Dariusz Jarosz

'PEASANTNESS' AS AN ELEMENT OF STIGMA
WITHIN THE POLISH URBAN EXPANSE POST-1945

When in Poland towards the end of 1951 difficulties with food supplies once again took on a heightened dimension, and party meetings at workplaces assembled to explain the causes of these deficiencies, the vice-director of one of enterprises in the Warsaw district of Bródno, distrustful of the official arguments, claimed that the lack of meat was because 'there was no one to feed the pigs as the pigmen have gone to study at the Polytechnic'.[1] In January 1953 at one of the Warsaw district meetings of the Polish United Workers' Party, organized after the price rises, it was demanded that peasants should not be allowed 'to leave the countryside for work in the city as agricultural work was neglected in this way and farming output fell'.[2] Similar anti-peasant sentiments were evoked by the supply difficulties noted in 1959.[3] The manifestation of which were the opinions often expressed at meetings devoted to discussion of the new working norms introduced in 1960.

> The workers have expressed – claimed party leaflets – that 'too much has suddenly fallen on the shoulders of the workers'. Besides the change in working practices they enumerated the price rises for meat, for organized holiday camps, for railway tickets. They have said that the peasants and the bureaucrats do not have to bear such burdens.[4]

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[1] Błażej Brzostek, *Robotnicy Warszawy. Konflikty codzienne (1950–1954)* (Warsaw, 2002), 76.

[2] *Ibidem.*

[3] Warsaw, Archiwum Akt Nowych (hereafter: AAN), Komitet Centralny Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej (hereafter: KC PZPR), 237/VII–3967, Information no. 33/A/3614, 6 Oct. 1959, fo. 86.

[4] AAN, KC PZPR, 237/VII–3963, Information no. 13/1962, 19 Feb. 1960, fo. 80.

The sociologists Danuta Markowska and Zbigniew Sufin, who in 1960 researched the morality of work at the Ludwik Waryński Industrial Equipment Construction Plant in Warsaw, observed a clear cut conflict between workers of urban origin and those from the country. They wrote that workers who came from the country and had the backup that rural life provided were generally referred to as 'comfy' (they usually looked well fed).[5] In the same study, the young workers – from four Warsaw plants – interviewed by Maria Jarosińska, who on the whole had no doubts whatsoever that there were differences between workers depending on their origin, defined the negative characteristics of their peasant comrades at work: 'the countrymen take work lightly', 'they work for the vodka and motorbikes', 'they're easy to manipulate because they're not working for their keep', 'they take the bread out of the mouths of the townies'. And in addition they characterize their traits as: pig-headedness, obstinacy, obtuseness, hotheadedness, secretiveness, suspiciousness, sluggardliness, phlegmatism, sluggish-ness, vulgarity. They were to differ from 'townies' in terms of language, clothing and 'manner'.[6]

It is a characteristic feature of attitudes in relation to workers of country origin that the tone of derision, or even contempt, evident in some of the utterances quoted was to persist over the entire period of the Polish People's Republic. Dictionaries of colloquial Polish or social jargons show that the designations: 'village', 'backwater', 'yokel', 'bumpkin' – to mention the commonly used ones – are pejorative in meaning, while in relation to someone are synonymous of someone coarse, boorish, ugly, and thick.[7]

It appears that language constitutes a sensitive instrument regis-tering the complicated process of stigmatization, understood as the

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[5] Archive of the TNS OBOP, 9.036: Danuta Markowska and Zbigniew Sufin, 'Moralność pracy i zjawiska z nią związane w zakładzie przemysłowym (sprawozdanie z badań monograficznych w Zakładzie Budowy Urządzeń Przemysłowych im. Ludwika Waryńskiego w Warszawie)' (http://www.tnsglobal.pl/archive-report/id/4144).

[6] Maria Jarosińska, *Adaptacja młodzieży wiejskiej do klasy robotniczej* (Wrocław, *etc.*, 1964), 158–61.

[7] See, i.a., Władysław Lubaś (ed.), *Słownik polskich leksemów potocznych*, i (Cracow, 2000), 315 (entry 'burak'); Katarzyna Czarnecka and Halina Zgółkowa, *Słownik gwary uczniowskiej* (Poznań, 1991), 29 (entry: 'burak'), 218 (entries: 'wiochna', 'wieśniaki', 'wieśniara', *etc.*); Janusz Anusiewicz and Jacek Skawiński, *Słownik polszczyzny potocznej* (Warsaw, 1998), 27 (entry: 'wsiok', 'wsiowy'), 29 (entry: 'dupiasta'), 102 (entry: 'bamber').

negative labelling of members of a certain group; this categorizing resulting not necessarily from the behavioural breaking of social norms by them (as is the case with deviance) but simply by member-ship of this collective body itself.[8] The attempt I have undertaken to bring the characteristics of this phenomenon closer to the reader requires a few introductory explanations.

Initially, this attempt has been based first and foremost on analyses referring to working class environments (workers of rural origin living in towns and peasant farmers working in factories); this results from the current state of research both historical, sociological as well as anthropological into the titular problem. Besides, as the results of work into social mobility show, rural 'emigrants' within an urban area in the majority transferred into the category of worker.[9]

Secondly, my considerations (which I attempt to mark where this is possible) deal chiefly with the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, which results from the internal dynamic of the described phenomenon in the post-war period. I claim that it was then that stigmatization manifested itself the most fully. Its marked lessening in significance in later years (and – something beyond the scope of the considera-tions – its significant heightening before 1939) is the effect – besides

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[8] See Elżbieta Czykwin, *Białoruska mniejszość narodowa jako grupa stygmatyzowana* (Białystok, 2000), 69–137.

