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**DOMINANT AND ALTERNATIVE LIFE STYLES**

**IN POLAND: AN OUTLINE**

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Johan Galtung

It is being circulated in a pre-publication form to elicit comments from readers and generate dialogue on the subject at this stage of the research.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The term "outline" in the title points to the fact that the following presentation is based on a rather general reflection on lifestyle problems on the one hand, and on an analysis of existing sources and data on the other. No systematic empirical studies of lifestyles, however, have been carried out in Poland so far.<sup>1</sup>

At the moment we briefly want to discuss the following questions:

- Concepts, basic from the point of view of the style of life;
- Some aspects of conditions of life;
- Problems of the way of life in contemporary Poland;
- Evaluations of the present way of life;
- Typologies of Polish lifestyles;
- Alternatives of lifestyles in Poland.

## II. COMMENTS ON SOME CONCEPTS

First, we want to comment shortly on:

- a. Concepts of the "way of life", "style of life" and "conditions of life";
- b. The concept of "quality of life";
- c. The concept of "needs".

### Way of life versus style of life

The term "way of life" was used by Karl Marx in his German Ideology, where it constitutes an objective category, characterizing human existence: "The way in which they [the people] produce means of subsistence for themselves depends first of all on the attributes of the very means of subsistence found by the people and reproduced by them. This way of reproduction should be examined not only as the reproduction of physical existence of the individuals. It is rather a determined kind of activity of those individuals, a determined kind of manifestation of their life, a d e t e r m i n e d w a y o f l i f e. The way in which the individuals manifest their life shows what they are like." <sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, as we understand it, "style of life" is a sociological category of an empirical analysis of human behaviour and of its motives.<sup>3</sup> In our conception, the term "style of life" - a category representing a "humanistic sociology" approach - can refer both to social groups and to individuals. It denotes a set of forms of everyday behaviour, "conduct", or "actions" specific to a given group or an individual. The e n t i t y constituting the style of life comprises human behaviour, motivations of that behaviour, and things or objects which are either the instrument, the result or the aim of the behaviour. Because of that, these things are being assigned certain specific "meanings". The "style of life" concept includes besides that a minimum possibility of c h o i c e. It would indeed be nonsensical to speak of "style"

in situations excluding any alternative. Thus, any characterization of a given style of life first of all requires pointing out its dominant, that is accepted, values, for instance the way people organize their everyday life.

So, by and large, students of the "way of life" aim at describing the whole of human behaviour, whereas students of the "style of life" pay attention to some entities characteristic of a given subject.<sup>4</sup>

As far as "conditions of life" are concerned, some of the "way of life" students include them in the lifestyle concept, while others treat them as something "external" from the point of view of the way of life.<sup>5</sup> Obviously, conditions of life are one of the main factors influencing the style of life, the others being "ethos"<sup>6</sup> - in the case of a society or a group, and personality - in the case of an individual. Part of life conditions is the "standard of living" which, by the way, is also defined differently by different authors.

#### Quality of life

In a paper written for an UNESCO project, I proposed to define the notion "quality of life" as "the level and interconnections of two aspects of the human existence: a. possibilities of full development for the human individual; b. satisfaction with one's life." The first of these aspects could be called "objective", the second one "subjective". Each of them may serve as a basis for the evaluation of ways or styles of life, provided proper indicators can be found.

#### Needs

There exist **many** definitions as well as different classifications of the concept of "needs".<sup>7</sup>

Hereafter we shall discuss our own ideas on the "needs" concept. As proposed in an article by the author, the term "need" can refer to any s y s t e m : "A need of a given system is that property because of which a defined state of an environment of that system is a necessary condition of the undisturbed functioning of the system in this environment.<sup>8</sup> Following this definition four types of needs can be distinguished: needs for existence, needs for integration, needs for optimum functioning, needs for development. Incidentally, one should notice that although the concept of "under-satisfaction" may be applied to all four types of needs, the same is not true for "over-satisfaction".

Of crucial importance is, however, that as far as human needs are concerned, we distinguish between needs at different levels: the cell, the molecule, the organism, the population, nature. Not only may needs differ from each other at a given level, but conflicts between needs at different levels are also possible. To put it another way, evaluation of lifestyle from the point of view of an individual can be different from that of a group he may be a member of or from that of a society, human-kind.

### III. ON CHANGES IN LIFE CONDITIONS

We will limit our presentation of changes in "conditions of life" to those aspects which we believe to be crucial from the point of view of the way of life and lifestyle and for which we have reliable data.<sup>9</sup>

#### Population

Polish population has been rapidly increasing over the last thirty years: from 23.9 million in 1946 to 34.8 in 1977.<sup>10</sup> This increase, accompanied by high spatial and social mobility, has contributed to the present situation where Poland is a kind of "melting pot" as far as alternative ways of life and lifestyles are concerned.

From the point of view of lifestyle an important factor is the age structure of the population. While in 1960 we had 33.5% of Poles at the age below 15, and 5.0% at the age of 65 and more, the respective percentages for 1977 are 23.9 and 10.0%. It means Polish society is becoming older.

A particularly important social unit shaping the style of life is the family. As in most developed countries, during last decades Poles were faced with a shift toward a nuclear family. Next, it is worth mentioning the increasing tendency to marry at an earlier age in spite of some legal restrictions.<sup>11</sup> Another important trend is the decreasing number of children in the family. It might also be of interest to mention the following percentages: 28% unmarried people, 62% married, 8% widowed, and 2% divorced in 1975 (percentages of people at the age above 15 years). By and large, one could thus say that the Polish people are still more "familistic" than many other European populations.

One of the consequences of the last World War are the drastic changes in the ethnic and regional structure of society. While before that War ethnic minorities - Jews, Ukrainians and others - constituted about one third of the population, nowadays the Polish society is almost completely homogeneous ethnically. This change is connected with the redrawing of the Polish state borders involving a decrease of the surface of Poland from 389.700 to 312.700 km<sup>2</sup>. The process of ethnic homogenization was accompanied by a decrease of inter-strata and inter-regional differences.

