

Arkadiusz Karwacki

The Culture of Poverty in the Post-State Farm Community

The aim of this article is to point out extensive forms of “the culture of poverty” in post-state farm communities in Poland. State farms were large, state-owned establishments which emerged in Poland after the 2nd World War and were primarily, yet not exclusively, aimed at agricultural production. State farm employees attended to land cultivation, animal breeding and general industrial production. Wastefulness as well as a widely developed system of “aid-motivation” for workers were part of how state farms functioned.

The American anthropologist, Oscar Lewis was one of the first to write about the cultural aspects of poverty (cf. Lewis 1970, 1976). The phenomenon of inheriting poverty in Poland (both its material and immaterial aspects) was pointed out by various researchers of Polish society (cf. e.g. Tarkowska 1998, 1999, 2000, Bogucka 2000, Osińska, Śliwińska 1999, Warzywoda-Kruszyńska 1998). It found very favourable conditions in the inhabitants of former state farms who over the years were “prepared for this role”. My intention here was to distinguish the quality of life of Polish citizens before and after the system transformation in 1989 (with an emphasis on the poorest) and also to show the attitude of politicians and researchers to the issue of poverty over the years. This will be a background for further considerations the main topic of which will be the radical change in state agriculture and the resulting creation of enclaves of concentrated poverty. I shall rely on the results of my own research carried out in a selected community.

Yesterday and Today Poverty as a Politically Inconvenient Issue

During the Polish People’s Republic discussions on many topics, considered dangerous by the state authorities, were forbidden. The authorities

indeed defined what was worth taking notice of, and what should be concealed. During the period of real socialism poverty was one of these forbidden topics. This was connected with the historical and ideological circumstances of that system. If the state apparatus admitted the existence of poverty in Poland it would have to question one of its fundamental mottoes, in other words socialist modernization. Revealing the existence of poverty would be an affront to the basic principle of the socialist system — the principle of equality. “The socialist system was to lead to the elimination of class differences. Demonstrating the existence of poor people would, therefore, be equal to questioning the essence of the system, as being incapable of realizing its fundamental ideals” (Warzywoda-Kruszyńska 1996: 19). During the Polish People’s Republic, dealing with poverty or simply discussing it was synonymous with criticizing the system. This discouraged researchers from embarking on this important point in question.

The transition from real socialism to democracy meant that the discussion about poverty became depoliticized. Although times have changed, talking about poverty continues to be very awkward. According to the Hungarian academic Julia Szalai, groups in Central-Eastern Europe involved in getting their hands on state funds are interested in covering up the real condition of various social categories (1995). This often takes place within the context of legal privatization procedures. Politicians who frequently discuss matters associated with poverty would be connected with revealing the existence of a category of people who have been cast to the margins of society, excluded from privatization, deprived of equal opportunities in the race towards success.

Polish Citizens Before and After the System Transformation

As I have already mentioned, during the time of the Polish People’s Republic, all attempts at analysing poverty were quickly cut short by the state. Nevertheless, some researchers went to the trouble of analysing the symptoms of this phenomenon. One of them, Piotr Gliński characterized poverty in the fifties, sixties and seventies (cf. Gliński 1983). However, his work was not published. According to Gliński, an important feature of poverty at that time was its social and cultural diffusion. Poverty existed in town and in the countryside. It spread both among elderly people and the young embarking on a new life. This proves that poverty emerged during particular periods of people’s lives: In other words, it was transitory. It affected families which were somehow affected by disorganization (social pathology, illness, adversity). Poverty between the sixties and eighties may be socially localized in the following four basic categories:

— poverty primarily affected old age and disability pensioners (e.g. in 1979 40–50% of the families of old age and disability pensioners lived below the minimum wage);

— poverty affected workers in the lowest income bracket (farm labourers, unqualified workers);

— poverty affected numerous or young families, starting a new life;

— poverty also affected the households of single mothers, families with disabled members, the chronically ill, alcoholics etc. (see: Frąckiewicz 1983, Gliński 1983, Jarosz 1984).

