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ATTITUDES OF RURAL POPULATION TOWARDS VILLAGE
AND TOWN AS LIVING ENVIRONMENTS

1. Problems, materials and hypotheses

An important component of subjective life quality is widely understood attitude of people to their own living environment both in the sense of a concrete area and social aggregation and in widely understood environment type, especially of the rural environment as different from big urban environment. This attitude may be treated in categories of attitudes towards the environment assuming that emotional relationship to an object being expressed in emotionally tinted evaluations and opinions represents a component element of the attitude. The affectional factor is usually accompanied by some convictions about an object (cognitive component) and inclination to assume definite behaviour in relation to an object (behavioral component).

In a country characterized with advanced level of industrialization and urbanization, which are accompanied by dynamic and multi-plane processes of material-spatial and socio-cultural changes, there can be expected a pronounced polarization of the rural population's attitudes towards its own dwelling environment: with some - there are formed strong complexes of "rural affiliation", sense of injustice and discrimination, while with others - prorural attitudes become consolidated.

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This problem constituted a segment of more extensive researches conducted in 1976 in several dozen villages belonging to different regions of Poland. We shall present here some results of these researches with reference to 1,514-person sample from 23 villages in 4 administrative rural communes being the smallest administrative units in rural areas of Poland. The researches were carried out by means of questionnaire survey addressed to both marriage partners in production age brackets (18-65). The collected materials were statistically processed on computers. The produced results are representative for populations of each rural commune's inhabitants according to their age brackets and socio-professional category (individual farmers, workers employed in socialized sector of agriculture, and nonagricultural population). We shall accept here a principle of comparative analysis of results in particular rural communes since they proved to be distinctly differentiated.

The rural commune of Pepowo, situated a long distance from towns of even average size, possesses agricultural character and represents the highest level of effectiveness in individual and socialized farming in Polish conditions owing to its high level of agrarian culture, relatively good soils and agrarian structure. The rural commune of Opinogóra is located in close vicinity of a medium-size town, but it is also of agricultural character (individual and socialized farms) and has quite high productivity being mainly a result of very good quality soils. Sulmierzyce rural commune, having a good commuter service with industrial centres, is inhabited by peasant-workers, and has a low level of agricultural production in individual and socialized farming accompanied by poor soils, unfavourable agrarian structure and economic culture. An even lower level of development and rather unfavourable conditions for agricultural production are characteristic for Widawa rural commune possessing peasant-worker character, distinct predominance of poorly productive individual farming accompanied by quite a significant share of the population making its livelihood in small-scale industries, transport and services.

Researches and analyses of attitudes towards rural and big urban types of living environments were oriented at the three following starting hypotheses:

1. In human conscience there are distinguished and separately evaluated three spheres or aspects of the living environment: material (natural and artificial environment, and especially housing and widely understood services); social (characteristics of aggregation, and system of social relations and social participation); and cultural (cultural activity of aggregation and its material-organizational correlates). It was supposed that negative attitudes in relation to the rural environment would prevail in the cultural aspect and would be met most infrequently in the social aspect.

2. Comparative evaluations of each aspect of rural and big urban environments are of two kinds: general stereotypes of village or town "supremacy" in a given aspect and detailed evaluations of particular component elements of a given aspect. It was supposed that these general stereotypes are more frequently unfavourable for the village than detailed evaluations of concretely understood component elements of the environment. The more precisely and in the more detailed manner the people evaluate the village in comparison with the town in any sphere, the more frequently evaluations of the village are more positive.

3. Attitudes towards the village and the town, being formed in the above mentioned six planes (general and detailed in material, social, and cultural aspects) are, to a different degree, statistically convergent, with a considerable number of people differently evaluating the village and the town in particular analyzed dimensions. It was, moreover, supposed that these attitudes are substantially statistically differentiated in different categories of aggregations: demographic, economic, socio-professional, spatial, and others.

The above problems will be discussed against the background of the above mentioned empirical material. First, there will be presented general and detailed attitudes in relation to material environment, next social and cultural to be followed by mutual convergences of these attitudes and their differentiation according to basic cross-sections of aggregations.

2. Opinions about material values of village and town

In general comparative analysis of the material environment in the village and the town there largely prevails a stereotype of the town's supremacy (Tab. 1): 35 per cent of respondents expressed a view that the town possesses better material living conditions while a higher evaluation of the village in this area was represented by only 30 per cent with 27 per cent of the interviewed not declaring their preference of any of these stereotypes. Those last mentioned were underlining especially differentiation of rural and urban living conditions according to different categories of the population as well as dissimilarity and incomparable aspect of these components.