#### Rural - Urban Shift

This factor is probably the most important one from the point of view of changes of the way/style of life in Poland: 57% of Poles lived in towns in 1977, while 20% in 1927, 37% in 1946 and 48% in 1960.<sup>12</sup> As a result of this process, an urban way of life embraces the majority of the population today. At the same time, however, this way of life - and more particularly many of the lifestyles of the towns' inhabitants - are strongly influenced by rural patterns "imported" from the countryside. Differences between rural and urban ways of life still account for the most important division in Poland, although its role has clearly been decreasing recently.

#### Work and Employment

Because of a lack of adequate data it is difficult to analyse changes in the work process that result from automation - still not very advanced in Poland - or intellectualization and so on. Consequently, we will discuss only three aspects here. The first regards employment in the different sectors of the national economy. In 1975, 39% of employed people worked in the agricultural sector (against 57% in 1950); 33% (against 23%) in the industrial sector and 28% (against 20%) in the service sector. So, "modernization" of the structure of employment is not yet very advanced in Poland. Another factor, which is important from the point of view of way of life, is the employment of women. The percentage of employed



married women is rather high: 76,4% in 1975. Finally, it is worth mentioning that Poles still have a six day working week - 46 hours for most employed people, but one free Saturday per month.

Although we are not able here to fully analyse the problems of population income two indicators may nevertheless be presented. The first is the rather small differentiation between incomes of the employed; thus the relation between blue- and white-collar incomes was 1:1.12 in 1956-1959 when they were lowest, against 1:2.2 in 1937. The second important phenomenon is the rapid wage increase in 1971-1974, amounting to 6.8% per year. During that same period the incomes of peasants used for consumption and non-productive investments increased by about 5.9% per year.

One could still say that it is only now that the majority of the Polish are entering the new economical stage which could be called phase of "free consumption choices".

#### Consumption

Among the few indicators discussed here, let us first present percentages of average spending on food, culture and education.

	Households of blue-collarers			Households of white collarers		
	1959	1963	1974	1959	1963	1974
<u>Food</u>	56,4	53,6	44,3	53,2	48,0	38,2
<u>Culture and Education</u>	4,4	6,7	7,8	6,5	9,4	11,5

As an indicator of the standard of living we may use the consumption of meat: 36,2 kg per person in urban households and 40,8 kg in peasant households in 1976,<sup>13</sup> comparing to 22,4 kg per person before the last War. The difference between the pre- and postwar periods is due among other things to the modernization of the way of life among the urban population as well as the liquidation of the former dramatic gap between rural and urban areas.

A serious problem in our society is alcoholism. It is reflected by an increase of the consumption of 100% alcohol from 1.3 l per person and per year in 1938 to 3.8 l in 1960 and 8.6 l in 1977.

As an indicator of the housing situation one may present the average numbers of people living in one room.

Year	1938	1950	1960	1977
	2.55	1.75	1.53	1.12

Here the situation is clearly improving. The way of people's everyday life is also strongly affected by the still poor though rapidly improving equipment of flats.

		water supply	WC	percentages of flats with:		
				gas supply	bath-rooms	central heating
in 1960	towns	55.4	35.6	33.7	26.0	13.3
	countryside	3.6	1.7	0.4	.	.
in 1974	towns	80.4	63.1	52.9	57.1	43.1
	countryside	20.1	9.6	1.3	.	.

The wide gap between urban and rural areas has its consequences for dominant ways of life in Poland.

Finally, another important indicator reflecting economic conditions is electricity consumption, which in 1976 amounted to 11,400 kWh per employed person, as compared, for instance, to 71,800 in Norway, 11,200 in Italy and 30,900 in the USA.

#### Education

After urbanization, demographic and ethnic shifts, the increase of education is in our opinion the third most important factor determining changes in the Polish way of life. While in 1931

illiterate people numbered about 23% of the population - the percentage being higher in rural areas than in towns - illiteracy was practically eliminated in the fifties.

From the point of view of the shaping of individual life styles secondary education is probably of crucial importance. In 1973 about 20% of people over 14 years of age had full secondary education at least. It is obvious that this percentage is still not very high. Incidentally, an interesting change occurred as to the proportion between educated men and women: in 1976 there were, in the cohort 20-24, 15,2% men and 18,7% women with secondary education.

#### Mass communication

Mass media are a well-known factor influencing lifestyles. In 1974, we had 44 newspapers with 237 copies per 1000 of the population. In 1977, one could number 240 radios and 206 TV-sets per 1000 inhabitants, obviously lower figures than in many other European countries, although they have been increasing rather fast over the two last decades.

We shall come back to the role of mass media in supporting convergence between urban and rural ways of life as well as to some aspects of a "mass-media lifestyle".

#### Cars

In Poland, the indicator of motorization is still rather low, although it is fast increasing: 41 passenger cars per 1000 persons in 1977 against 4 cars in 1960. The automobile is one of the particularly important factors influencing the way of life of many families.

Health service

Since in this study the state of health of the population will serve as criterion for assessing the dominant way of life, at least two indicators are worth being mentioned : the number of hospital beds and the number of physicians.

per 10.000 inhabitants			
<u>Year</u>	<u>hospital beds</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>physicians</u>
1938	21.7	1938	3.7
1950	34.8	1953	5.4
1977	55.9	1977	17.7

As we can see, the situation has greatly improved in both cases.

#### IV. SOME ASPECTS OF DOMINANT WAYS OF LIFE <sup>14</sup>

We do not intend to present here a minute description of the Polish way - or ways - of life. Instead, we rather want to give a short description of those trends which seem to be particularly important or specific of the Polish way of life. Unfortunately, such a characterization will unavoidably be superficial and to some extent also subjective.

Although we will discuss some "averages", one should be aware of the fact that an "average" is sometimes more and sometimes less meaningful, depending on the level and type of differentiation of a group or society, and the sphere of social life. For example, in spite of the decreasing differences between rural and urban areas in Poland it is still necessary to present separately the dominant ways of life of the people living in rural areas on the one hand, and people living in towns on the other.