An important feature of poverty at that time was the very low assistance from institutions which were appointed for that very purpose. Institutions whose function it was to provide social assistance only helped a small percentage of those in need. This was connected with the state's attitude towards the issue of poverty (as mentioned earlier), and could be seen in the contrast between the position of the poor and the official ideology of equality, unity, social rise. This poverty may be called: private, non-institutionalized and unofficial (cf. Tarkowska 2000: 54).

The degree of poverty during that time was considerable. It is estimated that in the late sixties, 20% of Polish families lived below the minimum wage and that figure went up to 28% in 1975 (cf. Rajkiewicz 1993: 52). According to Stanisława Golinowska, Poland entered the period of the system transformation with a fifth of its population threatened with poverty (cf. Golinowska 1996: 351). That was an important social problem whose extent, scale and consequences were not revealed at the time.

The system changes caused even greater poverty among the population. Immediately after the turning point most people lost materially. Those who benefited already had a high standard of living prior to 1990 (company directors, top management, the intelligentsia, private businessmen). Lidia Beskid is inclined to include old age and disability pensioners in the category of people who benefited (although many of them remain below the minimum wage) (cf. Beskid 1999: 15–18). This is particularly noticeable in post-state farm communities, where old age and disability pensioners are considered as having the guarantee of a relatively calm existence. These people frequently help other family members financially. Those who have lost are: the unemployed, agricultural workers, farmers, foremen (cf. *idem*). They all live below the minimum wage and some of them even live below the subsistence wage.¹ Research has shown that in June 1991, 54% of the inhabitants of large and average towns felt threatened by poverty and

¹ The author, like Lidia Beskid, considers the minimum wage to be a level of income which allows family households to function in society whereas the subsistence wage is income which provides individuals with a biological existence (cf. Beskid (ed.) 1999: 41).

a further 32% were apprehensive about their existence. Only 11% felt secure. In small towns and in the countryside the situation was even worse (cf. Beskid 1992: 6).

The above depiction of people living in Poland mainly refers to the period between 1989 and 1994. Subsequent years show an improvement. The level of social stress dropped — the notorious threat of poverty. There was a gradual adaptation of society to the new reality. People were forced to making a greater effort in order to make a living, they took on extra jobs, sold home-made produce, did their shopping in the cheapest shops, repaired old belongings, borrowed or sold goods. Mechanisms of adaptation appeared in society and this was noticeable in the overall improvement of people's health. Eating habits improved and the rate of excessive alcohol consumption dropped. Many people found employment in the grey economy. In other words, many people started coping in the new circumstances. They are perhaps still concerned about tomorrow but they are making an effort to satisfy their consumer aspirations. However, the system transformation and the Polish People's Republic past have left a permanent mark on some people. The plight of post-state farm communities is particularly bad. They are on their way to degradation from where it will be very difficult to return, if at all.

The State Farm — an Environment which is Permanently Blemished by Poverty

Post-state farm communities are a very good example of poverty which is not only the result of current political decisions or misfortune. The roots of poverty clearly lie in the past, in erstwhile choices, decisions, individual forms of behaviour which together created a specific way of life. The functioning of state farms (standard components of socialist agricultural policy) and the way of life of people working there were not the subject of academic research, but have over the years had a great influence on their current lives. The so-called "new poverty" has been attended to since 1994 with the registration of current forms of poverty, its direct causes and consequences. It has subsequently been noticed that what determines the image of poor people in these milieus, largely results from gradually shaped "inherited" cultural features.²

State farms started crumbling at the turn of 1989 and 1990. They were entirely done away with on 1 January 1992. The entire state farm property was taken over by the Agricultural Property Agency of the State Treasury

² The topic of "new" and "old" poverty and reciprocal dependencies between the present and the past in relation to post-state farm communities is widely discussed in: Tarkowska (ed.) 2000.

