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“OURS” AND “OUTSIDERS” AS CATEGORIES OF THE DESCRIPTION OF SOCIAL WORLD

Order in the social world viewed from the perspective of interactions between the individuals of the society is the result — apart from the action of macrostructural factors stabilizing the incidental nature of definition of social and forming generally accepted meaningful systems of values, standards and models of behaviour — of the type classification of roles, motives, interactions and expectations. Type classification involves the endeavour of eliminating the instability of interference of the individual factor. As A. Schutz writes: “That which is experienced in the actual discerning of an object, is perceptively transferred to every similar object, when we conceive it as typical.”¹ Tendencies to classification results from the need for order. “The world in which we move cannot be chaotic, we try to impose our own order on it, the order which is, however, not only ours but also the order of the surrounding.”² Social order exists due to the fact that man endows his own actions and those of others with sense. This man does by giving names to situations and actions and also by his ability for verbal explanation of their justification and rationality. Actions that are mutually directed, subjectively motivated and at the same time to a large degree typical, oriented by suitably type classified other actions, form a global community.³ This is an internally structured

¹ A. Schutz, “Potoczna i nienaukowa interpretacja ludzkiego działania” [“Colloquial and Non-Scientific Interpretation of Human Activity”], in *Kryzys czy schizma. Antyścientystyczne tendencje w socjologii współczesnej* [Crisis or Schism. Antiscientific Tendencies in Contemporary Sociology], Vol. 1, selection and introduction E. Mokrzycki, Warszawa 1984, p. 143.

² A. Kępiński, *Psychopatia* [Psychopathy], Warszawa 1977, pp. 8—9.

³ M. Ziółkowski, *Znaczenie, interakcja, rozumienie* [Meaning, Interaction, Understanding], Warszawa 1981, p. 208.

whole, and one of the important structural categories is the division into "ours" and "outsiders". Growing up in a community and its culture, a person absorbs into his inner self the meanings and values, the patterns of behaviour. Under the influence of socialization he learns to name, classify and evaluate the world, accumulating the necessary resources of knowledge. M. Ziółkowski calls these processes cognitive socialization, distinguishing among its results the category of idioepisteme and socioepisteme.⁴ Socialization means a process of transforming the structures of the external world into the subjective structure of the consciousness and thus as a consequence is also a process of creating social reality. The categories of "ours" and "outsiders", as categories of the objective world, during the course of socialization become incorporated in the subjective substance of the consciousness and then — if they are not stifled by other circumstances or obliterated from the memory — they are reproduced in the form of schemes used by the individual for classification of the social surroundings and for undertaking social actions.⁵

The division into "ours" and "outsiders" may be recognized as one of the fundamental criteria of social division relating not only to the macrostructural reality, but reaching deeply also into the structure of the mentality of the individual, controlling the processes of everyday life. Within the circle of the community "ours" are reinforced: bonds, integration, cohesion and solidarity focused around the common symbols, values, norms and the behaviour patterns they govern. Complex and varied systems of sanctions maintain conformism of this behaviour, and "fear" of "embarrassment" caused by differences, disparity, strengthens the conviction of the obvious, natural rightness of the group definition of normality and also engenders a feeling of security resulting from the joint satisfaction of the need from social affiliation. "Ours" are those "with whom we are in everyday (or at any rate in frequently repeated) direct contact. Outsiders are either those with whom we have no contact at all or with whom we come in contact only in particular circumstances, not connected with the normal course of everyday life."⁶ In the literature attention is also drawn to the nature of the social contacts linking people. G. Simmel described this as, for example, the co-occurrence of the factors of closeness and distance: "these two elements which are to an equal degree characteristic of every relation, in certain particular proportions and mutual tension take the specific form of relation to an outsider".⁷ However,

⁴ M. Ziółkowski, *Wiedza, jednostka, społeczeństwo* [Knowledge, the Individual, Society], Warszawa 1989, p. 184.

⁵ P. L. Berger, Th. Luckmann, *Spoleczne tworzenie rzeczywistości* [the original title: *Social Construction of Reality*], trans. J. Niżnik, Warszawa 1983.

⁶ P. Rybicki, *Struktura społecznego świata* [Social Structure of the World], Warszawa 1979, p. 601.

⁷ G. Simmel, *Socjologia* [the original title: *Sociology*], trans. M. Łukasiewicz, Warszawa 1975, p. 512.

F. Znaniecki proposes the hypothesis that “a human being is viewed by another human being as an outsider always when, and only when, the social contact between them takes place on a basis of separate (the present author’s underlining) systems of values”.⁸ In an earlier part of this same Znaniecki writes: “thus when two people (or two sets of people) come into social contact, two outcomes are possible. Either the values forming part of the course of contacts between the two intersecting spheres of action occur in both as elements of one and the same system or as elements of two different systems. In the first case we say that the contact is made on the basis of a common system of values, and in the second case — on the basis of separate systems.”⁹ This concept of F. Znaniecki’s offers interesting possibilities for analysis of the problem matter considered. In the first place it avoids the erroneous conviction that frequency of social contacts directly influences their nature and substance. The category of separateness or community of values lying at the root of social activities is primary relative to “the factors of closeness and distance”. This gives convenient possibilities for constructing type of social relations founded on separateness or community of values. Taking as criterion the social roles personality associated with them, it is possible to indicate the range of domination of a given system of values, remembering, however, that “in real social life contacts on the basis of common systems can never be entirely ruled out [...]”.¹⁰ Concentrating in his studies on antagonism to outsiders, F. Znaniecki distinguished four varieties:

1. Collective antagonism to a collective object occurring as “the index of historically important mass trends and exerts a signal influence on internal structure and mutual attitudes of large social groups”.¹¹

2. Individual antagonism towards a collective object (e.g. hatred felt by the individual towards a group from which, not being a member of this group, he suffered injury).

