciousness of classes¹³⁶.

26. Common images of social structure

In Poland, investigations of images of social structure are usually conducted through survey research, during which respondents are asked the question: "Into what social classes and strata is the society divided?" A question of this sort was first asked in S. Widerszpil's 1958 survey. Among other things, this researcher stated that:

"The sequence of workers, peasants, intelligentsia was mentioned in the greatest number of answers /34.5 %/. A predominance of such a perceived social structure is noticeable in the opinions of nearly all socio-occupational groups of respondents"¹³⁷.

Later investigations also demonstrated that popular perception of the class structure is most frequently consistent with the basic divisions used in Marxist sociology. In surveys conducted in urban areas from 1964 to 1967, this kind of perception was reported by over half of the respondents¹³⁸. It was also ascertained that this image is hardly dependent on social position, as measured by occupation, education or income. Furthermore, this type of vision is not generally connected with a feeling of antagonism between classes.

The criteria which give rise to distinguishing particular classes and strata are of course greatly differentiated. However, among those who divide urban population into the working class and the intelligentsia, most significant are the factors connected with a functional division of labour. Presumably these factors condition the frequent occurrence of the image of non-antagonistic social classes.

In a survey carried out in 1962, the factors contributing to interpersonal animosities were earnings and education¹³⁹. In turn, a relatively insignificant role was played by such factors as social origin and differences in the style of life. In the same investigation it was ascertained that a greater part of the working class than of the intelligentsia supports reducing social dif-

ferences. The author of this investigation explains the results in the following way:

"The attitudes of the investigated population seem to be shaped under the influence of two mechanisms which determine the images of the structure and postulates of its further egalitarianization. On the one hand, this population as a whole is under the strong pressure of egalitarian patterns of socialist ideology with its postulates of transforming the social structure./.../ On the other hand, there is traditional socio-psychological mechanism which causes the attractiveness of egalitarian patterns to decrease together with the growth of personal social and economic position"¹⁴⁰.

27. Class self-identification

Polish sociologists have hitherto mainly studied identification with the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. Respondents' declarations of attachment to one of these three classes are regarded as an indicator of group affiliation. Criteria of class self-identification indicate that "the predominating mode of thought reaches the most visible, external aspects of life"¹⁴¹. The most important aspect is the nature of work.

Investigations carried out in various periods of time and in various milieus prove a significant correlation between nature of work and class self-identification¹⁴². Among manual workers the feeling of belongingness to the working class is decisively predominant; individuals declaring attachment to other classes do not

exceed a few per cent. Simultaneously, the nature of work eliminates the influence of such factors as social origin, education or income.

Among white-collar workers the situation is more complex. On the basis of the 1958 survey, S. Widerszpil commented:

"Some of them claim attachment to the intelligentsia, others to the working class. When the variable of social origin was introduced it became apparent that /.../ of those who describe their origin as from the intelligentsia, 79%/.../ attach themselves to the intelligentsia, while those of working class origin in the greater part regard themselves as members of the working class"¹⁴³.

The influence of social origin on self-identification was later confirmed¹⁴⁴. It was also ascertained that among white-collar workers the higher the education and income the higher the probability of self-identification with the intelligentsia. Additional analysis showed that individuals whose acquaintances are white-collar workers also identify themselves more often with the intelligentsia¹⁴⁵.

In many countries it has been ascertained that education and income determine a significant portion of the variance of class self-identification. In particular, individuals with lower education and lower income are likely to include themselves in the "working class". In our country, both these variables characterizing the status of the individual have a markedly lower influence. In our society the nature of work is the basic factor in common self-definition of the working class and the intelligentsia. The position of particular indivi-

duals is rarely defined in gradation schemes such as "upper class - middle class - lower class".

28. Evaluation of position in the social hierarchy

Whereas class self-identification does not presume a gradation scheme, the situation with self-evaluation of social position is different: particular individuals place themselves on higher or lower levels of the social hierarchy. In surveys carried out in Poland, in order to ascertain a self-evaluation of social position the following question was generally asked: "In your opinion, what position do you occupy in a society?" Suggested possible answers ranged from "very high position" to "very low position".

Although the term "social position" is very often used in the mass media, it is not univocal. The common understanding of this term was reconstructed on the basis of evaluation criteria used by respondents.

"Respondents most often mentioned factors related to their own work /.../. These answers referred both to the requirements which had to be met in order to take up employment in a particular occupation, as well as to the qualities of the job itself or the benefits it gives. Only 20 % of the individuals did not notice this kind of factor /.../"¹⁴⁶.

Other analyses confirmed that social position is commonly understood as investments and rewards connected with the place in the division of labour¹⁴⁷. It is not therefore surprising that the higher the education, the

greater the prestige of the occupation, and the higher the income, the higher is the self-evaluation of social position. S. Nowak writes:

"These factors can be complementary, can substitute or cancel each other out, shaping into something on the order of a synthetic gradation of a subjective social ladder. Taken together they demarcate a substantial part of the variance of social position evaluation"¹⁴⁸.

Images of social structure, class self-identification, and self-evaluation of social position are very closely related topics. In recent research, they are considered in the context of political consciousness, especially that of the working class¹⁴⁹. In another investigation images of social structure and self-identification are related to egalitarian attitudes¹⁵⁰.

VII.29. Investigation of social mobility

As in other countries, social mobility is studied in Poland in the occupational dimension. It is worth noting however, that as a result of the social transformation taking place, the hierarchy of occupational groups is not stable over longer periods of time. Ascertainment of intergeneration, or even intrageneration movement between occupational groups in terms of "upward" and "downward" mobility must be carried out with caution. Since some occupational groups undergo movement as a whole, in many studies the concept of group mobility is used in addition to the concept of individual mobility¹⁵¹.

In this part of the paper we shall present some studies on the subject of social mobility in the occupational

dimension. Nonetheless, we should like to stress that recently, interest has been directed toward social mobility in also the cultural dimension¹⁵². Although these are at present modest attempts, they do offer a promising direction of research.

30. Investigations on national samples

The first data on the rates and patterns of intergeneration mobility were supplied by a survey at the beginning of the sixties¹⁵³. This survey showed that cases of upward mobility were numerically dominant. However, this investigation was conducted using an urban sample and the results were treated as uncertain. In the years 1968-1972 the Central Statistics Office conducted three large surveys¹⁵⁴. The largest of these included over 70 000 individuals. Table 4 presents the dependence between father's position and respondent's position found in this investigation. Commenting on the results given in the table, K.Zagórski writes:

"Despite the natural tendency to "inherit" social position, one can ascertain a high intensity of social mobility from the group of individual farmers to groups of both manual and white-collar workers, and from the manual group to white-collar workers. The flow between the two latter groups is far from one-way and the following should be stressed as a symptomatic fact of overlapping of borders between groups: every fourth professionally active person, originating from families belonging to the sphere of white-collar workers, works manually at present"¹⁵⁵.

