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## Monographs on the Rural Community in Poland

This paper is limited to the local rural community or subregion designated according to ethnographic and socio-economic criteria. It thus omits the type of classical position such as W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, J. Chałasinski's *Młode pokolenie chłopów* (*The Young Generation of Peasants*), or S. Czarnowski's (pupil of Durkheim) *Podłoże ruchu chłopskiego* (*Foundations of the Peasant Movement*, 1935) on the grounds that they are not community studies, although the village as the primary group in the two former, and the complete local community in the latter play an even more important role in peasant life and behaviour than class conditioning does.

Nor are methodological questions considered here, particularly the merits and deficiencies of the monographic method as applied to the local community. We only note that the general objection to community studies, which may be expressed in the Aristotelian formula: *nulla scientia nisi de universalibus* becomes groundless if we can establish, at least approximately, the typicality of the investigated object or its deviation from the norm.

### Development of the monographic community studies

The first page in the history of community studies was written by ethnographers. Interest in people, their way of life and folklore emerged in Poland under the influence of romantic literature and of the loss of state independence which occurred at the end of the 18th century. National patriotic motives, similarly with other central European countries, played a considerable role in the development of this discipline.

Questionnaires and directives for ethnographic research appeared at the beginning of the 19th century and the first ethnographic monograph emerged in 1809. The monumental work of Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890) — unique in Europe — *Lud, jego zwyczaje, sposób bycia* (*The Folk, Their Customs and Way of Life*) in 80 volumes, undoubtedly strongly stimulated

ethnographic research<sup>1</sup>. The number of ethnographic studies snowballed in the last two decades of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, whereas the first ethnographic rural monograph of one village appeared rather late (the first in 1889).

Monographs of a socio-economic character constituted the second trend. Contrary to the ethnographic current, monographs on individual villages predominated here. The Christian economist and public figure L. Górski, adherent of the French sociologist Le Play, may be regarded as a pioneer in this trend and precursor of Polish rural sociology. His work *Uwagi nad obecnym stanem robotników wiejskich w Królestwie Polskim* (*Notes on the Preavailing Condition of Rural Labourers in the Kingdom of Poland*), published 110 years ago, in 1860, includes a translation of a monograph on one family from Le Play's *Les ouvriers européens*, which appeared in France just a few years earlier, in 1855.

Modern empirical rural research in the form of complete monographs on the village community was initiated in Poland at the beginning of the 20th century by F. Bujak — historian, economist and geographer. He was at first under the influence of Le Play, as regards the family budget, and of the Swiss economist E. Laur, with reference to the economics of the peasant farm. But he shortly created his own school of monographic rural research in which the main emphasis is on socio-historical evolution often as an introduction to other problems, and the economic problems of the peasant farm. He also to a great extent considered the sociological point of view, and his first integral case studies of the Maszkienice village (1902 and restudy in 1915) and of the Żmiąca village in 1903, were for many years a model of monographic research in Poland.

Certain objections to Bujak are voiced today because of his failure to consider the class factor and his inclination to deal with too many problems which sometimes led to a superficial analysis. But he is justly credited with introducing to Polish sociology a concrete knowledge of reality instead of philosophic speculation.

Worthy of special mention among the 14 monographs of this trend, written by pupils and imitators, are four comparative monographs. The first compares two Cracow province villages, one with a well-functioning dairy, the other without. The next two monographs deal with villages of integrated land and patchwork of plots; and the fourth deals with two villages with populations of different ethnic origins. These were the first attempts of their kind in Polish monographic literature<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> However during Kolberg's life there appeared only 36 volumes.

<sup>2</sup> These are: M. Sowiński, *Rybna and Kaszów, Villages in Cracow County*, 1928; W. Gortat, *Góra Beldrzychowska and Byczyna*, 1928; A. Dzierżawski, *Okalina and Czeraniaków in the Opatów County*, 1928; F. Guściora, *Three Kurzyny, the villages in Nisko*

The third, the historical trend, is represented by rural monographs based chiefly on archival sources with an oral tradition and cultural relicts as auxiliary sources. They include the works of scholars<sup>3</sup> but more often amateurs: teachers, priests and public figures.

We do not consider here the last works which are of limited importance to sociological research and analysis. We can only state generally that this kind of community investigation has survived to the present as an independent current in fragmentary form. On the other hand, the historical approach to community investigation has become an indispensable component of almost every monograph on the local group either as an introduction or as a supplementary explanation. It occupied much space in socio-economic monographs in Bujak's school.

The development of three trends described above prepared in a certain sense the ground for a new type of monograph on the rural community, namely, the sociological monograph. This was a study devoted to the phenomenon of emigration to America on the background of one local community: the village Babica in Southern Poland<sup>4</sup>.