3. Collective antagonism towards an individual object.

4. Individual antagonism towards an individual object.

Znaniecki also considers, as should be stressed, that “there are no clear limits between types of antagonism but gradual transistions”¹² but we should add that it is not a matter of indifference which of these types of antagonism predominate in a community.

The lines marking the frontiers of the world of “ours” and “outsiders” are not always clearly delineated. They can be fluid, due, for instance, to measures designed to arose disinterested goodwill and protective feelings of the

⁸ F. Znaniecki, “Studia nad antagonizmem do obcych” [“Studies on Antagonism to Strangers”], in *Współczesne narody* [Contemporary Nations], Warszawa 1990 p. 300.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 330. Znaniecki quotes here opinions of L. Gumplowicz.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 331.

institutions of the “outsiders” world. Sometimes these lines cut across human personality when in the life of a community “ours” and “outsiders” are coexisting.

The comfortable familiarity of “ours” signifies internalization of this world, as a consequence of which individual cognitive and emotional perspectives, that is to say how a person experiences the reality surrounding him, how he names it and classifies it, and finally how he evaluates it — is shaped by the lucidity and naturalness of the social world of “ours”.

A feeling of familiarity may be of a kind resulting naturally from being born into a community of “ours”, a child of parents belonging to a group of “ours”. In this case it is legitimized by an affiliation of many generations and for this reason is not to be questioned. In a recently issued publication¹³ presenting writings sent in to a competition with the title “Upper Silesia in the Eyes of Upper Silesians” — the authors of these papers: Uppers Silesians — in this way chose to justify their regional, and also ethnic, affiliation: *my father and forefathers before me lived in Upper Silesia*, and in the same place: Świętochłowice (p. 9) [...] *as an Upper Silesian by birth, origin, domicile, upbringing and education [...] (p. 41), I feel myself to be an Upper Silesian since I was born in Jastrzębie Górne, the third child of the family, my father being a miner” (p. 92), [...] I found the dates of birth of my father, grandfather and further ancestors [...] right back to the XVIII century [...] (p. 77). The deep rooting in a society measured by many generations of residence in this society given an indisputable right to claim affiliation to the community of “ours”, and to the territory which it possesses; this is an inalienable right to — as it is called nowadays — a small fatherland. A man may disclaim the world of “ours”, but the community cannot deny him the right to a feeling affiliation and identification with its world.*

A familiar sense of belonging may also be acquired due to various kinds of assimilation. Here may be mentioned “belonging”, acquired by being born into a society though of immigrant partents, achieved by marrying into this community, belonging that grows from long residence, and again belonging gained due to the status of an institution due to the role taken in the given territorial institution recognized as “ours”. However, this acquired “belongingness” may at any moment be suspended. Anticipating the colloquial expressions which are introduced in the second part of the article, it may be asserted, in this convention that even an “assimilated *gorol*” never ceased to be a *gorol* (where *gorol* = “highlander” = uncouth outsider), and the globally understood social “situations definition” will decide which of these two classifications is more important. An acquired belongingness may also give

¹³ *Górny Śląsk w oczach Górnoszlązaków* (Na podstawie materiałów konkursu ogłoszonego przez Śląski Instytut Naukowy w Katowicach i redakcję *Dziennika Zachodniego* w Katowicach) [*Upper Silesia in the Eyes of Upper Silesians* (Basing on Materials from a Competition arranged by the Silesian Scientific Institute and *Dziennik Zachodni* Editorial Office in Katowice)], ed. and foreword by J. Wódz, Katowice 1990.

rise to a feeling of temporariness, sometimes threat and even moral ambiguity. In *The parachute tower*, K. Gołba describes this type of social situation in which acquired belongingness — in the face of threat of war — becomes suspended, giving rise, among those who “cannot go back because they are back” a feeling of isolation and really a consciousness of betrayal or at least abuse of the extended acceptance.¹⁴

Also the “otherness” of the outsider which is the result belonging to “another social world” may take on various forms. It may be clearly identifiable either due to personal psychological disposition or to social, and of course also biological, characteristics, or again can be the result of the effect of an institution in which an individual plays a specific social role, and which is viewed in the colloquial awareness as an institution belonging to the world of the “outsiders”. This otherness may also be perceived as a category of nonidentifiable otherness which is a synonym for the set of people globally defined in the category “them”.