##### Rural population

As for the rural population it is necessary to first point to a trend which started before the last World War and is close to accomplishment today. We have in mind the shift from the traditional peasant culture to the contemporary rural culture. Concerning the former the basic value was the land and the work on the land. Moreover, the traditional peasant way of life was characterized by conformity in attitudes, thinking and behaviour. This way of life was strictly controlled by the local community, isolating it from other segments of the population. The present rural style of life is incomparably more open, although some remains of the old tradition can still be found in it.

Work property. As far as basic values are concerned, the main change consists in the shift from an agro-centric to a professional system of values. Work on the land has become comparable with other kinds of work and the property of land comparable to other sources of income.<sup>15</sup> This is particularly true of the

younger generation. Of course, conceiving of work on the land as an occupation similar to others is fully accepted by people employed by state-owned farms.

The rural way of life today is more differentiated than it was before despite the postwar changes in the economic-political system which caused the disappearance of two major rural groups: the very rich farmers and the very poor land workers. Various factors and influences are responsible for this. Thus, contemporary ways of life differ according to the degree of specialization or size of the farm, the type of the family, the age of the people, and so on.

Mechanization of work reduced the dependency of farmers on the natural rhythm of life and work, while work became incomparably less hard than before. On the other hand one can notice that the division of work among family members - particularly between men and women - has not yet changed considerably. A partnership model of the couple and the family is still not popular with peasants. A particular way of life can be observed among those peasants who, in addition to their farming activities, work in the towns as blue- or white-collar employees. Unfortunately, however, we are unable to discuss this complex problem here.

Living standard, consumption. Here, changes are particularly big. The increased prestige role of material goods is characteristic among the whole rural population, but particularly among younger generations. In some regions and groups, less connected with land, even ostentatious consumption may be observed. Consumption patterns are developing under the impact of urban patterns; however, these patterns influence different domains of everyday life with varying intensity; for instance, their influence on hygiene, health care, nutrition and so on, is rather limited. New tendencies also influence some family customs, such as the celebrating of the "name's-day" traditionally very popular in towns.

Leisure. A process of increasing autonomy of the individual and, in parallel, his decreasing dependence on work and family, has also influenced attitudes toward leisure. In the traditional peasant culture there was no distinction between working-time and leisure-time. Intensive work and production were giving a meaning to the whole life. And participation in traditional culture was not strictly separated from the work process. Today leisure becomes the main object of aspirations and desires. Difficulties connected with satisfying those aspirations are one of the main reasons accounting for the flight of youngsters from rural areas to cities. On the other hand, the spread of local "clubs" and "houses of culture", and so forth, help to make leisure attractive even in rural areas.

#### Urban areas

There is, obviously, no clear-cut division between rural and urban ways of life. A lot of small towns exist in contemporary Poland, living so to speak in between the two types of way of life. Consequently, we will focus the following comments on the rather big towns; let us say, those with more than 100.000 inhabitants.

Work, occupation. The great majority of town inhabitants are people employed by state-owned - or cooperative - enterprises, and their families, the private sector being quite small (in non-agricultural activities it employs about 4.5% of all employed people).

The work, its kind, its location in a given branch of the national economy, are among the main factors determining both income and social prestige. The nature of work influences the whole life of a person: organization of a day, access to different kinds of privileges, and so on.

The bulk of town inhabitants working in production and services is of peasant origin (first, sometimes second generation), a fact which colours the human relations in working places such as the relations between officials or shop men and customers.

Living standard, consumption. During the first two decades after the last World War money was desired by Poles because of its practical importance rather than as a source of social prestige. The standard of living of the population was rather low, comparing with most of the Western European - and also some Eastern European - countries. However, to possess more goods did not mean to be more respectable. The living standard of the population started to rise clearly in the beginning of the seventies. For some people and families it meant to be able to quit living below a "social minimum", whereas other segments of the population experienced the rise of new attitudes, usually called "consumerism". This is a rather new phenomenon in our society where basic values had been connected, in the first place, with ideals of the "intelligentsia" rather than with those of the "bourgeoisie".

From the point of view of the way of life one of the serious problems in Poland is the very difficult housing situation. It is possibly the main factor restricting options as far as the style of life is concerned. A kind of flat (its standard, equipment and above all its size) having or not having a car, and - since recently - a summer house : these are the main factors differentiating ways of life among the urban population.

Leisure. For the majority of adults, leisure time is rather limited because of such reasons as engagement in extra work (for an additional income), extra-mural education, necessity of commuting (aggravated by bad transport), poor services and poor equipment of homes with labour-saving devices. The main differences in spending leisure time are related to the level of education and age. While television is popular with all segments of the population, theatre and concert halls play an important role exclusively for better educated people. Cafés, traditionally popular as places of gatherings and talks on political matters, as well as places for rendez-vous, have lost their importance, although they are still visited by youngsters, retired people and by black-market men - exaggerating the situation a bit. The movie is also parti-



cularly popular with youngsters.

Mass media are one of the most influential agents importing foreign way of life patterns, particularly those dominating in economically more advanced countries.

An important problem is the rather low intensity of such forms of social contacts as visits at homes - except for some traditional occasions as the "name's-day", wedding parties (visits of relatives, friends, acquaintances - sometimes in rather great numbers), or Christmas Eve supper and Christmas (visits of family members).

Personal contacts. A whole complex of way of life problems is connected with personal contacts among the Polish town inhabitants. The nature of these contacts is a result of the mingling of some old urban traditions with patterns brought in by the new-comers from rural areas. Particularly official contacts, for example in shops, are often a mixture of bureaucratic patterns with habits specific to small groups and local communities (for instance ambiguity as to the distinction between "private" and "public" problems or arguments). This situation causes some difficulties, for example it sometimes results in a rather low work efficiency; on the other hand, by "humanizing" people's contacts it probably helps to adapt to the urban milieu.

## V. AN ATTEMPT TO ASSESS THE WAY OF LIFE

An assessment of the way of life is not a simple task for two reasons at least. The first is related to the problem we discussed when presenting our view on needs. Namely, results of such an assessment could be different, depending on whether we take into account the needs and interests of a given individual, of a group, such as a family or a local community, or the interest of a whole society. It is not true that all that is good for Mr. or Ms. X must be automatically good for groups he or she is a member of.

