

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
Institute of Space Economy

REGIONAL and LOCAL STUDIES

Problems of Local
Development in Poland

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**UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies
INSTITUTE OF SPACE ECONOMY**

Problems of Local Development in Poland

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CONTENS

Foreword: Piotr Dutkiewicz, Grzegorz Gorzelak	5
Bohdan Jałowiecki - Local social movements in a global processes perspective	9
Janusz T. Hryniewicz - Social positions and inequalities in local communities	33
Grzegorz Gorzelak - Geography of the polish crisis: theoretical conclusions	65
Wojciech Błasiak, Marek St. Szczepański, Jacek Wódz - Socio-economic duality and its reproduction pattern. A sociological case study	87
J. Paweł Georgica, Piotr Dutkiewicz - The attitudes of Poland's civil servants to political reforms	107
Wojciech Chojnowski, Jan Polowczyk, Danuta Śniegowska - Activity of local agencies in directing the develop- ment of communes	147
Edward Kirejczyk - The national and regional development of the non-agricultural non-socialized sector of the polish economy	169
Katarzyna Ostaszewska, Tomasz Grabowski, Andrzej Richling - Valorization of commune's natural conditions for economic needs	185
Zbigniew Hockuba - Market shortages and buying process (The Kornai theory of the consumer behaviour and empirical findings)	205
Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek - The local centres of music culture. The transformations in the music culture of Poland's Lithuanian minority	223

FOREWORD

This volume presents recent studies in the project REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT - LOCAL DEVELOPMENT - TERRITORIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. These studies - being separate research reports of independent subjects - constitute, however, a kind of theoretical and methodological unity. As stated in the former volume (P. Dutkiewicz, G. Gorzelak, eds., Local Studies in Poland, 1986), the whole project is run under the assumptions of interdisciplinary approach to the local systems. Thus particular papers should be regarded as pieces of one picture of what we call 'Local Poland'.

The first of them, by BOHDAN JAŁOWIECKI, presents an anatomy of local social movements, describing their place and role in the global process of social development. Their significance cannot be ignored since they are an important factor of global social change, particularly at a time when these changes gained rapid acceleration which is likely to continue in the immediate future.

The study by JANUSZ HRYNIEWICZ discusses the results of research conducted at the town of Poddębice juxtaposed with the findings that emerged from this same type of studies conducted the year before at the town of Puławy. By comparing facts about the two localities Hryniewicz identifies both similarities in the attitudes of their respective populations rooted in the impact exerted upon them by macrosocial determinants, and differences resulting from the local distinctness of the two towns. The studies done by Hryniewicz's team are representative for the comparative analysis - one of the Programme's major research strategies.

The paper by GRZEGORZ GORZELAK deals with the regional outcomes of the deep economic crisis that occurred in Poland in the 'eighties. The picture is not too optimistic - the analysis proves that the crisis did not lead to substantial structural changes in the Polish economy. On the contrary, the strategy aiming at overcoming the economic breakdown was directed towards

restoring the pre-crisis structures. The theoretical framework adopted in the analysis helps to verify some of the common approaches used in the regional studies in Poland.

WOJCIECH BŁASIAK, MAREK S. SZCZEPAŃSKI and JACEK WÓDZ examine the origins and growth of an 'official' tourist sector and its consequences for the functioning of the local community. Their comprehensive research reveals the results of political and economic factors - typical for the socialist economy - in a marginal sphere of this economy - the so-called non-productive sector. The study also shows how the local authorities function in the semi-formal or even informal economic and political local and regional structures.

The study by J. PAWEŁ GIEORGICA and PIOTR DUTKIEWICZ presents the opinions of high regional officials on the regulations and practice of the 'social consultations' - they way of expressing by the society its views on basic economic projects and plans. The officials represent obsolete, in present circumstances, attitude to the local government. They still seem to prefer administrative ways of experiencing local government instead of more democratic approaches, based on self-government.

WOJCIECH CHOJNOWSKI, JAN POŁOWCZYK and DANUTA ŚNIEGOWSKA examine determinants of city and commune development in the central part of Western Poland. They take special account of the role the competition designed to encourage economical management perform in increasing the civic activeness of the local population and the authorities.

The paper by EDWARD KIREJCZYK discusses one of the most interesting phenomena in the Polish economy under reforms - the rapid growth of the private, non-agricultural business. New attitudes of the authorities to this economic sector have resulted since 1980 in establishing a lot of new private firms of national or mixed capital. The regional patterns of this new firm creation process are interesting, too. They are established mainly in the vicinity of big towns providing good communication networks and cultural environment and being, at the same time, big markets for the final products. In this respect the Polish experience resembles the processes going on in some Western countries. One should remember, however, that these phenomena

will not change the regional structure of the Polish economy and should be treated as important, but still marginal outcomes of new economic mechanisms in the socialist state.

The ability to determine whether the particular type of natural environment can be used for the pursuit of the given kind of economic activities is one of the principal skills those engaged in the town and country planning should develop. The studies conducted by KATARZYNA OSTASZEWSKA, TOMASZ GRABOWSKI and ANDRZEJ RICHLING were designed to establish criteria to be employed as part of the above-mentioned type of research. The paper carries the findings obtained in the province of Płock (Central Poland).

To employ a coherent economic macrotheory closely linked to the everyday realities for the purpose of the pursuit of empirical case studies is extremely difficult. The paper by ZBIGNIEW HOCKUBA is a good example of such studies. Hockuba uses J. Kornai's theory of the economy of shortage to discuss what he terms the shopping process in Poland. The findings provide rather staggering information on the abnormalities confronting the potential buyer in this country, including: enormous amounts of wasted time, black market sales at highly inflated prices, and also criminal acts.

The study by SŁAWOMIRA ŻERAŃSKA-KOMINEK indicates how far-reaching the findings of musicological studies (seemingly a narrow scientific discipline) can be. While examining the music culture of Poland's Lithuanian minority, Żerańska raises points belonging actually to the research framework of cultural, ethnographic and even sociological studies. Thus, the paper appears to exemplify an important research trend of the Programme concerned with the problems relating to the cultural determinants of the integration of national minorities in Poland, and the role the determinants perform in the development of the local communities.

This brief review of the contents of the present volume demonstrates that its individual parts are concerned both with theoretical and practical problems thus reflecting the basic assumption underlying the whole of the research Programme. The editors hope that the readers will find the present volume inte-

resting and informative enough to acquaint themselves with other monographic publications devoted to the local studies in Poland.

Piotr Dutkiewicz
Grzegorz Gorzelak

LOCAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN A GLOBAL PROCESSES
PERSPECTIVE

The characteristic of societies is not the way
they function, but their capacity for change.

Alain Touraine

Introductory Remarks

Spontaneous collective actions and social movements are a relatively new phenomenon in Poland, and for that reason merit attention and call for more searching analysis. Here I propose only to limn out the problem.

In a centrally planned and administered society there is by definition no room for spontaneous collection action, still less for social movements, since all social activity is organized and controlled by organizations set up for that purpose. In Poland action in the political sphere is monopolized by the Party and the so-called allied political groupings. The trade unions evolved into media of Party transmission to the masses. Professional associations are strictly controlled, and some of the more important were centralized through establishment of national authorities. Learned associations also operate under the aegis of official institutions in the shape of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Co-operatives and other economic associations are affiliated to various kinds of central unions by which they are administered and controlled. This minutely planned system of regulation of social behaviour is not of course watertight, so that even in periods of rigorous observance of its rules various deviations occur.

Needless to say, the result of excessive regulation of social behaviour is a curtailment of initiative and a growth of passivity. Such a situation leaves no margin for manifestation

of either protest or enthusiasm. Since, however, the efficient functioning of any social system requires support to be demonstrated in both the real and symbolic spheres by individuals and social groups, affirmational actions have to be organized from above. To mobilize society those in power may also find it necessary to point to a real or putative enemy. A frequent device, one also recommended to the Prince by Niccolo Machiavelli, has been to look for scapegoats (R.Gigard, 1987). This mechanism was likewise employed by Stalin who invoked intensification of the class struggle in the course of socialist construction as justification for the massive use of repressive force against imaginary enemies.

The most common forms of collective action organized from above were 'labour emulation' and the so-called social deeds (days of volunteer performance of community or other service). The rhythm of these actions, set by a calendar of major anniversaries, gave them a symbolic significance. At present there is no possibility of ascertaining the effects in real terms of labour emulation or of measuring the extent to which participation in such directed collective action was in fact voluntary. Nevertheless it seems fair to say that in the immediate post-war years labour emulation and social deeds were more spontaneous than later, when it became formalized and bureaucratized and thereby to a large degree token and open to all kinds of manipulation. It was almost standard practice for factories to underdeclare output plans and so keep something in hand for the social deeds pledged in commemoration of various occasions. In the seventies, as a growing gulf opened up between the country's political leadership and the working class and rest of society, 'Party deeds' were launched on a grand scale as a symbolic expression of its ties with the masses and the proclaimed 'moral-political unity of the nation'.

Another form of managed collective action was the ad hoc organization of demonstrations, meetings and rallies in support of some policy and denunciation of another. Particularly numerous examples occurred in answer to outbreaks of social conflict in 1968 and 1976. On the other hand, protests against rearmament in the West, the war in Vietnam and the like seldom

if ever exceeded the scale of meetings in workplaces. However, even though organized in a worthy cause, they so resembled a carefully orchestrated, ritual performance that the degree of the participants' identification with the issue was no doubt smaller than it might have been in the case of a spontaneous gathering.

That does not, of course, mean that there were no spontaneous collective actions or social movements prior to the end of the seventies. Such phenomena occurred on a mass scale in 1956, 1968 and 1976; their background, course and consequences have been frequently described and analyzed. Far less scrutiny has been given to spontaneous collective actions of a local nature, connected with mundane aspects of rural or urban life where the object was to remedy some shortcoming or protect the threatened interests of a particular collectivity. Thus in rural areas people joined forces for the construction of roads and schools, installation of water mains and similar projects; in cities the main concern was the amenity value of the immediate environment. In the seventies, for instance, there were especially frequent clashes between car owners who wanted to build garages and other residents who wished to preserve the greenery of a neighbourhood. Often enough, the parties to these conflicts tried to seek the support of the media, while the role of referee was played by the local authority or, if it proved powerless to resolve the dispute, some central institution. This kind of collective action was, needless to say, very circumscribed in compass and the means employed virtually limited to petitions and representations to officialdom, occasionally through informal channels. I know of only one instance of recourse to more radical measures; newspapers reported that residents of a housing development had dug up an access road in order to keep out motor traffic. They were criticized for taking the law into their own hands, though it was conceded that they had a legitimate grievance.

In the eighties the conditions for collective action and social movements altered markedly. The rise of Solidarity as a mass social movement pushed back the frontiers of collective activism producing a breakthrough in the social consciousness

sphere and unblocking the existing constraints when it was found that many forms of collective action were not only possible but could also be effective. At the same time, the authorities reduced the degree of regulation of social behaviour and relaxed the rigorousness of control. Conditions thus arose for spontaneous collective actions and social movements on both a local and wider scale.

Some Observations on the Theory of Collective Action and Social Movements

Collective action is defined as any kind of group activism in pursuit of goals exterior to the individual, social movements as forms of collective action aimed at reorganizing inter-group relationships or the distribution of material and non-material goods such as influence, prestige, power, etc.

"Social movements", H. Blumer writes, "are collective enterprises aimed at establishing a new scheme of things. They spring from disquiet and are powered by discontent with the current form of life and by hope and longing for a new way of life". (Blumer, 1951, p. 118). He holds that social movements are a higher form of collective action and consist in transforming uncoordinated, spontaneous behaviour into ordered endeavour, B. Misztal writes citing T. Abel: "A social movement was perceived as a form of pluralized behaviour manifested within a specified territorial-social unit: the community. It is characterized by a collective effort to attract support for some innovatory idea. The movement is always directed against something (the so-called object of the movement, that is, a point at issue with the rest of the community) no less than towards something (the ideology of the movement). In this sense, therefore, every social movement leads to involvement in conflict, while its location in a particular community gives it a political context", (Abel, 1937, p. 126).

These definitions invest the term social movement with a broad meaning without making any stipulations as to size, scope, durability, degree of institutionalization or object (or rather issue at stake, which may be very varied). So understood, a social movement is any more or less organized collective ac-

tion of a non-institutional nature for the attainment of some goal. Thus, it can include both ecological, feminist or sexual-minority movements and the opponents or proponents of garage construction in a particular neighbourhood.

A more subtle line between collective action of various kinds and social movements has been drawn by A. Touraine (1973) who distinguishes between collective behaviour arising out of a crisis within an organization and that springing from institutional tensions in society. In the first case members of an organization who are dissatisfied with their situation embark on action aimed at improving their position and increasing their influence on decision-making. An example is a campaign by faculty staff for broader university autonomy in the higher education system. In the second case the actors are social forces operating within a particular institutional context and seeking a greater say in decisions affecting them. Touraine enumerates four basic features of social forces so defined: acknowledgment that there are bounds to the field to which decisions can apply; desire for a relative improvement in their position vis-a-vis other social forces; development of a complex action strategy since the competing interests are invariably at least as diversified as the social problems tackled by a political system; pursuit of a favourable decision. For example, the reformist labour movement negotiates pay and working conditions with employers, frames a strategy for securing improvements in collective consumption and votes through its representatives in parliament and local government but without seeking to overthrow the capitalist system. Touraine also observes that various kinds of collective behaviour may be a response to the blocking or closure of the institutional system.

Social movements as seen by Touraine are conflictual steps taken by actors belonging to social classes fighting for control of the system of historical actions (Touraine, 1973, p. 347). For him the basic distinguishing feature of social movements is historicity, which he defines as follows; something accomplished by society through its social and cultural practices-oriented actions by means of a combination of three components; form of knowledge, which creates the image of society and nature;

accumulation, which makes for appropriation of a part of disposable production; and cultural model, which conceptualizes and interprets society's capacity to act upon itself (Touraine, 1973, p. 531).

The above definition is none too clear in the original French, still less in translation. But from a close reading of Touraine's works it is. I think, possible to put it in plainer terms. Social movements can then be understood as the kind of collective action whose principal goal is a struggle by social forces to control the historical process of the self-formation of society, to be the subject of this process. Historicallity is simply control of what P.L. Berger and T. Luckman call 'the social creation of reality' (Berger and Luckman, 1983).

For Touraine social movements, being an emanation of historicalist and an expression of societal self-reproduction, are the chief factor in the development of contemporary societies which are now characterized by an oppositon not as once between capital and labour, but between the apparatus organizing production and social life and the citizenry, while the basic object of conflict are no longer political rights but the right to choose a way of life and opportunities for verbalization of interests through, among other things, self-government institutions.

Every social movement has three distinctive principles. Self-identification of the actor, since a movement cannot organize without conscious self-definition, though the birth of the movement is of course anterior to the development of that consciousness; as Touraine puts it, conflict creates and organizes the actor. Oppositon, since a movement cannot organize without indicating an adversary; though action may sometimes precede identification, conflict always brings forth an adversary. Integrity, since a social movement is not defined solely by a specific conflict, but is always characterized to a greater or lesser extent by consciousness of its own role in the process of social creation of reality (historicality).

Collective action does not by any means have to be mass-scale to constitute a social movement. On the contrary, a characteristic of contemporary societies is multiplicity of social

movements. That is due to the considerable differentiation of contemporary society, its plurality of actors, diversity of interests, aspirations, wants, etc. Thus there can be social movements of a global, sectoral or local compass. For example, M. Castells, a disciple of Touraine, has developed a theory of urban social movements (M. Castells, 1975).

Emergence of Social Movements in Poland in the Eighties

As has been mentioned, the commencement of reforms of the state, the economy and society in 1980 opened up outlets for collective action and social movements which had previously been effectively closed by complete institutional blockage and strict regulation of social behaviour. Since then there have arisen many sectoral and local social movements which have become a permanent part of the Polish landscape. Among the former are ecological and consumer movements, various movements for the promotion of entrepreneurship, and so on. Since they have not yet been analyzed in any depth, it will be better to present some examples of social movements of a local kind which have been studied under a program of basic research into 'Local Development, Regional Development, Local Government'. A social movement is defined here in the broadest terms as a collective action aimed at changing an existing state of affairs. The starting point for the study in question was, however, quite different since what its authors, T. Burger and B. Kopiliński (1987) set out to investigate were conflicts arising out of regional planning projects. Since such conflicts were becoming increasingly frequent, the presence of a certain new phenomenon of a wider than individual character seemed to be indicated. Closer analysis then brought to light that what we were in effect looking at were local social movements since there are actors, a process of transformation of their mode of self-definition, an object or issue, and identification and reidentification of an adversary in connection with globalization of the conflict - in other words, the appearance of the historicity element. In each case there is as a result something more involved than the direct cause of the conflict. The description of social movements based on these case studies is supplemented by two other equally interesting examples: protest campaigns against the proposed

demolition of a residential building in Warsaw (described by K. Wierzbicka, 1987) and the storage of radioactive wastes in Międzyrzecz Wielkopolski (whose anatomy has been sketched in detail by J. Hryniewicz, 1988).

The description of each of these social movements will follow the same formula: duration, original actors, initial mobilizing issue, adversary, means of action, allies or the secondary actors who at a certain point become parties to the conflict, secondary object (issue), possible new adversaries, and results of the movement.

A u g u s t ó w

The signs of a movement were first observed in 1982 when a group of 27 smallholders challenged the expropriation procedure for acquiring land for a housing development envisaged by a city plan drawn up in 1976. The farmers had a relatively strong legal case since legislation had been passed in the meantime considerably restricting transfer of farmland to non-agricultural uses. The chief adversary was the city planning office. The farmers circulated petitions to the regional and central authorities, organized meetings and obtained the backing of, first, the Society of Friends of Augustów and a group of councillors and, subsequently, the PAX Association, the Democratic Party, the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy and the regional and local press. As the number of allies grew a secondary issue emerged: protection of the environment and location of housing construction in the centre of the city in the interests of urban renewal. As the movement gained in strength it ran into opposition from the local authorities which had no other options since the only alternative sites were timberland which was also under a preservation order. The result of the movement was a revision of the city plan in 1987 and the deferment of expropriations to a future date. The movement ended therefore in relative success.

R a b k a

The movement in Rabka had a very similar issue. Its origins reached back to 1979 when some 30 farmers embarked on a protest action against expropriation of their mountainside properties likewise earmarked for residential development under a regional

planning scheme drawn up in 1974. The adversaries were, as in Augustów, the city planning office, but reinforced by the local government authorities, both administrative and elected. The actors began to circulate petitions to the central authorities and drum up support in the media and among a part of the local community. The movement's issue was rapidly extended to include protection of Rabka's spa amenities since development of the land in question would interfere with the ventilation of the valley-located town and the preservation of its microclimate and destroy the landscape. In due course allies were found in the Polish Ecological Club, the Association of Polish City Planners and the central authorities which overruled the local decisions. Canvassing of the community (227 signatures) led to the formation of a Society of Friends of Rabka which, however, was refused official registration. The movement ended, at any rate at the time of the study (1987), in partial success: work has begun on the drafting of a new plan, but because registration is still being withheld there has been no institutionalization of the movement. Nor is it known what form the dispositions of the new plan will take.

G ł o s k ó w

In 1981, an action committee was set up by 126 market gardeners to oppose a regional planning scheme which proposed subdivision of the neighbourhood into smaller lots and higher-density development. An action committee was set up. Once again the chief adversaries were the city planning office and the local administration. The actors organized meetings, filed an official protest against the plan and petitioned the press which together with the Polish Ecological Club became their allies. Needless to say, a secondary issue emerged: the continued production of vegetables for the nearby Warsaw market and protection of the environment and landscape of a recreational area. In this case, as in Rabka, no secondary adversaries appeared, and the regional authorities blew hot and cold. What was distinctive was the very rigid position taken by the authors of the plan backed by a section of the urbanist community. The movement ended in partial success (1987); the plan was shelved,

the local community became strongly consolidated and interests were institutionalized through the formation of a Community Council and a branch of the Ecological Club.

S t a r a M i ł o s n a

The movement began in 1984 when residents learned that the authorities had given permission for a housing tract of 2000 single-family units which would totally transform the locality. The developer was to be the Interdepartmental Youth Panel for Construction of Single-Family Housing. The residents activated the usual mechanism of petitioning the central authorities and organizing meetings and again found an ally in the Polish Ecological Club. The basic objection to this development was the threat to the natural environment from waste disposal and destruction of a protected landscape. In the ensuing discussion, largely of a technical nature, the residents put forward a variety of specialist arguments and called on expert opinion which was also invoked by the other side. In this case the actors failed to enlist any significant media support, reputedly because members of the journalist community have a personal interest in this development. The conflict is still in progress, but it seems very likely that the movement will end in failure not only because the adversaries are powerful and well organized, but also because they have a strong and widely acknowledged case; the very difficult housing situation in Warsaw and the shortage of easily accessible building land. The distinctive feature of this movement is that the opposing side consists not of a bureaucratic department or technocratic lobby, but another social group.

K r z y c k i S t r e e t, W a r s a w

The movement began in 1985 when residents of this street learned of plans for extension of a beltway which would both encroach on the surroundings of their homes and worsen living conditions by considerably increasing noise levels. The chief adversaries in this case were traffic engineers and the metropolitan authorities, which are the developer. The residents resorted to a wide range of measures running all the way from meetings, petitions and enlistment of media support to bringing

a class action. However, only a part of the media proved sympathetic since opinions were divided and there were journalists who favoured the extension on the grounds that it would in fact improve communications in this part of the city. An ally was found in the Ministry of Culture and Art since the neighbourhood represents a unique prewar architectural complex. Though its support was purely formal, it served to broaden the issue at stake. The city authorities paid little attention to the residents' protests and work continued on the extension. Though a lower court issued an injunction, this ruling was instantly reversed on appeal and new hearings ordered. In the meantime (1987) the extension has been opened to traffic. The movement ended, therefore, in complete failure. In this case an alternative solution was put forward by the actors - construction of an underpass - but this was rejected on the grounds of costs. There remains the possibility that the residents will at least be awarded some kind of compensation by the courts.

N o a k o w s k i S t r e e t, Warsaw

The movement began in 1972 (the date of the earliest documents) when some 60 tenants of an apartment building began petitioning for its rehabilitation and the eviction of criminal elements which had been rehoused there under postwar billeting schemes and now ruled part of it. Action was institutionalized through a District and then House Residents Committee. The chief adversaries were the local housing authority and the troublesome co-tenants. Petitions were sent to the municipal and central authorities, questions were put in parliament, dozens of articles appeared in the press, and the building was even made the subject of a film. The residents' complaint stressed, in addition to amenity of living conditions, the heritage value of a section of midtown Warsaw which had escaped wartime destruction (and of which the building formed an important part). Though the borough and municipal authorities were asked by the government to intervene, the only action they took was the writing of prevaricating replies. At present (1987) after fifteen years of campaigning the movement seems to be petering out since, to cite one of its moving spirits, "lack of success

and helplessness are dispiriting.

M i ę d z y r z e c z W i e l k o p o l s k i

The movement began in 1983 following the leaking of classified plans for storage of radioactive waste from a prospective atomic power station in the German-built fortifications that had formed the 'Pomeranian Wall' line of defences. The original actors were a group of Polish Tourist Association guides who enlisted the support of the local branch of the Patriotic National Revival Movement (PRON). The issue was the threat to the natural environment, the health and life of the population of a large area, and a habitat of bats, unique in Europe. The chief adversaries were the Ministry of Power and State Atomic Agency experts. The residents and institutional actors launched a wide-scale protest action involving meetings and resolutions, petitions collected from 23 schools and workplaces, distribution of leaflets and even demonstrations which at their peak drew 4-5000 marchers. The original actors were reinforced by numerous allies; PRON branches in neighbouring localities, its National Council, the Consumer Federation, the Polish Ecological Club, biologists on the staff of a number of universities, and 150 farmers in nearby villages. The movement gained impetus and fuel was added to the flames by the nuclear power lobby's highhanded dismissal of local fears. But the movement's activists had done their homework, having commissioned reports by independent academic bodies and so were not to be easily taken in or mollified. The conflict was further exacerbated by the local and regional authorities' attitude, at first non-committal, but subsequently swinging to support of the scheme. When protest reached the stage of leaflet distribution and demonstrations, they responded by employing the security forces and resorting to punitive and deterrent measures. As a result a large proportion of the movement melted away and it is now (1987) on the wane. However, the issue seems still to be open since the power station has not yet come on stream and alternative options are available.

The eight social movements here described are ones which have been documented, but there have of course been many more examples. All eight, regardless of specific differences, have certain features in common. They invariably spring from protests

against an infringement of the rights of individuals or a very small group which, however, is soon found to be in effect a violation of broader social values held in high esteem. These movements are not concerned, as their adversaries try to make out, with upholding sectional interests or private advantage, but with a real threat to the common good. Their leaders and subsequent allies stand on the inalienable right of every community to have a say in direction of its affairs, to defend the quality of life and to participate in creating reality.

Analysis of these social movements demonstrates very clearly that people do not trust specialists and technocrats who have a tendency to look down on ordinary citizens as ill-informed blockheads. But the fact is that very often ostensibly professional and objective considerations are merely a mask for sloth, unwillingness to look for new or alternative solutions, ignorance and, frequently, sheer mindlessness. People have also learned to be wary of government since, instead of representing the public interest, it sometimes appears to stand guard over the status quo, its own convenience and a misconceived sense of prestige.

The evident result of a lack of confidence in experts and those in power are aspirations to influence over the course of events and assumption of responsibility for the management of affairs of immediate concern and of daily life.

Local social movements seem to be an important phenomenon pointing to the unextinguished dynamism of Polish society and the possibilities of development founded on local self-government, the harnessing of initiative and the abundant reserves of activism still lying untapped in local communities.

Local Social Movements and Global-Local Relationships in Contemporary Civilization

Localism is a question of increasing significance in both collective life and social studies (B. Jałowicki, 1988). Its renascence is due to a crisis of contemporary civilization that is of global dimensions, but varies in origin and form in different groups of countries. In the Third World it is primarily reflected in backwardness, poverty and stagnation. In the socia-

list countries, in an inability to make more intensive use of immense capacities and unblock the mechanisms of growth and improvement of living standards. In the advanced industrial nations, in failure to even out regional and social inequalities and absorb growing unemployment and in deterioration in the quality of life despite accumulated wealth and relatively high income levels. Nevertheless, however specific the course of crisis phenomena in different groups of countries, they seem to have certain common causes arising out of an unthinking acceptance of dogmas of contemporary civilization which are to a large extent proving to be illusory.

These dogmas are based on the rapid advances in science since the 18th century and in particular on Newtonian physics and the Cartesian mechanistic view of the world (see F. Capra, 1982), on the dissemination of the ideals of the French Revolution, on the rise of modern social sciences which through such currents as positivism and Marxism have largely shaped the consciousness of 20th-century man, and on the everyday experience of several generations who have been witnesses of economic growth and technological progress on an unprecedented scale that has totally transformed people's daily lives. These four factors have fathered five beliefs that have sunk deep roots in the minds of the inhabitants of the Euro-American culture area whose patterns are to a lesser or greater extent diffusing to other parts of the world. These five beliefs are the illusions of progress, technology, organization, planning and utopia.

Contemporary man believes on the whole in economic growth and steadily rising living standards, both of which have indeed been a feature of a part of the globe for some 250-300 years, regardless of such cataclysms as the first or second world wars. If, however, we extend our perspective to the two millenia of European history we will see that this stretch of uninterrupted progress amounts to barely 15 per cent of the whole of that period. Over these 2000 years Europe has seen the rise, efflorescence and fall of a great civilization, a prolonged dark age followed by the slow blossoming of medieval civilization, its 100-year twilight and then extinction in the 14th century, a new revival and then another decline in the 17th. The 300-year period

of prosperity brought by industrial civilization is, therefore, more of an exception than a rule.

Also of importance are the yardsticks by which contemporary man measures progress. These are criteria based solely on possession of material goods and access to the benefits of technology. However, these values are proving to be increasingly illusory since technology, and industrialization in particular, are a source of not only blessings but also serious threats to human health and life. Despite that, their attractiveness remains undiminished, triggering mass forms of social behaviour, among them migration from less advanced to more affluent nations, though it is also true that the hazards of contemporary civilization, especially from industry, are greater in relatively backward countries, which further reduces the level of the quality of life there. The attractiveness of the conventional criteria of progress forces such countries to set in motion an industrialization spiral typical of the first industrial revolution. Progress so understood becomes a highly prized value with the most advanced capitalist countries as the model and reference point. It is, however, a value that is being increasingly repudiated by various alternative movements or ideologies inspired by major religions such as, for example, Islam. From this point of view what Khomeini and other Moslem fundamentalists are doing is not to be dismissed lightly. It is also worth remembering that the ambit of the value espoused by Euro-American civilization does not extend to large groups of people scratching out a wretched existence on the world's peripheries in traditional societies for whom the concept of progress is obviously alien.

Our faith in the universality and inevitability of unceasing progress seems, therefore, in the light of historical experience to be an illusion. Not, of course, that, barring nuclear catastrophe, the world will slide back into the stone age. But what cannot be ruled out are periods of prolonged breakdown, decline and stagnation or decimation of the human population by new epidemics (eg. AIDS). A good illustration of the progress illusion is Poland where a concatenation of circumstances has produced absolute regression in various spheres of the economy

and daily life, not to mention the relative regression of falling further adrift of the vanguard of the world's developed nations.

The second illusion entertained by contemporary man is technology. Inhabitants of the Euro-American culture sphere appear to believe, in some cases with absolute conviction, that high technology will solve most, if not all, of the problems of our times. This faith is spreading to other parts of the world. Technology has entered not only everyday life, but also the realm of art. In the heady manifestos of the Futurists and Constructivists the machine was made an art-work in itself and found its way as a favourite object of imitation into painting and poetry. It became a model for architects and planners designing machines a habiter according to strict rules of standardization and prefabrication. The new shape of cities was likewise to reflect the ideal functioning of machinery. Technology has also taken over the daily lives of many millions of people who can no longer imagine them without dozens of machines of every kind from the automobile to the electric toothbrush. It has revolutionized not only industry but also food production, transportation and communications and produced new sources of energy.

But despite the immense advances it has made since the first industrial revolution, technology has not solved any of the great problems besetting humanity: hunger, poverty, social inequalities on a global or national scale, illiteracy, prejudice, disease, etc. On the contrary it has itself helped to create new plagues and hitherto unknown perils. Pollution of the air, contamination of water and soil, lethal weapons of appalling power, dammishaps bringing death and destruction, nuclear reactor explosions and leaks, massive casualties in traffic disasters - these are only some of the consequences of happy-go-lucky uses of technology. Since the world is now full of publications on this subject, wider exemplification of the down side seems unnecessary. It may, however, be worth citing just two facts. According to the US Environemnt Protection Agency substances that are an acute hazard to health and life are stored in some 50,000 places in America, but only 7% are properly decontaminated (F. Capra, 1982, p. 321). Nor is everybody aware

that in half a century of mass car ownership 1,630,000 people have died on the roads in America alone, compared to the US death toll of 41,000 in the Pacific theatre during World War II (A. Wallis, 1987, p. 55).

It might of course be rejoined that it is not technology which is bad, but its misuse. But this is true only insofar as it goes since every technologist should be alive to the uses to which it may be put. The employment of an invention by a third party for a wicked purpose does not relieve its author of moral responsibility for the harm done by it.

However, the real danger lies not so much in technology itself as in the technology illusion: the idea that it can solve any and every social, economic or biological problem. Economists are confident that introduction of new products will cure inflation, unemployment and other ills. Doctors tend to believe that the answer to shortcomings in health services and ineffective control of diseases is new and more sophisticated apparatus. When an energy shortage arises shortsighted politicians and economic leaders turn their minds not to improving its conservation but to increasing its production by means of increasingly lethal processes. The technology illusion is so powerful that no warning, however spectacular, can dispel it. Even the Chernobyl tragedy failed to stop many countries from going ahead with nuclear energy programs.

Armed with an unshakeable trust in progress and state-of-the-art technology, Euro-American civilization then invented organizations, the object of which was to streamline control of the production and distribution of goods and the flow of capital and to manipulate the behaviour of producers and consumers. All kinds of psychological and sociological techniques were developed for maximizing productivity in factory and office, and a mammoth advertising arsenal deployed for steering market behaviour. Big economic organizations and, above all, the bureaucratic machinery of the state set out to supervise every sphere of human life: work, leisure, childrearing, even love. Governments have always tried to regulate and control the behaviour of their subjects, but they have never possessed such effective tools as are now available for subordinating society. In such a situation

organization based on technology and professionalization appeared to be a quasi-perfect avenue to complete rationalization of human behaviour in the interests of the further progress of humanity.

It turned out, however, that people were unwilling to bow to the omnipotence of organizations. Manipulative techniques were countered by development of informal ties, official structures by internal counterstructures, the rationality of organizations by their members' cultivation of a different rationality of their own. The growth of informal or "black" economies, the youth counter-culture, diverse alternative associations, Women's Liberation, ethnic minority activism or the ecological movement are some examples of factors eroding gigantic economic and bureaucratic organizations. The performance of multinational corporations, the omnipotence of the state, the system of official education, the information monopoly have all been challenged. The effectiveness of large organizations as representatives of a single rationality has proved to be another 20th-century illusion. Not, of course, that they have abdicated power either in the economic or public sphere; but there has been a process of adaptation of structures to the new situation. Conditions have been created for the revival of small business which in certain areas does better than huge corporations. In some countries the state has itself curtailed the extent of interventionism, decentralized its structures and widened local communities' degree of self-government. "Less Government" is the watchword of the current known in the West as neo-conservatism or neo-liberalism, terms which seem to me ill-chosen since what we have is a new situation which we cannot yet account for and so, as always in such cases, fall back on familiar intellectual formulas.

A process of self-limitation of the state is also taking shape in the socialist countries as evidenced by "renewal" in Poland and perestroika in the USSR. The arrears in these countries are particularly big since survivals of the Stalinist era are still strongly embedded in the organization of the economy, government and society and in the social consciousness.

Though we can hardly speak of the end of the age of organizations, a process of erosion has clearly set in with the

emergence of alternative structures and the spread of self-government and local and sectoral social movements which seem to be growing into a new dynamo of social change.

A logical consequence of belief in the inevitability of progress, the availability of immense technological resources and the efficiency of organization was expansion of planning. Forward planning of action on a mass scale can only be effective if the future can be accurately predicted. Such a possibility appeared to exist given that progress was inevitable and humanity's goal was universal happiness, however differently that might be interpreted by particular ideologies. Such a tautological assumption was, of course, a fallacy. Since progress is not inevitable, extrapolation of trends is faulty. The future remains as unknown to us as it was to ancient or medieval man. Ignorance of the future is an inherent feature of the human condition and all prognostication is a delusion even if it is done by computer, although there are obviously certain probabilities; but then again these are impossible to estimate.

Ignorance of the future is therefore an unsurmountable bar to effective long-run planning, and the complexity of the social world to macrosocial planning. Economic growth cannot be planned because the number of variable and linkages between them is too great. Social change cannot be planned for the same reason plus the fact that human behaviour depends on a variety of circumstances and is unpredictable. A functional city cannot be planned since it is composed not of objects, factories, offices, shops, houses and traffic routes, but of individuals and social groups with differing wants and conflicting interests. The only things that can be planned are relatively simple structures and their operation over a relatively short period.

The crisis now being experienced by the socialist countries springs in part from this planning illusion. It was assumed that nationalization of the economy would clear the way to central control of the flow of capital goods and human behaviour for the good of society as a whole. It turned out, however, that interests within society are conflicting, that extreme centralization of decision-making not only does not reduce but may actually encourage deviant behaviour, that there is no algorithm for

guiding complicated economic and social processes, and that bureaucratic control is none too effective..

The planning that is a tool of every big organization is based on the belief that it represents the only correct and rational approach to ordering the whole or part of the social world. Such an assumption is, of course, mistaken because no organization has a monopoly of the truth and its rationality may be at variance with the rationality of other social actors. One manifestation, albeit minor, of the conflict of rationales arising from the planning illusion are the social movements described earlier.

A belief in the existence of a realm of universal happiness has accompanied man since the dawn of history, forming the cornerstone of all religions that conjured up a vision of an ideal world in the hereafter. It has been a justification and powerful motivation for human behaviour and action in the real-life sphere. In pursuit of this vision people have waged wars, sacked cities and slaughtered each other. The happy land has always been situated beyond the "here and now", though not necessarily, as in the case of Tommaso Campanella's City of the Sun or Thomas More's Utopia, beyond the earthly world. It was not till the 18th century that there came a new visualization of a happy land that lay close by, here on earth, within reach of the common man. The French Revolution inscribed on humanity's banners the rallying-cry of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity". The American Revolution propagated the idea of democracy. The October Revolution proclaimed social justice, elimination of the exploitation of man by man through abolition of private property, and a world without wars. All of these watchwords reflected man's eternal striving after lofty ideals for, as Bertold Brecht aptly observed, "Man is on the side of good rather than evil, but conditions are against him".

While it is only a vague longing at the back of people's minds, only a frame of reference for the human condition, dreams of a land of happiness can be a creative element in the development of humankind. But when the utopia illusion becomes a mainspring of human action on a mass scale, crime sallies out from its back alley lairs, terror rages and an ocean of blood is

spilled. The obvious question is: Are the casualties incurred in any way offset by the progress achieved and can such a gauge be legitimately used in the first place? The answer seems to be no. No noble goal can be pursued, still less a land of happiness sought, by means of ignoble methods.

Humanity is still rent by numerous conflicts and racked by incessant wars in which one side fights for survival and the other for domination. Two hundred years have elapsed since the French Revolution, and seventy since the October Revolution, but the world seems no nearer that realm of Universal happiness which still lies on the island of Utopia.

What, it might of course be asked, is the connection between these global processes and local problems? It is in fact a very strong one. In the first place, developments in one part of the world influence developments in another, however remote and secluded. That influence is realized in the real sphere, in the economy and daily life, but also in the world of symbols and the psychological domain. Communication media ensure that both global and local events register in many different places at once. In this sense the world has indeed become a "global village". Second, a global view of processes inevitably loses sight of the myriads of minor problems which, if not attended to, can have global repercussions. That is evidently the case in world politics where the superpowers cannot rest content with negotiating the removal of medium-range nuclear missiles, but must also concern themselves with local conflicts, such as Nicaragua or Afghanistan. Similar phenomena, though less noticeable, can be found in the area of economics, culture and information.

The "global-local" concept is of course relative and depends on the perspective. Whole and part relationships also occur on a national scale. In this case, too, there are phenomena of a global compass and local problems. As a universal organization of society the state must strike a balance between the common and the particular good, taking account of local differences, wants and interests. Since the central administration cannot by definition have a full appreciation of all these

factors, there have to be channels through which they can be articulated, meaning local self-government and local social movements institutionalizing the widest possible spectrum of interests.

Global stimuli flowing from central control mechanisms cannot ensure the necessary development momentum since, as well as not transmitting strong enough motivational impulses, their thrust may be at odds with local interests. That makes it essential to open the door to local initiative which, springing as it does from strongly felt needs, reinforces the motivations for collective action.

Likewise, the inefficiency of large organizations in many spheres of everyday life, such as welfare provision, education or health, is an argument for transferring their administration to the local level.

In local communities the problems requiring action are of a concrete nature, and abstract ideas and abstruse concepts assume human features. The diversity of interests is perceived more clearly, and the greater intensity of social contacts is conducive to social mobilization. To a large extent these characteristics determine the success of local social movements which are not only an important factor of the social dynamic, but also an instrument of control of the global structure, an indispensable feedback in the 'system of social homeostasis'. In the nitty-gritty of local communities the grand illusions of contemporary civilization are drained of some of their power by contact with the problems of everyday life.

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Janusz T. Hryniewicz

SOCIAL POSITIONS AND INEQUALITIES IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Introduction

The present study is an outcome of transformation of selected parts of a report on research into relations between the social position and inequalities in local communities which was carried out in Puławy in 1986 and Poddębice in 1987 (Boczkowski, Hryniewicz, Siewierski, 1987).

In this study the author makes an attempt to verify the class and stratification approaches to social structure analysis. In particular he attempts to find out whether the social structure of the towns in which the research was done is of a class or of a stratification nature. Besides, findings concerning relationship between the type of local community and socio-political attitudes will be presented. It has been said above that the analysis is based on results of the research done by A. Boczkowski, J. Hryniewicz and J. Siewierski in Puławy and Poddębice. In each of these towns a 450-strong representative group of working population was drawn by lot, thus the analysis covered 900 inhabitants of Puławy and Poddębice.