[9] This is borne out chiefly by Michał Pohoski's research into not only migration from the countryside for the period 1945–57 (*idem, Migracje ze wsi do miast* [Warsaw, 1963]), but also into the problem of social inequality in Poland, conducted in 1972. From the latter it results that the majority of the men in question belonged at the time to a different social-occupational category than had their fathers. The percent-age of mobility wavered from over 96 amongst the sons of unqualified workers to 51 amongst the sons of qualified workers. Mobility amongst the sons of peasants was 75 per cent – the majority of them changed to categories of qualified blue-collar worker in a similar way to the majority of sons of unqualified workers. The sons of white-collar workers were most often employed as qualified white-collar workers. The main direction of 'employment emigration' in the early 1970s was from agri-culture to physical labour outside of agriculture, from less qualified physical labour to more qualified, from blue-collar work to white-collar positions on the whole to average or highly qualified positions and from less qualified to more qualified intellectual work. Processes of advancement dominated over processes of social degradation. The percentage of mobile individuals from amongst those examined was 77, of whom 61 were mobile upwards in the hierarchy of social-occupational categories, with only 16 moving downwards. See Michał Pohoski, 'Ruchliwość społeczna a nierówności społeczne', *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, xxvii, 4 (1983), 135–64.

the action of such general factors as the process of the egalitarianism and democratization of many cultural and educational processes – of a strengthening conviction that social origin plays an increasingly smaller role as a determinant of social differences.[10]

Thirdly, the basis for the comments made is equally the result of sociological and historical research into the staff of specific plants, the inhabitants of towns or regions, as well as general works aiming at establishing common traits in mentality, attitudes and social forms of behaviour. The nature of the research problem, which to a large degree lends itself with difficulty to routinized research methods, means that the comments herein have been made with total awareness of their disputable and even controversial nature.

The initial quotes signalize the main factor strengthening the topicality of the conflict and the emotional marking of employees of peasant origin within the urban expanse. It constituted competition or even rivalry in access to goods in short supply. Obviously this did not have to simply be – as in the quotes – foodstuffs, but also hardware, flats, as well as forms of privilege.[11] Indeed it is no coincidence that the economy of countries of the Eastern Bloc is analyzed in categories of shortages,[12] with those who were once referred to 'as the holders of deficit goods' managing the best economically.[13] The then symbolic stamp not only influenced the opinions, attitudes and behaviour of those stigmatizing but equally of those who were branded by it.

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[10] See on this subject Jadwiga Koralewicz-Zębik, 'Potoczna percepcja nierówności w Polsce w latach 1960–1980', *Studia Socjologiczne*, xxiii, 3 (1983), 143–62. Indirect proof confirming this thesis are the ascertainments of Ewa Jaźwińska-Motylska. It results from her research that in 1972 and 1976 39.9 per cent and 41.1 per cent respectively of the inhabitants of Warsaw pointed to social origin as the source of interpersonal conflict. Much higher values were obtained by such causes for difference like: earnings, education, possession of power, holding office, the manual/intellectual nature of the job. See *eadem, Ruchliwość społeczna i kariery zawodowe mieszkańców Warszawy* (Warsaw, 1990), 182.

[11] For a similar view see Błażej Brzostek, 'Środowisko robotnicze Warszawy drugiej połowy lat pięćdziesiątych, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem "nowych robotników" ze wsi', in Jarosław Neja (ed.), *Dla władzy, obok władzy, przeciw władzy. Postawy robotników wielkich ośrodków przemysłowych w PRL* (Warsaw, 2005), 64.

[12] János Kornai, *Economics of Shortage* (Amsterdam, 1980).

[13] Stefan Wolle, *Die heile Welt der Diktatur: Alltagund Herrschaft in der DDR 1971–1989* (Berlin, 1998). I have used the Polish edition: *Wspaniały świat dyktatury. Codzienność i władza w NRD 1971–1989,* trans. Elżbieta Kaźmierczak (Warsaw, 2003), 307.

The mass nature of the processes of internal migration was undoubtedly of influence on the degree of tension and its course within urban areas against such a background. It is worth mentioning that in the years 1946–85 six million people were involved in the migration from the countryside to the towns, which constituted a 40 per cent increase in urban inhabitants for the period in question. A further 2.3 million inhabitants (15.4 per cent of this growth) found themselves thus classified as a result of administrative changes, which involved the incorporation of outlying villages. Research into social mobility shows that in the 1970s almost 30 per cent of the administrative and economic elite were recruited from peasant families or those of agricultural workers, 33 per cent of the intelligentsia, 40 of upper and middle management, 50 of skilled workers, 61 of semi-skilled workers, 85 of agricultural and forestry workers, and 94 per cent of farmers.[14]

The mass 'conquering' by rural migrants of the city with their experience of social advance[15] clearly stamped a distinctiveness on this urban landscape. They influenced what is ordinarily referred to as the ruralization of cities, which for a host of reasons, including ideological-political ones, did not constitute (with only a few exceptions[16]) the subject for in-depth studies during the period of the Polish People's Republic.

We shall try therefore, on the basis of the most possible varied source basis, to answer the following questions:

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[14] Jacek Wasilewski, 'Społeczeństwo polskie, społeczeństwo chłopskie', *Studia Socjologiczne*, xxvi, 3 (1986), 39–56; Henryk Słabek, *Obraz robotników polskich w świetle ich świadectw własnych i statystyki 1945–1989* (Warsaw and Kutno, 2004), 17; Włodzimierz Mirowski, 'Rola migracji w procesach urbanizacji kraju', in Bohdan Jałowiecki and Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska (eds.), *Procesy urbanizacji i przekształcenia miast w Polsce* (Wrocław, *etc.*, 1988), 32–5.

[15] On the nature and variability of this phenomenon in the Polish People's Republic, see the comments in Słabek, *Obraz robotników*. This process is also the subject of some interesting detailed studies, see, i.a., Jan Leszek Franczyk, 'Awans społeczny budowniczych Nowej Huty – blaski i cienie', in Neja (ed.), *Dla władzy*, 46–57.

[16] An exception is chiefly the research of Andrzej Sadowski, see, i.a., *idem*, 'Awantaże, koszty społeczne oraz kierunki przemian procesów ruralizacji miast', in Krzysztof Frysztacki and Władysław Kwaśniewicz (eds.), *Przemiany społeczności miejskich w Polsce. Uwarunkowania i potrzeby rozwoju miast*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1989–94), ii, 189–207; see equally Andrzej Sadowski, 'Białystok – proces ruralizacji miasta', in Jałowiecki and Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska (eds.), *Procesy urbanizacji*, 213–27.

– What were the manifestations of this distinctiveness in urban inhabitants of rural origin, that enhanced the processes of stigmatization?;

– To what extent did the cultural, sociological and even political landscape of the town change under the influence of these migrants?

