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SOCIAL BONDS AND MASS ORGANIZATIONS  
IN THE RURAL MILIEU

1. Formal structures and traditional consciousness

It is a commonplace to make a statement of the significance of formal organizations for the functioning of modern social systems. Even if M. Hirszowicz's opinion, "the modern world is the world of organizations" [H i r s z o w i c z, 1967] is considered undue, there is no doubt that the man satisfies more and more needs through formal structures. Thus, their growing importance is the fact that can be questioned neither by practitioners nor theoreticians of social life.

Sociologists refer to structures of this type as aim groups, or after MacIver and Page, as associations. In both cases, they assume that the definition feature of this type of the whole is a definite category of interest or aim as a constitutive principle. MacIver and Page say that these are organized groups aiming at "achieving a common interest or a group of interests in the community". [M a c I v e r, P a g e, 1959]. Similarly, Hirszowicz has formally defined groups as "uniting large numbers of people with the object of realizing specialized tasks". [H i r s z o w i c z, 1967]. A specific aim as the constitutive principle of organized groups is also recognized by R. Bierstedt. He adds, however, that apart from this criterion, other definition features such as: associational norms, associational statuses, authority, property, tests of membership and name and

other identifying symbols are also important. [B i e r s t e d t, 1957].

It is generally assumed that the structures mentioned above not only meet the needs of their members but, as L. Nelson and C. E. Ramsey claim, are also an important factor of "supra-local socialization of the individual". [N e l s o n et al., 1960]. W. Kornhauser believes that their special role manifests itself in a mass society in which, due to the collapse of communities and isolation of primary relations, "formal intermediate structures are essential canals through which the individual participates in the state". [K o r n h a u s e r, 1959].

The faith in the power of such structures, established since the times of the Enlightenment, is especially cultivated in the societies of real socialism. In a doctrinal kind of these communities it is assumed that it is social masses, organized in appropriate social structures, not the individual, are a basic subject of social activity. [S z c z e p a ń s k i, 1973]. As a result, the individual's activity is replaced by the activity of formal structures of a high degree of routine.

As in every monocentric system, the charismatic movement, increasing in number, is transformed into bureaucratic structures. Thus, specific hierarchic ordering of structures and their subordination to the superior organization of the state takes place. It is the state that officially becomes bureaucratic continuation of charisma and provides doctrinal legitimisation of the social order. It also defines a basic direction of the society's development. The state, through intended and common formalization of satisfying many needs, attempts at controlling possibly the widest scope of the individual's behaviours. It represses undesirable behaviours and awards behaviours conformable to basic cultural aims of the macrostructure. In a model approach to such an order, the range of freedom of behaviours is thus determined by the cultural patterns of the macrostructure. The type of bonds is preferred which is put well before informal and spontaneous bonds by the solidarity within a formal organization. In other words, the social world appears here as, first of all, the world of formal organizations. The individual is in fact reduced to the role of a member of the formal organization.

His position in a social system is the higher, the higher status it has in an arrangement of formalized structures and the higher the position of the one to which the individual is affiliated.

Poland, approaching such a social order in a certain period after the Second World War, has never reached it completely. There has always been an institutional structure, independent of political parties and the state, having widespread influence. This has been the Catholic Church. It is also worth noting that at the moment of introducing real socialism, Poland was a typically peasant country.

Thus, the existing order was in many ways similar to the traditional one, with a strongly expanded system of primary structures. In such a system of social life organization, a small private homeland and a primary group in which the individual participated as a "person", constituted the centre of the social world. Family-neighbour circles were not only the basic system of social bonds but also fundamental communities creating their own systems of norms and values. The family and the farm constituted an inseparable whole joined by the bonds of blood as well as by emotional and economic ones. The traditional order also created specific behaviour patterns of individuals and their way of thinking, and criteria of evaluation of the social reality.

S. O r t i z [1973] states that "an individual manifests here orientation aimed at survival and, in this connection, he changes his behaviour patterns slowly". Small groups constituted a basic element of the social structure. A local or regional community often played the role of a macrostructure which the individual seldom left to satisfy his needs. Continuous participation in the microstructures caused consciousness extrapolation of the mechanisms governing a local community over the whole global society. Hence, perception of the social world was pervaded with personalism and moral valuation. The authorities, for instance, were most often perceived in terms of cliques and small groups of "close acquaintances". Very strong emotional and moral associations divided the community into "our own folks" and "strangers". Holmerg points out that these attitudes and

orientations resulted from the individual's own objective experiences, strongly intensified by cultural stereotypes. [Ortiz, 1973, p. 331]. It should be added that the individual manifested extensive passiveness towards the structures and the outer world, together with the feeling of fatalism and certain social weakness. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, and then D. Lewis pointed out that it was a consequence of the individual's socialization in authority-controlled groups, first of all, in a paternal family, and the modern state patterned upon this order [Thomas, Znaniecki, 1976].

It can easily be seen that the existing traditional order and the socialist order introduced are certain kinds of social collectivism. The collectivism of a local community was thus contrasted with the collectivism of formal structures. Hence, their systems of cultural aims were different, which, according to R. K. Merton, are understood as "culturally defined intentions and interests [...] for everybody or for differently placed members of the society" and institutional norms, i.e. elements "regulating and controlling accepted ways of pursuing these aims" [Merton, 1982].

This dissimilarity of the institutional system, with the aims characteristic of a centralized society, to the culturally established system of aims and values derived from the traditional order, but devoid of an appropriate system, led to definite reactions.