Another problem, mentioned in our discussion of the "quality of life" is the important distinction between "objective" and "subjective" evaluations. In the following part we decided to first concentrate on an "objective" assessment of the way of life from the point of view of the interest of Polish society and second on some subjective evaluations by individuals. Finally, we shall make some more general comments.

### "Objective" indicators

In this section we intend to present selected anthropological data<sup>16</sup> as well as some data concerning the state of health of the population.

First, it is interesting to notice the significant increase of the "average" Pole's size. While in 1939 the height of a male draftee was 168-169 cm, in 1976 it was 174-175 cm, which means an increase of about 1.5 cm per decade. One more comparison : in 1976 it was found that sons - at the age above 18 - are about 4 cm higher than their fathers, and daughters about 2 cm higher than their mothers. Another interesting discovery was that those differences are greater in families which had advanced on the social ladder. So, generally speaking, one can say changes in

life conditions and changes of the way of life have reduced the discrepancy between various segments of the Polish population. Particularly, they have stimulated the biological development of formerly underprivileged strata who used to suffer from malnutrition.

The next indicator reveals an acceleration of puberty. The menarche age was lower by about 1/4 year in 1976 than in 1966. Some significant differences at that age exist between rural and urban population (menarche at about 14 and 13 years of age respectively), and between girls grown up in families with one child and those with more children (earlier menarche in the first case). In 1966, there was a significant difference of the menarche age between the best and the poorest educated people, whereas in 1976 that difference did almost not exist. The discussed process is probably also a result of changes in the way of life. However, its evaluation from the point of view of the state of the society, as well as from that of an individual could be a difficult task.

As far as health problems are concerned we want to propose ten indicators<sup>17</sup>:

Deaths under 1 year of age per 1000 live births

Year	Total	0-29 days	1-11 months
1950	109.3	43.6	65.7
1960	54.8	25.1	29.7
1970	33.4	20.0	13.4
1974	23.7	15.8	7.9

Expectation of life

Sex and Age	1931-32	1952-53	1960-61	1975
Male 0	48.2	58.6	64.8	67.0
10	52.2	56.8	59.7	
15				54.5
30	36.0	38.9	41.1	40.6
45				27.3
50	20.3	21.8	23.4	
60				15.7
70	8.3	9.1	9.8	
Female 0	51.4	64.2	70.5	74.3
10	54.0	61.4	64.7	
15				61.3
30	38.0	43.0	45.5	46.7
45				32.5
50	22.4	25.3	27.1	
60				19.4
70	9.2	10.6	11.4	

Deaths caused by accidents, poisoning, injuries

1960	- per million population	430
1970	" " "	600
1975	" " "	700

Homicide and willful injuries

1960	- per million population	15
1972	" " "	9

Mortality from cardiovascular diseases<sup>18</sup>

Year	Deaths per 100.000 population			
	Males in towns	Males in rural areas	Females in towns	Females in rural areas
1966	249	249	257	256
1970	308	333	308	333
1975	359	416	351	404

Mortality from malignant tumor,<sup>19</sup> including tumor of lymphatic tissue

Year	Deaths per 100.000 population			Females in rural areas
	Males in towns	Males in rural areas	Females in towns	
1965	130	126	131	108
1970	150	149	137	114
1975	167	170	144	123

Diseases of urban and rural population<sup>20</sup>

Diseases <sup>21</sup>	Per 1000 persons, by sex			
	Towns		Rural areas	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Diseases of nervous system and sense organs	271	262	125	101
Diseases of eye	66	67	31	25
Diseases of ear	45	36	22	18
Cardiovascular diseases	104	150	41	56
Diseases of respiratory system	611	571	264	210
Diseases of digestive system	143	157	75	69
Diseases of genitourinary system	50	257	20	95
Diseases of skin	161	144	97	74
Diseases of musculoskeletal system	82	102	45	43

Deaths by suicide and self-injuries

	per 100.000 population
1960	80
1970	110
1973	117
1975	110

Mentally ill registered (for the first time) in infirmaries (clinics)

	per 100.000 population
1962	351
1970	498
1972	518
1975	436

Movement of patients in mental hospitals

Year	per 100.000 population		Total
	First admissions	Re-admissions	
1960	99	98	197
1965	126	130	256
1972	156	155	311
1975	172	195	367

What can be said on the basis of these data - that is before any deeper cross-comparisons have been worked out? First, many indicators concerning different kinds of diseases are becoming worse during the last decades. This does not augur well for the effects of way of life changes. However, those indicators which could be considered as results of an increase of the living standard, such as infant mortality and life expectancy, are fortunately improving.

Yet, one should notice that the rate of that improvement is decreasing: thus one notices big gains in life expectancy after the last World War up to the sixties, and then a slow-down of that trend. Second, there are still significant differences between rural and urban areas. The way of life in the first case is more healthy except for some diseases. On the other hand, the urban way of life is still more favourable from the point of view of the rate of biological development (causes: nutrition? social aspects?). Third, it is interesting to note that the majority of indicators is better for women than for men. Fourth, comparisons between Poland and some Western European countries, in those cases where our data seem to be comparable,<sup>22</sup> show that, for example, Norway and Switzerland are better on those indicators which are related to the standard of living (life expectancy, infant mortality). On the other hand, indicators concerning so-called "civilization diseases" such as cancer and heart diseases are better in Poland. Nevertheless, the Polish indicators are by and large similar to indicators prevailing in much richer countries. So, one could conclude that what matters is not so much the level of the GNP, but the mode of production. The discussed differences between rural and urban areas do also point in that direction.

#### Subjective evaluations

For a subjective assessment of the existing way of life we may use results of public opinion surveys. They show that about 1/2 to 2/3 of the adult people evaluate their everyday life positively, whereas about 1/3 are ambiguous in this respect, and about 1/8 give negative replies.<sup>23</sup>

As usual with public opinion polls, an interpretation of these data would not be easy. Anyway, a clear dissatisfaction with the existing way of life is rather an exception than a rule in our population.