The routine shaped behaviour and attitudes of everyday life, when there are no social conflicts evoking questions of the cultural identity of the persons or groups participating, natural and acquired familiarity get together into one common world of the society of “ours” separate from the world of the “outsiders”, but the relations pertaining between these two parts of the social reality exhibit for reaching forms of cooperation, or at least a lack of grossly hostile conduct. This social situation is aptly illustrated by a declaration taken from the already cited book on Upper Silesians: “suddenly it seemed that Upper Silesian population in the fifties were those ‘Silesian tykes’ or the ‘boors from beyond the Bug River’. No, this was not antagonism or discrimination. It was reality.”¹⁵ Let us add that this was the opinion voiced by an Upper Silesian by identification, and not by birth.

In the specific socio-cultural scene of Upper Silesian may be discerned the permanent presence of social groups between which relations pertain not only on the principle of community but of separateness of values. The rise in significance of social relations founded on separateness of systems of values may be associated firstly with the Prussian germanization policy, and secondly with the rapid, uncontrolled industrialization and urbanization taking place at the same time the consequence of which was the migration on find better paid jobs (there is an influx even today to Silesia) bringing in groups of different cultural backgrounds.¹⁶ In his study on the sociological problems of Silesia E. Szramek wrote that “the influx of population from

¹⁴ K. Gołba, *Wieża spadochronowa [The Parachute Tower]*, Katowice 1987.

¹⁵ *Górny Śląski w oczach Górnoślązaków [Upper Silesia in the Eyes of Upper Silesians]...*, p. 104.

¹⁶ L. Schofer, *The Formation a Modern Labor Force. Upper Silesia 1865—1914*, University of California Press 1975.

places having different backgrounds and traditions has always aroused less or more fierce reactions among the native peoples".¹⁷ This matter was conceived in a more drastic form by E. Kłosek when he wrote: "in the majority of cases these incomers represented a low level of material culture, having no qualification, often illiterate, willing to take any, even the lowest paid job. Since they very often came from the mountainous or foothills regions, they were called by the Silesians, with full pejorative cultural connotation — highlanders".¹⁸ Treating the problem with the very greatest generalization, it must be recognized that questions of ethnic affiliation and regional origins became involved in the broader context of political¹⁹, religious, economic²⁰ and cultural²¹ changes, also influencing the shape of class structures. Silesia became a borderland, "in which appear social effects determining social and cultural life, a number of differences and the clash of cultural influences arising from varied national or state backgrounds and simultaneously the conflict of heterogeneous populations one against another".²² This thought is mirrored in the declaration of a contemporary author: "Over the soul of a Silesian there stand, from the cradle to the grave, some demonic powers threatening with their pitchforks. Sometimes these are Polish Demons, then again German, and most often both together. They stand one on each side, bare their teeth and show their intent to strike a blow, and sooner or later they strike. More often with the haft than the prongs, but the blow falls."²³ Here may also be added the comment from J. Chałasiński, who in 1935 wrote that "the Upper Silesian is fully conscious of his separateness, which is characterized to a very large degree by the fact that he does not feel himself to be entirely a Pole or a German. This feeling is by no means without

¹⁷ E. Szramek, Fr., "Śląsk jako problem socjologiczny" ["Silesia as a Social Problem"], *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk na Śląsku*, Vol. IV, 1934.

¹⁸ E. Kłosek, "Zderzenie kultur na Górnym Śląsku, Problematyka 'swoi' — 'obcy'" ["Clash of Cultures in Upper Silesia. The Problem Matter of 'Ours' — 'Outsiders'"], in *Symbolika regionu. Studia etnologiczno-socjologiczne* [Symbolism of a Region. Ethnological-Folklore Studies], ed. D. Simonides, Opole 1988, p. 11.

¹⁹ W. Długoborski, "Polityka germanizacyjna i postawa ludności polskiej" ["Germanisation Policy and the Attitude of the Polish Population"], in *Historia Śląska* [History of Silesia], Vol. II, Part I, ed. W. Długoborski, Ossolineum 1966.

²⁰ J. Wycisło, *Katolicka i polska działalność społeczna na Górnym Śląsku w XIX wieku* [Catholic and Polish Social Activities in Upper Silesia in the 19th Century], Skoczów—Pszczyna 1989.

²¹ W. Świątkiewicz, "Kultura miejskiej społeczności lokalnej" ["Culture of an Urban Local Community"], in *Spoleczności lokalne regionu Górnego Śląska* [Local Communities in the Upper Silesian Region], ed. J. Sztumski, J. Wódz, Ossolineum 1987.

²² P. Rybicki, *O badaniu socjograficznym Śląska* [On Sociographical Studies of Silesia], Katowice 1938, p. 30.

²³ F. Marek, *Tragedia górnośląska* [The Upper Silesian Tragedy], Opole 1989, p. 42.

a regional pride — although it is not altogether free of a feeling of disadvantagedness.”²⁴