This author also analysed the relationship between father's position and respondent's position during first employment for different periods: up to 1949, in the years 1950-1954 and further on for every five years up to 1970-1972. It was found that the extent and main directions of social mobility changed in various periods of time, dependently on the socio-economic situation. For example, employment in white-collar jobs by individuals of peasant and working class origin was, relatively speaking, most frequent in the years 1950-1954 and from then it has exhibited a systematically declining tendency. The author explains this by the fact that the years 1950-1954 were the period of the development of the central administrative apparatus and compensation for the losses among the intelligentsia occurred during the war.

Table 4

Inter-generation mobility. National survey on a sample of men and women in 1972 /in percentages/

| Father's occupation | Respondent's occupation | | | | Total |
|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------|-------|
| | Manual workers | White-collar workers | Intermediary groups | Farmers | |
| Manual workers | 61.5 | 27.5 | 1.0 | 8.9 | 100.0 |
| White collar-workers | 27.3 | 68.3 | 1.0 | 2.4 | 100.0 |
| Intermediary groups | 41.9 | 34.4 | 7.6 | 14.7 | 100.0 |
| Farmers | 31.3 | 12.1 | 1.0 | 55.0 | 100.0 |

In connection with this the author writes:

"During the last years we are observing a stabilization and even a decreasing outflow from worker and peasant

groups to the intelligentsia. Simultaneously, there is a growing tendency of outflow from the intelligentsia to the working class. This certifies, firstly, that the "extensive" growth stage of employment in white-collar occupations has finished and, secondly, that there have been changes in the hierarchy of groups in society. Connected with this is a gradual disappearance of barriers dividing the working class and intelligentsia, especially between skilled workers and middle or lower office and technical staff"¹⁵⁶.

31. Rural migration to towns and social mobility

Using a survey conducted by the Institute of Agricultural Economy, M. Pohoski attempted to determine the extent and directions of social mobility of peasants' sons¹⁵⁷. The analysis took into account peasants' sons who had remained on farms or changed their occupations in the years 1945-1957. It was found that nearly half of them worked outside agriculture. Most of those who migrated to towns entered the working class; however, nearly 20% attained white-collar occupations.

Although most of those who migrated from rural areas occupied positions on the same level as the position of individual farmers, a significant part of the migrants took higher prestige positions. The author explains this type of movement to towns by a sequence of processes of extensive economic development. Such an interpretation of upward mobility of peasant youth is also given by other authors¹⁵⁸.

32. Investigations of intergenerational and intragenerational mobility in towns

Investigations conducted in three towns, Łódź, Szczecin and Koszalin, in the years 1964-1967 supplied data on intergeneration and intrageneration mobility. K. Janicka analysed these data from the standpoint of determining the extent and directions of mobility¹⁵⁹. One of the hypotheses she put forward was that in Szczecin and Koszalin, as towns newly resettled after the war, the extent of mobility would be significantly larger than in Łódź. The results are complex: in Szczecin and Koszalin the global mobility is larger than in Łódź, but only due to the transformation of the occupational structure; the extent of exchange or pure mobility is larger in Łódź.

Taking into account global mobility, one can state that the lowest level of intergeneration mobility is exhibited by individuals of intelligentsia origin. In particular, movement from intelligentsia to manual work is rare, ranging from 5 to 10% depending on the towns. Movement from manual work to intelligentsia fluctuates from 21% to 39% and is nearly as frequent as from farmers to service workers category. Similar patterns of flow were also observed in other towns.

On the basis of materials collected in Łódź, K. Słomczyński analysed the influence of education on the process of intrageneration mobility¹⁶⁰. It was found that individuals who raise their education during their professional career show upward mobility more often than others. However the raising of one's education can be connected

with occupational stability, particularly when the occupational position in the first job was rather high in relation to one's educational level.

Other studies in the field of social mobility have taken into account motivation factors and views of occupational career. Some of these refer to psychological consequences of social mobility or its correlates¹⁶¹. Sometimes these studies are limited to the staffs of a factory¹⁶².

- 1 An extended description of the activity of the Institute for Social Economy can be found in the book by T. Szturm de Sztrem: Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego. 1920-1944. Przyczynek do historii instytucji naukowo-społecznych w Polsce /The Institute for Social Economy. 1920-1944. An Attempt at the History of Scientific and Social Institutions in Poland/, Warszawa 1959.
- 2 J. Chałasiński: Młode pokolenie chłopów /Young Generation of Peasants/, Vol. I-IV, Warszawa 1938.
- 3 J. Chałasiński: Społeczna genealogia inteligencji polskiej /Social Genealogy of the Polish Intelligentsia/, Łódź 1946.
- 4 A. Schaff: Wstęp do teorii marksizmu /Introduction to the Theory of Marxism/, Warszawa 1947.
- 5 A. Kutrzeba - Pojnarowa: Tradycyjna społeczność wiejska w procesie przemian współczesnych /The Traditional Village Community in the Process of Contemporary Transition/, Wrocław 1968; D. Dobrowolska: Przeobrażenia społeczne wsi podmiejskiej /Social Change of the Sub-urban Areas/, Wrocław 1968. The theoretical basis for these studies was formulated by K. Dobrowolski. See his: Studia nad życiem społecznym i kulturą /Studies on Social Life and Culture/, Wrocław 1967, and Teoria procesów żywiołowych w zarysie /The Outline of the Theory of Spontaneous Processes/, Wrocław 1973.
- 6 D. Dobrowolska: Robotnicy na wczasach w pierwszych latach Polski Ludowej /Workers on Vacation during the First Years of People's Poland/, Wrocław 1963.
- 7 S. Ossowski: Zagadnienie więzi regionalnej i więzi narodowej na Śląsku Opolskim /The Problem of Regional and National Relationships in Opolean Silesia/, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", Vol. IX, 1947; S. Nowakowski: Przeobrażenia społeczne wsi opolskiej /Social Change of the Opolean Village/, Poznań 1960.
- 8 J. Hochfeld, S. Nowakowski: Uwagi o wykorzystaniu pamiętników do badań nad świadomością proletariatu /Some Remarks on Using Memoirs for the Study of Proletarian Consciousness/, "Myśl Filozoficzna", No. 3, 1953.

