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THE INFLUENCE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION ON TRADITIONAL POLISH RELIGIOSITY

As regards the relationship between industrialization and religiosity it is necessary to state that we are not interested in the causitive dependence but simply in an investigation of the correlation between these two variables. The changes of religiosity observed in regions undergoing industrialization are known to be a result of the influence of many factors which interpenetrate and overlap each other. What is more, these changes are not one sided. Religiosity correlated with industrialization may be treated both as a dependent and an independent variable. In the former case, religiosity may lose some traditional elements under the impact of industrialization or it may even diminish. In the latter instance, religiosity in changing forms may influence the formation of a new social environment and its culture. These tendencies have been noticed by J. Laloux, who wrote: „While some influences act towards dechristianization, there are others that may lead towards rechristianization”¹. Without taking for granted the direction of this influence I will show below the state of religiosity regions in the process of industrialization, on the example of selected environments in Poland, namely: Nowa Huta, Płock and Puławy.

„Industrialization” is usually understood as a process of the creation and expansion of industry in a country or region. This is complex process. It includes, on one hand, economic and technological innovations and, on the other hand, cultural and spiritual changes. The latter can be seen also in the sphere of religious life. In other words, the process of industrialization leads to essential changes of the whole social system, which are generally described as a transition from society based on traditional civilization to society based on technical, industrial and urban civilization². „Tradi-

¹ J. Laloux, *Socjologia religii środowiska wiejskiego* (Sociology of Religion of a Rural Environment), in: *Socjologia religii. Wprowadzenie* (Sociology of Religion. Introduction), Kraków 1962, p. 78.

² J. Szczepański, *Zmiany społeczeństwa polskiego w procesie uprzemysłowienia* (Changes of Polish Society in the Process of Industrialization), Warszawa 1973, p. 13.

tional Polish religiosity" denotes a specific type of religiosity functioning in the Polish society. Generally speaking, this religiosity is characterized by the following features: a) a deep and emotional attachment to „the faith of the fathers"; b) lack of intellectual background and unsatisfactory reflection on the religious doctrine; c) a specific morality which emphasizes more an attachment to rites and practical morality than evangelic ideals; d) ritualism which manifests itself in mass participation in religious practices; e) strong ties with a parish as a local community and with the national Church.³ The above mentioned features of religiosity are taken here as a starting point and as a reference system for an analysis of the actual symptoms of the religious life of the Catholics in the social environments examined.

The research on the influence of industrialization on traditional religiosity was conducted by The Institute of Sociology of Religion of the Catholic University of Lublin. In Nowa Huta the research was carried out by S. Karsznia, and it included one parish.⁴ The range of this research was very wide because the author examined with the aid of a questionnaire 515 persons (210 men and 305 women) selected by the way of a lottery system from the age-group of 18—70 (every 35th person). The research in Płock was carried out by J. Mariański⁵. The author concentrated also on one parish. He examined a large group of 557 persons which included 269 men and 288 women, selected in a lottery from the age-group of 18—70 (every 31th person). Finally, the research in the Puławy region was carried out by the author of this paper and it covered the parishes of the city of Puławy. The author examined 941 persons (424 men and 517 women). Those persons were also a random sample from the age-group of 16—70. All the mentioned studies were carried out in the years 1969—1970. The collected field material seems to be of a great value. It gives us comprehens-

³ This model was described in greater detail in my work: *Religijność wiejska w warunkach industrializacji. Studium socjologiczne* (Rural Religiosity in the Process of Industrialization. A Sociological Study), Warszawa 1971, pp. 28—31.

⁴ S. Karsznia, *Przynależność do parafii katolickiej w nowym środowisku wielkomiejskim. Studium psycho-socjologiczne parafii Nowa Huta-Mogiła* (Membership of the Catholic Parish in a New Urban Environment. A Psycho-Sociological Study of the Parish Nowa Huta-Mogiła), Lublin 1973 (Archives of KUL, a typescript of a doctorate dissertation).

⁵ J. Mariański, *Więź społeczna parafii miejskiej w rejonie uprzemysłowanym. Studium socjologiczne* (Social Bond of the Urban Parish in the Industrialized Region. A Sociological Study), Lublin 1972 (Archives of KUL, a typescript of a doctorate dissertation). Most part of the dissertation was published in the forms of papers in different periodicals ("Znak", "Więź", "Chrześcijanin w świecie" and others).

ive information about the religious situation of the Catholics in the process of industrialization.

1. Attitudes towards the Faith

It is generally known that every local community, particularly when it is situated in an intensively industrialized region, is differentiated as far as attitudes of people towards faith are concerned. The type and the range of these attitudes show how deep are the changes taking place „here and now". We can make a hypothesis that the more traditional an environment of a local community the less differentiated a self-declaration towards the faith and vice versa. What's more, lack of differentiation of self-declarations among the persons under question and connected with it usually high percentages of the believers are not at all an evidence of a higher level of religiosity. They simply show a type of religiosity, namely, cultural-environmental religiosity.