T a b l e 1

General evaluation of material living conditions
in the village as compared with big towns

| Evaluations in percentage figures of number of respondents | Pepowo N = 428 | Opinogóra N = 368 | Sulmierzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Better in village | 44.1 | 37.0 | 24.3 | 14.7 | 30.2 |
| Better in towns | 23.6 | 33.4 | 41.8 | 43.0 | 35.0 |
| Different according to people's categories | 9.8 | 3.0 | 10.5 | 9.9 | 8.3 |
| Different according to components | 7.7 | 9.0 | 7.2 | 6.8 | 7.7 |
| Different according to regions | 1.6 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 3.4 | 2.5 |
| Hard to say | 9.1 | 7.1 | 10.5 | 7.2 | 8.3 |
| Others or no data available | 4.1 | 8.3 | 3.1 | 15.0 | 7.0 |

While justifying the above evaluation of the town the reasons most often quoted were better goods provision, better services and various work values (working conditions, free time etc.), while a higher evaluation of the village was most often prompted by possession of own consumer products and values of the natural environment.

Attention should be paid to differentiation of these attitu-

des in particular rural communes. It appears that the higher the socio-economic development level of the rural commune, the more numerous the supporters of stereotype claiming superiority of the village material environment, and the less numerous supporters of the material superiority of the town, and vice versa.

In order to analyze detailed material evaluations of living conditions in the village as compared to big town the respondents were asked to accept or reject six opinions concerning basic components of this sphere and confirming supremacy or equal status of the village in this field (Tab. 2).

T a b l e 2

Detailed evaluations of material living conditions
in the village in comparison with big towns

| Share of respondents accepting opinion that in village in comparison with big towns | Pepowo N = 428 | Opinogóra N = 368 | Sulmierzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|---|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Is less pollution, life is more peaceful and healthy | 94.9 | 86.7 | 95.7 | 72.7 | 87.3 |
| Is more green growth, water and beautiful scenery | 81.6 | 81.2 | 89.1 | 72.7 | 80.5 |
| Are lower living costs | 70.1 | 73.4 | 67.8 | 49.7 | 64.9 |
| Are similar housing conditions | 62.6 | 50.0 | 53.9 | 31.6 | 49.4 |
| Are equally nice housing resources and land development | 48.6 | 37.2 | 36.3 | 23.9 | 36.5 |
| Are similar goods provision, trade and services | 35.0 | 21.7 | 13.8 | 13.0 | 21.4 |

It appeared there were almost commonly accepted the values of the rural natural environment, and most rarely its equality in comparison with the town in the field of goods provision, trade and services and in the field of spatial development. It is worth pointing out here that hierarchy of these opinions according to common aspects of their acceptance is fully identical in all rural communes although percentage figures of respondents accepting a given opinion are greatly differentiated. Generally

speaking the most positive evaluation of the village environment was provided by inhabitants of the rural commune with the highest development level (Pepowo) while most critical were inhabitants of the rural commune with the lowest development level (Widawa). It is worth pointing out that values of the natural rural environment were most commonly accepted in a rural commune possessing most people commuting to work in towns, although objectively there was nothing special to distinguish it in this field (Sulmierzyce).

In aggregate approach to the analyzed opinions it appeared that only 18 per cent of respondents accepted 0-2 opinions while as many as 24 per cent expressed 5-6 positive evaluations of the village (Tab. 3).

Table 3

Level of positive evaluation of material living conditions in the village as compared with big towns

| Percentage figure of respondents accepting the following number of opinions from Tab 2 | Pepowo N = 428 | Opino- gó ra N = 368 | Sulmie- rzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|--|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 7.5 | 2.2 |
| 1 | 1.9 | 2.7 | 2.4 | 2.9 | 2.5 |
| 2 | 9.8 | 11.4 | 14.1 | 17.1 | 13.1 |
| 3 | 22.2 | 24.5 | 31.1 | 29.5 | 26.8 |
| 4 | 31.8 | 24.5 | 27.0 | 18.8 | 25.8 |
| 5 | 21.5 | 22.0 | 16.1 | 9.2 | 17.2 |
| 6 | 11.7 | 7.3 | 6.0 | 2.9 | 7.1 |
| Lack of data | 0.9 | 7.3 | 1.0 | 12.1 | 5.3 |

Table 3 shows explicitly that also in detailed convictions positive evaluations of the rural material environment are the more frequent the higher the level of socio-economic development of a given area. It can be stated, moreover, that in as much as in general stereotypes prevailed positive evaluations of the town, in detailed evaluations of concrete components of the material environment the supremacy of positive evaluations of the village is quite pronounced.