1. Social inequalities

Research into social structure always involves studies of social inequalities or differences. These two notions can be used either interchangeably or, as some authors do, can be referred to different designations, e.g. social differences are an objective phenomenon, whereas inequalities are identified as a result of examining these differences in moral, ethical, and other terms e.g. those of social justice. (Kostowska 1978, Malanowski 1975). In the present study the notion of 'social inequalities' is used.

Generally speaking, diagnostic methods of research into so-

cial inequalities concentrate on pinpointing the differences in the standard of living of individuals mainly through analyzing their behaviour as consumers. The analysis aims to find out who is doing better and who is doing worse in terms of living conditions. The description of social inequalities includes such categories as: the level of consumption, the incomes, the living standards, level of well being, entertainment opportunities, and participation in the nation's culture.

The problems of the so-called psychological correlates of social positions are a relatively new phenomenon which as yet has not been dealt with at length by Polish sociologists. The question at issue is that these psychological experiences which grow out of different social positions are also diverse and can be ordered on a scale ranging from pleasure to suffering.

We shall use in this study the scale of the so-called distress, the notion covering selected symptoms of confusion, tension or mental passiveness (Kesler 1982, Schwartz, Myers, Astrachan 1973, Rosenfeld 1980, Wheaton 1978). This aspect of inequalities involves differences in the intensity of the experienced mental discomfort.

In the present analysis an attempt will be made to answer the following questions:

- a. Which of the two theories, i.e. the class theory or stratification theory, better accounts for social inequalities?
 - b. Is stratification order an offshoot of class order?
 - c. What is the relationship between the level of distress and the different social positions?
 - d. Do the features of a local community have an impact on the nature of inequalities found in the realms of the level of consumption and mental comfort?
2. Stratification concepts of the formation of social inequalities. Cause-effect interpretation of social inequalities.

Max Weber is considered to be the founder of the stratification research methodology, although there are authors who do not share this point of view. In particular the emphasis put by M. Weber on the presence of special qualifications or skills as a basis for developing strategies of behaviour on the labour

market oriented towards maximizing profits gave rise to the emergence of alternative research into equal opportunities, group strategies, social rise, differences in consumption and life-style, etc. For a long time the possibilities of carrying out this research were only of a potential nature because of the lack of cohesive methodology which would make it possible to centre these problems around a fairly precise cause-effect scheme.

It was not until the first contributions of the proponents of the so-called functional theory of stratification as well as its opponents appeared that the codification of the stratification theory in cause-effect categories and construction of empirical indicators necessary for its verification were possible.

The major part of empirical research inspired by the functional theory concentrated on finding the relationship between the expenditure of labour (e.g. Jaques 1961, 1962) and the level of consumption and psychological compensation (prestige).

Although the notion of expenditure of labour may be in a way confusing it seems to particularly suit the nature of this research. It is worth indicating that the expenditure of labour is not understood here in an ergonomic sense, but rather in the sense of its social designations, such as: responsibility for the whole community, consequences of making a mistake, effort necessary to acquire a specific type of qualifications, easiness of finding a replacement of a specific individual, social indispensibility of a specific profession etc. Responsibility can be of a collective (referring to social groups) or of an individual (referring to individuals) nature. (Parsons 1951, p. 158 and next). The category of responsibility is connected with that of functional indispensibility which means that diverse responsibility for the functioning of society is accompanied by diverse qualifications which are indispensable for holding positions requiring a certain degree of responsibility (Davis, Moore 1945).

Thus, coming back to the above-mentioned categorization, we have functional indispensibility and responsibility on the expenditure of labour side, and remuneration as incomes and prestige on the effect side (e.g. Lopreato, Jevis 1963). Despite all the criticism provoked by this scheme, the very idea of

cause-effect analysis signified a major progress in the efforts aimed at putting the research problems in order.

Even today stratification theories refer to a certain extent to the scheme which has been presented above. For example, the research into meritocratic features of social structure uses this scheme trying to find out whether there is a relationship between the occupied position, income, consumption level and the qualifications or education. (Griffin, Kalleberg 1981, Słomczyński 1983, Wesołowski 1980).

Another category of stratification research which prevails at the moment investigates availability of attractive social positions depending either on hereditary factors or an individual's own effort, aptitudes, etc. The main factors considered here are usually the professional status of parents (especially of the father) and the level of education, with the current professional status of a respondent, his level of education, incomes, etc. as explained variables of the model (Blau, Duncan 1967, Słomczyński 1983).

Starting with Jaques (1961, 1962) and especially with Kohn's writings stratification research has been accentuating the significance of labour characteristics. This was initially responsibility, then complexity (Kohn 1969) and still later autonomy (Kohn, Schooler 1982). In recent years several relevant studies have been published. They explain differences in wages by the nature of the labour market and the kind of enterprise in which specific individuals are employed (Domański 1984, Reszke 1986, Leigh 1978, Kaufman, Hodson 1982, Kolarska, Rychard 1982).

Summing up this short review of stratification theories it should be pointed out that according to them social inequalities stem from such factors as qualifications (education), labour characteristics and type of organization. The joint effect of these factors are consumption inequalities and psychological inequalities (prestige and differences in the experienced distress).

On the basis of what has been said above we intend to build a specific model of stratification analysis. Its variables are to explain differentiation of consumption level and psychological comfort (social inequalities). The model is composed of the following variables: education, complexity of labour, affilia-

tion to one of three groups, namely: manual workers, white-collar workers or intelligentsia, type and size of the enterprise (see description of variables, Chapter 4). If it is found that the variables account for the observed social inequalities this will prove the applicability of the model to the social structure analysis. If it is found that this model serves its purpose better than the class model it will mean that the social structure of the examined populations is primarily of a stratification nature.

3. Class relations and social inequalities.

It is generally believed by scientists involved in the research into the social structure that the paradigm of this research which is widely used at present originated in the works of Karl Marx. The main feature of this paradigm is the contestation of the existant inequalities as social phenomena deriving from domination and usurpation which, in turn, are conditioned by different relations of individuals to means of production. This, seemingly, very obvious (almost trivial) finding is in fact not so obvious. An insight into the history of research into class structure shows that the triviality of the above statement was accompanied by very sophisticated endeavours to translate it into indicators and research directions.

The difficulties in translating Marx paradigm into empirical indicators resulted from ahistorism, i.e. ignoring social and economic changes in market economies and excessive exegetism, i.e. going to great lengths in trying to find out what Marx really meant when he wrote about classes, at the expense of present state-of-the-arts analysis (Hryniewicz 1981). One can thus argue that the class paradigm of research into the social structure encountered serious crisis both in the East and in the West. Moreover, the symptoms of this crisis were to a large extent similar in these two cases (Hryniewicz 1981). The prerequisite of its overcoming was an acknowledgement of changes in property relations especially in big corporations (Crompton, Gubbay 1978, Poulantzas 1975). The problems of class location of managers and the so-called new middle class were also widely disputed. Their solution meant the rejection of a peculiar intellectual compul-

sion, namely that which called for consistent search for polarity in class divisions (Carchedi 1977).

The idea of real property made it possible to solve the controversial problem of social location of managers. They can now be regarded as capitalists or wage-earners depending on what their position in managing the enterprise is. This provided the basis for preliminary quantitative evaluations and delimitation of classes (Poulantzas 1975, Anderson 1974).

The endeavours mentioned above had, however, some weak points as far as their empirical side was concerned and it was not until the first studies of E.O. Wright were published that the crisis in applying the theory of social classes in the analysis of social inequalities and social consciousness could have been overcome. In particular the rejection of polarity scheme enabled E.O. Wright to distinguish contradictory class locations. e.g. managers between bourgeoisie and working class (Wright 1976). According to Wright these classes are defined by their participation in control over three factors: money capital, real capital (physical goods, machinery) and labour, i.e. surveillance of working process and discipline (Wright 1976). The position occupied by an individual in the system of relations of production is indicated by: the ownership of means of production, the purchase of labour, the control over labour force owned by other people, the selling of one's own labour (Wright, Perrone, 1977).

The class model which has been presented here was used in inequality analysis and confronted with stratification indicator of social position based on income and education, which had been traditionally used in the USA. After the calculations had been completed it turned out that the indicators of class affiliation provided better explanation of the acquired level of income than did the stratification indicator (Wright, Perrone 1977). This means that consumption capacities of the Americans are determined more by their class than their stratification affiliation.

A similar research was done in South Korea. It validated the results of the American research although it brought certain modifications, too (Hagen Ko, Doo-Seung Hong 1980).

In the early eighties an international research programme based on the presented idea of E.O. Wright was started. Initial-

ly, it was limited to the USA and Western Europe.

The short review of research developments shows that the present research into class structure operates on a broader basis of analitic concepts than similar research which was done in the free competition capitalism era. A reappraisal was especially needed in the case of ownership relations in stock companies and state-owned enterprises. Now the starting point of class analyses is an observation of position in the labour process. The position occupied by an individual in the working process determines his position in all kinds of social and technical varieties of production relations (Poulantzas 1973, p.65 and next). Technical production relations determine the relations between individuals and objects of work including the so-called autonomy of labour. Social production relations determine the relations between individuals taking part in the labour process.

Social production relations can also be analized from the point of view of scope of economic power referring to the influence exerted by individuals on the labour process. The scope of this influence depends on the degree of autonomy of labour. The economic power indicators are planning, division of profit, investment, regulation of wages, control over labour, etc. The economic power is a prerequisite of the existence of real ownership of means of production. This notion, in turn, refers to a group of individuals who thanks to a relatively large scope of economic power can shape the working process in the way that would secure them maximum of benefits. Therefore the group of real owners can be seen as the dominant class of a given society and the satisfaction of its interests is the function of a wide range of needs from economic ones through needs of security, to needs of self-fulfillment.

Thus, the research problem consists in the observation of relations within the economic power as well as in its categorization that would show differences in the influence exerted by different social groups upon the functioning of means of production. If it is found that these differences are accompanied by inequalities in the level of consumption it will be possible to argue that social structure has a class nature.

The application of the above theses in the social structure analysis in Poland will be limited to the observation of class positions of individuals employed in the so-called socialized economy sector. The reason for this limitation is the fact that class position of self-employed individuals is not controversial or at least not as controversial as the problem of class affiliation of individuals employed in state enterprises.

On the basis of the studies which have been carried out so far the following definition can be given: "the notion of social classes signifies social groups differing from one another in the scope of labour autonomy and influence on control over state enterprises, i.e. in the range of economic power. These differences are accompanied by inequalities in consumption capacities of these groups" (Hryniewicz 1983).

Bearing the above definition in mind a preliminary model of division of labour force employed in state enterprises has been worked out. The model distinguishes among three classes: the administrators of state enterprises, the middle class and the workers (Hryniewicz 1983). It is of a preliminary nature since the description of the middle class or classes requires further development.

The above statements necessitate a short comment which would solve all possible controversies. It is worth reminding here that the key question is finding out if the economic power differentiates people in Poland and if these differences are accompanied by social inequalities. The earlier theories on the causes of social inequalities in Poland can be summarized in the following theses.

Due to the one-party-state system in Poland and the domination of politics over economics, political developments are bound to be the main source of social inequalities (Bauman 1974, Run-ciman 1974). This group of factors causing social inequalities is typical of East-European countries (Dzilas 1967, Konrad, Selenyi 1979).

An alternative thesis suggested disappearance of class differences and a dominant role of professional divisions. This thesis refers to the statement acknowledging the emergence of social ownership of means of production in the broadest sense,

eliminating the differences in relations to the means of production among those employed in socialized economy. It is tantamount to non-existence of social classes. Thus, we are faced with the question of the sense of looking for social classes in Poland and for the possible causes of their emergence (political or other). Another kind of reservations concerns the social effects of control over the means of production since it may happen that this control does not involve any socially significant differences in the standard of living (Wiatr 1985).

The studies of issues related to these controversies which have been completed so far justify the rejection of the thesis of social (in the broadest sense) ownership of means of production, since it finds no reflection in social reality (Hryniewicz 1986, Szymański 1983, Drązkiewicz 1982). Research based on the opinions of experts suggests that it is possible to prove the thesis claiming the emergence of a group of real owners of means of production in Poland (Hryniewicz 1986 a).

The analysis of empirical data makes it possible to understand the social significance of control over means of production. It also allows to find out whether the inequalities result only from professional or also from political determinants. The study of 586 persons employed in state enterprises, which was carried out in Bydgoszcz in 1977 proves that the relatively best determination of income distribution can be provided by the following standardized regression equation:

$$\text{income} = 3.6120 + 0.233 \text{ PUWP} \times \text{education} + 0.323$$

$$\text{economic power} \times \text{education}$$

$$R^2 \times 100\% = 24.7\%$$

This means that political position measured by the PUWP* membership secures high income only when it is accompanied by relatively high education and vice versa. The influence of this interaction is, however, not as strong as that of an interaction of economic power and education. This means that the greater the economic power, the higher the gained incomes. However, reaching high position in economic power depends on the level of educa-

* PUWP = Polish United Workers' Party

tion and vice versa, education can yield high income only when it is coupled by economic power (Hryniewicz 1988).

The equation provides a firm corroboration of the sensibility of seeking social divisions according to differences in economic power. Besides, it should be emphasized that control over means of production, identified with the scope of economic power, seems to be the main determinant of inequalities in Poland. It becomes even more apparent when we note that the results of the above study proved the secondary character of political and insignificance of professional factors.

If we compare the contents of the above regression equation with the definition of social classes we can draw a conclusion that the definition is not fully confirmed because autonomy of labour is missing in the equation. Such a conclusion would be, however, premature, since the category of autonomy of labour performs only an auxiliary role in the definition of classes. The significance of this category was stressed in the publications dealing with social organizations (Crozier 1967, Crozier, Friedberg 1982) and relations of power (Giddens 1982, Burns 1980). They show that autonomy defined as freedom to act according to one's own discretion is a necessary condition of possessing power, also in its economic dimension. This does not mean, of course, that autonomy can be regarded as a factor sufficient for exercising economic power of a relatively vast range. The research based on experts' opinions proves the correctness of these theses. For example the value of rank correlation coefficient of autonomy and power, estimated on the basis of observation of 28 professions was 0.920 (Hryniewicz 1984).

In this study we intend to apply the analyses of class structure for the verification of the above theses, in particular to find out if the theses put forward more than 10 years ago (Bydgoszcz 1977) in a big city can find confirmation in the present structure of social relations in local communities.

Another important research problem seems to derive from further development of the above mentioned three-tire description of classes. In this description the category of middle-class seems to be too general to reflect the whole subtlety of class relations in Poland.

The juxtaposition of predictive strength of the class and the stratification analytic model for social inequalities will make it possible to evaluate the shape of the social structure from the point of view of its class or stratification character. The class model will include, by definition, autonomy of labour and economic power. These will be supplemented with additional variables measuring the position of individuals in the social working process. These variables will refer to the possibility of performing supervisory or consultative functions in the decision-making process (see description of variables, Chapter 4).

Further analyses will deal with description of class positions of individuals employed in the state-run sector of economy. There are two reasons for this: first, the state is the largest employer and second, the problem of class location of employees in state enterprises is much more complicated than that of their counterparts employed in private enterprises.

4. Description of variables used in the study.

The following presentation does not include variables with simple, zero-one construction.

1. Economic power - is an artificial variable composed of three variables: personal power, participation in the making of key decisions and association with social and economic organizations, the range of formal power over people¹.

The scope of personal power was measured by asking the polled the question if they can control pay increases, promotions, temporary suspensions or dismissals as well as reprimands imposed on their subordinates. The polled were given one point for every positive answer and one extra point when they admitted that their influence was decisive. Thus, the scale ranged from 0 to 8 points.

To determine the range of formal power over people the polled were asked if they occupied managerial posts and if any of subordinates had their own subordinates. The scores could be as

¹We based the construction of this variable on the assumption that only respondents occupying managerial posts (73 of those surveyed) exercise economic power. The scores of other persons on the economic power scale were low. The same refers to composite variables which include the economic power variable.

follows:

 `yes` and has subordinates - 2
 `yes` and has no subordinates - 1
 other answers - 0

As far as decision-making is concerned, we considered decisions referring to the following issues: planning the scale and structure of production, administration of wages and bonus fund, distribution of profit, investment planning and financing, setting the level of employment and regulations of work. Furthermore, the polled were asked to state whether they participated in ultimate making of these decisions or were asked for advice or specific information. Participation in decision-making or co-unselling was measured with a relative evaluation of the frequency of its occurrence. The scale of this frequency had four grades: `almost always`, `from time to time`, `rarely` and `very rarely`. Thus, each of the respondents could score from 0 to 6 points (0 when he neither made decisions, nor gave advice). The total score could range from 0 to 36 points.

Next, the three scales were standardized according to the formula:

$$Z = \frac{x_i - \bar{x}}{sd}$$

where: Z - standardized variable

x_i - value of variable

\bar{x} - average value

 sd - standard deviation

After the standardization had been done the three scales were added and transformed in accordance with the formula $y = 50 + + 10z$. The final result was the variable of economic power.

2. Autonomy in relation to regulations. The basis of the construction of this variable is provided by answering to what extent the way in which the respondent acts while performing his duties is determined by regulations, instructions or norms. The extent of these limitations was estimated by the respondents. It could range from 0 to 100 per cent.

3. Autonomy in relation to a superior. Similar scale was used to estimate the extent of subordination to orders given by superiors.

4. Autonomy of labour. This variable is composed of the following ones:

- autonomy of action measured by the respondent's evaluation (percentage) of the degree in which his work depends on his own discretion, less the value of variable 3 (see above).
- autonomy of working methods and hours. Respondents were asked if they could slow down or speed up for one or several days their pace of work due to a decision made on their own.

They were also asked if they were allowed to introduce on their own new methods of work or embark on new tasks. The score was 1 point for every "yes" answer and 0 points for other answers. The variables were standardized, added and transformed (like variable 1). Thus we obtained the variable of autonomy.

5. Direct supervision. In order to obtain this variable the respondents were asked if their duties involved giving their immediate subordinates detailed tasks to do, defining methods of completing tasks by the subordinates, defining the kinds of tools, materials, separate activities, and pace of work. The respondents scored one point for every positive answer. The values of this variables ranged from 0 to 5 points.

6. Managerial supervision. This variable was based on the scales described above, namely that of direct supervision (variable 5), personal power and formal power over people (variable 1). Each of these variables was standardized, added and transformed.

7. Class variable was obtained by adding the variable of economic power (1) to the variable of autonomy of labour (4) and dividing the result by 2.

8. Counselling. This variable is based on information used for the construction of the decision scale. Only those respondents who did not participate in the decision-making process, but were asked for advice or information needed in decision-making were taken into consideration. Depending on the fact how often the respondent participates in this kind of counselling he could score 0 to 3 points (0 - for no participation at all). The value of this variable ranges from 0 to 18 points.

9. Complexity of work. The variable was based on respondents' evaluation of the degree in which the working tasks are

similar to one another. The respondents were to specify the percentage of tasks with reference to their: a) repetitive character and similarity, b) similarity and only slight differences between old and new tasks, c) different character and lack of similarities. The answers were given their weights ranging from 1 to 3 (weight 3 was given to the type 'a' answers). Next, the three possibilities were summed up by multiplication of the weights by the percentage indicator given by the respondent.

10. Education. We considered education levels with scores ranging from 1 to 7.

11. Synthetic variable of complexity of work and education. Both these scales were standardized, added and transformed. The result was divided by 2.

12. Intelligentsia. The variable is of a zero-one nature. Score 1 was given to the polled who belonged to intelligentsia. The criterion was employment in professions which required university education (specialists and executives).

13. Social groups. This score was based on categorization of persons employed in the state-controlled sector of the economy. Their scores varied according to the following pattern:

- intelligentsia	- 4
- white-collar workers	- 3
- blue-and-white-collar workers	- 2
- manual workers	- 1

14. Monthly remuneration (wages). This variable includes total incomes from wages, bonus pays as well as incomes from all kinds of extra work.

15. Possessions. We considered e.g. the fact of possessing a car, a summer cottage, a colour TV-set. The average market prices of these possessions were summed up.

16. The period of waiting for one's own flat measured by the number of years which have passed since the moment of taking up one's first employment.

17. Distress. The following request was directed to the respondents: 'To end this part of interview please answer some questions concerning your frame of mind and the way of experiencing some events' (see: Questionnaire). The system of possible scores was as follows:

- 'almost always' - 4
 'fairly often' - 3
 'rather rarely' - 2
 'never' - 1

The distress variable could assume values ranging from 10 to 40 points^x.

Questionnaire

Do you happen to:

		almost always	fairly often	rather rarely	never
1	experience anxiety, concern or excitement without any apparent reason?				
2	suffer from sleeplessness or be unable to fall asleep quickly?				
3	worry about the fact that your feet or palms are damp or cold?				
4	have short breath even without doing hard, manual work?				
5	feel that you are facing a nervous breakdown?				
6	experience anxiety because of accelerated heartbeat?				
7	have nightmares which upset or frighten you?				
8	experience anxiety because of trembling hands?				
9	lose weight when you are in serious trouble?				
10	lose control over various things because you felt as if you were petrified?				

^xThe fact that a variable has been excluded from tables presented in the next part of this study means that its relation to a variable being explained is not significant.

5. Predictive abilities of class and stratification theories in reference to social inequalities

Further analysis will present results of research into determinants of four kinds of social inequalities: remuneration, period of waiting for one's own flat, possession of consumer goods and distress.

Differentiation of the surveyed phenomena in the two cities where the research was conducted will also be presented here in the form of conclusions. This will form the basis for the evaluation of universal (or local) character of determinants of social inequalities.

First we will examine the determinants of incomes of the surveyed population

Table 1

Remuneration in relation to class and stratification variables and place of living.

'Pearson correlation coefficient'

	Variables	Remuneration
1.	Class model	
	- economic power	.24
	- autonomy of working activities and hours	.28
	- counselling functions	.17
	- direct supervision	.03
	- managerial supervision	.26
	- class variable - power + autonomy	.30
	- limited autonomy in relation to a superior	-.14
2.	Stratification model	
	- groups: manual workers, white-collar workers, intelligentsia	.11
	- synthetic variable of complexity of work and education	.14
	- complexity of work	.13
	- affiliation to intelligentsia	.02
3.	Place of living - Puławy	-.11

The data presented in this table prove the class hypothesis and suggest a relatively small significance of stratification model for the prediction of remuneration. The very low correlation between affiliation to intelligentsia and the level of incomes and the relatively low predictive strength of the pattern: workers - peasants - intelligentsia are particularly noteworthy. This means that the primary factor influencing the level of wages is the location of individuals in the structure of production relations. Class variables are, thus, the factors of paramount importance for shaping the consumption abilities.

The results of the research carried out in Bydgoszcz in 1977 were quoted in Chapter 1. They point to the primary significance of economic power for the determination of the size of remuneration.

The convergence of results of the research carried out in Bydgoszcz, Puławy and Poddębice points to a relatively long-lasting character of wages as class determinants in Poland. Moreover, the fact that the findings of the research conducted both in big and small towns have proved similar is an evidence of a strongly universal character of class divisions in Poland for shaping consumption abilities. The influence of differences in the place of living is rather equivocal in various regions. For example, Table 1 indicates that an average income of the inhabitants of Puławy is considerably lower than that of the inhabitants of Poddębice. However, the research conducted in Puławy preceded that completed in Poddębice by a year. Therefore the results were probably changed by inflation and, consequently, by an increase in wages. Since we are not able to assess the impact of inflation we shall only state that the possible differences in wages earned in these two cities result from different structures of labour markets in particular branches.

The remaining two indicators of the consumption level have a limited predictive strength. They are used because they tradi-

tionally find application in sociological research (state of possession) or have a relatively big social relevance (time of waiting for one's own flat). These indicators reflect the life-style and consumption abilities. For example, the possessions of consumer durables result not only from the level of income but also from different patterns of consumption. The research into this problem shows that in the households of individuals who completed elementary schools the increase in cultural expenses resulting from the increase in wages is relatively the lowest. The increase in purchases of foodstuffs is also low whereas the bulk of extra income is spent on alcohol, housing and clothes. The higher the level of education the bigger the tendency to spend incomes on culture, recreation, hygiene, and health protection (Sikora 1979, p. 168 and next).

Waiting for one's own flat is a similar problem. It is a commonly known fact that in the intelligentsia families saving accounts with building cooperatives are opened more often than in the workers' families. This is why the waiting period is shorter in the intelligentsia families.

Other factors influencing this indicator result from various accidental phenomena, e.g. acute deficits of specialists in particular fields who are attracted to other fields by prospects of shorter waiting periods for a flat inheriting flats after parents whose material status was relatively high, etc. The relations between class and stratification measures of social positions on the one hand and the possessions and period of waiting for one's own flat are reflected in tables 2 and 3.

Table 2

Possessions in relation to class and stratification variables and place of living

Pearson correlation coefficient

Variable	Possessions
1. Class model	
- economic power	.12
- autonomy of working activities and hours	.25
- direct supervision	.23
- managerial supervision	.27

Table 2 (cont.)

- counselling functions	.16
- limited autonomy in relation to a superior	.18
- class variable	.29
2. Stratification model	
- groups: intelligentsia, white-collar workers, manual workers	.25
- synthetic variable of complexity and education	.11
- education	.27
- affiliation to intelligentsia	.14
- complexity of work	.10
3. Place of living - Puławy	.14

Table 3

Period of waiting for one's own flat in relation
to class and stratification variables and place
of living
"Pearson correlation coefficient"

Variables	Period of waiting
1. Class model	
- economic power	- .08
- autonomy of working activities and hours	- .06
- direct supervision	- .02
- managerial supervision	- .14
- class variable (power + autonomy)	- .13
- autonomy in relation to regulations	- .09
- autonomy in relation to a superior	- .10
2. Stratification model	
- groups: intelligentsia, white-collar workers, manual workers	- .19
- synthetic variable of complexity of work and education	- .10
- complexity	- .09
- education	- .22

Table 3 (cont.)

- affiliation to intelligentsia	- .08
3. Place of living - Puławy	.06

In this case the relative predictive strength of stratification variables increases considerably and correlation coefficients assume values comparable with influence coefficients of class variables. A similar tendency can be observed in the case of the variable of waiting for one's own flat (Table 3). Signs indicating negative relationship between independent variables and the explained variable mean that the growing value of a given variable reflects shorter periods of waiting for one's own flat measured since the moment of taking up the first job.

With the earlier remarks concerning the relations between these two variables and the life-style in mind, we shall attempt to interpret the obtained results.

Tables 2 and 3 show that stratification indicators are relatively significant for prediction of social inequalities provided that social differences are connected with different life-styles. Although class indicators have some predictive strength, they cannot be regarded as determinants of life-style and consumption patterns which are equivalent to interstratal differences. Class variables are decisive for an absolute size of consumption abilities but on the other hand their impact on the ways of satisfying needs related to consumer durables is relatively weaker. It has turned out that the pattern: workers - white-collar workers - intelligentsia which is rather irrelevant for the prediction of incomes, plays an important role in the prediction of consumption patterns. This means that the changes which took place in the structure of class relations after the year 1945 did not bring equally radical changes in life-style. Despite relatively big income differences within each of the groups mentioned above, each of them maintained their own, specific life-style and pattern of consumption.

Thus, it can be argued that apart from the class system in the society there is also a clearly defined system of differing life-styles which, according to Max Weber's idea, can be des-

cribed as an estate system. The most important part of this system is education and affiliation to intelligentsia. This fact involves two fairly significant phenomena. The first of them can be found in a relatively privileged position of intelligentsia in respect to the possession of consumer durables and flats in spite of a long-term trend of falling incomes of this group. The other phenomenon manifests itself in a modification of class divisions by estate divisions seen through the prism of consumption patterns. One of the main consequences of this situation is the fact that possible prejudices and conflicts resulting from different levels of possession can apply both to class and estate groupings. This means that the analysis of social conflicts can be based on both social class and stratification theory.

The results of the research presented in Tables 1 to 3 do not give sufficient grounds to accept the thesis that stratification divisions are secondary to class divisions. The indicators used by the stratification theory are independent from class indicators and a reverse relationship can also be the case, e.g. influence exerted by education on the range of economic power. Perhaps the best solution to this problem is the thesis that class and stratification theories are two independent research approaches, each of them operating on a specific research subject. In particular the estate order involving different life-styles (consumption patterns) cannot be explained without making a reference to the stratification theory and its indicators.

In our research we used a modified Gurin scale to measure distress. The scale, which has been widely used in surveys in the USA, is composed of 20 entries (Schwartz, Myers, Astrachan). Because of the socio-economic conditions which were mentioned above, the scale was slightly modified to fit Polish socio-cultural conditions (this task was accomplished by a psychologist, Mrs H. Sierpińska). Among the characteristic features we should enumerate the socio-demographic characteristics, the specific features of the job and the accidental events affecting human life. The results of this research are presented in Table 4.

The data shows that determinants of distress can be grouped in the following categories: power, features of job, sex, events affecting life, place of living. It turns out, somewhat

unexpectedly, that sex is the main factor influencing the level of distress. In particular, the fact of being a woman has the strongest impact on experiencing discomfort.

What are the causes of the shockingly worse quality of women's life?. Is it due to genetic factors or social phenomena? Solving these problems is not easy and a conclusive explanation of biological and social determinants of psychological experiences will be available only in distant future.

Table 4
Relationship between distress and measures of social position, job, socio-demographic features and accidental events.
Pearson correlation coefficients

determinants	distress
1. Economic power	.14
2. Interaction of power and control	.16
3. Identification with colleagues at work	-.10
4. Work in cultural/educational institution	.10
5. Work in service institution	-.13
6. Possibility of doing extra-work	- .11
7. Incomes from main occupation	- .12
8. Male sex	- .32
9. Widowhood (women and men)	.12
10. Living in Puławy	.11
11. Age	- .11

The fact of exercising power and control contributes a lot to mental discomfort. It seems that the influence of power on distress is due mainly to psychological trouble connected with the control over other people. The positive correlation observed between power and distress is typical of social relations in Poland, whereas elsewhere, e.g. in the USA the reverse is the case (Ślomoński, Miller, Kohn 1981; Kohn 1987). Polish-American comparative studies have shown that in Poland the higher the social position, the stronger the fear and the weaker the self-confidence. In the USA it is quite the opposite. These relationships are worth closer consideration.

Our research points to a negative relationship between the measures of labour autonomy and distress. Although the correlation coefficients are too low (e.g. autonomy in relation to a superior = $-.01$) to allow for firm conclusions, the direction of this relationship seems to be diagnostically relevant.

The negative character of this relationship suggests that the managerial system based on centralization and red tape and limiting autonomy in professional duties is an important cause of stress in Polish managers. Nevertheless, they seem to be in a better position than women in terms of emotional disorganization. It is so because the burden of power is compensated by relatively high incomes (correlation coefficient of power and income = $.24$, interaction: power x wage control = $.34$) and, as it has already been mentioned here, high income eases distress.

The features of performed work are also related to distress. To investigate this relationship, we used in our research the variables of autonomy and complexity of work. In both cases the correlation coefficients were too low to allow for drawing conclusions. Opposite results were obtained in the USA (Kohn, Schrodner 1982, Słomczyński, Miller, Kohn 1981, Kohn 1987). It means that the possibility of intellectual self-fulfillment resulting from unassisted performance of complex tasks is not closely related to the feeling of satisfaction among the polled. Consequently, the factors responsible for the perception of one's own value and for one's self-assessment lie outside the professional aspects of life. A similar conclusion has been reached by the authors of Polish - American studies (Słomczyński, Miller, Kohn 1981).

The data presented in Table 4 shows that the main factors causing mental discomfort in surveyed population are: level of consumption, human relations at work, and direct relations of power.

The hypothesis concerning predictive abilities of class and stratification theory in reference to distress has not been explained in a conclusive way. Although the strongest correlate of distress proved to be the class measure of social position, its influence was the opposite to the expected. The typical stratification indicators proved to be quite irrelevant to the explanation of distress, but additional stratification indicators confirmed

their applicability in measuring this phenomenon.

Summing up this part of the analysis one can state that class and stratification theory approached in strict cause-effect terms were of limited value for explanation of the phenomenon of distress. On the other hand the hypothesis of correlation between place of living and distress has been borne out.

Generally speaking, distress is an effect of joint influence of place of living, consumption abilities, lack of social links at work, sex, age and accidental events. In view of obtained results it should be assumed that class or group factors exert indirect influence on distress through different class-specific life experiences. It should also be emphasized that differentiation of local communities can exert an equally important influence on mental comfort and life satisfaction as can differentiation of social positions determined by universal mechanisms regulating the consequences of situation of a particular individual in the social working process.

6. Dissagregation of the class model into class groupings.

The following passage is an attempt to present more detailed divisions which would illustrate group differentiations of positions in the structure of production relations. We will present dissaggregation of the class model into smaller class groupings according to differing positions of class model variables.

Such endeavours have always been controversial. For example E.O. Wright in his empirical research conducted in the USA and Sweden applied the combination of education and features of work to disaggregate the middle class into smaller groupings (Wright 1985). It seems that this procedure brings satisfactory results only if the relationship between education and qualifications on the one hand and consumption abilities on the other is relatively strong, like e.g. in the USA. In the case of Poland this relationship is not strong and seems to be constantly weakening. For example the relation of the average salary of university graduates to the 'average salary in socialized economy taken as a whole in the years 1973, 1978, 1980 and 1981 was 1.56, 1.27, 1.11 and 0.94 respectively' (Wesołowski, Mach 1986, p. 72). This shows that in Poland the level of education is a very weak

predictor of economic power. Therefore, the proposals of inter-class divisions, especially those of the middle class should be based on direct measures of location of particular individuals in the structure of production relations.

Our starting point will be the division of employees of state enterprises into three social classes: the administrators of means of production, the middle class, and the workers. The basis for coding professional affiliation was provided by the classification of professions and jobs given by K.M. Słomczyński and G. Kacprowicz (Słomczyński, Kacprowicz 1979). In the result 57 categories of professions and jobs were obtained in reference to the inhabitants of Puławy and Poddebice. For each of these groups the average score in class variables was calculated.

The aggregation of the surveyed population in three social classes was based on the assumption that the administrators have the relatively highest scores in class variables, the scores for the middle class are lower and for the workers - the lowest. All the same the relations of economic power can be modified, though not changed, through control over all kinds of formal and informal factors of power which can strengthen the bargaining power of those who formally do not participate in decision-making processes relating to the application of means of production. This is why in the process of disaggregation of the class structure some additional variables were taken into consideration. These variables are closely related to the phenomena described above.

The disaggregation of the middle class was based on the fact that the members of this class perform three kinds of functions in the working process. Thus, we obtained three groups of a class nature: supervisors, advisers, and independent experts, also referred to as specialists. The basic criterion of being included in the category of supervisors was scoring within the framework of a given professional group at least 2.5 points on the direct supervision scale by the majority of members of this group. The characteristic features of the group of supervisors are: direct programming of other people's work, less economic power than in the case of administrators, and less autonomy than in the case of specialists.

Next, the group of supervisors was divided into managerial

supervisors and direct supervisors. Managerial supervisors had relatively higher scores of managerial supervision variable as well as the variables of counselling and economic power. Thus, they have certain influence on the policy pursued by their enterprises, although this influence is not as big as that of the administrators. This influence is reflected mainly in the counselling functions, which give the supervisors a possibility to influence the nature of decisions made in their enterprise. Irrespective of this the group of managerial supervisors takes part in and controls the processing of strategic decisions into operation decisions and their division into ultimate executors, thus enjoying a relatively large share in formal power over big working collectives.

The only task of direct supervisors is the distribution of tasks among the executors.

Chief engineers can serve as an example of managerial supervisors whereas foremen and bosses perform the functions of direct supervisors.

Independent experts can also be divided into two groups. The first of them consists of specialists scoring relatively high on the labour autonomy and counselling scales, but their scores on the counselling scale are lower than in the case of managerial supervisors. Specialists do not occupy important managerial posts. The professional groups which can be regarded as independent specialists are e.g. engineers, teachers, lawyers, planners, inspectors, etc. In terms of group division they can be identified with intelligentsia excluding supervisors and administrators.

The second group distinguished within the framework of autonomous functions is composed of administrative workers and employees in charge of technological processes. They enjoy less autonomy and smaller share in counselling than independent specialists do. This group includes nurses, officials in charge of departments, some technicians, shop assistants, etc. People from this group usually have no access to managerial posts.

The disaggregation of the working class involved some difficulties.

It has been assumed that the possibilities of exerting an

impact are inversely proportional to the possibility of controlling actions in the working process. The former are the bigger the higher qualifications are required in a given profession. This means that the higher the average score on the autonomy in relation to a superior, and regulations, complexity of work and education scales, the higher the potential bargaining power of a given professional group. The categorization presented above virtually overlaps with the division into skilled and other workers adopted in the already quoted study by K.M. Słomczyński and G. Kacprowicz. This way we can divide workers into skilled and unskilled workers although the last category includes the so-called "semi-skilled" workers proposed by Słomczyński and Kacprowicz.

Table 5 presents the results of the above procedures, which show that the most numerous social class is the middle class (49,4 per cent), whereas as far as the disaggregation into class groupings is concerned the most numerous are qualified workers (26,6 per cent), administrative workers and service employees (20.6 per cent) and independent specialists (16.2 per cent). The administrators including directors and their deputies in non-industrial organizations account for 2.6 per cent of the surveyed population.

It should also be emphasized that the data presented in this table serve the function of a mere illustration of the phenomena described above. A more detailed investigation of differentiation of behaviour typical of the representatives of particular classes or groups will be the subject of another study.

Table 5

Class structure and disaggregation into groupings
of a class nature in the surveyed population of
Puławy and Poddębice (per cent)

CLASS categorization		Categorization of class groupings	
classes	percentage of share in social structure	class groupings	percentage of share in social structure
administrators of state enterprises	2.6	administrators	2.6
middle class	49.4	managers-supervisors	6.4
		direct supervisors	6.2
		independent specialists	16.2
		administrative workers and service employees	20.6
workers	41.4	skilled workers	26.6
		unskilled workers	14.8
peasants	0.3		
private entrepreneurs and their families	3.3		
agents	0.2		
others	2.6		
TOTAL 100 per cent	885	state-owned sector of the economy	93.4
data not available	15	total	

Conclusions

The present study provided an analysis of the predictive strength of class and stratification analytic models. It turned out that the consumption abilities resulting from incomes (remuneration) are better explained by the class model. On the other hand in the case of these social differences which are a joint effect of the life-style and financial standing, the predictive strength of the stratification model is apparently higher. This means that in the cities in which the research was done it is possible to differentiate between class order and estate order, the latter reflecting differing life-styles which are determined mainly by various historical factors, the most important of them being continuity of the ethos of intelligentsia.

The thesis assuming the secondary character of stratification divisions in relation to class divisions has not found sufficient confirmation.

The level of mental discomfort is a direct effect of consumption abilities, sex, place of living, job and accidental events. The class factors have indirect influence on the level of distress. Stratification and class determinants of the level of income are universal and virtually independent from the place of living. In other cases the influence of local community is quite considerable. In particular the level of mental discomfort is under an equally strong influence of both the character of the place of living and factors referring to the level of consumption and accidental events. Mental discomfort is less experienced by the inhabitants of a relatively small town like Poddebice, where a high percentage of population is employed in agriculture and services, than by the inhabitants of Puławy, a town of a typically industrial character. This means that in spite of a unified character of economic, political and administrative centralization, the way in which social inequalities are experienced is to a considerable extent determined by the features of local communities in which the surveyed individuals live.

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GEOGRAPHY OF THE POLISH CRISIS: THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS

1. Introduction

The "Geography of the Polish crisis" is a term proposed by A. Kukliński (1982) during work on the "Diagnosis of the State of Space Economy in Poland". As a research proposal it was later on formulated in an article published in "Życie Gospodarcze" and stimulated a number of individual and collective studies ¹⁾. These were done mainly at the Institute of Space Economy of the University of Warsaw with an active participation of undergraduates of the Geography Faculty (altogether nine M. A. theses have been written within the framework of the "Geography of the Polish Crisis" research project).

Although the subject has been tackled in quite a number of studies, we are still nowhere near definitive conclusions as to the causes, mechanisms, or the aftermath of the crisis not to mention an overall picture of the spatial aspects of how the crisis erupted and how it was eventually overcome. Individual works differ in the selection of facts and arrive at different conclusions hardly ever giving a reliable account of the developments. The above critical remarks refer mainly to the research on the 1983-1985 period i.e., the second phase of the crisis marked by a slow and laborious effort to restore the pre-crisis situation. The gradual aggravation of the crisis situation and the spatial diversification of the years 1981-1982 when the crisis reached its lowest point has been examined extensively and with respectful regard for the fact and it appears that the authors on the whole arrived at similar conclusions although they quite often differed in the interpretation of statistical material.