Table 1. Global attitudes towards the faith

Types of attitudes towards the faith	Puławy N=941	Płock N=557	N. Huta N=515
deeply involved	22.4	10.6	12.4
believers	64.4	71.8	71.6
practically unreligious but attached to tradition	8.9	14.0	14.4
others	4.3	3.6	1.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Taking into account a compound indicator for the deeply involved and the believers (table 1) we can see that in all the parishes it reaches a high level⁶, namely: in Puławy it amounts to 86.8⁰%, in

⁶ The indicators of the deeply involved and the believers obtained in the research by the OBOP (Opinion Research Centre) and referring to the urban population in Poland were as follows: in 1960 — 75.6⁰% and in 1968 — 80.9⁰%. Cf. A. Pawełczyńska, *Postawy ludności wiejskiej wobec religii* (Attitudes of the Rural Population Towards Religion), *Roczniki Socjologii Wsi. Studia i Materiały*, Vol. VIII, 1968. Warszawa 1970, p. 73; and the questionnaire: *Jak się bawimy i co pijemy* (How Do We Spend Leisure-Time and What Do We Drink), 1968. I quote it after A. Święcicki, *Aktualne uwarunkowania religijności* (The Present Determinants of Religiosity) — a lecture given at the seminar of sociology of religion in Oltarzew Poland, January 1976).

Nowa Huta 84⁰/₀ and in Płock 82.4⁰/₀. The highest indicator for Puławy can be explained by the fact that a great part of the population living in this town comes from nearby villages. Similarly, the migration to Płock seems to explain the highest indicator for the believers. In Nowa Huta the influx of people had been similar to that in Puławy, but it is necessary to take into account stability and integration of the urban environment in this town, which has taken place there since.

The differences between the percentages of the deeply involved and the believers in the given towns do not tell us much about intensive religiosity of the persons under examination. A more detailed analysis of both these categories of Catholics has shown that the deeply involved persons are often „traditionally deeply involved”, i.e. they are emotionally attached to „the faith of the fathers”. However, there is a significant convergence of the lowering or growing indicators of the deeply involved and the believers according to the type and character of a town. We may frame a hypothesis that the more heterogeneous an urban milieu the smaller the percentages of the deeply involved compared to the believers in general and vice versa. Incidentally, this attests to changes in traditional religiosity towards reduction of emotional ties with „the faith of the fathers”.

Apart from establishing the attitudes towards the faith in urban environments under examination we must pay attention to the motivations of these attitudes put forward by the examined persons. A research concerning motivations is not an easy task because motivation is strictly connected with interiorization of religion, that is to say, with such a rooting of religion in a personality that it spontaneously penetrates all the spheres of life of a „religious man”. What is more, the motivations responsible for a particular attitude or religious behaviour are usually of a complex character⁷. Therefore, purely religious motivations will rarely form the basis of an aspect of the religious life. Most often the religious motivation is connected with different social motivations and it may even be dominated by them. That leads to the conclusion that the same aspect of religiosity among people may be attributed to different motivations.

Now, let us have a look at the motivations given by the respondents in the towns under investigation. First of those motivations was family tradition passed down by older generations in the process of socialization and continued in urban milieus irrespective

⁷ U. Boos-Nünning, *Dimensionen der Religiosität*, Göttingen 1972, p. 43. As regards the mentioned difficulties it is necessary to notice that some people dealing with psycho-sociology overestimate the answers of the respondents given to open questions of a questionnaire (the answers are rough and reluctant).

of a type and character of this milieu (32.8% of respondents in Puławy show this motivation). In their declarations the respondents stress not so much the essence of the faith as the fact of its transmission „from one generation to another”. The very transmission of a „ready-made thing” constitutes a sufficient motivation of the faith⁸. We may ask what the respondents mean by „inheriting” the faith in family tradition. Analysing different statements of this type we may draw the conclusion that respondents' faith is not conscious enough, that it is reflective and connected with life. The addiction to family tradition probably amounts to „traditionalism” as a negative feature of Catholic religiosity⁹. However, not all the declarations of the respondents are characterized by „traditionalism”. Rarely there may be cases of involvement taking the form of more conscious acceptance of „the faith of the fathers” and of taking it as the principle in life. The importance of the family in the transmission of faith shows the role played by the family in an urban environment despite some atomization and disintegration of this environment. The motivation of family tradition, which induces the respondents to preserve the faith, has above all the time dimension. One preserves what „has always been there” and what has come down from the older generation.