The process of development of the new type of monograph on the rural micro-group was interrupted by the outbreak of War World II, which historically constituted the end of one and the beginning of another epoch. Great changes took place in Poland directly after that war: radical agrarian reform, settlement of the regained Western Territories, resettlement of the population from pre-war Eastern Polish lands and repatriates from other countries and finally industrialization which brought with it the gradual urbanization of the countryside and a certain ruralization of towns.

The immediate post-war years, that is up to the commencement of the so-called cult of the individual in 1949, can nevertheless be regarded as a period of continuation of the pre-war rural community studies. Three monographs which appeared in those years were based first of all on the materials gathered before the war and pertained to the past. The first is the economic monograph of W. Styś *Drogi postępu gospodarczego wsi* (*Roads toward the Economic Development of the Countryside*, 1947) on the example of one village in Southern Poland. This study is valuable for sociologists not only with respect to its scope and the social relations considered, but primarily because of its chief subject — matter: the correlation between rural economic progress and changes in the agrarian and demographic structure of the village.

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*County*, 1928. From the same trend issued the first attempt at delineating the conditions and paths of economic progress in the countryside (for instance, W. Bronikowski, *Drogi postępu chłopu polskiego* (*The Polish Peasant's Paths to Progress*, 1934).

<sup>3</sup> For instance the typical one written by K. Dobrowolski, *Dzieje wsi Niedźwiedz...* (*The History of the Village Niedźwiedz in Limanowa County*), 1931.

<sup>4</sup> By K. Duda-Dziewierz in 1938.

The second work, by the ethnographer K. Zawistowicz-Adamska, entitled *Spółeczność wiejska* (*The Village Community*, 1948) on the basis of one village, also in Southern Poland, is of didactic-pedagogical value. For it presents in an interesting manner the smooth and hard roads of the field researcher, his attitude and the defence mechanisms of the investigated community, and their motivations in the behaviour toward the investigator.

The third monograph assigned to the pre-war period is J. Turowski's *Zmiany społeczne wsi a miasto* (*Social Changes. Village versus City*, 1949) on the basis of one village in the Lublin region. His approach is historical-sociological. In a certain sense, this monograph may be considered as having ushered in a new approach, since it is devoted to an analysis of changes in the village social organization under the influence of the capitalist city system.

### The present state and development tendencies

The contemporary period of Polish community studies dates from 1956. This is an important period in which new approaches to research appeared, some concepts were more precise and progress was made in the methodology of field research. The socio-economic monograph of the Bujak school came to an end because there was no one who could give it a new shape. The independent trend of the historical monograph almost completely vanished, while the ethnographic community monograph, considerably less frequent, underwent an interesting evolution about which I shall speak later.

The principal trend in the 60s-70s, and even later, is the influence of industrialization, and more recently the impact of technical progress in agriculture on the rural community level, for example on its structure, its farming forms, the family, and changes in peoples' awareness. I am limiting myself here by enumerating only the most characteristic monographs of that trend.

D. Gałaj devotes his study *Chłopi-robotnicy wsi płockiej. Rzeczywistość i opinie* (*Part-Time Farmers in Płock Villages. Reality and Opinion*, 1964) to a very important problem. This complex phenomenon is examined in two rural townships in a region undergoing accelerated industrialization. The author stresses the complexity of the problem, its negative, and positive effects on the village, and formulates conclusions for social and economic policy.

Changes in villages affected by the construction of an industrial plant in their vicinity is the subject of J. Turowski's study, and A. Olszewska deals with the full acceptance of a factory by a local rural community which though urbanized, managed to retain its way of life and its own system of

values<sup>5</sup>. Changes in the traditional rural community under the impact of industrialization and urbanization on a macro-scale and their consequences, as well as the processes of democratization of social relations and way of life, are also the theme of many works, for instance by: Wierzbicki on the example of a village in Southern Poland<sup>6</sup>, or Jałowicki on the example of a small urban settlement in Lower Silesia which underwent complete ruralization immediately after the war<sup>7</sup>, Markowska who, applying the historical-sociological approach, studies the changes in the family institution in two monographs<sup>8</sup> and Adamski who analyzes, under the new conditions, the emergence of interest groups on a local level in a village<sup>9</sup>.

This trend also includes studies in the field of social and religious changes in rural areas — to the extent that they are investigated within the framework of the local community or microregion<sup>10</sup>.

The second basic research trend in the contemporary period is the problem of the settlement and integration of communities in the Polish Western Territories which is equivalent to the American frontier of the 19th century.

We can observe in the afore-mentioned Territories a process of integration (and sometimes disintegration) of various groups, a kind of melting pot: settlers from Central Poland, repatriates from the Eastern areas, native populations, re-emigrants from Germany, France, Rumania, Jugoslavia, as well as Ukrainians and groups of Greeks and Gypsies.