The present paper does not pretend to provide a definitive interpretation of the spatial differentiation of the phenomena and socio-economic processes of the 1975-1985 period. On the

contrary its purpose is to present a set of theoretical constructs which seem to be offering the most promising framework for analyzing the geography of the Polish crisis. Next, the attention will focus on highlighting those research hypotheses which either received different answers or remain still open questions. I believe such arrangement reflects the state of our knowledge of the geography of the Polish crisis. I also hope that it will be more informative than yet another statistical survey.

2. Five Theoretical Constructs

Any analysis of development processes requires some theoretical base. Further in this chapter we shall outline concepts which might prove useful in drawing conclusions from the empirical material.

2.1. Structural Features of Traditional Socialist Economy

It seems that the most powerful theoretical plane in terms of analysis and elucidation of general problems of Polish economy at the turn of the 'seventies and the' eighties is J.Kornai's (1980) theory of shortage in traditional socialist economy. We shall need in our further discussion the following implications of his theory:

a. The demand-like nature of the economic breakdown, which would distinguish the Polish case from the recession in capitalist states in the second half of the 'seventies. The word 'crisis' does not denote the same thing for Poland and the Western states even if we skip the incomparable depth of the breakdown in quantitative terms. It is different because it grew out of a different background, it has its specific internal dynamics and different ways and means of overcoming the crisis.

b. An economy running on the 'rationing' principle, meaning both the supply structures and absence of economics-derived mechanisms of allocation of goods. Administrative decisions replace economic instruments and as a natural consequence the purely economic goals i.e., those based on strict economic calculus and forcing rational economic action with often painful social consequences are being pushed into the background by goals which only perfunctorily may be called 'social' and on some occasions prove to be the cover for 'quasi social' pursuits of some lob-

bies or are the effect of yielding under social pressure.

c. Absence of effectiveness stimulating motivations and the presence in its place of a quantitative motivation in the traditional socialist economy. According to Kornai the economic activeness is assessed by comparing the volume of production with the volume of production required by the plan or reached in the previous reported period. This is both the reason and the effect of the absence of alternative means of assessment since - given a passive role of economic mechanisms and tools - sufficiently precise criteria of evaluating economic effectiveness are simply non existent.

d. The consistency of the logic of traditional socialist economy seems to imply that several suggestions as to the instruments of space policies may turn out to be useless unless the economic reform executes sufficiently deep changes in the economic machinery (cf. Gorzelak, 1987). Particularly such instruments as contributions to the space economy fund, high tariffs on transport etc., will be so to speak 'punched out of shape' (as they will be included in costs) in a situation of a 'soft' budget regime that are still binding the enterprises. Moreover, given the unstable and imbalanced market those instruments may as well fuel inflation.

2.2. The Doctrine of Regional Egalitarianism

One could argue that the doctrine of levelling out the differences between regions is the most powerful world standard in regional policies and regional studies. That doctrine in Poland underwent a serious evolution from vulgar 'equal distribution of the production forces' to enigmatic 'moderate multi-centre concentration' but every version invariably had on its banner the resolve to level out the inter-regional differences at least as far as living standards were concerned and treated it as reference for empirical studies.

It is a general regularity that in the experiences from all over the world regional policy-making assumes greater importance during spells of fast and undisturbed development only being pushed to the background by economic difficulties (Richardson, 1984). The times of 'prosperity' seem to place more accent on

the 'equity' pole, while recession and the accompanying effort to recapture the lost rate of growth seem to remove it as it were toward the 'efficiency' pole, just as in the now well-known dilemma 'equity vs. efficiency'.

A closer inspection of the stages of growth and overcoming of the Polish crisis will answer the question whether the above regularity did occur in Poland in the years 1975-1985. It will also enable us to define the impact of the economic breakdown on the practical implementation of the principle of levelling out the differences between regions.

2.3. Strong and Weak Regions

The literature defines several criteria of strong and weak regions (Kukliński, 1977):

- a) importance, measured by the relative importance for the system of national economy,
- b) effectiveness, meaning the ratio of outlays to effects,
- c) living standard,
- d) potential to overcome difficulties and barriers to development.

Thus a strong region would be:

- a) densely populated and highly industrialized,
- b) economically successful,
- c) prepared to satisfy social needs,
- d) capable to survive without external help a situation threatening its development.

It is clear that the territory of my country is substantially differentiated as far as the above criteria are concerned. But the important thing is that each of those criteria arranges the regions in a different order therefore one and the same region may come out strong from the point of view of volume and weak with respect to the living standards of its population. The hardships of regional typology according to their strength and weakness grow substantially when it comes to substitute our intuitions with 'hard' statistical measures since indispensable data for assessing the economic performance of individual voivodships are nearly always lacking, while at the same time measurement of the living standard (or for that matter even simpler categories e.g., living conditions) is fraught with theoretical

and methodical doubts. The same could be said about the definition of the potential of a given region to overcome its development barriers because here too, the theoretical base seems to be insufficient.

The concept of strong and weak regions leads to an important methodological directive related to a question whether the starting point (pre-crisis) strenght of a region could reassert itself also during development difficulties. In other words whether the 'static power' corresponds to the 'dynamic power' understood as a resistance to negative external conditions. Such an approach should enable us to penetrate even more deeply the problems of strength and weakness of regions, and in particular with regard to a discussion on the future regional differentiation of a state.

2.4. Region vs. Sector

In our efforts to place the research on 'the space of the crisis' among other research efforts dealing with socio-economic space we have made an assumption that such an approach accords space only a passive role, one of a carrier of socio-economic processes. That definition should now be expanded with the help of conclusions from the discussion on 'sector vs. region' relations.

That variety of regional studies was initiated over two decades ago in the by now classic article by Lissowski (1964). The theme was later on elaborated further by Klasik and Komorowski and found its empirical confirmation in the aftermath of the 'Diagnosis of the State of Space Economy in Poland'. The message from those works reads that the postwar period of over forty years was marked by the supremacy of the sector-branch system over the regional one. There are many illustrations of how region used to be subordinated to sector: underdevelopment of the non-productive sphere in contrast to the productive sphere, which was supported in one of the 'Diagnosis' theses about urbanization lagging behind industrialization; errors in the policies on allocation of space as a consequence of pursuing the interests of branches which used to operate on the principle called the 'tragedy of a common pasture land' culminating in hyper-concentration on some areas and the inevitable disfunctions

of the structure of those areas, etc. From our point of view the important thing is the institutionalized aspect of the dominating role of the sector-branch system over the regional system because it throws into proper relief the passive attitude of the latter toward socio-economic developments. Given the fact that decisions on development strategies are mainly taken on the basis of branch system and branches remain relatively independent from the regional system then with the ongoing slowdown of investments the regional development came to be ever more strongly determined by the original sector-branch system. With things standing as they were it is small wonder that vigorous regional policies could hardly be detected on inter-regional level or intra-regional level. The reproduction of outdated sector-branch structures necessary as it had been when confronted with severe restrictions on new investment outlays pertified along the way the regional structures.

2.5. Convergence or Divergence of National Regional Structures?

The differentiation of socio-economic development is widely discussed and analyzed all over the world. Several theories try to put some order and make some sense out of contemporary development trends. The most important from our point of view are those theoretical approaches which deal with convergence and divergence of the processes of regional development in national systems. The question that remains unanswered so far is whether we could speak of a single, general dependence of regional development of the entire state (cf.e.g., Williamson, 1966; also Gorzelak and Wyznikiewicz, 1981), or whether some groups of countries - distinguished by e.g., cultural tradition or political system, which determined the main development strategy - pursue individual ways of regional development. Thus the first view would support the idea of convergence, while the second would support divergence (cf. Hamn, 1987).

The 'seventies and 'eighties produced new empirical material for further regional studies. The examination of the processes of regional development suggest a breakdown of old trends of steady growth of traditional industrial centres, a retreat from quantitative urbanization, an emergence of new development centres based on new technologies (Aydalot, 1983; Keeble,

Wever, 1986). The 1979-1982 crisis added new impulses to the evolution of regional structures in highly advanced countries, while the accompanying conservative revival restrained regional policies, which generally was a moderating factor for spontaneous allocation processes.

An attempt to relate the experience of the Polish crisis to the developments in highly developed capitalist states constitutes the fifth theoretical plane for empirical analysis. A particularly interesting question would concern the extent to which the specificity of the Polish crisis in a global dimension is also reflected on the regional scale, or, a contrary view, whether an economic collapse in a way leads of its own nature to similar reactions on a regional scale. There can be no doubt that the Polish case should be complemented with an analysis of trends in regional development in other socialist states of Europe, which were not alien to the 1979-82 economic slump although on a scale more approximating that of the capitalist states. We do not, however, have the appropriate material on hand. Such analyses should be taken up in future research projects.

3. Planes of Empirical Investigation. Data, Method,

Time Intervals

The empirical studies mentioned above addressed themselves to regional diversity of crisis phenomena. They covered a number of aspects of socio-economic life such as;

- demographic questions,
- employment,
- investments,
- industry,
- construction,
- agriculture,
- living conditions of the population.

The analyses were based on statistical data released by the Main Statistical Office or made accessible by that institution. No information have been used that would be selected or collected specially for the purposes of the research in question.

The methods employed included comparative statistical analysis and correlation methods. An important element in recalcu-

tions has been the yearly average rate of growth/fall of the categories under investigation in the periods selected by individual researchers.

The time intervals selected for examination were not identical. The M.A. theses used the 1972-1981/82 period without sub-periods. The team headed by R. Szul based their research on the division into the following periods: 1975-1978, 1979-1982, 1982-1984 as corresponding to the growth, eruption and overcoming of the crisis. I (Gorzalak, 1987) used a similar division and also employed five-year intervals 1976-1980, 1981-1985 or two-year periods depending on the category under examination.

Various time intervals are an important factor at the root of difficulties in comparing the empirical results and their interpretations.

4. Conclusion from Research

The analyses that were carried out give grounds as it seems for a number of conclusions on the regional diversity of the growth and overcoming of the Polish crisis of 1976-1985. The conclusions will be discussed for each of the earlier outlined five theoretical planes.

4.1. Regional Economy of Shortage

Regional analyses of the Polish crisis seem to confirm in general J. Kornai's views on the structural properties of traditional socialist economy. The supply-oriented nature of the economic collapse was revealed in its regional structure. Strong regions relying on outside supply - be it imports or supplies from other voivodships - recorded the greatest fall in production and consumption. Regions more economically diversified were harmed to a lesser degree than mono-functional ones.

The greatest number of positive evidence in support of the above theses seems to come from the following two sectors of the economy under investigation: agriculture tied to the supplies of fodder, and consumption, or more specifically, market sales directed for the most part from the centre. Drastic cuts in fodder supplies undercut breeding in those voivodships where local production was insufficient. Similarly, the regions without local food production base and therefore depending on supplies from other parts of the country recorded the greatest

shortage of supplies and sales of foodstuffs.

Statistical data reveal also yet another limitation on the supply side, namely, a strict correlation between difficulties on the socialized labour market and the extent of the collapse in the industrial production and consumption. All the same, the analyses do not provide enough grounds for definitive conclusions about the functional dependence between regional dynamics of employment and the dynamics of production - they would require additional consideration of the regional dynamics of the remaining factors of production supported by analysis of cooperative bonds but those aspects were not examined separately.

4.2. Strong and Weak Regions

The discussion in the previous chapter already introduced the subject to be presented now. The traditional "quantitative" approach to strength and weakness of regions appears to be inadequate considering how universal became economic difficulties in the economies of shortage. The "strong" ones turn out to be the most vulnerable, while the weak ones prove more resistant to external disturbances. In the economy of shortage the "strength" of a region is only an appearance of strength made dependent on external supplies. When foreign ties are severed, or when the ties between regions or branches are broken, the "qualitatively" strongest regions are the ones to be most severely affected.

It would be hardly possible to draw conclusions on the basis of the material under examination as to the "effectiveness-oriented" approach to strength and weakness of regions. On the basis of such analyses (Majerowska, 1983), one could formulate a thesis that regions characterized by greater industrial effectiveness recorded a smaller drop in production in periods of strained economy. However, such opinions would have to be more rigorously verified and would have to cover the process that surfaced also in the years 1983-1985.

The approach to strength and weakness of regions from the point of view of the quality of life seems somewhat lacking in precision. If we consider only its market-related aspects, the regions with traditionally highest level of "daily" consumption

showed the greatest collapse. If we include additionally the elements of quality of life tied to the functioning of the social infrastructure (cf. Lasocki, 1982) in a way we take some weight off that thesis - the geography of a stored resource did not change in any significant way so the regions with sound infrastructure maintained, despite a slowdown in the accumulation of that resource, so understood aspects of the quality of life on a much higher level.

It is not possible to make statistical measurements of the regional diversity of such immeasurable components of life quality as participation in community life, satisfaction with the functioning of the authorities, the mechanisms of sharing in the decision-making process etc. (at least such measurements would be very hard to organize and costly - let me recall here the unwillingness to introduce regional cross sections into An Integrated System for Household Research operating at the Main Statistical Office in Poland). Equally troublesome is the verification of whatever hypotheses we could have e.g., on the one hand, regions with great concentration of the working class had a loud say in political decisions hence the sense of power-sharing could be greater, and on the other, the toils of everyday existence lowered the sense of satisfaction of the inhabitants of those regions more acutely than in other less-industrialized regions. However, this is an area awaiting pioneering investigation which is indispensable for a more complete picture of regional diversification of the processes of the socio-economic development.

4.3. The Principle of Regional Egalitarianism

A rational (if not always so implemented) principle of regional equality was reduced in the times of open crisis to crude uniformism most clearly pronounced on the market. Rationing policy with its slogan "everyone gets an equal slice of the cake" affected regional consumption patterns. For example, in some voivodships consumption of meat or coffee was higher than during the 'seventies. Similarly, shortages of supplies influenced the spending patterns.

Those proportions were reversed when the crisis began to

subside. However, already in 1985 - for no apparent reason - regional egalitarianism seemed to be on the mend again. Whether it continued in the following year will be known when relevant data for 1986 are released, but one should expect that it would rather be halted in the face of an increasingly balanced market situation.

It is hard to say how much of the heavy-handed egalitarianism of the 1978-1983 period was a calculated operation, how much of it was a simple necessity. All the same, one could argue that it had gone too far. Cuts on imports of fodder affected (but not in equal measure) individual farmers and state farms and forced drastic decrease of animal husbandry, irrespective of what effectiveness they may have reached. The extent of rationing of foodstuffs and industrial goods amounted to nothing else but a substitute for an active price policy (e.g., petrol in Poland is probably as cheap as in Kuwait - 25-30 cents per liter on official exchange rate and even less on real dollar value. In relation to wages it is three to four times cheaper than in Hungary).

4.4. Region vs. Sector

Everything that has been discussed in point four above leads to a new look on the opposition of sector to region in conditions of a breakdown.

The sequence: an economy of extreme shortage - uniformisation based on steered distribution - a reversal of the strength and weakness of regions - all this suggests that that opposition is no longer valid in conditions of the Polish crisis, or at least that it is much less obvious. Regions and sectors alike have been deprived of whatever decision-making power by the Center which withdrew any such powers from its subordinate units - i.e., towns and communes. The central authorities as well as voivodships and local administrations found themselves equipped with an immensely powerful instrument - distribution schemes, which by themselves decided where, when and how goods are to be produced and consumed. Given all this maybe we could even speak of a growth of the administrative role of territorial systems running the economy by means of apportioning, allocations and other

distribution-oriented methods.

The above opinions must be, however, restricted to one phase only i.e., the breakdown. Much seems to suggest that the pressure of sector-branch systems retained their potential to influence the decisions of the Center - also in the sphere of distribution - to a greater extent than territorial lobbies. The supremacy of sector over region seems to have survived the lowest point of the breakdown as well as the period of the reconstruction of the economy.

5. Question Marks: Constraints of Regional Approach

As it was mentioned elsewhere, some of the conclusions drawn by the authors of the surveys on the subject are contradictory. The next thing is that not all hypotheses have been sufficiently examined. This opens new opportunities for further investigation and greater insight into those aspects which have been only generally outlined. It would be interesting, too, to ponder the question how useful a regional approach could prove for a discussion of the mechanisms of socio-economic life and also what are its shortcomings.

5.1. Regions - the "diesel engines" in Overcoming the Crisis

Some of the analyses are in disagreement as to the assessment of the rate of growth of industrial production in the years 1983-1985. R. Szul et al. (1984) for example, argue that strong (highly industrialized) voivodships acted as "diesel engines" to drive the country out of the crisis. Their conclusion is based on the analysis of the rate of growth of global industrial output in individual voivodships. Statistical data give a different picture discussed by Gorzelak (1987), namely that important regulations in the trends of industrial production after 1982 are hardly traceable. If we can at all speak of a special situation of strong voivodships in that period it was on average worse than that of weakly industrialized voivodships.

That discrepancy is rather important and as such should be regarded as a pretext for detailed analyses of regional diversification of the rate of industrial output in the years 1982-1986.

5.2. Type of Ownership and Crisis in Agriculture

Farming in Poland is probably the sector of national economy that is most strongly diversified in spatial terms. Nowhere are marked so clearly the two differentiating factors: type of ownership (private farms - state-owned farms), and the 'potential' of the farm (high - meaning effective, efficient, high output, and low - meaning backward, low output). These two factors are not parallel. In general terms, the gradient of the potential changes from SW to NE, while the type of ownership varies along the NW-SE axis.

It still remains an open question which factor had a stronger bearing on the Polish agriculture under crisis. The studies conducted so far offer some suggestions that the privatized sector came out more resistant since the state sector has been artificially supported since 1980. On the one hand, correlations between the indicators for the two synthetic models of agriculture and the dynamics of output suggest that the approach by the 'potential' of agriculture (measured by production per one hectare of farm land) shows stronger dependencies than the approach by structure and type of ownership. Positive correlation between the potential of agriculture and the overall dynamics of farm production and animal husbandry show that the breakdown of the 1978-1981 period brought less damage to the voivodships characterized by high output marks. The dependence between the dynamics and structure of ownership is much weaker (Gorzelać, 1987).

5.3. Effectiveness and Resistance to Crisis

J. Majerowska (1983) has put forth a hypothesis that voivodships in Poland with higher effectiveness of industrial production (they form a L-letter shape across Poland from Gdańsk through Wrocław to Cracow) turned out to be more resistant to the crisis. Their resistance was measured in relative categories with the volume of production compared with separate categories of outlays.

No further studies in that direction have been done so far but the hypothesis seems interesting from both theoretical and practical points of view and certainly worth pursuing.

5.4. The Effect of the Reform on Regional Differentiation of Overcoming the Crisis

R. Szul et al. (1984) treat in their interpretation of some findings the mechanisms of the reform as the causes of regional differentiation of overcoming the crisis. The authors do not make any definitive statements but present their conclusions in the form of hypotheses. That line of reasoning seems to be one of the most promising directions in contemporary regional studies but as yet little explored. It should be expanded and definitely enlarged by deeper factual analysis.

5.5. "Individual Entrepreneurship"

The results of the analyses have brought to light a phenomenon which had not been covered by either of the five theoretical concepts: a dynamic growth of the private sector outside agriculture defined (Gorzalak, 1987) as the sector of "individual entrepreneurship".

That sector flourished during crisis and had a definitely regional face: in the years 1981-1985 employment in private sector of economy outside agriculture grew at the fastest rate in voivodships with large urban agglomerations and around them. Similar conclusions were drawn by R. Szul et al. (1984).

Two hypotheses could account for precisely such spatial distribution of that phenomenon. It could be caused either by autonomous decisions as to the localization of individual enterprises looking for business opportunities, or it may simply reflect the approach of voivodship authorities to private business. The problem has not yet been sufficiently explored but it is worth further investigation especially for its role in the mechanisms operating within that expanding sphere of business activity in Poland.

5.6. Constraints of a Regional Approach

It would not be out of place at this junction to ask about the limits to regional approach. How much could voivodship cross sections be helpful in identifying and explaining the mechanisms of socio-economic life? Why not pursue instead analyses on sector-branch or branch basis or even introduce research projects on individual plants and enterprises?

One could even advance a thesis that the spatial approach is secondary to branch approach. Spatial units are only aggregates of a number of elements of the production system, elements which do not necessarily behave in the same manner. Hence the aggregates' values may represent a resultant of multi-directional processes thus hampering proper statistical interpretation. But when a given space unit contains few such elements which are at the same time weighty enough to affect the economic structure of that unit (e.g., a huge investment project in a weakly industrialized voivodships) then we are faced with step processes, incidental (e.g., the end of an investment cycle), which distort the shape of statistical dependencies among the categories under investigation.

Limitations of the regional approach were clearly pronounced in the body of works on the Geography of the Polish Crisis. In the previous chapter, we have mentioned a number of questions which have not been satisfactorily answered but rather only outlined as hypotheses. However, it would be naive to think that these could be successfully resolved - apart from factographic disputes - without an insight into individual cases of voivodships, enterprises, authorities etc. Statistical regional analysis runs here into an insurmountable barrier of superficiality, generalization and shallow interpretation.

So it could be said that the research into regional diversifications of socio-economic processes complement the analyses of a "vertical" type, on the one hand, and on the other, they should be treated as an invitation to more detailed case studies with respect to which it could provide theoretical background and suggest potential fields of interest.

The question of the constraints of the regional approach has been only outlined here but it seems to deserve a deeper theoretical and methodological examination.

6. An Attempt at a Forecast

It seems appropriate to close my remarks with a look into the future and ask how the regional structure will look like at the turn of the century, given an assumption that the recently announced optimistic version of the second stage of the reform will be consistently carried through. The question concerns, in

the point of fact the regional picture of Poland after the crisis and far from the technological and management backwardness of the recent period.

Evidently, the answer could only be fragmentary and sketchy in outlining some hypotheses.

The process of regional development continuing from the second half of the seventies in the highly developed capitalist states is a direct consequence of the economic recession, on the one hand, and quite effective mechanisms designed to counteract its impact, on the other (we shall not discuss here the social aspect of their effectiveness). The interbranch shift that has thrown into a structural recession the traditional industries such as metallurgy, mining, textile industry and shipbuilding industry and gave a powerful boost to high-tech industries and services including R and D, consulting, etc. reshaped along the way the regional structures. When we speak about backward regions, which need some fresh blood to make the necessary adaptations of their structure, we are more and more often referring to metallurgical and mining regions, shipyards and centers of textile industry. At the same time, the European counterparts of the Silicon Valley keep cropping up just about everywhere seconded by a revival of great metropolies (reurbanization) concentrating new business in suitable (in terms of ecology and climate) localities.

If we accept the thesis about the convergence of regional structures - and as it seems more and more arguments appear to support such a view - then at least some of the processes mentioned above will become the reality also in Poland unless the second stage of the reform is diluted - just as it was in the case of the first stage.

However, the analysis of the growth and overcoming of the crisis viewed in a regional perspective does not seem to indicate that the 1976-1985 period had brought us anywhere nearer the structures of the future order. It is hard to say whether a less acute slump or a higher rate of growth, which occurred in some of the less industrialized voivodships, might have been caused by a dynamic growth of new industries or services. Similarly, a drop in migration to the cities may be treated as the equivalent of suburbanization or de-urbanization in Western

Europe throughout the 'seventies and still earlier in the United States. The slow emergence from the crisis was all the same based on traditional industries of traditionally 'strong' regions. The continuation of investment projects of the 'seventies, which took up about 80.0 per cent of the outlays of the 'eighties is stiffening sector-branch structures as well as regional structures. Absence of any pressure on inventiveness is likewise a poor stimulus for 'progress centers' and the Polish Sillicon Valley remains yet to be seen.

If, however, Poland does embark upon a programme of radical overhaul of the mechanisms of economy, society and state then space economy too, will be affected by the changes and will, in its turn, stimulate regional structures. If the second stage of the reform is consistently implemented, we could try and sketch a picture of regional Poland at the turn of the century. Most probably the following processes will be visible:

1. Stagnation of traditional industries of Upper Silesia, its reconstruction and deglomeration. It could be hardly expected that coal mining will yield to the process too soon, but it well may happen in the case of metallurgy and some sectors of the chemical industry. Probably, people will start emigrating from Silesia just as it is already taking place in higher category professions.

The reconstruction will involve a shift of the labour force and assets into infrastructure both technical-economic and social. Similar processes, though on a smaller scale will also affect the town of Łódź.

2. Consolidation of the role of great agglomerations which are already at present acting as national centers of culture, science and technology (this will not include Upper Silesia). Presumably, specialization among huge agglomerations will be further deepened with Warsaw and Poznań together with their surrounding belts of small and medium-sized mostly private, mixed-capital or foreign-capital firms cooperating with modern industries will be among the pioneers of technological progress.

3. Consolidation of regions with diversified structure of economy, mainly in the western part of Poland from Lower Silesia (together with the reconstructed Podśląskie Territory) up north to Gdańsk. That part of the country is markedly better developed

as far as settlements and infrastructure are concerned. If we accept that the new economic system will introduce mechanisms differentiating development processes then the western part of our country will find itself in a much advantageous position than the eastern part.

4. Deep changes east of the Opole-Gdansk line even to the point of sparking conflicts and social tension, especially in the south-eastern part (substantial release of labour force in agriculture as a consequence of differentiation and growth of goods supplies).

A chance facing that territory could lie in the development of a variety of food-processing industries accompanied by a growth of urban areas. Migrations are possible northward along the border.

5. Further development of tourism in the Lake District and along the seaside especially in the north-eastern part, which may provide the best opportunity for progress given stagnated agriculture (bad climate, population outflow, backward infrastructure) on the one hand, and ecological considerations on the other.

The discussion about the regional aspect economic changes in our country must form an indispensable part of our thinking about the future as a guidance against mistakes in spatial organization of development, so that the errors of the strenuous and extensive industrialization strategy would not be repeated. The analysis of the regional diversification of the Polish crisis and efforts to overcome it could as it seems form a basis for judgments about the future thus acting as a guide for our present-day development policies including spatial and regional policies.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC DUALITY AND ITS REPRODUCTION PATTERN.
A SOCIOLOGICAL CASE STUDY

1. Introduction

The socio-economic development of many small local communities with touristically attractive environments is dependent not only on internal economic motor forces, but to a large extent also on the influx of investment, on people and on external political influences. There is nothing exceptional in that and many examples could be cited of such a dual development of resort towns, particularly in highland regions. The situation which we shall describe in these pages would, therefore, be in no way remarkable but for a number of elements characteristic of locality X which was the subject of our study. A detailed description of these features will follow; the point to be made here is that the situation in X has so evolved that the socio-economic duality which. Let us repeat, is typical of the development of tourist resorts, particularly winter sports centres, has, instead of gradually fading away as is usual in such cases, become self-reproducing, generating many phenomena verging on local development pathology. It is these issues which are the focus of our analysis of the conditions in which reproduction of the dual structure takes place.

2. Description of Locality

The locality examined, X, is a small town with a population of under 10,000 situated in a mountain region in southern Poland. It is a winter vacation and sports centre and to a lesser extent also a summer resort which lies in the immediate vicinity of a large voivodship (provincial) seat and, more important, within relatively easy reach of a major industrial region, Upper Silesia.

As a result it is transient visitors (skiers) who predominate in winter; on a typical weekend the number of tourists is over seven times the size of the resident population. They are attracted by the propinquity of X and a well-developed infrastructure for winter sports in the shape of ski-lifts and pistes.

These facilities were built primarily by the coal-mining industry to provide its employees with opportunities for mass pursuit of winter sports. The corollary was the location in the town of intramural resort hotels belonging to large workplaces, mostly in the mining, steel and engineering industries. There was also private construction of a recreational nature. In both cases the developers hailed chiefly from Upper Silesia, and the institutional hegemon was the mining industry department and its enterprises and institutions.

The development of the town as a resort centre bore the marks of a kind of colonization. The best sites for recreational and sports purposes tended to be appropriated by the supra- and extra-local institutions of the departmental economic authority and the regional political authority as well as, though on a lesser scale, by private persons directly or indirectly connected with them. Moreover, infrastructural development within this process of colonization was confined solely to facilities essential to winter sports and recreation, making no provision for basic capital investment of a general urbanist or even tourist kind, whether utilities or public services.

The upshot of such 'colonization' has been the emergence of a dual internal structure in the town's local patterns of activity. It takes the form of two institutionally discrete formal sectors; the tourist and the local. Between these two sectors there is no institutionally defined functioning and development interdependence, either causal and structural or functional and teleological. Nor is there any formally regulated transfer of financial, physical and labour resources or information.

The formal tourist sector is economically, socially and politically of an extraterritorial nature. It is in effect an extraterritorial enclave within the town's geography whose activity, supra- and extra-locally decided, is directed towards advancing externally determined interests and at the same time is econo-

mically, socially and politically separated from the local environment. This sector comprises sports and tourist institutions, enterprise hotels, and private holiday cottages. The chief sports and tourist institutions are a mining industry winter sports centre which administers the majority of the ski-lifts and pistes, a national winter sports centre run by the government department in charge of sport and recreation, and a regional agency renting accommodation for tourists in private homes. The basic role in this sector is played by the twenty-plus enterprise hotels which range in bed capacity from several tens to several hundred and in one extreme case to a thousand. The owners are for much the most part large industrial workplaces with considerable financial and other economic resources. There are also over three hundred private houses of a recreational nature, mainly owned by private businessmen, officials in the economic and political administration and, to a lesser extent, doctors, academics and artists, chiefly from Upper Silesia and Bielsko.

By contrast, the formal local sector is economically, socially and politically of an interior character. It constitutes within the town's physical space an interior in relation to the tourist sector. Its activity is directed towards servicing the process of local labour power reproduction and is insulated from the tourist sector and the tourist trade in general. Such closure has made for a relative economic, social and political marginalization of the local sector which comprises local economic, consumption, exchange and administrative activity. In the economic sphere this sector is made up of a very weak agriculture of a decidedly subsistence type, a branch of the state forest service engaged in routine cultivation of timber, small-scale co-operative, state and private industry of a structure and character typical of suburban-agricultural areas, and relatively well-developed private craft enterprise which alone has withstood the marginalization process. The consumption sphere consists of a predominantly co-operative retailing and catering network which is extremely weak and incapable even of meeting the needs of the local population, and health and welfare,

elementary education, culture and sports institutions typical of suburban regions. In the exchange sphere interiority is manifested in inadequate communication facilities (one bus service), a suburban-agricultural road network (one narrow main road and typically rural side roads), elementary lacks in main sewerage and electric power, and a water supply stretched to its limit (which was attained some years ago). In the administrative sphere the interior character of local government is reflected in its financial, social and political weakness compared with the tourist sector. Towards the latter it has adopted a defensive strategy and a 'contributational' taxation tactic intended to offset the concealed denudation of the local structure by this sector.

The dual character of the formal economic, social and political framework of interrelationships has led to the creation of a significant gap in tourist traffic care, particularly in the case of ordinary tourists who have no access to the facilities of the tourist sector, since this is closed to them. The inability of the formal economy to meet the accommodation and catering wants of the general public has resulted in the rise of an informal economy serving the needs of the tourist trade. Very widely developed, its mainstays are the letting of accommodation outside the official state and private network and for the most part illegally and private meals provision, legal but 'off the books'. These informal economic activities plus others indirectly connected with tourist traffic have made for the relative affluence of a large proportion of the town's population.

Duality and its consequences in the form of a thriving informal economy have produced two closely interrelated phenomena in the social functioning of the town's territorial community: demobilization in the sphere of institutionalized activities and mobilization in the non-institutional area. Social and political demobilization is evident in its attitude to the urbanist needs satisfied by the functioning of local institutions. The community in question is distrustful of all actions by local institutions, including those of the local authorities, but at the same time hard to mobilize and less prone (than the commu-

nity of the town's rural environs with which it is combined into a single administrative subdivision) to self-mobilization in furtherance of civic development goals. The reverse side of this phenomenon is social and political mobilization for protection of the fundamental interests of the private households within the collectivity, and in the first place the interests of the informal economy. Such mobilization is founded on an elaborate system of interactions and informal relations: kinship, neighbourship and friendship.

3. Origins of Socio-Economic Duality

The coexistence of two less than complementary socio-economic frameworks of activity has both a long history and uncomplicated origins. Symptoms of this duality first appeared back in the thirties together with the emergence of X as a summer resort town and winter sports centre. The rise alongside the institutional or, alternatively, formal economic sector of a non-institutional sector of an informal nature was due to X's inadequate equipment for the role of a summer and winter resort. There were not enough hotels, guest houses, restaurants, coffee-shops, stores, etc. to serve all the tourists visiting the village. In addition, the hotels and guest houses, many of them exclusive, were expensive and beyond the pockets of many of these visitors. The lack of an adequate infrastructure in X acted as a major stimulus to the enterprise of the local population which began to offer accommodation in its own homes hastily fitted out for the purpose.

The birth of this local non-institutionalized and informal economic sector can be symbolically dated to 1932 when a regular bus service was opened between X and Bielsko, then a large manufacturing city. That opened the way to a bigger stream of tourists and spurred the growth of X. Mention must also be made in this context of the Beskiden Verain association which ran a network of lodges in the vicinity of X and publicized the tourist attractions of the Beskids and its villages. X's appeal was further enhanced by the ski-jumping contests of which it was the venue.

The pre-war public that visited X consisted basically of

two groups. One comprised German Jews from Bielsko, mostly prosperous businessmen, and the other ethnic Germans, members or other-wise of 'Beskiden Verein'. The wealthier representatives of these two groups stayed at hotels with an established reputations and some of them, beguiled by X's picturesque setting and the scenic beauty of the Beskids, built themselves villas of their own. The less well-to-do took rooms or houses let by the local residents. The renting rules were simple. The usual practice was for an agent to take a dwelling on lease and sublet a part of it through the whole winter or summer season.

Thus, even before the war, there had grown up an informal economy through which the local population could supplement its household incomes. It was an untaxed economy created by a tourism boom and responding to it spontaneously. Its rise was clearly assisted by the underdevelopment of the institutionalized tourist sector.

Despite the existence of a small, though steadily expanding tourist enclave, both formal and informal, pre-war X basically remained a poor village and some of its homesteads could have served as symbols of southland squalor. A subsistence economy prevailed, based on crop and sheep raising.

It was only some years later, after the end of World War II, that X really came into its own. The turning-point in the village's fortunes was a single investment decision. On 26 January 1958 the first section of a chair lift to the summit of a nearby peak was opened. It was followed in the next year by completion of another section and shortly afterwards by a large number of ski-lifts. Rapid expansion of tourist amenities was not, however, accompanied by basic capital investment in new retail outlets, restaurants, coffee shops, roads, water mains, bus services, etc. As a result a drastic gap developed between the quantity of sports and tourist facilities and the local infrastructure.

As early as 1958 this infrastructurally backward village was visited by 297,000 tourists, seventy times the number of its permanent inhabitants. The volume of this traffic took everyone by surprise - the regional authorities, local govern-

ment, the residents themselves - since X was totally unprepared for such an 'invasion' and its lack of an adequate infrastructure was revealed all the more starkly. The quickest response to this specific situation was made by the local population which organized an unlicensed network for lodging, feeding and supplying the flood of tourists. It can be said with absolute certainty that from the very outset there was no way of overseeing or controlling the operation of this informal sector. Introduction of any system of restrictions on persons illicitly letting accommodation or organizing eating-places would inevitably have raised serious legal problems. Instead, and sensibly enough, it was decided to speed up the drafting of a master plan for the village's development which would delineate the directions of its growth and change the logic of its spatial evolution. This first and in effect last serious attempt at regional planning was intended to rationalize investment policy, contain uncontrolled processes and eliminate drastic economic dualism.

Drawn up by five architects, the plan was approved by the regional authorities in 1960 and amended nine years later. Its objectives were:

- radical expansion of services
- development of transportation and communication facilities
- improvement of land (installation of water and sewage mains)
- expansion of bed-and-board facilities
- development of new sports and tourist facilities
- construction of the first public housing units.

The regional plan was not implemented, however, chiefly on account of a lack of funds. Parts of it never went ahead, others were not completed on schedule and others still deviated in execution from the original conception. This dramatic investment breakdown only further aggravated X's already palpable economic dualism. Tourists and vacationers were flocking to the village in increasing numbers, but its social overhead capital remained virtually the same. Towards the end of the seventies it was visited by three million tourists and vacationers which was a

hundred times more than the formal economy could handle. The majority had therefore to fall back on the services of the informal sector which is both flexible and capacious.

4. The Formal Economic and Social Framework

The exterritoriality of the tourist sector and the interiority of the local sector are subject to a continuous process of reproduction through economic, consumption, transfer, political and cultural activity within the formal economic and social sphere. Such reproduction takes place within the ambit of both the tourist and the local sector. The exterritoriality of the tourist sector is reproduced through the logic of its economic and social activity which is an offshoot of general economic and social causalities, especially in the field of social production. Reproduction of the interiority of the local sector is also an outcome of the internal logic of its operation which likewise derives from general causalities, except that the derivation is far more indirect and bound up with the specific features of the local structure per se.

The most general starting-point for analysis of reproduction of duality within the formal sphere is that reproduction of the duality of a local sector is governed by a duality of processes of social production and reproduction of labour power on a national scale. The exterritoriality of the tourist sector and the interiority of the local sector is a local derivative of the exterritoriality of production centrally controlled (through the departmental organization of industry) and the interiority of labour power reproduction effected chiefly through regional and local institutions.

The general cause of exterritoriality is transmitted to the local structure through the tourist sector which is essentially an extension of the centrally controlled production sector mediated by two mechanisms: personnel and economic. The mechanism whereby the local institutions of the tourist sector are staffed rules out the autonomy of these institutions and their subordination to the local environment. The economic mechanism is one that makes them dependent on institutions at a higher level (workplaces, industries, central and regional institutions) for

their fundamental growth potential. This dependence is a matter of subsidies, credits or approval of superior bodies. Being part of a centralized control continuum, the tourist sector has infinitely greater scope for action than the local sector since its economic, social and political power is a derivative of the power of the central and, to a lesser extent, regional authority groups.

This sector's institutions' control of financial, physical and human resources is carefully secured against any possible curtailment or even competition. Ensuring the inviolability of its power results in its continuous reproduction as an extraterritorial enclave. The mechanism institutionally guaranteeing this inviolability is a paradoxical lack of the institutionally guaranteed financial, legal and economic rules that set up causal, structural, functional and teleological interactions with the local environment. The absence of such rules makes possible the institutional blockage by the tourist sector of actions by the local economy that might enforce an allocation of incomes and distribution of costs corresponding to the scale of that sector's activity. That in turn enables the latter's costs to be passed along, covertly or overtly, to the whole local environment, and in the first place the local sector. The result is a steady process of depletion against which the local authority's only defence is the imposing of 'contributions'. The lack of financial, legal and economic regulations between the scale and nature of tourist sector activity and its consequences for the local environment is economically, socially and politically designed. It springs from a deliberate effort to guarantee the inviolability of the power of tourist sector institutions as a derivative of the power of the central authority groups. At the same time it makes for a development of the informal interdependencies and relationships between tourist sector and local sector leaders that are essential to regulating the principles of coexistence. In these interactions the tourist sector leaders carry, of course, markedly greater social weight and hold a far stronger hand in the battle of interests.

Over and above that, reproduction of extraterritoriality also

comes about through the tourist sector institutions autonomous desire to guarantee the intra-institutional inviolability of their assets. That encourages economic, social and political closure in utilization of their financial, physical and human resources and leads to particularization, atomization and circumscription of action in relation to the local environment which is too weak to resist. The local structure becomes a classic "common" on to which are deposited the internally rational but, in external impact, irrational consequences of the practices of the tourist sector institutions. The result is the cumulated stunting in its most glaring form of the development of urban infrastructural functions including the emergence of physical and technical barriers to the functioning of the whole structure.

The intra-institutional cause of exterritoriality reproduction is the typically bureaucratic economic and social logic that governs them. The key to understanding it lies in the absence of any direct interdependence between the position of authority groups and these institutions' leaders and their effective performance measured in terms of maximization of financial returns or utility. At the same time their growth potential, which is determined at a higher level, has little to do with their standards of efficiency. That encourages a tendency to utilize and expand their assets through procurement of external resources and transferring costs to the local environment. Duality is thus reinforced and reproduced as a result of exploitation inwards and lack of economic expansion outwards - that is, in relation to the local system and the tourist trade itself.

The interiority of the local sector is, as has been noted, an outcome of the economic, social and political interiority of all national, regional and local reproduction of labour power vis-a-vis the centrally administered and regional process of social production. This is due to a strategy of production maximization in which the labour power reproduction process is a relatively minimized cost of such maximization. As a result labour power reproduction becomes secondary and marginal relative to centrally administered and regional production.