The second motivation is folk tradition (in Puławy — 12.2% of the respondents). In this motivation apart from the time dimension there is also the spatial dimension of tradition. This motivation is described as „folk tradition” because the persons examined stressed the influence of the near (local) rather of than the more distant (national) environment. Undoubtedly, this may be explained by the „parochial” character of Catholic religiosity which is connected mainly with a local community or a region. The tendency towards uniting believers of the whole nation is a feature of the contemporary priesthood. In the answers pointing to such a motivation the stress is laid on the role of tradition (not necessarily family tradition) and on putting it in an environmental context although not always in a clear way. The reference to that context reveals itself in emphasis on stability of the faith, habit, example of others, identification with a milieu, etc.

⁸ J. Szacki, *Trzy pojęcia tradycji* (Three Notions of Tradition), *Studia Socjologiczne* 1970, No 1, p. 135. The author, as it may be seen in the title of the paper, distinguishes three notions of tradition: a) transmission of something ready from one generation to another (social transmission), b) transmission of some contents (social heritage), c) transmission, in the course of heritage, of the skill of conscious evaluation.

⁹ W. Dudek, *Współczesna próba religijności polskiej* (The Contemporary Test of the Polish Religiosity), *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 49 (1957) p. 398.

A next motivation is the conviction about a need of faith (in Puławy — 3.9% of the respondents). This „need of faith” finds an expression not only in the fulfillment of individual needs of a believer but often reaches deeper to religious experience of „sacrum”. However, there are also traditional elements in this motivation, e.g. elements of some „spontaneity” coming from the environment of a local community. Similar motivation, if perhaps deeper, can be found in reflection and personal choice of the faith (in Puławy — 40.4% of the respondents). In the opinions of the respondents main attention is paid to reflectiveness and to a conscious preservation of the faith, though in these opinion there are also traditional elements such as emotional attachment to the faith of the fathers, the impact of religious upbringing, a degree of utilitarianism, etc. A characteristic thing is, however, an attempt to justify the faith by referring to arguments taken from observation, experience and some intellectual venture.

The next type of motivation includes reference to the Church teaching and to its role in the world. It could be assumed that the spread of this type of motivation is very wide because of the influence of the clergy and parish on the formation of the religious attitudes in the analysed towns. However, it is not confirmed by the opinions of the respondents (in Puławy, for instance, that reason was given by only 1.3% of the respondents).

Finally, the last motivation given by the respondents are unusual events in their lives, connected with the last war or with other situations (in Puławy — 3.1% of the respondents). Even when events are not the main source of faith they strengthen the faith of the persons examined.

As it is known, in traditional folk religiosity the intensity of faith is determined to a great degree by the attachment to cultural heritage. The believers with such an orientation do not reflect on religious tenets, do not go deeply enough into them, indeed they have no urge to do so. Many a time it finds expression in the absence of doubts about religion. Religious beliefs are kept up due to institutions legitimizing a particular system of tenets and to the culture of a local community rather than to personal commitment of a member of a group or religious community to non-empirical reality. Quite an opposite situation can be observed in an industrial society, exposed to secularization, rationalization and specialization. In such society there is no chance of preserving faith in religious tenets on the basis of the environmental mechanisms alone. The disappearance of these mechanisms generates doubts about faith. We may assume that the frequency and the range of religious doubts grows parallel to the intensity of changes of a social environment. The chances that religious tenets will survive depend on intensifi-

cation of religious attitudes of the believers and on strengthening their faith in the reality of the non-empirical world. The latter prospect involves an extension of a subjective interpretation of religious truths.

As we indicated above, in the analysed urban environment there is a predominance of traditional religiosity. It is manifested, among other things, by the motivations of faith most of which are of „group“ and especially of „family“ character. This feature can be found also among those persons who refer to more „personal“ motivations. „Reflection on the faith“ points at a stabilization of the religious attitude supported by life experience rather than at dissemination of subjective interpretations of religious truths. Taking this into account it would be difficult to speak about a shift from the traditional motivations to the motivations individualized in the sense of rationalized and subjectivized attitudes typical of industrialized societies. Now, let us see to what extent this assumption is confirmed by research as far as the acceptance of religious truths is concerned.

Table 2. Indicators of acceptance of religious truths

Unconditional acceptance of truths	Puławy N=941	Płock N=557	N. Huta N=515
Divinity and humanity of Christ	81.2	81.8	84.9
Redemption of mankind	84.3	72.1	81.6
Reward and punishment after death	69.8	56.7	70.9
Resurrection of bodies	50.5	44.5	57.8
The sacrament of penance	65.4	54.8	67.8
Average	70.2	62.0	72.6

It is remarkable that the first place in terms of acceptance goes to the tenet of Divinity and Humanity of Christ and the last place to the tenet of Resurrection of bodies. Indicators similar to the first one are shown by the tenet of Redemption of mankind and similar to the second one are the indicators for the tenets of reward and punishment after death and of the sacrament of penance. Considering the character of the mentioned religious truths we may formulate a hypothesis that theoretical truths, which do not restrict the Catholics so much in their life, are accepted more often than practical truths, i.e. those of a limiting character¹⁰.