These attitudes manifested themselves most clearly in formal mass organizations as a sort of intermediate structures. As P. Rybicki [1979] observed rightly "Structures of the medium order [...] serve checking relationship between a potential sphere of activity created by the social macrostructure and the things that are currently going on in small groups and communities. Hence, the study of intermediate structures is conducive to eliciting the thing that, within large communities and their lines of development, becomes authentic reality".

## 2. Formulation of the problem

In the present article we consider the bonds occurring between an institutional infrastructure of the rural milieu represented by formalized mass organizations and aims and orientations of the rural population. In other words, we shall take interest in the following problem: what kind of attitudes and behaviours do socialized individuals manifest, usually according to different cultural aims from those of the organization?

To answer this question, we shall attempt at presenting a) motives for membership of an organization, b) psychic identification of the respondents with organizations and c) participation patterns, i.e. relatively repeated ways of plying membership roles in a given organization or of entering interaction with a given structure through definite subjects in a more or less conscious and behaviouristically separable way.

Therefore, the object of observations were organizations meeting the requirements of both formal structures discussed above and mass once. The word "mass" used attributively does not resolve itself only to the number of members, although it is a basic criterion. Another definition feature of mass organizations is the fact that their activity consists in mobilizing their members towards mass behaviours through which their membership is manifested. Finally, the third feature is unification and standardization of the contents of their programmes aimed at winning over a mass recipient.

It seems that three types of organizations meet such a criterion in the Polish rural milieu. They are: the Church, political parties and agricultural and countryside attendance organizations. All three are the main subject of our analyses. However, due to limited sources, we shall focus on the presentation of the bonds with the Church, the Polish United Workers' Party and the rural mutual-aid co-operatives, also known as the Samopomoc Chłopska Co-operatives.

The comments and suggestions presented here are only an attempt at outlining documented hypotheses and preliminary empirical conclusions. This is so because, in spite of the import-

ance of the problem, there are few empirical studies, generally having a character of monographic studies concerning a few communities or territorial communities of different regions of the country. Hence, we do not have any results of the studies representative of the whole country, which, of course, limits the scope of the opinions formulated herein. Apart from our own studies carried out in the years 1977-78 and in 1986, we employ the results of other authors' studies made in the 1970s and on the turn of the 1970s and 1980s<sup>1</sup>.

In connection with the role and functions of formal mass organizations, both in the rural milieu and in the whole country, in journalism as well as in sociological literature, two basic hypotheses were formulated. The first one (hypothesis of assimilation) was commonly criticized while the other (hypothesis of an empty zone) gained considerable popularity. The conception of the empty zone, introduced by S. Groenman<sup>2</sup>, and in Poland by S. Nowak [1979], assumes that fundamental objects of identification of a Pole are the macrostructure (nation) and the microstructure (family), between which there is a social void of different structures with which individuals do not identify.

In our opinion, specificity of the rural milieu is more complex and can be placed neither in the conception of assimilation nor in the conception of an empty zone. We have formulated a general hypothesis that it will rather be a certain strategy of adaptation, not rejection or total acceptance.

<sup>1</sup> In 1977 we carried out studies within the PR-5 project in 4 rural districts of different regions of the country (Sieradz, Piotrków, Ciechanów, Leszno Voivodships) on total of 1300 persons. The studies of 1986 were made in one of the rural districts of Sieradz Voivodship on the population of about 140 persons, party members. In both cases they were questionnaire studies.

<sup>2</sup> S. Groenman's opinions are presented after J. Furkowski, 1976, *Kształtowanie się społeczności osiedlowej*, [w:] *Nowe osiedla mieszkaniowe*, Warszawa, p. 213.

### 3. Mass organizations in the Polish countryside and the range of their influence

Mass organizations in the rural milieu in Poland are local agencies of central structures [P i o t r o w s k i, 1968]. It holds true for agricultural and countryside attendance organizations, political organizations and the Catholic Church. Sociologists think that these structures are characterized by predominance of vertical bonds over horizontal bonds and proceeding processes of bureaucracy and staff control over member masses.

Undoubtedly, the most numerous organization in the Polish countryside is the Catholic Church. Due to the lack of precise statistical data, the number of its members can only be estimated roughly. The representative study data indicate that in the rural milieu there has been an increase in the percentage of people declaring affiliation to the Church from 83.8% in the beginning of the 1960s to 89.2% at the end of the 1970s. Nowadays, as J. M a r i a ń s k i [1983] points out "the range of religion is not diminishing in the rural milieu but has a tendency to extend". This is a rather untypical phenomenon "for the country in which there are rapid industrialization and urbanization processes affecting the countryside and religion", but also for the country where, until the end of the 1970s, the state conducted pro-secularization policy. The results of W. Piwowarski's studies from the turn of the 1960s and 1970s suggest also that from among the rural population, 96% of peasants declared themselves to be believers while this percentage was lower among peasant-workers, and amounted to 90% [W. P i w o w a r s k i, 1971].

The phenomenon of increasing religiousness in Poland is interpreted in different ways. Generally, however, it is believed that the following factors are the most significant for the increase in religiousness: a) weak economic efficiency of the social-economic system, making it impossible to satisfy many material needs and intensifying a certain general existential feeling of menace of the individual and whole social groups, b) strong identification, in the social consciousness, of the

national identity with the elements of Christian culture and the Catholic Church, with simultaneous refusal to recognize real socialism norms as being culturally extraneous, c) independence of the Church of the state, as the structure organizing independent opinion-creating circles and offering alternative systems of ideological and political values and, at the same time, not responsible for the errors of the state elite, d) appointment of K. Wojtyła as the Catholic Church Head, which was of great psychological importance for the majority of Poles. In common consciousness, this fact was perceived as specific appreciation by Providence, of the nation severely tried by the history.