3. Opinions about social values of village and town

In general comparative analysis of the social urban and rural environment there prevails quite distinctly a stereotype of the village supremacy (Tab. 4): 26 per cent of all respondents expressed an opinion that better people and better human relations can be encountered in the village while a higher evaluation of the town in this respect was represented by only 20 per cent. While justifying prorural stereotype in overwhelming majority of cases were pointed out small population size and developed personal relationships as well as bigger kindness and tendency to provide mutual assistance. Prourban stereotype was

Table 4

General evaluation of people and relations between people in the village in comparison with big towns

| Evaluations in percentage figures of respondents | Pepowo N = 428 | Opinogóra N = 368 | Sulmierzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Better in village | 23.6 | 34.0 | 31.6 | 16.1 | 25.8 |
| Better in towns | 22.7 | 15.5 | 20.1 | 21.5 | 20.1 |
| Different according to categories of people | 5.4 | 11.4 | 9.3 | 11.8 | 9.4 |
| Different according to components | 0.9 | 1.4 | 0.7 | 1.7 | 1.2 |
| Different according to regions | - | - | 1.6 | 1.0 | 0.6 |
| Hard to say | 37.1 | 25.7 | 34.1 | 33.6 | 32.8 |
| Others or no data available | 10.3 | 12.0 | 2.6 | 14.3 | 7.2 |

mainly supported by anonymity and atomization of social relations.

In the discussed problem the most characteristic appears to be, however, another phenomenon. It appears that over half respondents did not disclose their preference for any of the two social stereotypes. This group includes primarily those people who could express no definite opinion (almost a third of the

whole) or those who were relating a possibility of performing a comparative analysis to different categories of inhabitants of the village and the town. This proves that in the social sphere there do not function commonly such or other stereotypes of the village and the town which, after all, are always characterized with extremely simplified perception and evaluation of the reality. And that is a sphere treated by a substantial portion of people in non-stereotype, more complex, differentiated and less uniform manner.

It is worth noting here that in all rural communes the share of people not representing any stereotype is quite similar. On the other hand, proportions of supporters of prorural or prourban stereotypes are much differentiated. Namely, the prorural social stereotype decisively prevails in rural communes possessing most developed contacts with the town (Opinogóra and Sulmierzyce) while the prourban stereotype prevails in the rural commune with the lowest level of socio-economic development and less intensive contacts with the town (Widawa).

In order to analyze detailed evaluations of the rural social environment as compared to the urban environment the respondents were asked to accept or reject five opinions, which concern basic components of this sphere and testify to supremacy or equality of the village in a given sphere (Tab. 5). The village appeared to be quite commonly linked with such values of social relations which are connected with small groups as personal aspect of relations making it possible to obtain social acceptance and establish closer ties, providing a guarantee of social security. On the other hand, rigorism of social control is very strongly felt in this environment. Hierarchy of these opinions, according to common character of their acceptance, is almost identical in all rural communes. Like in the case of stereotypes the most critical evaluation of the rural social environment was given by inhabitants of Widawa rural commune as compared to others. It is worth stressing here that rigorism of social control is least felt in rural communes with the most intensive contacts with the town.

While analyzing all the above presented opinions it turned out that only 8 per cent of respondents accepted 0-1 opinions while as many as 40 per cent expressed 4-5 positive opinions

Table 5

Detailed evaluations of people and relations between people
in the village in comparison with big towns

| Share of respondents accepting opinions that in village as compared to big towns | Pepowo N = 428 | Opinó- góra N = 368 | Sulmie- rzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|--|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| One can more easily find recognition, and win respect | 89.1 | 74.5 | 85.2 | 67.6 | 78.9 |
| One can more easily find friends and company | 80.6 | 79.1 | 83.6 | 65.4 | 76.5 |
| One can always rely on assistance of others in difficult personal situations | 76.8 | 74.2 | 74.0 | 61.1 | 71.3 |
| People are more honest and good-natured | 40.9 | 45.7 | 46.4 | 43.5 | 44.0 |
| Is absent rigorous social control | 17.1 | 37.2 | 22.0 | 15.7 | 22.6 |

about the village (Tab. 6). There can be seen here distinct differentiation between particular administrative communes, with the most critical evaluation of the village prevailing at Widawa

Table 6

Level of positive evaluations of people
and relations between people
in the village in comparison with big towns

| Share of respondents accepting the following number of opinions from Tab. 6 | Pepowo N = 428 | Opino- góra N = 368 | Sulmie- rzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|---|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0 | 0.9 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 4.8 | 2.3 |
| 1 | 7.0 | 3.3 | 6.9 | 7.2 | 6.1 |
| 2 | 18.9 | 12.8 | 15.1 | 17.0 | 16.3 |
| 3 | 31.6 | 28.0 | 32.7 | 24.1 | 28.8 |
| 4 | 33.9 | 29.3 | 38.4 | 28.5 | 32.4 |
| 5 | 5.8 | 16.0 | 4.9 | 4.1 | 7.7 |
| Data not available | 1.9 | 8.7 | 1.0 | 14.3 | 6.4 |

and most positive at Opinogóra. It can be stated moreover that generally in these detailed concrete evaluations of components of the rural social environment the supremacy of prorural attitudes is much bigger than it is the case in the sphere of common social stereotypes.