It is an interesting sociological fact that frequently the principle of “indifference” becomes the primary presumptive thesis of “intellectual constructions” and of axiological choice. In an article published in 1990 in *Kultura* (Paris edition) S. Bieniasz renews this thesis, writing as follows: “the deciding matter was [...] nationality indifferentism — very many Upper Silesians were very distant from both strongly German and strongly Polish identification. They were simply Germans or Poles, not getting deeply into one skin or the other, since they always remained themselves.”²⁵ It is noteworthy that “ours” and “outsiders” loses its clear cut form easily translatable into political, cultural, moral, economic and other dimensions, but rather reflects the more complex social structure of reality. This effect is recorded in sociological investigations, indicating, for instance, that 96.9% of the young people coming from the autochthonic population, offered the choice, among other things, of opting for Poland or Germany, identified themselves with the Opole-Silesia region as a whole, or with a particular place in the region.²⁶ A similar phenomenon but with a rather different percentage breakdown, is shown by the investigations carried out in Głogówek in 1988. Tests were conducted among 302 persons, of which 75.5% considered themselves to be Poles, 11,3% as Germans and the same proportion as Silesians. Only 2% of these questioned (autochthonic people) declared themselves to be “undecided or uninterested”²⁷ in determining their nationality status. Although in the group of incomers from other parts of Poland, everyone declared Polish nationality, among the older age groups of the native peoples 40% saw themselves as Poles, while among the younger generation of the native people this percentage rose to 55%. Neglecting the “sociological statistics”, which are not necessarily always accurate, it would appear that of appreciably greater importance is the phenomenon noted here of merging in the social awareness, modelled not without the participation of specialized shapers of public opinion, of the senses of Silesian and German affiliation. Identifying everything Silesian with the German people acquire a personal conviction of “testifying by their choice to

²⁴ J. Chałasiński, “Antagonizm polsko-niemiecki w osadzie ‘Kopalnia’”. [“Polish-German Antagonism in the ‘Kopalnia’ Settlement”], *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, Vols. 1—2, 1935.

²⁵ S. Bieniasz, “Górny Śląsk, co dzieli, co powinno łączyć” [“Upper Silesia, What Divides and What Should Unite”], *Kultura*, No. 4/511, 1990 (Paris).

²⁶ D. Berlińska, “Ślązacy na Śląsku Opolskim w świetle badań socjologicznych” [“Silesians in the Silesian Opole Lands in the Context of Sociological Studies”], in *Górny Śląsk jako pomost między Polakami i Niemcami* [Upper Silesia as a Bridge between Poles and Germans], Opole 1990, pp. 59—60.

²⁷ U. Swadźba, *Obraz Niemców w świadomości Ślązaków* [View of Germans in the Awareness of Upper Silesians], paper presented at the Congress of the Polish Sociological Association in Toruń, Toruń 1990 (working group 10, organizer: W. Świątkiewicz).

the values relating to matters of language, culture and religion, and are recognized as the foundation of an objective conception of a nation".²⁸

Making use of the comments of F. Znaniecki, we may point out the existence of separate systems of values determining the foundations of social relations between the groups, where one group seeks axiological frame of reference in the German ethos, and the other in the Polish ethos. There is here also a third type of people, for whom the Silesian identity represents a comprehensive justification of their cultural individuality. It may also be postulated that as a consequence of "historically significant mass movements", relations between these groups, arising and developing in the specific conditions of the Silesian region, in the contemporary version work out more on the principle of antagonism to "others" than of a community of divided values. Values and attitudes rooted in the deeper levels of the mentality, confirmed and handed its fullest external expression through the functioning in the practice of social life of stereotypes,²⁹ these values and attitudes realize their potential. They make it easier for the individual to move about freely in the space of social life, offering clearly delineated criteria for typological classification of events, people and things and also the criteria for their emotional evaluation. In this way the social world becomes more understandable, and the division into "us" and "them", "ours" and "outsiders" creates not only a situation enabling satisfaction of the need for social affiliation (belonging to a group of "ours") but also provides arguments explaining "social evil" and indicated the authors of this evil. In this way are created conditions of psychological compensation enabling a comfortable sense of psychological justification and freedom from a sense of guilt, or at least co-responsibility for this evil. In this context "they" are not only the "outsiders" but also the "guilty" of the destruction of social order. This could be a particular case of the situation described by P. Berger in the category of "ill will".³⁰

Thinking in terms of "ours" and "outsiders" becomes sharpened in times of social crisis, when the "known", "old" causes lead to different results than in normal times, when there is a strengthening of actions intended rather to

²⁸ Z. Kurcz, "Kształtowanie się niemieckiej mniejszości narodowej na Śląsku" ["The Formation of the German National Majority in Silesia"], *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, No. 2, 1991 (paper presented at the Congress of the Polish Sociological Association in Toruń 1990 — working group 10, organizer: W. Świątkiewicz).

²⁹ See inter alia, W. Świątkiewicz, *Integracja kulturowa i jej społeczne uwarunkowania* [*Cultural Integration and its Social Determinants*], Katowice 1987, p. 93 ff.

³⁰ P. L. Berger, *Zaproszenie do socjologii. Perspektywa humanistyczna* [the original title: *Invitation to Sociology. Humanistic Perspective*], trans. J. Stawiński, Warszawa 1988, pp. 149–150. ("Bad faith relies on creating the appearance that something is essential, when in reality it is voluntary. Bad faith is then the rejection of freedom, the dishonest avoidance of the 'agony of choice'.")

destroy than to create, when ends triumph over means, and festive, ornamental values seem to supersede in everyday life the ordinary values forming the rules of practical behaviour. Rapid and unpredictable changes take place in social situations. The desire to achieve quick effects predominates, and the ends justify the means used to achieve them. The role of accident as a factor controlling events becomes enhanced and emotional factors outweigh cognitive factors in heightened social activity.³¹ Times when normality is in abeyance favour thinking in stereotypes, arouses their protective integrational functions. Let us see, for instance, to what degree this is present in the consciousness of schoolchildren from one of the large Upper Silesian towns joined to Poland after World War II.³² The scholars' utterances a wide range of varying opinions, but are united in their view of a positive picture of the community of "ours" and a negative image of the "outsiders".