(AWRSP). Approximately 3.7 million hectares of land (1666 state farms) were taken over. The approximate value of the property was estimated at 8.5 million PLN. The Agency additionally 'inherited' the debts of these farms which amounted to 2 billion PLN (cf. Zbytniewski 2000: 4, Wilkin 1997: 50). The duty of the Agency was amongst others the creation of new jobs for former state farm employees as well as assistance (scholarships) for children from the former state farms in getting an education. In its reports the Agency provides information about its widespread assistance operations. Reports carried out by the Central Auditing Office (NIK) as well as the dramatic situation people are in, allow one to have serious doubts regarding the effectiveness of the Agency's operations. The entire blame for the current situation cannot, however, be placed on the activities of this state institution. The very difficult condition of post-state farm families nowadays is a consequence of a complexity of macro- and micro-social factors. "State farms and their entire infrastructure represented a specific social environment, they created their own subculture, shaped the attitudes and behaviour which were different from the lifestyle and values of others living in the countryside, particularly private farmers" (Tarkowska 1996: 47-48).

In 1981 over 470 thousand people were employed on state farms. With their families they represented from 1 to 2 million people (post-state farm families are the most numerous in Poland — 4.8 members on average). With the collapse of state farms hundreds of thousands of people lost jobs. Tadeusz Samulak says that in the mid-nineties unemployment in the provinces of Olsztyn and Słupsk ranged from 30 to 50%, with the national average being 16% (Warsaw: 8%) (cf. Samulak 1996: 145). There were very many state farms in these provinces. Towards the end of 1996, 126 thousand people found employment on farms belonging to the State Treasury or run by leaseholders (cf. Lutyk 1997: 17). Those who became unemployed also lost many social benefits which they had been accustomed to. Since the state farm was not only an employer yet also a specific socio-cultural environment, its eradication was all the more dramatic for those people. In a sense, their transparent, stable world collapsed. The state farm had guaranteed its employees assistance while also making them dependent on it. It provided accommodation, kindergartens for the children, plots, 'extra' benefits and privileges. People were used to a relatively easy life, not having to worry about the future. The state farm untaught independence and responsibility. Deprived of all facilities, the least educated members of our society³ did not have a chance of finding new jobs. It is worth noting that

³ Among the respondents of a research project entitled "The Disappearing world of state farms in Poland. Causes, process and consequences" 58.9% have primary education or incomplete primary education. Cf. Wilkin 1997: 69.

while state farms were being done away with, all the sectors of the economy reduced employment. According to Tadeusz Samulak "...a paradoxical situation has occurred. Land is lying fallow while people [...] are currently unemployed and living in poverty. Working on state farms they carried out one particular activity, not knowing anything about the whole cycle of farming activities, not having any capital to set up a farm of their own" (Samulak 1996: 146). A large portion of the property taken over by the Agency (AWRSP) is going to ruin. People not only lost jobs but they have become totally helpless in the practical sense. They have become isolated from the world in many ways. On the one hand, the lack of qualifications has excluded them from the labour market, the lack of education and resourcefulness has prevented them from searching a new occupation and on the other, the lack of educational ambitions for their children has ruled out any opportunities for the next generation. The privatization of state farms is a process which directly unveiled the poverty of a section of rural families but has also contributed to the long-term poverty of these people.⁴ A specific milieu has arisen: "...of dependent and unimaginative people, with insignificant qualifications, the lowest standard of education (generally incomplete primary education) and the highest number of children. Jobs were paltry, theft was rife and alcohol was the only way of spending leisure time" (Bogucka 2000: 10). Enclaves emerged where poverty and its social and cultural consequences which I have already mentioned, in other words: lack of resourcefulness, unemployment, lack of education, a low level of ambition and an inclination towards social pathology are passed down from one generation to the next.