¹⁰ A. A. Martins, *L'analyse hiérarchique des attitudes religieuses*, Archives de Sociologie des Religion 11 (1976) pp. 75—78.

We may also notice that the rate of acceptance of religious truths depends on the type and character of a social milieu. The rule is that the more heterogeneous a milieu the lower the level of the acceptance of religious truths.

Using the terminology introduced by G. Lenski¹¹ we may distinguish two extreme groups among the respondents. One is characterized by „doctrinal orthodoxy” while the second one by „doctrinal heterodoxy”. It is necessary to add that both terms do not give a theological evaluation of the essence of faith but they describe the actual attitudes of the respondents towards it. The group of „doctrinally orthodox” includes those people who expressed their approval of all the basic religious truths. In Puławy this group included 50% of persons under examination. Then, the group of „doctrinally heterodox” includes those people who either deny the basic religious truths despite a positive religious self-declaration, or show signs of doubt concerning the basic religious truths. In Puławy this group amounts to 15% of the persons under examination but the indicator includes also people religiously indifferent. Between these two extreme groups there is yet a third group, an intermediate one. It includes those people who approve of some religious truths, especially the so called „theoretical truths”, and reject others, especially the so called „practical truths”. This group comprises about 30% of the respondents in Puławy. P. M. Zulehner suggests that this group of persons, despite some differences among them, could be described as „ambivalent”¹². Beliefs in this group lack, to a smaller or greater degree, conviction and consistency¹³. Taking into consideration the process of contemporary socio-cultural changes we may assume that the group of „doctrinally ambivalent” persons will diminish to the advantage of the group of „doctrinally heterodox”¹⁴.

¹¹ G. Lenski, *The Religious Factor*, New York 1961, p. 56.

¹² P. M. Zulehner, *Religion ohne Kirche? Das religiöse Verhalten von Industriearbeitern*, Wien 1969, p. 28.

¹³ O. H. Wölber, *Religion ohne Entscheidung*. 3rd ed., Göttingen 1956, p. 51.

¹⁴ It is necessary to add that the range of the groups analysed above was established on the basis of the scale of continuum (degrees of orthodoxy). It would be better to apply another method, i.e. to calculate degrees of the acceptance for every respondent individually. A percentage range of the indicators of particular groups would probably take somewhat different form. J. Mariński applied the method of points and achieved the following results: maximum acceptance (doctrinal orthodoxy) — 31.4%, hesitant and reduced acceptance (doctrinal ambivalence) — 51.2%, minimal acceptance and lack of acceptance (doctrinal heterodoxy) — 17.4% (J. Mariński, *op. cit.*, p. 185).

Now, let us make some remarks about the relationships between demographic and social features of the respondents and their religious beliefs. This problem will be analysed on the example of the acceptance of the tenet of Divinity and Humanity of Christ in Puławy.

There is a very strong statistical relationship between the structure of sex and intensity of the faith in Divinity and Humanity of Christ. The difference between the indicators of the acceptance of this tenet among men and women is 11.7% to the advantage of women. The observed process of questioning the tenet takes place, above all, among men. It means that for many the above mentioned traditional structures of credibility ceased, to function successfully as a system legitimizing the faith in the teaching of the Church.

On the other hand, a weak statistical relationship can be found between the age-structure of the respondents and their faith in the Divinity and Humanity of Christ. The respondents belonging to the group of 15—18 and 26—45 years of age performed below the average. Consequently, in both these groups a majority of persons expressed the opinion that Christ was an eminent person or that he is a character contrived by people. These facts prove that the youth and the medium generation refer less to traditional legitimization of the religious doctrine than the older generation. It seems that older people are under the influence of a past socio-cultural context, which affected their „spontaneous” acceptance of religious truths.

A similar weak statistical relationship reveals itself when we analyse the influence of the level of education on intensity of faith in Divinity and Humanity of Christ. Nevertheless, the nature of such a relationship is rather clear. We may state that the lower the level of education the higher the proportion of respondents accepting this tenet. It means that along with an increase in the level of education the spontaneity of the acceptance of the religious doctrine diminishes. Thus, education should be viewed as a factor which does not favour the survival of the traditional structures of credibility in an „open” urban environment, the structures legitimising a „church” system of religious beliefs.

A weak statistical relationship can be also found between a type of job performed and the faith in Divinity and Humanity of Christ. The following three occupational categories reached an indicator lower than the average: skilled manual workers, craftsmen and white-collar workers.

Out of all the observed relationships the most decisive influence on the acceptance of the religious truths of the Church is exerted by the structure of sex. The structure of age, education and occupation influence the acceptance of the teaching of Church to a lesser

degree. However, when those biographic and social features are concerned, a direction of the relationship is rather clear.

