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## **Ideologisation of the Family in Women's Magazines in the People's Republic of Poland: Propaganda Models and Transmission Mechanisms**

Ideologizacja rodziny w czasopismach kobiecych w PRL.  
Modele propagandowe i mechanizmy przekazu

**Abstract:** This article aims to show the phenomenon of ideologisation of the Polish family in the official dimension of the culture of real socialism, i.e. the media. The subject of the analysis was the most popular women's press in the People's Republic of Poland, with a socio-educational and advisory nature. By presenting the phenomenon of family ideologisation, attempts were made to show two of its aspects, i.e. mechanisms for the transmission of propagated content. In the first case, the family models appearing in the analysed press in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s were reconstructed, and in the second, the techniques, principles, and means used in the propaganda message were presented. The basic research problem is framed in the question: What models of family life were propagated by the examined women's press in selected periods of real socialism and what communication mechanisms were used concerning the propagated content? The following theoretical assumptions were adopted in the analysed issues: 1) the image of the family propagated in magazines was subject to strong ideologisation and politicisation, 2) the family was treated as a political and educational tool in the service of the power apparatus, 3) interpretations of selected aspects of family life lowered the rank and importance of the family in social awareness, and 4) various mechanisms of propaganda were used to weaken the cognitive and psychological structures of women.

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The basic material base of the research was the magazine "Przyjaciółka" published in selected periods of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. The supplementary base was the magazine "Kobieta i Życie" and studies by A. Kłoskowska from the 1950s and F. Adamski from the 1960s. In the reconstruction of the family models from the 1950s and 1960s, I used the content analysis method, and in the study of the family model from the 1970s, the frequency-thematic analysis of the messages of the researched content and H. Lasswell's communication model. The theoretical reference for family analyses in the period of the People's Republic of Poland was the concept of family as defined by K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin. The research findings revealed that the transmitted content was subject to strong ideologisation and politicisation. The transmitted content weakened the importance of the family and deformed the sense of family values. The propagated image was one-sided and reduced. The family was treated as a tool in the service of the communist state. The techniques of transmission generated a sense of mental dilemma, ignorance, and intellectual confusion among the female readers.

**Keywords:** ideologisation of the family; real socialism; propaganda models; women's magazines; mechanisms of propaganda.

**Abstrakt:** Celem artykułu jest ukazanie zjawiska ideologizacji rodziny polskiej w oficjalnym wymiarze kultury realnego socjalizmu, czyli w mediach. Przedmiotem analizy uczyniono najbardziej popularną prasę kobiecą w PRL o charakterze społeczno-wychowawczym i poradniczym. Przedstawiając zjawisko ideologizacji rodziny, starano się ukazać dwa jej aspekty, tj. 1) sposób obrazowania i interpretacji wybranych treści dotyczących życia małżeńsko-rodzinnego w poszczególnych dekadach systemu oraz 2) mechanizmy przekazu propagowanych treści. W pierwszym przypadku dokonano rekonstrukcji modeli rodziny występujących na łamach badanej prasy w latach 50., 60. i 70., a w drugim przedstawiono techniki, zasady i środki stosowane w przekazie propagandowym. Podstawowy problem badawczy zawarty jest w pytaniu: Jakie modele życia rodzinnego propagowała badana prasa kobieca w wybranych okresach realnego socjalizmu i jakie mechanizmy przekazu stosowała w odniesieniu do propagowanych treści? W analizowanych zagadnieniach przyjęto następujące założenia teoretyczne: 1) obraz rodziny propagowany w czasopiśmie podlegał silnej ideologizacji i upolitycznieniu, 2) rodzina była traktowana jako narzędzie polityczno-wychowawcze w służbie aparatu władzy, 3) interpretacje wybranych aspektów życia rodzinnego obniżały rangę i znaczenie rodziny w świadomości społecznej, 4) stosowano różne mechanizmy propagandowego przekazu osłabiające struktury poznawcze i psychiczne kobiet. Zasadniczą bazę materiałową badań stanowiło czasopismo „Przyjaciółka” wydawane w wybranych okresach lat 50., 60. i 70. Bazę uzupełniającą stanowiło czasopismo „Kobieta i Życie” oraz opracowania autorstwa A. Kłoskowskiej z lat 50. i F. Adamskiego z lat 60. W rekonstrukcji modeli rodziny z lat 50. i 60. zastosowałam metodę analizy treści, a w badaniach modelu rodziny z lat 70. frekwencyjno-tematyczną analizę

przekazów badanych treści oraz model komunikacyjny H. Lasswella. Teoretycznym odniesieniem analiz rodziny w okresie PRL była koncepcja rodziny w ujęciu K. Marksa, F. Engelsa i W. I. Lenina. Wyniki badań wykazały, że przekazywane treści podlegały silnemu zideologizowaniu i upolitycznieniu, osłabiały znaczenie rodziny oraz deformowały sens wartości rodzinnych. Propagowany obraz był jednostronny i zredukowany. Rodzina była traktowana jako narzędzie w służbie komunistycznego państwa. Techniki przekazu generowały poczucie psychicznego rozdarcia, niewiedzy i intelektualnego zagubienia wśród czytelniczek.

**Słowa kluczowe:** ideologizacja rodziny; realny socjalizm; modele propagandowe; czasopisma kobiece; mechanizmy propagandy.

## 1. Introduction

The culture of real socialism appeared in Poland during the years 1952–1989, i.e. during the period of the Polish People's Republic (PRL), but its formation began in 1945. It was then that the process of building a new socio-political order and a great cultural change began, i.e. the transition from a democratic culture to one of real socialism (Sztompka, 2002, pp. 278–279). Its aim was to create a new socio-political system based on the philosophical doctrines of K. Marx and F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, and J. Stalin. The new system required shaping a 'new man,' as well as breaking the continuity with the previous tradition and humanities, which quickly became visible in all areas of culture, as well as outside it, i.e. in politics and economy. The process of this sudden change, referred to as an ideological offensive, was focused on both long-term and step-by-step actions of an all-encompassing nature. It was initiated in 1947 and continued after 1956, that is, throughout the period of real socialism, although with less vigour. The ideological offensive aimed to strive for ideological supervision over the entirety of human life in the name of building and 'educating socialist society' (Hejnicka-Bezwińska, 1996, pp. 54–56). The implementation of this task was to take place, *inter alia*, through culture, i.e. art, science, education, and customs, and cover all spheres of human life. The imposed ideology had to be adopted as a whole, not selectively, and life lived according to its rules. All doubts were met with opposition and violence. The aim was to change the existing cultural code and identity of Polish society as per the assumptions of the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin (Świda-Ziemba, 1998, pp. 252–266). The most