"In our class — we read in one of these declarations, which may be taken as a good introduction to understanding the others — there are only six real Poles. There is still the same attitude towards the so-called 'highlanders' ('gorole') — people who have come here to Silesia. These people are not tolerated, they are spurned, sometimes a false politeness is assumed but always the dislike and enmity towards these 'highlanders' is stronger. The Silesian population is split into highlanders and non-highlanders, and neither side can win the trust of the other. The highlander antagonized by a Silesian will nurse his resentment throughout his life."

In the opinion of the newly settled persons *"people in Silesia have become accustomed to a churlish way of behaviour. It doesn't upset them at all [...] The workers are without any cultural principles."* *"Silesia is already the worst region of the country, if things go on like this the Poles will be ashamed of Silesia in the eyes of the world. The population here is very divided, each man thinks only of himself."* Differences in the treatment of so-called highlanders and their own people are very evident. This is particularly to be seen in the mining vocational schools, where *the highlanders are tormented everywhere and all the time.* The one positive assessment indicated that *the people who have been living here for a long time are fond of animals [...] Near the tenement houses are small, neat*

³¹ A. Siciński, „Dwie socjologie: czasu stabilizacji i czasu kryzysu” [“Two Sociologies: the Time of Stabilisation and Time of Crisis”], in *Styl życia, obyczaje, ethos w Polsce lat siedemdziesiątych z perspektywy roku 1981 [Life Style, Customs, Ethos in Poland of the 1970s and Prospects for 1981]*, ed. A. Siciński, Warszawa 1983.

³² The investigations whose results are presented here in part were conducted as part of Central Programme of Basic Research (CPBP 09.03), in the team headed by Professor Władysław Jacher. Excerpts quoted come from “compositions” written by schoolchildren from grammar schools and a vocational technical school. A total of 70 long compositions were collated, on the subject of the socio-cultural characteristics of the inhabitants of Z. and also characterizing the town itself.

gardens, where you can often see pigeon-houses or rabbit hutches [...] They display the flowers in the window when somebody is given them for their birthday. They seldom go to the cinema, they read books. In my opinion the cultural level in Silesia is very low.

A great number of the replies recorded refers to the characteristics of the autochthonic people's ethnic identification. *"If there is some sort of attachment to the fatherland, it is surely to the one on the Rhine. The population of Z. is divided into 'highlanders' and Silesians, half-way germanized. These two communities are completely sealed off from each other. Their traits are suspicion, lack of sympathy, contempt."* *"Significant here is the problem of belonging to the given country, Poland or Germany, and the attitude to the opponent. A simple and banal example is, for instance, talking German in the street."* *"If someone has been living here for 'x' years, he gets food, money and the basic necessities of life, all the time hurling abuse at our country, for the hardships and even, according to these wretched Germans, for poverty — I consider this to be utterly disgraceful."* *"Silesians are the autochthons, they are not Poles, they attach considerable importance to not letting their daughters marry Poles, but give way if they have to."* *"Some of the older inhabitants of Z. know the Polish language, too. This is a working class town, and the intelligentsia comes from Poland."* *"Plenty of people in Z.: are simply, let's face it, Germans. It is by no means unusual to see two, probably older women, talking in a shop or in the street in Z., a Polish town after all, virtually entirely in German."*³³ It is typical as well, that an enormous proportion of the population identifies itself with the German nation, and this backed up by the economic factors is the reason for the dreadful waves of emigration. *"Many of the local people maintain that the Poles are responsible for the present situation, and that it would never have come to anything like this under German rule. It's a scandal to talk like this,"* *"As I am a Pole and come from Central Poland, it infuriates me that the so-called Silesian dialect is full of vulgar expressions, positively boorish. It infuriates me that many of the Silesian identify themselves with Germans — let them leave Poland."*

Responses which could be identified as opinions formulated by school-children from the communities of the native people, were considerably smaller in number, but were also maintained in the same convention dividing the population of the town into "ours" and "outsiders". In responses assessing their own group it was stressed that *"they were people, let's not be afraid to say it, with a high level of culture handing on their traditions from generation to*

³³ On the basis of "cultural paradox" the article entitled "Der Schleichende Anschluss" (*Die Zeit*, Nos. 41—45, October, 1990, p. 17), the declaration "der alte Dorfversteher von Nakel": "Stimmt, die Polen die selben ruhig überall in Oberschlesien das Deutsche hören", sagt Georg Smuda [...] "Ihr werdet sehen, im nächsten Jahr, da sprechen wir auf der Straße alle wieder deutsch."