General comments

Our provisional assessment of the Polish way of life could be concluded with a hypothetical cost/benefit balance. On the side of c o s t s we have, first of all, a tendency to imitate ways of development of richer and more advanced countries, with the many negative consequences of that tendency. One may also list a rather low economical efficiency of the society as well as some pathological phenomena such as alcoholism.

On the side of b e n e f i t s in our balance we may place such items as :

- increasing democracy in social relations;
- flexibility of the organization of everyday life;
- preservation of different types of small groups and of personal bonds;
- lack of a strong competitiveness in social life;
- security, particularly the rather non-violent character of everyday life in Polish towns and in the countryside, comparing with many Western European countries.<sup>24</sup>

We do not think it would be reasonable to try to calculate a "net result" of such comparisons.



## VI. SOME TYPOLOGIES OF THE STYLE OF LIFE

According to our distinction between the way of life and style of life, let us say a few words about the second. In this case, any cross-national comparison would be much more difficult, as we are dealing with entities and not with elements as when describing the way of life. The said entities may be presented in the form of typologies of lifestyles. In conformity with our theoretical position explained in section 2, such a presentation should point out, among other things, the main values characteristic for each style.

It is possible to propose many kinds of such typologies, looking at the style of life from different points of view. And we have in fact worked out a number of typologies of Polish lifestyles. For example, an important typology can be proposed in connection with different socio-economic conditions - for instance, types of lifestyles of blue-collars working in a big and a small industry, and so forth. In this paper we want to say a few words about two typologies of which the first could be called socio-historical, and the second socio-psychological.

### Scheme of a socio-historical typology<sup>25</sup>

Studies in social stratification in Poland show the existence of some types of lifestyles, which are a continuation of styles of life which had functioned within a different economic and political system (like before the last World War) and this in spite of the fact that the social structure has changed considerably. In particular we may find a present version of the former style of life of the intelligentsia - let us call it "elitist" or rather "pseudo-elitist" lifestyle, then a new version of the style of life of the former petite-bourgeoisie - the "neo-bourgeois" style of life, and

finally, a present version of the lifestyle of peasantry - the "rural" style of life.

The lifestyle of the intelligentsia has survived to this day, even though it has ceased to be exclusively the style of life of that strata.<sup>26</sup> It is no longer the style of life of any elitist social group (which the intelligentsia used to be until 1939) though it nevertheless functions in social consciousness as the lifestyle of an elite. This is why the term pseudo-elitist seems more appropriate. The most characteristic feature of the traditional lifestyle of the Polish intelligentsia was the prestige of education as the discriminant of membership in the elite. However, education was not viewed as a basis for professional skills: stress was laid on a general education, associated with the ideal of an "intelligent person". The model of the "intelligent person" was valid both in professional activity and outside that sphere of life. As a matter of fact, that lifestyle was marked by the lack of a clear distinction between the professional and the non-professional spheres of life. Both professional work and leisure, consumption of material goods and participation in culture, the upbringing of children and the housing standards were supposed to prove that one is an educated person, a man or woman of culture, in the sense current in those times. The present-day version of that style differs from the old patterns above all by the attitude towards material goods. Increasing importance is being attached to material objects, particularly to certain consumer goods which are to testify to one's membership in the elite. This is associated with increasingly spreading education which is accordingly losing its discriminating function.

The bourgeois lifestyle in Poland differed from that typical of most Western European countries, above all because of the lack of a numerous and economically strong bourgeoisie. This is why in our typology we rather have in mind the "petit-bourgeois lifestyle" which existed in Poland between the two World Wars. Its most significant feature was the priority given - on the scale of values both

accepted and implemented - to material objects and money (wealth) as opposed to, for instance, aesthetical or ideological values. In another terminology, preference was given to "having" at the cost of "being". That lifestyle used to reflect the traditional bourgeois virtues: independence of means, accumulation and possession of wealth; all other values were subordinated to them. This resulted among other things in the little importance attached to participation in culture and entertainments (in the broad sense of ludic behaviour), and also in treating one's family mainly as a community of interests.

Even though the bourgeoisie vanished in post-1945 Poland as a socially significant class, and despite the educational and cultural policy pursued in this country after World War II, the old petit-bourgeois lifestyle has its continuation in what we have termed the neo-bourgeois style. The viability of that style would require a penetrating analysis, for it certainly does not amount to the sole survival of small petit-bourgeois groups, nor is it solely due to the social influence of that class.

The present-day petit-bourgeois lifestyle manifests itself not only in treating the possession of material objects as the source and indicator of all values, but also in the emphasis laid on consumption, which makes it different from the traditional bourgeois frugality and moderation. Further, this consumption-orientation is marked by a fascination with all modern things, and the prestige of foreign-made goods. Another feature which is characteristic of the neo-bourgeois lifestyle is the duality of the value-system: that which is officially accepted and that which is observed in actual conduct. Also characteristic is the striving for "stabilization".

The distinction between the former peasant style and the present-day rural style is intended to emphasize the fact that nowadays the rural population continues traditions of the old lifestyle only in part and to a limited extent. On the one hand, this old peasant lifestyle tends to vanish, but on the other hand, it finds its way to the towns - at least as far as some of its elements are concerned - as a result of migrations from the countryside to the urbanized areas.

The present-day rural lifestyle is the result of the clash between the traditional peasant style and urbanization, industrialization and advances in technology. These processes have above all led to changes in the set of fundamental values. Possession of farming land and labour are still essential, but they have become instrumental values that lead to increased income, better living standards, and the materialization of one's aspirations.

Modernized farming techniques such as advances in technology, proper agro-technical measures and specialization in certain types of agricultural production, have greatly reduced dependence on the rhythm of nature. On the other hand, we may notice an increasing dependence on fertilizers (244.1 kg per 1 ha in 1976 against 49.1 kg in 1961) and on machines (36.7 ha per 1 tractor in 1975 against 258.2 ha in 1960).

The rural lifestyle also shows a clearer demarcation line between the farm as the place of gainful employment and the household. Mass media, especially TV, offer much greater opportunities for participation in national culture than was the case with the peasant lifestyle, but, at the same time, the importance of one's active participation in local culture has decreased.

Personal contacts are characteristic of both the rural and the peasant style of life. Another point of similarity between the two is the inclination to stress the role of traditional customs, ceremonies, and ostentatious celebration of holidays and party-making.