Among monographs on the rural local community concerned with the problem of adaptation to new conditions (on the example of one village) mention should be made first of all of the work of S. Nowakowski: *Przeobrażenia społeczne wsi opolskiej* (*The Social Transformation of Opole Vil-*

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<sup>5</sup> J. Turowski, *Przemiany wsi pod wpływem zakładu przemysłowego...* (*Change of the Rural Area Under the Influence of Industrial Plant. Case study of the Milejów Region*), 1964; A. Olszewska, *Wieś uprzemysłowiona...*, (*The Urbanized Village in the Opole County*), 1969.

<sup>6</sup> A restudy of one of Bujak's community monographs, under the title: *Żmija w pół wieku później* (*Żmija Half a Century Later*), 1963. Analogically the period investigated by Biernacka in the monograph: *Potakówka, wieś w powiecie Jasto 1890–1960* (*Potakówka Village in the County Jasto*), 1968.

<sup>7</sup> *Polkowice, przemiany społeczności lokalnej pod wpływem uprzemysłowienia* (*Polkowice, Changes of a Community Under the Impact of Industrialization*), 1967. Similar monographs were written on subregions by: E. Pietraszek, *Wieś robotnicza...*, (*Peasant-Worker Village. A Sociological Study*), 1969; M. Biernacka, *Wsie drobnoszlacheckie na Mazowszu i Podlasiu* (*Petty Gentry Villages in Mazovia and Podlasie*), 1966.

<sup>8</sup> D. Markowska, *Rodzina w środowisku wiejskim...*, (*The Family in a Rural Environment. Study of a Village Near Cracow*), 1964, and: *Rodzina wiejska na Podlasiu 1864–1964...* (*The Rural Family in Podlasie Region*), 1970.

<sup>9</sup> W. Adamski, *Grupy interesu w społeczności wiejskiej* (*Interest Groups in the Rural Community*), 1965.

<sup>10</sup> E. Ciupak, *Parafianie?* (*The Parishioners?*), 1961; W. Piwowarski, *Praktyki religijne w diecezji warmińskiej* (*The Religious Practices in the Warmia Diocese*), 1969.

lages), 1960. Somewhat broader in scope are the collective works: Z. Dulczewski and others: *Tworzenie się nowego społeczeństwa* (*The Emergence of a New Society*, 1961), J. Burszta and others *Stare i nowe w kulturze wsi koszalińskiej* (*The Old and the New in the Culture of Koszalin Villages* 1964), and the work of B. Chmielewska on social transformation in several rural communities of Zielona Góra province<sup>11</sup>.

Of prime importance in all these and similar studies, devoted to the Western Territories, is the process of acculturation of the population.

Two additional and promising research trends are the diffusion of agricultural innovations and community development. One work edited by B. Gałęski and others presents the findings of Polish research on the diffusion and acceptance of agricultural innovations in selected communities, that is of individual and cooperative farms. The former research was conducted within the framework of an international project organized by the UNESCO Vienna centre. The second work by J. Turowski and A. Bornus *Drogi modernizacji wsi* (*Roads Toward Village Modernization*, 1970), examines the process of penetration of innovations and production improvements into agriculture on the basis of four selected villages in the Lublin province.

The latter sphere of research, local community development, is only now taking shape and is still not fully appreciated by Polish sociologists. We cannot as yet boast of any important achievements, but two works are nevertheless worth mentioning. In the first of these, the author explains, on the example of one village in the Łowicz region, the source of rapid economic development and well-being of the inhabitants as inherent in the farmers' great professional activity, particularly in the group of leading farmers. The intensification of agricultural production and animal husbandry plus the opportunities created by government policy, primarily by contract farming, have become the driving forces of progress<sup>12</sup>.

The author of the second work undertakes to establish, on the example of one Southern Polish village, the various types of professional and public activities, and their links as well as the factors shaping these types of activities. He attempts to work out some indices. The degree of activity depends primarily on certain personal qualities (age, health etc.), secondly, on the family milieu as well as ecological and economic factors<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> B. Chmielewska, *Spoleczne przeobrażenia środowisk wiejskich na ziemiach zachodnich na przykładzie 5 wsi woj. zielonogórskiego* (*The Social Transformations of Rural Milieux in Western Territories of Poland on an Example of 5 Villages in the Zielona Góra Province*), 1965.

<sup>12</sup> D. Gałąj, *Aktywność społeczno-gospodarcza chłopów. Studium na przykładzie wsi Bocheń* (*The Social and Economic Involvement of Peasants. A Case Study of the Village of Bocheń*), 1961.