important assumptions of this theory represent the concepts of class struggle, false consciousness, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class enemy, the superstructure, and the new ethics. The purpose of culture, or superstructure (it was created by science, art, religion, and philosophy), was to expose and remove its class character, to establish a new canon of culture expressing the spirit of the proletariat. In terms of ethics, the sole and overriding principle was to be the collective building of a socialist society subservient to the party. The new ethics required the rejection of 'old values' (serving the bourgeoisie) such as individualism, independence, creativity, respect for life, the dignity of another human being, tolerance, privacy, etc., in favour of new values consistent with the current ideology, according to which the economy was also to function (Świda-Ziemba, 2010, pp. 41–48; Arendt, 1976). Importantly, the new assumptions covered not only the official dimension of culture but also the unofficial one, i.e. everyday life, the private sphere, and family life, which should be implemented as per the Marxist concept of the family, which contradicts the traditional family model. The old family model, described by the communists as 'bourgeois,' had to be replaced with that of the socialist family. It rejected all foundations of the Christian conception of marriage and family, introducing instead a lay system of values, including the obligation to conclude civil weddings before state authorities (from September 25, 1945). The socialist model of the family introduced many new assumptions, e.g. equality of women and men in marriage and society and the rights to divorce, and abortion. The purpose of marriage was to ensure the continuity of society by providing it with new members, and the state with citizens. The value of a child was primarily related to being the future builder of socialism; therefore, the state should pursue a population policy consistent with the country's social and development potential. In addition, the child was to be born when it was wanted and expected, that is, having it should result from conscious parenting that knows how to combine its own interests with the needs of the country. The spouses were obliged to help each other and meet the needs of the family through their professional work. The professional work of women was fully accepted and desired. The family had the right and duty to raise children, but with the participation of the state and in the spirit of the prevailing ideology. In this process, its cooperation with the school was essential. Generally, the goals of marriage and the family were to be harmonised with those of the secular state (Adamski, 1984, pp. 192–204).

This model of the socialist family was in force throughout the People's Republic of Poland, although in some decades, its ideologisation was stronger, and in others, weaker. The strongest ideological and political pressure on the family occurred in the 1950s, i.e. at the stage the foundations of the new system were created. This period, described by the communists as the 'new time' and the 'new world,' required, in their opinion, also a 'new man' and a 'new family.' Therefore, at that time, the most extreme and totalitarian concept of the socialist family emerged, appearing primarily in ideological texts and statements (Boni, 1992). Such a vision of the family met with spontaneous recognition in the years of Stalinism in communist circles, but in the following decades, it was artificially maintained, becoming a kind of veil of appearances. The weakest ideologisation and politicisation of the family occurred during the political thaw of the 1950s and 1980s when the decline of the system was perceptible. In the 1960s and 1970s, the model of the socialist family, although always politicised and faithful to the Marxist concept, approached the real expectations of society and the family model as understood by T. Parsons (1972) consequent to the progressive modernisation of the country. This in turn – despite its Soviet character (that is, strong ties to ideology and politics) – carried certain modern trends. Nevertheless, in many social circles of the 1960s and 1970s, a strong attachment to selected elements of the traditional family model was still visible. Therefore, it can be argued that the ideologically controlled model of the socialist family, imposed from above by official culture, differed from that of the family, a product of everyday life (Klich-Kluczevska, 2017).

The tool for promoting this model was primarily the media, including the women's press, focused not only on the indoctrination of women in this area but also on expanding their knowledge in the areas of everyday life. The thematic scope of the indoctrination carried out in the press mainly concerned such issues as the secular nature of marriage and family, conscious motherhood, conception control, the socialist model of raising a child, egalitarianism in family relations, the right to divorce, the socialist character of the family, women's emancipation, a new perception of family values, shaping the 'socialist' lifestyle, etc. Similar content was also promoted by various secular organisations and societies, such as the League of Women, Society for Conscious Motherhood, 'K' Clinics, Society for Family Development, etc., but their range of influence was much smaller than that of the press.

The most widely read women's magazines on the market since the 1950s and published throughout the period of the Polish People's Republic were "Przyjaciółka" and "Kobieta i Życie." These were socio-cultural weeklies published by the Workers' Cooperative Publishing Prasa – Książka – Ruch, considered to be the central publishing house of the Polish United Workers' Party. Their extraordinary popularity and the 40-year period of functioning in the culture of real socialism are still a peculiar phenomenon in the sphere of the media. A special example of popularity among women was the "Przyjaciółka" magazine, published during 1951–1991 with a circulation between 180000 and 20164000 copies per week, although the demand for this periodical reached 3 million per week at a particular stage. Its success among women is also evidenced by the creation of local branches of this magazine and the so-called "Kluby Przyjaciółki" (in 80 towns) conducting cultural, reading, discussion, writing, social, and even intervention activities, focused on the content of the weekly, including problems concerning women, especially in villages and small towns. This weekly magazine was aimed mainly at women with low education, mainly workers. In contrast, "Kobieta i Życie," published during 1953–1990, with a circulation of 350000 to 750000 copies weekly focused on women with higher education from metropolitan environments. Both "Przyjaciółka" as a socio-cultural weekly and "Kobieta i Życie" as a social and political weekly conducted social, educational, and counselling activities, which, apart from providing practical knowledge in the field of raising the care and health culture, were aimed at spreading the Marxist-Leninist ideology in the everyday life of women, especially in the family, as well as persuading them to follow the state policy.

Therefore, the content of family life published in magazines constituted specific propaganda models based on deliberate ideological and political indoctrination. For this purpose, various tools for influencing the psyche and social awareness of female readers were used. The propaganda activities included several persuasive mechanisms, including rules, techniques, and means leading to various types of intellectual and emotional disinformation and manipulation, imposing on an individual or group the false image of a given reality. The language of Marxism-Leninism, the so-called "Newspeak" (used to mark people with whom one should have fought) or proclaimed socialist realism (i.e. wishful realism used as a means of proclaiming, based on ideology, a vision of a happy and just communist world), as well as an institution of

ensorship controlling the compliance of the content conveyed with ideology (Głowiński, 2009, p. 53).