A few years ago certain researchers in Poland pointed to the danger of the emergence of the "culture of destitution". As I was interested in this problem I carried out research in a post-state farm community. I wanted to find out whether features of the culture of poverty do really occur in this community and whether they are transmitted from one generation to the next. In the Latin American communities researched by Oscar Lewis these features occur at four levels. At the wider community level the "culture of poverty" manifests itself by non-participation in institutions, low pay, permanent unemployment, doing odd jobs, frequently pawning belongings, borrowing money, lack of provisions, an aversion towards the police, officials and government. At the level of the local community in which the poor live these are: poor living conditions, lack of space, communal living, poor relations with non-family members. As far as the level of the family is

⁴ According to the Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development, Polish Academy of Science, 2.5% of post-state farm families have no money, 19% get below 500 PLN monthly, 49% between 500 and 1000 PLN, 26.5% between 1000 and 2000 PLN, and 3.5% above 2000 PLN. Cf. Zbytniewski 2000: 5.

concerned, aspects of the culture of poverty are: lack of childhood as a phase of life which is specially protected and prolonged, early sexual awareness, living in free relationships, frequent cases of wives being abandoned and a strong male authoritarianism. At the individual level: a feeling of being cast aside, helplessness and dependence, a feeling of inadequacy, tolerance of numerous pathologies, concentrating on the here and now, on one's personal life today (cf. Lewis 1976: 48–60). I shall compare the results of my research with this model.

Research Results

The subject of my analysis are the inhabitants of a housing estate on a state farm in Lesk which was dissolved on 30 June 1993. In 1990 this housing estate was included into the town of Olecko (the administrative district of Olecko – Goldap, the province of Warmia – Mazury, Poland). This is significant information, indicating the widespread contact between post-state farm lands and the town. The situation of state farms located far from towns is far worse. Questionnaire research and in-depth interviews were carried out between 19 and 29 November 2000.

I selected particular people for the research according to my information concerning those living on the housing estate and their location. 78 people — aged approximately 25 — (with a tolerance of +/- 5 years) met my requirements. I eventually managed to carry out interviews with 50 people. I decided to choose this age group, since the purpose of my research was to show that the generation socialized during the period of the Polish People's Republic, raised by parents who were also socialized on state farms after the 2nd World War, bears features of the culture of poverty. The occurrence of these features will be proof of the transmission in post-state farm lands of features of the culture of poverty.

It is also worth noticing that the result of this research is not only the information deriving from the answers of respondents to the questions raised in the questionnaires but also from the open conversation with those researched, their additional comments to the questions, material observations concerning the living conditions of those people. Let us have a look at the results.

The researched community. 14 women and 36 men took part in the research. 34 of them are single, 15 are married, one person lives with a partner, without being married. 33 of these people do not have children. The respondents are very poorly educated. Half of them have primary education or incomplete primary education,⁵ 25 of them have no profession. The re-

⁵ In 1997 7% of Poles had higher education, 27% secondary, 26% vocational. According to Rajkiewicz (ed.) 1997.

mainder generally stopped their education at vocational school, where the majority trained to become mechanics or dressmakers.

Living conditions. The respondents live in overpopulated households, most of which are lived in by 6 or more people. Such a situation was disclosed by 23 respondents (by comparison: in 1999 the average in Poland was 3.17 persons per household⁶). 13 live in 5-person households, 9 in 4-person, 4 in 3-person and 1 in a 2-person household. As far as generations are concerned, 9 respondents live in 4-generation families, 19 in 3-generation families and 22 in 2-generation families. Each family member has a very low monthly income. 400 PLN is in most cases an unattainable amount. By comparison — the average gross monthly salary in Poland in 2000 was approximately 2000 PLN and the average income per household member was 560.43 PLN in 1999 (cf. The Polish Republic Statistical Yearbook. 2000: 247). Low, irregular household incomes mean that people do not stock up on large amounts of food. Families try to balance their budgets by shopping in the cheapest shops (this was pointed out by 46 people), limiting expenses (49) and the reparation of old belongings (49). Results of research carried out by Lidia Beskid pointed to a lower number of people having such habits (Beskid (ed.) 1999: 62). Most of those researched here have to borrow from friends and relations, sell their belongings and make use of social security.