The insufficiency in Polish research into the everydayness of the Polish People's Republic means that any evaluation of a question sketched such is only partially possible. Besides the observation (resulting almost exclusively from an analysis of diary materials) that country people as incomers would dress somewhat differently and that they stood out through the social forms mastered from those who were established urban dwellers, there is little that is known about the actual social differences.[17]

However, thanks to the ascertainments of linguists we know somewhat more about how they spoke. Not taking into consideration obvious differences in this area, ones resulting from extremely strong ethnic or national distinctness (Silesians,[18] the Belarusian minority), often overlapping onto the divisions whose criterion was social (country-city) or regional, the research of post-war sociolinguists, more intensely conducted post-1956, lead to the conclusion that there existed in Poland two integral live types of language system, ones evolving in time and space: dialects and general language. The dynamics of the tensions and changes was a derivative of the mass transfer of the former to the latter. As a result of the post-war changes, and first and foremost migrations, there increased within urban areas the number of people speaking a substandard language. Besides the norms of the standard were diluted and reduced, a standard that was unable to break away from the social base and become an abstract model. The opposition of standard/substandard in Poland – as Zuzanna Topolińska, an expert in the field, claims

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[17] See, i.a., *Pamiętniki pokolenia*, foreword by Jerzy Feliksiak (Warsaw, 1966), 248, 303; *Chłoporobotnicy o sobie. Studium autobiografii*, introduction by Dyzma Gałaj (Warsaw, 1974), 38.

[18] On the cultural distance between the indigenous Silesians and the incoming immigrants ('outsiders'), see Adam Bartoszek, 'Funkcjonowanie społeczno-gospodarcze Górnego Śląska w okresie PRL – socjologiczne konsekwencje dla wzorców życia robotników i ich rodzin', in Neja (ed.), *Dla władzy,* 78. There subsequent literature.

does not overlap in the same place that happens in other countries, on the opposition of written/spoken language, literary/colloquial. People who are unable to speak, are unable to write in general, which in turn influences the relaxing or lowering of norms and an impoverishment of the language of administration, particularly that of the lower rungs.[19]

These general observations may be supplemented by Halina Kurkowska's reflections, who stands amongst the pioneers of sociolinguistic research in post-war Poland. In her view linguistic habits turned out to be especially inertial in the processes of social advance during the 1940s and 1950s. The quantitative linguistic integration was accompanied by a certain qualitative disintegration. In studying the 'linguistic urbanisms' of migrants from the country she determined that for the first stage of this process the maintaining of a fundamentally dialectical articulatory position with the elimination of only the most consciously recognized dialectical features (hence *mniasto* instead of *miasto, bokem* not *bokiem*) as well as a relatively limited enrichment (in relation to the indigenous dialect) of syntactical constructions was characteristic. In addition there occurred an acquiring of a sizeable portion of general Polish vocabulary, particularly that which referred to urban realia. Often there was noted a registering within the memory of uneducated rural incomers of words characterized by erudition and sophistication, which was often accompanied by a formal and semantic deformation.[20]

As an analysis of the vocabulary of those divesting themselves of dialects showed – claims Kurkowska – in at least the initial stages of this process the 'balance' is adverse: the general Polish words, assimilated often inaccurately, in an approximated meaning and form, do not quantitatively and qualitatively balance the losses in the dialect vocabulary of these people.[21]

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[19] Zuzanna Topolińska, 'Charakter i dynamika językowych procesów integracyjnych w powojennej Polsce', *Socjolingwistyka*, 9 (1990), 29–35.

[20] Halina Kurkowska, 'Próba charakterystyki socjolingwistycznej współczesnego języka polskiego', in *eadem* (ed.), *Współczesna polszczyzna. Wybór zagadnień* (Warsaw, 1981), 12–28; *eadem*, 'Język polski wobec przemian w życiu społecznym powojennej Polski', in *eadem, Polszczyzna ludzi myślących*, ed. Hanna Jadacka and Andrzej Markowski (Warsaw, 1991), 167–77.

[21] Kurkowska, 'Próba charakterystyki', 27.

Many detailed studies on various cities document the said varied linguistic distinctiveness characteristic for the analyzed social group.[22]

On the basis of reading the cited works it is difficult to define in an exact way the chronological and spatial scope for the described sociolinguistic phenomena. This results first and foremost, from the nature of these processes. It seems, however, that they occurred on a mass scale in Poland in the 1960s. The weakening of their influence during the later period was the effect of the increasingly obvious widening of the channels for the distribution of the norms of standard Polish. There occurred a popularization of radio and television as well a change in the character of literature. Language in general stopped being 'literary', in as far as its norms were no longer broadened through classic works of literature. It stopped to be the language of the elite in as far as the borders of the former cultural elite were blurred. It became the language of mass culture with its characteristic standardization and impoverishment.[23]

In looking for the difference in the lifestyle of rural immigrants to cities it is equally worth examining their flats. The way they were organized, equipped and utilized constitutes one of the most important elements of a lifestyle. Thanks to the conducting of fairly systematic research into this problem area since the beginning of the 1950s it is possible to draw academically substantiated conclusions on this matter.

An indisputable fact is that following the war the rural immigrants settled on housing estates en mass. The number of habitable rooms in Polish towns increased between 1946 and 1950 by around 1,500,000 while for the period 1951–5 694,000 were built, including around 100,000 in buildings of collective habitation.[24] Did this represent an improvement in the accommodation conditions in Polish cities? This is not easy to answer. For it turned out that the scale of migration influx to cities exceeded the growth in the housing stock. According to

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[22] See, i.a.: Barbara Falińska, 'O języku inteligencji mazowieckiej pochodzenia chłopskiego', in Kurkowska (ed.), *Współczesna polszczyzna*, 275–308; Maria Kamińska, 'Gwara ludowa w środowisku wielkomiejskim (na przykładzie Łodzi)', in Mieczysław Karaś (ed.), *Słownictwo gwarowe a kultura* (Wrocław, 1975), 105–11.

[23] Irena Bajerowa, 'Język ogólnopolski XX wieku', in Jerzy Bartmiński (ed.), *Współczesny język polski* (Lublin, 2001), 23.