This general cause of interiority is transmitted to the local sector through local production, consumption, exchange,

administration and culture institutions since it is precisely the labour power reproduction process that is the chief activity of the local and regional institutions of the local sector which are subject, therefore, to social closure and relative marginalization, the local sector coming under a system of externally determined institutional resource distribution which basically limits its economic, social and political expansion. The existing financial, legal, administrative, economic and, to a lesser extent, staffing rules create significant barriers not only to expansion but also to growth. In the town in question these are chiefly a matter of the financial, physical and human resources of state- and cooperative-owned enterprise plus, in the case of private ownership, the specification of formal ceilings on expansion. This leaves all local sector institutions with a minimum amount of economic, social and political leeway, contributing to their isolation and relative marginalization. Comparatively simple local labour power reproduction is the upper or optimum limit of this sector's development under the existing system of regulated resource allocation. This produces a fundamental, local-systemwide disproportion of resources as between the tourist and the local sector. The most the latter can do is minimize this disproportion; it cannot redress it. That leads to reproduction of the interiority of the local sector itself and of the duality of the functioning of the whole formal inter-relationships pattern.

Irrespective of these external causes, interiority is also reproduced through the bureaucratic logic of the operation of local sector institutions in the co-operative and state ownership sphere. This applies in the first place to the local co-operative enterprise which occupies a monopolistic position in the retailing of staple products and a hegemonistic one in meeting the consumer needs of the local population. It is an institution whose co-operative status is fictitious and which is, at the same time, a branch in all but name of a regional-level enterprise. The logic of its operation is subordinate to the regional and local co-operative authority groups' interest in maximum stabilization. Furthermore, reinforcement of stability

is not dependent on financial or utility results. That encourages a bureaucratic economy's typical short-term policy of minimizing costs and risks and shifting them onto the environment. Since the institution in question is not geared to maximizing income, the existence of a tourist trade, far from inducing any changes in the way it operates, actually compounds the tendency to minimize risk and expansion since the enormous consumer demand created by tourists ensures regular financial returns at no increase in outlays. Such a relatively parasitic mode of operation results in this institution largely squandering even the marginal growth opportunities that it possesses under the existing system of regulated resource allocation for labour power reproduction.

The next cause of reproduction of interiority is more closely associated with the resort character of the town per se. It springs from a contradiction between the operating and development logic of the local-sector state and co-operative institutions and that of private tourist consumption and the private family economies of the local population. The operating and development logic of state and co-operative institutions is neither subservient to maximization of financial gains nor are such gains a major motive of their activity. Furthermore, because the latter is bureaucratically regulated, that logic cannot be reconciled with the market logic of supply and demand of goods and services. To this must be added the obstacles in a bureaucratic economy to internal and external transformation of financial retentions into human and physical resources. However, the only motivations and stimuli flowing from the tourist trade consist of income subordinated, moreover, to the logic of supply and demand. This contradiction leads to a situation in which the tourist trade stands in the way of the growth or development of the local sector, thereby entrenching its interiority. That does not apply to private enterprise which, however, is restricted by regulated growth limits. The result is a lowering of the standards of labour power reproduction and difficulties in retailing services, personal transfers and health care.

A further consequence is an equally acute contradiction between state and co-operative institutions and the private

economy of the local population in which, in contrast with the former, it is precisely maximization of income which is the objective. That leads in extreme cases to the local state and co-operative sector being 'squeezed out' by the private economy, most typically in the area of real estate, which tends to block the development of such institutions as co-operatives.

5. The Informal Economic Framework

The runaway growth of tourism, out of all proportion to the existing infrastructure and its absorption capacities, has been an effective spur to the entrepreneurship of the inhabitants of X. As early as the sixties there ensued an accelerated reinstatement of the pre-war informal (non-institutionalized) framework. At this point it needs to be emphasized that it has never had a monolithic pattern, the predominant activities changing with the passage of time. However, the most widespread has been the letting of private accommodation. This illicit, but profitable activity was forcibly brought about by objective circumstances. Tourists stood next to no chance of obtaining accommodation in the existing transient hotels. We were told by the manager of one such, Tourist House, that he could put up barely one in 45 visitors. The remainder were forced to fend for themselves. The critical situation was not alleviated by the opening of a network of legal billets as their number was wholly incommensurate with the actual needs.

In the mid-sixties considerable changes took place in X's informal sector. The profitability of letting private accommodation precipitated an unprecedented building boom which in short order produced a rash of blockhouse-like structures containing numerous rooms designed solely for the use of tourists. Many of them were built on sites which had not been earmarked for single-family housing developments. One of the experts we interviewed, an architect involved in the framing of X's city plan, said that such encroachments could be attributed to 'corruption and family connections'.

The rapid growth of construction generated a substantial increase in demand for skilled and unskilled building workers. Also in demand were haulers illegally dredging gravel from the

river. Since such artisans were in short supply in X, they charged predictably high rates from the very outset together with a wide variety of "perks" (eg. liquor, meals). As a result of this specific shortage of labour there sprang into being freelance crews of workmen, chiefly masons, carpenters and joiners. Since they were not registered craftsmen, they were neither insured nor taxed. There were also semi-legitimate crews in which the foreman and his closest assistants worked legally and the remainder illegally. These independent gangs were most frequently employed on the house construction of the town's inhabitants, less often, on account of their exorbitant financial demands, on the lots acquired for holiday cottages by residents of Upper Silesia. Their owners tended to prefer to bring in outside labour, sometimes from distant localities, since they found the regular rental of taxis to shuttle workmen back and forth, even over long distances, cheaper than what they would have to pay for the illegal but very expensive services offered in X.

The illegal construction gangs paved the way to an expansion and diversification of activity in the informal sector. The most frequent practice was the employment of family, relatives or friends in supplying gravel and stone, grading land or cooking meals. According to our estimates, almost the whole of the local and inactive labour force has been mopped up by the non-institutional sector as a result of such "paternalism".

There are no indications in sight of any significant changes or regulatory measures within the informal framework of activity. Indeed, its existence or even further buoyant growth appears to have been boosted by a decision of the regional Voivodship authorities to permit private households to provide meals for up to 60 paying customers. The owner of such premises is not obliged to seek permission or fulfil any other formal requirements. This decision, with which the local authorities in X are none too happy, was dictated by the situation of the catering industry in the whole region which is incapable of meeting, even on a limited scale, the demand of the tourist trade. The Voivodship authorities' licencing of home catering in effect opens the door to virtually unrestricted economic activity by households.

As has been mentioned, almost the whole of X's unused labour force is now active in the informal sector. The chief occupations are:

- illicit letting of accommodation
- organization of dining facilities which, though legal, are not subject to institutional regulation
- employment in illegal jobbing crews
- provisioning and feeding of these crews, chiefly by the wives of employees
- supplying them with stolen building materials
- running an informal market (eg. supply of meat, poultry, milk and eggs to some caterers).

6. The Local Power Structure

From the early sixties, following the large-scale development in X of sports and tourist facilities, the village was more or less administered from the outside, the effective authority being exercised by ranking officials at the regional level. This situation continued and steadily petrified throughout the seventies. The first appreciable symptoms of change came, on the evidence of records and experts' statements, in the closing months of 1980. In this rather singular period, which saw the formation of a Solidarity branch in X, the local authorities embarked on the risky business of trying to detach the town (X was incorporated in 1973) from the four villages with which it formed a single ekistic entity). It was argued that X was a typically resort locality while the villages were typically agricultural, that the profits from tourism were funnelled into the whole unit, that the town needed 'to be its own master'. The canvassing of this separatist plan seems to us to have been designed as a specific 'test' of autonomy, and it was one that the local authorities failed utterly. All their efforts not only misfired but also exacerbated conflicts between the communities of the town and its rural environs. This also led to the formation of coteries among the members of the local government council.

The town itself continued to be an extraterritorial tourist and recreational enclave for the region and, more particularly,

for the employees of two branches of heavy industry: coal-mining and iron-and-steel. Effective control of the town's affairs remained in the hands of the regional administration and the industrial bureaucracy. Nevertheless, towards the end of the sixties there began a still ongoing process of coalescence of a local power elite. A considerable influence on the internal integration of this group was exerted by the mayor elected in 1969. The experts interviewed by us are divided in their assessments of this official's record. Those of them who belonged to the ruling elite of that time regard him as the first mayor of X worth speaking of and count his greatest service to have been securing for this elite a voice in decision-making affecting the town. Although local office-holders played only a subordinate role in the decision-making process, their power slowly but steadily grew.

From 1980 to the enactment of a new local government law in 1983 the situation basically remained one in which the local authorities were relatively impotent when it came to external pressures organized at the regional and industrial administration level. Certain changes were brought by the new law. It offered, for instance, the possibility of exacting a higher tax assessment on the hotels belonging to the mining and steel industry departments. It was then too that a 'contributational' policy was adopted towards enterprises constructing or expanding intramural vacation facilities in X. It consisted in charging developers a theoretically voluntary but effectively compulsory levy (of up to z1. 25 million) and requiring other contributions in cash or kind to civic development. This policy was, and continues to be, of limited long-term relevance and is evidence of the local authorities' lack of an overall vision of the town's growth and their impotence in dealings with the enterprise hotel owners and the regional and industrial administration.

The foregoing survey of the informal economic sector and the local power structure can be summed up in four basic conclusions:

1. Since the early sixties when interest in X and its sightseeing and recreational attractions increased abruptly its growth has been subject to the outside control, as it were, of

the regional and industrial authorities. The physical development over which they have presided was of a spontaneous and voluntarist nature that prevented the implementation of a comprehensive city plan.

b. Its non-implementation opened up a glaring gap between X's sports and tourist amenities (ski lifts and tows, jumping hills, pistes) and its urban facilities (shops, hotels, restaurants, cafes, bars) and infrastructure (water supply, sewage disposal, gas supply, roads). This gap was only partly filled by an informal sector effectively constituting as source of individual and family affluence in X.

c. Since investment in services and utilities is not going forward and the condition of the formal sector remains virtually unchanged, this gap continues not only to exist but even to widen, forcing extended reproduction of the informal pattern of relationships and reproduction of socio-economic duality.

d. The self-assertive measures undertaken by the local authorities in the eighties ('contribution policy') are limited in scope and are making no real difference to the logic of physical development.

7. The Local Cultural Pattern

Right from the start of our investigation we assumed that a natural consequence of the explosive influx of tourists would, in the culture sphere, be the effective incursion of new values into X's established axiological system. That assumption was confirmed by the evidence of institutional and independent experts and our own observations. The diffusion process had, however, a greatly facilitated passage. Neither X nor its immediate environs had evolved any distinctive type of micro-culture insulated against external impulses. There were no major traditions of folk art, ornamentation, embroidery, lacemaking, oral poetry, cabinet-making, painting, etc. Local dress was a replica of the Cieszyn style and architecture was simple, plain and stark.

In this situation, which can be termed a 'cultural vacuum', the local population happily absorbed models of behaviour and values, including the features of the new architecture, from

the incoming tourists, vacationers and owners of leisure homes. That may also account for the lack of harmony and style in X's development or, to put it bluntly, architectural mess.

All the experts not formally connected with the local authorities to whom we talked were unanimous in assigning the blame for such sprawl to senior officials in the local and regional administration, venal and ill-equipped for their jobs, since it was they who gave planning permission for the construction of private dwellings and hotels, however bizarre in design and out of tune with the town's mountain setting. But a significant part in the devastation of the landscape has also been played by the Upper Silesia industrial lobby. In the seventies, we were told by our experts, nobody sought the local authorities' approval of many major leisure and recreation developments and investment decisions were taken at the regional or even central level.

The town's authorities, culturalists and other experts are agreed that the mentality of the average inhabitant has been fundamentally and permanently altered by money. We have estimated that at least zł. 500 thousand flows annually into every household and it needs to be emphasized that the sums are far higher in the central sections of X where the turnover from informal tourist care is greatest. A ranking municipal official told us that it is this money that has killed all public initiative and any broader interest in culture, choked off volunteerism and bred aloofness to the problems of the town, leaving its authorities to cope unaided. It has also brought about a radical metamorphosis in individual axiological and normative systems. Reaping the maximum income from the informal system has become the supreme value to which all other endeavour is subordinated. The tidal inflow of money, say culturalists in X, is the chief cause of lack of interest in our problems and programs. The myth of Mammon is inculcated into children and culture is relegated to the distant background.

But it is not only money and the pursuit of it that have reduced the range and appeal of the programs organized by the local Cultural Centre. The stage has also been entered by the

Church, an extremely dynamic and enterprising institution in X, promoting a new denominational culture. It has proved more responsive to the interests of the young (for instance, providing computer games and micro-electronic toys) and better at satisfying them, in addition, the Church in X has made short work of overcoming certain conventions. The organizers of secular cultural events go so far as to claim that before long the clergy will be offering youth a new type of discotheque and definitively win them over to its side. 'We are helpless', says the chief such organizer, 'and unable for financial reasons to propose an alternative secular culture'.

8. Some Social Consequences of Duality Reproduction

In our examination of the different areas of social and economic life in X in which a pattern of duality is reproduced we focussed analysis on power phenomena and duality in the cultural sphere. It is time now to draw from this evidence some more general conclusions about the lasting social consequences of duality reproduction.

Social life in the town is organized along somewhat strange lines. Wherever outlets for social action spring directly from the existing normative system the latter can be subsumed under either one part or the other of the duality described. However, in many other, especially quotidian activities no such clearcut principle can be delineated since the population of X, though aware of the duality in its daily life, lacks an unambiguous axio-normative system telling it that a course of conduct is unequivocally 'good or bad'. The ambivalence in the social consciousness is matched by a similar ambivalence in the system of social control. As a result the corrective action taken by society against socially pathological behaviour by individuals or groups is also ambiguous. That is an indirect outcome of the social perception of the duality situation. There is, after all, in X a duality of power, both official (a formal external authority as well as the local authority) and the kind that sociologists call informal which can, however, play a very important role in the life of a local community. Informal power is exercised not only by the local administration, local authority figures, local pressure groups, etc., but also by the in-

formal external authority associated with the owners and patrons of the enterprise hotels, sports installations, tourist facilities, etc. A knowledge of this power configuration is necessary in daily life. There can therefore be seen in X an incohesiveness of axio-normative systems and an ineffectiveness of social control connected with the absence of unambiguous agencies for their mediation. This state of affairs has existed for at least several decades and is a permanent feature of social life. Predictably enough, it is also perceived in the socialization processes of the younger generation. As a result a certain vicious circle has arisen: socio-economic duality has had repercussions on the social life and social consciousness of the inhabitants of X which in turn encourage reproduction of that duality.

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THE ATTITUDES OF POLAND'S CIVIL SERVANTS TO
POLITICAL REFORMS

(as exemplified by analysis of the senior civil
servants' comments on consultations conducted
in the different provinces of this country)

The present paper is concerned with the attitudes found among this country's civil servants to the practical experience of, and expectations concerning consultations held in the selected provinces of Poland. The background material was the interviews with senior officers of the civil service from some 30 provinces and a number of central offices and ministries. Polled were the following officers (each province and office being represented by 3 such persons):

1. province governors (or vice-governors);
2. directors of planning committees of the Province People's Councils (PPC-s);
3. directors of PPC offices for organizational and legal matters;
4. heads of departments of the central offices.

The total number of those interviewed in 1987 was 120, out of whom 103 persons were selected as informants for the purpose of the studies. The interviews included 9 general and 17 detailed questions quoted in a further part of this paper. The polled were free to supply answers unrestricted both as regards the length and nature of their remarks. They were also guaranteed perfect anonymity. The adoption of this methodology has proven responsible for some essential drawbacks which occurred at the stage of the formulation of the conclusions, yet on the other hand the thus obtained background material is made up of confessions which can hardly be deemed insincere. The material inspired numerous interesting observations and conclusions providing a highly informative characterization of the attitudes of the

polled towards the political reform and mechanisms governing the operations of the political system relying on consultations as means of policy-making. The background material would not have been compiled and its analytical treatment would have been impossible were it not for the co-operation and assistance of the staff of the Centre for Postgraduate Education of Civil Servants.

The subject of consultations

The first question addressed to all the polled, concerned the fundamental questions which in the civil servants' view could be discussed with the citizens as part of decision-making process.

There are some observations that should be made before we proceed to the analysis of the answers the polled supplied to the question.

First, it is the distinction between the problems which must be submitted to consultation with the public opinion, and those which should be discussed with the nation before important decisions are made. For instance, the law on People's Councils (Article 7) provides that the Council may submit to public consultation draft decisions of key importance belonging to its terms of reference. Where other types of decisions are concerned the consultations are obligatory eg. the Law on Spatial Planning (Articles 13, 22, 27 and 29), the Law on People's Councils (Article 19), the Law on Planning in the Realm of Social and Economic Affairs (Article 22, 23). Thus, the local authorities are obligated to consult the citizens on some matters such as the setting of guidelines and draft plans of management. While, where other types of business are concerned such consultations are possible but not obligatory, eg. in examining the options of the key points of plans and draft plans (Article 41 of the Law on People's Councils).

Results of the enquiry largely indicate that the polled are well-acquainted with the existing legal regulations. The civil servants believe that the consultations should mainly concern the substance of the major acts and statutes including in the first place the draft one-year, many-year, and long-term plans. There were 55 such opinions among 103 responses to the question. Yet, there are also reasons to believe that the bureaucrats may, in

fact, be hoping that the consultations might be window-dressing procedure intended to lend credence to decisions which have already been made. This scepticism stems from the heretofore experience showing that consultations, both national and regional, meet with very limited interest both on the part of the individual citizens or entire communities, and that the authorities are practically free to define the objectives of development, and it is only the furtherance of such plans that involves real frictions of standpoints and attitudes.

That the changes and amendments proposed during the relevant consultations have always been too few to matter, may account for the highly favourable perception of the practice on the part of the polled officials realizing that the procedure is mostly make-believe.

One group of subjects for consultations pinpointed by those polled includes the measures to be taken in the individual realms of social policy such as education, culture, health, social pathologies, sports, tourism, welfare schemes, management of public utilities and housing problems (12), and moves aimed at reconciling the economic requirements with other needs (the allotment of outlays on industry, recreation and health care). This same category of subjects also comprises the opinions that the consultations should cover all the vital problems confronting the given community, every single matter essential to the lot of an individual (6), long-term projects effecting major social consequences eg. land reclamation, and other aspects of planning eg. budgetary expenses (6).

The following three important questions concerning the social consequences of economic activities ranked second among the questions the senior civil servants see as potential subjects of public consultations:

- 1) the general aspects of the planning country development (25);
- 2) the planning of new projects viewed in terms of their locations (21);
- 3) problems of environmental protection and sanitary protection of the area (9).

These three subjects involve similar implications with regard to the social consequences of the management of economic activities. The bureaucrats may therefore be willing to seek public approval or at least a tacit consent on the part of the local population to the construction in the given area of a nuclear power plant, a steel-mill, transit highways, dams or chemical plants, but show no such willingness where decisions on minor and strictly local matters are concerned, such as for instance the location of dumping grounds.

The social consequences of economic development now represent a very difficult problem confronting the bureaucrats. This country's local communities have long ceased to see new projects as a "godsend". They now tend to regard them as a source of local ills, such as deterioration of the living standards and health of the population inhabiting the given region. Consultations may thus become an aspect of social game involving favourable consequences such as increased public control of the measures taken by the authorities. The present writers are also inclined to believe that all these determinants might well make consultations on the afore-listed matters part and parcel of decision-making process in this country in not too-distant-a-future, given of course the appropriate level of civic activism in articulating the needs and interests of the local communities.

The matters to do with territorial division i.e. liquidating, coupling or division of local administrative units (24) ranked third among the senior civil servants' choices of subjects to be decided on in the course of consultations. In reality, the participation of local communities in the settlement of such matters has, as yet, been extremely limited and the citizens' concerned enjoy, but very insignificant autonomy in affecting decision-making in this respect.

Fourth on the list under discussion were placed the questions of special importance to the living conditions and the needs of the local communities (21), such as for instance, the opening hours of offices, shopping and service centres, as well as the efficiency of the public transport including its time-tables. The polled admit that these are the problems which may easily degenerate into public unrest and trigger ill-will towards the authorities.

The fifth group of subjects established as part of the poll on consultation priorities includes miscellaneous problems, such as: consultations of draft local regulations (6), political questions eg. selection of candidates for election to the Sejm or the Polish Parliament (2), draft resolutions of the People's Council and other legal acts (3), establishment of the rules of distribution of the scarce commodities and resources (5), the pursuit of voluntary collective work for the benefit of the community, the stimulating of civic activeness, the resources supplied by the community for the benefit of state-run projects (3), and also all other unspecified problems vital to the given area (6).

The need for consultations

The second question in the poll was: 'Does the local administrative agency you represent deem it necessary at the present moment to start a public debate on questions essential to your province and what questions should it possibly cover?'

This question appears to be a logical complement of the first question of the poll, for it is not only the bureaucrats' good knowledge of law and the related need for their consulting projected decisions with the local communities that are essential in terms of the implementation of the future law on consultations, but also the civil servants' sincere belief that such measures are not only necessary or possible but simply indispensable. By analysing the contents of and conclusions stemming from the interviews conducted with the senior officers one can therefore arrive at a definition of their alleged attitude towards consultations. Let us look again at the numerical data on the answers the polled supplied in connection with question 1.

Table 1

The basic questions belonging to the terms of reference of the province administrative apparatus its officers perceive to be the possible subjects of consultation with the local population R = 103

The subject of consultation	number of choices	%
1. Draft plans	55	30
2. Social consequences of the pursuit of economic activities including:	55	30
a) problems resulting from country development	25	14
b) new projects	21	11
c) environmental protection	9	6.5
3. The revision of territorial-administrative division of the region	24	11
4. Everyday problems confronting the population	21	11
5. Others	25	14
T o t a l	185	100

Table 2

Does your local administrative agency deem it necessary now to start a public debate on the matters essential to the life in your region and what subjects should it cover?

The subject of Public Debate	number of choices	
1. The improvement of efficiency of the work of shops, service centres and administrative units catering for the needs of the population	19	21
2. Environmental protection and the related problems	13	15
3. Problems to do with the social policy	9	10
4. Problems involved in country development	8	9
5. House-building	7	8
6. Development plans and the principles of their furtherance	7	8
7. Problems of economic reform	6	7
8. Agrarian economy	6	7
9. Territorial-administrative division	5	5
10. Seeing no need for consultations	9	10
T o t a l	89	100

In analysing replies to question 2 one can hardly fail to note that their number was half the figure obtained in the treatment of Question 1, the number of the polled being the same. This might mean, in the first place, that the civil servants see the need for consultation most of all as a legal, imperative, which in purely formal terms obviously represents an encouraging observation.

Moreover the analysis also seems to indicate clearly reluctant attitude to consultations held in the form of public debate on the part of the bureaucrats, for the polled tend to opt for restrictive interpretation of the relevant regulations. Other conclusions result from the comparison of the percentages making up the entirety of replies to this question.

The figures show that a large of the polled attach importance only to those problems that could potentially be subject of consultations, which, until the adoption of the law on consultations were not verbalized in the relevant legal regulations. They are most of all the problems relating to the essential aspects of the life of citizens and local communities such as:

- the operation of shopping and service centres (types of operation and opening hours);
- development of municipal and social infrastructure including public utilities;
- improvement of the efficiency of work of the bureaucracy intended to meet the expectations of the population;
- ensuring water supplies for agricultural needs;
- the improvement of the sanitary conditions in, and tidiness of work establishments and individual households;
- elimination of social pathologies;
- improvement in the work of commuter transport and long-distance transport operated by the state-owned enterprise - PKS;
- the making of initiatives on civic activeness (the so-called voluntary work for public benefit);

- management of the sales of the scarce commodities (coal, fertilizers);
- management of construction projects and housing-policy, and others.

The social pressure upon the bureaucracy seeking democratization of decision-making and consensus on irksome matters clearly arises both from the situation which is bad in objective terms, and is perceived to be bad by the individual bread-winners, and also from the growing aspirations of the people for participation in the making of decisions. When goods are in short supply, special importance is being attached to their fair distribution. In this context different types of consultations become all the more useful, which the polled had to admit with obvious reluctance rooted in the fact that distribution of goods (including the scarce ones) has always been a prerogative of the authorities that could be curtailed by measures introduced as a result of consultations. This explains why the bureaucrats in all likelihood wish the question of consultations were dealt with not now, but sometime in the future. Putting this question aside it is to be explicitly noted that it is only by finding solutions to long-term investment problems and those related to economic development of the given region that the mounting strains of fair partitioning of poverty can be effectively eliminated.

The bureaucrats can hardly be expected to welcome the idea of holding more consultations. When a socio-economic situation of the country is difficult, attempts to start reform of the operation of the system of government inevitably involve extra work to be done by the bureaucrats. Reform is also tantamount to the bureaucrats' giving up their old habits and learning new more democratic methods of work. This question is dealt with in more detail in a further part of this essay.

The third question was intended to establish whether the polled believe that the introduction of reforms is possible under the present circumstances. The results of the enquiry on this point are shown in the Table 3.

Table 3

It is possible under the present circumstances to hold such debates?

General sense of the answer		Number of choices	%
1.	Yes	42	36
2.	Maybe	58	49
3.	No	16	13
4.	Don't know	2	2
T o t a l		118	100

More than one third of the polled believe that reform of the economy and the state should be carried out under the present circumstances. The reasons behind the affirmative reply were diverse. Large part of the polled hold the view that the favourable determinants can be found in the legal and administrative acts now in force. Other stressed the proper atmosphere, the social discipline which they saw as products of the first reformatory measures and the related improvement in the socio-economic situation. Yet, almost 70 per cent of the members of the "Yes" category provided no explanation for their choice. Almost half the total number of the polled expressed their tentative approval of the projected measures. The additional question about the conditions requiring fulfilment before the start of proper reforms attracted 50 proposals differing both in terms of their substance and weight. These could be divided into 3 categories:

1. The elimination of certain adverse socio-political and legal determinants = 28 per cent.

This category includes the following observations:

- there are no conditions conducive to free expression of opinion by the people;

- there has been no real approval of the objective of the reform;

- the economic situation remains adverse; incessant growth of the costs of livelihood, and the absence of economic stability being the attendant symptoms;

- the people show no proper political experience;
- there are major legal obstacles (some important agricultural projects to do with land allotment and ownership can only be launched when approved of by at least 50 per cent of farm owners in a village);
- executive regulations should be established;
- the existing regulations need revising;
- wide-spread are social passivity, frustration, indifference and distrust;
- appropriate arrangements should be made with other partners (trade unions);
- a compromise should be found between the trend towards democratization and the pursuit of increased efficiency in the realms of decision-making, the launching of projects and tentures, and organization of activities.

2. The exclusion from consultations of certain realms of life in Poland and some social categories = 13%

Among the characteristic answers:

- consultations can only concern those realms where investments are not necessary;
- economics should be in focus and results of consultations should not encourage the making of claims;
- consultations cannot concern the question of prices or professional questions;
- the parties to consultations must show appropriate level of knowledge of the subject;
- consultations must include participation of experts in the subject;
- the problems submitted to consultations must be important enough;
- only intra-milieu debates should be permitted;

3. The fulfilment of specific technical and organizational conditions = 59%

The list of conditions which in the view of the polled must be fulfilled before consultations become part of decision-making process makes up bulk of the results of the enquiry. Among the examples:

- consultations must be efficiently conducted within well-defined time-limits (at least a dozen days);

- consultations must be well-prepared i.e. proposals should be presented in the form of options, so that choice could be made on the basis of carefully selected auxiliary instructive materials carefully selected featuring information on the implications and determinants resulting from the choice of a particular option;

- electronic data processors should be supplied for convenience of the participants, and analysts,

- the mode of the conduct of debate is essential (gatherings, coverage in the local press);

- teams of experts should be appointed for examination of the results;

- a pattern of concise and precise expression of opinion, and an optimum model of summing up the debates should be elaborated;

- subjects to be dealt with in the debate should be prepared in business-like, competent and comprehensive manner;

- the organizers should have at their disposal efficient facilities for printing and photo-copying and a sufficient amount of paper;

- the assistance of specialized institutions and organizations should be made use of.

One can hardly deny that each of the 3 points which the polled see as conditions of holding consultations in specific local circumstances may pose an important problem, which cannot be solved by establishing a relevant legal regulation, for it reflects determinants rooted in the present socio-political situation of this country. There are however good reasons to believe that the fulfilment of the three principal conditions upon the entry into force of the law on consultations would by no means be tantamount to the start of the new decision-making procedure. While, a comprehensive examination of the senior officers' opinions leads one to conclude that the views reflect conservative attitudes of majority of the officials. Those who do mind the proposed alteration of methods and style of work tend to invent ever new obstacles, difficulties, drawbacks and conditons which

must allegedly be fulfilled in order that they might approve of the changes. Such behaviour would not necessarily represent a reason for concern in a strong democratic state. Besides, it is natural that an official of a political organization should make inquiries intended to establish all the essential aspects involved in the projected making of an important decision. What remains to be done once the decision has been made is its prompt and optimum implementation. Other studies might enable more precise defining of the factual state of implementation of this principle, and also determination how big the officials' loyalty to their superiors in this respect is. Yet, that is not the point here. The senior officials in a socialist state shoulder some additional responsibilities consequent upon their membership in the party, observance of its statute and pursuit of specific goals and objectives as well as adherence to the principles of the operations of the state in the existing political-ideological context. This means more than just being loyal, it is also the question of the ingeniousness the official shows in the furtherance of political norms which are not linked directly to the duties of his job (the party recommendation for holding an executive post). In this context the overwhelming reluctance towards the law which, after all, has been part of the policy of reform pursued by the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party looks even more odd. Besides, the party's will and the related decisions had been made public long before the law assumed its final shape. These remarks hold true mainly for the third group of the polled, whose opinions were clearly negative (13 per cent of all choices). Regrettably the anonymity of the polled makes it impossible to provide a better sociological characterization of the group. What is known is the argumentation underlying the negative responses. Among the characteristic examples:

- there are no guarantees whatsoever of the implementation of proposals advanced in the course of the consultations; the people lack confidence in the effectiveness of the reforms, and economic situation shows no signs of stability;

- the people have no confidence in the bureaucrats;

- for consultations to be held abundance of resources is required, while such state is non-existent at the present moment;

- there must emerge signs of stability in the realization of the projects that are under way;

- consultations will only be possible when the general situation shows signs of improvement and a tangible progress of reform has been registered;

- prevailing now are self-centred attitudes and absence of a proper consciousness;

- there is no such need at the present movement, there would have to emerge a problem requiring settlement by administrative means affecting majority of the community concerned.

Numerous counter-arguments might be advanced of course to challenge each of the points belonging to the "no" category (and also those listed in the second group of opinions) some of which are clearly false. Yet, there is a more important fact which must be pointed to in this connection. It is the observation that all of the afore-quoted views are part of the "old-and-new" way of thinking whose principal characteristics are the following: (the order of appearance on this list being irrelevant).

1. the inaptitude to make wise use of the existence of self-centred attitudes. The civil servants contend that both themselves and everyone else should always be guided by the sense of responsibility and respect for all-national, public general interest. What they tend to quote as rationalization of this "demand" are ideas found in different doctrines and theories of the old, in which conflicts were described only in terms of antinomies-moral: good-evil, political: "for" or "against" (socialism, state, etc.); and those characteristic of the way of thinking regarded as typical of the police: "friend" or "enemy". The absence of sociological education represents in this context a stumbling block frustrating a practical acceptance of the theory that there has been a plurality of views on the social needs and interests. This precludes also the acceptance of the political concept of "agreement and struggle", a factor stabilizing the operations of state agencies. In the oncoming years, that in all likelihood will see the surfacing of contradictions and conflicts the bureaucrats could be confronted with a new situation they might not be able to control.

2. The belief that reforms can and should be pursued only

in the conditions of stability. This attitude is also inconsistent with the new political policy of the state: of introducing reforms in the situation showing little stability in view of the socio-political pressure. The experience of the seventies showed that such belief is expressed irrespective of the real conditions confronting its proponents and represents a manifestation of conservative attitudes rather than a realistic assessment of the current situation.

3. The conviction that the authorities alone can shoulder the mission of reform-making. This view is a product of low assessment of the political experience and abilities of the nation in general and the workers in particular, and of distrust in the people's maturity to create on their own, without the aid from the authorities, a reliable programme of development. It is also grows out of the authorities' belief in their special and unique responsibility for promotion of economic development and is reminiscent of the Byzantine style of exercise of power. All these attitudes are characteristic of the post-Stalinist pattern of social system deeply rooted in the turn of mind of those making up the 'power elite' and also constituting a barrier to the progress of the policy of reforms. Fitting in well with this pattern are also the characteristics once identified by A. Werblan:

- plebian despotism,
- plebiscite democracy,
- confidence in the all-mighty word, including the belief that censorship or an editorial in a newspaper are important attitude-forming factors,
- the promotion of stability rather than changes,
- distrust in the working people's maturity,
- the promotion of the 'zero option game' in the socio-political life (one person loses something for another to gain something),
- fear of excessive differentiation of the nation.

4. The belief that socio-political reforms can be most successfully implemented by Prussian means i.e. by legal regulations, convocation of meetings, appointment of committees, etc. The practical furtherance of this strategy has resulted in overproduction of regulations, resolutions, which beyond some cri-

tical point effect nothing but confusion, legal contradictions and fuel "juridical idiocies" and expectations that action can only be taken when a relevant legal act has been brought in. These remarks also concern the law on consultations whose novelty lies in the introduction of the institution of referendum and its implications.

The chances

The fourth question was: "Are there any vital questions confronting your province whose handling might involve an optimum utilization of the principle of co-operation between the administration and the people?"

The findings of the enquiry are illustrated in Table 4 for Question 3 shows a direct correlation with the substance of Questions 1 and 2. The potential areas of consultation are specified therein differently than in the previous enumerations, namely in 10 realms of local policy. Additionally, Table 4 features facts about replies to Question 7 whose substance was similar to that of Question 3. It went: "Are there now such vital questions which in the view of the members of the administrative apparatus can only be decided through a local referendum (public vote)?"

Results of this part of the enquiry taken as a whole show no significant difference from the previous findings reflecting attitudes of the polled. Yet, upon closer examination of the answers one can discover some distinctive features of the bureaucrats' perceptions of the ways in which the local population may express their needs and interests. Specifically, the polled seem to favour such co-operation with the local communities in which the subject-area of consultations is restricted to long-term plans, as well as questions relating to the laundring of a variety of projects including their locations, with the fundamentals being imposed by the official decision-makers, the inhabitants of the area being offered the opportunity of co-deciding on secondary matters only (22 choices). The second largest group of choices concerned which is not illustrated in Table 4, the problem of development, financing, objectives and sources of encouragement for the start of voluntary community work aiding the pursuit of projects and other economic undertakings envisaged in

long- and short-term plans (20 choices). Third ranked the realm of services for the population in the broadest sense of the term including health care, culture and education, which as illustrated in Table 4 ranked lowest (19 choices). These findings may be seen as important evidence gainsaying the charges that bureaucrats are too willing to co-operate with the local population. Such charges may be illegitimate, yet the key question is always what the bureaucrats mean by such co-operation.

To answer this question we must first look at replies the polled gave to the following auxiliary question: "What are the types of civic activity for which the principle of co-operation between the administration and the local population could be most successfully employed?" The findings are shown in Table 5. These can be compared with facts demonstrated in Table 6 concerning question 6: "How the province administration (its agencies) inquire into the citizens' opinions on plans, proposals and decisions respecting important local matters?"

The conclusions resulting from the comparison of facts demonstrated in Tables 5 and 6 are the following:

1. The number of replies to the question on the prospects of the implementation of the principle of co-operation between the administration and the local community was 3.5 times smaller than that obtained in the event of the question about the ways in which the administration find out about the citizens' attitudes to different questions. This indicates major scepticism among the polled as to the need for, or efficacy of this procedure.

2. The number of the existing and applied types of consultation significantly exceeds the number of those favoured by the polled. This may suggest that the heretofore types of consultation are largely formal or even unnecessary or at least too numerous.

3. The existing types of consultation have been applied in the realm of public organizations and institutions showing unbelievable degree of saturation with red-tape practices. In the light of studies indicating a low public appreciation of, or highly limited confidence in those organizations or institutions the heretofore consultations seem to have been irrelevant. The

credibility of the consultations' results seems to have been no bigger than the confidence the public opinion have in the inefficient organizations and institutions which is estimated at 20 per cent among the working class and a slightly higher figure among the nation taken as a whole*.

4. It is quite eloquent that the polled deem it necessary to extend direct forms of consultations with the nation which now make up the mere 9 per cent of all types of public opinion surveys. Although there is a substantial percentage of 25 among the senior civil servants coming out in favour of reforms including the said extension of direct consultations, the remaining conservative 75 per cent continue powerfully to determine the official policy-making trends.

Table 4

Findings on answers to Questions 1, 2, 4, 7

Realm of local policy	Question number									Average	
	1		2		4		7		number of choices	%	
	N.of choices	%	N.of choices	%	N.of choices	%	N.of choices	%			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1. Economy, industry, planning of economic development	100	54	28	31	58	47	14	31	200	45.45	
2. The operations of: local authorities, offices and institutions concerned with administrative problems, self-government agencies, socio-political organizations, etc.	38	20	10	12	13	11	14	31	75	17.05	
3. Public utilities, services for the population, food and consumer goods supplies	21	11	15	16	18	15	-	-	54	12.27	
4. Public order, social pathologies, environ-	12	7	13	14	15	12	2	5	42	9.54	

* Cf. publications concerned with this subject-area by the Institute of Studies in the History of Working Class of the PUWP Academy of Social Sciences and the Centre for Public Opinion Surveys.

Table 4 cont.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
mental protection, esthetic condition of the environment, clean- liness and order.										
5. Construction industry, housing policy	-	-	7	8	5	4	3	7	15	3.40
6. Agriculture	-	-	6	7	4	3	4	10	14	3.18
7. Budget, finance, tax matters	5	3	-	-	5	4	2	5	12	2.72
8. Health care (day-care centres, kindergar- tens, social care)							1	4		
9. Culture, sports, recrea- tion	9	5	10	12	5	4	2	5	28	6.36
10. Education							1	2		
T o t a l	185	100	89	100	123	100	43	100	440	100

Table 5

The potentially most successful types of co-operation
between the administration and the population

The most favoured types of co-operation	Number of choices	%
1. Assessment of proposed plans by socio- political organizations	11	14.28
2. Consultations with activists of socio- political organizations, representa- tives of the milieus concerned, debates meetings, conferences	8	10.38
3. Operations of people's councils (and their agenices), and institutions for promotion of group interests	8	10.38
4. Polls, public opinion surveys, press, radio	8 11	14.28
5. Bodies for assessment of proposed plans	5	6.49
6. Direct contacts with self-governments, participation in community meetings, exchange of opinions with individual citizens or groups of citizens, and the like	18	23.37
7. Pursuit of, or aiding civic initiatives	9	11.68
8. Other types of general consultations	7	9.09
T o t a l	77	100.00

Table 6

The means of investigating public feelings currently
availed of by the administration

Types of consultations	Number of choices	%
1	2	3
1. Consultations with socio-political, co-operative and youth organizations held in a variety of mostly indirect forms (through mediation of local chapters of Polish United Workers' Party, United Peasants' Party, Provincial Association of Labour Unions, Union of the Socialist Polish Youth and others)	50	
- inter-factory associations of labour unions, consumers' unions	60	21.97
2. Consultations with the territorial self-government of inhabitants and its agencies	23	
- rural (and municipal) gatherings	40 17	14.65
3. Operations of people's councils and their agencies	25	
- agencies for promotion of group interests taken as a whole	4	
- meetings of deputies and councillors	3 35	12.84
- PRON* - organized meetings	2	
- as part of electoral campaigns	1	
4. Indirect consultations with staffs of work establishments through mediation of the members of the management	24	8.79
5. Consultations with organized local, and vocational milieus, and scientific-technological organizations and associations	23	8.42
6. Consultations with senior civil servants and administrative agencies:		
- local administrative agencies	6	
- heads of administrative units, departments, heads of economic units	4 20	7.32
- village representatives (or their councils)	9	
- public utility institutions (schools)	1	

* PRON = The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth

Table 6 cont.