## **2. Research issues and methodology**

Bearing in mind the above phenomena affecting the family in the culture of real socialism, this study decided to consider the ideologisation of the family in the women's press in two aspects, i.e. 1) in the way of presenting and interpreting content concerning the family in the analysed magazines, in particular in the decades of the People's Republic of Poland, and 2) in the scope of propaganda mechanisms used in the press. In the first case, the aim was to reconstruct family propaganda models visible in the surveyed women's magazines in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s in the area of their socio-educational and counselling activities. In the second, an attempt was made to indicate the most common techniques, principles, and means of propaganda used concerning the transmitted content. The first area of issues has been more widely presented below, while the second is only indicated. The source base of the presented research was the aforesaid women's magazines published in the People's Republic of Poland, i.e. mainly the weekly "Przyjaciółka," and its yearbooks from the 1950s (i.e. from 1950–1951, 1956–1957), from the 1960s (1965–1966) and from the 1970s (yearbook 1975). The second surveyed magazine, used to analyse the family model from the 1970s, was the weekly "Kobieta i Życie" (1975). As a supplementary source base for the research of "Przyjaciółka" from the 1950s and 1960s, I used the text by Antonina Kłoskowska (1959) and the publications of Franciszek Adamski (1968; 1970), devoted to their research of "Przyjaciółka" in 1950–1951, 1956–1957 and 1965–1966. The results of these authors were useful for broadening the cognitive perspective of the phenomenon of the ideologisation of the family during the era of the Polish People's Republic. Some of the years studied by the authors were also the subject of my analysis (e.g. 1951 or 1965). Kłoskowska assumed and confirmed the hypothesis that the family model promoted in "Przyjaciółka" in the 1950s had properties corresponding to the official ideology and state policy. This hypothesis was verified by Franciszek Adamski in the mid-1960s, adopting the same units of analysis and a similar methodology. The first research, that of Kłoskowska, covered the yearbook of "Przyjaciółka" from 1950–1951 (the period of Stalinism), and the second yearbook from 1956–1957 (the period

of the political thaw). The next, third research of this journal, a decade later (1965–1967), was F. Adamski (period of some stabilisation), who stated, ‘among the content published in “Przyjaciółka,” as much as 72.1% had a clearly model character [i.e. had a propaganda and ideological character], and 23.3% was partly model. Only 4.6% of the content was model indifferent, i.e. devoid of any attempt to influence indoctrination’ (Adamski, 1969, pp. 53–69). The next study of the content related to family life published in “Przyjaciółka” covered the 1970s, including the entire year of 1975 (52 copies of the weekly). I personally conducted the research of this period, referring to the methodology of Adamski. During this period, I added another magazine published by the same publishing house to the research, i.e. the weekly “Kobieta i Życie,” in which I analysed the year 1975 (52 copies of the weekly). The second magazine was added to recognise the content addressed also to women from urban environments with higher education, as “Przyjaciółka” was dedicated mainly to rural and small-town women with lower education. In total, I examined 104 weeklies of both magazines from 1975. Based on all the research material in my possession, I tried to reconstruct the propaganda models of the family propagated in the analysed magazines, in particular the periods of the People’s Republic of Poland, to show the sense and meaning of the content broadcast in them, and sketch the scope of their ideological and political indoctrination, as well as the changes taking place in them. I also wanted to ascertain the extent to which the content and transmission mechanisms strengthened the value of the family and provided constructive knowledge and support to readers in the field of family counselling, and to what extent they served the state’s political and ideological goals. So, I was looking for answers to the following questions: 1) Which family models were propagated by the most popular women’s press of the PRL period in particular periods of the system? 2) What sense and significance were given to individual aspects of family life, e.g. marriage, parental and professional roles, child upbringing, etc.? 3) Which spheres of family life were subject to the greatest ideologisation and politicisation? What content was exposed in them, and what was omitted? 4) What mechanisms (principles, techniques, means) of communication were most often used in family propaganda models? 5) What influence could the ideological and propaganda activities of the press have had on the family awareness of the readers?

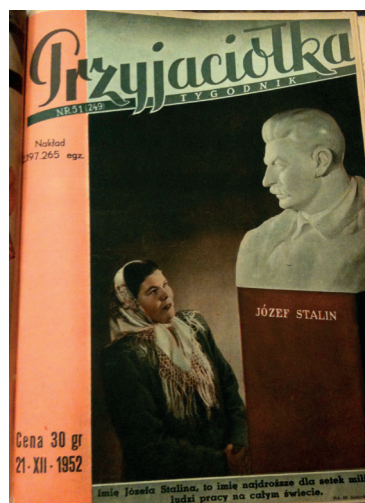
In this research, I adopted the following initial assumptions: 1) the image of the family propagated in magazines was subject to strong ideologisation and



politicisation, 2) the family was treated as a political and educational tool in the service of the power apparatus, 3) interpretations of selected aspects of family life lowered the rank and importance of the family in social awareness and 4) various mechanisms of propaganda were used to weaken the cognitive and psychological structures of women. I used content analysis, frequency-thematic analysis of the messages of the researched content, and H. Lasswell's communication model, based on which the content of the message was examined (i.e. what the sender says and what they do not say?) and the message channel (how the sender speaks and by what mechanisms). The theoretical reference for family analyses in the period of the People's Republic of Poland was the concept of the family as per K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin.

### **3. Family models propagated in the women's press – characteristics and directions of change**

Based on my analyses, I distinguished four propaganda models representative of the various periods of the functioning of real socialism in Poland. The first model, typical of the Stalinist period, was defined by me as totalitarian-productive. It was the most politicised and ideologised model of the family, focused on building a socialist state and fighting the enemies of the people. The second model of the family propagated in the surveyed press was related to the political thaw after Stalin's death. It was a short-term 'breath' after the period of reducing private life and an attempt to restore the family to its proper functions. It was called the integration-emotional model. The third model of the family, typical of the times of limited stabilisation, described as expressive and egalitarian, combined politicisation with an attempt to create a modern model of a socialist family. The fourth model, falling at the end of Gierek's prosperity, i.e. the consumption-egalitarian model of the family, showed strong modernist tendencies, with



an increasingly critical attitude towards state policy. Here are the chronological characteristics of the various models:

### 3.1. Totalitarian-production family model in 1950–1951

The following characteristics of this family model incorporate the study results of “Przyjaciółka” by Antonina Kłoskowska from 1950–1951 and 1956–1957 (Kłoskowska, 1959), as well as my own analysis. “Przyjaciółka” magazine was established in the early 1950s, in the period of the ideological offensive during the Stalinist era (1948–1956). During this period, people, according to the recommendations of the government apparatus, should focus not on family and private life, but on professional and party activity, devoted to building a new system and creating a new socio-political order. Therefore, it was necessary, as propaganda proclaimed, to build a native home, not a family home. The traditional family, in the pre-war sense, was presented as a symbol of evil, backwardness, exploitation and an example of outdated, bourgeois cultural patterns. Thus, it was not suitable for the new realities, i.e. the ‘new time,’ which was to be marked by a new individual and social life. It was a time of reconstruction of the country, a time of struggle with the class enemy, a time of revolutionary fever and a time of promotion. All four dimensions of time were combined and required the rejection of a peaceful and safe family life in favour of building a new socio-political reality.

At that time, the pages of “Przyjaciółka” promoted the family model which can be described as totalitarian-productive. Antonina Kłoskowska called the family model promoted in “Przyjaciółka” in 1950–1951 the propaganda model number 1, assuming that it presents features corresponding to the official ideology and politics of the state. I concur. The family was seen as a tool for combat and production wielded by the builders of socialism, which was also indicated by the inscriptions placed on the title pages of the magazine, e.g.:

Polka woman! Fight for the happiness of your children, for the peace and prosperity of the country (“Przyjaciółka,” 9(155), February 1951).