- 9 J. Szczepański /ed./: Z badań klasy robotniczej i inteligencji /From Studies of the Working Class and Intelligentsia/, Łódź 1958; J. Szczepański /ed./: Wykształcenie i pozycja społeczna inteligencji /Education and Social Position of the Intelligentsia/, Vol. I and II, Łódź 1959 and 1960. Among other books of the series the most important are the following: Z. Grzelak: Pozycja inteligencji w społeczności wiejskiej /Position of the Intelligentsia in the Village Community/, Warszawa 1971; J. Szczepański /ed./: Studia nad rozwojem klasy robotniczej /Studies on the Development of the Working Class/, Vol. I and II, Łódź 1961 and 1962; J. Malanowski: Robotnicy Warszawskiej Fabryki Motocykli Workers of the Warsaw Motorcycle Factory/, Wrocław 1962; S. Dzięcielska: Społeczna sytuacja dziennikarzy polskich /Social Situation of the Polish Journalists/, Wrocław 1962; Z. Kowalewski: Chemicy w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej /Chemists in the Polish People's Republic/, Wrocław 1962; J. Woskowski: O pozycji społecznej nauczyciela /On the Social Position of a Teacher/, Łódź 1964; A. Wallis: Artysci plastycy /Artists/, Warszawa 1964; M. Jarosińska: Adaptacja młodzieży wiejskiej do klasy robotniczej /Adaptation of the Rural Youth to the Working Class/, Warszawa 1964; A. Stojak: Studium o górnikach kopalni "Janina" w Libiążu, 1905 - 1960 /The Study on Miners in "Janina" Mine in Libiąż, 1905 - 1960/, Wrocław 1964; K. Lutyńska: Pozycja społeczna urzędników w Polsce Ludowej /The Social Position of Office Workers in People's Poland/, Wrocław 1965; S. Szostkiewicz: Przemiany w strukturze załogi Fabryki Samochodów Osobowych /The Changes of the Working Force Structure of the Passenger Motorcar Factory/, Wrocław 1965.
- 10 A review of Polish Studies on class structure and social stratification can also be found in: W. Kwaśniewicz: Socjologiczne badania nad makrostrukturą w Polsce Ludowej /Sociological Studies on the Macrostructure in People's Poland/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 4, 1971.
- 11 S. Ossowski: Struktura klasowa w społecznej świadomości /Class Structure in the Social Consciousness/, Łódź 1957; S. Ossowski: Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, London 1963; S. Ossowski: Die Klassenstruktur im Sozialen Bewusstsein, Neuwied-Rhein 1962.

- 12 J. Hochfeld: Marksowska teoria klas: próba systematyzacji /Marx's Theory of Class: An Attempt at Systematization/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 1 and 3, 1961; J. Hochfeld: Studia o Marksowskiej teorii społeczeństwa /Studies on Marx's Theory of Society/, Warszawa 1963.
- 13 J. Szczepański: Odmiany czasu teraźniejszego /Varieties of the Present Times/, Warszawa 1973.
- 14 J. Szczepański/ed./: Z badań klasy robotniczej i inteligencji /From Studies of the Working Class and Intelligentsia/ Łódź 1958; J. Szczepański/ed./: Wykształcenie i pozycja społeczna inteligencji /Education and Social Position of the Intelligentsia/, Vol. 1, Łódź 1959; J. Szczepański: The Polish Society, New York 1970.
- 15 J. Szczepański /ed./: Narodziny socjalistycznej klasy robotniczej /The Birth of the Socialist Working Class/, Warszawa 1974.
- 16 For the general exposition of his approach see: W. Wesołowski: Studia z socjologii klas i warstw społecznych /Studies from Sociology of Social Classes and Strata/, Warszawa 1962; W. Wesołowski: Klasy, warstwy i władza /Classes, Strata and Power/, Warszawa 1966; W. Wesołowski: Teoria, badania, praktyka: z problematyki struktury klasowej /Theory, Research, Praxis: In the Field of Class Structure/, Warszawa 1975.
- 17 W. Wesołowski /ed./: Zróżnicowanie społeczne /Social Differentiation/, Wrocław 1970; K. Słomczyński, W. Wesołowski /eds./: Struktura i ruchliwość społeczna /Social Structure and Mobility/, Wrocław 1973; K. Słomczyński: Zróżnicowanie społeczno-zawodowe i jego korelaty /Socio-occupational Differentiation and its Correlates/, Wrocław 1972; W. Warzywoda-Kruszyńska: Małżeństwa a struktura społeczna /Marriages and Social Structure/, Wrocław 1974; J. Koralewicz-Zębik: System wartości a struktura społeczna /The System of Values and the Social Structure/, Wrocław 1974; K. Janicka: Ruchliwość społeczno-zawodowa i jej korelaty /Socio-Occupational Mobility and its Correlates/, Wrocław 1976; A. Kobus-Wojciechowska: Położenie materialne i udział w kulturze /Standard of Living and Cultural Participation/, Wrocław 1976.

- 18 W. Wesołowski: Zanikanie różnic klasowych /The Vanishing of Class Differences/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1964; W. Wesołowski: Social Stratification in Socialist Society, "The Polish Sociological Bulletin". Vol. 7, No. 1, 1967.
- 19 W. Wesołowski: Planowanie i prognozowanie przemian struktury klasowej /Planning and Forecasting of Class Structure Transformations/, "Studia Nauk Politycznych" No. 1, 1971; W. Wesołowski: Planning and Forecasting of Class Structure Transformations, "Poland 2000. Special Issue: Development of Poland in Prognostic Works". Warszawa 1974.
- 20 Wesołowski /ed./: Zróżnicowanie społeczne /Social Differentiation/...
- 21 Wesołowski: Klasy, warstwy i władza /Classes, Strata and Power/..., chapter IV.; W. Wesołowski: The Notion of Strata and Class in Socialist Society, in: A. Beteille /ed./: Social Inequality, Harmondsworth 1969.
- 22 W. Wesołowski, A. Sarapata: Hierarchia zawodów i stanowisk /The Hierarchy of Occupations and Position/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1961; A. Sarapata and W. Wesołowski, The Evaluation of Occupations by Warsaw Inhabitants, "The American Journal of Sociology", Vol. 66, No. 6, 1961; M. Pohoski, K. Słomczyński, W. Wesołowski: Occupational Prestige in Poland, 1958-1975, "The Polish Sociological Bulletin" /in press/.
- 23 K. Słomczyński, W. Wesołowski: The Reduction of Social Inequalities and Status Inconsistency, Toronto 1974 /Mimeographed paper presented at VIII World Congress of Sociology/.
- 24 Hochfeld, Nowakowski: Uwagi o wykorzystaniu pamiętników do badań nad świadomością proletariatu /Some Remarks on Using Memoirs for the Study of Proletarian Consciousness/; J. Szczepański: Zagadnienia metodologii badań społecznych w niektórych pracach Marksa i Engelsa /Methodological Problems of Social Investigations in Some Works of Marx and Engels/, "Myśl Filozoficzna", No. 2, 1952.
- 25 See footnote 9.