This last element of the rural style is among those which penetrate the urban lifestyles.

The styles of life listed above - the pseudo-elitist, the neo-bourgeois and the rural - which, as we have tried to demonstrate, are continuations of respective former lifestyles - do of course not cover all the macro-social differentiations between lifestyles which are to be found in present-day Poland, in addition to the working-class style.<sup>27</sup> Then, each of the discussed types has many variants, connected with life conditions, the age of people, and so on. Yet our task was not to offer any exhaustive classification of present-day lifestyles in Poland, but merely to suggest a typology based on their respective origin. However, the above analysis should be completed by referring to certain facts which are essential for the understanding of the process of changes of the lifestyle of Polish society.

The breakdown of the economic structure of Poland brought about by World War II, followed by post-1945 revolutionary changes in the class and strata structure of the population, changes in the ethnic composition of the latter and the shifting of frontiers, have resulted not only in the elimination of some of the former styles and in the mingling of others, but also in a gradual unification of the styles of life. A unified lifestyle is only just taking shape and hence not easy to define. It may be that several variations of that unified style are emerging, but at present only one of them is clearly visible. We mean here the lifestyle shaped under the impact of patterns spread by the mass media. Let it be termed, conventionally, the mass media style of life.

Its main feature is the lack of any distinct and coherent hierarchy of values, and also of any fixed models of everyday manners, spending the leisure-time, dressing, outfitting one's home, and so forth. Incidental elements, drawn from various styles and even from various countries, combine syncretically, so that it would even be legitimate to speak about a sui generis "styleless" lifestyle. Hence that style

of life, with all its variations, is not a trustworthy testimony of a person's group membership or his aspirations. This is so because, while it largely depends on what comes from the mass media at a given moment, it also depends on the supply of the various consumer goods on the market. This is also why its variations differ so much from one another according to a person's financial position, age group, profession, and so on.

#### Proposal for a socio-psychological typology

Our hypothesis - valid for the past decades as well as for the foreseeable future - is that the style of life is less and less connected with a person's membership in a social class or social stratum, and will henceforth increasingly depend on other criteria of social differentiation and on people's own options. So the question arises what factors may come to affect such options, and what - in place of, or along with, the social structure - will determine differences in the style of life. It is legitimate to suppose that an individual's personality will become such a decisive factor.

This makes us conclude that apart from the typology of lifestyles based on criteria drawn from social history, it is worth the while working out a typology that refers to those differences between human beings which are in the sphere of social psychology. The latter typology is not to be a rival of the former, but will merely supplement it. <sup>28</sup>

We think that in those cases in which variations of the style of life depend on fairly free options of individuals, they are differentiated mainly according to the following three dimensions:

- i. dominant system of reference (ipso-centric, allo-centric, socio-centric);
- ii. dominant orientation in life (active versus passive);
- iii. dominant time perspective (past, future, present).

In connection with the first dimension we have to do with three ideal types of the lifestyle: individual, private life- and public life-oriented. In connection with the differences in life orientation we can single out the active and the passive lifestyles, the former having two variations: play-oriented and work-oriented. The third dimension shows differences between the conservative, innovative and living-for-the-present style of life.

## VII. ON ALTERNATIVES OF WAYS/STYLES OF LIFE

Let us finally, to come to the main problem of this study, raise some questions concerning alternatives in the spheres of the way and style of life. Incidentally, we should point to the fact that we are using the term "alternative" in the sense adopted in the everyday English language, where it means choice between several possibilities, and not in the logical sense of that word, where alternative means one (true) of two possible choices: either/or. One could say we are going to discuss problems of some possible and/or desirable variants of ways or styles of life.

The label "alternative ways of life" could mean, at least, two different kinds of reflection. The first would be an analysis of differences and similarities existing between ways of life of groups and strata in a society, and between societies or cultures. In the second sense, we could discuss possibilities of changes and modifications of existing ways of life, or possibilities to create new, not yet existing, ways of life. And exactly the second meaning we have in mind in this report.

But even discussing alternative ways of life in the explained sense we may think many different things. First, basing our analysis on a kind of "objective" assessment of the way of life,<sup>29</sup> we could analyse changes in social relations, environment, technology, development patterns, and so on, that are necessary from the point of view of improving, or at least stopping, the deterioration of the quality of life in its objective aspect. Unfortunately, because of the limited scope and number of indicators, we are not able to perform such an analysis.



The second approach would be to propose some modifications of existing ways/styles of life, or to propose quite new ways/styles of life, not on the basis of a systematic diagnosis, however, but in a freer manner, on the ground of some systems of accepted values. In this case again we may have in mind many "authors" of such proposals.

Thus, we can ask if such ideas exist within the broad public. Next, we may look for them in political declarations, texts by philosophers, writers, scientists, and so forth. In the latter case we would deal with a kind of "elitist" proposals, whereas in the former with "popular" ideas. And finally, we may draw our attention not only to some images and verbal proposals, but to groups trying to implement in practice some new variants of lifestyles.

In the following section we would like to make some comments on the first and the third approaches (popular images and groups practicing new lifestyles).

#### Popular images of alternative lifestyles

Briefly, one could say that as far as alternatives of the style of life are concerned, the imagination of the Polish population is not well developed. We may add that this is an unfortunate fact from the point of view of the possibility of shaping people's own future. While interviewed, people have had serious problems to describe a "good life", or even to enumerate criteria of a high "quality of life".<sup>30</sup>

It is much easier to get some answers when asking them about their concrete personal wishes and desires.<sup>31</sup> Responses to such questions reveal usually the following hierarchy of wishes:

1. improvement of health
2. improvement of the standard of living
3. improvement of housing conditions.

It means that from the point of view of lifestyle evaluation the first factor is health, followed by economic factors. The other:

dominant though less stressed group of problems deals with some psychological factors, such as "satisfaction connected with achievements", sense of well-being, and so forth. And finally, the third problematic area concerns the improvement of interpersonal relations.