Every child born in Poland is greeted with joy not only by the mother and father, but by the whole nation. For it, we fight for peace, we build a better, happier life (“Przyjaciółka,” 18(164), 1951).

'Like all Polish women, I am fighting for peace, for a happy future,' says Celina Kurowska, signing the card of the National Peace Plebiscite ("Przyjaciółka," 20(166), May 1951).

The leading type of family at the time was the family of the 'masses,' that is, the working class and peasant families. Kłoskowska's description (1959, pp. 46–71) shows a model of family life completely subordinated to political and ideological goals, in which the family was to focus fully on the implementation of external tasks, giving up its own intentions, apart from procreation. This was the primary goal of family existence and procreation was only unreduced its function. The model of a large family was considered desirable in those years (all forms of controlling and limiting fertility were condemned), and mothers giving birth to large numbers of children deserved praise and medals. Children were the property not only of their parents, but also of the socialist state:



A worker's and peasant's child is the most valuable asset in a country governed by the people ... We will raise them to be defenders of the system that gave them a happy childhood ... We will raise them to be patriots of the people's homeland, which is the homeland of peasant and working-class children ("Przyjaciółka," 22(168), June 1951, p. 5).

A family without children was considered incomplete and did not fulfill its basic task, which was to supply new members to the socialist state. Reproduction outside the family was condemned, although children born out of wedlock were not to be rejected or stigmatised. Children should be born into a family and have a family, although the key role in their upbringing was to be played not by parents but by state institutions, such as schools, youth organisations, care and educational institutions, and orphanages. This policy was due to the so-called false awareness of parents and their outdated views (including relig-



iosity) and attachment to the Polish cultural tradition, which, according to the socialist authorities, made it difficult to educate the young generation in the spirit of communist ideology. Hence, the leadership and help of the school were necessary for bringing up children. One of the frequent forms of education promoted in the magazine was summer camps for children:

Great emphasis will be placed on the educational side of holidays. Children and young people will be taken care of by specially trained school tutors and ZMP members.

One tutor will take care of every thirty children. During camps, during trips, children will see what they learned at school: peasant work, farmer's work, a socialized production cooperative, a machine center. Students with the so-called amendment, will have permanent training sets ("Przyjaciółka," 20 (166), May 1951, p. 11).

During this period, political activities were also undertaken for transferring family life to the sphere of professional and public life. The workplace was to take over the functions of the family, the master or president of the party taking over the function of the father. This was to be respected and loved by employees. The rest of the family was made up of a collective. Attempts were made to attribute the features of 'family,' 'home' and closeness to business relationships, aimed at minimising the role of the family in social and individual consciousness.

Moreover, in the new socio-political reality, time was to overtake space, and thus the house as a permanent place of putting down roots was rejected. The home could be a hotel, factory, camp, common room, meeting room, a truck carrying participants to the countryside for an action (Boni, 1992, p. 99), etc. All these places were a kind of 'foster' family, where you could eat, spend your free time, educate yourself, relax, and be with your loved ones. In general, for a man of the Stalinist period, the most important thing was to devote himself to work, organisation, and society, not to private life.

Thanks to the new working conditions, women could also find self-esteem and development opportunities that they did not have at home. The woman, wife, and mother, were presented in the press primarily in professional roles, which determined and equated their position with a man (husband, father) in the family and outside it. A new model of woman was created, that of an activist, devoid of family and domestic features, devoted entirely to work and finding personal happiness in it. Soviet women were an example in this respect, extremely committed to work, who first operated several machines at once, and then, thanks to their perseverance and diligence, a dozen simultaneously.

“Przyjaciółka” also often gave examples of brave employees who overperformed the applicable standards at work. Said one of the reports:

On the first day of work on double the number of machines, Apolonia Majnik achieved 228 percent, a new standard ... The victory of Apolonia Majnik [transition from operating two automatic welders to working on four] rejoices and inspires the entire crew ... All honest people in our country know that work is the surest and most effective way to a happy, peaceful tomorrow for Poland, a peaceful tomorrow for all mankind (“Przyjaciółka,” 5(151), February 1951, p. 7).

The worker-activists were recognised among men and their chances of marriage increased. The magazine provided examples of such situations,<sup>1</sup> encouraging young women to increase productive activity while recommending that the intimate sphere be limited. The emotional or sexual problems reported by the readers were clearly minimised by the editorial staff, perceived as temporary aberrations which, thanks to involvement in productive and social work, would resolve themselves. Professional work was the best ‘medicine’ for all existential,



<sup>1</sup> “Przyjaciółka,” 20 and 25, 1950, gives an example: ‘A young boy interested in growing buckwheat gives his heart and proposes marriage to a girl whose success in this cultivation he cannot match, and to whom he had never paid attention before.’

love and family ills. Here is an example of such advice given to a young woman by the editors:

You should join a youth organization; there you will find an atmosphere of joint work, common goals, youth, and joy of life. You will stop despairing that you do not have a husband, and you will take care of organisational and social work ("Przyjaciółka," 5(151), February 1951, p. 13).

On the other hand, a young man facing the moral dilemma of whether to marry the fiancée he had promised marriage or another woman with whom he fell in love, staying for several years in another city, received the following answer:

You are still very young and inconstant in your feelings. A mature man does not love a different person every two years and does not propose marriage to each of his fleeting crushes. We advise you not to get married now, because you will probably find a new object of affection in a short time ("Przyjaciółka," 6(152), February 1951, p. 13).

There was no 'romantic' concept of love in this model, and too much involvement in love affairs deserved condemnation. Private and individual matters should not distract young people from the essentials, i.e. building a socialist state and fighting for peace.

From this perspective, marriage was seen as an important goal in life, but by no means the most important. Girls were discouraged from getting married quickly but were encouraged to study and get a profession that would not only improve their financial situation but enable them to gain experience in professional work, which could significantly affect their later marital happiness. A marriage of convenience also met with editorial approval. Both in marriage and in life, one had to think pragmatically, not romantically. At the same time, the motives for marital choice also changed, and it was not property that was to play a decisive role in the socialist selection of a spouse, but character traits, including the possession of the virtues of an 'unblemished citizen.' And in marriage itself, fidelity was important, and all cases of betrayal were severely condemned. Divorces, although allowed, were considered a last resort, applicable only in extreme cases (e.g. in conditions of violence and failure to meet

financial obligations for the family, but not necessarily due to the spouse's alcoholism). Under no circumstances could a divorce happen on the grounds of 'emotional maladjustment' or similar reasons. The permanence of the family was to be preserved, despite the reduction of its functions in the life of family members. Such a decisive attitude of the editorial office in this field caused confusion among female readers who, lost in the face of the propaganda of minimising the role of the family in individual life, asked: 'the continuity and durability of the family, but what for' (Kłoskowska, 1959, p. 65). This question seems to be justified since the family was to abandon efforts to develop its own privacy and community and focus on activities and values beyond itself, related to socialist nation-building. The family model propagated in "Przyjaciółka" from 1950–1951 is an example of a totalitarian, instrumental, highly politicised, and ideological attitude towards family values, as well as to women themselves. In almost every issue of the magazine, women were reminded of their duties towards their homeland:

Women fight for peace and the Six Year Plan! ("Przyjaciółka," 18(164), 1951).