Apart from the Church, the majority of the Polish rural population belong to a number of formal agricultural and countryside attendance organizations. Among them are the Samopomoc Chłopska Co-operative (the Mutual-aid Co-operative) affiliating 3,500,000 members and agricultural circles affiliating 1,792,000 members. The Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations - a specific form of the trade union of farmers and agricultural workers - has 2,197,000 members, and the Volunteer Fire Brigades - an organization closely related with our countryside since the middle of the 19th century - has about 550,000 members ["Statistical Yearbook" 1985].

Economic organizations have now the widest range of influence in the rural milieu but the number of their members is smaller than at the end of the 1970s. There are a number of reasons, but one of the main reasons is their gradual subordination to their own bureaucratic machinery and the state administration as well as a low level of the services, due to insufficient equipment with machines. A clinical example here is the process of institutionalization and nationalization of authentic self-governed and mutual-aid organizations, so called agricultural circles, in 1948.

In spite of these negative phenomena, economic organizations most readily meet existential and productive needs of the rural population, especially of peasants. Therefore, irrespective of weaknesses observed in their activity, they are appreciated most, due to their usefulness for the rural milieu. This is the

conclusion drawn not only from our own studies but also from the studies on economic organizations carried out by Z. Iwański [1976], A. Piekara [1977] and F. W. Mleczko [1971] in the 1970s, and from the studies of M. Halańska et al., made in the 1980s ["Farmers Opinions" 1986].

There is also a decrease in the number of the rural population affiliated to political organizations such as the Polish United Workers' Party and the United Peasant Party. As far as the PUWP is concerned, there is a systematic decrease both in the number of members living in the countryside and in the number of peasants relative to other socio-occupational categories. The above tendency can be illustrated with the following data. In 1960, 31% of the total number of the PUWP members lived in the countryside. In 1970 the number amounted to 29.8% and in 1982 - 25.7%. In 1960, 11.8% of the total number of the PUWP members were peasants. In 1970 this socio-occupational category comprised 11.4% and in 1982 only 9.1% of peasants ["Statistical Yearbook" 1985].

The dynamics of the decrease in the number of the UPP members is lower than that of the PUWP, yet the absolute number of people affiliated to the UPP living in the countryside (470,000) is smaller than the number of the PUWP members (597,000).

The decrease in the popularity of political parties in the Polish countryside is a problem that cannot be easily and univocally explained. It seems, however, that one can hypothetically point to the following conditions.

The Polish party system of the beginning of the 1950s subordinated the UPP to the PUWP to an excessive degree. There was virtually no difference between the programme contents as well as means and methods of activity of both parties. The UPP did not have any range of political autonomy and, until the beginning of the 1980s, it was not perceived in the rural milieu as an authentic representative of peasantry interests. The PUWP did not play the role of the representative of the rural population either, since the policy it realized was clearly unfavourable, at most times, for the agriculture and the countryside.

The second reason is persistent conviction of the rural population that it is political organizations that are mainly responsible for recurrent social-political crises in Poland. The third reason is a substantially different system of values and social norms promoted by the real socialism ideology until the beginning of the 1980s from the system of norms and values internalized and cultivated in the rural and peasant milieu. This dissimilarity was especially manifested in the contrast: private property versus state property, religious ideology versus Marxist ideology, small group orientation versus state orientation, etc.

#### 4. Motivation for membership of mass organizations in the rural milieu

One of the major problems attracting the attention of investigators of mass organizations is the question of motivation for membership and of the factors maintaining behaviours aiming at realization of goals convergent with the goals of the structure. Simon and March refer to these two categories as motivations for decisions concerning participation in organizations, and motivations for decisions concerning the manner of behaviour in an organization [H i r s z o w i c z, 1967]. Although the analytical distinction suggested is essential because it "concerns a different structure of motives and other ways of possible influence on a potential or present participant", in some empirical situations it is difficult to apply. Especially with regard to organizations in which affiliation is accomplished beyond the participant's own free will, and sometimes even beyond his consciousness. This is in the case of the Catholic Church membership where baptism, as a criterion of membership, is decided by the child's parents, not the child itself.

Thus, while discussing the motives for membership in the case of agricultural and maintenance structures as well as political ones, we shall have to take into account factors causing the decision to affiliate to a given organization, and in

the case of the Church consider the factors justifying playing the role of a member.

The first one is the direction and orientation of the aim of the person undertaking activity. As for this criterion, various motives constitute specific continuum from the ones in which the individual directs his activity towards his own ego, up to the ones in which he directs his action towards certain social wholes. Hence, one can speak of egocentric and sociocentric orientations. However, because of the specificity of the rural milieu, we suggest including the orientation towards a small family among the egocentric, not sociocentric type.

Furthermore, due to the genesis, inner motives can be distinguished when the decision is a consequence of some sort of self-determination and calculation, and outer motives - if the decision results from internalization of outer social norms or outer social pressure or even compulsion. Let us then have a look at the basic categories of motivation for affiliation of the rural population to the three types of formal organizations discussed herein, according to this distinction.

In the studies of affiliation to the Catholic Church in the agricultural region of Puławy cited above, W. Piwowarski used a dichotomic category of primary and secondary motives. The former corresponded more or less to our categories of inner and egocentric motivation, the latter to outer and sociocentric motivation. The author's statement was "that in the rural milieu of Puławy region, secondary motivation - culturally-spontaneous and socio-cultural - acquires predominant importance, in association, however, with primary motivation - cosmological-biological of eternal redemption. This means that religiousness, in the region studied, was created primarily on the basis of the milieu mechanisms and on the basis of the nation-wide culture in which Catholic religion has become one of the central institutions". [Piwowarski, 1971]. Similar conclusions can be drawn (based on our studies in the years 1977-78), the difference being that in our population, predominant were respondents of outer and sociocentric orientation.