1	2	3
7. Consultations with advisory bodies (the province governor's Civic Consultative Council; province Socio-Economic Council, experts, independent experts, ad hoc consultative teams)	18	6.59
8. Through the media: press debates, press conferences, press campaigns	17	6.22
9. Sociological studies' methodological arsenal (different types of polls including polls launched by the Centre for Public Opinion Surveys)	6	
- the consideration of opinions and motions contained in complaints and letters from the citizens	12	4.39
10. Direct types of consultations including:		
- direct meetings between officials and various social groups	5	
- meetings with socio-economic activists	6	
- the province governor's emergency hot line	5	24 8.79
- public presentation of draft decisions	5	
- direct contacts with citizens in the course of administrative proceedings concerning their affairs	3	
T o t a l	273	100

5. The creation of a new pattern of consultations would necessitate a more explicit definition of the objectives set forth in the new policy, for in the present circumstances there is no certainty as to what is essential and what is quite irrelevant.

The practical experience

Question 5 concerned the local administration's perception of the past consultations held in their respective regions. The replies reflected the bureaucrats' attitudes towards two principal subjects submitted to consultations:

- 1) long-term plans of socio-economic development,
- 2) the possible proposals on changes in the administrative division of a province.

The findings are illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7

O p i n i o n	Plans of socio-economic development		Proposed changes in the territorial division	
	Number of choices	%	Number of choices	Percentage of the replies
1. Very favourable and unequivocally favourable	34	33.3	13	37.14
2. Favourable with some reservations	28	27.45	-	-
3. Descriptive judgment including critical remarks	20	19.60	13	37.14
4. Negative	16	15.68	1	2.85
5. There have been no consultations	3*	2.94	8**	22.85
6. No judgment, no replies	1	0.98	67/65.7%	-
T o t a l	102	100	35/102	100

* concerns the central offices

** concerns opinions expressed as part of the enquiry

An assessment of the heretofore consultations on plans of socio-political development

A favourable or highly favourable assessment of consultations on plans of development prevails among the opinions of the polled (33 per cent). Most of such replies include extensive explanations of the choices in which a variety of advantages the employment of this method of investigating public feelings involves are pointed to. The polled specifically believe that the consultations:

- gave birth to numerous important business-like remarks and ideas which helped to identify the major and most urgent objectives rooted in the public needs;
- effected a greater mutual understanding of the existing needs and opportunities, and also of the prerequisites of their

fulfilment;

- helped socio-political organizations to solidify their positions, and also to develop a sense of being truly co-responsible for the present state and the future of the area in which they operate, instead of being helpless partners challenging all decisions announced by the authorities;

- brought about a greater understanding that agreement and compromise are indispensable a precondition of the public opinion's approval of administrative decisions;

- produced motions with implications reaching beyond the time limits of plans submitted to public opinion survey; the motions have been used to map out long-term trends of development.

Here is one of the opinions characteristic of this category of statements:

"I guess it is no exaggeration to say that the consultations on the fundamentals of long-term plans produced a huge package of motions and proposals. Almost all social surroundings showed utmost concern about the problems submitted to consultation. Discussions were business-like but sometimes also difficult and frequently prolonged as a result of the pressure upon the authorities to extend the list of objectives scheduled for realization, or greatly to increase spending on the particular realms of local activity.

Yet, in most cases the proposals and comments advanced in the course of consultations effected the creation of final versions of plans which envisaged investment outlays needed to ensure gratification of most urgent social expectations.

The heretofore experience of the conduct of consultations indicates that draft-long-term plans elicit intense debates especially at sessions of the Province People's Councils.

All told the consultations appear to have been business-like and useful.

The second, less numerous category of the favourable opinions comprises replies including critical qualifications (27 per cent). This group of the polled admitted that the procedure applied in the course of the consultations was generally correct and produced favourable results, yet in the own words of the pol-

led:

- in some rural areas and also in big urban centres the poll turn up was very limited;

- consultations were held at times of low civic activeness of the population;

- representatives of self-government of inhabitants of some areas played a relatively marginal role in public debates;

- in villages and hamlets consultations took account only of opinions aired by heads of rural communes and influential parts of their councils;

- no general rural gatherings were held in order to discuss the vital problems confronting the communities concerned, including those to do with development of the area;

- teams of instructors should have been organized for the presentation of matters submitted to consultation;

- some large social categories were not polled for various reasons (e.g. artists, free-lancers etc.);

- the councillors of Province People's Councils in some cases showed little involvement in the consultation campaigns, in spite of their good knowledge of problems in question; and so did youth organizations (the major reasons being mismanagement of their operations, small interest in consultations on the part of the organizations' leaderships, and also the absence of real determination among those responsible for the conduct of consultations to find out what the young generation think of the problems under discussion .

The drawbacks of the conduct of consultations was their excessive prolongation, inadequate and obsolete methods and techniques of enquiry applied.

The heretofore consultations have proven unproductive due to existence of regulations on socio-economic planning and budget-related matters which restrict decision-making opportunities, let alone utilization of results obtained in the course of the consultations. The central administration keep exercising ever increasing control of the said realms.

The past experience indicates the need for extending the scope of consultations concerning long-term plans of socio-economic development. It seems advisable to continue public opinion

surveys on long-term plans, including a new type of procedure: consultations on the key points of one-year plans`.

`Draft socio-economic plans and proposals on changes to be introduced into the basic territorial division within a province (concerning the extension of the territory of the city of Lublin) have been submitted to consultations covering a relatively narrow range of representatives of public opinion. They were: local people`s councils, committees for representation of the residential quarters` and local self-governments as well as chapters of social and political organizations including the PRON (the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth). The enquiry covered therefore institutions; the fact which may be looked upon as one putting in question reliability of the poll intended to produce information on overall public feelings. That there were basically no direct consultations with citizens appears to have been an important drawback of the procedure applied`.

`Highly favourable judgment of results of consultations can only be made where contacts with organizations and representations speaking for inhabitants of a province are concerned. Debates held within rural communes or at individual work establishments gave birth but to token results which could easily have been anticipated in view of the contents of plans including no points the small social surroundings could find interesting.

The major effect of consultations was the growth of public resentment at the pressing problems which could hardly be solved in the imminent future such as: inavailability of flats, schools, doctors, teachers, components and resources, growing costs of livelihood, etc.`.

`Consultations failed to yield results as to purposefulness and likelihood of such translocation of means and resources within the individual projects that could meet with public approval, for majority of opinions and proposals advanced during the consultations concerned the extension of investments as well as repair and modernizing operations exceeding the available capacities .

Regrettably, large part of legitimate motions could not be taken account of due to shortage of means and resources,

which for natural reasons discouraged the citizens from active participation in consultations`.

`The heretofore discussions included but imprecise definitions of the tasks confronting the nation (and its individual social categories) as part of furtherance of objectives set in socio-economic plans. This has led to the emergence in the course of consultations of new demands which in many cases could hardly be satisfied even in the years to come`.

`Results of consultations on long-term socio-economic plans indicate that the polled too often show no realism in the assessment of the available resources which do not suffice to meet the ever growing public expectations, nor do they seem to care how the missing resources could possibly be obtained`.

`At the stage of the creation of a plan controversies often flare up over the location of new projects, especially those belonging to the realms of public utilities and state-run house-building necessitating the allotment of ever new areas. In the course of consultations decisive majority of the participants have come out in favour of development of the infrastructure of public utilities and acceleration and growth of house-building. Everybody wants to participate in the solving of these pressing problems up to the point when location of a project is selected. Then self-centred attitudes begin to surface. For instance, the plan of development of the town of Zakopane (an extremely popular resort in Poland's highest mountains down South) envisaged, in line with numerous proposals, the definition of a number of optional locations of state-run housing projects. One of the options was the town of Poronin, another important tourist and holiday-making centre in the Tatra mountains. This proposal triggered a flood of protests, so did the plans on locations of new housing estates in the towns of Rabka, Mszana Dolna, and Gorlice and also of a refuse dump at Gorlice.

`In my view the participants in the consultations have found it very difficult to feel into the position of decision-makers. In many cases the views expressed by the polled reflected their interested motives. We still lack sufficient political education and culture`.

The third largest group of opinions includes numerous im-

precise and vague judgments (19%) and very brief comments, which in the view of the polled exemplified a very small interest in such problems on the part of the public opinion. The isolated opinions of participants in the consultations concerned minor matters which in most cases were not taken account of in the final versions of plans. This must have been responsible for the officials' belief in the ubiquity of self-centred attitudes, interested motives, commitment to the pursuit of private interests, primitive articulation and exchange of opinions, attachment to formal acts and procedures.

A clearly negative judgment can be found in opinions by some 15 per cent of the polled: It stems mainly from the widespread belief that consultations on plans should involve absolutely presentation of the investigated problems. This viewpoint certainly deserves endorsement, yet there are reasons to believe that such objective presentation is not always possible. The activeness the individual citizens and entire social categories show in the process of consultations and their capacity to view things in a comprehensive manner depends upon numerous factors and the achievement of a consensus on the most sensitive matters by a large number of citizens. Another important factor the polled pointed to is the given community's efforts to ensure that decisions should be made in the social surroundings where the problem arises. This trend often illegitimately referred to as an extreme of self-centred attitudes, is only a public response to excesses of centralized rule and increasingly aggressive intrusion of the state and its policies upon the privacy of citizens.

This is illustrated by the following remarks of the polled: "The real impact the public opinion exerts upon decision-making concerning plans (regional plans for example) and their final shape is relatively small, due to the presence of enormous number of problems to be solved concerning, new projects for health care and education purposes confronting various parts of the province. The proposal on construction of the province's central hospital contained in the draft regional plan stirred up much reluctance and controversy in the context of budget cuts introduced in other realms of regional planning, even though se-

eminently there was a general agreement as to the need for purposefulness of efforts geared to the improvement of the work conditions of health service and its resources. However, "Yes" would be the prevailing reply on projected construction of a health centre in a particular village, and not on a start of construction of the given province's largest medical centre, a substitute for small local clinics".

"My assessment of the heretofore experience of consultations is negative, for decentralization of management has been attended by transmission of decision-making powers to local authorities which are best acquainted with the needs of their region. Local communities are concerned in the problems confronting their surroundings, and not the matters facing the entire province. Thus consultations should in the first place be pursued locally".

"Participants in the consultations have showed no substantial interest in all-provincial problems and consequently gave no significant contribution to the discussion of such problems. It was only on points concerning specific social surroundings or localities that one polled showed real interest and advanced innumerable proposals. This situation not only prevents creation of plans taking proper account of the needs of province taken as a whole but may even trigger social frictions".

However, self-centred attitudes are motivated by a variety of reasons. No wonder that part of the polled expressed unfavourable opinions in this connection including for example the following observation:

"The heretofore consultations in our department have been a waste of time. In late 1985 we were discussing the ceilings to be set for house-building industry for the years 1986-90. The debate produced no practical results at all. The participants in the discussion warned that inavailability of flats for the employees of enterprises providing production or services most vital to the life of this country and our region is bound to effect severe staff shortages. It was demanded that an upward revision of the original plan of house-building submitted to public discussion should be made. To no avail".

"Consultations on plans have produced no essential results.

Some 10 per cent of the proposals advanced were constructive, while the remaining 90 per cent reflected purely self-centred attitudes of various groups representing the interests of their own localities. The representatives were so sure of success of their action that having learnt of their fiasco started to send innumerable complaints calling in question the wisdom of the holding of consultations. Such behaviour reflected the failure to understand the real purpose of a public debate`.

`Consultations were useless. The practical agenda of social gatherings held in our residential estate included only the presentation of information on current problems confronting the residents, followed by exchange of views on these questions. The members of the gatherings failed to go beyond the realm of everyday affairs, ills and strains. The turn up was small. At meetings held at work establishments the participants formed no real representation of the employees. It was political and social organizations that showed more interest in consultations. The proposals advanced in the course of consultations, for instance those concerning plans of development of the region were never dealt with after the debate.

It is unnecessary to draw up optional versions of one-year plans and hold consultations concerned with the options. The heretofore experience leads one to believe that proposals submitted to consultations are not adequate and imprecise, for at the stage of drawing up the options of one-year plans we can hardly provide a correct assessment of means and resources available for the furtherance of the individual options, for it is not us who can make the relevant decisions`.

The assessment of the heretofore consultations on the proposed changes in the territorial division of provinces

Unlike the response on the preceeding problem, the comments on changes to be introduced in the territorial division of this country were not numerous. There were 35 replies (given by one third of the polled), which seems to indicate a clearly local nature of the investigated problem. The figures listed in Table 7 prompt the conclusion that the favourable assessment of consultations was the prevailing attitude (37 per cent) at those

localities where the changes were proposed.

In explaining their decisions the polled stressed that: "There was a series of consultations on the changing of the boundaries of the administrative units which eventually led to the public approval of the projected alterations". The polled also believed that "no such changes would have been made had the population turned the proposal down".

"That the proposals on changes in the administrative division stir much controversy lends credence to their organization. There have been numerous calls demanding such debates. Well-worth restoring are consultations on questions relating to administrative division especially now on the threshold of the 2nd stage of the economic reform. The central authorities' attitude to such debates used to be different, critical voices were simply muzzled".

"Consultations on questions involved in territorial division are indispensable and should include the rural population's presentation of their views at rural gatherings. Three matters have been discussed at such meetings over the past 2 years".

"Consultations on projected changing of the boundaries should be assessed favourably - there have been numerous meetings and gatherings at which the citizens showed great activeness and interest in the problems submitted to consultation".

"The consultations have helped to prevent the occurrence conflicts and frictions within local communities".

"Consultations have been just as difficult as necessary. They helped to select the options which appear to be optimum in terms of public interests".

The second group of replies just as numerous as the first contained a lot of interesting information on the role such consultations play in the life of a local community. The polled generally made no judgments as to the legitimacy of such consultations, yet their replies included some critical overtones. The criterion the polled seem to have worked from was public interest. However, some of the senior civil servants also appear to have misconceived the sense of the term. The replies were also largely determined by the personal views of the polled on the optimum means and methods to be employed in the creation of a

strong state and their reluctance towards involvement in defusing local conflicts and a general scepticism towards the grassroots' perceptions of public interest.

Among the characteristic comments:

'Consultations on the projected changes in the administrative division have failed to produce desirable results because they were dominated by 'parochial', self-centred views of the citizens of individual villages and hamlets, rather than by statements reflecting genuine concern about public welfare in the broad sense of the term.

'The year 1983 saw the establishment of one commune of Rososz in our province following the grassroots pressure upon local authorities'.

'This question has not been raised recently. The proposals advanced in the course of electoral campaigns organized to select appointees for the posts of councillors in People's Councils and deputies of the Sejm (the Polish Parliament) have always been dominated by the pursuit of further atomization of the existing units of administrative division, and creation of small communes. Such trends reflected self-centred attitudes taking no account of public feelings. Consultations intended to win public approval of a fusion of small communes located next to each other or one another could, in all likelihood, trigger major frictions between the local population and the authorities. The results would be absolutely different from the expectations of the bureaucrats'.

'Where changes in the administrative division are concerned two consultations have recently been conducted concerning the restoration of commune of Tarnówka and of the municipal privileges of what now is the village of Miasteczko Krajeńskie. Both debates indicated public approval of these proposals. However, the procedure that followed resulted only in the restoration of commune of Tarnówka.

The bureaucrats believe that all such consultations will always produce favourable assessment of the proposed measures, despite the absence of rationalizations legitimizing the implementation of the proposed decisions, the case of Miasteczko Krajeńskie being one example of the contradiction in question. In

this specific event sober analysis indicates the need for a separate creation of a town of 1200 inhabitants`.

`The proposals on changes in the administrative division were submitted to consultations on the turn of 1986. The result was the rejection of the proposed changing of the boundries of the city of Łódź and the fiasco of the concept of integrating the city and commune of Ozorków. While, the other proposals belonging to this subject-area have met with complete or partial approval on the part of the local communities. The consultations effected the alteration of some proposals. The revision included both restriction of some original plans (the environs of the towns of Zgierz and Pabianice) and extension of others (the localities of Aleksandrów and Ozorków). Among the factors responsible for rejection of the original proposals:

- the inconsistency of the proposals with the interests of local influential lobbies;
- the fear of inhabitants of the outskirts of large cities of losing their individuality and being swallowed by the urban giant of the city of Łódź`.

`Consultations with the local population on changes in the administrative division enabled the introduction of amendements into the original plans. However, in some cases consultations failed to produce such results due to insufficient commitment on the part of the citizens` concerned`.

`The heretofore experience of consultations on the matter under discussion indicates the powerful impact the local sentiments stemming from different sources and those aroused by different social categories before the start of public debates have had upon the outcome`.

`The past consultations on administrative division yielded results indicating the need for further atomization of a province, meaning the weakening of the basic administrative units.

The underlying reason is the fact that the organization of consultations has been inspired by those social groups which because of their highly emotional attitude to the problems submitted to public debate, show little understanding of objective determinants of the existing situation and disregard the prin-

ciples of the economic reckoning`.

Only one official participating in the poll demonstrated a clearly negative attitude. Here is his argument which we forbear to comment upon.

`After the many years of existence of the basic units of territorial division we have arrived at the conclusion that four communes with the lowest numbers of inhabitants and the poorest in terms of socio-economic infrastructure should be liquidated.

The proposed changes of the territorial division of the province won political approval. It met with no opposition on the part of province authorities and the authoritative influential institutions. The draft plan was submitted to public debate in the units that were to be affected by the proposed changes. At all meetings held as part of consultations, even in the localities which might irrefutably benefit from the alterations the proposals were turned down. The arguments advanced against the changes were clearly irrational. This experience seems to prompt a rather controversial conclusion that proposals on changes to be introduced into the administrative division should not be submitted to consultations with inhabitants of the localities concerned for their opinions will never be favourable`.

Local referendum

Question 7 has partly been discussed in the preceding parts of this paper.

It is to be noted yet again at this point that it was the institution of referendum as a form of direct participation of citizens in decision-making that triggered the major controversy on the proposed law on consultations. The inclusion of the institution of public vote in the procedure of consultations involves major difficulties both in practical and theoretical terms. These were reflected in the law providing for a `rotten compromise`: the establishment of the requirement of 50 per cent majority of those entitled to take part in public vote, who are supposed to be `for`, or the outcome of the referendum has no binding force for the agency which has ordered organization of the referendum. The legal regulations existing in the different states include no such requirement, it is an absolutely unique

invention of this country's bureaucrats. We shall look into this point again in a following part of the present argument.

On the basis of the free statements made in borader contexts, the following distribution of opinions held by the polled on applicability of the institution of referendum for the settlement of matters essential to the life of the population of the given province has been established. The results are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

The civil servants' attitudes towards the institution of referendum

The attitude to the institution of referendum	Number of choices	%
1. For	43	42.57
2. Against	9	8.91
3. Don't know	42	41.58
4. No answer	7	6.93
T o t a l	101	100

The figures listed in Table 4 demonstrate that in the view of the civil servants the institution of referendum should mainly be employed for studies concerning the realm of the planning of economic development (31%). It has been proposed that a referendum should concern such questions as: location of industries, decisions crucial to the character of towns and cities (development of industry or creation of spas), location of projects and plans producing environmental pollution etc. In second place (also 31%) among the choices concerning the potential uses of the referendum came matters relating to the work of the authorities, including for example, territorial division of a province, arrangements concerning the selection of decision-making centres authorized to decide some administrative problems.

The other preferences chosen by a much smaller number of the polled were such questions as: construction of water reservoirs, creation of local budgets etc. The general conclusion resulting from analysis of the obtained material is that major

rity of the polled not only raise no objections against the institution of the referendum but also declare appreciation of its application. The firm opponents of the institution explain their positions by quoting a variety of reasons including the following:

- the major questions were decided through the referendum 40 years ago, there are no such questions now;
- this type of public opinion survey is no good because the people are too passive to provide desirable number of sincere responses;
- there are no such local matters that need deciding through a referendum; it is the question of purposefulness of establishment of the office of President of Poland that should be decided through a referendum, not local problems,
- People's Councils have been efficient enough in deciding important problems.

It seems there is no need to comment on these opinions. There are however reasons to believe that they are not accidental. They all reflect a general prejudice against direct forms of consultation. This theory can again be legitimized by looking into answers to Question 9: "Do you think that under the projected law results of consultations should be looked upon as binding by the decision-making agency or not and why?"

Table 9

Should results of consultations be binding on
decision-making agencies?

Opinion	Number of choices	%
1. Yes	43	35.83
2. No	60	50.00
3. Don't know	17	14.17
T o t a l	120	100.00

Findings illustrated in Table 9 prompt the supposition that the support the polled lend to the institution of the referendum is not sincere. Half of the "Yes" answers concern only

the question of the referendum, while the other half covers all other forms of consultations. This group of the polled stress that the crux of the referendum is the result unequivocally binding upon decision-makers. This leads one to believe that not more than 30% of the polled genuinely approve of direct participation of citizens in decision-making. Moreover, large part of the polled advance the following additional qualifications:

- subjects to be decided through referendum must be very carefully selected;
 - referendum can only be held to decide matters defined by relevant acts;
 - only local problems should be submitted to referendum.
- While, the proponents of the institution point out that:
- referendum could activate civic energy;
 - the authorities should respect the will of majority of the nation;
 - results of referendum must be binding upon the authorities; province governors refusing to recognize the results should step down from their offices, and the councils disapproving of public decisions should disband;
 - the introduction of the practice of holding referenda might help the authorities develop the habit of prudent and serious consideration of views expressed by the public opinion;
 - the holding of referenda would be a practical expression of the constitutional principle of social democracy;
 - the refusal to recognize the results of a referendum would be seen as a sign of arrogance of the authorities, it could also trigger frictions between the authorities and the population, undermine public confidence in the authorities, give rise to a sense of frustration among the people, and put in question this state's commitment to the principles of democracy, etc.

The opponents of establishing the rule that results of consultations (58%) are binding on the authorities quote other reasons. Most of them (60%) contend that:

- consultations are only auxiliary instruments for investigation of public feelings, rationalization of decisions and setting guidelines of future activities.

The second category (30%) includes opinions based on pragmatic bureaucratic type of rationale. In explaining their negative attitudes towards the obligatory nature of consultation results the polled point out that:

- recommendations resulting from consultations may not be realizable due to the possible shortages of means and resources or other local unfavourable determinants (8%);

- the imposition of the duty to carry into effect the said recommendations upon the authorities would mean the responsibility shift from the authorities onto the participants in the consultations (7%);

- the recommendations established during consultations take no account of the comprehensive treatment of the individual problems, and in most cases are inconsistent with the general public interest, the rules of economic game, the principles of government and management, moreover the adoption of the rule on the binding force of the recommendations precludes the possibility of rejection or alteration of decisions inconsistent with all-national policies (15%).

The third category of the "No" arguments are clearly demagogic assertions. Among the examples:

- decisions cannot be made without a proper knowledge of the given realm of decision-making,

- participants in consultations are always guided by interested motives;

- the present decision-makers know best,

- referenda must not involve any obligations;

- consultations by their very nature concern the particular and not the general.

The group showing indecision (14% of all choices) on the obligatory nature of consultation recommendations quote a number of factors and determinants on which their choice would depend. Among the questions they raise:

- "Will consultations help to accelerate the achievement of the objectives set as part of local development plans?"

- "What is the significance of questions submitted to consultation?"

- "What are the specific types of problems to be discussed.

What is the purpose of consultations. What are the current means and resources and other determinants essential to the implementation of the recommendations?"

This same group of the polled draw a distinction between the 'obligatory' category of problems (e.g. environmental protection) and the 'non-obligatory' ones, and believe that:

- the outcome of a public debate can be submitted to a referendum (with 'obligatory' result),

- referenda should be applied for consulting public opinion on all-national matters, whereas participation in similar polls concerning local matters requires the knowledge of the area and its inhabitants,

- the employment of a referendum for investigating public feelings depends upon the current socio-economic situation.

The presentation of the opposed standpoints leads one to believe that each of them includes legitimate remarks, which in turn prompts the conclusion that there is no simple, unequivocal answer to the question under discussion, whose principal advantage lies in the fact that it helps better to understand the views of senior civil servants on consultations and their preferences as to what they perceive to be an optimum mode of government. Those who totally disapprove of consultations can always invent reasons against them: legal, political, sociological etc. One can therefore hardly expect those who do not believe in democratic forms of government to use them. Besides, the proclamation of the introduction of democratic methods of government can hardly effect truly democratic rule when there are no local social conditions conducive to the furtherance of the proclaimed transformations.

One of the social conditions is the frequently quoted local specificity of the individual communities. Discussion of replies the officials supplied on this point, being also the last question of the poll, is essential to the adequate examination of this problem.

Local specificity

The last question was: "Does your province show local specificity helping or hindering co-operation between the bureau-

cracy and the population. Where does the specificity lie?

Out of 94 replies to this question 62 or 66% were negative (including those indicating the absence of a clear opinion). The remaining 32 officials (34%) identified 65 characteristics.

1. The largest group included characteristics concerning a variety of sociological differences entailing difficulties in establishing proper contacts with the bureaucrats (19 replies or 30%);

- the presence of two vocational categories among the inhabitants of the given area (workers and farmers) responsible for the emergence and expression of the different needs and expectations;

- low density of population;

- differences between communes and towns and cities brought about by the 1975 decision on the splitting of provinces, including dissimilar activeness of inhabitants of the former and the latter;

- the fragmentation of farming;

- dissimilar determinants of development of social aspirations;

- absence of well-developed social ties;

- the parochial complex;

2. The relative affluence of local communities (7 replies - 11%);

- high average pay (other provinces);

- high standards of agricultural skills and knowledge;

- abundance of means, resources and property;

- the US dollar worship;

3. Disproportions in the balanced development of a province revealed by comparisons of the state of industry and the condition of agriculture, and also of the achievements registered by industry, agriculture and health care (including the spas) - (7 replies - 11%).

4. The specificity rooted in the low standards of socio-economic development (6 replies - 10%) including the following features:

- few towns and cities and a minimum area of arable lands;

- low public discipline;
- low technical and technological standards;
- poor standards of transportation within a province;
- unique shortages of supplies for the consumer market.

5. The positive social characteristic of local communities (5 answers - 8%):

- high social discipline;
- hard-working population;
- high civic activeness;
- big number of voluntary operations for the benefit of the community;
- co-operation with the bureaucrats.

6. Historical determinants (4 replies - 6%):

- the past ethnographical divisions;
- location in areas adjoining the former borders of the lands which were incorporated to Prussia, Russia, and Austria under partitioning acts imposed upon Poland by the three powers in the 18th century, (Poland regained those lands in 1918 in the wake of World War I).

7. Ecological problems. Conflict between industry and environment (3 replies - 5%).

8. Conflict triggered by excessive dominance of the capital over the rest of the province (2 replies - 3%)

9. Others (10 replies - 15%):

- adverse birth-rate;
- highland being part of arable land;
- the presence of workers' movement traditions;
- big number of nationals of other states;
- dominance of socialized agricultural economic units;
- weak socialized farming;
- the inhabitants' belief that their province's contribution to the national income exceeds the central subsidies for the province;
- complicated administrative division;
- specificity of the operations of sectors subordinated to the individual ministries.

The fact that two thirds of the polled see no specificity helping or impeding their co-operation with the local population needs commenting upon. Is the proportion big or small? In the light of the afore-quoted opinions of proponents of the theory that such specificity exists it appears to be small. However, upon the employment of another research methodology the result could be quite different. After all, specificity may mean anything, consequently being either a booster or an impediment. This leads us to believe that local specificity is not essential to the implementation of the law on consultations. It includes distinctive features of: the social conditions in which the authorities and their agencies operate; the personnel and their qualifications; habits existing in local communities; local culture, as well as systemic determinants; political climate affecting the people; policies pursued by the central authorities, and also undoubtedly many other factors whose enumeration and discussion might well make up a separate theoretical-empirical study.

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ACTIVITY OF LOCAL AGENCIES IN DIRECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNES

Introduction

Our research aimed at studying the activity of local agencies at the communal level and finding out in what kind of communes this activity proves to be relatively intense. We also made an attempt to establish which factors facilitate directing the development of communes by local agencies and which make it difficult.

In our work we used the results of surveys carried out in 139 communes in the Konin, Leszno and Poznań provinces. This empirical data made it possible to draw a statistical characteristics of the attained levels of economic development of administrative units which were subject to our research and to find communes with various levels of activity of local agencies.

We adopted here a systemic approach. This means that we regard a commune as an intrinsic ecological, social and economic system. The behaviour of this system is equal to its response to the functioning of the metasystem of management. The present state of arts in the latter is still disputable as far as Polish economy is concerned because it does not contribute to the implementation of the provisions of economic reform. The systemic approach adopted in our research facilitates a more comprehensive and orderly investigation of the functioning of a commune as a relatively isolated system, and provides a basis for drawing conclusions concerning its structure and changes brought about by local or external (made outside the system) decisions.

We use our research the notion of a commune having in mind the lowest level unit of state administration equal in meaning to the notion of unit of research. The other units will be, according to the present administrative division of Poland, towns,

town-communes and rural communes. We do not deal here with districts of cities the population of which exceeds 300 thousand because of their different internal structure and considerable links with their surroundings.

It is our assumption here that granting a certain degree of autonomy and self-governing to the lowest level local units should be followed by the grant of rights to set certain norms applying to steering and organization of local economy as well as bigger financial independence which is indispensable for the implementation of the commune's socio-economic plan. It should be emphasized here that the present system of information flow is not perfect. This refers both to the transfer of information between local units of different levels (from provincial to communal units and vice versa) and economic and social organizations within a commune. The second stage of the economic reform is expected to bring about broader autonomy of communes, primarily by means of increasing their financial autonomy and changes in the organization and functioning of certain economic subjects in the communes.

The present study consists of an introduction, three parts of analysis and conclusions.

The first part which deals with grouping of units is based on the analysis of the economic subsystem and the subsystem of settlement. The latter is described by means of selected measures referring to the unit's infrastructure, whereas the former is described by selected measures of agricultural performance. The characteristic features of communes were described by statistical measures of population, such as the average measures of dispersion and measures of variation. Grouping of units into disjoint sets was done according to various criteria of division subject to the research objectives.

The second part is synthetic analysis the activities of local agencies in directing the development of the commune. The activity is described there as relative which means that we examine the intensity of activity of local agencies of a spatial unit in relation to other units of this kind. In practice we deal with activity of local agencies within the scope of their powers with which they have been endowed by the central autho-

rities. A synthetic evaluation of the activity of local agencies has been estimated for the whole sample and for the specific groups of communes classified (in the first part) according to the criteria presented below.

The third part contains an analysis of factors facilitating activities of local agencies for the development of communal economy as well as factors hindering them. The results of this analysis have both a cognitive and an applicative value since they point to changes necessary for more intensive activity of local agencies and undertaking independent, economically efficient actions.

Grouping of units according to criteria of division

The set of analyzed units was divided into disjoint subsets according to the following four criteria:

- 1) the function performed in the administrative division of the country,
- 2) the population,
- 3) the participation in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" in the years 1982-1986,
- 4) structural similarities (taxonomic similarities).

The following six features of units were taken here into consideration:

- 1) the percentage of village areas provided with water-supply service,
- 2) the number of retail trade shops per 10 thousand inhabitants,
- 3) the number of doctors per 10 thousand inhabitants,
- 4) cattle livestock per 100 hectares of arable land,
- 5) the number of tractors per 1000 hectares of arable land,
- 6) the average area of individual (private) farms.

The criterion of function performed in the administrative division made it possible to differentiate among three groups of units: towns (9 units), town-communes (61 units) and communes (69 units). All towns are provided with water-supply services. In the two remaining groups the percentage of village areas with water-supply systems is similar (47.8 per cent in town-communes and 44.9 per cent in communes). However, this characteristic is more diversified in the spatial aspect, i.e. in the group of

communes (the coefficient of variation is the highest). The biggest number of retail trade shops per 10 thousand of inhabitants is observed in town-communes (68.7 on the average) and the smallest in communes (51.8). This feature shows the strongest spatial differentiation in the group of towns and the weakest in the group of town-communes. The highest number of doctors, almost 38 per 10 thousand of inhabitants, is observed in cities, where it is 6 and 11 times as high as the number of doctors in town-communes and communes respectively. This feature has the strongest spatial differentiation of all examined features. It is most evident for town-communes and least evident for communes. The average values of the remaining three features of the economic subsystem (the size of cattle livestock and the number of tractors as well as the average area of private farms) are very similar in city-communes and communes, and so is the spatial differentiation of these features in the mentioned groups. On the other hand towns show considerable differences in this respect (smaller size of cattle livestock, smaller area of farms and fewer tractors than in town-communes and communes).

According to the number of population criterion the units were divided into the following three groups: small units up to 7 thousand inhabitants, medium size units with 7 to 12 thousand inhabitants and big units with more than 12 thousand inhabitants. The numbers of small, medium size and big units were 35, 51 and 53 respectively. The biggest average percentage of village areas with water-supply system was in the group of big units (59 per cent) which was due to a big number of cities in this group, whereas the smallest percentage was the case in the group of small units (44.4 per cent), the bulk of which were rural communes. This feature showed the biggest differentiation in the group of small units and the smallest differentiation in the group of big ones. The biggest density of the network of retail trade shops was in the group of big units (60.9 per 10 thousand of inhabitants) where as the smallest was in the group of medium-size units (57.0). The biggest number of doctors per 10 thousand of inhabitants was observed in the group of big units (13.7) and the smallest in the group of small units (3.2). As far as the economic subsystem is concerned the most advantageous values

of features were revealed by small units (mostly rural communes) and the least advantageous by big units (mostly towns). The smallest spatial differentiation of these three features was observed in the group of small units.

According to the criterion of participation in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" in the years 1982 to 1986 three categories of units were distinguished: 1) those which never participated in the Contest, 2) those which participated but were unsuccessful, 3) those which participated successfully in the Contest. A unit was regarded as successful if it got at least once to the top five in the Contest staged at the provincial level. There were 14 units which did not participate, 71 which had no success and 54 which were successful. Among the participants of the Contest there were 78.7 per cent of the total number of units in the Konin province, 95 per cent of units in the Poznań province and 96.9 per cent of units in the Leszno province (the highest percentage of all). The most successful proved to be the units from the Poznań province (50 per cent of all units), in front of those from the Leszno (46.9 per cent) and Konin provinces (19 per cent). The difference between the successful and unsuccessful units is considerable. The former are characterized by a higher percentage of village areas provided with water-supply systems, better developed shopping network and better organized health service. Besides, the spatial differentiation of these features is smaller in the case of successful units (except for the number of doctors). As far as the economic subsystem is concerned, the position of successful units is the most advantageous. This refers to the biggest average size of cattle livestock (66.4 per 100 hectares) the highest average number of tractors (69.4 per 1000 hectares) and the biggest average area of farms (7.6 hectares). These units also show the smallest spatial differentiation of features characteristic to the economic subsystem (except for the number of tractors per 1000 hectares of arable land).

The grouping of units according to the criterion of structural similarity made it possible to distinguish among six taxonomic classes:

1st class of 8 units, towns excluding Luboń near Poznań,

2nd class of 26 units situated mainly in the Poznań province in

its north-eastern, south-eastern and western part,
3rd class of 40 units situated mainly in the Konin province,
4th class of 27 units grouped mainly in the western part of the Poznań province, along the boundary between Poznań and Leszno provinces and in the eastern part of the Leszno province.
5th class of 15 units, 9 of which are situated in the Poznań province and the remaining six in the Konin province.
These are units-satellites surrounding industrial cities of Poznań, Konin, Koło, Turek and Słupca.
6th class of 23 units situated in the Leszno (12) and Poznań province (11). They are grouped in the central part of the Leszno province, near the boundary with the Poznań province and in the central-eastern part of the Poznań province.

For each of these taxonomic classes the so-called synthetic indicators of economic development were constructed¹. The 6th class is characterized by the best value of the indicator. Its agriculture shows the highest level of development with the largest average size of cattle livestock (81.17 per 100 hectares) and the biggest average number of tractors (98.4 per 1000 hectares). The units of this class have a relatively less developed subsystem of settlement. They are ranked fourth as far as the number of doctors and retail trade shops per 10 thousand inhabitants are concerned.

The second-best value of the synthetic indicator of development was recorded in the units from the 2nd taxonomic class. They are ranked first in the number of retail trade shops (74.5 per 10 thousand inhabitants) and the biggest average area of private farms (8.9 hectares). However, they rank fourth in the percentage of village areas provided with water-supply systems and the size of cattle livestock.

The value of the indicator was worse in the case of units from the 1st taxonomic class (towns). They show the highest level of development of their settlement subsystem. All of them are provided with water-supply services and they also have the best-developed health service (40.7 doctors per 10 thousand in-

¹The indicators were calculated following M. Wypych: "Syn-
tetyczna miara rozwoju w badaniach ekonomiczno-przestrzennych",
Przegląd Statystyczny 3/4, 1982.

habitants). Their agriculture is characterized by the lowest level of development.

Further positions on the scale of value of the synthetic indicator of development were occupied by units from the 4th, 5th and 3rd class respectively. The value of the indicator was especially low in the case of the 5th class (units-satellites) and the 3rd class (the Konin province).

The next step involved a comparative study of specified types of groups. It provided for the comparison of values of standard deviations and coefficients of variation, i.e. the indicators of internal differentiation of units within specific groups. The smallest number of high values of standard deviations and coefficients of variation was recorded in the taxonomic classes and groups set up according to the criterion of performed administrative function. These two types of groups comprised sets of units revealing the smallest degree of internal differentiation. On the other hand, the biggest numbers of high values of standard deviation and coefficient of variation were recorded in the two remaining groups, formed according to the criteria of population number and participation in the "Economic Efficiency Contest". These two groups also revealed a smaller number of low values of standard deviations and coefficients of variation.

Synthetic evaluation of the activities of local agencies in directing the development of local units of the lowest level.

The synthetic measure of the activity of local agencies in directing the development of the commune which was adopted in this study takes into consideration both qualitative and quantitative features of this activity. The synthetic indicators of the activity of local agencies in directing the development of specific units can only be treated as a relative measure. They make it possible to compare the activity of local agencies of examined units but they do not give sufficient data to establish the absolute level of their activity.

The basic problem involved with the evaluation of the activity of local agencies was the choice of features making up the synthetic measure, their variation and valuation. The information obtained from the survey was the basis for choosing

10 features, 5 of which were of the qualitative and 5 of the quantitative nature.

Three of the qualitative features refer to directing the development of the unit, in particular to spatial planning, co-ordination of decisions made by local authorities with those made by local enterprises and to the evaluation of profits connected with the participation in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" in the years 1983 to 1986. The remaining two qualitative features refer to the decisions concerning the economic subsystem, which were made and implemented at the local level in the years 1983-1986. These decisions apply primarily to the loans granted for private farmers and the distribution of the financial means of the State Land Fund.

The other group of features making up the synthetic measure are quantitative features. They describe the results of local initiatives concerning the improvement of the settlement subsystem which were implemented in the years 1983 to 1986. In particular they refer to:

- trade,
- water supplies,
- road network,
- culture and education,
- other significant initiatives aimed at the improvement of living conditions of the population (e.g. new health service facilities, investment in telecommunications, gas supplies, sewage treatment plants etc).

The choice of the above features, their variation and valuation were aimed at grasping the differentiation of examined units in all the features making up the synthetic measure. This is why the features which did not reveal such differentiation were not taken into consideration in this analysis. This refers first of all to the socio-economic planning¹ and distribution of means of agricultural production².

¹In the surveyed sample only in two units (Puszczykowo and Szamotuły) the 5-year socio-economic plans have not been adopted for the years 1986-1990.

²Local agencies participated in the distribution of means of agricultural production in more than 90 per cent of units.