Let's do everything to put the creative work of the 6-year plan into practice! ("Przyjaciółka," 10(156), March 1951, p. 3).

Of course, professional responsibilities were prioritised over social and family responsibilities, although all were considered important. The magazine reminded women:

Let's not spare effort to fulfill our professional, social, and family duties as best as possible! ("Przyjaciółka," 10(156), March 1951, p. 3).

Generally, the professional work of a woman was presented by the editors of the magazine as 'a woman's happiness, not harm' ("Przyjaciółka," 13(159), April 1951, p. 13).

In turn, the delegates of the first Congress of the Women's League had this to say about the women of People's Poland:

The time when women's interests did not go beyond the walls of their own apartment has gone forever. Conductors, factory branch managers, metal

welders, Chairmen of National Councils, MPs, tractor drivers, directors of large industrial plants, etc. – these are professions and positions that woman did not dream of even 10 years ago. Today, she enriches her country as much as man, she strengthens its forces, she takes part in the struggle for peace on an equal footing with man (“Przyjaciółka,” 7(153), National Congress of the Women’s League, February 1951, p. 3).

### **3.2. Integrative and emotional model of the family in 1956–1957**

In 1955, along with the political ‘thaw’ due to Stalin’s death, social policy in Poland changed, prompting another hypothesis from Kłoskowska that the model of the family promoted by the “Przyjaciółka” magazine also changed. Her research in 1956–1957 confirmed this. The new model of the family, which Kłoskowska called the propaganda model no. 2, resembled in many respects the type of nuclear family according to Parsons (1972), in which the most important was the integrative and emotional function of the family, and not instrumental-adaptive as before. It emphasised the importance of love, marriage, and family as the most important values in life which reflected a sharp change in the attitude of the power apparatus towards the family, which, during this period, was significantly depoliticised, moving from the previous production-adaptation model to that of a small nuclear family, which was accepted in the everyday life of Poles. It was still a highly ideological model, but due to a significant depoliticisation, it was closer to the expectations of ordinary people. The totalitarian-productive model of the family was not fully understood by older communists, brought up in traditional families. Therefore, the departure from it in the press propaganda happened quite quickly. The depoliticisation of the family model meant a return to normal, that is, to important family values and functions. First of all, the importance of its emotional and expressive function, which was previously condemned, increased. A marriage built on love was to fulfill the deepest human desires and to integrate the family. The emotional nature of family relations included the relationship between not only the wife and husband but also parents and children. The issue of the child and its upbringing, understood, as before, as the formation of a child’s personality, attracted more attention than in the



previous model. The child was seen not only as the future builder of socialism but as a family-uniting value.

The attitude towards the roles and tasks performed by women also changed. Although most women were still portrayed in instrumental functions, the emphasis was also on their expressive functions. They were presented more often in family and personal roles as wives, mothers, and fiancées, rather than as unequalled models of work leaders, rationalisers, activists, or breeders. In addition, the mother and wife gained importance as a family integrating factor and a symbol of the importance of family values. An expression of such a perception of woman is a story in which a young soldier observed a woman in the street rushing home with a loaf of bread and saw in this image a symbol of family unity and sublime family values (Kłoskowska, 1959).

As in the previous model, family durability was considered a very important feature but already considered in the context of other assumptions. The considerations of social welfare and obligations to society were no longer to be its foundation, but emotional considerations, the value of permanent attachment, and the psychological need for stabilisation. The need to ensure marital happiness was also indicated. If it was impossible to achieve in the relationship, then divorce was justified. However, the editorial staff's attitude towards divorce was still one of reluctance, and divorce was recognised only if it was a serious necessity in life. The changes included the pattern of the ideal spouse, who, in this model, should be a righteous and affectionate person, both in the public and private spheres.

The interest in social and family environments also changed. Not only the working class and peasants (that is, the family of the 'masses') but also the intelligentsia, especially the liberal professions, were considered in the press release. The role of the family in propaganda model no. 2 ceased to be perceived through the prism of the procreative function. Compared to propaganda model no. 1 from the Stalinist period, it had several different functions compatible with professional duties. Politics during the thaw did not require subordination of the family to political goals but only harmonious cooperation with the socialist state. Under such circumstances, "Przyjaciółka" began to promote a modern family model close to social expectations and reality. Unfortunately, the period of the 'thaw' in the press propaganda was short-lived and a new family model appeared in the weekly, corresponding to the next phase of the development of real socialism in Poland.

### 3.3. The expressive-egalitarian family model during 1965–1966

With the 1960s began fifteen years of relative satisfaction in society and reconciliation with fate. There was a slight de-stress due to the liberalisation of politics after 1956, and general terror was abandoned in favour of selective repression. However, the basic features and assumptions of the ideological and political systems were not abandoned. Illiteracy and hunger were eliminated for many families, but the phenomenon of ‘under-eating’ and poverty continued to exist due to low wages, which only allowed for vegetation. Despite this, families mobilised all forces to rebuild their resources (personal and material) and began to create development routes for their children. Mass education became one of the possibilities of development that whole families espoused with enthusiasm.

On the pages of the analysed magazine, including the covers of individual issues, one can feel pride in the reconstruction of the country after war damage and the achievements of the socialist state. The magazine very often implied that the reconstruction of individual resources was the result of the reconstruction of the country, including the merit of the older generation, which should be respected. Such an educational and patriotic message to young people was sent by, among others, Jan Brzechwa, writer, on the 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the July Manifesto:



Well, we still see a lot of mistakes, flaws, and faults, everyday life does not lie on roses for us. But it is worthwhile for all those who see only shortcomings, deficiencies, and shortages, to go back into our not-so-distant past. It is worth remembering with what and under what conditions our generation began its post-war start ... In many areas, you had to start from scratch. There was no place to live and nothing to wear. Each day required titanic efforts, heroism, and pioneering entrepreneurship. And when today we see rebuilt cities, smoking chimneys, hundreds of hospitals and schools, modern districts,

theatres, cinemas, and green areas, human settlements pulsating with life and work, we must realise that all this is the work of our hands, that each of us has contributed to that great edifice which we call homeland (J. Brzechwa, Two generations, "Przyjaciółka," 29(904), July 1965, p. 13).