[24] *Budownictwo w liczbach*, ed. GUS (The Central Statistical Office) (Warsaw, April 1956), Table 35; Adam Andrzejewski, *Polityka mieszkaniowa* (Warsaw, 1987), 149.

estimates from the end of the 1950s about 650,000 of this 'new' urban population affected the further overcrowding of existing flats. There was a need to construct around a further 375,000 flats to fully satisfy these needs. As a result the average density of people for one room in Poland increased from 1.6 in 1950 to 1.7 in 1955. The concentration of residential construction work in industrializing regions constituted an additional impulse for migration to these areas.[25] In accordance with the adopted model for economic development, the priority given to heavy industry had an influence on housing policy. From the data given for 403,000 housing units of the 427,000 built for the period 1953–5 within the framework of nationalized (state owned) construction it results that 47.5 per cent of these were designated for appeasing the needs of heavy industry and mining. Besides which it was established that in the distribution of new flats clear priority would be given to employees of administration and management at the expense of workers. This phenomenon was the most clearly visible in Warsaw.[26] A factor that unfavourably affected the chances of a worker employed on the newly erected 'constructions of socialism' of being allocated a new flat was the otherwise unavoidable necessity of guaranteeing accommodation to the highly qualified technical staff migrating in from other towns and cities, without whom the opening of new plants and factories would have been impossible. Therefore it was far from accidental that workers, who in the main were from country areas, were housed in huge workers hostels.

Besides, research into the first post-war period shows that rural immigrants on the whole settled in the poorest districts of cities, in flats of a low standard. The family-neighbour nature of this migration meant that at least in some of the researched estates (in Warsaw or Nowa Huta, the district of Cracow) settlement was in groups, concentrating families from the same villages and districts.[27] This settlement of rural immigrants in poorer quality flats and accom-

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[25] Jan Dangel and Tadeusz Żarski, *Budownictwo mieszkaniowe w latach 1950–1955 oraz jego wpływ na sytuację mieszkaniową* (Prace Badawcze Instytutu Budownictwa Mieszkaniowego, vii, 21, Warsaw, 1958), 9–42.

[26] Tadeusz Żarski and Maria Kużmiw, *Rozdział mieszkań w latach 1953–1955* (Materiały i Dokumentacja – Instytut Budownictwa Mieszkaniowego, series E, no. 1/28, Warsaw, 1957), 3–18.

[27] Stefan Nowakowski, 'Procesy urbanizacyjne w powojennej Polsce', *Studia Socjologiczne*, v, 3 (1965), 51; Brzostek, 'Środowisko robotnicze Warszawy', 60.

modation (more cramped, communal, smaller, in 'worse' districts) was still noticeable in the 1960s.[28]

Gradually, however, in relation to progress in construction, the housing standards of immigrant families, particularly in industrialized and large urban centres underwent a noticeable improvement. However, the paradox of this process was that it initiated a fresh the seeds of conflict between the 'old' urban workers, whose chances for changing a usually run down and poorly equipped flat were limited, and their new colleagues from the country who lived in modern 'blocks'.

This process of specific segregation became the subject of anthropological research in Silesia. The devastated red brick multiple-family workers houses (*familoki*) and flats of the old districts were occupied by the old indigenous people of Silesia, while the new blocks on housing estates were taken by incomers, contemptuously referred to as 'outsiders'. This created an environmental division within urban agglomerations in Upper Silesia.[29] A similar backdrop to conflicts was observed in other industrial regions.[30]

The mass appearance of immigrants from the countryside, who settled the new estates, was to change the way of life of not only the immigrants and their families but the life of towns themselves. Traditional country tastes in interior decor, their way of making themselves at home and settling in[31] mixed with the aspirations towards

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[28] Wanda Czeczerda, *Warunki i życzenia mieszkaniowe różnych grup ludności: metoda i wyniki badań ankietowych* (Prace Badawcze Instytutu Budownictwa Mieszkaniowego, xv, 44, Warsaw, 1964), 37–40; Bogdan Jałowiecki (ed.), *Związani z miastem. Opracowanie i fragmenty wypowiedzi nadesłanych na konkurs: 'Czym jest dla ciebie miasto Wrocław'* (Wrocław, 1970), 18–20.

[29] Eugeniusz Kłosek, *"Swoi" i "obcy" na Górnym Śląsku od 1945 roku. Środowisko miejskie* (Wrocław, 1993), 30–45. As the author proves 'yokelish' behaviour was an important element of the 'outsider'.

[30] See, e.g., Władysław Markiewicz, *Społeczne procesy uprzemysłowienia. Kształtowanie się zakładów produkcyjnych w konińskim rejonie energetyczno-hutniczym* (Poznań, 1962), 132.

[31] This traditional 'village' way of arranging urban space is thus described by a migrant to one of the town in the province of Olsztyn researched by Halina Murawska: 'everything was done in the kitchen, here one ate, slept, the child did its homework, here one chatted to the neighbours. The other room was completely spick-and-span, equally beds covered with eiderdowns and pillows neatly arranged on top, on the scrubbed wooden floor around the beds and cupboards were on a linen warp, the weft was off cuts of various coloured cloth – fabrics woven at home. In the windows lacy net curtains, of the furnishing there was also a table

acquiring the 'higher' urban culture of daily living. The effects of this medley were amazing. The rural inhabitants of workers estates found it difficult to become use to living in blocks of flats. Having been accustomed to a lower building all together meant that they complained about the need to take the stairs to higher floors and the absence of back gardens. There was noted affection on the part of the new tenants for what was defined as 'petite bourgeois' tastes in furnishings and flat decor:

> Armchairs with frills and sofas with plush upholstery, ugly pictures of poor artistic quality, on the walls under deer antlers embroidery of banal design and gaudy colours, next to devotional articles extremely poor reproductions showing female nudes, the contrast between the adorned, rarely used 'front room' and the cluttered and often quite dirty kitchen – these are the typical features of the flats recalled

state the researchers into this problem. The flats were often cluttered with equipment, heavy furniture; a lot of which came from the 'Regained Lands'. This furniture was most commonly assembled in the largest room, the 'show' room.

> On the tables and chests of drawers stand various figures in the form of little dogs with red bows, hunting dogs, hunters, loving couples, *etc*. These figures are on the whole garish in their artistry. On the walls are oleographs depicting landscapes or hunting scenes, devotional articles, large scale depictions of Zakopane highlanders, numerous embroideries in vivid colours of flowers, birds (e.g. a black peacock with a golden-red tail), dancers with red roses, *etc*. In the kitchen are often pieces of embroidery usually of children and adorned with various admonishments (e.g. *always drink fresh water, etc.*). The lady of the house, in moments free from work, will fondly create various knickknacks, which the walls are already covered with.