Summing up the conclusions drawn from the analysis carried out above one can say that an industrialized urban milieu is more susceptible to changes characteristic of contemporary industrialized societies than other milieus. This is expressed not only in a change of the place of religion and its institutions in the life of the nation or by the changes in the hierarchy of strictly religious values but also in the dissemination of „selective” (ambivalent) and non-orthodox („heterodox”) attitudes. It seems that the prevalence of that type of attitudes in a milieu is a measure of contemporary socio-cultural changes. Despite the observed changes the level of traditional religiosity in its ideological dimension is still very high in Poland which can be attributed to the influence of vitality of cultural tradition.

The changes pointed out above lead, on one hand, towards a deepening of the traditional religiosity. On the other hand, they lead towards forming of individualized and subjective religiosity or, in other words, towards a shift from tenets to the faith as an inner attitude of the examined persons. Beside these changes one could observe an increase of the category of people indifferent to religion and non-believers negating or questioning all the religious truths. The described changes can be most often observed among men, youth, office workers and among people with university degrees.

2. Attitudes towards Religious Practices

One of the most conspicuous elements of traditional religiosity are religious practices. From the sociological point of view they are treated as forms of religious behaviour performed by members of a religious group. It does not mean that all the religious practices are of a group or public character. Some of them are performed by members of religious groups individually and in private. Using the division of behaviour into ritual and instrumental one¹⁵ as accepted in sociology of religion it is necessary to emphasize that the practices analysed in this paper belong to the former group. As a ritual behaviour they are a privileged sphere of institutionalizing. Institutionalizing means in this case the process in the course

¹⁵ In ritual behaviour greater stress is laid on the way it is performed than on its goal and motivation; in instrumental behaviour its goal and motivation are more important than the way of performance. The latter includes mainly the activity of Church connected with transmission of the faith. (Cf. E. Du Pin, *La paroisse catholique. Les formes variables d'un système social*, Rome 1968, pp. 99–100).

of which a ritual behaviour becomes an institution, that is to say, it assumes a precise, objective and permanent form¹⁶.

The process of consolidation of patterns of ritual behaviour in a religious community has a repercussion on the reference system for the analysis of the state of religious practices in the urban environments under examination. The reference system, just as in the case of moral behaviour, amounts to more than institutional norms — those of the universal and local Church — it also embraces the demands of tradition and custom. We can call this reference system as an institutional-environmental one.

The institutionalization of religious practices often leads to excessive emphasis on their external aspect to the detriment of motivation and commitment. For many Catholics the very fact or the way of performing these practices may be more important than intention, experience and the effect in the form in inner moral transformation. Thus, it is necessary to include in research on religious practices also their qualitative aspect, that is to say, their intensity.

The last statement is connected with the problem of indices of religious practices. It is not enough to record, in the course of sociological research, what practices are performed by the Catholics and how often, but it is necessary to look for answers to the question to what extent these external manifestations¹⁷ are a result of inner religiosity. An investigation of motivational mechanisms is, however, a difficult task. Therefore, some sociologists try to find an intermediate solution by the way of which it would be possible to decide whether participation of Catholics in religious practices is determined by inner, individualistic, or by external, environmental mechanisms. Their attempts of „intermediate“ determining of the indices concerning the practices without relating them to motivation include the three elements: compulsory character of a practice, its sanctioning, and the type of a milieu. However, the indicators for a religious practice depend not only on the mentioned elements, but also on the influence exerted by the milieu on the evaluation of what the Catholics regard as a must in the sphere of religious practices and also on the positive or negative value attached to a particular religious practice. Whether and to what extent a religious practice is a symptom of inner religiosity depends on many factors. However, above all it is necessary to take into consideration the level of its institutional-environmental compulsoriness and a socio-religious context which can affect the indicators.

¹⁶ J. H. Gichter, *Grundbegriffe der Soziologie* (hrsg. von E. Bodzenta). Translated from English by L. Walentik. Wien 1968, pp. 152—154.

¹⁷ According to G. Le Bras they are "most visible, measurable and statistically perceptible" symptoms (*Mesure de la vitalité du catholicisme en France*, Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, 1950, p. 36).

Taking into account the milieus under investigation, we may assume that indicators of the religious practices will not reach a high level. However, their level should be higher in Nowa Huta, where stability of the life of inhabitants is visible, than in Puławy and Płock, where such stabilization has not occurred yet. In relation to the Puławy region we may assume that the indicators of religious practices will be directly proportional to the „openness” of a milieu. It means that the more „open” a milieu the lower the indicators of religious practices. Out of the two types of religious practices — compulsory and voluntary ones — the latter will reach a lower level. Finally, we may assume that in the towns subjected to direct industrialization participation in religious practices is, at least in some groups of Catholics, a symptom of religious liveliness. In these towns environmental mechanisms do not play an important role any more. The important thing then is not the number but quality of the religious practices.