4. Opinions about cultural values of village and town

The stereotype of the town's superiority largely predominates in a general comparative evaluation of the cultural environment as offered by the village and the town (Tab. 7): as many as 82 per cent of all respondents expressed an opinion that better conditions and possibilities of participation in the culture are provided by the town with a higher evaluation of the village in this area being presented by only 2.6 per cent of respondents and 9 per cent not supporting any of these stereotypes. While providing arguments in favour of the prourban stereotype most respondents were pointing at a big number and better equipment of cultural institutions, their better organization and staff as well as free time allowing people to participate in cultural activities. On the other hand, those who did not support the prourban stereotype would underline, first of all, a decisive role played by unit characteristics, regional differentiation and unique aspects of cultural values offered by the rural environment.

T a b l e 7

General evaluation of conditions
and possibilities of cultural participation
in the village in comparison with big towns

| Evaluations in percentage figures of respondents | Pepowo N = 428 | Opinogóra N = 368 | Sulmierzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Better in village | 2.8 | 3.5 | 3.3 | 1.3 | 2.6 |
| Better in towns | 89.0 | 80.2 | 80.3 | 75.4 | 81.6 |
| Different according to category of people | 0.9 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 0.9 |

Table 7

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|------|------|-----|
| Different according to components | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.7 | - | 0.3 |
| Different according to regions | 0.5 | - | 3.0 | 0.3 | 0.8 |
| Hard to say | 3.5 | 5.7 | 10.5 | 9.1 | 6.9 |
| Data not available | 2.8 | 9.3 | 1.2 | 12.6 | 6.9 |

In cultural stereotypes there can be also clearly seen differentiation between particular rural communes and although it is, as a matter of fact, smaller than in material and social stereotypes it is very characteristic. After elimination of "data not available" (being different in particular units) it appears that prourban cultural stereotypes are the more common the higher the level of socio-economic development of the rural commune. And thus along with economic development of rural regions there occur here two processes in social awareness of rural inhabitants: disappearance of material backwardness complexes and growth of cultural inferiority complexes of villages in comparison with big urban environment.

In this situation grows the importance of the question whether in detailed evaluations of the rural cultural environment is confirmed predominance of a negative common stereotype. To analyze them the respondents were asked to accept or reject six opinions concerning fundamental components of this sphere and confirm the superiority or equality of the village in comparison with the town in a given field (Tab. 8).

The opinion about equal access to mass media appeared the only one to have quite common acceptance while over fifty per cent of all respondents supported yet only the other common opinion about bigger cultivation and preservation of cultural traditions in the village. The remaining positive evaluations of the rural cultural environment had already more opponents than supporters. Free time for participation in cultural activities and operation of rural institutions of culture and entertainment were assessed most critically. The hierarchy of these evaluation according to common aspects of their acceptance is already fully

identical in all rural communes although percentage figures of respondents accepting a given view are largely differentiated.

Table 8

Detailed evaluations of conditions and possibilities of cultural participation in the village in comparison with big towns

| Share of respondents accepting opinions that in village as compared to big towns | Pepowo N = 428 | Opinogóra N = 368 | Sulmierzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Is equal access to mass media | 88.6 | 80.7 | 88.2 | 56.8 | 77.9 |
| Cultural traditions are better cultivated and preserved | 60.0 | 48.6 | 54.3 | 52.4 | 53.9 |
| Amateur spontaneous creative work is developing better | 32.0 | 26.4 | 29.6 | 32.8 | 30.4 |
| Is equal access to entertainments and amusements | 23.4 | 21.2 | 20.4 | 15.7 | 20.1 |
| Clubs, community centres and other cultural institutions operate better | 13.8 | 9.8 | 15.5 | 15.0 | 14.6 |
| Is more time for participation in culture and entertainments | 8.2 | 6.5 | 10.9 | 5.1 | 7.5 |

While analyzing all the expressed opinions it appeared that almost 60 per cent of respondents accepted only 0-2 opinions while only 12 per cent expressed 4-6 positive evaluations of the village (Tab. 9).