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and chairs, on the walls religious pictures. This room was hardly ever used, rarely did anyone sleep here, or even enter on work days. There one got changed for church on Sunday, for there also was a mirror and in the cupboard the whole wardrobe, underwear, prayer books. Here entered only highly respected family guests, it was open for guests during family celebrations and feast days. The children were strictly forbidden to enter there on a daily basis, particularly in shoes, as well as being forbidden from touching and moving the things there'. See Halina Murawska, *Imigranci wiejscy w mieście* (Olsztyn, 1994), 35–6.

The figures and crucifixes placed on cupboards and chests of drawers create mini altars ('domestic sacrum'). As opposed to the flats of the intelligentsia of the day here bookcases with books, étagère, desks or sofa beds are a rarity. Like in the countryside – the life of the 'newly urbanized' workers families on estates concentrated itself around the kitchen, hence the complaints about its limited size.[32] Research conducted in 1965 into the flats of influx workers in Cracow, obtained by them in 1956 and 1963 respectively, indicated, however, differences in spatial usage. The former still in the mid-1960s had

> often the largest room set aside and arranged on the model of the empty country 'best room' with a double bed on which most of the family slept. Daily life took place in the kitchen regardless of its limited dimensions.

They had come to the cities as adults, with already formulated habits, they left their wives and children in the country, whom they brought to the towns on obtaining a flat. They transferred the country system of values and tastes.[33]

But at least certain pieces of research from the 1970s (in Nowa Huta, Poznań and Lublin) pointed to a change in this cultural model. Yet still new incomers from the country were less inclined than the intelligentsia and traditional workers to accept the model of an open kitchen for guests and revealing the process of cooking.[34] General complaints about the smallness of kitchens, limiting the programme in comparison with their country equivalents, was the subject of complaints even in the 1980s.[35] That said the way by which flats

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[32] *Osiedle "Majówka" w Starachowicach* (Materiały i Dokumentacja – Instytut Budownictwa Mieszkaniowego, series B, no. 7/29, Warsaw, 1954), 28–30; Aleksander Matejko, *Białystok – Śródmieście. Ludność zespołu mieszkaniowego ZOR i jej przystosowanie do nowych warunków bytu* (Materiały i Dokumentacja – Instytut Budownictwa Mieszkaniowego, series B, no. 1/38, Warsaw, 1955), 32–37; *idem*, 'Wartość użytkowa nowych mieszkań w świetle doświadczeń ich mieszkańców', in *Zaludnienie i użytkowanie mieszkań w nowych osiedlach* (Prace Badawcze Instytutu Budownictwa Mieszkaniowego, 23, Warsaw, 1959), 91–109.

[33] Anna Rębowska, 'Użytkowanie mieszkań – gospodarka przestrzenią', in Ewa Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska (ed.), *Mieszkanie. Analiza socjologiczna* (Warsaw, 1982), 109; Renata Siemieńska, *Nowe życie w nowym mieście* (Warsaw, 1969), 286–7.

[34] Anna Górska, 'Typowe sposoby użytkowania kuchni i pokoju dziennego', in Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska (ed.), *Mieszkanie*, 13–242.

[35] Murawska, *Imigranci wiejscy*, 39.

were arranged had changed on the part of country incomers. They became increasingly uniform, a symbol of which were the recurrent multipurpose furniture units and wall units.[36] A noticeable element, and one outstanding, was the still peculiar accumulation of house plants creating the often referred to 'green' walls.[37]

Gradually forgotten became the custom of rearing poultry, rabbits and pigs in the flat or vicinity, something still evident in the 1960s, as well as the destruction of sanitary appliances resulting from a lack of familiarity with their functioning and how to use them.[38] In certain cities, particularly those (in the social sense) created almost from scratch after the Second World War (Wrocław) the influence of rural models was for sure much stronger than in others, those not so affected by the results of post-war relocation.[39]

The way equipment and devices that served society at large were used left a lot to be desired. Often the glass in stairwells was broken, good bulbs were replaced by spent ones, the stealing of washing

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[36] Halina Murawska, in researching the decor and layout of the flats of rural migrants at the end of the 1980s (who had moved to one of the towns of the province of Olsztyn), thus described the standard arrangement of the largest best room of the time: and so there coexist folk elements (little tablecloths, runners, baskets, folk patterned throws on sofa beds), with, in the understanding of the immigrants, urban affluence (ostentatious net curtains and curtains, woollen carpets, china) and furniture wall units – shelves as a sign of contemporary fashion and keeping pace with modern flat decor. Hence the so-called guest room is a mixture of styles and the owner's own conceptions. ... The central place above the sofa bed is taken up by religious images. In every flat I noticed a portrait of the "Polish Pope"'. See Murawska, *Imigranci wiejscy*, 39–41.

[37] Zdzisława Jarząbek, 'Kultura mieszkaniowa w nowych osiedlach wielko-miejskich', in Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska (ed.), *Mieszkanie*, 232–5; Siemieńska, *Nowe życie*, 277.

[38] This has been written about by, i.a., Władysław Markiewicz on the basis of his research conducted at the turn of the 1960s in Konin (see *idem, Społeczne procesy*, 132–7).

[39] This is borne out, e.g., by the replies sent into the 1966 competition 'What is Wrocław for you'. One of the participants wrote on the subject in the following way: 'The inhabitants of Wrocław, who on the whole have come from the eastern territories of Poland and from beyond the Bug River itself, hold tightly on to their ways ... On warm afternoons and days free of work the inhabitants will sit outside their houses on the pavement or on chairs brought out for the purpose and drink vodka while gossiping ... The backyards and even balconies are adorned in the centre with underwear drying after being washed'. See Jałowiecki (ed.), *Związani z miastem*, 51.

equipment, the autocratic occupying of drying rooms for rearing geese or a wood store, letting dogs run wild, *etc*.[40]