Passing on to a detailed analysis of religious practices we will pay attention first to compulsory practices. These practices are divided into two categories, namely, regular and irregular religious duties and the practices occurring but once¹⁸. In the first category of compulsory practices sociologists of religion usually take into account, in their research, two practices, namely, participation in Sunday and holiday Holy Mass and taking Holy Communion in Easter. Starting the analysis of the first of these practices it is necessary to notice that the indicator of the „dominicanes” (people who attend Sunday and holiday Holy Mass) in the investigated towns was at a relatively low level compared to other towns in Poland¹⁹ and at relatively high level compared to towns in Western countries²⁰. In the years 1969—1971 the percentage of „dominicanes” in Puławy amounted to 27.4% of the people who should have attended Holy Mass, in Płock the indicator amounted to 27.3% and in Nowa Huta to 33.3%. The difference among the indicators is very interesting and it seems to correspond to the hypothesis that the more stabilized the milieu of an industrial town the higher percentage of „dominicanes” and vice versa. In the light of these indicators let us analyse the structure of people attending Holy Mass.

¹⁸ G. Le Bras, *Secteurs et aspects nouveaux de la sociologie religieuse*, Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, 1946, p. 43.

¹⁹ *Religijność miejska w dwudziestoleciu powojennym w Polsce* (Urban Religiosity in Poland in the Period of Twenty Years after the War), Znak 18 (1966) pp. 302—303.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²¹ The indicator of „paschantes” was calculated in a similar way to that of „dominicanes”. Out of all the population in the social environment 25% of persons was calculated as so called „dispensed” (not receiving Holy Communion). The rest was taken as 100% of the obliged.

Table 3. Frequency of participation in Holy Mass according to environmental research in the years 1969—1971

Participation in Holy Mass	Puławy N=941	Płock N=557	N. Huta N=515
every Sunday	43.9	33.2	49.2
two-three times a month	23.4	31.6	23.8
a few times a year	24.6	25.1	20.8
not a single time for many years	3.4	10.1	5.6
not available	4.7	—	0.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The table 3 shows that the percentage of people attending Holy Mass every Sunday is relatively high, anyway it differs to a great extent from the indicators of „dominicanes”. These differences may arise on account of two reasons. Firstly, as it was noted in the course of the research, the respondents have a trend to overstate data connected with their participation in religious practices. Secondly, many of them neglect Holy Mass for various reasons which seem to them important enough to dispense them from the duty. They think that despite their absence in Church they are systematically practicing Catholics. Out of the two mentioned reasons the latter seems to influence the declarations of the respondents referring to the religious practices to a bigger extent.

The group of people practicing unsystematically or quite sporadically is also wide enough in all the milieus. On the other hand, beside Płock, the proportion of faithfuls who do not attend Sunday Holy Mass at all is really low. In Puławy the percentage of these people could be higher than that in Table 3.

According to the collected information, although they are overestimated, we can construct a typology of the respondents according to the frequency of their participation in Sunday Holy Mass. Generally speaking, faithfuls in the examined social environments may be divided into three groups: Sunday Catholics, holiday Catholics and nonpracticing Catholics.

The group of „Sunday Catholics” includes those people who attend Sunday Holy Mass regularly or unsystematically, where unsystematic participation implies attendance at least once a month. This category is the most common in the examined towns. The range of this category is determined by two factors namely, the

openness of an urban environment and its stability. Thus, we may state that the more heterogenous a social environment the lower indicators of „Sunday Catholics”.

Table 4. Types of the respondents according to the frequency of their participation in Sunday Holy Mass

Types of the respondents	Puławy N=941	Płock N=557	N. Huta N=515
Sunday Catholics	67.3	63.8	73.0
Holiday Catholics	24.6	25.1	20.8
Non-practicing	8.1	10.1	6.2

Similarly we may state that the more stable and integrated an urban milieu the higher the percentage of „Sunday Catholics”.

Then, the group of „holiday Catholics” includes those people who not only perform „rites de pasage”, but who go to church on important church holidays such as Christmas, Palm Sunday, Easter and All Souls' Day. Especially important for them becomes the cult of the dead and personal protection against death. The percentage of this category of Catholics is similar in almost all the parishes.

Finally, the group of „nonpracticing” persons includes those people who stopped going to church, but it does not mean that in their families the religious practices, at least those done but once, are not performed. The indicator for nonpracticing persons is not equal in all the social environments. This category is most numerous in Płock and less numerous in Nowa Huta.

The second compulsory religious practice, to which the sanction of mortal sin is attached, is Easter Holy Communion²¹. It is very hard to find the objective indicator for this practice. Many parishioners go to church outside their home parishes, and, what is more, parishes do not make statistics in this respect even at Easter. The only source on which a sociologist can base his analysis are self-declaration of the respondents. However, such self-declarations, concerning the frequency of receiving Holy Communion, can produce overstated data.