In the case of the Catholic Church, affiliation or maintaining the role of a member results rather from the outer, towards

the individual, socialization system placed in the tradition or in internalized norms of local and national culture. Orientation in activity is directed both towards the community and the individual.

P i w o w a r s k i [1971] says however that "neither the parish nor the Church are apprehended by the community members as purely religious structures. In the folk culture, there is essentially one community, namely the local community with its traditions and customs, including religious ones. Members of the local community treat the party or the Church as organizations of the local cult, remaining in the service of the local culture. They perceive the priest in a similar way. For them, he is not 'a participant' of the Church but 'a servant' of the local customs". From the above and other studies, it also results that an increase in urbanization is conducive to increasing egocentric motivation in religious orientations. This would explain a certain difference in the data between Puławy region and the region of central Poland where our studies of 1978 were carried out. As a result, an increase in the role of outer and egocentric motivation for affiliation to the Church can be expected in future.

On the other hand, the structure of motivation for affiliation to formal organizations associated with the countryside and agriculture is somewhat different, which will be illustrated by the studies on the Samopomoc Chłopska Co-operatives.

The results of F. W. M l e c z k o's [1971] studies show that one can distinguish two basic groups of motives here. Egocentric and inner motives where both the source and the aim of activity concentrate on the individual, and egocentric and outer motives whose source of activity lies in a social system extraneous towards the individual, but the aim is oriented towards the acting subject. F. W. Mleczko divides the first category into two sub-categories: motivation of material benefits and motivation of personal satisfaction.

"In the first case - as the author points out - the motive power of the individual's action is aiming at achievement of material benefits, measurable and direct". Such motives constituted 50.7% of all motives. In the latter case, of personal

satisfaction, "achievement of psychic or moral benefits, not related with any material benefits" is concerned. Among them, motivations to achieve a definite social status, prestige, recognition as well as motivations of self-improvement and knowledge acquisition constituted an especially numerous group (17.9%). Among egocentric and outer motivations, the most essential are: the motive of affiliation to a group (social participation - 18.6%) and the motive of wielding power (21.2%). In Mleczko's studies, among the egocentric and outer motives there was also an insignificant percentage of motivation of "formal-legal necessity". The author relates this with the case when "joining an organization conditions undertaking a job in it". The results of A. K o z u c h ' s [1986] and our own studies testify to the predominance of inner and egocentric motives in affiliation to different organizations of agricultural and countryside maintenance or the ones satisfying production-household needs in the countryside. There is another interesting observation concerning the section of reality analysed. It turns out that among the rural population, the most egocentric orientation is manifested by part-time farmers, much lesser by peasants and the least by brain workers living in the countryside. Similar conclusions can be made basing on the data found in Mleczko's work.

There is a certain difficulty in formulating hypotheses on motivation for membership of political organizations, such as the PUMP or the UPP in the rural milieu. The main cause is lack of publications on this subject. Therefore, by necessity, we shall present the results of only our own studies carried out in one of the districts of the central macroregion of Poland in 1986. Nearly 42% of respondents - party members - pointed to egocentric and inner motives based on conviction that "membership of the party helps one to achieve a personal success in social activity and a political career". Further 31% declared an outer and sociocentric motive, stating that "membership of the PUMP increases the individual's influence on the possibilities of making important decisions and yielding of power". The third was outer and sociocentric motivation related with internalization of doctrinal norms (21%) and with the influence of outer circles upon making a decision to join the party.

Such a situation arises when agitation action or inducing non-party persons to join the PUWP are undertaken. These actions often force out the act of membership through a specific pressure of the type: "if you join the party, you will get this or that". In our studies, this type of motivation was declared only by 5% of respondents. Since there are no data on the United Peasant Party, our comments on the motives for affiliation to political organizations must be treated with special restraint.

The results of the studies on the motivation for membership of formal organizations in the rural milieu cited here suggest that egocentric and inner motivation becomes a predominant type of motivation. It assumes different functional categories, from the attitude oriented towards obtaining material benefits, through personal satisfaction, to the attitude of security, specifically securing the individual and his family's subsistence. We point out that not always material benefits, in the common sense of the word, are mainly concerned here. Protection and security appear in the studies on the party, the Church and agricultural organizations. In each case, however, a different type of protection and individual benefits is involved because the types of mass organizations discussed offer attaining values of different levels of importance and usefulness, both for the individual's and the whole community's everyday life. At the extremes of this continuum of values, the Church offering fundamental existential and moral-ethical values is on one side while economic organizations offering only material values on the other. In this connection, in different types of organizations the individual assumes a requesting attitude. He is never certain whether and when the requests will be heard and realized.

A. Piekara's [1977] studies, for example, suggest that the majority of respondents associated the willingness of achieving certain profits for themselves or their family with the membership of the Samopomoc Chłopska Co-operative while, at the same time, as many as 76% stated that they had failed to realize these aims. It is not unlikely that the elite of mass organizations manages to achieve what member

masses fail to achieve. Let us add that inner and sociocentric motives which, according to J. Reykowski [1979] could be called pro-social, are being clearly limited.

#### 5. Identification with mass organizations in the rural milieu

The term "identification" introduced into psychology by Z. Freud proved to be widely applicable in sociology [Halmos, 1964]. In spite of repeated attempts at defining this concept, however, the scope of its meaning is still not clearly determined. A. L. Bertrand and Z. I. Wierzbicki, indicating ambiguity of this term say "the concept of identification is understood as imitation or participation in experiences and emotions of other people, or as a process of emotional identification with a definite person, group or object and also [...] with a social role, and even as the fact of identifying an object" [Bertrand, Wierzbicki, 1970].