From the viewpoint of immigrant family attitudes and ways of behaviour, particularly those from the early waves of settlement, the characteristics of matrimonial selection appear significant. Research into this matter, usually patchy and unsystematic, has been conducted in relatively the most complete way by Wielisława Warzywoda-Kruszyńska and Grażyna Kacprowicz. The first of the two, in a work based on material derived from a structured survey in Koszalin and Szczecin in 1964 as well as in Lodz in 1965 and 1967 claims that the role of social origin was weaker in marriage selection than education and job type. In the societies examined, in comparison to the inter-war period, the tendency to marry within one's own class or stratum of origin was for the years 1940–5 four per cent weaker, in 1946–50 nine per cent, 1951–6 by six while after 1957 ten per cent weaker. This said the research points to the existence of a tendency for marriages to be homogeneous especially amongst those coming from worker and peasant families (46.3 and 46.2 per cent respectively).[41] The certain weakening of the tendency for heterogamy, noted for the period 1951–6 amongst young peasants migrating to Lodz, is ascribed by the author to their preference to choose a country wife equipped with the same cultural capital and with it making easier the 'familiarizing' of the new urban living space.[42] The working of this tendency was increasingly effectively weakened by the occurring democratization of daily life, as well as the significant levelling of cultural diffe-rences through the processing of schooling, the mass media, *etc*. The marriage of a worker's daughter with the son of a peasant was then no longer the cultural collision it had been earlier.[43]

Grażyna Kacprowicz's analyses covered, first and foremost, a national sample of working men and women aged 30–39 in 1972, as well as utilizing materials from research into the social diversity of the inhabitants of Lodz for 1967, 1976 and 1980. They confirmed the thesis that in Polish society of this period, social origin was a factor that played an intrinsic role in the process of marriage selection.

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[40] *Osiedle "Majówka"*, 32.

[41] Wielisława Warzywoda-Kruszyńska, *Małżeństwa a struktura społeczna* (Wrocław, 1974), 61–129.

[42] *Ibidem*, 60.

[43] *Ibidem*, 63.

It was additionally to turn out that the interrelation between the origin of the husband and wife did not undergo significant changes for the period 1950–70. Homogamy in marriage selection was the greater amongst women and men brought up in the country although not necessarily resident there.[44]

These conclusions seem to confirm similar detailed research that was conducted on the staff of Warsaw plants for the years 1959–61, in Nowa Huta for 1964–5 or at the Gdańsk shipyards and refinery for the period 1978–9.[45] The continuation of the peasant tradition is also evidenced by the higher number of children within these families.[46]

At the start of these considerations I pointed to certain fields of conflict between workers of urban origin and rural at the workplace, during the course of which the stigmatizing scheme of things underwent revitalization. As it appears the coexistence of both of these groups in places of employment also aroused another type of tension, one conducive to consolidating this model of thinking. The perception on the part of those from the country of life in its urban guise as a positive value could have resulted, during the immediate post-war period, in their conformism in relation to the authorities. This appears to be substantiated by research, conducted by Padraic Kenney, into the strike movement for the period 1945–50. From this it results unequivocally that the 'urban' character of the worker staff in Lodz was the main reason for the exceptional disposition towards going on strike, manifested especially markedly in the autumn of 1947, while the 'rural' origin of the workers in Wrocław at this same time effectively pacified their moods.[47] The research of Henryk Słabek

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[44] Grażyna Kacprowicz, *Małżeństwa a struktura społeczna w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1989), 27, 111–17.

[45] Marek Latoszek, *Więzi i przejawy integracji w grupach i zbiorowościach społeczeństwa gdańskiego pod koniec lat siedemdziesiątych* (Gdańsk, 1987); Jarosińska, *Adaptacja młodzieży wiejskiej,* 106–7. Jarosińska equally lists, as a motive for choosing partners from the country on the part of workers of peasant descent working in towns, the desire to maintain on their part the dominating role in the marriage over the wife's family. In the families of Nowa Huta workers of rural origin studied by Renata Siemieńska, for the years 1964–5, a total of 88 per cent had a wife from the country. This tendency was also very strong in the case of families that had come about while living in Nowa Huta. See Siemieńska, *Nowe życie,* 124.

[46] Siemieńska, *Nowe życie,* 353.

[47] Padraic Kenney, *Rebuilding Poland: Workers and Communists, 1945–1950* (Ithaca and London, 1997).

and – indirectly – of Jędrzej Chumiński appears to prove that workers – members of the Polish Worker's Party, were first and foremost those who documented themselves as of country origin.[48]

The mentioned conformism in attitudes underwent fluctuations, without which it would be difficult to explain the mass participation of workers in anti-system movements. Słabek puts forward the thesis that the most important role was played in this change in attitudes by the conscious awareness on the part of workers of the blocking of routes to advancement within the social structure for their children with the onset of 1956, and later as well as generation changes. He claims that even the sons of peasants, transferring directly during this period from the countryside to factories, not to mention the school leavers from vocational secondary schools, were not able to find as much satisfaction in their social advance as had been the case on the part of their older brothers fifteen or twenty years earlier. Social advancement of the 1960s was all the more less valued as the contrast between life in the countryside and in the towns faded in comparison to the situation of the 1940s and 1950s. Social advance lost its charm through its commonness. Those newly advanced demanded more.[49] Other research points to the role of generation changes in the growing incidence of anti-system revolts. Some of the authors claim that young workers, as a result of better education, felt more strongly the political limitations of real socialism.[50]

From the viewpoint of the problem area under analysis valuable help in explaining the evolution of the attitudes of urban workers of rural origin is research into the subject of the authoritarianism of Polish society. It results from these studies that descent from families with a high level of authoritarianism conditioned by the low edu-

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[48] Słabek, *Obraz robotników*, 268; Jędrzej Chumiński, 'Autorytaryzm a wybory polityczne robotników polskich (1945–1948)', *Dzieje Najnowsze*, xxxviii, 1 (2006), 89–106. Chumiński, who studied workers – members of the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Worker's Party at four production plants in Cracow and Wrocław from 1945 to 1948 – claimed that more often those from amongst them with less education, who came from the countryside or small towns, were younger with less vocational experience and who came chiefly from uprooted and atomized circles, were more likely to join the communist party than the socialist one. Individuals with those traits were more inclined towards authoritarianism.

[49] Słabek, *Obraz robotników*, 282–4.