<sup>13</sup> F.W. Młeczko, *Z badań nad aktywnością społeczną i zawodową chłopów. Studium na przykładzie wsi Lysa Góra* (*From the Researches on the Social and Professional Activity of Peasants. On the example of the Village of Lysa Góra*), 1964.

The prevailing tendencies in local rural community studies to be noted first of all are the changes occurring in the profile of ethnography which is beginning to approach rural sociology not only in its methodology but also in its subject matter, especially in its community studies. It may briefly be defined as breaking away from ethnographic 'collectionism', in other words from the method of field exploration which only consists in registering cultural facts, so-called traditional and reliquary ones, in particular, in making an inventory of various products and objects as located in time and place. The objective is now to investigate 'the functioning of integral structures and the dynamics of cultural change, including the history of the cultural heritage', and to accomplish 'a wholly integrated analysis of a structural-functional character' (J. Burszta and others).

The fulfillment of the postulate of comparative research would provide a proper conception of a complete anthropo-cultural monography according to Steward's approach, which may be defined as an integral sociological or neo-ethnographic monography.

The next tendency clearly being delineated is the gradual transition of the Polish monograph from the village community to the large scale community: the township, county, region, that is, these research objects which are composed of at least several villages or of producers' cooperatives, now being regarded as local communities.

Another characteristic feature of Polish rural community studies is the constant, though gradual, expansion of the scope of research. This corresponds to the increase of the number of investigated subjects of general research on a macroscale, for instance research, in cross-sections of the community, in new spheres of life, as in the health service, problems of the aged and juvenile delinquency.

On the other hand, the tendency to thematic specialization in the framework of any particular village or even more frequently of the larger scale community (township, region) is to be observed in the community studies.

One other tendency may be noted, namely, the drive to interdisciplinary research. This seems especially necessary in such fields as the studies in which limitation of the research area to only one village, township or sub-region often impells the investigator to a total approach. But to embrace all the essential problems or spheres of life of a given community requires the collaboration of representatives of various disciplines: economics, psychology and the natural and bio-medical sciences. This must however be accomplished much more methodologically than was done by the eminent Rumanian sociologist D. Gusti, who has earned, nevertheless, the title of pioneer in this type of monographic research<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> About D. Gusti see: O. Bădina and O. Neamțu: *Dimitrie Gusti*, Bucarest 1968.

### Some methodological problems

The typology of monographs on the community presents the first methodological problem. The one primary type is the single problem monograph which considers the social background or context in a minimal degree, i.e. only such as are indispensable to the comprehension and analysis of the given problem. The opposite type is the sociographic integral monograph embracing all the essential spheres of life of the given community. Both types represent two extreme cases and are linked by a continuum on which we can place intermediate types of monographs (see fig. 1).

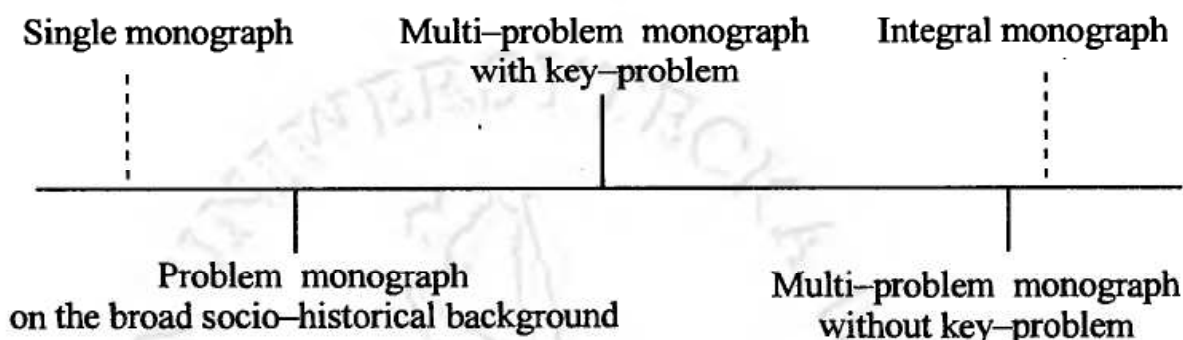


Fig. 1. Continuum of community monograph types

For example the single or two-problem monograph written on the broad socio-historical background of the community in question appears on the line of continuum not far from the left pole; also the monograph where the point of departure is the vital problem of a given locality which affects social life and is dominant in other fields of community life, or even may be an object of aspiration and conflict of the majority of the community members.

Stated differently this kind of study may be defined as a few- or multi-problem monograph with a key problem, or — as we say in Poland — 'leading problem'. The third intermediate type of monograph, shifting more to the right pole of the continuum, would be a multi-problem monograph without a key-problem. Supposing, that the 'multi-problem monograph with a key-problem' would lie more or less on the centre of the line of continuum, we would reduce the number of problems and their importance as key-problems while moving toward the left pole (the one problem monograph cannot of course be considered a key-problem monograph). While movement along to the right pole would increase the number of investigated problems, it would reduce the possibility of finding a problem which could be dominant in relation to all the other problems or fields of community life studied.