According to the information received from priests the authors of the research think that the indicators of the „paschantes” are in reality lower than those received from the self-declarations. However, irrespective of precise calculation of the indicators of

²² *Religijność miejska w dwudziestoleciu powojennym w Polsce* (Urban Religiosity in Poland in the Period of Twenty Years After the War), *op. cit.*, pp. 303—304.

Table 5. The indicators of "paschantes" (people receiving Holy Communion) according to environmental research in the years 1969—1971

Indicators of "paschantes"	Puławy N=941	Płock N=557	N. Huta N=515
paschantes	80.2	62.1	72.2
non-paschantes	14.7	37.6	26.4
not available	5.1	0.3	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

„paschantes" in the examined towns, we may assume that the indicators are similar to those observed in other Polish towns²².

Taking into consideration the indicators of „paschantes", achieved by means of the same method in all the examined towns, we may state that the hypothesis concerning „dominantes" may be applied also to „paschantes". In other words, the percentage of „paschantes" is determined by the type of a milieu and by the level of integration and stability of people living in a social environment.

Having all the above indicators of the attitudes towards religious practices we may make some comparisons among them, taking Puławy as an example. We find that the disparity between the indicator of „dominantes" and the percentage of Sunday Catholics is pretty wide. It depends on two factors, namely, on the proportion of „dominantes" and on that of irregular practitioners. We may formulate a hypothesis that the lower the percentage of „dominantes" and the higher the percentage of irregular practitioners, the wider the disparity between the number of „dominantes" and that of Sunday Catholics. This hypothesis would have to be verified by means of information more objective than that obtained from the questionnaire.

A still bigger disparity can be observed between the proportion of „dominantes" and that of „paschantes". It is a typical feature of Polish religiosity that a high percentage of Catholics take Easter Holy Communion despite neglecting Sunday Holy Mass. The collected information shows clearly the fact that the Easter duty is performed also by many holiday Catholics, i.e. by people who seldom go to church. Maybe, they are strongly influenced by tradition and a family environment. Comparing the gap between the indicators of „dominantes" and „paschantes" in different social environments it is impossible, however, to formulate a hypothesis that the more „closed" a social environment the wider the gap between these indicators, and vice versa. On the other hand, it seems that the hypothesis is justified. The fact that it is hard to

prove the hypothesis may be due to the heterogeneity of the sources from which information was taken.

To complete the analysis of performance of compulsory practices among the respondents I will focus now on the influence of some demographic and social features. As an example I will take the influence of these features on the category of „dominantes” in the Puławy region. We can observe that there is a strong statistical relationship between the structure of sex and the level of participation in Holy Mass. It means that sex exerts very important influence on the number of people present in church on Sunday. The percentage of women attending Sunday Holy Mass regularly (81.2%) is higher than that of men (75.5%) and consequently more men than women attend Holy Mass irregularly or rarely. There is also a strong statistical relationship between the age structure and the participation in Sunday Holy Mass. It corroborates the hypothesis that the curve of religious practices is shaped according to age. It means that the level of performing the Sunday practice is high among catholic children and youth (87.2% of children and 84.4% of youth attends Sunday Holy Mass regularly) then it diminishes among middle-aged people (71.1% — 74.6%) and goes up among older people (82.2%).

Finally, a somewhat weaker statistical relationship is observed between the structure of education and the indicators of participation in Sunday Holy Mass. The highest indicator of people attending Holy Mass regularly can be found among those with incomplete elementary education and with higher education (84.5% and 80.1% — 82.7% respectively). In this respect the urban environment of Puławy is not a typical one. Then, the lowest level of participation can be observed among people with completed elementary and secondary education (77.4% and 75.9% — 78.3% respectively).

Apart from the compulsory practices we may distinguish another type of religious practices, the so called „pious” practices. They comprise a „personal-voluntary” element. In the institutional model of religiosity these practices are treated as optional ones. However, some groups of Catholics in various milieus may consider them as compulsory and, what is more, with the sanction of mortal sin attached to them. Generally, however, they go beyond the minimum requirements of the Church and therefore they are considered as signs of special, more intensive religiosity²³. „Pious” practices are of a great positive value as the indicators of inner religiosity. The absence of them, however, does not prove that a person abandoned the Church.

²³ F. Boulard, *Premiers itinéraires en sociologie religieuse*, Paris 1954, pp. 113.

„Pious“ practices are very differentiated. There are practices private and public, regional and Church wide, strictly religious and socially customary. Many of them have a national, regional or local specificity. We will pay attention only to those practices about which it was possible to collect the necessary information and they will be described briefly on the example of Puławy.

The most common „pious“ practice is a everyday prayer said either individually or together with a family. Many Catholics consider the omission of this practice performed individually to be a mortal sin. However, not all the respondents pray regularly; some of them neglect prayer especially in the morning. Anyway, 55.7⁰/₀ of the respondents in Puławy declared that they pray somehow everyday. Compared to this indicator the percentage of persons who say their prayer together with their families is much lower. In Puławy it amounted to only 30.9⁰/₀. Thus, this type of prayer, which is of a great value as an element of the religious bond in the family, of its religious atmosphere, is not too common a phenomenon in the investigated region.