In literature, distinction between a psychological and sociological aspect of identification has become generally accepted. The former usually signifies identification of the individual with a social role while the latter is associated "with inner acquisition of a certain set of roles characteristic of a given group and recognizing oneself to be its member" [Marinański, 1973].

Leaving apart more detailed considerations of the term itself, we assume that identification will signify a certain fact of emotional and psychic identification of the individual with a given structure, i.e. with its aims, norms and the other members.

Basing on S. Ossowski's [1962] considerations we can, with reference to mass organizations, analyse identification in collective terms, if psychic association with the group follows from internalization of the main norms and aims of a given structure, and in distributive terms, if identification with the group follows from the acceptance of one's own aims and attitudes with the aims and attitudes of particular persons.

In the empirical sense, the study of signs of collective identification refers to the acceptance of the basic norms and aims of a given structure whereas the study of the distributive aspect refers to the analysis of solidarity with the leaders and the other members of a given structure. However, since mass organizations stem from the movements created for satisfying definite needs or for realization of certain ideas, the analysis of identification should assume specification of these normative-ideological principles typical of each organization. This is not so simple since such an intention leads, in our case, to a controversial attempt at defining something that can be called Catholic principles and ideology, principles and ideology of real socialism, and principles and ideology of co-operatives, and then to verification of the degree of their social acceptance in the rural milieu. Such a procedure is unfeasible within the scope of the present work. Thus, we shall confine ourselves to the range of acceptance of normative principles of particular organizations, in the sense in which they were analysed empirically by particular authors.

In the case of the Church, the subject of analyses were religious-normative convictions of the Catholics appealing to abiding or rejecting definite dogmas and patterns of moral behaviour.

The results of empirical studies point to two basic statements. First, a high percentage of acceptability of the basic truths of religion can be noticed. Generally, the percentage of those who accept these truths in different regions of the country is above 80%. On the other hand, however, as J. Mariański points out, in the years 1967-1976 there was a decrease in the percentage of those accepting the truths of religion "on average by 5.9% (from 0.8% to 14.5%) depending on the kind of dogma. Thus, the area of doubt with regard to the truths constituting the Christian deposit of faith expanded. These are slight but clear and real changes" [M a r i a ń s k i, 1983].

This phenomenon is accompanied by a very limited knowledge of religion and lack of interest in the matters of the Church as a certain formal structure as well as an ideological community and by a selective attitude to moral-religious norms. "In

spite of qualitative and quantitative intensification of catechization, religious ignorance continues and even shows a slightly upward tendency" [M a r i a ń s k i, 1973]. Interest in the Church affairs, as W. Piwowarski indicates, is generally reduced to making sporadic comments "on different events both in the common and local Church".

Identification, therefore, is mainly of a traditionalistic character and results from the features of a wider peasant system of culture not from intentions and intellectual attitude of the individual. This type of orientation, however, points to its considerable permanence. With reference to the parish as a certain institutional sub-structure, it can be said that the figure of the parish patron (saint) and the person of the vicar are the factors around which the process of identification concentrates.

The term "our parish" frequently refers to the name of the patron and the person of the vicar. They are not only figures but also specific local symbols known to the majority of the inhabitants of a given parish. In our studies of 1977, about 76% of respondents were able to give the name of the patron of their parish and 71% knew the first and the last name of their vicar. Attachment of the parish to larger administrative structures, namely to the diocese, is identified slightly worse. In the rural districts studied, the average number of people having good knowledge in this scope was about 68%. It is beyond doubt that, in spite of losing many functions, distributive identification with the parish is relatively permanent in the rural milieu where the distinction of "our own folks" from "strangers" takes place "not only within the parish but also outside its territorial boundaries during pilgrimages, church fairs, etc." [M a r i a ń s k i, 1973]. At the same time, however, a process occurs of the change in the perception of the object with which respondents identify. In the rural milieu, the parish gradually loses the character of a cultural-local community and is considered more and more to be a cultural-local institution of increasingly specialized functions.

Political parties, just as the Church, have certain principles or ideas which determine their theoretical identity and consti-

tute a basis for mobilization of masses for social activity in a definite direction. As in the case of the Church, their scope is rather diversified because it refers to different spheres of activity of man and, of course, is subjected to certain transformations with time. Nevertheless, certain directions are relatively constant and seem to be obligatory in spite of proceeding political changes in the party itself. Among them is the direction assuming that the basis of functioning of the social order and the main premise of emancipation of the individual is the state property treated as an expression of objective historical-social processes. It is further assumed that the working-class party, in this case the PUWP, is the only party having positive control over social and economic processes. Then, there is a set of directions requiring from the individual to subordinate his personal interest to the interest of the state and the social class to which he belongs. It is also pointed out that the individual should, in his activity, apply the system of values based on the Marxist philosophy and the overcoming of religion [S z c z e p a ń s k i, 1973].

It is obvious that the features mentioned above are not all the attributes of the essential contents of the working party ideology norms. However, they are the most important ones, although in the 1980s one can notice official departure from the philosophy of life and principles of the state property as predominant in the order of real socialism.

It results from the fragmentary empirical studies on the rural milieu that the above principles are not commonly accepted by the PUWP members. The principle of the economic order based on the state property is least accepted, by only 15% of the respondents. The philosophical direction of the superiority of Marxism as a theoretical system is also clearly rejected (20% acceptance). The most surprising, however, is the fact that 52% of the party members of the rural milieu admitted that the party of the mid-1980s had no power to overcome the long-lasting social-economic crisis by itself. In addition, the studies carried out at the same time and a year later among the party members of the urban milieu showed a still stronger scepticism towards the normative-ideological principles. The studies quoted

as well as other observations also show that the knowledge of the statute of this organization is scarce and is generally reduced to the knowledge of a few slogans learnt from mass media.