The proposed typology may be graphically presented somewhat differently by raising the centre point of the continuum and making a kind of



equal-sided triangle which we can call a 'continuum-sided triangle' (see fig. 2).

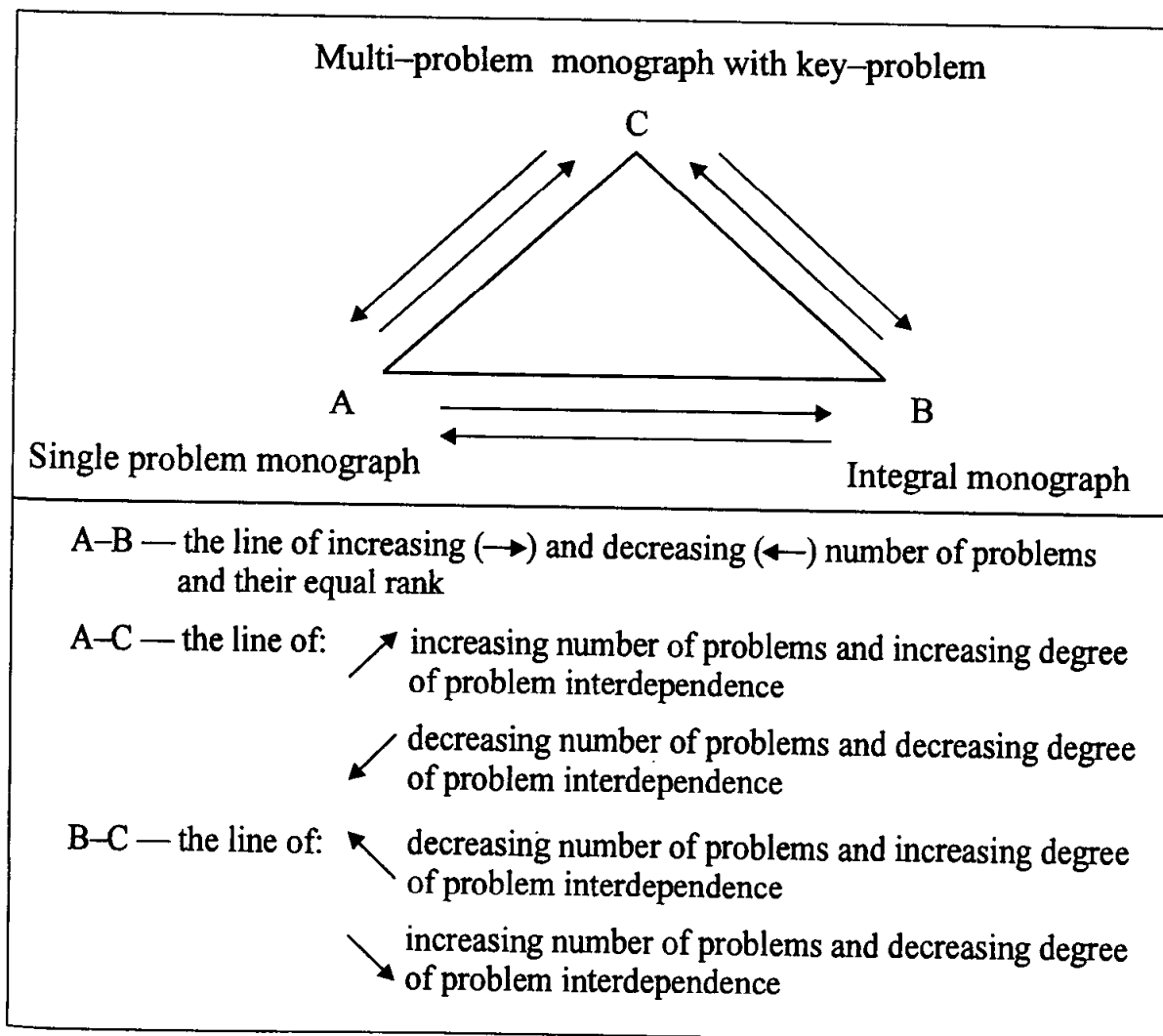


Fig. 2. 'Continuum sided triangle' of basic types of monographs according to the number of problems studied and to the degree of problem interdependence

Moving along the base of the triangle will show different types of monographs, depending only on the number of investigated problems. But moving from one of the poles towards the apex will show a division of monographs into types not only with respect to their number, but also to the mutual relations of analyzed problems (in the extreme case of embracing only one or all problems in a monograph we can not establish a key-problem with respect to all others; this is only possible if we have a few- or multi-problem monograph).