Thus also in evaluations of component elements of the cultural environment there prevail clearly negative attitudes towards the village although to a smaller extent than in the sphere of general stereotypes. Differences between particular rural communes also take a different form here. As a rule, inhabitants of rural communes with a lower socio-economic development level are more critical here in their opinions while rural communes with a higher development level produced relatively more positive de-

tailed evaluations. This testifies to relative stereotype independence and independent detailed plane on which attitudes to rural and big urban types of living environments are formed.

T a b l e 9

Level of positive evaluations of conditions and possibilities of cultural participation in the village in comparison with big towns

| Share of respondents accepting the following number of opinions from Tab. 8 | Pepowo N = 428 | Opinogóra N = 368 | Sulmierzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|---|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0 | 3.3 | 3.8 | 3.9 | 10.4 | 5.7 |
| 1 | 20.1 | 24.7 | 27.1 | 21.2 | 22.9 |
| 2 | 34.3 | 31.2 | 31.9 | 25.8 | 30.8 |
| 3 | 27.6 | 19.8 | 24.3 | 19.1 | 22.7 |
| 4 | 11.2 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 8.0 | 9.6 |
| 5 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 2.9 | 2.1 |
| 6 | 0.7 | - | 1.0 | - | 0.4 |
| Data not available | 0.9 | 8.4 | 0.3 | 12.6 | 5.8 |

5. Synthetic analysis of attitudes towards village and town

To obtain a synthetic picture of stereotypes prevailing in rural and urban environments there were combined for particular respondents their general evaluations of each of the three analyzed aspects: material, social, and cultural (Tab. 10).

It appeared that there distinctly predominate positive stereotypes of the town: respondents estimating higher 3, 2 or 1 aspect of the urban environment and simultaneously those who do not estimate higher any aspect of the rural life account for 45 per cent of all respondents, while persons positively evaluating 3, 2 or 1 aspect of the rural environment with no positive evaluations of the town represent only 5.4 per cent. On the other hand, 41 per cent of all respondents represent divergent attitudes giving contradictory evaluation of particular aspects. Differentiation between particular rural communes is quite complex

in this approach. Prourban attitudes are represented here the more often the lower the level of the rural commune's socio-economic development. At the same time in the rural commune of Widawa there are fewest prorural stereotypes but in Pepowo rural commune there are most respondents with ambivalent attitudes, and inhabitants of Opinogóra rural commune reveal the most proural orientation.

Table 10

Total general evaluation
of material, social, and cultural environments
of the village in comparison with big towns

| Evaluations in percentage figures of respondents | Pepowo N = 428 | Opinogóra N = 368 | Sulmierzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Higher evaluation of 3 aspects in village | 0.7 | 1.4 | 0.3 | - | 0.6 |
| Higher evaluation of 2 aspects in village and lack of evaluation of 1 aspect | 2.3 | 2.2 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.0 |
| Higher evaluation of 1 aspect in village and lack of evaluation of 2 aspects | 1.9 | 3.8 | 3.9 | 1.9 | 2.8 |
| Higher evaluation of 2 aspects in village and 1 aspect in town | 8.0 | 15.5 | 9.2 | 3.1 | 8.7 |
| Higher evaluation of 1 aspect in village and 1 in town with lack of evaluation of 1 aspect | 31.3 | 18.4 | 15.5 | 8.7 | 18.9 |
| Higher evaluation of 1 aspect in village and 2 in town | 14.0 | 12.8 | 17.2 | 11.3 | 13.7 |
| Higher evaluation of 1 aspect in town and lack of evaluation of 2 aspects | 16.3 | 14.9 | 15.5 | 18.9 | 16.5 |

Table 10

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|
| Higher evaluation of 2 aspects in town and lack of evaluation of 1 aspect | 14.7 | 15.2 | 25.0 | 26.7 | 20.0 |
| Higher evaluation of 2 aspects in town | 7.7 | 8.2 | 5.9 | 11.1 | 8.4 |
| Lack of evaluation of 3 aspects | 3.1 | 7.6 | 5.9 | 16.4 | 8.4 |

In turn, to obtain a synthetic index of all detailed opinions about the rural and big urban environments there were summed up for particular respondents detailed statements concerning superiority or equality of the village in material, social, and cultural fields as accepted by them (Tab. 11).