- 26 W. Wesołowski /ed./: Standaryzacja zmiennych socjologicznych, Tom I: Wiek, wykształcenie, dochód, sytuacja mieszkaniowa /Standardization of Sociological Variables, Volume I: Age, Education, Income, Housing Conditions/, Warszawa 1974; M. Pohoski, K. Słomczyński, K. Mielczarek: Standaryzacja zmiennych socjologicznych, Tom II: Społeczna klasyfikacja zawodów /Standardization of Sociological Variables. Volume II: Social Classification of Occupations/, Warszawa 1974.
- 27 The largest survey on social mobility was carried out in 1972 by the Central Statistics Office /under the direction of K. Zagórski/ using a sample of over 72 000 people. Another survey on social mobility, undertaken by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw, covered a sample of over 17 000 people.
- 28 The first monograph of this kind was written in 1905 by F. Bujak.
- 29 K. Duda - Dziewierz: Wieś małopolska a emigracja amerykańska /Village in Małopolska Region and Emigration to America/, Warszawa 1938.
- 30 J. Chałasiński: Antagonizm polsko - niemiecki w osadzie fabrycznej "Kopalnia" /Polish-German Antagonism in the "Kopalnia" Factory Settlement/, Warszawa 1935.
- 31 S. Nowakowski: Narodziny miasta /Birth of a Town/, Warszawa 1967.
- 32 J. Małanowski: Stosunki klasowe i różnice klasowe w mieście /Class Relationships and Social Differentiation in a Town/, Warszawa 1967.
- 33 See methodological remarks of J. Lutyński: Antropologiczna monografia terenowa i badania społeczno-kulturowych przeobrażeń w Polsce Ludowej /Anthropological Local Community Monograph and the Study of Socio-Cultural Changes in People's Poland/, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", Vol. XXV, No. 2, 1961. For a survey on monographs of villages see: K. Adamus: Monografia wsi w Polsce /Monographs on Villages in Poland/, "Etnografia

- Polska", vol. II, 1959. For more recent monographs of villages see: Z.T. Wierzbowski: *Żmiąca pół wieku później /Żmiąca Half a Century Later/*, Warszawa 1968; A. Olszewska: *Wieś uprzemysłowiona /An Industrialized Village/*, Wrocław 1969; see also: J. Turowski: *Przemiany tradycyjnej wiejskiej społeczności lokalnej w Polsce /Changes in Traditional Rural Local Community in Poland/*, "Roczniki Socjologii Wsi", Vol.4, 1965.
- 34 On the relationship between social structure of factories and class structure of a global society see: A. Sarapata: *Zakład pracy w polskim systemie społeczno-ekonomicznym /The Factory in the Polish Socio-economic System/*, Warszawa 1967.
- 35 Z. Gałdzicki: *Przedsiębiorstwo jako układ stosunków społecznych i grup społeczno-zawodowych pracowników /The Factory as a System of Social Relations and Socio-occupational Groups of Working Force/*, Wrocław 1971.
- 36 A. Stojak: *Studia nad załogą Huty imienia Lenina /Studies on Working Force of the "Lenin" Foundry/*, Wrocław 1967; Z. Gałdzicki: *Pracownicy przedsiębiorstwa elektronicznego /Workers of an Electronic Factory/*, Wrocław 1967.
- 37 P. Tobera: *Zróżnicowanie społeczne pracowników przemysłu /Social Differentiation of Industry Workers/*, Warszawa 1972; R. Janik, S. Stąporek, K. Szafnicki: *Zróżnicowanie społeczne załogi przedsiębiorstwa przemysłowego /Social Differentiation of the Working Force in an Industry Plant/*, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1970.
- 38 S. Widerszpil: *Skład polskiej klasy robotniczej /The Composition of the Polish Working Class/*, Warszawa 1965; Szczepański /ed./: *Narodziny socjalistycznej klasy robotniczej /Birth of the Socialist Working Class/ ...*
- 39 Woskowski: *O pozycji społecznej nauczyciela /On the Social Position of the Teacher/ ...*
- 40 T. Kupis: *Zawód dziennikarza w Polsce Ludowej /Profession of a Journalist in People's Poland/*, Warszawa 1966; Dziecielska: *Społeczna sytuacja dziennikarzy polskich /Social Situation of the Polish Journalists/...*

- 41 J. Kluczyński: Zawód ekonomisty w Polsce Ludowej /Profession of Economist in People's Poland/, Warszawa 1966.
- 42 Wallis: Artyści plastycy /Artists/...
- 43 A. Siciński: Literaci polscy /Polish Writers/, Wrocław 1961.
- 44 J. Szarfenberg: Materiały do charakterystyki zawodu i pozycji społecznej architektów /Data for the Description of the Profession and Social Position of Architects/, Wrocław 1965; K. Przeclawski: Społeczna funkcja urbanistów i ich przygotowanie do zawodu /The Social Function of Town Planners and their Preparation for the Profession/, Łódź 1964; S. Dziecielska-Machnikowska: Farmaceuci w Polsce Ludowej /Pharmacists in People's Poland/, Wrocław 1966; J. Hoser: Zawód i praca inżyniera /The Profession and Work of an Engineer/, Wrocław 1970; J. Janicki: Urzędnicy przemysłowi w strukturze społecznej Polski Ludowej /Industrial Office Workers in the Social Structure of People's Poland/, Warszawa 1968. See also footnote 9.
- 45 Szczepański /ed./: Wykształcenie a pozycja społeczna inteligencji /Education and Social Position of the Intelligentsia/ ..., p. 14.
- 46 Widerszpil: Skład polskiej klasy robotniczej /Composition of the Polish Working Class/ ...
- 47 Szczepański /ed./, Narodziny socjalistycznej klasy robotniczej /Birth of the Socialist Working Class/... Other books of the series are the following: W. Marczyk: Zainteresowania kulturalne młodych robotników /Cultural interests of the Young Workers/, Warszawa 1974; A. Wajda: Załoga robotnicza w środowisku wiejskim /The Working Force in a Rural Settlement/, Warszawa 1974; L. Frackiewicz: Starzy robotnicy na Śląsku /Old Workers in Silesia/, Warszawa 1975; W. Bielicki: Kolejarze. Rodzina, zawód, kultura /Railroad Workers. The Family, Occupation and Culture/, Warszawa 1975; W. Wesołowski /ed./: Młodzi robotnicy. Kwalifikacje, postawy, aspiracje /Young Workers. Qualifications, Attitudes and Aspirations/, Warszawa 1975; J. Kulpińska /ed./: Włókniarze w procesie zmian /Textile Workers in the Process of Change/, Warszawa 1975.