[50] See, i.a., Franczyk, 'Awans społeczny', 55–6; Bartoszek, 'Funkcjonowanie społeczno-gospodarcze', 86.

cational level of the parents and by the structure of the family, as well as origin from local environments (the village, small towns) was conducive to the development of an authoritarian vision of the world.[51] In the conditions of the reality of the Polish People's Republic this mentality trait could fulfil a politically variable role. In as far as during the first post-war years it was positively correlated with support for the Polish Workers' Party, in the 1970s it could entice towards opposition and revolt against the system. Why? As Jadwiga Koralewicz claims, the discrepancy between the normative sphere (ideology, morality) and practice, that characteristic for the Polish People's Republic, was especially poorly tolerated by authoritarian people. The strong need to subordinate oneself to authority figures was not satisfied given their absence. The authoritarian attitude defined a strong dislike towards those who are not 'US'. Besides the organizational and institutional mess did not appease the authoritarian drive towards order and a strong structuralization of the world. These features created a phenomenon which the quoted author has called 'the authoritarian trap of authority'. This could play a significant role in August 1980. The widespread support for the striking workers in Warsaw and Gdańsk provided by the employees of smaller enterprises, particularly those situated outside of urban centres, whose staff earlier, or at the time, were to various degrees (directly or indirectly) connected with the countryside, could have resulted from greater authoritarianism. Their joining of the movement could have been motivated by the appearance within it of leaders who appeared could possibly generate respect. Their position was built on the principle of opposition to the group which could be openly shouldered with responsibility for the injustices experienced. There was restored a certain moral order, while 'reality out of the grey and blurred became black and white'.[52] Even if we were to admit that this interpretation is discursive it is difficult to deny that the various phases in the process of 'changing one's skin' on the part of workers of rural origin in the 1970s and 1980s were equally favourable to a manifestation of conflict attitudes and forms of behaviour in relation to the system of authority.

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[51] Chumiński, 'Autorytaryzm a wybory'; Jadwiga Koralewicz, *Autorytaryzm, lęk, konformizm. Analiza społeczeństwa polskiego końca lat siedemdziesiątych* (Wrocław, 1987).

[52] Koralewicz, *Autorytaryzm, lęk*, 179–211.

Disregarding the political component, workers of rural origin had
an influence on the social functioning of work places. The research
into work places conducted from the end of the 1950s points to
a tendency resulting from the family-neighbour character of migration,
to sort out matters through the use of informal relations, based on
the criterion of descent from one or several neighbouring villages or
from a given region. The mechanism, involving those rural incomers
who were already established in a plant's hierarchy (as equally in the
structures of urban authorities) trying to find work in their place of
employment for others who came from their own area, was a reason-
ably widespread practice. This mutual support – an element of amoral
familism – was the reason for many conflicts and the strengthening of
the negative stereotypes conducive to the process of stigmatization,[53]
although classifying them only to the described social group could
arouse doubts. Verification is also required for the thesis broached,
one based on research conducted in Białystok, that as a result of
the mass supply of a work force there occurred there a specific
'specialization' of particular plants regarding the employment and
associated socio-vocational adaptation of the rural population. Plants
conventionally called 'introductory' with low possibilities of satisfying
the social needs of the staff, would chiefly employ newly recruited,
little demanding workers from the countryside, while other so-called
'stabilizing' plants would, as a rule, take on workers already adapted
to life in the town and would better guarantee their needs.[54]

As sociologists claim the acceleration in industrialization reduced
the chance of transmitting to the middle and young generation of
workers the values connected with the former ethos of the Polish
working class and was conducive to its 'countrification'.[55]

The said reduced possibilities of transmitting the working class
ethos was one of the effects of a process of marked significance,
as has been noted by sociologists, although by its very nature one
exceptionally difficult to research precisely. This refers to the introduc-
tion of a new system of values, one introduced on a mass scale by

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[53] The stereotype of the corruptible 'outsider', coming from the country sur-
rounded by like, was prevalent in Silesia. See Kłosek, *"Swoi" i "obcy"*, 70. Markie-
wicz has also written on the subject of divisions within the regional workers of
Konin plants – *idem, Społeczne procesy,* 61.
[54] Sadowski, 'Białystok', 224–5.
[55] Sadowski, 'Awantaże', 197.

country immigrants to the social urban expanse, a system conducive to an intensification or rather excess of attitudes of the *to have* type over attitudes of the type *to be*. The said 'peasant filter', which to a significant way modelled the consciousness and behaviour of Polish society in general, was the effect of the existing way of life in the Polish countryside, which was accompanied by an almost permanent sense of threat and privation, for which the acquisition of goods, an orientation towards *things* was a natural defence mechanism. This type of thinking disseminated itself after the war when there occurred a moving out of poverty but at the same time there appeared cyclical relapses in the state of threat and uncertainty cementing this model. This resulted not only in an overwhelming emphasis on an acquisition of the goods treated as indicators of prestige, but equally influenced the choice of an educational route for children. As it appears, there was still in force in the 1960s the model whereby the cost of education, and maintenance during its course was to be relatively little and as short as possible, with the profit being relatively high.[56] This mentality trait gave rise to the attitudes and ways of behaviour noted during the course of sociological research at work places[57] and in the family life of the peasant immigrants.[58]

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[56] Wasilewski, *Społeczeństwo polskie,* 52; Siemieńska, *Nowe życie,* 354–5; Zygmunt Bauman, 'Socjalizm drugiego pokolenia', *Aneks,* 2 (1973), 51.

[57] The already earlier quoted Władysław Markiewicz, researching Konin workers at the turn of the 1960s, has claimed, among other things, that 'equally commonly there would occur incidents of thoughtless "hoarding" of tools and appliances stolen from the plant. During home searches, conducted on certain workers living in the country suspected of stealing from the factory, there would be uncovered whole sets of unused tools. The culprits usually were unable to find any unjustifiable reason for their actions, for they themselves had no idea whatsoever as how they could possibly use the illegally accumulated equipment' (Markiewicz, *Społeczne procesy,* 151).

[58] Halina Murawska, in observing the life style of those inhabitants of rural origin of a town in the province of Olsztyn, writes that the orientation *to have* accompanied an overwhelming desire to boast about the material goods acquired. For this reason family visiting from the country (particularly during the course of certain family celebrations like, for example, first communions) would have 'demonstrated an urban way of arranging a flat and equipping it in material goods, the tape player would be switched on, the camera brought out, various games for children, the cousins would be shown new outfits and jewellery. In the search for various necessary (and less necessary) objects the hosts would open cupboards full of underwear and clothes, as well as various supplies. Obviously given this

It seems that peasant roots also influenced the form of celebrat-ing,[59] relaxation, religiosity and other spheres of customs in the described group, together with pathological forms of behaviour, including the model of drinking alcohol.[60] Research into this subject area is, however, still at an initial stage and therefore it is difficult to formulate more precise conclusions.[61]

The starting point for the remarks touched on so far was the search for traits of consciousness and behaviour which would differentiate the researched collective and consequently intensify the process of their stigmatization within the urban expanse. If we admit that there existed significant premises to bring about the process described (which I have attempted to prove) and that it did in fact occur, then

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throng of people not everything is noticed in the way that the hosts would have liked but the majority of things have at least been presented'. See Murawska, *Imigranci wiejscy*, pp. 56 ff.