One other essential methodological problems is the identification of the problems with particular types of monographs. Thus, it is now impossible to embrace all questions in one monograph, even if it is an integral one. Hence there is the need of choosing the most essential problems for the given community which give us the most holistic picture of the life of the local group possible.

However, Wissler's universal model of an integral anthropo-cultural monograph compared by Steward with the Lynds' famous monograph on Middletown (R.S. and H.M. Lynd) and J. West's on Plainville and further compared by the author with two Polish monographs on the Żmiałca village, one by Bujak, and the other by Wierzbicki, a restudy of the same village (see table 1), shows us that there are great differences in the scope of problems between all these case studies, which are considered as integral and are written using similar methods. Even the selection of the most important fields of community life may be difficult.

Table 1

Wissler's universal model and the chief problems of the Lynds', West's, Bujak's and Wierzbicki's monographs

	Wissler	the Lynds	West	Bujak	Wierzbicki
1.	Material traits	Getting a living	Technology and economics	Technology and agricultural economics (primarily farming and animal husbandry), industry, earnings, culture (material)	Economic relations occupational migrations, agriculture, material culture)
2.					partly: choice of proverbs, puzzles, poems, life stories
3.	Art				partly: material culture
4.	Mythology and science				relicts of the world of magic
5.	Religion	Religion	Religion	Church (and religious life) and partly: culture	
6.	Family and social system	Making a home	The social structure	Property possession, legal relations, customs, culture (non-material)	Class and stratum-structural evolution, matrimonial matching
7.	Property and exchange			Land distribution and property transfer by means of inheritance, credit, trade	Evolution of the agrarian structure, inheritance

8.	Government	Community activities (government, health, propaganda, group solidarity)		Political matters (national awareness, community, the township, attitude to the government)	Evolution of the class and stratum-structure, growth of national awareness, social topography of the village, local govt., (self-govt.) and socio-political organizations
9.	Warfare				Partly: occupation, armed underground movement
10.		Training the young	Life cycle	Training the young partly in school education	Development of education, promotion by schooling, some aspects of morality and some educational institutions
11.		Using leisure			Wooing
12.				Village's past	Village on the background of the country history
13.				Population mobility (demographic)	Demographic changes
14.					Anthropological measurements of population
15.					Health, alcoholism

Of course, there is no such difficulty with the single problem monograph since the problem is chosen arbitrarily, whereas the difficulties are rather great in the case of the multi-problem monograph with a key-problem. What method should be applied in fixing that 'key-problem'? We have hitherto, in sociology, often been guided by feelings and intuition which are certainly hardly satisfactory. Sometimes the investigator, especially the anthropologist, spends much time in the selected community and fixes the key-problem in the course of surveying and collecting his materials. This affords a greater accuracy of choice.

The final methodological problem is in the selection of the village for research, i.e. the question of representativeness of the investigated subject. This problem should undoubtedly be connected with the delineation of regions of the country, macro-social research plans and the anticipated role, on the basis of developmental tendencies of the countryside in future society.

### The classification of Polish community studies

We have so far distinguished five types of monographs on the local community:

- a) the single problem monograph with minimal socio-historical background, and
- b) the problem monograph on a broad socio-historical background, both mostly used in applied sociology or state social policy;
- c) the multi-problem monograph with a key-problem, typical of the sociological approach;
- d) the multi-problem monograph without a key-problem;
- e) the total or integral monograph characteristic of the anthropo-cultural or neoethnographic approach.

On the basis of two adopted criteria, i.e. the scope of the analyzed problems and their mutual relationship (equal rank of the problems studied or their interdependence: subordination — dominance) we can firstly classify all Polish monographs published in the 20th century into the above mentioned types and secondly divide the period from 1900 till 1989 (on the basis of different socio-political regimes) into the four following parts: the first from 1900 till 1918 (the end of the First World War), the second from 1919 until 1939 (independent Poland), the third from 1945 until 1956 (from the end of the Second World War to the end of so called cult of the individual), and, together, from 1957 until 1970. However, in order to complete the comparison, we add the fourth part from 1971 until 1989 (when Poland became sovereign).

In the first part there were numerous ethnographic studies, the first serious empirical socio-economic integral monographs by Bujak as well as the first monographs of the same kind of one microregion<sup>15</sup>.

In the second part (1919–1939) most of the community studies are, as we have seen, integral case studies (mostly of the Bujak school). However, we also have the first empirical case studies in each of the proposed type of monographs: three single problem monographs with a minimal consideration of the social background, the first problem monograph on a broad social background as well as two multi-problem monographs with a key-problem, and a few multi-problem studies without a key-problem. Together more than 20 works can be regarded as scientific.