Table 1

Variations of features making up the synthetic measure of activity of local agencies

No.	Features	Evaluation of variations			
		0	0.5	1	2
1	Has the plan of spatial development been worked out in the unit? (looking ahead to the year 2000)	NO	*	Yes. It was an initiative of provincial authorities	Yes. It was the unit's own initiative
2	Do the local authorities coordinate their decisions with the decisions made by local enterprises?	NO	*	Yes, in one field	Yes, in many fields
3	Did the unit win an award in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" in the years 1982-1986?	NO	*	YES	*
4	Did the local authorities exert influence on the principles of granting loans for private farming throughout the years 1983 to 1986?	NO	*	YES	*
5	Was the whole area of land from the State Land Fund distributed in the unit in 1986?	NO	*	YES	*
6	The increase of area of retail trade shops (square m per 10 thousand inhabitants)	-	less than 250	more than 250	*
7	The increase of water-supply system (km per 10 thousand inhabitants)	less than 5	5 to 15	more than 15	*
8	New and modernized roads (km per 100 square km)	less than 5	5 to 15	more than 15	*
9	New cultural and educational facilities (number of)	-	1	more than 1	*
10	Other new facilities contributing to higher living standards (number of)	-	1	more than 1	*

Source: Original study based on results of circulated question-

Table 2

Level of activity of local agencies in specific groups of units

Description of groups of units	Activity level of units (%)					Value of synthetic activity indicator	
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Total	average	coefficient of variation
WHOLE SAMPLE	16.6	33.1	34.5	15.8	100.0	6.23	30.26
Towns	11.1	33.3	44.5	11.1	100.0	6.11	30.56
Town communes	11.5	32.8	39.3	16.4	100.0	6.48	25.87
Communes	21.7	33.3	29.0	16.0	100.0	6.03	33.71
up to 7 thousand inhabitants	18.9	34.0	26.4	20.7	100.0	6.15	35.68
7 to 12 thousand inhabitants	19.6	31.4	35.3	13.7	100.0	6.17	28.21
over 12 thousand inhabitants	8.6	34.3	45.7	11.4	100.0	6.44	23.81
Units which did not participate in the Contest participated unsuccessfully*	50.0	21.4	21.4	7.2	100.0	4.79	41.92
	21.1	31.0	39.4	8.5	100.0	5.92	30.03
participated successfully	1.8	38.9	31.5	27.8	100.0	7.02	23.27
Taxonomic class							
1st	12.5	25.0	50.0	12.5	100.0	6.25	30.98
2nd	7.7	34.6	30.8	26.9	100.0	6.87	29.59
3rd	25.0	32.5	35.0	7.5	100.0	5.75	34.40
4th	14.8	22.2	44.5	18.5	100.0	6.43	25.74
5th	26.7	46.7	26.6	-	100.0	5.40	25.57
6th	8.7	39.1	26.1	26.1	100.0	6.65	24.82

* Participation in the 'Economic Efficiency Contest' in the years 1982 to 1986

Source: Original study.

The units for which the synthetic indicator assumed values from interval 1 are described as units characterized by a very low level of the activity of local agencies. Values from interval 2. meant low level of activity, those from intervals 3 and 4. meant high and very high activity levels respectively¹.

The analysis of the activity of local agencies in directing the development of specific units must not be limited to the measurement of activity levels but should also find causes of the differentiation of activity levels. To accomplish this task activity levels were examined in particular groups (types) of units distinguished according to the following criteria:

- the function performed in the administrative division of the country,
- the size measured by the population,
- participation and success in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" in the years 1982 to 1986,
- similarities in the structure of the system.

The starting point of the analysis was setting the average value of the synthetic measure and finding the percentage of units in a given group which are characterized by a specific level of activity. The next step was to determine which criterion is accompanied by the biggest differentiation of local agencies' activity levels among the groups and which groups of units are characterized by relatively high and which by relatively low levels of activity.

The data constituting the basis for this analysis is presented in Table 2. It shows that the biggest differentiation of activity level is the case when the third criterion of division, i.e. participation in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" in the years 1982 to 1986 is applied. The highest activity level is revealed by those units which are successful in the Contest whereas the lowest by the units which never took part in it. Thus, it seems that the "Economic Efficiency Contest" is an important factor intensifying the activity of local agencies although it cannot be ruled out altogether that in several cases the participation may

¹ "very low", "low", "high" and "very high" should be regarded as relative expressions due to the relative nature of the synthetic indicator.

The variations of qualitative and quantitative features making up the synthetic measure as well as their evaluation are presented in Table 1. All units subject to the research were allotted values of these qualitative and quantitative features depending on the variations in which the mentioned features occur. These values are components of the synthetic indicator, and their sum for a given unit, i.e. the value of the synthetic indicator, is the relative measure of activity of local agencies in directing the development of the unit. The values of the synthetic indicator ranged from 2 to 11.5¹. They were the lowest in two communes in the Konin province, namely Olszówka and Osiek Mały as well as in a town-commune in the Leszno province, Szlichtyngowa. The highest value of the synthetic indicator was recorded in three communes in the Poznań province: Mieścisko, Kaźmierz and Kuślin (11.5, 10, and 9.5 respectively). The commune of Mieścisko ranking first on this list won the "Economic Efficiency Contest" at the provincial level in 1986 and on several other occasions was among the best contenders both at the provincial and country level. In our survey it was 1.5 points ahead of Kaźmierz and near to the maximum possible score of 12 points. In the case of Mieścisko all qualitative features making up the synthetic measure have the best (i.e. highest-scoring) variations. This regards also the quantitative features (except for the number 7 feature in the intermediate variation), the values of which exceeded by far the average values for the whole sample.

The values of the synthetic indicators for the whole surveyed sample were grouped in four intervals reflecting specific levels of activity of local agencies in directing the development of a specific unit:

Value of indicator	level
1. below 4	1st
2. 4.5 - 6	2nd
3. 6.5 - 8	3rd
4. 8.5 and more	4th

¹ Table 1 shows that the maximum value of the synthetic indicator is 12 (all features making up the synthetic measure are in their optimal variations) whereas the minimum value is 0 (all features making up the synthetic measures are in their worst variations).

be not the cause but only the result of this activity.

The visible differentiation of activity level between specific groups of units is also the case with the fourth criterion of division, i.e. structural similarities. The units from the 2nd and 6th taxonomic class show the relatively highest activity whereas those from the 5th and 3rd class are characterized by the relatively lowest activity. It can, thus, be argued that the activity of local agencies is to a major extent determined by the condition of the settlement-economic system. Classes 2nd and 6th (in which the units situated in the Poznań and Leszno province prevail) show the highest values of synthetic indicators of the development of settlement-economic system, whereas class 5th (units-satellites) and 3rd (units from the Konin province) show the lowest values of this indicator.

In the case of the remaining two criteria (function performed in the administrative division of the country, and size of the population) no considerable differentiation of activity level among different groups was recorded. A relatively high activity level was observed in big (i.e. with more than 12 thousand inhabitants) town communes although it was not much higher than in other groups. In other words the functions performed by the unit (urban or rural) and its size (measured by population) are not very relevant for the activity level.

Summing up this part of the analysis it can be stated that the highest relative level of activity of local agencies is recorded in those units which successfully participated in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" and are characterized by a relatively high level of the development of the settlement-economic system.

It should also be emphasized that the groups of units characterized by the relatively high level of activity of local agencies are less differentiated in their internal structure than the groups of units revealing lower levels of activity. The higher the average value of the synthetic indicator of this activity in a given group of units, the smaller its coefficient of variation in this group. This relationship does not take place only with the fourth criterion of division (similarities of the system's structure). However, even here the most homogeneous

group of units is the 6th taxonomic class showing the relatively highest level of activity of local agencies, and the most diversified in its internal structure is the 3rd taxonomic class revealing a relatively low level of this activity.

Factors facilitating and impeding development directing by local agencies in the opinion of heads of local units.

The research into the role performed by local agencies in directing the development of local units should take into consideration the opinions expressed by their heads about factors which facilitate or impede the decisions made at the local level. Since a great variety of factors was mentioned in answers to questionnaires¹, they were grouped on the basis of their similarity, and these groups were later analysed.

The factors which facilitate directing the development of the examined units were grouped as follows (from the most to the least frequently mentioned):

- a) increased role of self-government (activities of self-governing organizations, good cooperation with these organizations),
- b) social activity reflected in voluntary work for public benefit,
- c) good relations with local enterprises (meetings, consultations, assistance of local enterprises in solving local problems),
- d) regulation by law, or, more precisely, opportunities provided by legal regulations (primarily by the Law on the System of People's Councils and Local Self-government), in particular:
 - autonomy in preparing plan and budgetary estimates (autonomy of the initiatives catering for local needs),
 - consultations with social representatives,
 - endowment of rural self-governments with independent financial assets,
 - distribution of financial assets by People's Councils,
 - investment made by local agencies.
- e) activities of social and political organizations

¹ The opinions on factors which facilitate or impede making decisions at the local level expressed by heads of local units might have been biased, thus they cannot be treated as fully objective.

f) the "Economic Efficiency Contest" and other forms of competition.

The above mentioned groups of factors facilitating directing of the development by the local agencies were set up on the basis of answers supplied by the heads of 72 units (51.8 per cent). The heads of the remaining 67 units did not express their opinion which was regarded as a lack of individual judgement.

The factors which in the opinion of heads of units impede the development direction in these units were grouped as follows (from the most to the least frequent):

- a) regarding the financial system - lack of genuine autonomy, and in particular:
 - scarcity of financial means
 - dispersion of budgetary means and communal fund
- b) regarding autonomy of enterprises - lack of provisions of procedural law for performing coordinative and control functions in relation to local enterprises which have not been founded by local authorities (this involves passive attitude of local enterprises towards solving local problems),
- c) regarding the supply of means of production - scarcity of basic means of production and their rationing by local administration,
- d) regarding spatial planning and investment activities:
 - long procedures of completing technical documentation of investment and spatial plans, its limited availability and high cost, lack of spatial development plans,
 - insufficient number of technicians, state-run construction enterprises as well as equipment necessary for the implementation of investment projects and the development of infrastructure,
- e) regarding normative acts:
 - redundancy incoherence and frequent changes of regulations and provisions of law,
 - lack of precise provisions regulating the rights and obligations of local administration agencies,
- f) short supply of equipment (e.g. photocopying devices, telecommunication devices, company cars), problems concerning the staff (low salaries, fixing the number of permanent posts,

one-man-one-post principle) of local administration office,
g) other factors:

- excessive number of meetings, reports and information items,
- considerable dependence on political and self-governmental organizations,
- large number of small-size farms,
- insufficient activity of self-governments (in relation to their statutory rights) and society.

The above groups of factors impeding the activity of local agencies were distinguished according to the answers given by heads of 166 units (83.5 per cent). It is worth mentioning that these heads more often pointed to the factors impeding local decision-making than the factors facilitating this process. It can thus be argued that there are more obstacles to than incentives for local agencies' activities. The facilitating factors are connected first of all with the reform of local administration agencies which has been implemented in recent years, whereas the impeding ones often result from historical conditions.

The heads of 23 units made no comment on factors impeding local decision-making. This abstention can be read as a lack of individual judgement in this matter or as a manifestation of an unjustified reluctance to reveal the barriers limiting their freedom of action. Among those who made no comments were also the heads of units with very low (1st) level of activity and it is hardly believable that they see no such obstacles at all.

The most common facilitating and impeding factors were then analysed from the point of view of their intensity in the particular groups measured by the four criteria mentioned above, i.e. functions, size, participation in the 'Economic Efficiency Contest' in the years 1982 to 1986 and similarity of structure with an additional criterion of the level of activity of local agencies. The starting point of this analysis was determining the percentage of units in which facilitating and impeding factors are recognized (in every group of units). The results of this analysis are presented in Table 3. It was to illustrate in which groups the intensity of a given factor (facilitating or impeding) differs considerably from the average.

The most common factor facilitating local decision-making

was, according to the respondents, the increased role of self-governing (a). This factor also stimulates local decision-making, especially in the units which successfully participated in the 'Economic Efficiency Contest', belong to the 4th taxonomic class and reveal very high (4th) level of activity of local agencies. The relatively smallest role of this factor was recorded in towns (1st taxonomic class), units which did not participate in the 'Economic Efficiency Contest', and reveal very low (1st) level of activity of local agencies. Increased self-governing as a factor facilitating local decision-making can be noticed first of all in the groups of units characterized by a relatively high average value of the synthetic measure and the intensity of this factor diminishes as the levels of activity of local agencies fall.

The data presented in Table 3 concerning the factors which facilitate local decision-making shows that the biggest 'variety' of them is recorded in the group of the units participating successfully in the 'Economic Efficiency Contest'. This is the only group in which the percentage of units that acknowledge the facilitating factors exceeds the average percentage for all these factors. This supports the thesis that the 'Economic Efficiency Contest' is a very important factor stimulating the activity of local agencies. Although only five heads of communes pointed to the significance of this factor, it is an important stimulus for local decisions. It triggers off other facilitating factors, or at least makes the local agencies realize their existence.

The most common factor impeding local decision-making is the financial system (A). It dominates in many groups in the analysis but it was acknowledged first of all by the heads of the units belonging to the 5th taxonomic class. The lack of financial autonomy is experienced particularly by the so-called 'satellites' - units adjacent to bigger towns (town-communes) which make up the 5th taxonomic class. The relatively smallest role of this factor is recorded in units from the 1st and 2nd taxonomic classes.

Generally speaking the biggest number of barriers limiting the freedom of activities of local agencies was recorded in the group of units from the 4th taxonomic class. It is the only

Table 3

Intensity of factors facilitating of impeding the direction of development of specific groups of units according to opinions expressed by their heads

Description of groups of units	Percentage of units acknowledging									
	facilitating factors					impeding factors				
	a	b	c	d	e	A	B	C	D	E
WHOLE SAMPLE	24.5	21.6	9.4	7.2	7.2	35.3	33.1	27.3	18.7	12.9
Towns	11.1	11.1	-	-	-	33.3	44.4	44.4	22.2	-
Town-communes	24.6	21.3	16.4	8.2	6.6	32.8	37.7	24.6	18.0	21.3
Communes	26.1	23.2	4.3	7.2	8.7	37.7	27.5	27.5	18.8	7.2
up to 7 thousand inhabitants	20.8	26.4	1.9	9.4	5.7	37.7	26.4	26.4	15.1	7.5
7 to 12 thousand inhabitants	27.5	19.6	13.7	3.9	9.8	29.4	31.4	21.6	23.5	13.7
over 12 thousand inhabitants	25.7	17.1	14.3	8.6	5.7	40.4	45.7	37.1	17.1	20.0
Units which did not participate in the Contest /X/	7.1	28.6	7.1	-	7.1	28.6	35.7	28.6	14.3	7.1
participated unsuccessfully	23.9	16.9	4.2	8.5	7.0	40.8	22.5	33.8	19.7	14.1
participated successfully	29.6	25.9	16.7	7.4	7.4	29.6	46.3	18.5	18.5	13.0
Taxonomic class										
1st	12.5	-	-	-	-	25.0	50.0	37.5	25.0	-
2nd	23.1	23.1	7.7	3.8	11.5	23.1	53.8	15.4	15.4	15.4
3rd	17.5	27.5	7.5	10.0	2.5	37.5	27.5	40.0	17.5	7.5
4th	48.1	11.1	11.1	7.4	11.1	37.0	40.7	29.6	29.6	14.8
5th	20.0	26.7	13.3	6.7	13.3	46.7	13.3	26.7	13.3	33.3
6th	17.4	26.1	13.0	8.7	4.3	39.1	17.4	13.0	13.0	8.7
Level of activity										
1st	13.0	21.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	39.1	21.7	26.1	26.1	17.4
2nd	23.9	19.6	10.9	2.2	8.7	26.1	32.6	26.1	15.2	13.0
3rd	22.9	27.1	10.4	10.4	2.1	39.6	37.5	33.3	16.7	10.7
4th	40.9	13.6	4.5	9.1	13.6	40.9	36.4	18.2	22.7	-

/X/ Participation in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" in the years 1982 to 86
Source:Original study

group in which the percentage of units acknowledging the existence of factors exceeds the average percentage for all the factors.

Research results and conclusions

1. In order to assess the activity of local agencies in directing the development of communes a synthetic measure was used. This relative measure which made it possible to compare the examined units contained both quantitative information and verbal description. In our research the value of this measure could range from 2 to 11.5 points. The prevailing value of the measure was 6 points (in 15 units), whereas the coefficient of variation for the whole examined sample was 30.26. The average value of the indicator of activity of local agencies (in the examined sample) was 6.23 points.
2. Among the three provinces in which all communes were covered by the research only in the Poznań province the communes recorded a higher average level of activity (7.23 points) than the average for the whole sample. The average activity levels in the Leszno and Konin provinces recorded 5.72 and 5.33 points respectively.
3. The biggest variation of the activity levels of local agencies in directing the development of communes was found between the groups distinguished according to the criterion of participation in the "Economic Efficiency Contest". In the group of the units which participated successfully in the Contest the average activity was at the level of 7.02 points whereas the respective figure for the units which did not take part in the Contest was 4.79. The value of the variation coefficient for the synthetic indicator of activity in the units which were successful in the contest (much lower than that for the whole sample) points to the internal cohesion of this group. Our research confirms the belief that the "Economic Efficiency Contest" is an effective instrument of central management of communes' development. This Contest stimulates the activity of local agencies although it cannot be ruled out that for some units the success may be not the cause but the manifestation (result) of this activity. According to the

heads of communes the contest contributes first of all to the general development of a commune and to the stimulating the local initiatives for its development.

4. The evident differentiation of the level of activity of local agencies among the groups of units is the case also with the criterion of similarity of structure. The biggest activity is revealed by the units from the classes of a relatively high level of economic development (the 6th and 2nd class), whereas the lowest activity is recorded by the units grouped in the classes of a relatively low level of development both of the settlement subsystem and agricultural production (classes 3rd and 5th). Summing up the results of the research dealing with the relative activity of local agencies in directing the development of communes it should be stated that the highest level of activity is recorded in the units participating in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" and characterized by a relatively high level of development of the settlement-economic system.
5. In our analysis of the comments made by the heads of communes on the factors facilitating and impeding the direction of the development of the communes we noted that the most commonly cited facilitating factor was increased self-government. This factor was commonly acknowledged as a stimulator of local decision-making, especially in the units which were successful in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" and characterized by a relatively high level of activity of local agencies. A relatively less significant role of self-government in directing the development of units was mentioned by the heads of towns (i.e. units grouped in the 1st taxonomic class) and the units which did not take part in the "Economic Efficiency Contest" characterized by a very low relative activity level of local agencies. Among the factors impeding the direction of development the drawbacks of the present financial system in the communes were generally emphasized. It was said to limit the autonomy of local agencies in directing the development of both the settlement subsystem and the agricultural production. The present provisions of procedural law which are in force are also seen as an impediment. This refers particularly to the limitations in exercising the coordinating and controlling

functions over the economic units in the communes. The lack of financial autonomy of the communes was mentioned by the majority of heads but it was especially evident in the units from the 5th taxonomic class (the so-called "satellites" of big centres). Relatively fewer references were made to the difficulties resulting from the lack of financial autonomy in towns (1st taxonomic class) and in the units representing a high level of economic development (6th and 2nd taxonomic class). In the latter two groups the limitations resulting from insufficient control and supervision possibilities were strongly emphasized.

The results of our research justify the statement that the size of the unit measured by the number of its inhabitants was not relevant for the level of activity of local agencies or for the differentiation of intensity of factors facilitating or impeding the directing of the development of the communes.

The following applicative conclusions can be drawn from the above results of empirical research:

1. Local agencies do not enjoy sufficient rights to direct the development of communes on their own. To change this state of affairs the introduction of proper legal regulations is necessary. These regulations should strengthen the economic and financial basis of communes and set conditions of coordinating the activities of local enterprises.
2. All activities aimed at increasing the autonomy and stimulating the activity of local agencies for the development of communes should be based on the development of self-government, supported by proper delimitation of roles and competences at all decision-making levels, especially those of the province and commune. The endowment of communes with powers requires the compatibility of material and financial aspects of activities. Changes in the economic and financial basis of the communes are necessary to stimulate autonomous activities of local agencies.
3. The above conclusions do not exclude further use of the "Economic Efficiency Contest" as the instrument of central mana-

gement of the development of communes. At the same time the ambitions of the local community should be whetted (and not stifled), so that it could become the driving force of the commune's development, capable of stimulating local authorities and administration at the commune level to increased activity contributing to the development of the commune.

Edward Kirejczyk

THE NATIONAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE NON-AGRICULTURAL NON-SOCIALIZED SECTOR
OF THE POLISH ECONOMY

1. The position of the non-socialized non-agricultural economy in Poland.

Unlike their counterparts in the majority of other socialist countries¹ the legal situation of privately-owned economy and the official state policy towards it appear to be exceptionally favourable in Poland. Still, the private enterprise continues to be the disadvantaged sector of this country's economy. Characteristically, the word 'private' is never used in the Polish legislative acts and in the political and economic writings. Instead, the euphemistic and ideologically safer term of 'non-socialized' is employed. The principal realms of the private sector are the small-scale industry, commerce, services, the catering business and also foreign enterprises. What is meant by small-scale industry in formal legal terms also includes privately-owned plants which according to the existing regulations cannot operate in this country, and thus do not represent a separate type of economic activity.

The non-agricultural privately-owned sector uses relatively small economic potential. In 1986 the sector supplied 4.4 per cent of the gross national output and 6.4 per cent of the net output. The employment in the non-socialized sector totalled

¹ Until recently the private sector operated also in the following socialist states: Yugoslavia, the German Democratic Republic, Viet Nam and Hungary. Cf. Drobna wytwórczość w gospodarce narodowej (The Position of Small Business in the National Economy), in: Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej w Poznaniu, Seria I, Zeszyt 135, pp. 10-13. The policy of 'perestroika' has paved the way for the start of private business ventures in the USSR and other socialist countries including especially Bulgaria.

1 million 37 thousand in 1986¹. That the real potential of the privately-owned sector is larger than that quoted in official records is a result of the concealment of part of the turnover and pursuit of economic operations without a proper licence. The estimates concerning such concealed operations show great diversity even with regard to the approximate assessment of the scale of such practices. The prevailing view is that the size of the concealed economic realm could be anything between 30 to 100 per cent of the formally registered private sector².

One distinctive feature of the private sector is its unparalleled effectiveness of management and also of the utilization of the resources at its disposal. According to some estimates private manufacturers need half the material used by state-owned enterprises to make the same product. The productivity of privately-owned capital (meaning the volume of production obtained from the invested unit of the capital) is twice as big as that achieved in small socialized and especially co-operative industry, and six times greater than the results obtained in the large state-owned industry. The cost of mechanization of labour alone in co-operative enterprises is four times, and in the state-owned industry sixteen times as big as the relevant spending in the private sector³.

¹The numerical data quoted in this paper, except those specified differently, were originally compiled as part of studies on non-agricultural, non-socialized economy conducted in 1987 at Department of Geography of the University of Warsaw by the team guided by Doctor Edward Kirejczyk. The complete discussion of the team's findings was contained in the work scheduled for publication in the form of a book entitled: *Pozarolnicza gospodarka nieuspołeczniiona* (Non-agricultural Non-Socialized Sector of Poland's Economy), jointly written work edited by E.Kirejczyk: *Rozwój Regionalny - Rozwój lokalny - Samorząd terytorialny* (Regional Development - Local Development - Territorial Self-government), 1988.

²Such conclusion results from the studies conducted by M. Bednarski and R. Kokoszczynski. The problems relating to the unofficial economic realm were also dealt with in a series of articles published in the special number of the monthly "Wektor" - 8, 87.

³H. Graszewicz, *Sterowanie rozwojem rzemiosła w warunkach reformy gospodarczej*. (The Management of Development of Small-Scale Industry as Part of the Process of the Economic Reform), IRWiK, Warsaw 1984, p. 15.

The importance of the private sector is rooted not only in the volume of its manufactures and the number of services it provides, but in the fact that there are goods and services which are best when supplied in small numbers. The absence of small economic units operated by one person only or having a handful of well-rewarded employees can hardly be replaced by an entity of the socialized sector of the economy even if it were divided into a large number of centres providing manufactures or services, located in different regions of this country. Besides, the large units (state-owned enterprises, or co-operatives) show much reluctance when it comes to splitting their potentials into a network of small centres.

In this context both the size and the composition of the private sector appear to fall short of the public expectations. Only a handful of joint ventures numbering 677 in late 1986, each of which registered in that same year the average employment of 100 in 1986, other businesses showed very low average indices in this respect then. Where small-scale industry (meaning also very few privately-owned plants) is concerned, the average number of employees was 2.3 persons (including the owner), whereas in the other realms of the private sector (including commerce and catering business) the index was even lower.

This prompts the conclusion that there is a vast gap in the Polish economy between the socialized sector whose enterprises and co-operatives have the staffs of at least several hundred employees (except the co-operatives with staffs numbering less than 200) and tiny private businesses with very few employees. For the economy to operate properly the gap should be promptly eliminated.

The early eighties saw some foreign enterprises slowly filling the gap. For several years now their development has been curbed as a result of the adoption of unfavourable legal regulations and implementation thereof. If further development of such foreign enterprises must be stopped due to the emergence of some important considerations, conditions should be created providing for the filling of the gap under discussion by other organizations or businesses belonging either to the socialized or non-socialized sector. The changes should affect in the first place

manufacturing units, the extension of the existing craftsmen's workshops being one of the desirable measures. The objective in question might also be served to some extent by development of the type of business which has been very popular for a few years now: joint stock companies and limited liability companies including those comprising enterprises (both state-owned and co-operative) belonging to the socialized sector, and the privately-owned capital.

Small-scale industry played the key role in the operations of the non-socialized sector in 1986 by supplying 63.4 per cent of the privately-owned sector's turnover, while the less significant contributions were provided by the so-called Polonia firms - the businesses owned by foreigners of Polish descent - 12.7 per cent, privately-owned commerce and catering businesses 12.3 per cent, and private transportation - 9.4 per cent. That the share of privately-owned transportation's turnover has been decreasing since the year 1981 appears to be alarming. This same trend has been registered by private commerce and the Polonia firms respectively since 1984 and 1985.

2. Development of non-agricultural non-socialized economy and its principal aspects

The non-agricultural privately-owned economy evolved rapidly between 1976-1986. The proportion its production constituted in the creation of the GNP (gross national product) increased from 1.6 per cent in 1976 to 3.0 per cent in 1981 and eventually reached the level of 4.4 per cent in 1986. The increase was mainly a result of the emergence of new economic units. In 1976 the number of non-socialized economic units providing non-agricultural production totalled 250,000⁺, in 1981 it was 350,000⁺; while, in 1986 the figure rose to over 500,000. The average size of privately-owned enterprises showed less dramatic increase over that period. In 1976 and 1981, 1.8 was the average number of staffers employed in a privately-owned enterprise. Since each such business had the owner on the staff, the employment of hired workers averaged 0.8 per business. In 1986 the average number of employees working in a unit of the private sector increased to 2.1.

The development of privately-owned sector was progressing unevenly in the different regions of this country. There were marked dissimilarities in the pace of development over the successive years among the individual branches of the sector and the rules governing the distribution of the manufactures (domestic market, input production, exports).

Small-scale industry showed a more regular pace of development, which however was, except 1986, slower than that registered in other realms of the private sector. As a result of the relatively slow pace of development of small-scale industry its share of total private sector turnover shrank from 71 per cent in 1976 to 63 per cent in 1986. The early eighties saw rapid development of private commerce, yet in the past few years the proportion this part of private business constitutes in the total turnover of private sector has showed slow but systematic decrease. Where private transportation is concerned two stages can be identified. Before the year 1981 its share of total private sector turnover was slowly growing, whereas the following years saw its rapid shrinking.

The legal prerequisites for the setting up of foreign enterprises were established in the year 1976. The turnover of foreign enterprises assumed significant proportions a few years later, on the turn of the seventies. Next, the enterprises evolved very dynamically for a number of years, only to be confronted with measures which curbed the intensity of their development. The last two years of the investigated period still saw some increase in turnover and employment in this realm of private business, yet the attendant trend was the shrinking of the number of the enterprises.

Similar examples of uneven development can be found in smaller areas of private activity, notably in the individual branches. The greatest absolute increases were registered during the period in question by the construction industry. Some 50 per cent of new houses and other buildings were put up then by the private sector¹. While, the greatest relative increases

¹G.Gorzelać, Regionalne zróżnicowanie zjawisk kryzysowych w Polsce w latach 1975-1985 (The Impact of the 1975-1985 Crisis upon the Individual Provinces and Regions of Poland), GUS, Warszawa 1988. Series: Z prac Zakładu Badań Statystyczno-Ekonomicznych (Selected Aspects of the Work of Department of Statistical-Economic Studies), No. 169, p. 27.

as against the previously accomplished results were achieved in the electronic business, especially by the firms dealing in computer and video technology.

Even greater changes occurred in the development trends affecting the unofficial realm of the private sector. The transformations occurring in the sizes and pace of development of businesses providing services and those engaged in commercial activity (both domestic and international) can easily be identified. The unofficial realm of the private sector appears to have been more responsive to the alterations of legal regulations and changes in the economic situation than its registered counterpart.

One distinctive feature of the rapid development of the private sector in the years 1976-1986 was the fact that the supplies for the socialized sector grew faster than its sales for the consumer market. In 1976 the sales for the population totalled 71.9 per cent of the private sector's turnover while, in 1986 the percentage was the mere 55.8. The importance of this increase in the supplies for the socialized sector lay in the fact that it occurred at the time when, as a result of the start of the economic reform and the growth of the self-dependence of enterprises the non-private economy was affected by the weakening of subcontracting ties previously ensuring supplies and co-operation as part of the system of centrally controlled planning and distribution. The construction and repair services provided by private firms for state-owned organizations have been a very important aspect of co-operation between the two sectors.

There have been marked differences in the pace of development of the individual provinces and also, in a sense, of entire regions of this country. This question is dealt with separately in the third part of the present paper.

The factors responsible for the rapid development of the private sector in the period under discussion can be roughly divided into two groups. One includes changes in the legal and administrative regulations, the other covers all aspects of the economic situation in the broad sense of the term. The difference between the situation found in the private sector and that

affecting the state of the socialized sector in the period under discussion lay in the fact that development of the former was more susceptible to changes taking place in legal regulations than to other determinants affecting its operations in the economic sense of the term. Since the year 1948 the existing legal regulations have never encouraged development and operations of the private sector, their objective being the acceleration of the elimination of the 'capitalist obsolescence' rather than the enhancement of the sector's pursuit of the economic tasks. The year 1956 marked the start of transformations in the existing regulations enhancing the position of the private sector. The transformations proceeded very slowly though, and some of the regulations have often proved responsible for deterioration of the conditions of the operation of the non socialized sector of the economy. Besides, the state policy towards the private sector would always become more favourable at times of economic tension.

The said changes in the legal regulations involved most of all:

- relaxation of licencing rules for economic activities, the trend which has been particularly conspicuous in the treatment of small economic units and also, over shorter or longer stretches of time, in the state's policy towards foreign enterprises;

- the loosening of the state's policy on taxes and fiscal matters affecting however only small economic units;

- the abolition of the many-year-old restrictions hampering the contacts between units of socialized and non-socialized sectors of the economy. The co-operation of these two sectors including wide range of forms and affecting different realms of economic activity has not only been encouraged but even propagated in the recent years.

Each of the changes introduced into the existing regulations has produced tangible effects. The general development of the non-socialized sector has been a result of the relaxation of regulations concerning the setting-up of privately-owned businesses and their obligations with regard to the payment of taxes. For all their pluses the regulations also include

minuses that prevent enormous number of natural persons engaged in economic activities from 'coming out of hiding'. Ironically, the concealed part of the private sector may even be larger than the registered realm. A further relaxation of the relevant regulations might result in a formal registration of at least part of may even the so-called second economic realm. It was small economic units only that have been affected by the loosening of tax-regulations. The larger businesses still remain in the grip of heavy taxation, which impedes development of the existing firms and sometimes is the reason underlying the sham partitioning of large units among members of a family or even third persons. Consequently the sizes of the existing businesses remain almost unchanged, whereas the expansion of the private sector taken as a whole keeps progressing very fast.

The alteration of the policy underpinning both regulations governing the relations between the private and socialized sector and their implementation has brought about increase in the turnover of the private enterprise with the socialized sector, exceeding the growth of the private business' market sales.

The changes in the regulations under discussion have also affected the pace of development of the individual realms and branches of the private sector. The creation of the legal opportunity of pursuing economic activity in Poland by foreign subjects has resulted in a rapid expansion of foreign enterprises. The second half of the eighties saw the curbing of the boom as a result of the changes introduced into regulations concerning the starting of business and taxation. The changes in tax regulations also impeded the growth of private commerce then. While, favourable policy with regard to the starting of business and taxation stimulated development of private services. There are also reasons to point in this connection to the such stumbling blocs in the development of privately-owned transportation as the rationing of fuels and customs regulations.

The impact of the existing regulations was even more conspicuous in the individual branches. The years under discussion saw the enormous extension of the range of the types of activity whose pursuit became permissible. The relevant decisions allowing the start of the given type of economic activity in most

cases resulted in a rapid development of such fields of business. Yet, the principle of precise defining the permitted types of economic activity still applies. The replacement of this practice by a general permission possibly coupled by the definition of the prohibited types of activity might well boost further development of private enterprise especially in the fields to do with scientific-technological advancement.

The economic circumstances have always been essential to development of the whole of private sector and also its individual realms and branches. The growth of the private sector's share of the national income during the so-called crisis, i.e. in the years after 1980 reflected what might be termed as the private sector's superiority over the socialized economy in the capacity for accommodation to the changing economic conditions. The rapid expansion of private commerce of the early eighties and the arrest of the growth of private transportation chiefly consequent upon fuel shortages, also represented examples of accommodation to the alteration of the economic conditions. Likewise, immediate responses to the changing economic conditions including especially the growth of demand for different kinds of goods and services could be identified in the development of the individual branches.

Interestingly, the declaration of martial law in Poland in December 1981, did not stop the mushrooming of private businesses. The private sector's share of the national economy's global output did shrink as a result of the restrictions imposed as part of martial law regulations, from 3.0 per cent of 1981 to 2.8 per cent of 1982 (1983 saw the slight recovery of 0.5 per cent), yet the number of new private businesses increased by 35,115 in 1982 (while, the relevant average increases of some 18,350 and 49,915 were registered respectively in the years 1976-1981 and the year 1983).

In summing up the discussion of the factors involved in development of non-agricultural non-socialized economy it may be pointed out that it was advancing rapidly during the period under discussion due to the presence of the unfulfilled human needs and aspirations, and to the loosening of part of the existing regulations. Since the needs of both the population and the

economy remain dire and at the same time the existing regulations impede development of the official economy (and also the registration of the second economic realm) the projected replacement of the existing legal regulations by provisions favourably altering the position of the private sector might foster its rapid development.

3. The characteristics of development of non-agricultural, non-socialized economy in the years 1976-1986 in the selected provinces of Poland

A comparative analysis of development of the individual provinces of this country in the years 1976-1986 leads one to conclude that the non-socialized sector was growing most rapidly in the provinces where private business was well-advanced at the beginning of this period, while the pace of growth was much slower in regions originally showing underdevelopment in this respect. Out of the 3 provinces with exceptionally well-developed private-sector (the Warsaw metropolitan province and the provinces of Poznań and Katowice) the first and the second registered fast growth of the sector throughout the period under discussion, while the third showed a similar pace of development only in the years 1976-1981. In fact the growth was most rapid in the Warsaw metropolitan province which as early as the start of the investigated period was this country's leader in this respect.

The similar trends affected the group of provinces showing the poorest advancement of non-agricultural non-socialized economy. Although the provinces of Bielsk Podlaski and Chełm being the tail-end of the group registered a very rapid development of the private sector in the eighties (with a 50 per cent increase in the Bielsk Podlaski province share of the private sector national turnover), the regions where the position of private business was insignificant making up less than 1 per cent of the total national turnover of non-agricultural non-socialized economy (e.g. the provinces of Płock, Sieradz, Suwałki, Tarnobrzeg), taken as a whole showed the pace of the development falling short of this country's average in this respect.

These trends affected not only the size of the private

sector but also the efficacy of its operation and the sizes of the individual businesses. The example of the province of Zielona Góra with its biggest labour productivity at the beginning of the investigated period appears to be quite characteristic in this context. However, by the end of the investigated period the difference between the labour productivity of the private sector of that province and the productivity of the private enterprise in the other regions of this country taken as a whole showed a 50 per cent increase. The similar developments occurred in the provinces with low indices of labour productivity.

The biggest increases in the average size of the private business were registered in the provinces of Warsaw and Skiernewice, with the former being in this country's forefront at the beginning of the investigated period. While, the Zamość province which in 1976 ranked lowest in this respect not only failed to improve its position by 1986, but registered absolutely no increase in the average number of employees of a private business, being 1.3 persons.

All this leads one to believe that a natural tendency towards equalizing the numerical and qualitative differences found among the individual provinces in the non-agricultural non-socialized economy can hardly be identified. What can be pointed to in this context is rather the recurrence of specific trends in the qualitative and quantitative development of the private enterprise in the individual regions.

It is however to be stressed at this point that the similar trends in development of the private sector had occurred in the earlier years. The studies conducted by W. Goettig in the seventies showed small business as being the strongest in the highly industrialized regions and the weakest in the areas showing low levels of advancement¹. The results of the studies discussed in the present paper demonstrate that the alarming trends identified by W. Goettig are gaining in intensity.

Apart from the identification of the trends recurring in

¹W. Goettig, *Rozwój i rozmieszczenie przemysłu drobnego* (Development and Location of Small Business in Poland), IHWiU, Warszawa 1980, p. 204.

the individual regions with regard to development of the private sector, the statistical analysis also enables enumeration of the provinces where both the local authorities and the bureaucracy may have played an important role in the fostering or hampering the development of the private sector. Characteristically, it is much easier to establish in which provinces the growth was impeded rather than where it was encouraged.

Most indicative of the pursuit by the local authorities of the policy detrimental to development of the private sector was the sudden and unprecedented collapse of the pace of development of the non-socialized business in the given province previously showing supremacy over the other regions of this country in this respect. There are more facts corroborating this general observation such as the very small number of licences being issued to private businesses especially those showing in ideological terms some resemblance to capitalist forms of management i.e. for instance, the joint ventures and stores selling craftsmen's manufactures. In some provinces no such licenses were granted. In most cases the policies impeding the growth of the private sector involved the occurrence of all these symptoms. Analyses of local statistical data have shown several regions, including in the first place the provinces of Bielsk, Częstochowa and Kalisz, as being characteristic examples corroborating the theory of the local authorities unfavourably altering the policy vis-a-vis the private business. It might however be unwise to advocate this theory in view of the continuous shrinking of the given province's share of the all-national turnover throughout the investigated period (which was the case for example with the regions of Piotrków, Sieradz, Szczecin) especially taking into account the absence of the other characteristic adverse symptoms.

It seems that a change of the official policy towards the non-socialized sector can be deemed favourable when the proportion the private sector's turnover in a particular province constituted in the totality of national turnover was shrinking for a long time only to start to grow rapidly from a certain point. Such an alteration of development trends occurred in the early eighties for example in the provinces of Bydgoszcz, Olsztyn and Wałbrzych. Similar changes were also registered in the province

of Kielce after the year 1983, and in the province of Radom after the year 1984.

The latter transformations were too rapid and too substantial to be accidental.

The said statistical analysis has also provided important information about a group of regions showing similar characteristics of development of the private sector. They were the provinces of: Ciechanów, Chełm, Krosno and to some degree also the region of Bielsk Podlaski. All these provinces are the so-called "new" provinces (formed in 1975) characterized by low levels of urbanization and industrialization and also by very poor assets of the private sector. In the seventies the privately-owned businesses of these provinces showed the rate of development lower than the national average. In the eighties the development was much faster than the national average. It seems that this fact might be accounted for by pointing not only to the policies pursued by local authorities but also to the skillful handling of the private sector's problems by the authorities and the local bureaucracy. The control of the public sector may have been quite difficult in the newly formed provinces, and the bureaucrats may have underrated the importance of the private sector as a phenomenon involving social economic and political implications. As the local authorities and the bureaucracy grew more experienced they became more able to affect the operations of the private sector and control its development.

As was noted before, all the assertions advanced in this paper with regard to the role the local authorities have played in the modification of the growth of the private sector are largely hypothetical. They could only be deemed legitimate if some additional local studies were carried out using methods other than the statistical analysis.

The conclusions resulting from the analysis of the circumstances and development trends in the non-agricultural non-socialized economy found in the years 1976-1986 in the individual provinces include two principal aspects. One is the recurrence of the specific trends in the development of the private enterprise in the individual regions, the other is the theory that the private sector shows high sensitivity to the policies pursued by the authorities and bureaucracy of the given province.

4. Determinants of the provincial authorities' policies vis-a-vis the development of the private sector

The above general analysis of trends and mechanisms found in the development of non-agricultural non-socialized economy leads one to conclude that there are possibilities of intensifying the development of the sector. Such opportunities should be made the most of, for instance by enhancing the relaxation of the official policy towards the new business ventures and tax obligations imposed upon the non-socialized sector. As evidenced by the analysis both the local authorities and the bureaucracy can play an important role in the furtherance of such policies.

The impact of the provincial authorities upon development of the private sector is a function of two factors: the provincial authorities' commitment to the promotion of the development, and the technical opportunities of affecting it.

The years following the late forties have seen little concern on the part of the province authorities in the development of the non-socialized sector of the economy. The development of the private sector has been deemed undesirable for political considerations, and the interest the local authorities have sometimes showed in the economic prosperity of their respective regions could hardly offset the adverse aftershocks of such trends. Despite the certain favourable changes that have recently occurred in the central policy the situation in this respect remains very far from perfect¹.