generation. There were various clubs in which they cultivated their dialect, such a fine dialect. Fine, too, were the family traditions, people trusted each other, felt themselves to be the owners of their land, work gave them satisfaction. After work they could relax, meet their friends. And now what has happened. After the war we have lived to see the times when people have begun to emigrate to Silesia to Poland". "The old Silesia, which I know from the stories of my parents and grandparents, was entirely different. It was a region where people had learned to work and knew how to do it. The people here have learned, no point in hiding it, from the Germans, they showed characteristically a very high level of culture, for instance how to drink, decent manners." However "the cultural level of the incoming people was lower, or you could say did not exist at all [...] And it was these primitive inhabitants of distant parts of Poland who came here to our Silesia, bringing nothing in to our culture, but impoverishing it." "Enormous numbers from entirely different regions of Poland have been mixed up with the former inhabitants, and the resultant is unpleasant. How does it look here now? The Silesians in Silesia have become a minority. In my class of 25, the number of real Silesians is only 4. About four are bastards, no-gooders." "How could you expect understanding, when the people that come here had been used all their lives to go behind the barn to relieve themselves, and here in Silesia for the first time in their lives they saw a lavatory, real apartments with privies, when they saw butchers' shops finished with tiles." "How many times it happened that people from beyond the Vistula came here with their livestock and kept them in their homes. To put it briefly, things are going badly in Silesia. The worst of it is that those who feel themselves to be Poles, say that Silesia is theirs. What maddened me most were the situations in which these people destroyed fine, irreplaceable things, claiming that they were former German property." "The thing that unites us all is this, that we are all condemned to rot in this contaminated environment." "Personally, the thing that gets me most is the personal culture of these people who come here to Silesia to work. They think they are lords of the world."

These selected, most typical, replies from schoolchildren indicate the pressure of profound social divisions in the communal consciousness, running parallel to regional and ethnic affiliation. In the construction of the picture of social reality, in which the division into "ours" and "outsiders" is clearly applied, four semantic structure may be distinguished. They refer to:

- 1) perception of ethnic differences,
- 2) definition of intergroup social relations,
- 3) contents forming the cultural — civilization complex,
- 4) the region, conceived globally, as an object of assessments together with attitudes towards the environment of the place of residence.

Within the scope of the first category may be included such expressions as: *"they are not genuine Poles"*, *"half germanized"*, *"they talk German in the street"*, *"they identify themselves with the German nation"*, etc. It may be taken that in the intentions of their authors these expressed opinions give a negative evaluation of the social characteristics of the autochthonic population.

In the definitions of intergroup social relations certain negative features show up, such as: *"boorish behaviour"*, *"dislike and aversion to the highlanders"*, *"hurling abuse at our country"*. Here, again, may be included such opinions as: *"in our class the true Silesians [...] are only four persons"*. I should treat these ethnic denominations as semantically densified expressions of deep prejudice and a source of xenophobia. In the stereotype view of the incomers are found expressions reflecting the feeling of injustice felt by the native Silesians: *they came here to work, and think they are the masters*.

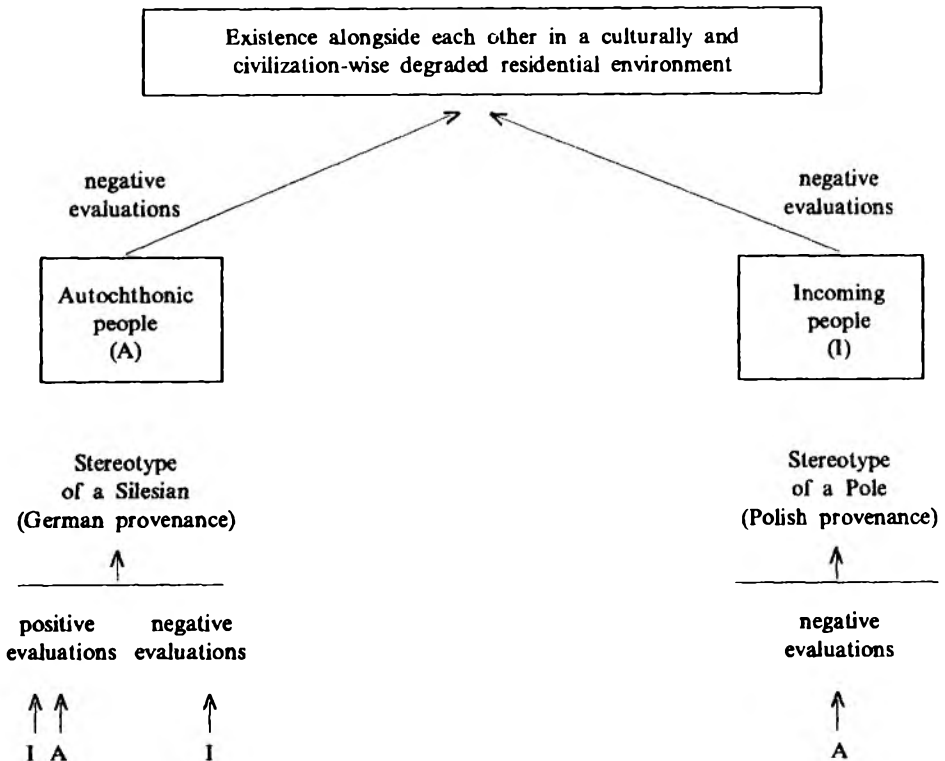
In the cultural — civilization complex may be found both positive and negative evaluations. In the eyes of the newcomers, the Silesians *seldom go to the cinema and read books, and the workers are bereft of all cultural principles*. The list of negative characteristics attributes to the incoming people is also long. It includes such opinions as: *"their cultural level was lower, you could say it didn't exist"*, *"they came here and impoverished culture in Silesia"*, *"what get me is the matter of their personal culture"*, *"before they came to Silesia they went behind the barn to relieve themselves"*. In the positive self-evaluation of the group of native people, it is noticeable that there is diachronic frame of reference, which may be interpreted as nostalgia for the idyllically conceived past now destroyed (irredeemably?) by the events of the present. Here I would also classify such opinions as: *"people trusted each other, they felt themselves to be the owners of their land"*, *"they cultivated their dialect, such a fine dialect"*, *"there were fine family traditions"*, *"the people who had learned from the Germans showed characteristically a very high cultural level"*, etc. Again, in the opinions expressed by the incoming groups there appear items giving a positive assessment of the characteristic of the autochthonic people: *"near the tenement houses they have small neat gardens"*, *"they display flowers in the windows"*, etc.