- 48 Szczepański /ed./: Narodziny socjalistycznej klasy robotniczej /Birth of the Socialist Working Class/..., pp. 9-10.
- 49 Kulpińska/ed./: Włókniarze w procesie zmian /Textile Workers in the Process of Change/...
- 50 B. Gałęski: Studia nad społeczną strukturą wsi /Studies on the Social Structure of a Village/, Wrocław 1973. /A collection of papers written in the period 1956 - 1967/; D. Gałaj: Społeczno - ekonomiczna aktywność chłopów /Socio-Economic Activity of Peasants/, Warszawa 1961.
- 51 R. Tulli: Zawód fryzjera na tle przemian społecznych /The Occupation of a Hairdresser on the Background of Social Change/, Wrocław 1967; W. Kwaśniewicz: Wiejska społeczność rzemieślnicza w procesie przemian /Rural Community of Craftsmen in the Process of Change/, Wrocław 1970.
- 52 W. I. Thomas, F. Znaniecki: The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago 1927.
- 53 Chałasiński: Młode pokolenie chłopów /The Young Generation of Peasants/...
- 54 For general remarks on this series see: J. Chałasiński: Dwadzieścia lat Polski Ludowej w świetle pamiętnikarstwa młodego pokolenia wsi /Twenty Years of People's Poland in the Light of Memoirs of the Young Peasant Generation/, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", Vol. 18, 1964.
- 55 Pamiętniki lekarzy /Memoirs of Physicians/, Warszawa 1964.
- 56 Pamiętniki inżynierów /Memoirs of Engineers/, Warszawa 1966.
- 57 20 lat Polski Ludowej we wspomnieniach nauczycieli /20-Years of People's Poland in the Reminiscence of Teachers/, Warszawa 1968.
- 59 Szczepański: Odmiany czasu teraźniejszego /Varieties of the Present Times/..., p. 649.
- 58 Oblicza młodości /The Faces of Youth/, Warszawa 1974.

- 60 S. Widerszpil: Interpretacja przemian struktury społecznej w Polsce Ludowej /Interpretation of Changes in the Social Structure in People's Poland/, "Nowe Drogi", No. 1, 1965; W. Wesołowski: Przemiany strukturalne we współczesnym socjalizmie /Structural Changes in Contemporary Socialism/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1969.
- 61 S. Widerszpil: Przeobrażenia struktury społecznej w Polsce Ludowej /The Transformation of Social Structure in People's Poland/, Warszawa 1973; M. Sadowski, Klasa robotnicza i inteligencja a proces ogólnonarodowej integracji /The Working Class and Intelligentsia and the Process of National Integration/, in: S. Widerszpil /ed./: Socjologiczne problemy przemysłu i klasy robotniczej /Sociological Problems of Industry and the Working Class/, Warszawa 1971.
- 62 K. Zagórski: Zmiany w strukturze i ruchliwości społecznej w Polsce /Changes in Social Structure and Mobility in Poland/, "Wiadomości Statystyczne", No. 5, 1974.
- 63 J. Szczepański: Zmiany społeczeństwa polskiego w procesie uprzemysłowienia /Changes in the Polish Society in the Process of Industrialization/, Warszawa 1973.
- 64 J. Wiatr: Polityczne następstwa przemian struktury społecznej /Political Effects of Change in the Social Structure/, "Nowe Drogi", No. 1, 1971; J. Wiatr, Political Effects of Change in the Social Structure, "Polish Round Table", Vol. 5, No. 1, 1973.
- 65 J. Wiatr: Polityka i ekonomika w okresie budownictwa socjalizmu /Politics and Economy during the Building of Socialism/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 4, 1974.
- 66 J. Szczepański: Zmiany w strukturze klasowej społeczeństwa polskiego /Changes in Class Structure of the Polish Society, in: A. Sarapata /ed./: Przemiany społeczne w Polsce Ludowej /Social Changes in People's Poland/, Warszawa 1965.
- 67 L. Beskid, K. Zagórski: Robotnicy na tle przemian struktury społecznej w Polsce /Workers and Change in the Social Structure in Poland/, Warszawa 1971; Widerszpil: Skład polskiej klasy robotniczej /The Composition of the Polish Working Class/...

- 68 K. Zagórski, W. Bielicki: Robotnicy wczoraj i dziś /Workers in the Past and Present/, Warszawa 1966.
- 69 I. Nowakowa: Robotnicy w uprzemysławiającym się mieście /Workers in an Industrializing City/, Warszawa 1973; T. Goban-Klass: Młodzi robotnicy Nowej Huty jako odbiorcy i współtwórcy kultury /Young Workers of Nowa Huta as Recipients and Co-creators of Culture/, Wrocław 1971; E. Pietraszek, Typy środowisk robotniczych a ich zróżnicowanie kulturowe /Types of Workers' Milieu and their Cultural Differentiation/, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", Vol. 13, No. 4, 1969.
- 70 M. Jarosińska: Adaptacja młodzieży wiejskiej do klasy robotniczej /Adaptation of Rural Youth to the Working Class/; M. Jarosińska: Przystosowanie młodzieży robotniczej do pierwszej pracy /Adaptation of Young Workers to their First Job/, Warszawa 1964; S. Frankiewicz /ed./: Z zagadnień kultury pracy robotników przemysłowych /Problems of Work Culture among the Industrial Workers/, Warszawa 1969; Wesołowski/ed./: Młodzi robotnicy. Kwalifikacje, postawy, aspiracje /Young Workers. Qualifications, Attitudes, Aspirations/...
- 71 J. Wojdak, A. Tudek: Informacja o badaniach nad świadomością robotników wielkoprzemysłowych i kadry inżynieryjno-technicznej /Information about Research on the Class Consciousness of Industrial Workers and Technical Personnel/, "Biuletyn IGS", No. 4, 1973. See also: footnotes 149, 150.
- 72 R. Dyoniziak: Społeczne uwarunkowania wydajności pracy /Social Conditioning of Work Efficiency/, Warszawa 1967; J. Malenowski: Stosunek młodych robotników do zawodu i nauki /The Attitude of Young Workers toward Occupation and Education/, Warszawa 1960; J. Tułski: Postawy młodych robotników wobec pracy zawodowej /Young Workers' Attitudes toward Work/, Warszawa 1969; G. Pomian, M. Strzeszewski: Postawy wobec pracy i zakładu pracy /Attitudes toward Work and Place of Employment/, Warszawa 1969.
- 73 M. Sadowski: Przemiany społeczne a system partyjny PRL /Social Changes and the Party System of the Polish People's Republic/, Warszawa 1969.