In Stalin's time there were very few empirical studies (and no general works of sociology or rural sociology at all), and these three above mentioned monographs were prepared before this period (two are one-problem monographs, the third — a multi-problem study with key-problem).

<sup>15</sup> Written in German by Stanislaw Hupka: *Über die Entwicklung der Westgalizischen Dorfstände in der zweiten Hälfte des XIX Jhts auf Grund der Spezial Untersuchungen in oberen Wielopolkagebiete (Kreis Ropczyce). Eine wirtschafts und kulturgeographisch Studie*, Teschen, 1910.

The bulk of community studies appears after 1956. It may be interesting for the reader to know the difference between the two important epochs: before World War II (the second period) and after World War II (1945-1970 — the third period) which helps us to show some general tendencies. Whereas the total number of community studies increased from 24 before to 40 after the war, the number of the type of integral monographs decreased considerably: only 4 in comparison to 13 before the war (in relative numbers — 10% to 54% of total number of monographs for two epochs). Simultaneously, the multi-problem monographs without a key-problem shows a declining tendency because this type of study now represents 17.5% of the total number of community studies and 20.8% of those before the last War. This type replaces to some degree the former integral case study, so numerous before World War II as well as those before World War I.

We would expect other types of community studies to increase after World War II, and this indeed happened. Firstly, the problem monographs on a broad social background increased most (11 to 1 before the last war, i.e. 27.5% to 4.2% of the total number) and is now the biggest group of monographs; secondly, the multi-problem monographs with the key-problem increased also (20% to 8.2% before the war); thirdly, the single problem monographs with minimal socio-historical background rose to 10 in comparison to 3 before the last war, that is 25% to 12.5%.

Let us compare the first three periods with the fourth, from 1971 to 1989 when Poland regained its sovereignty. That date marks the end of a particular phase in rural monographic research as the tumultuous, politically eventful years between 1989 and 1996 were not conducive to field research in the countryside. Only one rural monograph which was published during this period is worth mentioning<sup>16</sup>.

The fourth period (1971–1989) saw the publication of 26 monographs about villages and rural micro-groups. This was almost as many as during the second period (1919–1939) when 24 came out, yet far fewer than during the third period, when 40 monographs were published (see above). In fact, these periods are equal to one another in that the third and longest (1945–1970) should be shortened by those postwar years when Polish science had to be rebuilt from scratch and by the period known as the 'cult of the individual' (1950–1953) when the development of sociology was administratively restricted. This period thus also lasted approximately 19–20 years, as did the second (1919–1939) and fourth (1971–1989).

For simplification let us exclude 10 monographs concerning rural regions (mostly micro) out of the overall figure of 26 case studies during the fourth

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<sup>16</sup> D. Gałaj, *Od chłopca do rolnika. Powtórna monografia wsi Bocheń. Studia nad kwestią chłopską (From Peasant to Farmer. A Second Monograph about the Village of Bocheń. Studies Regarding the Peasant Issue)*, Warsaw 1996, 260 pp.

period, as they are not very diverse whereas they do differ as regards territorial extent (from a few communities to a province). Most of the authors concentrate on a few similar problems covering a minimal socio-historical background. Two of the monographs have a partially comparative-synchronous aspect whereas only one deals specifically with a key-problem as compared with other problems analysed in this region<sup>17</sup>. The others can be described as 'collective' which means that the description of the particular society is the result of a summary of individual villages with the purpose of achieving an overall picture of the region without making a comparison between specific villages.

Formal classification of the types of monographs (see figure 2) shows a majority of single problem monographs (or a few problems) with a minimal socio-historical background (6 examples). Then there are multi-problem monographs without a key-problem (5 examples) and single problem monographs (or a few problems) with a broad socio-historical background. Only one monograph can be considered to be multi-problematic with a key-problem. Whereas one is a comparative-diachronic study<sup>18</sup>.

It is worth mentioning two foreign language studies: one in English by C. Hann, about a village in Southern Poland during the political crisis of the eighties and the other, a French sketch by M.C. Maurel about the local elections in 3 communities during the time of political change in Poland<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Comparative-synchronic monographs with a key-problem: A. Potocki, *Warunki rozwoju kultury wsi sądeckiej* (*Conditions of the Development of Village Culture in the Nowy Sącz Area*), Warsaw 1981; J. Kamińska, *Zagadnienie rozwoju życia kulturalnego we wsiach podmiejskich Opola* (*The Problem of the Development of the Cultural Life in the Suburban Villages of Opole*), Opole 1989, 110 pp. The author discusses the transformation of 8 villages under the influence of industrialization and urbanization yet 'sub specie' development or regression of the culture of the microregion.