Within the fourth semantic structure may be qualified replies of the type: *"Silesia is the worst region of the country"*, *"Poles are going to be ashamed of this region"*, *"the cultural level in Silesia is low"*. Here may be found opinions and evaluations directly characterizing the community of the people of residence. They exhibit a decidedly derogatory evaluation of the town atmosphere, although the division into "ours" and "outsiders" has been somewhat reduced, moderated. Above all these declarations accent the ecological degradation: the town is grey and dirty, littered and smoke-grimed. Its atmosphere, both literally and metaphorically, oppresses its inhabitants, making them like itself: *"its a town of drunks"*, *"here egoism and intolerance*

predominate", "boorishness and mutual hate", "the scramble for money", "people have become insensitive to the troubles of others, they are indifferent to human misery", "there is more dividing these people than linking them", "they are not interested in anything except material things: eating, drinking, money, video", etc.

As may be seen, in all these semantic structures the foremost place is taken by uncompromisingly negative evaluations, although certain positive features of the autochthonic population are also mentioned. They do not occur, which is noteworthy, in the descriptions of social characteristics of the newly arrived peoples. There is here a disproportion in the range of the semantic stereotypes constructed by the representatives of the two groups. The stereotype image of the autochthonic people is the more extensive, while the stereotype of the incoming people may in effect be summed up as a series of negative opinions forming a cultural — civilization complex. The impression may be given that it is principally an area of growing prejudice and the sharpening of differences and mutual alienation.

The result of the analyses conducted in my research may be presented in graphical form, clearly indicating the dimensions of the antagonism felt towards outsiders.



This view of the social reality illustrated by the results of sociological investigations is characterized by viciously exposed structural and cultural, regional and ethnic, divisions, permeated with stereotypes and subjective rejection of the surrounding world. There is a paradox in the fact that the opponents are united in their negative view of the environment of their town. But this is too tenuous a link to have any chance of overcoming the mutual prejudices.

The way that the people see their world, the expressed opinions and evaluations are at the same time more radical and more one-sided, but it is not possible to explain this as due to the generation differences in personal experiences. It would appear that the most important factors operating here are the overall social processes taking place in Poland, the profound reorientation of values, which seems to be particularly evident in the younger generation. In them there comes to the surface the hitherto concealed, suppressed or even condemned social, ethnic, cultural and class antagonisms. This attitude is maintained and even strengthened by the unceasing population migration movements — some of the greatest ever known in Poland or Silesia. These migrations have brought deep transformations in the areas of customs, morality, models of everyday life. They mitigate against any more profound attachment to the locality or the community, do not favour the development of attitudes of identification with them, giving rise rather to a feeling of temporariness of their own situation in the rat race for a "better life". Throughout the post-war years there were no positive decisions taken to stem the pauperization of the social infrastructure and the cultural environment. There was a lack of the social climate to combat the symptoms of social pathology and the steadily deepening devastation of the natural environment. The wrongs and injustices that were the consequences of the political organization of the country have penetrated too deeply into the way of thinking. The chance for a better future may be perceived in global democratization of social and public life, and in the changing, albeit so slowly, social consciousness, in the processes of upgrading the roles of local communities and other social groups. These processes are not without their hazards, but they do constitute a certain chance. Whether this chance is effectively exploited depends on the ability to rise above the differences, today so profound in the perception of the young people, on focusing attentions on the cultivation of common values, on the common good which is the constitutive principle of every community. The essence of the problem lies in this, that the creations of human efforts are of great value, noble, wise, good and beautiful for in this way people "become better", that these creations should not show the traces of evil, ugliness, impotence, disease or madness making people become "worse, weaker, poorer, sick".³⁴

³⁴ R. Ingarden, *Książeczka o człowieku [Little Book of Man]*, Kraków 1987, p. 36.

The common quality of all stereotypes is this, that they conceal reality, but how difficult it is to fight against the stereotype line of reasoning. Hence it is even more important, in thinking of "ours" and "outsiders" to take into account the "reality concealing" function of stereotypes.