Table 11

Total detailed evaluations of material, social, and cultural rural environments in comparison with big towns

| Percentage figures of respondents accepting the following number of opinions from Tab. 2, 5 and 8 | Pepowo N = 428 | Opinogóra N = 368 | Sulmierzyce N = 304 | Widawa N = 414 | Total N = 1514 |
|---|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0 | - | - | - | 0.5 | 0.1 |
| 1-2 | - | - | - | 6.5 | 1.7 |
| 3-4 | 1.4 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 5.1 | 2.8 |
| 5-6 | 8.4 | 7.9 | 10.0 | 11.1 | 9.4 |
| 7-8 | 23.8 | 26.4 | 26.1 | 23.0 | 24.6 |
| 9-10 | 36.4 | 23.9 | 38.9 | 24.4 | 30.6 |
| 11-12 | 18.5 | 21.4 | 17.4 | 12.1 | 17.2 |
| 13-14 | 9.1 | 8.1 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 6.3 |
| 15-17 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 0.7 | - | 0.5 |
| Data not available | 1.8 | 9.3 | 1.0 | 13.7 | 6.7 |

Negative evaluations of the village appeared to predominate in this approach, to a much smaller degree, than in the sphere

of general stereotypes. Out of 17 analyzed responses less than a half of positive evaluations of the village were expressed by 39 per cent, and more than a half by 24 per cent. Also in this case inhabitants of rural communes with a lower development level (Widawa and Sulmierzyce) were more critical in relation to the village.

Statistical correlation analyses of mutual convergence of attitudes to different dimensions of the rural and big urban environments were performed separately for particular communes and sex groups. Their results will be presented here with the assumed high level of significance 0.05 (which means that the error probability does not exceed 5 per cent) and with coefficient of V. Cramer's relationship strength higher than 0.20.

In all rural communes there were discovered very strong similarities in evaluations presented by marriage partners in relation to all attitudes. Both in relation to stereotypes and detailed evaluations of social, cultural and material spheres as well as in their synthetic approaches the strength of this convergence is generally expressed by V. Cramer's value bigger than 0.60 and never smaller than 0.45. That must be partly a result of interviewing jointly husband and wife, but at the same time it testifies that the analyzed attitudes are, first of all, shaped and adopt uniform character in family groups.

Convergence of general stereotypes and detailed evaluations of a given environmental sphere appeared to be much differentiated. In the social sphere there were revealed significant although weak convergences (V. Cramer's value reaching 0.30) in all rural communes in women's attitudes and only in one rural commune for men. Convergences with similar strength occurred in the cultural sphere in three rural communes for women and only in one for men, in the material sphere - only in one rural commune for women, and in synthetic approach to all spheres - only in one case for men and women. Thus independent from one another are, first of all, general stereotypes and detailed evaluations of the material environment aspect. It can, moreover, be noted easily that general attitudes and detailed evaluations are more convergent and coherent in case of women than men. All in all, the above results testify to isolation and certain dose of in-

dependence in general (stereotype) and detailed (concrete) evaluation of the living environment.

Analysis of relationships between attitudes towards different environment spheres proved that stereotypes are statistically more often convergent than detailed evaluations of two different spheres.

In the sphere of stereotypes there occurred the following, in most cases weak but significant and positive similarities: of social and cultural stereotype in three rural communes for men and in two for women, of social and material stereotype only in two rural communes for men, and finally of cultural and material stereotype - in three cases for men and in two for women. It is worth noting that men represent more coherent general stereotypes in particular environment spheres than women.

In the sphere of detailed evaluations there were revealed far fewer cases of convergence and, moreover, there are absent here differences between convergence of evaluations of particular environment spheres by men and women. It can't be said here either that evaluations of any of the compared pairs of spheres are more often convergent than others. And thus while analyzing convergence of attitudes in relation to particular aspects of the living environment - separately for each rural commune and separately for men and women - in most cases was disclosed absence of significant connections, and in those instances where they appeared they were generally rather weak. It confirms divisibility of perception and evaluation of the three above mentioned aspects of the living environment - social, cultural, and material.

It is worth adding here that from among the above discussed statistical relationships between attitudes to the village and the town in all cross-sections and spheres as many as almost 50 per cent of all significant similarities were recorded only in one rural commune. That was Widawa rural commune with the lowest level of socio-economic development, in which - as it appears - prourban attitudes are not only represented most commonly but they are for their most part also most coherent and convergent in different dimensions and approaches.

6. Attitudes to the village and the town and socio-demographic differentiation

In conclusion we shall present differentiation of attitudes towards the environment according to age, education, socio-professional membership and material status groups. There were performed here the same correlation analyses separately for particular rural administrative communes and sex groups.