A different hierarchy is involved in replies concerning an evaluation of the existing way of life, or rather an evaluation of life as more or less successful. In this case, we find in the first place a successful family life, secondly successes in work and thirdly material conditions. It is interesting that the role of leisure is much less important, though more important for people from rural than from urban areas.

Finally, it is noteworthy that wishes and desires of people do usually not run into the remote future, but are on the contrary rather pragmatic and short-termed.<sup>32</sup>

#### Alternative styles of life proposed by some groups

Such styles are not only different from others, but they are cognizant proposals of some chosen alternatives perceived as better, more valuable than existing styles of life. Unfortunately, our information on them will not be based on any systematic studies, because such studies are simply lacking. The only thing we can do therefore is to list some types of groups that practise alternative lifestyles. Probably we do not know about all types of such groups. Besides that, we have no data to say anything credible about the number of these groups and of their members. In the contemporary Poland five types of groups working on alternative styles of life seem to be most important:

- i. groups continuing a hippie tradition;
- ii. groups of young artists, mainly students;
- iii. groups of socially committed Catholic youth;
- iv. a group connected with the Theatre-Laboratory directed by Jerzy Grotowski;
- v. groups of young psycho-therapists.

Hippie tradition. The hippie movement has never been very popular nor particularly authentic in Poland, not even during the years 1967-1971. Nevertheless, it influenced a part of the young generation. There probably still exist some small communes continuing that tradition, counting possibly 300 to 500 people, although the majority of hippies has either undergone professional stabilization or joined the psycho-therapeutic groups discussed below. Anyway, although proposing some important modifications of values, the hippie tradition has no chances to spread on a mass scale.

Young artists. Such groups of young composers, poets, songsters, actors, totalling about 500 to 1000 persons, are unifying under the banner of an "open art". Their basic values are creativeness, development of personality and of expression. They live in small groups of friends, shaping their everyday life in opposition to so-called "small-stabilization", consumerism and aggressive competition.

Young Catholics' groups. These groups try to organize their life according to rules of the Catholic ethics. Their main unifying factor is not the problem of faith, but rather a general orientation towards certain spiritual values, and practice based on ethical principles. The family plays here a particularly important role. Community is understood not so much as a group of friends - as in the case of the former groups - but as a search for integration of such big groups as the nation, the community of believers, and so on. In the organization of everyday life, the stress is laid on intellectual rather than emotional types of activity; on sciences rather than on art. People belonging to such groups - probably about 300 persons - are participating in many other groups, for instance in connection with work.

The other types of groups representing alternative lifestyles may appear, perhaps, particularly interesting.

"Theatre-Laboratory" run by Jerzy Grotowski. The group, once famous in the world as an experimental theatre, has shifted in the last years from its artistic activity to the idea of shaping the life

of a person. The lifestyle proposed by this group is seen in opposition to the style of mass society, and the petit-bourgeois style of life. Such aspects as "other-direction"<sup>33</sup>, under-estimation of nature and under-evaluation of the emotional sphere of personality shared by the mass society and petit-bourgeois lifestyle have been questioned by this group. The group - consisting in a "core" of some dozen persons and several hundred followers - sees as its task a self re-education of the human-being. This re-education embraces almost all problems of human activity, starting with the time-budget (for example, it opposes a division between working-time and leisure-time), family, consumption, work, participation in culture (for instance, it stresses a need for meditation), inter-personal contacts such as friendship, and so on.

Young psycho-theraputists. The basic assumptions of these groups are very close to ideas of Grotowski's Laboratory. However, because of their different origin (Grotowski being a man of theatre, whereas here we have psychiatrists, psychologists, and the like), and the different type of leading activity, one could say these groups are more "popular" than the rather "elitist" group of Grotowski. Such groups - totalling 50 to 100 persons and about 500 adherents - emerged as a reaction and "humanistic" opposition to basic ideas and methods of traditional psychiatry - some of its members had in fact psychiatric problems at an earlier time. Mental illnesses are seen by them as symptoms of some faults in the social organization. They believe a psychotic is not less worth than other people, but perhaps more sensitive, more authentic. The aim of the psycho-therapeutist is not "to cure", but to help people to find their place in the society without a resignation from their personality and their sensitivity. It usually means a need for total reorganization of everyday life - not only of the daily life of a given individual, but also the life and basic values of his/her family or group of friends. It should be mentioned that the psycho-therapeutists' groups are not only interested in working with "psychotics", but also in a kind of prophylaxis, though this is still in a rather experimental phase.

### Some general comments

The main alternative lifestyles observed in Poland then, are connected with a search for styles supporting personality, identity and development, creativeness and renewal of ethical principles in everyday life. One could ask the question why the groups practicing alternative lifestyles are not numerous in Poland and will probably not flourish in the near future, and why some alternatives popular in Western countries have not appeared here. We think that at least three factors should be mentioned as limiting the interest in alternative lifestyles - namely:

- the fact that in Poland some basic needs of a big portion of the population are still not met (for instance, those connected with housing);
- social advancement of many people and their satisfaction with the achieved status and the new conditions and ways of life;
- popular conviction that the existing political system is responsible for taking the initiative to modify ways and styles of life.

Although a prognosis of changes in Polish lifestyles is beyond the scope of this study,<sup>34</sup> we believe by and large that those changes will be a result of both general tendencies specific for the development of Europe and certain ideals of socialism.

## VIII. CONCLUSION

As we have seen, changes of ways and styles of life in Poland have positive as well as negative aspects. The future will show to what extent the Polish society is capable of developing those positive aspects, while preventing the negative tendencies to grow.

In any case, the analysis has shown that those negative aspects could hardly be labelled "overdevelopment". Moreover, we must express our doubts and suspicions about using that term at all. In our opinion, the criticism of "overdevelopment" resembles, to some extent, the complaints of rich people trying to persuade the poor that money and wealth do not necessarily bring good luck and happiness. And the poor have difficulties to believe this.