Wojciech Świątkiewicz

"SWOI" I "OBCY" JAKO KATEGORIE OPISU SPOŁECZNEGO ŚWIATA

Streszczenie

Podział na "swoich" i "obcych" jest jednym z podstawowych kryteriów podziałów społecznych, właściwych nie tylko rzeczywistości makrostrukturalnej, ale sięgających również głęboko w struktury mentalności jednostkowej sterującej procesami życia codziennego. W obrębie społeczności "swoich" umacniają się: więź, integracja, spójność i solidarność zogniskowane wokół wspólnoty symboli, wartości, norm i wypływających z nich wzorów zachowań. Złożone i różnorodne systemy sankcji upowszechniają konformizm zachowań, a "strach" przed "wstydem" wywołanym odmiennością, innością wzmacnia przekonanie o oczywistości i naturalności grupowej definicji normalności oraz daje poczucie bezpieczeństwa wynikającego ze wspólnego zaspokajania potrzeby afiliacji społecznej. Do społeczno-kulturowej specyfiki Górnego Śląska można zaliczyć trwałą obecność grup społecznych, między którymi stosunki układają się nie tylko na zasadzie wspólnoty, ale i rozdzielenia wartości. Ważne znaczenie w sposobach postrzegania i opisu społecznego świata odgrywają kryteria identyfikacji etnicznej i regionalnej, uwikłane w szerszy kontekst polityczny, religijny, gospodarczy i kulturowy.

Artykuł podejmuje próbę rekonstrukcji, na podstawie badań empirycznych, wspólnie występujących podziałów społecznych, modelowanych własnościami kulturowymi różnych grup społecznych mieszkańców regionu. W konstruowanych obrazach rzeczywistości społecznej, w których wyraźnie zostały odnotowane podziały na "swoich" i "obcych", wyodrębniono cztery struktury znaczeniowe: 1) postrzeganie różnic etnicznych, 2) definicje międzygrupowych stosunków społecznych, 3) treści tworzące kompleks kulturowo-cywilizacyjny, 4) globalne ujmowanie regionu jako przedmiotu ocen wraz z postawami wobec środowiska zamieszkania. We wszystkich wyodrębnionych strukturach dominują waloryzacje negatywne, najsilniej obecne w treściach ocen tworzących kompleks kulturowo-cywilizacyjny. On też jest, jak można sądzić, głównym obszarem narastania uprzedzeń i ujawniania się odrębności oraz obcości w stosunkach między grupami o różnych identyfikacjach etnicznych i regionalnych.

Wojciech Świątkiewicz

"UNSERE" UND "FREMDE" ALS KATEGORIEN DER BESCHREIBUNG DER GESELLSCHAFTSWELT

Zusammenfassung

Die Teilung in "Unsere" und "Fremde" ist eins der Hauptkriterien der Gesellschaftsteilung, die nicht nur für eine makrostrukturelle Wirklichkeit charakteristisch ist, sondern die auch sehr tief in die Mentalitätsstrukturen des die Alltagsprozesse leitenden Individuums dringt. Im Rahmen des Kreises der "Unseren" wird folgendes gestärkt: die Bande, die Integration, die Zusammenhörigkeit und Solidarität, die sich um die gemeinsamen Symbole, Werte, Normen und die aus ihnen resultierenden Verhaltensmuster konzentrieren. Komplizierte und verschiedenartige Systeme von Strafmaßnahmen stärken konformistische Verhaltensweisen, und die "Angst" vor der "Peinlichkeit" anders zu sein festigt die Überzeugung von der Selbstverständlichkeit und Natürlichkeit der Gruppendifinition des Normalseins wie auch die Sicherheit, die aus dem gemeinsamen Bedürfnis der Befriedigung der Gesellschaftsaffiliation resultiert. Zu der gesellschaftlich — kulturellen Spezifik Oberschlesiens kann die konstante Anwesenheit der Gesellschaftsgruppen, zwischen denen die Verhältnisse nicht nur auf dem Prinzip der Gemeinschaft beruhen, sondern auch auf dem Prinzip der Teilung der Werte, angerechnet werden. Eine wichtige Rolle im Wahrnehmen und der Beschreibung der Gesellschaftswelt spielen die Kriterien der ethnischen und regionalen Identifizierung, die im breiteren politischen, religiösen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Kontext verknüpft sind.

Im Artikel wird der Versuch unternommen, eine Rekonstruktion anhand der vorhandenen gesellschaftlichen Unterschiede, die durch kulturelle Eigenschaften verschiedener Gesellschaftsgruppen der Einwohner der Region modelliert werden, durchzuführen. In den konstruierten Bildern der Gesellschaftlichen Realität, in denen sehr deutlich die Einteilung in "Unsere" und "Fremde" bemerkt wurde, wurden folgende vier Bedeutungsstrukturen ausgesondert: 1) Wahrnehmung der ethnischen Unterschiede; 2) Definitionen der Gesellschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Gruppen; 3) Inhalte, die einen Kulturell- Zivilisationskomplex bilden; 4) globale Fassung der Region als Gegenstand der Bewertung mit Haltungen dem Wohnumfeld gegenüber. In allen ausgesonderten Strukturen dominieren negative Aufwertungen, die am stärksten in den Inhalten der Bewertung, die einen Kulturell- Zivilisationskomplex bilden, vorhanden sind. Dieser auch ist — wie man meinen kann — die Hauptebene, auf der die Vorurteile anwachsen und die Eigenartigkeiten und Fremdheit in den Relationen zwischen Gruppen mit verschiedenen ethnischen und regionalen Identifikationen deutlich werden.