The specificity of the post-state farm community. According to 18 people family financial decisions in their household are made by a man, 26 say that a woman has the main say regarding their family expenses. 6 people said that such decisions are made by several people. Excessive alcohol consumption is typical for this group. They either drink daily or a few times per week (37 people). One drinking session usually amounts to 5 bottles of beer, 1½ bottles of wine or ¼ litre of vodka. 32 of the respondents drink beer. 22 drink the cheapest wine (approximately 3 PLN per bottle), 20 people drink vodka which is generally home-made or comes from the district of Kaliningrad in Russia and is far cheaper than Polish vodka.

My research showed that the following type of behaviour is commonly accepted: forcing primary school age children to work (stated by 10 respondents), wife beating (9), child beating (34), earning illegal income (45). Membership of institutions and associations among my respondents is low. Nobody belongs to a political party. 3 people belong to various associations, 4 to cultural institutions, 1 person to a religious organization.

Future ambitions. Both those who already have children and others expect them to become teachers, mechanics, builders or traders in the future. Respondents also mentioned professions connected with administration.

⁶ The Polish Republic Statistical Yearbook. 2000: 143.

Work in social welfare institutions is highly rated. 18 people are indifferent about their children's future education. 14 imagine that their children will have secondary, 8 higher, 7 vocational and 3 primary education.

The respondents concentrate on the present. 40 of them would spend a hypothetically won sum of 20 thousand PLN on everyday necessities or direct consumption. They mentioned: buying a flat, redecorating their flat, buying or exchanging a car, travelling in Poland or abroad, buying food and clothing. Only 7 people would open deposit accounts with a view to the future (Lidia Beskid's research shows that approximately 50% of Poles interviewed in 1998 would not only spend hypothetically won money on everyday necessities, they would deposit it in the bank or invest it — cf. Beskid 1999: 124). The other 3 people have no idea how they would use this money.

An evaluation of the situation. The respondents express their greatest lack of acceptance for government and local self-government. Their evaluation of the Church and police are not much higher.

The respondents show a general lack of faith as regards an improvement in their material status. 35 people believe it will not improve. Only 1 person hopes that his/her living conditions will improve within the coming 5 years. 14 people have no anticipation concerning their future.

As far as future opportunities for people living in post-state farm housing estates in comparison with town dwellers are concerned, 42 people said that people from their housing estate have fewer opportunities, 6 people consider they have equal opportunities. 2 have no opinion on this subject.

What the Results Reveal

In one of her articles Elżbieta Tarkowska quotes the response of an inhabitant of a former state farm about his children: "I don't know what kind of future they'll have since there is no work, so they can't get married or start a family because there is no future". Tarkowska sums these words up with the following forecast: "Lack of employment breeds the current feeling of marginalization and threatens children with marginalization" (Tarkowska 1999: 4).

As I have already mentioned, many researchers have pointed to the threat of post-state farm communities becoming permanently entangled in poverty. They mainly based their judgements on results of research carried out in housing estates on former state farms, located at a distance of 20–30 kilometres from larger towns.⁷ Such physical isolation does, of course,

⁷ Attention may here be paid to the Polish section of research led by Julia Szalai "Social History of Poverty in Central Europe" and described by Elżbieta Tarkowska in: Tarkowska (ed.) 2000.

contribute to the formation of the "culture of poverty". However, I do not think this is an essential condition of the features of this culture. I carried out my research in a community living within the precincts of a town with a population of 20 thousand. Results confirm my conviction that what Elżbieta Tarkowska was concerned about has in fact happened even in a slightly isolated situation. The generation of children of former state farm workers reveals a characteristic syndrome of the cultural consequences of living in poverty, manifesting itself in various aspects. This is not created by distance in kilometres from a larger urban centre, but the people themselves in their type of socialization and as a consequence of personal goals and values expressed by behaviour.