The main object of identification are both the basic organizational party structures as well as the central structures. On the other hand, however, there is a stronger tendency to identify with the superior structures, such as "the Central Committee", "the Central Authorities" or the Politbureau. The best-known persons are the First Secretary of the Central Committee as well as the first secretary of the basic party organization. In spite of the small number of members in the rural district, they do not know one another too well.

This fact can result from the specificity of spatial distances in the distribution of the rural population. The Church, however, is rather identified in the local "parish" terms while the party is identified in the central terms. At lower levels, it is not treated even as a local organization but as an agency structure of the centre. Hence, if somebody speaks of "our church", he usually has a parish organization with its patron and vicar in mind. On the other hand, if people speak of "our party", they usually think of the nation-wide organization together with its central authorities.

A still different pattern of identification emerges from the studies on agricultural and countryside maintenance organizations, especially co-operative ones. It is well-known that the basic normative principles of co-operatives are a) co-operation, b) mutual aid and c) self-government which is to integrate the members of a given co-operative organization. In his studies, A. Maliszewski points out that "persons affiliated do not know the principles of the organization they join" and that "lack of knowledge of co-operative principles, the statute of their own organization and lack of information transfer between particular organs of the self-government and members of the co-operative are the disadvantages decisive of little activity of the persons affiliated. Lack of knowledge of the co-operative idea is common both among the members and workers of the co-operative" [M a l i s z e w s k i, 1986]. A. Piekara's stu-

dies show in turn that "only one-fourth of the Samopomoc Chłopska Co-operative members are ready to help their co-operative by performing actual services, eg in the form of social labour and increasing shares".

It results from the statements cited that among the rural population, the knowledge of co-operative principles is superfluous and that there are few people willing to act according to the mutual-aid principle if it assumes a certain amount of personal relinquishment. The tendency to accept the idea of self-government stands differently. Many indicator questions employed in A. Piekara's studies show that 90% of the co-operative members accept the idea of self-government understood as direct influence upon the co-operative activity. At the same time, however, 70% believe that this principle is not virtually realized. In the case of agricultural and countryside maintenance organizations, scanty knowledge of principles of the co-operative ideas co-exists with certain unwillingness to assume attitudes of mutual aid, and with eagerness to accept the idea of social participation as the method of management in a formal structure. It results from a number of studies that, apart from a diversified attitude towards basic norms of co-operatives, the staff of the organization is the fundamental factor of identification with agricultural and countryside maintenance organizations [P i e k a r a, 1977].

The Samopomoc Chłopska Co-operative president or the manager of the agricultural circle are, apart from the head of the rural district, the best-known persons in the rural milieu. This certainly results from the functions that these organizations perform towards peasant farms. The rural population perceives the Samopomoc Chłopska Co-operative and Agricultural Circles as local structures closely related with the local rural milieu. However, if the Church is identified locally by the fact of identification with the local culture in which religion plays an important role, and if the party is identified as a mass movement towards the rural milieu, then rural organizations are identified as being local through their staff derived usually from the local rural milieu.

#### 6. Basic patterns of participation in mass organizations

Apart from motives for membership and psychic identification, participation patterns, i.e. patterns of playing member roles in a given organization constitute another aspect of bonds described in the present article. Let us add that the term "pattern of participation" will signify certain predominant empirical manners of behaviours resulting from definite realization of the member role of a given organization. To shorten the presentation, we shall confine ourselves only to the patterns being realized, not assumed.

In the studies cited before, W. Piwoński [1971] listed six different types of parish participation in the rural milieu. The first type is a parishioner-ordinary user who "is not the subject but the object of the parish activity. He is not expected to display initiative [...]". The second type is a parishioner-customer, "the one who 'buys' services sold by priests". The third type is a parishioner-user who is required to render services related with the maintenance of the parish and clergymen, in the form of eg offerings. He is not expected, however, to "display initiative or to participate in the parish activities".

The fourth type is "a subjected parishioner" expected to comply with the Church regulations and instructions given by the parish administration. The fifth type is "a parishioner-mandatar" taking part in group activity of the parish in the administrative and theological sense. Finally, the sixth type is "a parishioner-associate" aware of his activity, active in religious practices and in "jobs for the benefit of the parish". W. Piwoński says that "From among the types of parishioners, with reference to the manner of playing the role, in Puławy region studied, there is predominance of the »parishioner-user« type, i.e. the catholic who avails himself to ministrations of the clergy and, to a higher or lesser degree, participates in the maintenance of the parish and its leaders. This parishioner is connected with the parish by inter-individual relations in the above sense. Clergy renders services to him and he takes

them, rewarding some of them". Thus, we can see that outer and sociological orientations appearing in the consciousness manifestation of affiliation to the Church change rather into outer and egocentric, in the course of playing the role of the parish community member.

Typology considering different ways of playing the role of the party member in the rural milieu was also taken into account in our studies of 1986. Five types of playing the role were distinguished with regard to the activity level of members, measured by the frequency of attendance to meetings, taking initiative and jobs for the benefit of the organization, performing functions in it, etc. The first type were nominal members, i.e. the ones who, being on the list of members, did not do any statute duties. They were 16% of the total number of respondents-party members in the rural milieu district. The second type were those who occasionally did their basic duties of the member, i.e. they paid membership fees and once a year they took part in a meeting of the organization. They constituted 41% and were a predominant group in the population studied. Nearly 25% of respondents were included into a group of "uncommitted", i.e. those doing their statute duties without reserve, while 19% were classified as "active", i.e. the ones doing their in-excess-of-statute duties. Finally, only 4% of respondents were included into the category of particularly active. It is worth noting that they were generally the persons holding some party posts in the rural district or the voivodship.