- 74 W. Morawski: Samorząd robotniczy /Workers' Self-management/, Warszawa 1973; M. Jarosz: Samorząd robotniczy w przedsiębiorstwie przemysłowym /Workers' Self-management in the Industrial Enterprise/, Warszawa 1967; J. Balcerek, L. Gilejko: Społeczno-ekonomiczne funkcje samorządu robotniczego /Socio-economic Functions of the Workers' Self-management/, Warszawa 1967.
- 75 K. Ostrowski: Rola związków zawodowych w polskim systemie politycznym /Role of Trade Unions in the Polish Political System/, Wrocław 1972.
- 76 M. Jarosz: Czego oczekują pracownicy od rad robotniczych /What do Workers Expect from the Workers' Councils/, "Samorząd Robotniczy", No. 5, 1958; J. Kulpińska, M. Rokacz: Rada robotnicza w opinii załogi /Workers' Council in the Opinion of the Working Force/, "Nowe Drogi", No. 8, 1958.
- 77 W. Morawski: Opis i analiza funkcjonowania samorządu robotniczego /Description and Analysis of the Functioning of the Workers' Council/ in: Człowiek w organizacji przemysłowej /Man in the Industrial Organization/, Warszawa 1965; L. Gilejko, J. Balcerek: W jedenastu przedsiębiorstwach stolicy /In Eleven Plants in the Capital City/, "Samorząd Robotniczy", No. 8-9, 10. 1966.
- 78 W. Morawski: Funkcje samorządu robotniczego w systemie zarządzania przemysłem /Functions of Workers' Self-management in the Industrial Management System/, in: J. Szczepański /ed./: Przemysł i społeczeństwo w Polsce Ludowej /Industry and Society in People's Poland/, Wrocław 1969, p. 257.
- 79 A. Owieczko: Samorząd organem rozwoju demokracji socjalistycznej /Self-management as an Organ of the Development of Socialist Democracy/, in: Problemy struktury i aktywności społecznej /Problems of Social Structure and Activity/, Warszawa 1970.
- 80 Morawski: Funkcje samorządu robotniczego w systemie zarządzania przemysłem /Functions of Workers' Self-management in the System of Industrial Management/... See also: J. Kulpińska: Aktywność społeczna pracowników przedsiębiorstwa przemysłowego /Social Activity of Workers in Industrial Enterprise/, Wrocław 1969.

- 81 J. Turowski: Przemiany wsi pod wpływem zakładu przemysłowego /Change in the Village as Influenced by an Industrial Enterprise/, Warszawa 1965.
- 82 W. Adamski: Procesy negatywnej i pozytywnej racjonalizacji postaw robotników /Processes of Negative and Positive Rationalization of the Workers' Attitudes/, "Wieś Współczesna", Vol. 14, No. 8, 1970; W. Adamski: Racjonalizm w postawach ludności rolniczej /Rationality of Rural Population Attitudes/, "Wieś Współczesna", Vol. 9, No. 10, 1965; W. Adamski: U źródeł zmian w poglądach chłopów na przyszłość rolnictwa /At the Sources of Change in the Peasants' Opinions on the Future of Agriculture/, "Wieś Współczesna", Vol. 14, No. 11, 1970; W. Adamski: Chłopi i przyszłość wsi /Peasants and the Future of the Village/, Warszawa 1974.
- 83 B. Gałęski: Zawód jako kategoria socjologiczna. Formowanie się zawodu rolnika /Occupation as a Sociological Category. Formation of the Occupation of Farmer/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 3, 1963.
- 84 A. Romanow: Postawy chłopów wobec działalności kółek rolniczych /Peasants' Attitudes toward the Activities of Agriculture Circles/, "Nowe Drogi", No. 10, 1970.
- 85 M. Dziewicka: Chłopi - robotnicy /Peasant - Workers/, Warszawa 1963; R. Turski: Między miastem i wsią /Between City and Village/, Warszawa 1965; M. Kłodziński: Gospodarstwa chłopsko-robotnicze /Farms Owned by Peasant-Workers/, Warszawa 1973.
- 86 S. Moskał: Praca pozarolnicza jako czynnik zmian w gospodarstwie i rodzinie chłopskiej /Work outside Agriculture as a Factor of Change in the Farm and Peasant's Family/, Warszawa 1973.
- 87 D. Gałąz: Chłopo-robotnik a problemy kultury i urbanizacji wsi /Peasant-worker and the Problems of Culture and Urbanization of the Village/, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", No. 2, 1964; B. Gołębiowski: Proces adaptacji chłopo-robotników do pracy w zakładzie pozarolniczym /Process of Adaptation of the Peasant-workers to Work in a Plant outside Agriculture/, "Wieś Współczesna", No. 4, 1973.

- 88 J. Turowski: Przemiany rodziny wiejskiej w warunkach industrializacji i urbanizacji kraju /Change of the Peasant's Family during Industrialization and Urbanization of the Nation/, Warszawa 1964.
- 89 The first project was completed by the Institute for the Development of the Country-side and Agriculture, and the second by the Department of Agricultural Policy of the Higher School of Social Sciences. See: Raport o stanie i tendencjach rozwoju zjawiska ludności dwuzawodowej w Polsce /Report on the Present State and Development Trends of the Bi-Occupational Population in Poland/, Warszawa 1972; Ludność wiejska zatrudniona poza rolnictwem w zakładzie pracy i na wsi /Rural Population Employed outside Agriculture in a Plant and in the Village/, Vol. 13; Synthesis of the Research Results, Warszawa 1975.
- 90 Chałasiński: Społeczna genealogia inteligencji polskiej /The Genealogy of the Polish Intelligentsia/... See also: J. Chałasiński: Przeszłość i przyszłość inteligencji polskiej /The Past and the Future of the Polish Intelligentsia/, Warszawa 1958.
- 91 J. Szczepański: Inteligencja a pracownicy umysłowi /Intelligentsia and Office Workers/, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", Vol. 13, 1959; J. Szczepański: Struktura inteligencji w Polsce /The Structure of the Polish Intelligentsia/, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", Vol. 9, No. 1-2, 1966.
- 92 See footnotes 39-44.
- 93 Some projects on the formation of the intelligentsia are undertaken by the Institute of Higher Education and the Policy of Science.
- 94 B. Gałęski: Niektóre problemy struktury społecznej w świetle badań wiejskich /Some Problems of the Social Structure in the Light of Rural Studies/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 3, 1963.
- 95 K. Słomczyński, W. Wesołowski: Próby reprezentacyjne i kategorie społeczno-zawodowe /Representative Samples and Socio-Occupational Categories/, in: Wesołowski /ed./: Zróżnicowanie społeczne /Social Differentiation/...

- 96 Pohoski, Słomczyński, Mielczarek: Standaryzacja zmiennych socjologicznych. Tom II: Społeczna klasyfikacja zawodów /Standardization of Sociological Variables. Volume II: The Social Classification of Occupations/. In this classification 367 narrow occupational categories are distinguished.
- 97 J. Żarnowski: Społeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej /Society of the Second Republic/, Warszawa 1973.
- 98 Spis kadrowy /Data on Personnel/, Warszawa 1974.
- 99 Z. Jacukowicz: Proporcje płac w Polsce /Proportions of Wages in Poland/, Warszawa 1974.
- 100 A. Kobus-Wojciechowska: Zróżnicowanie warunków mieszkaniowych i wyposażenie gospodarstw domowych /Differentiation of housing conditions and household equipment/, in: Wesołowski /ed./: Zróżnicowanie społeczne /Social Differentiation/...
- 101 W. Gawrońska: Sytuacja mieszkaniowa ludności Płocka według grup społeczno-zawodowych /Housing Conditions of the Płock Population according to Socio-occupational Groups/, "Biuletyn IGS", Vol.8, No.1, 1965. L. Kosk: Zawody a płace w gospodarce uspołecznionej /Occupations and Wages in the Socialized Economy/, "Wiadomości Statystyczne", Vol.15, No. 9, 1970.
- 102 Wesołowski: Klasy, warstwy i władza /Classes, Strata and Power/...
- 103 Słomczyński: Zróżnicowanie społeczno-zawodowe i jego korelaty /Socio-occupational Differentiation and its Correlates/...
- 104 J. Kordos, B. Kulczycka, M. Pączkowska, K. Zagórski: Nowe kadry pracownicze /The New Work Force/, Warszawa 1973.
- 105 Ibid., p. 157.
- 106 Two most important indicators of housing conditions are: a/ the number of people per room in an apartment or family house, b/ status of ownership of the apartment or family house. The house equipment standard is usually described on the basis of 5-7 durable goods such as refrigerator, washing machine or a vacuum cleaner.