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## NOTES

1. Such studies started in 1977 as a cross-national comparative project initiated by the Division for Lifestyles Studies, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw (directed by the author), and the Academy of Finland and the University of Joensuu (studies directed by J.P. Roos).
2. German Ideology, Vol. 1, Feuerbach, translated from a Polish version.
3. A definition of "style of life" was proposed in an article by the present author: *Styl życia - problemy pojęciowe i teoretyczne* (see Bibliography). See also: A. Siciński, "Style of Life in Socialist Society", in Personal Activity in the Socialist Society, Moscow/Warsaw, 1974.
4. It is true that in the "Alternative Ways of Life" project the two terms are being used interchangeably.
5. Those differences have been extensively discussed in the Soviet literature on "way of life".
6. "Ethos" is here understood as a general orientation of a culture or of a society following some given values.
7. One of them has been elaborated by Johan Galtung for the "Alternative Ways of Life" project. We have some problems here, first because of our slightly different understanding of "need", and second because we lack the data necessary for the "cost-benefit analysis" of ways of life as proposed by Johan Galtung and Monica Wemegah.
8. See A. Siciński, "The Concepts of 'Need' and 'Value' in the Light of the System Approach", in Social Science Information, 17.1.1978.
9. We are using here a scheme proposed in a paper by M. Haranne and A. Siciński: Changes of Lifestyles in Finland and Poland, Research Reports, No. 3, 1978, University of Joensuu (mimeographed). The main source: Mały Rocznik Statystyczny (Concise Statistical Yearbook), Warszawa, 1978.
10. While 34.5 million in 1937, but within different borders. The density of the population is 110 per 1 km<sup>2</sup>.
11. Men are not allowed to marry before 21, and women not before 18; to marry at an earlier age it is necessary to get court permission.



12. Additionally, some data concerning land utilization may be interesting:

	percentages of the total territory		
	total land utilized for agriculture	arable land	forests
in 1960	65	51	24.5
in 1970	62	48	27.3
in 1977	61	47	27.6

13. Meat (beef, veal, pork, mutton, horse, poultry, rabbit, goat meat, game and giblets), without meat products (additionally: 26.8 kg in towns and 17.9 kg in rural areas). Data from investigations of family budgets (source: Mały Rocznik Statystyczny, op.cit.).
14. This section is based on works by J. Jagiełło-Łysiowa, and M. Czerwiński, presented in the volume Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce (see: Bibliography).
15. The majority of land in Poland is the private property of peasants, sometimes owning a very small piece of land: 30% of the farms were below 2 ha in 1977.
16. We have in mind physical anthropology. We gratefully acknowledge the help of the Anthropological Division of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław, which provided us with those data.
17. Here we tried to present some indicators comparable with those used by Dag Poleszynski in his study on "Costs and Benefits of Norwegian Lifestyle".  
We are expressing our thanks to Prof. Feliks Sawicki and his collaborators from the State Institute for Hygiene, Warsaw, for their help with finding the indicators.  
Main sources: Rocznik Demograficzny (Demographic Yearbook), 1973; Roczniki Statystyczne Ochrony Zdrowia (Statistical Yearbooks of the Health Protection), 1974, 1976.
18. Items 390-458 according to WHO classification.
19. " 140-209 " " " "
20. Results of a representative survey, 1967-68.
21. Diseases, according to WHO classification:  
 " of nervous system and sense organs (340-398)  
 " of eye (370-379, 765)  
 " of ear (391-393)  
 Cardiovascular diseases (330-334 ; 400-468)  
 Diseases of respiratory system (470-527 ; 240-241)  
 " of digestive system (530-587)  
 " of genito-urinary system (590-637)  
 " of skin (690-716 ; 242-244 ; 766)  
 " of musculo-skeletal system (720-749)

22. Validity of comparisons based on our indicators may be affected (both in the case of cross-national comparisons and comparisons for longer periods of time) by different registration completeness, coding procedures, diagnostic habits, etc.
23. Questions about evaluation of an ending year, from a personal point of view.  
Data from surveys carried out by the Public Opinion and Programme Studies Centre at Polish Radio and TV, Warsaw. See also: M. Misiuna: Jakość życia w opiniach. Badania ankietowe (Opinions on quality of life. Public opinion surveys), Warszawa, 1976.
24. Crimes (detected) - in thousands:
- |   | <u>1970</u> | <u>1977</u> |
|---|-------------|-------------|
| total   | 424.2       | 344.5       |
| homicide                                      | 0.5         | 0.5         |
| participation in scrim-<br>mages or batteries | 4.7         | 4.8         |
| rape  | 1.9         | 1.6         |
25. That typology was proposed by Aldona Jawłowska and Edmund Mokrzycki, "Styles of Life in Poland: A Viewpoint on Typology", in Polish Sociology. Social Structure, Warszawa, 1978.
26. Which has disintegrated to some extent, increased in number, and now differs much less from the other strata than it used to until 1939.
27. We should also mention the issue of the workers' style of life, whose position differs from those specified above. A distinction must be made between a t r a d i t i o n a l and a m o d e r n lifestyle of workers. The traditional one was shaped in the period between the two World Wars, in the workers' milieu in large industrial centers (only a few in Poland at that time). Values and patterns characteristic of the traditional working-class lifestyle have probably penetrated the majority of the lifestyles found in the present-day Polish society (except for the neo-bourgeois style). They have, of course, been taken over as well by the modern working-class lifestyle, which took shape in post-1945 Poland. However, the latter is not a direct continuation of the traditional working-class style of life.
28. Details of that typology may be found in an article by the present author in the book Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce, see: Bibliography.
29. Done in the manner proposed in section 5.
30. Data from surveys carried out by the Public Opinion and Programme Studies Centre, Polish Radio and TV, Warsaw. See also: A. Tyszka, "Wartości, dobrego, życia. Poglądy i opinie" (Values of a good life. Views and Opinions) in Przekazy i Opinie, 1.11.1978.

31. For instance, we were asking such questions at the end of the year, concerning wishes for the next year.
32. This result is consonant with results of a cross-national comparative study on people's social imagination and future orientation. H. Ornauer, H. Wiberg, A. Siciński, J. Galtung, editors, Images of the World in the Year 2000, The Hague/Paris, Mouton, 1976.
33. In the O. Riesman sense.
34. Some prognoses were presented in an article by the present author in Styl życia. Przemiany we współczesnej Polsce (see: Bibliography).