Besides pride in the achievements of People's Poland, the magazine devoted much attention to the professional work of women and their possibilities of emancipation. In the 1960s, the model of a woman promoted in *Przyjaciółka* was a working mother, skilfully combining professional work with raising children, thanks to the good organisation of family life and the help of her husband. During this period, a woman's work meant not only service to the socialist homeland, but also a form of her personal emancipation, which in the surveyed press was understood as a professional partnership (i.e. financial independence from her husband) and marital partnership (i.e. equal division of household duties). As part of these issues, numerous obstacles related to the lack of gender equality and equal rights that women faced in their private and professional lives were discussed. The unjust division of power in the workplace for women, unequal earnings, and unequal participation in National Councils exposed the somewhat simulated nature of women's emancipation in the People's Republic of Poland at that time. The following opinions can often be found in the surveyed journal:



It is stated that in enterprises (even as 'ladylike' as textile or clothing) men occupy senior positions. Both in production and in administration, there are very few women in managerial positions ... Several specially organised studies have proven that there is a large difference in the level of pay between men and women. Even with the same education and the same length of service, on average, women's wages are more than 30 percent lower than men's (Irena works, "Przyjaciółka," 18(893), May 1965, p. 5)



or:

Irena [that is a woman] has the right not only to work in almost all professions, but also to equal pay and the right to occupy equal positions. Unfortunately, in reality, Irena is not yet treated as 'someone' equal ("Przyjaciółka," 18(893), May 1965, p. 5).

That is why the editors of the magazine called on women to change the world and not to give up their professional work:

We are too little involved in social life – in national councils, in committees of these councils, in all those links that have an

impact on shaping the life of our communities. Overwhelmed by family duties, how often do we close our world within the four walls of our own home ("Przyjaciółka," 18(893), May 1965, p. 5; 10(885), March 1965).

Under any circumstances, do not quit a job that not only gives you satisfaction but also benefits your entire family and economy ('Don't quit,' "Przyjaciółka," 17(892), April 1965, p. 13).

On the other hand, to men who were unconvinced about the professional work of women, the editors responded with the words of the Polish film *Irena home*:

But Irena did not go home. Irena works and will continue to work ("Przyjaciółka," 18(893), May 1965, p. 5).

One can get the impression that the magazine blamed men for the existing state of affairs, accusing them of selfishness and jealousy towards women, lack of goodwill, or understanding of socialist reality, unlike women who were always guided by the good of other people and their homeland. This trend in gender imaging was also visible in the next decade. Unfortunately, political

propaganda and censorship of magazines did not permit an open, objective criticism of the ruling system and the everyday living conditions of women and families. Thus, conflicts and problems were presented, which were often apparent and aimed at political and ideological indoctrination of female readers.

The family model from the mid-1960s largely coincided with the family's propaganda model from the mid-1950s. According to F. Adamski, it was its development towards a deeper satisfaction of emotional needs and family integration. It had several similarities with the model from the period of political thaw, including 1) assigning a high rank to marriage, 2) accepting divorce if 'marital goods' cannot be realised, 3) emphasising the importance of the expressive and integrative role of women in creating a family community, 4) high position of the child in the family, 5) assigning a large role to upbringing in the family. As in the previous model, the family had a high rank as an environment for meeting the individual needs of its members.

In the model of the family from the 1960s, there were also new elements such as drawing attention to the quality of marriage in the context of the frequently discussed issue of marital and family conflicts, which strongly exposed might lower the value of the family in the minds of female readers.

In the model of this period, a better quality of married life signified relations based on mutual kindness and dedication of both spouses for the equal bearing of the hardships of everyday life. Particularly emphasised was the participation of fathers in bringing up children, which was rare in practice. Another novelty was the promotion of a conscious approach to procreation and the preference for the model of a small family. Attitudes towards the sexual sphere were also liberalised. Sexual intercourse before marriage, strictly forbidden in the Stalinist family model and concealed during the political thaw, was justified in the mid-1960s. It was only permissible if the couple were to get married soon. As can be seen, ideology and politics were still trying to control the family, in

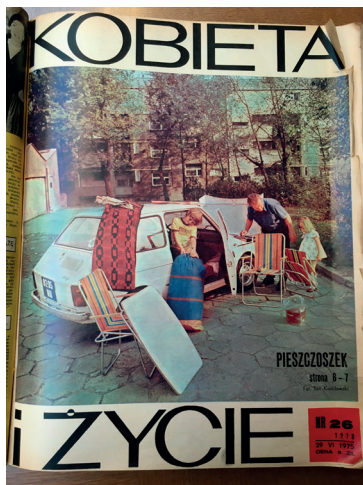


the intimate sphere too. Despite this, this model, defined by me as expressive and egalitarian, promoted not only a great openness to the emotional needs of family members and their mutual integration, but also seemed to be closest to the real ideas about marriage and family in society.

### 3.4. The consumer-egalitarian family model of 1975

The mid-1970s witnessed an important breakthrough in the history of the People's Republic of Poland. The first half of this decade was considered to be a period of Gierek's prosperity, i.e. a time of rapid modernisation of the country, increased consumption, and leading people to become similar to the Western lifestyle. The second half of the decade was a period of a rapid economic slump. The skyrocketing prices and the spectre of a long-term economic crisis (due to the inefficiency of the centrally planned economy) thwarted society's hopes for improving the quality of life. People felt disappointment, rebellion, and a loss of confidence in the socialist government, which they manifested by closing themselves in the circle of the family and displaying a lack of interest in the outside world. The family itself (after the war) became a kind of survival strategy in difficult times.

However, this entire socio-economic context did not change the activities of political propaganda visible in the media. The family was still perceived as an element of the socio-political system, subordinated to party politics. During this period, despite the deepening crisis, the consumer-egalitarian family model was promoted in magazines. Its feature was to be still a strong focus on consumption and striving to modernise the family. The manifestation of these aspirations was, *inter alia*, widening the areas of women's emancipation. Compared to the 1960s, it included, besides equality in the professional sphere i.e. work of women in 'male' professions, and partnership in the division of household duties, also the equality of women in terms



of 1) promotion and equal pay with men, and 2) deriving satisfaction in the sexual sphere (sexual partnership). These modern emancipatory aspirations, however, were more propaganda than real (Doniec, 2022, p. 92; Szlagowska, 2014; Wójcik, 2014).

They created the appearance of emancipation and represented a peculiar strategy of distracting female readers' attention from the real, difficult, and crisis conditions of everyday life. Jan Szczepański, vice-president of the Polish Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Philosophy of Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, wrote thus about the emancipation of women at that time:



I think that emancipation went not in the direction of equalizing feminine features and giving them the same value as masculine features, but in the direction of proving that a woman can also be a man and perform all social functions ... This direction of emancipation is based on the implicit assumption that woman is inherently inferior to man ("Przyjaciółka," 10(1407), March 1975, p. 5).

It should be remembered that throughout the period of the People's Republic of Poland, including the seventies, women received lower wages than men, despite equal qualifications, and had much fewer opportunities for career advancement, contrary to the propaganda on gender equality. This topic was constantly featured in the surveyed press, especially in 1975, recognised as the year of women. Authorities declared:

Socialist Poland not only ensured women's full equal civil, political and social rights but



also enabled them to actively participate in the life of the country, creating a wide range of opportunities to take up professional work ("Przyjaciółka," 5(402), February 1975, p. 7).