- 107 The presentation of the research results on listening to the radio, watching television and press reading takes into account various categories of age, education and occupation. See: A. Siciński /ed./: Społeczeństwo polskie w badaniach ankietowych Ośrodka. Badania Opinii Publicznej przy Polskim Radio i Telewizji /Polish Society in the Light of the Research of the Public Opinion Research Center of Polish Radio and Television/, Warszawa 1966.
- 108 A. Siciński: Społeczne uwarunkowania zasięgu masowego komunikowania w Polsce /Social Determinants of the Mass Communication Range in Poland/. "Studia Socjologiczno-Polityczne", Vol. 12, 1962; J. Kądzielski: O problemie modelu rewolucji kulturalnej /On the Problem of the Cultural Revolution Model/, Łódź 1964; E. Wnuk-Lipiński, Czytelnictwo prasy w badaniach OBOP i GUS /OBOP and GUS Research on Press Reading/, "Wiadomości Statystyczne", Vol. 10, No. 6, 1968.
- 109 A. Kłoskowska: Społeczne ramy kultury /The Social Framework of Culture/, Warszawa 1972.
- 110 A. Kobus-Wojciechowska: Zróżnicowanie konsumpcji kulturalnej /Differentiation of Cultural Consumption/, in: Wesołowski /ed./: Zróżnicowanie społeczne /Social Differentiation/...
- 111 Kobus - Wojciechowska: Zróżnicowanie sytuacji materialnej i uczestnictwa w kulturze /Differentiation of Standard of Living and Cultural Participation/...
- 112 These conclusions have been derived from the analyses of radio listening, television watching, and press reading. See footnotes 108, 110, 111.
- 113 R. Dyoniziak: Zróżnicowanie kulturalne społeczności wielkomiejskiej /Cultural Differentiation of the Large Urban Community/, Warszawa 1969; Z. Skórzyński: Między pracą a wypoczynkiem /Between Work and Leisure/ Warszawa 1965; E. Wnuk-Lipiński: Praca i wypoczynek w budżecie czasu /Work and Leisure in the Time Budget/, Warszawa 1972.
- 114 A. Tyszcza: Uczestnictwo w kulturze /Participation in Culture/, Warszawa 1971.

- 115 Z. Sufin, W. Wesołowski: Miejsce pracy w hierarchii wartości /The Place of Work in the Value System/, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", Vol. 12, No. 4, 1963; I. Nowak: Samocena i usposobienie a wartości /Self-evaluation, Disposition and Values/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1966; A. Wejland: Autorytet rodziców i rodzinna wspólnota wartości /Parental Authority and Family Value Cohesion/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 3, 1970; A. Kłoskowska: Wartości, potrzeby i aspiracje kulturalne małej społeczności miejskiej /Values, Demands and Aspirations of a Small Urban Community/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1970; W. Miścicki: Zróżnicowanie społeczne a orientacja ku wartościom /Social Differentiation and Orientation toward Values/, Wrocław 1973.
- 116 D. Dobrowolska: Praca zawodowa jako wartość dla przedstawicieli różnych klas i kategorii zawodowych /Work as a Value for People from Various Classes and Occupational Categories/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 3, 1973; A. Siciński: Podstawy wobec pracy i własności oraz ich społeczne uwarunkowania /Attitudes toward Work and Property and their Social Determinants/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1962; A. Wejland: Stosunek młodzieży i dorosłych do dóbr materialnych /Attitudes of Youth and Adults toward Material Goods/, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", Vol. 14, No. 2, 1970.
- 117 Koralewicz - Żębik: System wartości a struktura społeczna /System of Values and the Social Structure/...
- 118 Ibid., p. 245.
- 119 Wesołowski, Sarapata: Hierarchie zawodów i stanowisk /Hierarchies of Occupations and Positions/...
- 120 Słomczyński: Zróżnicowanie społeczno-zawodowe i jego korelaty /Socio-occupational Differentiation and its Correlates/...
- 121 M. Pohoski: Prestiż zawodów wśród ludności wiejskiej /Occupational Prestige among the Rural Population/, Warszawa 1968.
- 122 K. Suszek: Społeczne podłoże aspiracji szkolnych młodzieży /The Social Background and Educational Aspirations of Youth/, Szczecin 1970; B. Bielawska, K. Słomczyński: Zawody prawni-

cze w opinii społecznej /Public Opinion on the Legal Profession/, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego", No. 1, 1968.

- 123 A. Sarapata: Studia nad uwarstwieniem i ruchliwością społeczną w Polsce /Studies on Social Stratification and Mobility in Poland/, Warszawa 1965.
- 124 A. Sarapata: Z badań nad hierarchią prestiżu zajęć w Polsce /Research on the Prestige Hierarchy of Jobs in Poland/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 1, 1975.
- 125 A. Sarapata: Z badań nad przemianami w hierarchii zawodów /Research on Changes in the Occupational Hierarchy/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1966; R. Buławski: Warstwy społeczne /Social Strata/, "Kwartalnik Statystyczny", Vol. 9, No. 3, 1932; B. Mach, K. Słomczyński: Badanie zmian prestiżu zawodów w latach 1938-1974 /Research on Change of Occupational Prestige in 1938-1974/, mimeo, 1974.
- 126 Wesołowski, Sarapata: Hierarchie zawodów i stanowisk /Hierarchies of Occupations and Positions/...; W. Wesołowski: Prestiż zawodów - system wartości - uwarstwienie społeczne /Occupational Prestige - System of Values - Social Stratification/, "Studia Socjologiczno-Polityczne", No.2, 1964.
- 127 K. Żygulski: Wybór i poważanie zawodów na Śląsku /The Choice and Prestige of Occupations in Silesia/, Wrocław 1964.
- 128 Pohoski: Prestiż zawodów wśród ludności wiejskiej /Occupational Prestige among the Rural Population/...
- 129 Słomczyński: Zróżnicowanie społeczno-zawodowe i jego korelaty /Socio-occupational Differentiation and its Correlates/...
- 130 Wesołowski, Sarapata: Hierarchie zawodów i stanowisk /Hierarchies of Occupations and Positions/...
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Sarapata: Z badań nad hierarchią prestiżu zajęć w Polsce /Research on the Prestige Hierarchy of Jobs in Poland/...