Observing the community I have researched from the perspective of society at large (levels of analysis according to: Lewis 1976: 52–56) I have noticed that its members often express an aversion towards the police, government, officials and the authorities. These are blamed for their own difficult situation. A fifty-year-old woman (the mother of six sons) says: "Which party? Neither one lot nor the other will create a state farm for us. Whatever happens, they will not give us work [...] which they took away from us". The low factors concerning the income per family member are very significant, being the result of high unemployment (26 of those interviewed are unemployed),⁸ job irregularity, low pay and low level of education. Young people living on the housing estate do not want to look for work since "...father and mother don't have work, so why should I bother?". Whereas those who have found employment regard themselves as slave labour and feel exploited. Elżbieta Psyk-Piotrowska (cf. Psyk-Piotrowska 1996: 45) has similar views. An employer involved in former state farm territory notices that workers from the housing estate do not identify with the firm. "They do their best to do nothing. They expect to be paid for doing nothing".

People living on the bare minimum generally do their shopping in the cheapest shops, repair old goods, limit their expenses and if that is not enough they borrow money (normally from relatives) or sell their belongings. A 22-year-old living in a housing estate says: "We recently sold a settee which father brought home when he lost his job".

Unemployment benefit or social security is the basic budget for most households. According to the Local Social Security Office many families from the Lesk housing estate rely on regular social benefits. Children get supplementary food at school. Many families are in a dramatic condition. Households steeped in poverty, are localized according to information from

⁸ According to the Polish Republic Statistical Yearbook 2000: 156, in 1999 1,617,000 people aged 20 to 30 were unemployed, the unemployment rate being 15.3%.

the Social Security Office and its suggestions. It is typical that people initially uninterested in family benefits, get into the habit of receiving these benefits.

An irregular and relatively low family budget forces people into doing small amounts of shopping depending on their needs while running into debt in three local shops. According to one of the shopkeepers, half the clients buy on credit. Some do so throughout the month while others do so once in a while. There are no problems concerning the paying of debts. "They do pay me back. I sometimes reduce their debts but I can't reduce them too much because I won't make any profit", says the shopkeeper. People living in the housing estate mainly buy alcohol and basic foodstuffs (bread, milk).

Observing the standard of the local community one notices that the problems of Latin Americans or black people living in American ghettos are similar to those of former Polish state farm worker families. Very poor housing conditions, overcrowded households, a family orientated social life are characteristics of the researched community.

Many interesting phenomena can be observed at the family level. What is clearly missing is childhood as a specially protected and prolonged phase, early sexual awareness among those interviewed. Yet it must also be noticed that only 1 respondent lives with a partner and cases of wives being abandoned are very rare. 34 of those interviewed are unmarried, 33 do not have children. The lack of people having children at an early age and the lack of unmarried couples living together is typical of our society and different from the Latin American model of "the culture of poverty". There, hardship does not prevent women from having more children. It is now again worth referring to the words of a respondent quoted by Tarkowska. Since there is no future, why set up a family? A 22-year old living on the housing estate says "Why get married? Of course, it would be nice to have a family and I could find some young girl but what about money? I somehow manage to live with my parents". Young people are in a state of apathy, resignation, vegetation where there is no room for relationships, their break-up or children. What I have in mind when using the word apathy is the lack of perspective thinking, initiative, which could permanently alter their material status.

As far as individual standard is concerned, the people I have researched do manifest features described by Oscar Lewis. The feeling of abandonment, being pushed aside, helplessness and dependence was present in most respondents' statements. After having been deprived of assistance from the state farms, they feel left alone to fend for themselves and therefore, worse. Despite the lack of physical isolation they see the barrier, separating them from the town which is also poor. A fifty-year-old woman says "...what am I good at? Where will I get a job? They've ruined everything and now no-

body takes an interest. Well, other than Social Services". The feeling of misfortune has been inherited from them by the next generation.

It has also inherited a pathological world, particularly alcoholism. Lidia Beskid's research has pointed to the falling number of people drinking alcohol a few times per week or daily. Despite existing stereotypes about the Poles' alcoholism, the number of people drinking most frequently has dropped (Beskid 1999: 124). In post-state farm communities widespread drunkenness continues and there is no sign of this changing. New generations also take over scheming, thievery and poaching as ways of making money. These casual forms of getting an income coexist with the apathy I have mentioned. The socialist system got their parents into the habit of believing that everything is common property. Whether they like it or not they have taken over this principle and the law is often broken by them.