Thus, the fact of having a job was supposed to be more important for women than the salary itself, though women constituted 42% of all employees in the then-national economy. The then-state policy not only failed to eliminate gender inequalities but even preserved the traditional order of roles in which motherhood and housekeeping were among the basic, permanent duties of a woman. These activities were – in the opinion of the authorities – to reduce constantly the women's ability to work efficiently, which justified their lower wages. Despite this, the professional activity of women was strongly promoted, as it became a necessity for the developing industry.<sup>2</sup>

In the mid-1970s, the surveyed magazines presented a model of the successful modern woman, i.e. a woman working in a 'male' profession (as an engineer, captain, policeman, mechanised farmer, etc.) or holding a high position (as a village administrator, party secretary, etc.), devoted to work and finding



self-realisation in it, not necessarily in the family. In this respect, even some neglect of the child was justified. Generally, a successful woman always met with great recognition in the media, while a mother-woman who quit work for children's sake was the object of pity and scorn. Thus, dedication to work (and country) was admirable, and dedication (as sacrificial love) to the family was condemned or underestimated. Such a message probably did not strengthen the value of family and motherhood. Objective factors inducing mothers to interrupt their professional work to take care of a child, etc., were not always noticed. However, the desire to be an 'ideal mother and wife' was

<sup>2</sup> The professional activity rate was per 100 women: in 1950 – 13, in 1960 – 42, in 1970 – 68, and in 1989, about 69 (Kurzynowski, 2000, p. 193).



always criticised as a phenomenon that harmed both children and mothers. One husband wrote:

Every woman likes to make sacrifices. For many years, I have suspected that my wife is comfortable in the role of the sufferer; overworked, and neglected, but happy, because she had washed the Magda's sweater, and she had cleaned Andrzej's shoes. She believes that she is an ideal mother because she does not allow her children to waste time on any household chores (Andrzej B., Engineer, two children) (Necessary training of feelings, "Kobieta i Życie," 13, 1975, p. 14).

Additionally, it was accompanied by a message that a woman's professional success was not only her personal merit but above all of a socialist state that created such development opportunities for women (Doniec, 2022, p. 80).

Another frequent message in the surveyed press was showing marriage and the family as sources of numerous conflicts and threats, inspired by the Marxist ideology of conflict. Of course, all the problems the family had to deal with were, as mentioned, rooted in the faults of the individual, and never noticed in external conditions, caused by the inefficient functioning of the system, e.g. lack of housing, lack of services, low wages. The gender conflict in the family was particularly strongly exposed, in which the authority of men as husbands and fathers was eroded. They were shown as oppressors of women, irresponsible, lazy, selfish, addicted to alcohol, and absent in raising children, on whom women cannot rely. The positive image of the husband-father in the press was rare, as was the negative image of the wife-mother. He played a positive role only as a 'handyman,' a colourless person, subordinate to the woman or replacing her in raising a child.

Only in the young generation of married couples did the man sometimes appear as the woman's partner, ready to share household chores with her. Such an image of a man in the role of a husband-father was associated with the increasingly frequent promotion – in the conditions of the deepening economic crisis – of the image of a happy, modern, young socialist family, which, despite the difficult conditions of everyday life (modest financial possibilities, multi-shift work, temporary housing), finds happiness through mutual help and love. Here is an example of a typical happy family:



We got married. From now on, I'm really happy. We have three lovely rascals, and my husband makes no difference between our sons. We recently lived in three beautiful rooms. We work, my husband in 2 shifts, and I in 3, so it helps me a lot. When I go to my third shift and come back in the morning, warm milk and fresh rolls are waiting for me in the kitchen. We are very good together ("Przyjaciółka," 2(1399), January 1975, p. 8).

Such examples suggested to the readers that happiness is in their own hands and depends on the efforts of the individual; and external factors, including living conditions, are not of great importance in creating marital happiness and a happy family. Despite such a conviction, the editorial staff often published expert opinions about the need to prepare young people for marriage and parenthood, as they were often unaware of the impending responsibilities. They wrote, among others:

Marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, raising children – many young people really have no idea about these most important matters. After all, this cannot be tolerated ("Przyjaciółka," 5(1402), February 1975, p. 3).

This also applied to women's health. Among rural women during pregnancy, only 2.1% went to the doctor and performed analyses ("Przyjaciółka," 7(1404), February 1975, p. 5). In general, righteous, diligent, and courageous men are rarely seen in the surveyed weeklies, reducing them to the role of absent or insignificant hangers-on in the family (Doniec, 2019, pp. 199–222).

Parenthood was another issue systematically discussed in the surveyed magazines. It was presented similarly to marriage, and parenthood was also presented in the surveyed magazines as a source of numerous difficulties and limitations, especially in the sphere of consumption, so important for families in the first half of the 1970s, i.e. during the period of rapid modernisation of

the country (Bren & Neuburger, 2012). Although having a child in marriage was an obvious phenomenon in the People's Republic of Poland, its appearance in the family was presented as a factor limiting the consumption possibilities of the spouses, and it was described as a 'troublesome treasure,' the costs of which forced parents to make exorbitant sacrifices. This is indicated, *inter alia*, by the following quote, aimed at making future parents aware of the 'costs' of having a child:

It lowers [the child] the parents' living standard: economic and cultural. It reduces living space, financial resources, and free time resources. For its sake, it is necessary to give up leisure, pleasure, and often professional ambitions. Happy parents rarely go to the cinema or theatre, read books less often, limit their social life. Old holiday attractions become inaccessible, the carelessness for tomorrow ends. ... So you need to change the organization of everyday life, finding a place in it for new, numerous and burdensome duties. You have to give up buying for yourself this and that, which played a huge role in the youth style, growing into the emblems of modernity ("Kobieta i Życie," 28, 1975).

Such a consumerist attitude towards having a child did not encourage procreation and motherhood, which were also often presented in terms of incurred costs and failure. In this context, a letter from one of the readers asking the editors for advice, titled: 'Baby or TV?' is not much of a surprise ("Przyjaciółka," 14(889), April 1965, p. 13).

However, the early period of parenthood was shown as not only difficult but also sad and wretched. For example, a topic often raised was the sad and wretched old age of mothers, abandoned by their children to whom they had devoted themselves all their lives. This topic recurred regularly in family journalism. Apart from the shortcomings of social policy in this regard, this issue was supposed to prove the thesis about the conflict-generating nature of the family, as well as to make women aware of the senselessness of self-sacrificing love for children and family. Such a hidden message emphasised to the readers that one could rely only on oneself and the socialist state. Much attention was also paid to the educational incompetence of mothers, especially from the older generation, who, according to the ideological message, were always rated worse than the younger generation due to their lack of understanding of the new reality. The educational activity of women itself occupied less editorial

attention than the activity carried out outside the home, e.g. professional, local, party, or related to farm modernisation. In the area of upbringing, the authority of parents always gave way to school tutors. Therefore, adults were encouraged to send their children to summer camps and holidays (where they were deliberately indoctrinated), as well as to increase control over children. During this period, the need to build emotional relationships with children, based on mutual trust, and refrainment from repressive parenting methods began to be noticed more often.