The following are comparative-synchronic monographs without a key-problem: K. Wołos, *Obrzędowość wesela na tle zmian modelu małżeństwa i rodziny na przykładzie wsi województw Koszalin i Słupsk* (*The Wedding Ritual in the Light of Changes in the Traditional Marriage and Family as seen in the Villages in the Provinces of Koszalin and Słupsk*), Koszalin 1980; L. Kocik, *Rodzina chłopska w procesie modernizowania się wsi polskiej* (*The Peasant Family During the Process of Modernization of the Polish Village*), Kraków 1986. A study based on 6 communes and different villages.

<sup>18</sup> M. Wieruszewska, *Przemiany społeczności wiejskiej. Zaborów po 35 latach* (*The Transformation of Village Society. Zaborów 35 Years Later*), Warsaw 1978 (a re-study); A. Moniak, *Spółeczność wiejska a tradycja kulturowa* (*Village Society versus Cultural Tradition*), Koszalin 1984 — a multi-problem monograph with a key-problem on the example of 2 villages with the same development conditions: geo-psychical, economic, similar demographic structure etc, yet varied population background and level of farming as well as a different process of cultural integration.

<sup>19</sup> C.M. Hann, *A Village without Solidarity, Polish Peasants in Years of Crisis*, New Haven 1985, 208 pp. M.Cl. Maurel, *L'Élection sans surprise. Pouvoir local et représentation sociale en Pologne*, *Geographie sociale* 7, Montpellier 1986, 389–398 pp.

Among these integral case study groups there is no mention of the traditional approach of the Bujak school.

The relatively low number of case studies in the period being compared leads to a cautious conclusion regarding the current tendencies in this 'sub-division' of rural sociology in Poland:

1) There is an evident diminution of integral case studies.

2) There is an evident increase in the number of monographs with a minimal socio-historical background of the researched community, i.e. 'specialized' or problem-orientated studies. For three of the periods under examination (II, III and IV) the percentage index amounts to respectively 12.5; 25; 37.5. Similarly the problem monographs with a broad socio-historical background respectively: 4.2; 27.5 and 25%<sup>20</sup>.

3) However, the tendency in the following types of monograph is different: the multi-problem monograph without a key-problem with percentage indices appropriately 20.8; 17.5 and in the last one 31%! What an unexpectedly sudden jump in the period 1971-1989 when a decreasing tendency was expected? A similar situation can be observed with multi-problem monographs with a key-problem as the percentage indices here are as follows: 8.2, 20 and 6! Thus contrary to the expected rising tendency. The breakdown in both cases during the fourth period of tendencies appearing during the second and third periods can be the result of a particularly low number of cases. In the fourth period there are 5 multi-problem monographs without a key-problem and only one with a key-problem. The next research after a period of 19 or 20 years, i.e. in 2008 or 2009 should give us a more definite answer if this kind of research will still exist.

4) Re-studies will definitely be carried out. It can be stated with satisfaction that this type of research is represented in all the periods analysed here. It was started in world literature by the Polish sociologist F. Bujak during the first period, i.e. before World War I (see page 24) and then developed by his students during the second period (1919-1939) as well as by the Rumanian sociologist D. Gusti and his students. It is noticed and appreciated by a growing number of rural sociologists in different countries.

So the general tendency, towards a greater specialization of studies, appears clearly. However, at the same time, we observe the tendency towards a broader scope of themes (problems), as has already been mentioned, aged people, juvenile delinquency, and so on, all studied in a cross-section of communities or micro-regions. When our 'problem orientated studies' became more differentiated and specialized, a clear-cut tendency also appeared in the field of multi-problem monographs towards interdisciplinary research.

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<sup>20</sup> If single problem monographs and those with more than one problem were considered together against both a minimal and a broad socio-historical background and adding to them monographs of micro-regions of this type (17 out of 26 case studies) the index for the fourth period would not be 25% but over 65%.

Finally the fact should be stressed that the comparison of published monographs with more general works, theoretical or synthetic, in sociology and even in rural sociology from 1956 to 1989 clearly shows that in many fields community studies represent pioneer investigations. We can here cite as an example the investigations in the field of social changes in mores and customs, in the way of life of rural people, in the area of educational milieu and in value systems, diffusion of innovations, in many social processes as for instance of adaptation, integration, acculturation (and disintegration or disorganization), of social control and recently about fringe villages and community development, as well as ecotourism and nature conservation.

This fact enlightens, from another point of view, the repeated discussions about the utility and purposefulness of community studies.

Finally, elaborated studies of a set of selected villages will facilitate a fruitful comparison with the studies on the macroscale level, the formulation of certain key-hypotheses, and the drawing of certain conclusions with regard to the prospects of agricultural development in Poland, *sub specie* of its integration with the European Union.