At this point it would be worth mentioning family violence — child and wife battering. Despite wide ranging attempts which various institutions in Poland undertake to combat pathology in families, such behaviour is considered normal in this community. An employee at the Consultation Centre for Victims of Violence in the Family said that at their centre no cases have been reported from the housing estate I have been researching. My observations over the years show that many children from the Lesk Housing Estate are in need of extensive help.

People from the former state farms have sunk into a world which only lives in the present. A hypothetical donation out of the blue (not only the 20 thousand PLN put into the questionnaire by me) is an opportunity to have some food, drink, buy a few things which will add some colour to their lives.

I think my research confirms the spreading of the cultural aspect of poverty in post-state farm communities in Poland. This is a generational transmission of aspects of the poverty culture. A syndrome has emerged of people existentially deprived of independence, who have unconsciously inherited rancour and enmity towards the rest of society. Once they become degraded they maintain their marginal position.

It is important, however, to remember that this is the life they have chosen. Any attempts at intrusion, suggesting other patterns, may be treated by my respondents as a sign of aggression towards them.

The Polish People's Republic past as well as the democratic present have contributed to creating a universal life style for the poor people (in spite of certain differences). It should be emphasized that, after all, the universalism of the culture of poverty, is according to Lewis, not identical to the ideal type but a locally modified nucleus of that culture which lives its own life.

Literature

- Beskid, Lidia (ed.) (1992), *Warunki życia i kondycja Polaków na początku zmian systemowych* (Living circumstances and the condition of the Polish people at the beginning of the system changes). Warszawa, IFiS PAN.
- Beskid, Lidia (ed.) (1999), *Wygrani i przegrani w procesie transformacji* (The winners and the losers in the transformation process) [in:] Lidia Beskid (ed.) *Zmiany w życiu Polaków w gospodarce rynkowej* (Changes in the Poles' lives in the market economy). Warszawa, IFiS PAN, p. 15–27.
- Bogucka, Teresa (2000), *Polska bieda* (Polish poverty). *Gazeta Wyborcza* 26–27 II, p. 9–11.
- Frąckiewicz, Lucyna (1983), *Sfery niedostatku* (Areas of privation). Warszawa, IWZZ.
- Gliński, Piotr (1983), *Ekonomiczne uwarunkowania stylu życia. Rodziny miejskie w Polsce w latach siedemdziesiątych* (Economic living conditions. Urban families in Poland in the seventies) (typescript).
- Jarosz, Maria (1984), *Nierówności społeczne* (Social inequalities). Warsaw, KiW.
- Lewis, Oscar (1970), *The Culture of Poverty* [in:] Oscar Lewis, "Anthropological Essays". New York, Random House, p. 21–34.
- Lewis, Oscar (1976a), *Nagie życie* (La vida). Vol. 1, Warszawa, PIW.
- Lewis, Oscar (1976b), *Nagie życie* (La vida). Vol. 2, Warszawa, PIW.
- Lutyk, Aleksander (1997), *Działalność AWRSP w zakresie przejmowania i rozdysponowania majątku b. PGR oraz tworzenia nowych miejsc pracy* (The activities of the Agricultural Property Agency of the State Treasury in taking over and distributing former state farm property and creating new jobs) [in:] Krystyna Łapińska-Tyszka, Barbara Fedyszak-Radziejowska, Barbara Perepeczko, *Nowi gospodarze dawnych PGR. Przekształcenia państwowego rolnictwa* (New managers of former state farms. Changes in state farming). Warszawa, IRWiR PAN, p. 47–69.
- Osińska, Katarzyna and Anna Śliwińska (1999), *Spółeczności permanentnego ubóstwa: tożsamość kulturowa oraz percepcja kultury polskiej i stratyfikacji społecznej* (Communities in permanent poverty: cultural identity and the perception of Polish culture and social stratification) [in:] Janusz Mucha (ed.) *Kultura dominująca jako kultura obca. Mniejszości kulturowe a grupa dominująca w Polsce* (The dominant culture as an alien culture. Ethnic minorities vs. the dominant group in Poland). Warszawa, Oficyna Naukowa, p. 213–227.
- Psyk-Piotrowska, Elżbieta (1996), *Postawy pracowników byłych PGR i dzierżawców wobec przemian w rolnictwie* (The attitudes of former state farm workers and tenants towards the changes in farming). *Wieś i Rolnictwo*, No. 2, p. 39–57.
- Rajkiewicz, Antoni (1993), *Minimum socjalne wobec procesów pauperyzacji* (The minimum wage during the process of pauperization) [in:] Lucyna Frąckiewicz (ed.) *Ubóstwo jako problem polityki społecznej* (Poverty as a problem of social policy). Katowice, Śląsk, p. 52.
- Rajkiewicz, Antoni (ed.) (1997), *Spółeczeństwo polskie w latach 1989–1995/6. Zagadnienia polityki społecznej* (Polish society 1989–1995/6. Social policy). Warszawa, The Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

- Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2000* (The Polish Republic Statistical Yearbook 2000).
- Samulak, Tadeusz (1996), Kultura ubóstwa — kultura przetrwania (The Culture of Poverty — a culture of endurance). *Wieś i Rolnictwo* No. 1, p. 142–150.
- Szalai, Julia (1995), *Power and Poverty. The Social History of Poverty in Central Europe*. Working Papers. Budapest, MWA Publication Series.
- Tarkowska, Elżbieta (1992). Świat społeczny badanych a koncepcja kultury (The social environment of the researched and the concept of culture). *Polityka Społeczna*, No. 11–12, p. 3–6.
- Tarkowska, Elżbieta (1996), *Dawne i nowe formy ubóstwa w nowej perspektywie (oraz kilka uwag o innych badaniach)* (Old and new forms of poverty in the new perspective (and some remarks about other research)) (manuscript).
- Tarkowska, Elżbieta (1998), Ubóstwo w byłych PGR-ach: w poszukiwaniu dawnych źródeł nowej biedy (Poverty on former state farms: in search of earlier sources of the new poverty). *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, No. 2, p. 91–105.
- Tarkowska, Elżbieta (1999), Świat społeczny biednych a koncepcja kultury (The social world of the poor and the concept of culture). *Polityka Społeczna*, No. 11–12; p. 3–6.
- Tarkowska, Elżbieta (ed.). (2000), *Zrozumieć biednego. O dawnej i nowej biedzie w Polsce* (Understanding the poor person. About old and new poverty). Warszawa, Typografia.
- Warzywoda-Kruszyńska, Wielisława (1996), *Bieda — temat wyparty z dyskursu politycznego* (Poverty — a subject excluded from political discourse) [in:] Wielisława Warzywoda-Kruszyńska, Jolanta Grotowska-Leder, *Wielkomiejska bieda w okresie transformacji (zasilkobiorcy pomocy społecznej)* (Large town poverty during the transformation (social security beneficiaries)). Łódź, Institute of Sociology, Łódź University, p. 17–19.
- Warzywoda-Kruszyńska, Wielisława (1998), Wielkomiejscy biedni — formująca się underclass? Przypadek klientów pomocy społecznej (The large town poor — a developing underclass? Social security clients). *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, No. 2, p. 35–53.
- Wilkin, Jerzy (1997), *Przekształcenie sektora państwowych gospodarstw rolnych w Polsce w opinii władz lokalnych i mieszkańców "osiedli popegeerowskich"* (The reshaping of the state farm sector in Poland as seen by local government and inhabitants of "post-state farms housing estates") [in:] Kazimierz Korab (ed.) *Ludzie i ziemia po upadku pegeerów. Analiza socjologiczna i ekonomiczna. Materiały pokonferencyjne* (People and the land after the collapse of state farms. A sociological and economic analysis. Post-conference materials). Warszawa, SGGW Publishers, p. 27–44.
- Zbytńiewski, Krzysztof (2000), Jak przeżyć miesiąc za 100 złotych? (How to survive on 100 PLN a month?). *Super Express*, 19 February, p. 4–5.