### **3.5. Content transmission mechanisms**

While analysing the content related to family and family life conveyed in the surveyed magazines, attempts were also made to capture the techniques, principles, and means used in this area, to determine the extent to which the applied mechanisms of communication could affect the cognitive and psychological structures of the readers. A large variety of manipulation mechanisms was noticed in the scope of the transmitted content. One of them was the complete omission or rare mention of certain issues, which often distorted the objective image of a specific phenomenon, e.g. focusing on conflicts, difficulties, and failures in the descriptions of marital and family life, or burdens, difficulties, and disappointments of parenthood, which generated a gloomy picture of the family. In contrast, the image of women's professional work was presented in a positive light and women as successful people.

In general, the conveyed content lacked that which would strengthen the value and social position of the family, presenting it as a strong and solid community connected by bonds of love, mutual help, and support. Good models of married life and positive images of motherhood were shown either not at all or rarely. What unites the family was not promoted, but what divides the family, highlighting primarily the issue of conflicts and difficulties in familial relationships, both marital and intergenerational. Further, the real causes of difficulties and problems in the everyday life of Polish families were not shown or shown occasionally. In addition, thinking in terms of consumption needs was preferred, and thinking in axiological terms was completely omitted. The importance of moral values in family life was particularly overlooked. The issue of values was replaced with the issue of needs. Further, positive patterns

of paternity were shown not at all or very rarely. The transmitted image of the family was one-sided, reduced, and in many places too negative, which even raised the concerns of some media researchers of the time (Jasińska & Siemieńska, 1980, p. 78).

In terms of communication techniques, the use of simple, clear language that did not evoke any additional associations and the use of the principle of 'small steps,' i.e. slow, systematic (e.g. twice a month), but long and regular infiltration of specific content into women's consciousness was visible. When providing specific content and information, editorial offices referred to their universality and obviousness, which led the female readers to a state of ignorance and confusion. The principle of attractiveness and topicality of the content was also applied. They were supposed to present modern, scientific knowledge, which disqualified traditional views. The editorial offices of the magazines apparently respected the beliefs of the readers, but in the case of a clear disagreement, they used the principle of emotional argumentation or made top-down, authoritarian decisions. They also used the technique of silence, repeating, skipping, and skirting uncomfortable content, or creating an enemy. In the analysed texts, all kinds of dichotomies blurring the meaning of certain values, divisions creating conflicts, reversal of meanings, or one-sided portrayal of a given reality were also often employed. Concerning family values (e.g. having a child), there was an over-emphasis on costs *versus* benefits. All these mechanisms used by propaganda lowered the importance of the family and its values and could put the female readers of this press into a state of ignorance, intellectual confusion, mental tear, and helplessness (Doniec, 2019), by creating a false image of reality.

#### **4. Summary and conclusions**

The article presents four models of the family propagated in the most widely read women's press of the Polish People's Republic, in the magazines "Przyjaciółka" and "Kobieta i Życie" in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Using existing studies and own research, reconstruction and comparisons of the family model presented in "Przyjaciółka" during 1) Stalinism (1950–1951), 2) 'political thaw' (1956–1957), 3) 'little stabilisation' (1965–1966) and 4) in the 'era of Gierek' (1975). In the last of the analysed periods, the second most popular women's

magazine, i.e. "Kobieta i Życie," was included. By reconstructing the family mode promoted in different socio-political periods, efforts were made to ascertain 1) what sense and meaning were given to the family? 2) what was their attitude towards marriage, family, and professional roles, and having a child? 3) what direction did the changes of the family model take? 4) what content was exposed and what was omitted? and 5) what communication mechanisms were used in the press at that time? The answers to these and other questions aimed at presenting the ideological and political propaganda concerning family life appearing in social, educational, and counselling magazines. The most different, in terms of ideologisation and politicisation, was the model of the family from the Stalinist period. It can be described as a family model focused on fighting the enemies of the new system. It presented the most totalitarian and reduced vision of the family, stripped of its natural features and functions. The family itself was not important to itself. It only gained importance as a 'production' environment for the future builders of socialism. Family life was to be transferred to factories and replaced by work for a socialist state. The next model of the family, propagated during the political thaw, clearly 'warmed up' the meaning of the family and restored its most important functions. The family no longer focused solely on the country's security and survival but strengthened its integrative and emotional functions. It was a model of an integrated family, focused on restoring normal family life. Another family model implemented in times of low stabilisation was a kind of extension of the previous one, but presented development trends towards strengthening the subjectivity of its members, including the emancipation of women, even though they were narrowly understood. Despite the strong ideologisation of the family and placing the burdens related to the country's economic difficulties on its shoulders, this model raised the issue of the quality and modernisation of married life. This model promoted a family proud of rebuilding the country, focused on building a modern socialist state and a modern, socialist family. The last model, propagated in the middle of the Gierek decade, presented the features of a modern family, including equal rights for women, their right to self-realisation and comprehensive emancipation, as well as a preference for consumer attitudes that reduce important family values. It can be described as a family model strongly focused on consumption, seeing the first phases of the crisis of the socialist economy. The press reports used a rich set of techniques and propaganda means, introducing numerous manipulations

and distortions in the true image of the family. Therefore, despite the relatively positive direction of changes in the family model, the following phenomena occurred in the studied press in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s:

- in all the analysed periods of the People's Republic of Poland, the family was treated instrumentally as an important tool of ideological and political influence on the life of citizens.
- family, women, and children were always perceived through the prism of political and ideological conditions and interests, which indicates that women's image in the press was always politicised and consistent with the current ideology.
- the politicisation of the family had a more negative impact on it than its ideologisation, which, under certain conditions, was conducive to the modernisation of family life.
- many aspects of the modernisation of the family, however, were apparent and propagandistic (e.g. the emancipation of a woman);
- the image of the family promoted in the women's press reduced or deformed the meaning and importance of many family values (e.g. having a child), functions (e.g. upbringing), and dimensions of family life (e.g. motherhood);
- the propagated image of the family was often one-sided, too negative, or even untrue;
- the family was presented as a weak, conflicted group, threatened by internal conflicts, and problems, and lacking internal strength;
- political and ideological influences directed at the family weakened the socio-moral condition of the family in the social consciousness, but sometimes strengthened the practical aspects of family life (e.g. they favoured the activation and independence of women);
- the mechanisms of the propaganda message weakened the cognitive and psychological structures of the readers, putting women in a state of confusion, doubt, mental depression, and passive reconciliation with fate.

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