[59] Thus the Nowa Huta engineers asked by Renata Siemieńska in the mid-1960s (*eadem*, *Nowe życie*, 329) spoke of the style of celebrating on the part of rural immigrants: 'All feast days, name days, baptisms – are boisterous affairs, with singing. Those who have no money borrow it and invite relatives from the country. And if it is First Holy Communion, they throw the child out into the yard while they drink until the morning. ... I even took the matter to court. When they'd tanked themselves up a floor above they flooded my whole flat with water. The First Holy Communion also sees booze, revelry, and song. An open window for a shindig. Admittedly not like it was once. [The name days of] Franciszek [Francis], Józef [Joseph], Jan [John], Stanisław [Stanislas], Władysław [Ladislas] – formerly on any pretext they would drink and sing'. Similar descriptions – Barbara Klich-Kluczewska, *Przez dziurkę od klucza. Życie prywatne w Krakowie (1945–1989)* (Warsaw, 2005), 167. See also: Stefan Nowakowski, 'Przedmowa', in *idem*, *Miasto polskie w okresie powojennym* (Warsaw, 1988), 25, as well as *idem*, 'Warszawski hotel robotniczy i jego mieszkańcy', in *ibidem*, 395–430 (1st edn – *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, i, 2 [1957]).

[60] Jacek Moskalewicz and Janusz Sierosławski, 'Alkohol i robotnicy (Spojrzenie z perspektywy struktury społecznej)', in Przemysław Wójcik (ed.), *Położenie klasy robotniczej w Polsce*, iv: *Problemy patologii i przestępczości* (Warsaw, 1985), 313. Somewhat more cautious in this regard than the above cited author is Krzysztof Kosiński (*idem*, '"Peerelowskie" wzory picia alkoholu', *Polska 1944/45–1989. Studia i Materiały*, 7 [2006], 277), who claims that in the Polish People's Republic 'models of drinking alcohol were decided on by workers and smallholders – with there being greater similarities between these groups than differences'.

[61] For a synthetic image of customs in the Polish People's Republic, see Andrzej Chwalba (ed.), *Obyczaje w Polsce. Od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych* (Warsaw, 2004), 340–90 (a sketch by Tadeusz Czekalski).

irresistibly there arises the question as to how these very 'marked' people reacted to the said process. It seems that the most widespread strategy was the hiding of the stigma. It follows, I feel, to treat various forms of behaviour coexisting with each other in these categories. Let us point to some of these as exemplification.

According to the ascertainments of sociologists a general phenomenon still prevalent in the 1970s was the hiding of one's country origins in Polish countrified cities and towns (as many peasant parents painfully came to realize on visiting their children in the city) with the aim of avoiding intolerance at work or in one's place of abode.[62]

As I have earlier mentioned the way migrants spoke was treated as an important stigmatizing factor. It is worth remembering, however, that a part of them, conscious of this marking, were induced to hypercorrectness, adopting the literary or administrative language, which obviously did not serve to achieve the goals they had set themselves.[63]

At the opposite pole of these attitudes and forms of behaviour, ones brought about to a greater or lesser extent by a sense of being scarred, one may include often successful attempts to create a positive, non-embarrassing set of values derived from this very stigma and which made familiarization with this new 'life space' easier. This was often aided by the family-neighbour nature of migration.[64] In this very way one may treat the cases of social enclave formation that occurred on the basis of social and regional origin. Could the said sense of common roots have constituted an important integrational factor for certain Polish intellectual circles? An observation of certain of them (with it at times a participatory observation) forces me to include just such a possibility.

The known Polish sociologist, Bronisław Gołębiowski entitled one of his last books *Dramat awansu* [The drama of advancement]. This was to involve, among other things, the uprooting and alienation of arrivals

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[62] Sadowski, 'Awantaże', 198–9.

[63] Kurkowska, 'Próba charakterystyki', 14–15; Kamińska, 'Gwara ludowa', 107; Falińska, 'O języku inteligencji mazowieckiej', 275–308.

[64] On this subject, see Jarosińska, *Adaptacja młodzieży wiejskiej,* 147. From her ascertainments it results that for the period 1959–61 in the four Warsaw factories 40 per cent of young workers of rural origin underwent the processes of adaptation to the city and the initial training to allow them to cope with vocational practices, in groups which were comprised of colleagues from their home village.

from the countryside within the urban expanse.[65] I personally doubt whether these processes can be termed thus, although the 'change of skin' was to be psychosocially costly and painful, something borne out by, among other things, numerous autobiographical accounts.

Stigmatization was, with the course of the years, lessened while the value of duration within a new environment was difficult to overestimate for many reasons, from out of which possibly the most important, although often passed over, concerns... biology. If we were to adopt – in accordance with anthropologists – that features such as the height and weight of young people as well as the average age of menarche are sensitive and objectivized biological measures of social inequalities, then the result of research into the mater conducted since the 1950s invariably points to the existence in Poland of something greater than the classic dichotomy of 'town-country'. It occurred that living conditions affecting the development of young people noticeably worsened in relation to the transfer from the largest cities and towns through medium-sized and small towns to villages and the country-side itself. This research shows that even a move from the countryside to the smallest town brought with it a disproportionate improvement in the parameters under consideration.[66] This appears to be an important argument in the discussion as to the importance of migratory processes in the Polish People's Republic.

trans. Guy Torr

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[65] Bronisław Gołębiowski, *Dramat awansu. Studia, artykuły i szkice socjopolityczne* (Warsaw, 2004), 18.

[66] *Nierówności społeczne w Polsce w świetle mierników biologicznych* (Wrocław, 1992), 6–18; Tadeusz Bielicki, Zygmunt Welon and Anna Waliszko, *Zmiany w rozwoju fizycznym młodzieży w Polsce w okresie 1955–1978* (Wrocław, 1981), 22–6.