Attitudes towards the environment's material aspect are seldom statistically convergent with differentiation of inhabitants according to their age, educational background and material position, and especially socio-professional membership. In this sphere there were discovered only the following significant but weak convergences (V. Cramer's value below 0.30). The prorural stereotype was relatively more frequently represented by: 1) elderly persons from Widawa commune; 2) persons with incomplete secondary education from Widawa commune as well as women with secondary and academic educational background from Sulmierzyce commune; 3) persons relatively less well off from Pepowo commune. On the other hand, significantly more favourable detailed evaluations of material living conditions for the village were expressed only by men from Opinogóra commune, who are individual farmers and possess a relatively higher material status.

Similarly attitudes towards the environment's social aspects are seldom corresponding to the above discussed cross-sections of differentiation between aggregations. The prorural stereotype was relatively more often represented here by: 1) elderly men from Opinogóra; 2) men possessing incomplete primary and secondary educational background from Opinogóra and women with secondary education from Sulmierzyce; 3) persons from Pepowo and women from Sulmierzyce enjoying a higher material status; white-collar workers and peasant-workers from Widawa commune. On the other hand, significantly more favourable detailed evaluations of the social sphere for the village were expressed by elder men from Opinogóra and Widawa as well as persons possessing secondary and academic educational background from Pepowo.

Convergence of the discussed socio-demographic differentiation with attitudes towards the environment's cultural aspect is

similarly encountered quite seldom. In this area the prourban stereotype was not represented primarily by: 1) men with academic background and women with incomplete primary-school background from Widawa; 2) inhabitants of Widawa and also women from Sulmierzyce possessing a lower material status; 3) men from Opinogóra belonging to the category of individual farmers and unqualified workers. On the other hand, significantly more favourable detailed evaluations of the environment's cultural sphere for the village were provided by: 1) elderly persons from Pepowo including also women from Opinogóra and Sulmierzyce; 2) women with academic background from Widawa; 3) inhabitants of Widawa and women from Opinogóra enjoying a higher material status; 4) men from Sulmierzyce belonging to the category of unqualified workers or clerical workers with a low educational level.

Significant convergence of synthetically treated attitudes towards the environment's three aspects and characteristics of differentiation between aggregations was observed quite sporadically. In the stereotype approach the prorural orientation was represented significantly more frequently only by men with primary-school background from Widawa. In the aggregate approach of detailed evaluations, the prorural orientation was significantly more frequently expressed by: elderly women from Pepowo, women with a higher material status from Opinogóra as well as by peasant-workers, peasant-co-operative workers, and workers from Sulmierzyce.

Summing it all up it should be noted that the above discussed characteristics of differentiation between aggregations (age, education, material situation, socio-professional membership) reveal significant statistical convergence with the analyzed attitudes in a disorderly and sporadic manner: in this or that rural commune, sex group, environment's aspect, and finally in stereotype or detailed approach to attitudes. Thus prorural or prourban orientation are generally not concentrated in definite objective categories of inhabitants: younger or older, educated or uneducated, richer or poorer, employed in agriculture or outside it. This may be the case only in some areas or with reference to only some aspects of the environment. More extensive analyses within the framework of researches, which were only roughly outlined here, revealed that these attitudes towards the

rural or big urban type of living environment are, first of all, connected with attitudes towards the respondents' own direct environment - their own village and rural administrative commune.

Mieczysław Kowalski

LA ACTITUD DE LA POBLACIÓN RURAL HACIA EL CAMPO Y LA CIUDAD
CONSIDERADOS ÉSTOS COMO EL MEDIO DE RESIDENCIA

Las componentes muy importantes de la subjetiva calidad de vida son tanto la actividad emocional, cognoscitiva y behavioral hacia el propio medio de residencia, como la relación comparativa con otros tipos del medio, la que se manifiesta en la sensación de discriminación o en el estado privilegiado, en la pasividad o en la actividad etc. En el país, en el cual tiene lugar el desarrollo intensivo de la industrialización y urbanización, pueden aparecer fuertes complejos del medio y la sensación difundida de la injusticia. Dichos problemas han sido objetos de las investigaciones realizadas en 23 aldeas entre 1514 personas de diferentes partes de Polonia. Se confirmaron las hipótesis iniciales: 1) en la conciencia de los habitantes se manifiestan tres aspectos del medio de residencia apreciados apartadamente - el aspecto material, social y cultural; 2) la apreciación comparativa de cada aspecto del medio rural y urbano es de dos tipos - los estereotipos generales de la superioridad y la apreciación de los componentes de un aspecto dado. Las investigaciones demostraron que los estereotipos generales del medio rural y urbano son desfavorables para el campo en la mayoría de los casos, lo que no tiene lugar en la apreciación detallada de los componentes del medio. Apreciando los habitantes más detalladamente y concretamente el campo en comparación con la ciudad, la apreciación se hace más positiva. Tanto en los estereotipos como en las apreciaciones detalladas se aprecian más negativamente la vida cultural, las condiciones materiales de la vida. La apreciación más positiva recibió el aspecto social, aunque en muchos casos faltaron opiniones sobre éste. Todas las actitudes indicadas coinciden en diferente grado en la estadística, diferenciándose a la vez en el plano demográfico, social, profesional, económico, espacial etc. En el estudio se profundizan y se demuestran las tesis mencionadas arriba en base al material empírico.