- 133 M. Koraszewska: Porównawcza analiza hierarchii zawodów /A Comparative Analysis of Occupational Hierarchies/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No.4, 1969.
- 134 L. Fejova: Prestiż zawodów w Polsce i Czechosłowacji /Occupational Prestige in Poland and Czechoslovakia/, mimeo, 1974.
- 135 Ossowski: Struktura klasowa w społecznej świadomości /Class Structure in the Social Consciousness/...
- 136 W. Wesołowski: Wybrane problemy badań nad świadomością społeczną klas /Some Research Problems of Social Consciousness of Classes/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1974; I. Nowak Struktura społeczna a postawy /Social Structure and Attitudes/, in: S. Nowak /ed./: Teorie postaw /Theories of Attitudes/, Warszawa 1973.
- 137 Widerszpil: Przeobrażenia struktury społecznej w Polsce Ludowej /Transformation of the Class Structure in People's Poland/..., p. 275.
- 138 J. Malanowski: Stosunki klasowe i różnice społeczne w mieście /Class Relationships and Social Differentiation in a Town/...; Słomczyński, Wesołowski: Potoczna percepcja struktury społecznej /Common Perception of the Social Structure/, in: Słomczyński, Wesołowski /eds/: Struktura i ruchliwość społeczna /Social Structure and Mobility/...
- 139 S. Nowak: Psychologiczne aspekty przemian struktury społecznej i ruchliwości społecznej /Psychological Aspects of Change in Social Structure and Mobility/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No.2, 1966.
- 140 Ibid., p. 78.
- 141 S. Widerszpil, J. Janicki: Do jakiej klasy należysz? /To Which Social Class Do You Belong?/, "Życie Gospodarcze", No.25,27, 1959.
- 142 B. Podgrodzki: Świadomość społeczna robotników województwa katowickiego /Social Consciousness of the Katowice Voivodship Workers/, in: W. Mrozek /ed./; Klasa robotnicza województwa katowickiego w ćwierćwieczu Polski Ludowej /Working Class of

- the Katowice Voivodship in 25 years of the People's Poland/, Katowice 1972; Słomczyński, Wesołowski: Potoczna percepcja struktury społecznej /Common Perception of the Social Structure/...
- 143 Widerszpil: Przeobrażenia struktury społecznej w Polsce Ludowej /Transformation of the Class Structure in People's Poland/..., p. 277.
- 144 Słomczyński, Wesołowski: Potoczna percepcja struktury społecznej /Common Perception of the Social Structure/...
- 145 W. Warzywoda-Kruszyńska: Życie towarzyskie w różnych kategoriach społeczno-zawodowych /Social Life in Various Socio-occupational Categories/, in: Słomczyński, Wesołowski /eds/: Struktura i ruchliwość społeczna /Social Structure and Mobility/...
- 146 Słomczyński, Wesołowski: Potoczna percepcja struktury społecznej /Common Perception of the Social Structure/..., p.258.
- 147 Tobera: Zróżnicowanie społeczne pracowników przemysłu /Social Differentiation of Industrial Workers/...
- 148 Nowak: Psychologiczne aspekty przemian struktury społecznej i ruchliwości społecznej /Psychological Aspects of Change in Social Structure and Mobility/..., p. 89.
- 149 L. Gilejko /ed./: Wybrane sfery świadomości robotników wielko-przemysłowych /Some Aspects of the Industrial Workers' Consciousness/, mimeo, 1975.
- 150 B. Blachnicki: Robotnicy wobec egalitaryzmu /Workers' Attitudes toward Egalitarianism/, mimeo, 1976.
- 151 M. Pohoski: Interrelation between Social Mobility of Individuals and Groups in the Process of Economic Growth in Poland, "The Polish Sociological Bulletin", No. 2, 1964.
- 152 Z. Bokszański: Uwagi o koncepcji awansu kulturalnego /Some Remarks on the Concept of Cultural Advancement/, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2, 1974.

- 153 Nowak: Psychologiczne aspekty przemian struktury społecznej i ruchliwości społecznej /Psychological Aspects of Change in Social Structure and Mobility/...
- 154 K. Zagórski: Robotnicy w strukturze społeczno-zawodowej /Workers in the Socio-occupational Structure/ in: Szczepański /ed./: Narodziny socjalistycznej klasy robotniczej /Birth of the Socialist Working Class/; K. Zagórski: Zmiany w strukturze i ruchliwości społecznej w Polsce /Changes in Social Structure and Mobility in Poland/, "Wiadomości Statystyczne", No. 5, 1974; K. Zagórski: Zmiany struktury i ruchliwość społeczno-zawodowa w Polsce /The Change of Structure and Socio-Occupational Mobility in Poland/, Warszawa 1976.
- 155 K. Zagórski: Zmiany w strukturze społecznej... /Changes in Social Structure .../, p. 3.
- 156 Ibid., p. 6.
- 157 M. Pohoski: Migracja ze wsi do miast /Migrations to Cities from Rural Areas/, Warszawa 1963.
- 158 R. Turski: Z problematyki ruchliwości społecznej w środowisku wiejskim /Some Problems of Social Mobility in a Rural Settlement/, "Roczniki Socjologii Wsi", Vol. 7, 1967; W. Makarczyk: Niektóre problemy badań nad ruchliwością społeczną rolników /Some Problems of Research on the Social Mobility of Peasants/, "Roczniki Socjologii Wsi", Vol. 7, 1967; Z. Sufin: Procesy ruchliwości społecznej /The Process of Social Mobility/, in: W. Wesołowski /ed./: Struktura i dynamika społeczeństwa polskiego /The Structure and Dynamics of the Polish Society/, Warszawa 1970.
- 159 Janicka: Ruchliwość społeczno-zawodowa i jej korelaty /Socio-occupational Mobility and its Correlates/...
- 160 K. Słomczyński: Rola wykształcenia w procesie ruchliwości wewnątrzpokoleniowej /The Role of Education in the Process of Intragenerational Mobility/, in: Słomczyński, Wesołowski /eds./: Struktura i ruchliwość społeczna /Social Structure and Mobility/.

- 161 A. Pilinow-Ostrowska: Ruchliwość zawodowa i jej konsekwencja /Occupational Mobility and its Consequences/, in: Wesołowski /ed./: Zróżnicowanie społeczne /Social Differentiation/. Other results on social mobility in towns are published in: J. Kądzielski: Międzypokoleniowa ruchliwość społeczna /Intergenerational Social Mobility/, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", No. 2, 1963; Dyoniziak: Zróżnicowanie kulturalne społeczności wielkomiejskiej /Cultural Differentiation in a Large Urban Community/...
- 162 K. Bursche: Awans robotników w zakładzie przemysłowym /Advancement of Workers in an Industrial Plant/, Warszawa 1973.

ZTI ON PAN zam. 99/R GUKPPIW-3216 nakł. 500+23 egz.

301