It is surprising that the scheme of playing the role of a member in organizations of so much different ideologies as the Church and the party seems to be similar. The studies show that participation in the parish activities consists mainly in attending the mass on Sundays and Church Holidays, giving offerings and performing a few ritual behaviours. It is very much the same in the case of membership of the party. Playing the role of a member consists, in most cases, in participation in the meetings having a ritual order and in paying statute fees. A certain difference, however, lies in the fact that behaviours, gestures and symbols showing affiliation to the Church have

deeply penetrated into everyday life of the country population. They are unconsciously introduced into many everyday life situations, thus constituting an integral element of the countryside culture in which sacral aspects are mixed with laic ones. Symbols and behaviours showing affiliation to the party are mainly manifested at the meetings of this organization. They are not made public in other social situations and do not penetrate into the individual's everyday life. Thus, they are occasional behaviours to a greater extent.

Also the system of sanctions against persons not affiliated to particular types of organizations is different. Since affiliation to the Church is the matter of the community, ie the matter of certain cultural identity of the individual. Affiliation to agricultural organizations, on the other hand, is the question of individual decisions, without so serious social references.

In the case of economic organizations connected with the countryside and agriculture, predominant is the membership similar to the pattern of nominal membership or passive membership in our understanding, or to the pattern of "customer" from Piwowarski's typology. In these organizations, it is reduced only to taking definite services and paying for them. The organization member plays the role of a customer, yet a very special kind of customer, towards whom the organization staff plays the role of "a protector" as well as "a usurer" and "a monopolist". The types of participation in the organizations mentioned testify to proceeding institutionalization of mass structures in spite of attempts at rebuilding community bonds in them. Predominant contacts of towards-the-centre orientation create the feeling of alienation, not so much cultural as social. The commonest type of contact is the contact between a given member and the staff, not between members of the same structure. Thus, these organizations are not the basis for formation of community structures but agency structures. This, in turn, leads to autonomization of their managing groups and manipulation of member masses by the elite, with simultaneous lack of control over the elite by masses, and passiveness of masses.

### 7. Premises of adaptation

In the previous sections of our considerations, social bonds of the rural population with mass organizations in the rural milieu have been described as generally institutionalized. We have also indicated that, apart from outer and strictly institutional signs of membership, there is a small margin for deeper, conscious and spontaneous bonds of masses with organizational structures (excluding, of course, strong and traditional bonds with the Church). In spite of this, these organizations affiliate, as it has already been shown, a considerable number of members. Hence, the question arises why the rural population adapts to these formal structures and participates in them.

It seems that the answer to this question will be clearer if we realize the existence of the following adaptation mechanisms.

The first consists in transformation of aims - tasks of the organization into aims-orientations of the members. In other words, aims of the structure are adapted to particular aims of its members. This divergence testifies to certain efforts made by individuals to maintain their autonomy and give priority to individual aims over aims of the structure. In this situation, these organizations in the rural milieu can be transformed rather into an area of conflict of individual needs of the members than into structures of integrated aims.

The second of the mechanisms consists in removing ideology from the membership. Ideas, as the basis for bonds, are of marginal significance for the rural population. If they do occur in the consciousness of respondents, they usually assume the form of a number of stereotyped slogans. Predominant is an attitude of life pragmatism. Ideological principles are treated as redundant and sometimes cramping the realization of everyday life principles.

Binding and predominant ideology is the good of a primary group to which the individual belongs. In this connection, everything that serves realization of this principle is accepted irrespective of other circumstances. Hence, a natural tendency

occurs to expand security mechanisms and to affiliate to a number of different organizations. For the same reasons, simultaneous affiliation to organizations of different ideological orientations and system of values does not generally cause psychic discordance and disintegration of the personality. This is so because two contradictory ideological norms do not take a central position in the individual's consciousness and real experience. In a different way, however, they are a support for realization of another central value - the good of the family and the farm. The interest of the individual and the small group to which he belongs is not identical with the interest of any mass organization in the rural milieu. In spite of the pressure of institutional norms, the individual makes attempts at being a subject treating formal structures instrumentally, depending on his own abilities and needs. He does not treat seriously institutional norms and has a selective attitude towards them. He accepts what is useful for him in everyday life. He neglects incomprehensible contents or gives them a specific sense, completely different from the official one. This attitude follows from lack of subjectivity of members of a mass organization in the rural milieu and centralistic manner of yielding power by the staff of these organizations. Therefore, Florian Znaniecki's words have not lost much of their significance, although they were written seventy years ago - "Although the rural district is organized on the principle of self-government, its freedom is often limited by administrative instructions of the state. Power in the rural district is actually yielded by the party secretary [...]. As far as the parish is concerned, the priest yields absolute power, [...]" [Thomas, Znaniecki, 1976].

The peasant, being in the weaker position towards the institutional system, does not attempt at resisting it. The tactics of rebellion is rare for a number of reasons. First of all, because the rural population, and peasantry as a class in particular, as I. Shanin is right to point out, is greatly diversified with regard to realized aims and interests [Shanin, 1973]. Moreover, there is an established conviction in the peasants' consciousness that there always exists some repressive system against this class. Hence, members make attempt at taming, out-

witting or buying over the institutional system rather than engage into hopeless fight.