Мецислав Ковальски

ОТНОШЕНИЕ СЕЛЬСКОГО НАСЕЛЕНИЯ К ДЕРЕВНЕ И ГОРОДУ
КАК СРЕДЕ МЕСТА ЖИТЕЛЬСТВА

Важным фактором субъективной оценки качества жизни является отношение к своей среде как месту проживания (жительства), охватывающее сферу чувств познания и поведения, и противопоставление его к другим типам среды, в результате чего возникают крайнее осознание дискриминации и привилегированного положения, пассивности или активности и т.п. С развитием индустриализации и урбанизации такое отношение сельского населения к своей среде может проявляться в сильных комплексах неполноценности и в развитом чувстве несправедливости. Эти вопросы изучались исследователями на основе выборочной группы, состоящей из 1514 респондентов из 23 деревень, в разных районах Польши. Подтвердились первичные основные положения: 1) в человеческом сознании выделяются и отдельно оцениваются три аспекта места жительства — материальный, социальный и культурный, 2) сопоставительная оценка каждого аспекта сельской и городской среды двойки — общие стереотипы преимущества и всесторонняя оценка составных частей данного аспекта. В общем, исследования показали, что общие стереотипы сельской и городской среды на много чаще отрицательны в отношении к деревне, чем всесторонняя оценка составных частей среды. Чем конкретнее и всестороннее люди оценивают деревню в сопоставлении с городом, в каком-либо аспекте, тем чаще появляется она в более благоприятном свете. И стереотипы и всесторонние оценки выявляют наиболее неблагоприятное положение деревни в области культуры, затем в области материальных условий; оценка же общественной сферы очень положительна, но здесь преобладает отсутствие мнений. Каждое из вышепредставленных отношений в разной степени сходны в статистическом отношении и неоднородны по демографической, социально-профессиональной, экономической, территориальной и другим категориям. В настоящем труде широко представляются и показываются упомянутые тезисы на основе эмпирических материалов.

*Mieczysław Kowalski*POSTAWY LUDNOŚCI WIEJSKIEJ WOBEC WSI I MIASTA
JAKO ŚRODOWISKA ZAMIESZKANIA

Ważnym składnikiem subiektywnej jakości życia jest stosunek do własnego środowiska zamieszkania - uczuciowy, poznawczy i behawioralny - oraz odniesienie do innych typów środowiska, co skrajnie przejawia się w poczuciu dyskryminacji lub uprzywilejowaniu, bierności lub aktywności itp. W kraju postępującej industrializacji i urbanizacji w tych postawach ludności wiejskiej można spodziewać się silnych kompleksów środowiskowych i upowszechnionego poczucia krzywdy. Zagadnienia te były przedmiotem badań na 1514 - osobowej próbie z 23 wsi w różnych częściach Polski. Potwierdziły się założenia wyjściowe: 1) w świadomości ludzi są wyróżniane i oddzielnie wartościowane trzy aspekty środowiska zamieszkania - materialny, społeczny i kulturowy; 2) porównawcze oceny każdego aspektu środowiska wiejskiego i wielkomiejskiego są dwójakiego rodzaju - ogólne stereotypy wyższości oraz szczegółowe oceny elementów składowych danego aspektu. Badania wykazały, że ogólne stereotypy środowiska wiejskiego i wielkomiejskiego są znacznie częściej niekorzystne dla wsi niż szczegółowe oceny składowych elementów środowiska. Im konkretniej i szczegółowiej ludzie oceniają wieś w porównaniu z miastem, w jakimkolwiek aspekcie, tym ocena jej jest bardziej pozytywna. Zarówno w stereotypach, jak i w szczegółowych ocenach, najbardziej niekorzystna jest ocena wsi w sferze kultury, a dalej w sferze materialnych warunków życia, zaś oceny sfery społecznej są najbardziej pozytywne, ale przy znacznym udziale braku poglądów. Wszystkie te postawy są w różnym stopniu zbieżne statystycznie oraz zróżnicowane według kategorii demograficznych, społeczno-zawodowych, ekonomicznych, przestrzennych i innych. W pracy rozwija się i dowodzi powyższe tezy w świetle wskazanego materiału empirycznego.