Irrespective of the afore-discussed principal determinants there are also other reasons accounting for the authorities' and the local bureaucracy's potential commitment to the promotion of the economic advancement of the private sector. These include two factors of apparently special significance. One is the importance the authorities and especially the bureaucracy attach to the pursuits facilitating the bureaucracy's furtherance of tasks confronting them. The most characteristic example of such pursuits are repairs of small public institutions (schools, kin-

¹R. Szul, E. Kirejczyk, Dilemmas of Economic Reform and Self-management in Poland. Economic Analysis and Workers' Management. No 3/1987, pp. 379-380.

dergartens, hospitals and the like) belonging to the local administration's scope of management, a type of assignment large units of the socialized sector tend to avoid. In the years following the Second World War privately-owned businesses were but seldom offered such assignments, inter alia due to the system of the central setting of the volume of spending on services provided by the non-socialized sector. The eighties have seen sweeping changes in this field, including the lifting of restrictions on the economic contacts between the two sectors.

The other factor appears to be more essential. In the eighties the local budgets were no longer aided exclusively with resources coming from the central budget, for it was then that local taxes and other fees became their part and parcel. The size of the private sector is crucial to the size of the incomes the local budget can derive from the non-socialized economy.

Those factors are not strong enough to effect in every province more favourable policies on the activity of the private sector. One possible explanation is that a change of policy of province authorities and bureaucracy might have to wait until those responsible for the implementation of new policies learn to see things in a new perspective.

It must be remembered that the general climate of opinion surrounding small private businesses is essential to the policies designed to facilitate their activity. Apart from that local authorities have also other more convenient and effective policy tools at hand. They are:

- a policy of issuing licences for business activity.

While appropriate legal regulations are made by the central authorities their execution in practice rests with the local administrative agencies. It must be noted that implementation of those laws varies not only among the individual provinces but also among lower level bureaucratic units such as communes or even town districts.

- a policy of reliefs and exemptions from taxes and charges fixed by the central authorities. The law permits considerable allowances even up to two thirds of the base sum. Such moves are designed to encourage new business ventures and may well articulate state preferences in certain fields of private

business activity, or boost advancement in the underdeveloped regions;

- other ways of promoting economic initiatives, falling under the competence of the local authority. Crucial among them are housing policies and - due to the appalling state of housing construction - also policies on land allotment.

The relevant studies have shown that while the seventies marked a turning point in the development trends of the non-agricultural non-socialized economy (the changes being undoubtedly less dramatic than those which took place in the fifties), the eighties have seen a major alteration of the role the province authorities and the local bureaucrats play in decision-making on development of the private sector. The relevant facts about the turn of the seventies can easily be found in the statistics which show that the trend prevailing then was the start of the rapid growth of the private sector's share of the national income. While, statistics hardly provide evidence indicating the change in the province authorities' attitude towards private business. Consequently, the impact the province authorities have had upon development of the private sector appears to be a very interesting subject to be dealt with in future studies. The subject might be well-worth looking into, for further changes have been announced aimed on the one hand at trimming the powers of the bureaucrats and the growth of the role of the local self-government, and on the other hand at increasing incentives for the operations of the non-agricultural non-socialized sector of Poland's economy.

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VALORIZATION OF COMMUNE'S NATURAL CONDITIONS FOR ECONOMIC NEEDS

Valorization of natural conditions can be carried out for various needs and with the application of numerous methods. This has been discussed i.a. by Różycka (1965), Bartkowski (1974), Kondracki (1976), Haase (1978), Armand (1980), Richling (1982). In the opinion of most authors, all valuations of the natural environment should be done within natural limits of spatial units, that is geocomplexes of various taxonomic rank. This paper is an attempt at conducting a valorization of natural resources within the administrative boundaries of communes. Only existing materials were taken for valorization. No field studies have been conducted. The paper aims at presenting a simple method to evaluate natural conditions for the needs of construction, agriculture, recreation and environment protection. The application of the proposed system of commune topology enables a general evaluation of communes' natural potential and makes it possible to indicate their economic functions.

Topographic maps in the scales of 1 : 50 000 and 1 : 100 000, geological maps in the scales of 1 : 50 000, 1 : 200 000 and 1 : 300 000 and soil maps in the scales of 1 : 25 000, 1 : 100 000 and 1 : 300 000 served as source materials for an evaluation of physico-geographical conditions. Also were used annexes to soil-agricultural maps in the scale of 1 : 5000, statistical yearbooks of provinces and a work on agricultural valorization, edited by Witek (1977, 1981). The materials are useful because they are available and also because they cover the whole territory of Poland

The first stage of valorization of communes' natural conditions consisted in developing a list of indi-

ces, decisive for an environment's usefulness for various economic purposes. Afterwards models of evaluation tables of natural resources were developed, with respect to the needs of buildings construction, agriculture, recreation and environment protection. The proposed procedure was tested in six communes of the Płock province, located both within young-glacial landscapes with varied relief and within old glacial landscapes with monotonous relief (Sierpc, Zawidz, Bielsk, Słubice, Gąbin, Rataje). Location of the communes is presented in Fig. 1.

List of indices

The applied indices comprise those features of individual components of the environment that readily can be determined on the basis of generally available maps (Table 1). Hence, topographical maps in the scale of 1 : 100 000 were the source material to determine differentiation in area relief. Those areas where the density of contour lines was greater than in the enclosed model fragment (Fig. 2) were regarded as areas with varied relief. Then, with a planimeter the surfaces of those areas were measured and referred to the surface of the entire commune. The index of relief variety was expressed as a percentage. In order to simplify the procedure of further evaluation, the actual value of the index was included in one of the following sections: 0 to 5% - areas with little varied relief; 5.1 to 15% - areas with medium varied relief; over 15% - areas with very varied relief.

Valorization of lithology was carried out on the basis of geological maps. The bed-rock was divided into the following groups:

- compact mineral sediments - glacial lacustrine clays and silts, heavy boulder clays;
- varied mineral sediments - sands on clays, clays on sands, dusts, and
- loose mineral sediments - gravels, sands and boulders of various origin.

Since the index of evaluation of lithology was used in the area valorization for the needs of buildings construction, individual groups of rocks were attributed weights, corresponding

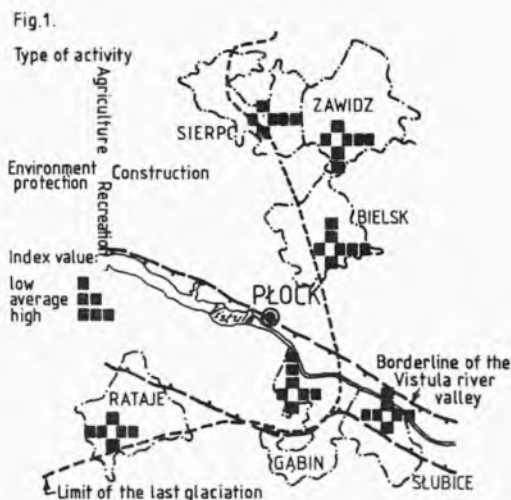


Fig. 1. Evaluation of the natural environment's usability in selected communes for the needs of agriculture, buildings construction and recreation as well as in the aspect of environment protection.



Fig. 2. Model of contour line density to delimit areas with varied relief. Scale 1 : 100 000.

List of indices for evaluation of commune's natural conditions

Features of components of natural environment	Index differentiation (sections)
R e l i e f	
Areas with much varied relief (% in relation to commune's surface area)	<5; 5.1 - 15; > 15
S u r f a c e s e d i m e n t s	
1. Mineral	
Compact }	33-56; 56.1-78; 78
Varied } ewalutation index	
Loose } of surface forma-	
2. Organic	supplementary index (depending on commune's natural conditions)
W a t e r s	
Lake area (% in relation to commune's surface area)	<2; 2.1 - 5; > 5
Density of streams (km/km ² of commune's surface area)	<0.5; 0.51 - 1; > 1
Wet areas or with very shallow ground waters (% of commune's surface area)	supplementary index <5; 5.1 - 15; > 15
C l i m a t e	
Areas with unfavourable climatic features - bottoms of valleys and depressions (% of commune's surface area)	<5; 5.1 - 15; > 15
V e g e t a t i o n	
Meadows (% in relation to commune's surface area)	<15; 15.1 - 25; > 25
Good and average meadows }	% in relation to area of greenlands additional index
Poor meadows }	
F o r e s t s (% in relation to commune's surface area)	<15; 15.1 - 30; > 30
Deciduous forest	% in relation to forest area additional index
Coniferous forest	
Mixed forest	
S o i l s	
Fertile soils (% in relation to the area of arable land)	<30; 30 - 60; > 60

to their usability to found buildings. Weight equal to 1 was attributed to compact sediments, weight 2 - varied sediments and weight 3 - loose sediments. The same weight 3 was also attributed to solid rocks, granites, sandstones, basalts, occurring in the south of Poland. A general index of valorization of commune's surface formations was calculated in the following manner: the area covered by individual groups of rocks was measured (with a planimeter) and the result was referred to the total surface area of the commune, expressing the final result as a percentage; then the obtained values were multiplied by 1, 2 or 3 respectively; the results were added and their total divided by 3.

Example (see Table 2a): in the commune of Bielsk loose sediments cover 24.9% of the total area, varied ones - 59.8%, and compact 14%. The index of evaluation of surface formations

$$W = \frac{24.9 \times 3 + 59.8 \times 2 + 14 \times 1}{3} = 69.4.$$
 In order to facilitate a further evaluation of the commune, the results were included in one of three sections (Table 1). The index value from 33 to 56% informs about poor usability of the grounds for construction, value from 56.1 to 78% proves average usability, whereas over 78% about high usability.

Additionally the share of organic materials in the commune's total surface area was evaluated. The index is expressed as a percentage.

Evaluation of water conditions in the communes was carried out on the basis of two indices. The first was lake occurrence (that is a percentage of lake area in the commune's surface area), and the other - the density of river network (that is the length of streams related to the commune's surface area). Topographical maps in the scale of 1: 50 000 served as source materials. On the maps the lake surface was computed with the help of a planimeter and the length of waterways was measured with a curvemeter. Actual values of the indices belong to various sections. For the lake occurrence index the sections are: 0 to 2% - low lake occurrence, 2.1 to 5% - high lake occurrence, over 5% - very high lake occurrence¹.

¹ The average lake occurrence in Poland is about 1%; in young-glacial areas 2-5%, in the Great Mazurian Lake District over 10% (Kondracki, 1978).

Indices of evaluation of natural conditions in selected communes of Plock province

Values of indices

Name of commune	Variety of relief	Sediments					Water conditions		
		Mineral				Organic	Lake occurrence	Density of river streams	Wet areas
		Compact	Varied	Loose	General				
	% of commune area	% of commune area			index	% of commune area	% of commune area	km/ /km ²	% of commune area
Sierpc	3,0	0,1	34,3	64,1	85,7	1,3	0,1	0,44	1,0
Zawidz	1,9	8,0	33,9	57,0	94,2	1,2	0,0	0,18	5,0
Bielsk	0,8	14,0	59,8	24,9	69,4	1,2	0,0	0,36	1,9
Ślubice	3,8	23,2	10,9	60,9	75,9	5,0	0,0	0,27	3,36
Gabin	4,6	7,3	40,2	47,2	76,4	5,2	0,1	0,29	3,2
Rataje	6,0	2,7	31,4	59,4	81,2	5,7	0,8	0,41	4,3
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Areas with unfavourable climatic conditions	Meadows			Forests					Fertile soils
	Total	Good and average	Poor	Total	Deciduous	Coniferous	Mixed	Unidentified	
% of commune area	% of commune area	% of meadow area		% of commune area	% of forest area				% of arable land
2,0	8,0	35,0	65,0	14,6	0,0	70,0	0,3	29,7	29,0
0,0	21,7	33,6	66,4	10,0	32,9	29,6	28,2	9,3	23,1
4,0	10,0	60,0	40,0	3,6	52,0	0,0	23,0	25,0	47,7
68,0	15,5	74,0	26,0	11,9	14,6	85,4	0,0	0,0	31,3
35,0	13,4	60,4	39,6	14,3	6,7	76,6	16,7	0,0	38,8
27,0	7,4	44,0	46,0	20,8	0,0	88,6	3,8	7,6	32,1
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19

Indices of evaluation of natural conditions in selected communes of the Plock province

Evaluation of index value (sectioning)

Commune	Relief variety	Index of mineral sediments	Lake occurrence	Density of river streams	Wet areas	Areas with unfavour- able climatic conditions	Meadows	Forests	Fertile soils
Sierpc	+	+++	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Zawidz	+	+++	+	+	+	+	++	+	+
Bielsk	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
Słubice	+	++	+	+	+	+++	++	+	++
Gąbin	+	++	+	+	+	+++	+	+	++
Rataje	++	+++	+	+	+	+++	+	++	++

Index value:	+++ high
	++ average
	+ low

The density of river network was studied in the following sections: below $0.5 \text{ km}/1 \text{ km}^2$ - low density, 0.5 to $1 \text{ km}/1 \text{ km}^2$ - high density, over $1 \text{ km}/1 \text{ km}^2$ - very high density. The values correspond generally to the density of streams in lowlands, lake districts and in the mountains.

An additional index for evaluation of hydrographic conditions was a percentage share of wet areas and areas with a very shallow level of ground waters. When applying this index, however, one should remember that a substantial portion of wet areas is covered with pastures or forests; hence the value of the "wet areas index" is frequently included in an index characterizing the vegetation cover.

Evaluation of commune's climatic conditions presented many problems. The main reason was lack of a sufficiently dense network of meteorological stations. It seems that for the purposes of this paper the most important thing is to indicate the areas with an unfavourable topoclimate. Such areas are primarily the bottoms of valleys and depressions, exposed to a flow down of cool and polluted air, threatened by frequent ground frosts. In the studies, the area covered by depressions was measured and it was referred to the whole commune's area. A result within the range 0 to 5% shows favourable aerosanitary conditions, 5.1 to 15% - average, and above 15% - unfavourable aerosanitary conditions.

Other indices concerned evaluation of vegetation cover in the communes. Topographical maps in the scale of $1 : 50\,000$ and soil-agricultural maps in the scale of $1 : 25\,000$ served as source materials. The first index was a percentage share of meadows in the commune's surface area. It was decided that the index value below 15% shows a small share of meadows and pastures, 15.1 to 25% - average, over 25% - high share¹. An additional feature may cover the share of poor as well as average and good meadows in the total surface area of meadows (Tables 1 and 2).

Another index was a percentage share of forest areas. The index value below 15% shows low afforestation of the commune,

¹Share of meadows in Poland exceeds slightly 13% .

15.1% to 30% - average, over 30% - high¹. Additionally it is possible to characterize the share of deciduous, coniferous and mixed forests in the total forest area.

The last index serves to evaluate soils. The index refers to the share of fertile soils in the total area of the commune. Fertile soils include soils comprised in the following complexes of agricultural usability: wheat good and very good, rye very good (that is wheat-rye) and mountain wheat. If the area covered by the listed soils constituted less than 30% of arable land, then the share of fertile soils in the commune's arable land was termed as low. If the index value was between 30% and 60% - as average, if over 60% - as high.

Certainly, it is possible to develop additional indices for soil evaluation, e.g. index of the share of average and poor soils in the total area of the arable land or the commune. However, this does not seem necessary. Soil evaluation was used in this study only in evaluation with respect to buildings construction, and the factor restricting the possibility to construct settlements is a high share of fertile soils, and not average and poor soils.

It was found unnecessary to develop other indices of soil evaluation for agricultural needs. The existing bonitation of agricultural production area in Poland (Witek et al. 1981) meets all the requirements of a complex evaluation of communes' agricultural potential. The way to apply it is discussed here-below when describing the method to evaluate natural conditions of a commune for agricultural needs.

Tables constitute the fundamental part of the study. Table 1 contains a list of indices used when evaluating the communes' natural potential. The other tables contain results of calculation of the indices for selected communes of the Płock province.

E v a l u a t i o n o f c o m m u n e s ' n a t u r a l
c o n d i t i o n s .

The evaluation of the communes' natural potential was conducted in the following stages:

¹The share of forest areas in Poland is about 27%.

- a) selection of features of environmental components that have an impact on commune usefulness for a specific function;
- b) determination how the selected features influence the usefulness of a commune for a specific purpose;
- c) preparation of tables of evaluation of communes' natural conditions for the needs of the economy;
- d) developing synthetic indices of communes' environment usefulness for specific functions;
- e) developing of partial indices.

Evaluation of commune's natural conditions from the viewpoint of agricultural needs

Preparation of an evaluation of commune's natural environment for the needs of agriculture was restricted to using and modifying to a certain extent of materials contained in the work by T. Witek and his team (1977, 1981). As already mentioned, the work in a comprehensive way presents the problem of agricultural valorization of production space in Poland. The evaluation was made with the method of point bonitation, which - despite some reservations - should be regarded as very useful to evaluate natural conditions.

In the quoted work most attention was paid to usable properties of soils. Individual classes and complexes of agricultural usability of soils were attributed a number of points, depending on results of experiments on crop yields of major cultivated plants. The synthetic index was calculated as an arithmetic mean of the value of the class bonitation index and the index of agricultural usability. The calculations were made separately for arable land and for meadows and pastures. Afterwards, taking the area occupied by individual types of usage into consideration, the index of quality and agricultural usability of commune's soils was determined. A maximum theoretical value of the index is 97, a minimum one - 17.5. It was assumed that those communes with the index of usability of arable land is over 72 points shall be considered as areas with very good soils, 72-54 points with average soils and below 54 - poor soils. The limits for meadows were determined somewhat differently. With values exceeding 76 points meadows were regarded as very good, 76-43 as average, and below 43 as poor. The respective

sections of the synthetic index of quality and agricultural usability of communes' soils were determined as follows: over 74 points - very good soils, 74-50 - good, below 50 - poor. A reservation is necessary that the above values must not be treated as final and some, probably not very significant, shifts in the border values are possible along with a growing number of tested communes.

A further stage of developing of bonitation of agricultural space included an evaluation of relief, agroclimatic conditions and water conditions. Flat lowland relief, most favourable to agriculture was given 5 points, and 0 points were given to mountaineous relief. In this study it was accepted that areas evaluated over 3.5 points have topographic conditions favourable to agriculture, areas within the range 1.05-3.5 points - average favourable whereas area with less than 1.05 points - unfavourable.

Soil water conditions were determined on the basis of the share of permanently or periodically wet soils and permanently or periodically too dry soils. Soils with optimum wetness were given 5 points and soils with incorrect air-water conditions were given suitably less points. In the study soils evaluated at more than 4 points were regarded as containing optimum wetness, 2-4 points - as soils with periodically unfavourable air-water conditions, below 2 points - as soils with permanently unfavourable air-water conditions.

An evaluation of agroclimate was made in a 15-degree scale. It was accepted that areas with 1-5 points are characterized by unfavourable climatic conditions, 5.1-10 points - average, and over 10 points - favourable.

A total evaluation of conditions for agricultural production was obtained by summing up indices for soils, topography, water and agroclimate. A highest theoretical value was 122 points, practical - 111. The average index of quality of agricultural production space in Poland equals 66.6, and in the Płock province - 71.0 (Witek et al., 1981). Referring to those values, areas evaluated at over 80 points were regarded as optimum for developing agriculture, areas evaluated at 60-80 points - as average, and below 60 points as unfavourable to

Evaluation of natural conditions in selected communes of the Plock province
from the viewpoint of agricultural needs^{x)}

Commune	Soil usability index		Index of soil usability		Agroclimate		Relief		Water conditions		General evaluation	
	arable land	meadows										
Sierpc	43,9	31,8	42,6	0	9,2	00	4,6	000	2,8	00	59,2	0
Zawidz	43,6	30,6	40,2	0	9,2	00	4,7	000	2,9	00	57,0	0
Bielsk	57,9	38,7	55,8	00	9,8	00	4,6	000	3,6	00	73,8	00
Stubice	47,2	37,9	45,4	0	10,2	000	4,8	000	3,6	00	64,0	00
Gabin	47,6	33,6	45,4	0	10,2	000	4,6	000	2,9	00	63,1	00
Rataje	43,6	29,6	42,1	0	10,0	00	4,6	000	2,6	00	58,3	0

Usability for agriculture: 000 high
 00 average
 0 low

^{x)} On the basis of work by T. Wittek and team (1981).

development of agriculture. It should be stressed that the proposed typology refers to natural conditions and the results reflect exclusively communes' natural agricultural potential.

Table 3 illustrates the way to evaluate selected communes with respect to their usability for agriculture. None of the studied communes is characterized by optimum conditions for agricultural production. Natural conditions in the communes of Gabin, Bielsk and Słubice were generally evaluated as "average favourable", in the other communes - as "unfavourable". It is proposed to conduct a further, more detailed typology of land on the basis of the following partial indices:

typology of stage 2 - basing on quality and usability of soils;

typology of stage 3 - basing on agroclimatic conditions;

typology of stage 4 - basing on topographic and water conditions.

Among the studied communes, only the commune of Bielsk is an area with good soils, the others have poor soils. With respect to agroclimate, favourable conditions are in the communes of Gabin and Słubice with optimum climatic conditions for agricultural production; the other communes have average conditions. All the analysed communes are characterized by similar variety of relief and water conditions of soils. There is a domination of lowlands relief and of soils with periodically unfavourable air-water conditions. Thus, in the analysed communes the value of topographic and hydrographic indices is not reflected in a differentiation of the synthetic index of usability of natural conditions for development of agriculture.

Evaluation of natural conditions for the needs of buildings construction

The first stage of the evaluation consisted in selecting the indices (Table 1) which have an impact of a commune's usefulness buildings construction. The following indices were selected: variety of relief, quality of mineral surface sediments, share of organic material, share of areas with unfavourable topoclimate, afforestation, share of areas covered by semi-natural vegetation (meadows) and share of area covered by fertile soils¹.

¹Wet areas in the analysed communes constitute a part of pastures and forests.

Table 4.

Evaluation of natural conditions in selected communes of the Plock province
from the viewpoint of the needs of buildings construction

Indices of evaluation

Commune	Relief	Surface sediments		Fortile soils	Climate	Meadows	Forests	General evaluation
		mineral	organic %					
Sierpc	ooo	ooo	1,3	oo	ooo	ooo	ooo	ooo
Zawidz	ooo	ooo	1,2	oo	ooo	oo	ooo	ooo
Bielsk	ooo	oo	1,2	o	ooo	ooo	ooo	ooo
Szubice	ooo	oo	5,0	o	o	oo	ooo	oo
Gabin	ooo	oo	5,2	o	o	ooo	ooo	oo
Rataje	oo	ooo	5,7	o	o	ooo	oo	oo

Usability for buildings construction: ooo high
 oo average
 o low

Area usability for construction was lowered by high values of all indices, excepting the index of quality of mineral grounds.

Table 4 presents the method to evaluate natural conditions of the selected communes for the needs of building construction. Data included in Table 2a served as source material. A synthetic index of commune's usability for construction was obtained by summing up the points in rows and dividing it by the number of columns. The highest values were accorded to the communes of Sierpc, Zawidz and Bielsk. They are characterized by very favourable natural conditions for construction. Natural potential of the other communes was evaluated as average.

Further typology was conducted on the basis of the index of relief and quality of surface sediments. An analysis of the values of those indices showed that the best conditions for building foundation were in the communes of Sierpc and Zawidz. In both communes there were also low values of the share of organic grounds, which is also favourable to construction. A similarly low value is characteristic for the commune of Bielsk which with respect to the carrying capacity of mineral grounds and variety of relief resembles communes with an average potential.

The typology of the third phase was carried out on the basis of topoclimatic conditions. It was found that the communes of Sierpc, Zawidz and Bielsk have very favourable conditions for building construction, whereas the communes of Słubice, Gąbin and Rataje - unfavourable.

The typology of the fourth phase consisted in evaluating the communes from the viewpoint of the share of areas which should not be built-up (fertile soils, forests, meadows). The lowest share of such areas is in the communes of Sierpc and Zawidz, Bielsk and Gąbin; those are communes in which development of built-up areas is not contrary to the agricultural function and environment protection.

Evaluation of natural conditions from the viewpoint of the needs of recreation

The following aspects were used as indices for evaluation: variety of relief, lake occurrence, density of river network, afforestation, share of pastures and topoclimatic conditions.

Table 5.

Evaluation of natural conditions in selected communes of the Plock province
from the viewpoint of the needs of recreation

Indices of evaluation

Commune	Relief	Lake occurrence	Density of streams	Climate	Meadows	Forests	General evaluation
Sierpc	o	o	o	ooo	o	o	o
Zawidz	o	o	o	ooo	oo	o	oo
Bielsk	o	o	o	ooo	o	o	o
Słubice	o	o	o	o	oo	o	o
Gąbin	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Rataje	oo	o	o	o	o	oo	o

Usability for recreation: ooo high
 oo average
 o low

Table 6.

Evaluation of needs of protection of natural conditions in selected communes of the Plock province

Indices of evaluation

Commune	Relief	Soils	Lake occurrence	Climate	Meadows	Forests	General evaluation
Sieroc	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Zawidz	o	o	o	o	oo	o	o
Bielsk	o	oo	o	o	o	o	o
Stubice	o	oo	o	ooo	oo	o	oo
Gabin	o	oo	o	ooo	o	o	o
Wataje	oo	oo	o	ooo	o	oo	oo

Need of environment protection: ooo high
 oo average
 o low

High values of the indices makes the commune attractive with respect to recreational needs. The only exception is the topoclimatic index, a large number of depressions and valleys worsens the aerosanitary conditions of the area.

Table 5 contains an evaluation of the selected communes from the viewpoint of recreational needs. None of the analysed communes obtained a high mark. The commune of Zawidz was on the borderline of "average attractiveness", the other communes are not suitable for recreational functions. This situation can be explained by applying the typology of individual stages. Stage 2 consisted in evaluating the communes with respect to the quantity of hydrographic objects that are attractive for tourism and recreation. All the communes had the lowest value. Stage 3 evaluated the vegetation cover. The area covered with natural and semi-natural vegetation was at the most average in the analysed communes (Zawidz, Słubice, Rataje). The effects of stage 4 of the typology showed the attractiveness of the relief to be very low (with the exception of the commune of Rataje), and climatic conditions in half of the communes are unfavourable. In view of the above, recreation will not be an important function for none of the communes under study.

Evaluation of natural conditions from the viewpoint of environment protection

An evaluation of natural conditions from the viewpoint of their protection covered the following indices: variety of relief, afforestation, share of meadows and fertile arable land, lake occurrence, density of streams, share of wet areas and share of poorly aerated areas.

The necessity to protect an element of the environment is directly proportional to the value of the evaluation index.

Table 6 illustrates the procedure when evaluating communes from the viewpoint of environment protection. In none of the analysed communes there were groupings of valuable natural objects, therefore the need to protect the landscape in most communes can be determined as insignificant¹. Only the communes of Słubice and Rataje had a medium mark.

¹In the communes there may exist small objects with high natural value.

The typology of the other phases was carried out differently than in the previous evaluations. It was found purposeful to analyse each elements separately so that none feature of the landscape that deserves protection be overlooked. For instance, the typology by topoclimate index, made for the communes of Słubice, Gąbin and Rataje. The area of these communes (despite a low or average general evaluation) should be strongly protected against air pollution since the communes are characterized by extremely unfavourable aerosanitary conditions.

In the evaluation of the needs for environment protection in the communes, additional indices were applied that concerned quality of meadows and forests. For example. a high share of coniferous forests (that is less resistant) shows a necessity to protect the commune against air pollution.

However, the application of additional indices depends on the value of the main index. Not only the species composition is decisive for the need to protect forests and meadows, but also the area covered by them.

The presented proposal for valorization of the natural environment of communes seems to be applicable to each commune. One should remember, however, that all the indices were arrived at only basing on an analysis of 6 communes and that threshold values may be modified along with increasing the sample of studied communes.

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Zbigniew Hockuba

MARKET SHORTAGES AND SHOPPING PROCESS
(The Kornai theory of the consumer behaviour and
empirical findings¹)

This paper is chiefly intended to illustrate the Kornai shopping algorithms presented in 'Economics of Shortage' (Kornai, 1985) with empirical data. The present argument includes, what might be referred to as a critical juxtaposition of Kornai's original theory with empirical findings, for differences between the theoretical and the empirical must also be allowed for. I shall also endeavour to provide tentative proposals on types of research that could help to bridge the gap which now exists between theoretical assumptions and empirical observations. The main argument is preceded by general remarks on shortages which Kornai sees as a normal state of consumer market to which the individual households tend to accommodate.

1. Shortages on consumer goods market

Although the concept of shortage had long been used in a colloquial sense to describe situation characteristic of consumer goods markets in centrally planned economic systems, it became part of the jargon of economic theory quite recently. The term in question denotes what the economic theory also calls market non-equilibrium, the seller's or producer's market. In 1977 Kornai invented a new notion to describe the abnormality. Its free rendition: 'market hunger pains'. While, theoreticians of the so-called 'economy of non-equilibrium' proposed the following terms: non-Walrasian equilibrium, equilibrium with static

¹The empirical findings presented in this paper were arrived at in the course of studies concerned with the behaviour of households confronted with market shortages. The studies originally devised by Hockuba were carried out as part of the research project, 'Socio-Economic Determinants of Non-Official Local Economic Operations' supervised by K.Z. Sowa.

prices, equilibrium involving quantity rationing, surplus of aggregated demand. All these terms reflect basically this same real state of consumer goods market but each of them, as is often the case in economics, concerns a different aspect of the main problem or exemplifies a different mode of its perception.

Kornai (1985) rightly insists that there is no simple, unambiguous definition of market shortage. It does, however, cover a number of features of the market of products and consumer goods existing in the economy hindered by limited availability of means and resources. It is only through a penetrating analysis of behaviour of subjects engaged in economic activities, despite limited availability of means and resources, and examination of market relationships that the essential characteristics of the state called shortage can be revealed. The notion of shortage covers a wide range of aspects such as: inavailability of certain goods or commodities: supply generally falling short of demand; unwanted substitution occasioned by inavailability of the needed goods and unwanted purchases occasioned by a variety of factors, including for example, fear of inflation, or of the anticipated inavailability of certain goods and commodities; long queuing; official and concealed rationing; private transactions including exchange of goods and commodities, and illegal sales from-under-the-counter. Thus, shortage appears to be a major phenomenon involving numerous practical manifestations.

Kornai provides a structural analysis of shortage as an aspect of economy and phenomenon affecting the market. The main feature of this approach is the perception of the economy as an entity made up of parts showing dynamic interactions. The approach involves the study of micro-subjects engaged in economic activities (firms, businesses, institutions and households), and also identification of relationships occurring between their market operations, as well as the establishment of the complex system governing these operations. The employment of this research methodology leads Kornai to conclude that shortages affect all parts of the structure and work of the system. It seems therefore legitimate to contend that shortages are inherent in the economy hindered by restricted availability of means and resources. They are its part and parcel, a lasting

and stable state which is normal in the sense that the system shows a peculiar tendency to maintain or return to it whenever, for some time and for some reason the economic situation improves. In more traditional terms shortages could also be referred to as state of equilibrium in economy hindered by limited availability of means and resources. It is therefore a state of non-Walrasian equilibrium, for on the one hand there is a tendency to maintain it, and on the other hand the individual markets¹ show no equality of demand and supply. Since shortages are a normal state, the economic system tends to accommodate to it. The behaviour of firms, businesses, institutions or households includes pursuit of adaptation to all aspects of market and economic shortages. In the following parts of this paper we shall concentrate on the behaviour of a household in the situation when the market of consumer goods shows chronic shortages.

2. The accommodation of a household to shortages

It is not easy to identify, in analysing a certain state of a complex and dynamic system, the factors responsible for the state. It is also difficult to draw a line between causes and results, while, determinants underlying the attendant phenomena tend to form the so-called closed cause-effect cycle (Myrdal, 1980). Kornai points to vicious circles found in numerous interrelated constituent shortages making up the general shortage of goods and commodities. He sees some of them as results, and others as causes of shortages. The structure of the said closed cycle can best be revealed by analysing the behaviour of a business confronted with shortages. Such types of enterprises

¹It is to be noted here that the concept of non-Walrasian economy can also be found in analyses by proponents of the macroeconomic line of 'economy of instability' Kornai describes as the school of Clower-Barro-Grossmann which uses the term referring to the state of surplus of aggregated demand. I would say that this trend of theoretical analyses complements the Kornai approach. However, Kornai did advance important qualifications as to the legitimacy of the employment of the term surplus of aggregated demand, in describing the state of economy showing chronic shortages. R. Portes attempted (1986) to prove that such objections are illegitimate by criticizing the Kornai approach.

states and behaviour as: underinvestment, pursuit of large production, never-ending demand, excessive accumulation of reserves are both an effect of shortages and their cause¹.

This holds true for behaviour of individual households confronted with market shortages. Inavailability of goods triggers processes of accomodation both in the structure and operation of households, while, on the other hand, the attitudes taken by consumers and their behaviour fuel the shortages. Yet, this reasoning may be called into question because, it seems that the relationship between a shortage and a consumer shows a marked asymmetry in which the consumer is always the disadvantaged side dependent upon circumstances beyond his control and consequently doomed to passivity. In other words, the consumer is not so much the factor responsible for shortages but rather the one that tends to accomodate to all their aspects and manifestations.

The accomodation of a household to market shortages means the adaptation to both the structure and modes of operation of the market. Apart from pecuniary incomes important are also the so-called non-pecuniary means of access to consumption (cf. Sikorska, 1987) the criteria used for selection of consumers entitled to the rationing of goods and commodities (cf. Kornai, 1985, p. 556) or non-financial means such as free time needed to procure hard-to-get provisions or articles, 'chain of friends and acquaintances' facilitating procurement of scarce or attractive goods or commodities; quick and efficient informal information system on deliveries to shops and stores (Hockuba, 1987 b).

While, where behaviour of the consumer is concerned we are faced with peculiar mode of accomodation consisting in the extension of the buying process meaning both more time needed to obtain

¹Seeking to leave this vicious circle of interdependences Kornai points to non-dramatic financial restrictions, imposed upon businesses and enterprises as the basic factor responsible for market and economic shortages. This, in turn is a result of institutional determinants affecting the operations of the economy, including in the first place the paternalistic character of relations between the state and a business or an enterprise.

a product and a variety of strategies of 'good-hunt' which normally are not found on markets characterized by a balance of the demand and the supply. It is this question that the present writer concentrates on in this paper and examines in great detail in its further sections.

The consumer's accomodation to the existence of shortages includes also other realms of operation of a household. There have emerged alternative sources supplying goods and commodities for consumers and also alternative opportunities in the realm of services (cf. Sikorska, 1987). The individual households seek self-sufficiency in a variety of home-mode products. The underlying reasons are both difficulties in the purchasing of goods and commodities and the growing costs of the procurement of products fueled by ubiquitous shortages. For it is not only the basic price that makes up the cost, but also the time needed to 'carry the purchase into effect', the costs of obtaining information on the date or time of delivery to the shops, the costs involved in the aid offered by friends and acquaintances etc.

Shortages also affect behaviour of consumers on their jobs. Clear-cut relationships can hardly be identified in this realm yet it seems that it is legitimate to contend that shortages represent no encouragement for the working people to step up their labour productivity, but they do undermine individual perceptions of the value of local currency and the size of wage-earner's incomes instead (Sopoćko, 1979). Shortages are also responsible for the growth of the importance of non-financial means and factors of market regulation, the absence of which may be perceived by some to be just as importunate as excessive fiscal restrictions.

3. Shopping process on market in shortage crisis

Purchases on markets wrestling with shortages involve, in Kornai's view (1985) a number of unique characteristics showing no similarity to those found in behaviour of consumers using normal markets. Shortages have made individual households develop unparalleled variety of strategies facilitating procurement of hard-to-get products, but have also been responsible for the mushrooming of difficulties involved in such efforts, and for

the emergence of non-pecuniary criteria governing the distribution of goods among consumers. While, the theory on factors affecting behaviour of consumers using markets free from shortages names only determinants underlying a rational choice of the available goods, proceeding from the assumption that realization of the final decision involves no obstacles, nor does it entail additional expenses¹.

The Kornai shopping algorithms presented in 'Economics of Shortage' are a new aspect of the theory of the consumers' behaviour. There are good reasons to believe that the Kornai discussion of behaviour of households confronted with shortages, is adequate, for it provides a good insight into the logic by which the consumer is motivated as a buyer faced with a poor market. Yet, the ideas advanced by Kornai require further analyses including empirical studies which could help to extend and critically assess the legitimacy of the proposed theoretical approach.

Proceeding from the assumption that the empirical may enrich the analysis of consumers' behaviour findings the present writer has chosen to discuss the Kornai shopping algorithm in the context of selected results of studies on the behaviour of households confronted with market shortages. The empirical studies were carried out in the province city of Rzeszów in the year 1987. The research covered 300 households which between January 1, 1985 and June 30, 1987 decided to purchase one of the following consumer goods: colour, or black-and-white TV, an automatic or an old-type washing machine, a refrigerator and a freezer. The studies yielded a large number of facts on 276 efforts involved in the procurement of consumer goods from the market remaining in the grip of shortage crisis. The research was intended to test the applicability of the Kornai theo-

¹G.S. Becker, the author of the so-called new theory of consumption works from the assumption that a household obtains products by combining goods and services available on the local market with the input of time its members need to cope with difficulties arising in the course of hunt for a good. Hence, the term time-budget limitations which has been established in the theory on consumers' behaviour to supplement the notion of financial limitations (cf. Kasprzak, 1984; Górecki, 1980).

ries¹. On the other hand it could also be a departure point for enrichment of the Kornai analysis of consumers behaviour. Some proposals relating to this point will be presented in the final part of this paper.

3.1. The start of the shopping process: 'the dilemma of parallel allocation schemes'.

Kornai starts his analysis of behaviour of the consumer as a buyer of goods and services by discussing the so-called 'dilemma of parallel allocation schemes'. The dilemma involves the selection of one of the possible ways of allocation of goods as a method of management of the operation of a market in shortage crisis. The principal ways are rationing and purchases on the market. The possibility of the procurement of the rationed goods depends upon the fulfilment of specific criteria defined by the subject responsible for the selection of consumers entitled to the buy goods through the rationing system. The most typical criteria for the selection are the following: the nature of the need (urgent or not), the judgement of the merits of the person concerned, as well as his or her domestic situation, social status and political attitudes (cf. Kornai, 1985, p. 556). The obtainment of different types of orders of allocation entitling a person to purchase a rationed good involved a variety of additional benefits, including in the first place the certainly that the needed product is available to the 'chosen' at a relatively low price.

When members of a household cannot or do not want to obtain a good through rationing they can try to buy it on the market open to the average consumer. This type of allocation involves different criteria for selection of potential consumers:

- 1) the consumer must have enough money to pay for the good;
- 2) where allocation involving queuing is concerned: time needed to find the store to which the scarce good has been delivered, or to wait for the delivery to arrive;

¹ The assumptions of an empirical study are presented in Zbigniew Hockuba's: 'The Consumer Faced with Market Shortages - Elaboration of Key Points of a Research Project' (typescript CPBP 09.8.4.3.).

3) access to information on time and place of such delivery;

4) the consumer's commitment to the procurement of scarce products or services.

An analysis of results of empirical studies leads one to conclude that the wish to purchase consumer goods does trigger 'dilemma of parallel allocation schemes'. This entails, in the first place careful preparations of a household to the realization of decision on procurement of the needed products. Since such decisions are in most cases weighty and involve substantial expenses they may rightly be called 'real decisions' in keeping with terminology adopted by Katona¹ (cf. Fleischmann, 1982). Before the making of majority of the investigated decisions the individual households collected information on the current situation on the market. The information concerned availability of the scarce products, the potential ways of their procurement, places to which the attractive goods are sent and time-tables of the deliveries. Only 12% of the investigated decisions were made despite the absence of knowledge of these facts, whereas 61% of the purchases were attended by the planning of the ways of the procurement of the attractive goods. It was this category that 'dilemma of parallel allocation schemes' concerned. Besides, there were very few instances in which the dilemma consisted in choosing between the rationing and open market sales. It was only on 15 cases out the total number of 276 that the consumers chose to seek inclusion in the rationing list. Only 5 members of this category planned to resort to this type of good procurement having decided to purchase a scarce good. The remaining 10 attempts to try the rationing system were made as a result of unsuccessful good-hunt on the market open to all.

'The dilemma of parallel allocation schemes' is particularly conspicuous at the stage of planning the way of obtaining hard-to-get products on the market. Kornai never raised this question even though it seems to be a very important aspect of

¹ Apart from 'real decisions' Katona also identified routine decisions that are made very often on minor purchases (such as daily shopping). Similar classification was proposed by Kornai (1977) who spoke of the major and standard decision-making.

the study of consumers' behaviour. Being conscious of difficulties involved in the procurement of the needed goods, households are also faced with the task of inventing strategies promising success of the efforts aimed at obtainment of the needed product. There are 2 such strategies: 1) queuing; 2) allocation based on the principle of mutual favors¹.