All these actions are possible due to the fact that the institutional system outer in its genesis is filled with personal, social contacts.

Thus, the third mechanism of adaptation consists in personalization of social relations within mass organizations.

As a matter of fact, formal structures function as systems of primary groups. The Church, being the most centralized structure, is an exception to this rule. Thanks to the fact that the organization affiliates "familiar folks", one can use towards them well-known methods of action guaranteeing effectiveness in everyday life. Thus, mutual exchange of services with managers and staff of the institution is involved, sometimes bribery or search for support of more important persons of the institutional world at a higher level. The above mentioned ways of conduct are treated as obvious and natural by the rural population. The individual assumes that the institution staff, as much as himself, do not treat ideological principles seriously, and that they apply the same values oriented towards a small group, not towards organizations or the state. Predominance of personal contacts has another important aspect.

Familiar persons soften the degree of isolation of institutional structures. Although they cannot be tamed, they become less foreign when important roles in them are played by the people whom the individual knows. Secondly, they are a good means of communication between the managers of the organization. Closer personal contacts make it possible to realize the tasks often discordant with the organization statute and law, but positive for the community. Personalization of contacts in organizational structures of the rural milieu causes organizations to be transformed into a community of mutually contradictory groups of interests, which deepens their disorganization.

### 8. Conclusion

The predominant manner of participation in mass organizations of the rural milieu that emerges from our considerations can be

called an adaptation attitude or disposition. Its essence is strong orientation towards one's own primary group and instrumental treatment of formal organizations. The innovation feature of this attitude is that the individual, not recognizing and sometimes not accepting ideological premises of activity of the structures, affiliates to it and tries to make the structure useful for himself by all means. He generally does it through personal contacts and does not neglect the methods contrary to the law but established by the custom. In fact, all the ways are permissible if they lead to the accomplishment of the good of the primary group. The above, utilitarian-oriented pattern of participation shows persistence in time. Its explanation should be sought not so much in the sphere of the social consciousness as, above all, in the impropriety of the institutional structure elements relative to the chief cultural values commonly accepted and recognized in the rural milieu.

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Wacław Piotrowski, Paweł Starosta

#### WIĘZI SPOŁECZNE I ORGANIZACJE MASOWE W ŚRODOWISKU WIEJSKIM

W niniejszym artykule analizujemy układy więzi społecznych zachodzące pomiędzy instytucjonalną infrastrukturą środowiska wiejskiego reprezentowaną przez sformalizowane organizacje masowe a kulturowymi orientacjami mieszkańców wsi. Innymi słowy, interesować nas będzie problem sprowadzający się do pytania: jakiego typu nastawienia i zachowania wobec funkcjonujących na wsi organizacji masowych przejawiają jednostki socjalizowane zwykle według innych celów kulturowych aniżeli cele organizacji?

Pojęcie celów kulturowych - wprowadzone za R. K. Mertonem oznacza tu "kulturowo zdefiniowane zamierzenia i zainteresowania dla wszystkich lub dla różnie umiejscowionych członków społeczeństwa". Aby udzielić odpowiedzi na tak sformułowane pytanie, w artykule staramy się przedstawić zarówno: a) motywy przynależności do organizacji masowych, b) identyfikację psychiczną badanych z organizacjami, jak i c) wzory uczestnictwa jednostek w organizacjach, czyli względnie powtarzające się sposoby grania ról członkowskich w danej organizacji i sposoby wchodzenia w sieć interakcji z daną strukturą poprzez określone podmioty w mniej lub bardziej uświadomiony i dający się wyodrębnić behawioralnie sposób.

Obiektem obserwacji uczyniono zatem organizacje spełniające wymogi zarówno struktur formalnych, jak i masowych. Przymiotnik "masowy" nie sprowadza się w naszym rozumieniu jedynie do liczebności składu danej struktury. Drugą cechą organizacji masowych

jest fakt, że ich działalność polega głównie na mobilizowaniu swoich członków do zachowań zbiorowych, poprzez które manifestowana jest głównie przynależność. Wreszcie trzecią cechą organizacji masowych jest unifikacja i standaryzacja treści ich programów działania zorientowanych na pozyskanie masowego odbiorcy.

Analizie poddano trzy typy organizacji masowych funkcjonujących w środowisku wsi polskiej: kościoła, organizacji politycznych oraz organizacji obsługi wsi i rolnictwa.

Dominujący typ więzi z organizacjami masowymi występujących w środowisku wiejskim jaki wyłania się z niniejszych rozważań można nazwać postawą czy też nastawieniem adaptacyjnym. Jego istotą sprowadza się do silnej orientacji na własną grupę pierwotną i instrumentalnego traktowania organizacji formalnych. Innowacyjność tej postawy polega na tym, że jednostka nie uznając a czasami i nie akceptując ideologicznych przesłanek działania struktur zgłasza do nich akces i wszystkimi dostępnymi sobie środkami stara się ową strukturę uczynić sobie przydatną. Czyni to zwykle poprzez personalne kontakty i nie pomija przy tym sposobów niezgodnych z formalnym ustawodawstwem, ale zwyczajowo utrwalonych. Zresztą wszystkie sposoby postępowania są przyzwalane o ile prowadzą do osiągnięcia dobra grupy pierwotnej. Powyższy utylitarnie zorientowany wzór uczestnictwa wykazuje trwałość w czasie. Jego wytłumaczenia należy szukać nie tyle w sferze świadomości społecznej, co przede wszystkim w zbyt dużej nieodpowiedniości elementów struktury instytucjonalnej w stosunku do naczelnych wartości kulturowych, powszechnie akceptowanych i uznawanych w środowisku wiejskim.