The choice between the 2 options seems to be determined by the conditions of domestic life of the consumer. Queuing which follows a shorter or longer hunt for a scarce product takes a lot of time, whereas allocation based on the principle of mutual favors entails the need for, or even necessity of doing a favour to someone in return for his or her courtesy. Consequently, households choose the strategy which on the one hand best suits determinants affecting their lives and on the other hand involves optimum chances of succeeding in the procurement of the desired product.

3.2. The fulfilment of intention to buy a product - the consumers' behaviour on the market

When 'dilemma of parallel allocation schemes' is resolved, the consumer is faced with the choice of buying a product or giving the purchase up. The process of the realization of decision begins. Let us assume that a household chooses to purchase a good on the market beyond the system of rationing and follow their 'good-hunt' as described by Kornai.

The shopping process begins when the consumer comes to a shop selling goods he needs. When the goods are available purchase can be done. There can also be a line of people waiting by the counter and the person may not have enough time to join them

¹The problem of allocation and selection involving the principle of mutual advantage is dealt with in passing by Kornai in his analysis of the sector of firms (1985, pp. 114-117) including references to the work by E.Hankins. The principle affects the realm of households just as intensely as the realm of firms. It involves the emergence of a 'chain of acquaintances' doing favours to one another. To illustrate the logic of operation of the chain an interesting observation of Hankins can be quoted from Kornai's work (1985, p. 116): 'bank of mutual favors develops, in which every member of the community of interests places his deposit and receives in exchange an ideal 'letter of credit' ... This letter of credit can be cashed not only with the person for whom the favor was done, but with every member of the community to which both belong'.

or may simply be not interested in buying the available goods, but these aspects will be discussed below. Besides, these scenarios involve implications similar to those of inavailability of attractive products in the shop. The Kornai shopping algorithm provides for decision-making at this point of the process with consumer considering the potentiality of buying a substitute for the good he wanted. There are 2 solutions to this problem. One is revision of demand including decision to buy a substitute. The other entails search for the desired good or an interlude in the shopping process - the waiting time. Search means return to the initial situation, roaming more shops. While, the waiting effects new developments in the consumer's life. He may, for example, spend the money for which he was going to purchase the good he needed. Kornai quotes 3 reasons behind such unwanted purchases: impatience of the consumer, "consumer manoeuvring" i. e., purchases motivated by far-sightedness and fear of inflation. The unwanted spending is neither imperative nor a rule, so the money originally allotted to a purchase need not necessarily be spent. The Kornai algorithm of consumers' behaviour on the market concludes with unwanted savings.

The juxtaposition of the afore-discussed pattern with findings obtained from empirical studies includes in the first place discussion of one of the principal assumptions of the Kornai theory concerning the behaviour of both firms and consumers, according to which the purchase done on the market is a dynamic process involving complex interactions between the buyer and his market environment. Such a process is prolonged and the time it takes to do a purchase is an essential feature of consumers' behaviour on the market in shortage crisis. The duration of the shopping process may also be looked upon as an indirect index of intensity of the crisis, for when shortages become more severe the average time needed to carry decision on a purchase into effect grows too.

It has been established that out of the total of 276 decisions on purchases 181¹ were materialized, 25% of which in

¹The studies covered realization of those decisions on purchases that were made between January 1, 1985 and June 30, 1987. The poll was launched in September 1987. 66% of plans on procurement of goods were fulfilled until then.

under 2 months, while the remaining 20% in 3-4 months, and 12% in 5-6 months after the making of decision on the purchase. The total percentage of purchases done within 6 months after the decision was 57. While, 22% of the total number of purchases were only done some 12 months after the procurement was planned.

Between the making of decision on the purchase and its realization the consumers engage in a series of activities making up the shopping process. Members of a households being in most cases well acquainted with the current market situation know that the purchase can hardly be done during the first visit to a shop. Consequently the buyers try to obtain information on other possibilities of the procurement of the scarce goods. Calling on shops selling the given type of product is a routine behaviour in this respect (reported by 80% of the polled). This may also be the most effective way of good-hunt for it enables immediate purchase when the buyer happens to call on the shop upon the delivery, and also entails development of contacts with the salesmen or saleswomen which may result in obtaining the information on delivery soon. There is however another category of consumers who not only call on the shops but also make enquiries using the telephone, read advertising pages in the press, keep asking questions to those who, they believe, could know more on the market situation. In this light the search for goods appears to be a kind of a battle which often involves participation of a 'chain of connections', takes a lot of time, entails much effort and sometimes also expenses. Besides, good-hunt also involves other costs: things which could have been done instead of looking for the scarce products; housework, care for children, different types of recreation such as reading books or watching TV, taking up extra jobs for money, going to the cinema or on holidays.

When the struggle for finding a product is successful the stage of queuing begins. This may be longer or shorter depending upon the nature of the queue, the kind of the scarce product etc., 29% out of the total of 181 purchases involved queuing. The percentage was relatively small because consumers engaged in solving the dilemma of parallel allocation schemes tend to prefer the 'mutual favors system', as means of good procurement, to queuing.

The search for scarce products, queuing or unproductive waiting are typical constituents of good-hunt on the market in shortage crisis. They were all described in the Kornai model which takes no account only of unwanted actions: unwanted substitution, unwanted spending, and absence of opportunities of making a different use of the money originally allotted for a purchase. Empirical studies have also demonstrated that such actions, though not very numerous, do occur as part of consumers' behaviour. A consumer wishing to buy a television, a washing-machine or a freezer seems to be determined to attain his objective by resorting to wide range of strategies and only gives up having tried them all, in which case he may also decide to buy something else. These very characteristics of consumers' behaviour may account for the fact that the researchers identified relatively small number of cases of unwanted substitution: 28 in the total number of 181 successful purchases (15.4%). The substitution entailed the change of characteristics, quality, properties and type or make of a product. For instance, instead of buying Videoton colour TV the consumers had to buy the Neptun, an inferior quality colour receiver, which must have left the buyers somewhat dissatisfied. There were 4 cases of unwanted spending or i.e. substitution of the original choices. In 18 cases consumers gave up the purchase altogether (7% of all purchase plans) explaining that they did not have enough time to continue the search, or by pointing to permanent inavailability of a product on the market, the growth of its price, or allotment of the savings for other purposes. The average time needed to procure a scarce product reckoned from the moment when decision on the start of the search was made to the point when the consumer gave the purchase up was 11.4 months.

As a result of the inclusion of the afore-mentioned unwanted actions in the list of buying strategies comprising the search for scarce products, queuing, and waiting for deliveries to arrive the present writer's description of types of behaviour found among households wishing to procure hard-to-get goods identified by means of empirical analysis shows marked similarity to the Kornai model. It may therefore be looked upon as an empirical illustration of the Kornai shopping algorithms. Yet, the

real behaviour of consumers shows greater diversity, and in a sense exceeds the limits of the Kornai model. This holds true especially for purchases done with the aid from 'the chain of friends and acquaintances'.

The chain works on the principle of mutual advantage, for a buyer receiving a favor is often expected and obligated to offer a favor in return. Households frequently resort to this strategy, because they see it as a most effective way of procurement of scarce goods, Fifty-nine per cent of the whole of the successful purchases would have been impossible were it not for the aid from friends and acquaintances. Half of the lucky buyers did something in return for the assistance, which in most cases consisted in looking for the needed products, queuing, supplying information on deliveries, sales from-under-the-counter, procurement of rationing cards or coupons, or other strategies involving co-operation of all links of the said 'chain', this last form of good-hunt being most frequent (62 in 181 purchases (34.2%). Households sought assistance of 'the chain of friends' at various stages of good-hunt. Thirty-eight per cent of the total number of consumers who were granted favors made practical use of such assistance upon the making of decision to buy a scarce product, while 34% chose to do that after prolonged search on the market..

Aid from the chain of friends, purchase done as part of allocation based on the principle of mutual favors appears to be an alternative to or a complement of the afore-discussed procedure involved in good-procurement consisting in search for scarce products and queuing. There are however more types of good-procurement on market in shortage crisis. When the afore-mentioned strategies fail to succeed the consumer may try to obtain the attractive products on the unofficial market. Very few consumers choose this type of good-hunt upon the making of decision on a purchase. Seventeen per cent of the total number of successful purchases were done on the unofficial market. They were buys through an advertisement, from an acquaintance, a middleman, a black-market dealer or an illegal or unofficial producer. As a result of unofficial transactions one sixth of the total amo-

unt of pecuniary resources households allotted for projected purchases was spent on the unofficial market.

3.3. The consumers' behaviour

We began the present discussion of the Kornai theory of consumers' behaviour based on empirical findings by pointing out that buying is a dynamic process involving complex interactions between the consumer and his environment. Let us now elaborate on this assertion taking account of those aspects of this problem that have not been discussed yet. In doing this we shall avail ourselves of observations made as part of empirical analysis.

First we shall look into the problem of determinants affecting the shopping process. Kornai quotes 3 groups of factors affecting current behaviour of the consumers: 1) immediate circumstances involved in the purchase; 2) the buyer's attitude, 3) long-lasting and transient determinants affecting the consumers' behaviour. These three groups of factors affect both the attitudes adopted vis-a-vis the solving of "dilemma of allocation schemes" and also further progress of the shopping process. The factors make up a complex chain of effects ominously confronting the consumer seeking to carry his decision on purchase into effect. The resultants of effects making up the chain appear to be responsible for consumer's decision to try rationing system as a means to procure a scarce product, or to attempt to buy it on the market open to all, to roam shops and stores in search for the needed goods or to try to win salesmen's (or saleswomen's) favor to queue or to procure something on the unofficial market. By choosing a particular type of behaviour the consumer embarks on a path leading to the desired purchase. Part of developments that follow are beyond the consumer's control, while others are products of his own pursuits. First comes the decision to buy a product on the market by queuing which entails search for the product whose fiasco may lead the consumer to alter the adopted strategy by seeking the assistance of the "chain of friends and acquaintances". The buyer remains therefore alert and watchful as he seeks to procure attractive goods. This involves alterations of his beha-

viour consequent both upon critical evaluation of the previously made decisions in terms of results they have effected, and accumulation of information and experience. The consumer appears to be consistent in his pursuit of the objective he has set himself, but he also shows occasional hesitation and uncertainty as to the efficacy of his strategy; tries to be rational but there are times when his behaviour is completely irrational, which, after all, is quite characteristic of efforts aimed at achievement of an objective.

4. Final remarks and proposals

The illustration of the Kornai theory of consumers' behaviour with empirical findings and the juxtaposition of the theory with results of research on behaviour of households involved in the process of buying on the market in shortage crisis may be used as departure point for the establishment of proposals on further theoretical studies in this field. These proposals are indirectly or directly linked to the afore-discussed problems. In either case they represent an outcome of theoretical reflections on empirical findings.

1. The Kornai shopping algorithm is a general model of consumers' behaviour on the market in shortage crisis. Future theoretical studies could be concerned with the possibility of and need for distinguishing between the standard and the basic shopping process, the standard shopping process meaning routine behaviour of consumers involved in daily shopping entailing relatively small expenses. While, the basic shopping process occurs in the event of major and rare purchases involving substantial expenses. The proposition to establish this distinction is motivated by the supposition that the 2 types of the process under discussion entail 2 different types of consumers' behaviour¹.

2. In the Kornai theory the category of income is, apart from the characteristics of consumers' behaviour, the sole internal factor curbing the purchasing powers of the household. However, empirical findings demonstrate that purchasing opportu-

¹This proposition is linked to the distinction Kornai made between basic and standard decisions (Kornai, 1977).

nities on the market in shortage crisis may be effectively restricted by lack of time, insufficient information on the market situation, absence of links with sellers inavailability of a "chain of friends". This accounts for the need and wisdom of including in the theory on consumers' behaviour the notion of non-monetary means and non-budgetary restriction. An alternative could be adjustment of G.S. Becker's theory taking account of developments involved in the restriction of purchases triggered by internal non-pecuniary factors. A sensible approach could be in this context to follow the suggestion advanced by Kasprzak (1984, p. 42). In my view the distinction between budgetary and extra-budgetary restriction may be useful in analysing the behaviour of the consumer confronted with shortages (cf. Hockuba, 1987a).

3. While analysing observations made in the course of empirical studies one may get the impression that consumers show a great deal of flexibility in accomodation to market conditions which entails a relatively big freedom of choice of strategies aimed at the procurement of attractive goods. Whereas the Kornai algorithm shopping appears quite rigidly to define the potential modes of consumers' behaviour. Should closer examination corroborate legitimacy of this supposition, possibilities of increasing the algorithm's flexibility could be considered. It might be legitimate to employ for this purpose the concept of the consumer's "progress" viewed as a series of his elementary actions (arranged in a sequence on the time axis) representing responses to the impact of internal and external factors¹.

4. The theory of consumers' behaviour is concerned with the problem of rationality of decisions and choices. I am inclined to believe that the theory could also embrace questions relating to consumers' behaviour in the process of good-procurement which the Kornai approach takes no account of.

5. It was established in the discussion of "dilemma of parallel allocation schemes" that the consumers choose between: 1) queuing and 2) allocation involving mutual favors.

¹This subject area was dealt with at length as part of the key-points of empirical studies - cf. Z. Hockuba 1987c.

As the logic underlying the other strategy consists in finding the so-called access to the sellers through mediation of the "chain of friends and acquaintances" it does show some characteristics of informal rationing. Yet, the concept of "allocation involving mutual favors" was proposed to describe the nature of the process, for it appears well to reflect the character of the phenomenon. However, the concept of informal rationing might be more useful for the purpose of general considerations.

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Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek

THE LOCAL CENTRES OF MUSIC CULTURE

The transformations in the music culture of Poland's Lithuanian minority

The North-Eastern part of this country's Suwałki province has a small area inhabited by the Lithuanian population different from the Polish community both in ethnic and cultural terms and also using a different language. The area stretches along the border with the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic from the villages of Markiszki and Podlaski in South-East to the villages of Jegliniec and Wojciuliszki in North-West. Its western border is the line running through Budzisko, Szypliszki and Sejny. Substantial majority of the Lithuanians whose total number is estimated at some 10,000 live in the area including some 50 hamlets and villages in the communes of Sejny and Puńsk.

For research purposes the latter was selected, as all the principal characteristics making up the specificity of Poland's Lithuanian community are found there. The commune covers the area of 138.4 square kilometres. It includes 33 hamlets and villages, 22 out of which are inhabited by the Lithuanians only. Yet, it is not known how many Lithuanians make up the commune's population numbering 4,740. The numerical supremacy of the Lithuanians in the commune determines the nature of the socio-cultural life of its inhabitants. The commune irrefutably plays a leading role in maintaining the Lithuanian tradition, and is known for its conscious efforts aimed at the preservation and strengthening of its unique character.

The North-Eastern nook of Poland this paper is concerned with was called Sudovia in medieval chronicles. In remote times it was inhabited by tribes of Western Balts i.e. the Jatvings the people related to the Lithuanians and Prussians. The times following the destruction of the Jatvingian culture by the Teutonic Knights (late 13th century) saw in these parts the

emergence of immigration from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that was quite small in the 15th century, but grew well-organized and massive in the following century. The eastern parts of the area were being colonized by the Dzuks who had been living on the Niemen River before they moved westwards to reach the banks of the Szeszupa (Sheshupa) River. The central part was colonized by the Lithuanians who arrived from the regions of Birsztan, Punia, Rumszyczki and Kovno. In the parts adjoining the Prussian border the majority were the settlers from Samogitia or Żmudź, who, with time, created a homogeneous entity absorbing small and ethnically different groups of immigrants arriving in those parts in different historical periods. They were Prussians, Salzburgs, the Swiss and also the Ruthenians. The late 18th century saw influx of the Russians (the old-believers), while the Polish population were arriving from the regions of Podlasie, Mazovia, and the Mazurian lake district.

Consequently, development of the Lithuanian culture entailed interethnic and interregional contacts involved in the composition of the population of the settlers which in late 18th century showed signs of stabilization. The process of interpenetration of different ethnic elements effecting the emergence of a new culture of the population inhabiting the area is reflected in the dialectal and accentual diversity of the Lithuanian language that can still be identified (Hasiuk, 1978). The dialect of the Kaps population belonging to the West-Aukshtaitish-and-Kovno accent is found in the northern part of the area (the villages of Jegliniec, Wojciuliszki, Wojponie and partly also: Giłujšie, Trompole and Romaniuki) (Hasiuk, 1978). The Sejny and Puńsk dialect belong to the South-Aukshtaitish (the Dzuks') dialect. The division of the Lithuanian language into the North and South-Aukshtaitish dialect emerged as a product of the ancient migrations from the Southern (Dzukija) and South-Eastern Lithuania (the Kovno region - the so-called Suvalkija). It is also worth-noting that the line dividing the Kaps' dialect (which is also sometimes referred to as the Jegliniec dialect), and the Sejny dialect is also a boundary between two ethnographic regions of Suvalkija (the Kaps) and Dzukija (the Dzuks). The Puńsk area is the border-line region situated between the cultures of

the Kaps and the Dzuks both where the language is concerned, and also in ethnographic terms (Aleksa, 1987).

The interregional unification, being most conspicuous in the environs of Puńsk was attended by the process of interethnic unification whose trace are the still existing non-Lithuanian elements in the language spoken by the Lithuanians inhabiting the region of Suwałki. The earliest interethnic contacts include relations between the White Russian and Lithuanian communities which were established prior to the polonization of the local White Russian population. The Lithuanian language used in the region of Suwałki also has some elements of the Ukrainian and German idioms which however are markedly outnumbered by words and structures derived from the Polish language. Such linguistic processes progressing parallel to changes affecting other realms of the Lithuanian culture in the Suwałki region were altered in the wake of major transformations of the settlement structure that occurred after the First World War. The most essential determinants affecting the culture of the Lithuanian Community inhabiting the Suwałki region was then the intensive development of the Lithuanian national-cultural movement whose impact and operation range were greater even before, due to the contemporary political situation, including, in the first place, the Polish-Lithuanian conflict.

Late 19th century saw the growth of national consciousness and marked enlivenment of activities in favour of the national movement among the Lithuanians inhabiting the Suwałki region. The Suwałki province founded in the year 1867 which was part of the Kingdom of Poland, was also one of the strongholds of the movement which spread over the whole of Lithuania then. The principal economic reason underlying that extraordinary activeness was, in Makowski's view (1986), bread-winners' emigration which started in the year 1867. It effected, on the one hand, the growth of affluence of the local peasants, and on the other, development of education and information flow.

When the Vilna region was incorporated into Poland, the Suwałki region became one of the most active centres of struggle for respect of the rights of the Lithuanian minority in the Polish State. The land was the scene of most dramatic frictions

between the Polish and Lithuanian communities which negatively affected the situation of inhabitants of that area after the conclusion of the second World War and also in the later years.

The political and patriotic activeness of the Lithuanians inhabiting the Suwałki region motivated by the sense of cultural community with their motherland has evolved into pursuits aimed at the maintenance of the ethnic and patriotic traditions which, despite the diverse modifications characteristic of the present-day circumstances, help the relatively small Lithuanian population living in Poland preserve their ties with the motherland of their ancestors. What is meant by the present-day circumstances are: the geographical, social and cultural position in the Polish State and nation. There are 3 principal factors determining the specificity of those circumstances:

1. The Lithuanians living in Poland are a minority different from the Polish majority in ethnic cultural and linguistic terms.

2. The Lithuanians living in Poland form a local community i.e. "social group inhabiting a particular territory, with a complex system of links and interdependencies, a common system of norms, customs and values, showing a profound sense of national identity" (Biernacka, 1980).

3. The Lithuanians live in the border area of Poland and Lithuania, a peripheral "interface" region according to F. H. Aarebrot's typology (1982). Characteristic of this type of peripheral location is the state frontier intersecting an area showing cultural homogeneity.

Music culture and ethnic studies

The recent years have seen a dramatic growth of interest of representatives of various disciplines in ethnic problems, consequent upon the escalation of cultural and political activeness of ethnic groups in Europe and beyond it of the sixties and seventies. The separatist movements, political and social claims advanced by national minorities made the researchers focus their attention on the reasons underlying this ethnic enlivenment, and even more importantly, highlighted the existence of the problem of linguistic and cultural diversity of societies living in a State with one dominant nation relying on the ideology of cul-

tural unification and assimilation. This new awareness gave new momentum to studies on such problems as: regionalism co-operation between regions adjoining state frontiers, theory of borders and frontiers etc. It also lay at the root of rebirth of studies on ethnic problems.

Studies in ethnic minorities were pursued by representatives of several disciplines engaged in variety of aspects of the ethnic problem. Ethnology and anthropology concentrate on analysing and describing the ethnos, the ethnic culture and diversity. Law and politology are concerned with studies on discrimination and protection of the rights of the individual groups. Social psychology and sociology investigate social systems in which ethnic groups represent socially relevant elements of diversity and interactions regardless of their specific physical and cultural characteristics. There has however emerged, and is increasingly gaining ground, a new interdisciplinary type of research: ethnic studies. It uses the findings of the following research disciplines: ethnology, sociology and history.

The heretofore studies on ethnic minorities have been dominated by two dissimilar research trends: European and American. The European trend concentrates mainly on autochthonous many-century-old minorities whose current situation is examined in terms of political integration and cultural homogenization within the limits of a State with one dominant nation. The American trend concerns itself, in the first place, with analysing aftershocks of the mixing of numerous ethnic groups of immigrants and processes of cultural assimilation of such groups involves. However, recently the European trend has also taken account of the problem of new social and cultural differences, which may have been a result of the fast progressing industrialization of certain parts of Europe effecting massive migrations to those regions. On the other hand, the stability of tradition among the immigrants resisting the assimilation, compels representatives of American science to engage in broad debate on variety of aspects of ethnic problems, determinants of ethnic identity, the sense of identity in the ethnic group, etc.

Studies in transformations of musical culture of the Lithuanian minority living in Poland are basically part of the European trend of studies in ethnic problems. However, attempts to investigate social contexts, motives and overall determinants of transformations affecting music culture of this ethnic group bring the researchers closer to the other trend in studies under discussion. The said attempts are aimed to provide a description of diverse aspects of music culture covering more than the relics that are generally looked upon as the substructure of ethnical identification. Yet, at issue is not only a reconstruction of the changes of musical substance viewed in isolation from other ethnical problems. What is to be investigated is the role of ethnic tradition in maintaining and promotion of the ethnic as well as social motives, objectives and effects of the process. In the present-day conditions the process leads to the creation of new traditions which are sometimes called 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983) in which elements of cultural heritage of a group are subject to peculiar transformations, thus making up a new cultural quality.

'The invented tradition' means a set of ritual or symbolic actions designed to introduce, and establish in the life of a community certain norms and values as a result of their recurrence (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983). The recurrence of some types of social behaviour may be perceived by some to be indicative of their having roots in the past which in the event of the invented tradition need not be remote. In fact in many a case the said behaviour has no historical roots at all. The 'inventing' of traditions is a social response to new circumstances in which real, historical past is made references to, and availed of for current purposes, or their 'splendid history' is invented through quasi obligatory recurrence of, for instance celebrations, holidays, etc.

The creation of tradition is a product of severe conflict between permanent changes taking place in the present-day world and endeavours seeking to put in order at least some of the aspects of public life so that they be permanent and unvarying. In other words tradition is 'invented' when rapid transformations of the social structure destroy or upset patterns of be-

haviour established in the "old" traditions. Tradition is also invented when the old traditions and their institutional vehicles cannot be adapted to the new requirements of public life.

The profound social transformations of the recent 200 years have helped to create traditions, the process which often, (but not always) involves the penetration of cultural heritage and employment of its elements in the creation of new-type tradition designed to cater for new public needs. This phenomenon is most conspicuous among those ethnic groups in which the invented tradition helps to preserve ethnic ties and individual character of the community.

Undoubtedly a special role in the creation of new traditions is performed by music which is one of the most frequently availed of aspects of ethnic individuality, patriotic sentiments or even power, and authority. For instance, development of the Swiss nationalism discussed in great detail by Braun (1965) involved extensive employment of symbolic resources found in the Swiss folk music. The folk repertoire was supplemented with songs composed in the manner consistent with this same musical idiom featuring patriotic and forward-looking ideas. The songs were often composed by leaders of school choirs. The young generation were expected to acquire them as part of school education, which, as is known, plays a key role in the shaping of new cultural patterns.

That music irrefutably is an important factor involved in the creation of new traditions in general, and new ethnic traditions in particular, may be accounted for by pointing out that it is one of the systems of non-verbal communication. This distinctiveness typical solely of music determines its other, well-known attributes such as integrating and compensating effect, as well as facility with which it may perform identifying functions. By operating in an extraintellectual, purely emotional realm, music constitutes an indispensable component of rites, rituals, and all the other social situations whose essence lies in the seeking of integrity. Due to these same reasons, feasible in music are diverse modifying operations, as well as its accommodation to new needs and purposes, on condition that its elementary sine qua nons of stylistic and aesthetic analogy, deter-

mining the act of identification on the part of the listeners are fulfilled. It is also to be noted, that both highly aesthetic qualities of music and other artistic forms directly linked to it (e.g. dance) largely account for extensive employment of musical heritage in the creation of new traditions.

Owing to the afore-mentioned features music is an easily adaptable realm of cultural heritage. The features also account for the realm's unique sensitivity to the dynamism of public life. It is precisely for its being non-verbal and non-visual that music offers a kind of commentary, an interpretation of transformations in the structure of social-cultural systems (Neuman, 1976). As a metainterpretation of culture, music constitutes an indispensable element of cultural studies.

Factors shaping the dynamism of the transformations in the music culture of the Lithuanians in Poland

The point of departure for a more accurate definition of the object of our studies is a juxtaposition of two categories of approaches to culture, a research method often found in the relevant literature. Anthropological theories view culture as a set or a structure of elements necessary for the preservation of a society on a particular level of technological advancement. The anthropological views are on the one hand characterized by relativism, i.e. by the acceptance of relativity of distinction between the more and less advanced cultures, and on the other, by the absence of distinction between culture and civilization. The phenomenological theories define culture narrowly and selectively, by viewing it not as entirety of social heritage, but exclusively the part that exists "for itself", serving spontaneous human activity. In the narrower sense, culture is made up of symbolic acts as opposed to practical work. Another aspect of the restrictive perception of culture is the view that it encompasses activities having a purpose in themselves (Kłoskowska, 1983). It is believed that although anthropological definitions of culture best apply to studies on traditional, tribal and rural communities viewed in isolation, the selective approaches prove more useful in analysing the culture of the contemporary complex societies.

The anthropological definitions of culture may be employed in dealing with the music culture of the Lithuanian minority, that is not a traditional community in the sense received in anthropology. The traditional community is relatively homogeneous featuring a complexity of social roles, and wide chain of ties binding the group together, as well as a peculiar multifunctionality of human work and products. Also, the restrictive definitions of culture do not entirely correspond to the objectivity under discussion in this essay, for they limit the research-area to the forms of participation in community life and cultural activities. The ethnic culture of the Lithuanian minority exerts a much more powerful impact upon the life of the community, affecting realms of human life and activity that have not been listed above.

As we have pointed out before, the Lithuanian minority in Poland, used to be a local community, with the so-called small tradition of folk nature. The progressing processes of modernization have effected its substantial disintegration, attended by the extension of its constituent trends, especially those linked to the great national tradition. Now, a peculiar ethnic culture is being promoted, which on the one hand remains part of the local, but on the other hand is increasingly seeking links with the national tradition. At the same time however, its social functions appear to be similar to those performed by the "integral" culture. In other words, the traditional folk culture, already belonging to the past, is being replaced to some degree by a new cultural objectivity, which however retains some of the functions the folk culture used to perform. Attention should be given here to the recurrence of particular cultural events, their characteristic rhythm conditioned inter alia by the recurrence of religious and state holidays, annual celebrations and others.

On the other hand though, the new tradition offers opportunities of the fulfilment of the need for participation in "purely" cultural events, in the culture operating in its second realm which is in a sense autotelic. This function of music ethnic culture becomes most conspicuous as those in charge of the management of cultural life of the Lithuanian minority cons-

ciously seek to reduce the range of opportunities of encounters with culture created beyond the limits of the local environment. Naturally, the selection is partly necessitated by the environments' peripheral location, far away from large cultural centres.

The notion of 'ethnic music culture' covers forms of cultural activity that have emerged from specific ethnic conditions. These forms on the one hand perform a quasi instrumental function in the life of the Lithuanian minority, but on the other hand represent such a type of participation in the general culture that comprises ethnic characteristics. The new music tradition appears to be both a substitute for the old folk local tradition, and a cultural realm being offered to the Lithuanian minority along with, or to be more precise, instead of centrally organized cultural life. In either case music culture is a source of the community's ethnic and cultural identity, local autonomy and individuality.

The so defined music culture is not a homogenous phenomenon. Even so small an environment (of the Lithuanians living in Poland) has several categories of ethnic culture, which is to be attributed to the complex determinants of its past and present development. The writings concerned with this subject-area tend to describe ethnic subcultures as products of 2 conflicting trends: of cultural integration and decline of ethnic individuality of minorities, and of their pursuit of preservation of cultural distinctiveness (Posern-Zieliński, 1982). As indicated above the integration processes within the originally diversified cultural system of the Lithuanian community living in Poland began very early: at the time when the colonization of the region was still in progress. Interethnic contacts encouraged regional uniformization of the new-comers' culture. Moreover, the Lithuanians attained supremacy in cultural terms in the area over the Polish population. This process was dramatically accelerated by the events of the last century, provoking intensification of work for the preservation of the Lithuanian individuality. The Polish State's policy towards the Lithuanian minority effected substantial integration of the community in the years 1918-1939, and in the period following the

conclusion of the Second World War. The policy enforcing assimilation, along with natural processes of polonization enormously strengthened the Lithuanian resistance against alien influences, a counterweight for the phenomena detrimental to the community's identity.

Deethnization is encouraged by migrations to towns and cities entailing the transference of the different patterns of behaviour and cultural norms. Yet, migrations of the Lithuanian community beyond their local environments have not been substantial and the people have always showed caution in the conscious selecting of products of cultural life of distant cities and towns that would subsequently be assimilated by the minority (Gałaj, 1987). This holds true also for pop culture and its role in the processes of unification and uniformization. It is believed to be one of the most destructive agents threatening the survival of ethnic cultures. Worth noting in this connection is the characteristic role the media play in the maintenance of the ethnic traditions of the Lithuanian community. At issue here is the wide interest in, and tremendous popularity of radio and TV programmes broadcast from Vilna. The patterns of popular culture propagated by the programmes exert constructive and not destructive impact upon the Lithuanian subculture in Poland. Radio and TV stations broadcasting from across the border are essential to the maintenance of the Lithuanian minority's ties with the land of their forefathers. They are also important sources of information and cultural norms and patterns. Worthy of notice here is also the dissemination of the Lithuanian literary language among the Lithuanian minority in Poland, under the influence of the mass media (Aleksa, 1987). Likewise, one can hardly overestimate their role in the process of transformations in music culture: music broadcast from Vilna is recorded in Poland, and becomes part of repertoire of artistic ensembles comprising members of the Lithuanian community in the Suwałki region. This is not to say that the culture featured by the Polish mass media does not affect the development of the ethnic culture of the Lithuanians. Yet, the theory that the media fuel deethnization is to be regarded as tentative.

According to Possern-Zieliński (1982) the process of pre-

serving ethnicity, as opposed to deethnization triggered by a variety of factors, includes three principal trends: 1) the transmission of culture heritage, 2) the native traditionalism, and 3) the ethnic traditionalism. Culture heritage is the overall cultural achievements and historical experiences of the given group making up its past which also have a bearing upon the present (Possern-Zieliński, 1982, Szacki, 1971). Culture heritage comprising the so-called great national tradition, as well as the folk tradition is not only the basis for creating a new ethnic culture, but also is the realm where its distinctiveness is most evident. Native traditionalism is a selectively assembled set of components of the ancient local and regional integral traditionalism. Ethnic traditionalism is 'a trend that seeks to preserve ethnic tradition which appears to be a symbolic expression of ethnic pride, an important aspect of cultural individuality in a pluralistic society, and also a manifestation of the natural need to possess lasting, respected and unique values' (Possern-Zieliński, 1982). The question of ethnic traditionalism shows a correlation with the afore-mentioned notion of 'invented tradition' that consists in creating the transformed and enriched tradition which in fact is quite different from the original tradition of the group.

The Lithuanian culture heritage and the new tradition of the Lithuanian minority in Poland

The heretofore studies in the cultural heritage of the Lithuanian minority in Poland show that variety of constituents of the history of pre-Christian Lithuania are those components of the nation's cultural heritage that are most often availed of by the modern generations in their cultural pursuits. This indicates the community's attachment to the sources and ancient roots of the 'original' Lithuanian culture, and their determination to distance themselves from the Polish tradition. Lithuanian folklore is the main vehicle of information about remote history of the nation. Music plays an outstanding role in the process of adaptation of the cultural heritage. One example of such adaptation is the case of the so-called sutartinės. They are old-Finnish polyphonic songs which originated from primitive singing praising the Sun. The Lithuanian culture

transformed them into historical tales which are now regarded as a most eloquent symbol of the Lithuanian tradition. It is also worth noting that this very difficult genre of folk song was born in the North-Eastern parts of Lithuania and, despite its gradual disappearance, still remains one of the most interesting relics of the Lithuanian folk music.

A similar function has been performed by the St. John's-night's Dew Fast which originated from the old-pagan tradition. The annual festivities are based upon historical information contained in ethnographic writings. Another pagan tradition of remembering forefathers has been restored by a cultural activist at the town of Puńsk to enrich the observances marking the Remembrance Day. The ancient pagan worship of fire and of Earth-Mother inspired the authors of the concept of All Mothers' Day celebrations. The music played as part of the celebrations is based on both folk tradition and the repertoire of the 19th century Lithuanian song-books.

The role of native traditionalism in the creation of the new music tradition of the Lithuanian minority

The precise identification of native i.e. folk music traditions is one of the most complicated aspects of studies in alterations of music culture of the Lithuanian minority in Poland. It has already been pointed out that since the immigration arriving in the Suwałki region comprised different ethnic groups, the area may have been the scene of the mixing of two different local traditions born in the lands of Dzūkija and Suwałkija. Folk music of the Aukštaitish subregions shows significant stylistic differences even today. The interethnic mixing has effected the obliteration of these differences followed by emergence by a homogeneous music system. The progressing reduction of genres of folk music consequent upon decline of social environments where they had been born, and disappearance of particular customs, rites, festivities and celebrations has been important factor fueling stylistic unification. That this trend has become most conspicuous over the recent 20-30 years is evidenced by recordings of music made during that period¹.

¹ A collection of the Lithuanian folk music is part of the archives of Vaina. Copies of this collection are stored at Warsaw University Institute of Musicology.

Apart from internal factors encouraging the shrinking and unification of the music material, worth pointing to is also the impact exerted by an essential external factor: the dissemination of particular stylistic patterns by numerous local church choirs. It is therefore extremely difficult to identify a music style of the given tradition. Sometimes this even proves to be absolutely impossible. Future ethnomusicological studies could help to achieve some progress in this field.

The relics of the folk music of the Lithuanians inhabiting the Suwałki region show stylistic similarity to the polyphonic style of some genres of folk music characteristic of the Eastern part of the Aukštaitish Land (Suwałkija). Ironically, large part of the Lithuanian population in Poland believe that their music is of Dzuk origin (maybe because of the language in which the lyrics were written). It is also to be noted that regardless of the authenticity of the music idiom prevailing in the Suwałki region it is now undoubtedly a major or even the sole vehicle of the local population's sense of national identity. The idiom has become a music symbol of the Lithuanian and of the local distinctness especially from the Polish folk music using quite different stylistic patterns. The Lithuanian music style is to many reminiscent of their native national tradition and is also easy to imitate and alter in the ways which prevent a non-professional listener from detecting the difference between the original tunes and songs, and their altered versions. Hence, the frequent inclusions of the songs and tunes in the repertoires of folk ensembles.

New ethnic tradition of the Lithuanian minority in Poland (ethnic traditionalism)

As indicated above folklore, and cultural activity inspired by the folk tradition have been the major vehicles of the substance of cultural heritage and native tradition in the Lithuanian ethnic community. Hence, the prime importance being attached to the study of the relationship between folklore and the new ethnic tradition. The process of conscious creation of the new ethnic tradition involves, on the one hand progressing shrinking of the native folklore, and on the other hand, the enrichment thereof with substance adapted from other ethnographic regions

of Lithuania. Such borrowings include, besides the afore-mentioned sutartinies, the 'imports' of musical instruments which largely determine the composition of the repertoire popular with the Lithuanians. The examples of Lithuanian instruments are in the first place the zither (kankles), the Panpipes (skudaciai), and also the dulcimer and a local kind of the lyre. These instruments were not used in those parts before the Second World War, and it is the local population's mixing with the people of the Soviet Lithuania that seems to have effected their appearance in the lands at issue. Such borrowings encourage supraregional unification of the music folklore and also the emergence of entirely new composition of the repertoire. Such new folk music is an artificial entity, even though it does include original authentic constituents dating back to the remote times. It is however popular with the people due to the symbolic qualities it conveys to the listeners.

Yet, it is the phenomenon referred to as folklorization (Burszta, 1970) that plays a crucial role as part of the process of the creation of new ethnic culture. Where the community under discussion is concerned, the term covers very numerous forms of alteration and adaptation of folklore to the needs of the new ethnic tradition, their wide gamut comprising: the employment of folk stylistic idiom in the creation of non-folk repertoire; performance of folk songs by artistic ensembles; reconstruction of traditional rituals including genuine folk songs, as well as quite new rituals using quasi folk music. Another type of cultural, folklore-inspired events are festivals, contests, meetings, concerts and other types of collective music-making which offer to an ethnic group opportunities of public show of their cultural identity. One example of such events extremely popularly with the Lithuanian community is the annual meeting at the village of Burbiszki (Saskrydis) featuring all the diverse types of music (folk, serious, and youngsters' favourite-pop). Apart from its role in the promotion of music the event is also, or actually in the first place a great folk feast of the Lithuanian community.

The transformations of the substance and roles performed by folklore and folk music in the process of the creation of the

new ethnic tradition are closely linked to its institutionalization. The institutionalization represents one of the principal aspects of the formation of the new tradition consisting in the emergence of public, mostly state-supervised institutions and establishments as agencies for promotion of ethnic culture and tradition. The institutions and establishments are designed to pursue particular cultural policy seeking to develop specific tastes and preferences in the Lithuanian community. Such agencies aim to establish a particular pattern of ethnic tradition including those constituents and aspects of the original folk native tradition they consider to be most valuable and praiseworthy. The agencies' operations are crucial to the existence and survival of the new ethnic tradition and its taking root in the community's life. They also perform propaganda functions and act as representation of the ethnic minority on the international scene.

Among the principal ethnic establishments operating in the commune of Puńsk: the Lithuanian Social-Cultural Society, the Lithuanian Community Centre, and a school showing utmost commitment to the promotion of music life of the minority. One example of the enormous importance the community attach to music as a vehicle of national identity is among other things the splendid set of teaching aids available to pupils of the local grammar school. There are also music ensembles supported by the said establishments whose number appears to be quite big considering the size of the Lithuanian minority. The role the ensembles perform in the promotion of the new music ethnic tradition deserves analyzing in a separate study.

Since the life of Lithuanian ethnic minority is part of specific local relations, the activity of the public ethnic institutions is significantly supported by the local administrative agencies, such as the commune councils, and other public institutions: libraries, clubs, community centres. The process of those organizations' acquiring a truly Lithuanian character, as well as their activities intended to meet socio-economic and cultural needs of the Lithuanian minority represent a separate research problem.

The institutionalization of the ethnic tradition has been

effected on the one hand by the decline of the native integral tradition, and on the other hand by the ethnic community's profound determination to retain their identity and individuality. The pursuit of the cultural identity in the changing social conditions leads to a peculiar restructuring of the native tradition, which is feasible as a result of its emancipation from the previously existing determinants imposed on it by the nature of the past social relations. In this 'unobligatory' realm there occurs the process of the adaptation of new elements which form relations with old elements to make up a system with entirely new structure. This new 'invented' tradition becomes a symbol of the ethnic, the individual and the autonomous.

'The invented tradition' by its very nature is a liaison of miscellaneous elements originating from both the grand national, and also folk and popular traditions. The most characteristic feature of the present-day ethnic culture of the Lithuanian minority in Poland is its profound respect for the folk tradition. It is the tradition that is often availed of to convey to the people the ideas they are expected to accept or approve of.

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