More important than the practice of everyday prayer is everyday participation in Holy Mass and frequent receiving of Holy Communion. However, only a small group of persons participates in everyday Holy Mass. According to information achieved by means of Sunday consultations, in Puławy this group amounts to only 3.2⁰/₀ of Catholics. Even more distinctive than the other mentioned practices is receiving Holy Communion on every Sunday during Holy Mass. In Puławy the index of those receiving Holy Communion was rather low but we can observe some specific changes in this respect. While in 1969 10.0⁰/₀ of people present at Holy Mass received Holy Communion, six years later, in 1975, the indicator increased to 12.9⁰/₀. At the same time, linking the participation in Holy Mass with receiving Holy Communion was more common among women than among men. It is characteristic that the increase of the number people attending Holy Mass who received Holy Communion was similar in both sex groups. While in 1969 5.4⁰/₀ of men and 13.0⁰/₀ of women present in the church received Holy Communion, in 1975 the indicators amounted respectively to 9.5⁰/₀ and 16.5⁰/₀. Thus it can be stated that the deepening of religious life which is manifested in this practice concerns to a greater extent women than men.

The analysis of „pious“ practices completed the picture of the attitudes towards the religious practices. The collected information makes it possible to distinguish the following groups of Catholics, according to frequency and intensity of their participation in religious practices:

- a) devout Catholics, who participate regularly in the compulso-

ry practices and who perform **most of the voluntary practices**. A specific feature of these Catholics is receiving Holy Communion everyday, every week or every month;

b) dutiful Catholics, who in principle attend Sunday Holy Mass regularly, though sometimes they miss it for justified reasons. They try, however, to receive Holy Communion more than once a year;

c) formal Catholics, who neglect Sunday Holy Mass but try to perform the Easter duty. Most likely they are influenced rather by tradition and sense of fulfilling „formality", than by the need of keeping contact with Sacrum;

d) holiday Catholics, who in part overlap the foregoing category of people. However, they differ from the formal Catholics because they go to church even less frequently and irregularly perform their Easter duty;

e) religiously indifferent Catholics, who sometimes go to church but neglect some occasional practices.

It would be difficult to give a precise percentage range of the groups. The above listed classification of Catholics is of a tentative character.

Conclusion

This general description of the results of research presented above shows that despite intensive industrialization the model of traditional religiosity still functions in urban parishes. The model is characterized by a strong attachment to „the faith of the fathers" and ritualism both in religious opinions and behaviour. We may link this model with a type of cultural-environmental religiosity, which is based on heritage rather than on personal choice of the Catholics. However, it is necessary to emphasize that such a model of religiosity is accepted only by a group of urban Catholics amounting to 40—45%.

As it was found, the majority of urban Catholics questions the model of traditional religiosity despite their emotional attachment to „the faith of the fathers". This process is connected with a change of the system of legitimizations justifying particular religious attitudes and behaviour. In traditional milieus the authority of the Church played an important role in this respect. In the milieus undergoing intensive industrialization this authority lose its importance. Participation in industrial culture leads to rationalization of attitudes and this, in turn, favours individualism and utilitarianism. As regards attitudes towards religion, it is observed first of all in se-

lective attitudes. The profile and range of these attitudes is the most characteristic feature of the urban environments under industrialization. „Selectivity“ reveals itself both in the ideological and ethical aspect of religious life. It consists either in rejecting altogether or questioning essential religious truths and norms of institutional morality. The most characteristic of this attitude is the preserving of the faith in God understood sometimes as a „Power Above“, and at the same time rejecting Christianity, Church and the faith in life after death. The process may be related to the phenomenon of noninstitutional religiosity, which becomes widespread in highly developed societies. The traditional model of religiosity is probably not adequate as a reference system for selective attitudes. In consequence, taking this model as the starting point, it would be hard to describe secularization as a phenomenon which becomes widespread because the examined people „refer“ present religious attitudes to quite another model of religious life. A more precise presentation of the features of this model is not an easy task.

„Selectivity“ is connected also with the gradual disappearance of the religious practices. In the investigated urban environments the level of religious practices does not prove that selective attitudes are permanently realized. However, it can be expected that along with the development of a new type of pluralistic society, relaxation in the sphere of religious behaviour will be greater than up to now.

Beside selective attitudes, which are most common in the investigated urban environments (about 30% of Catholics), one could also observe extreme attitudes towards the traditional model of religiosity. This group includes, on one hand, irreligious and religiously indifferent people, and, on the other hand, Catholics with intensive religiosity. As far as the former are concerned, it was found that they gave up already the traditional model of religiosity and either took the attitude of religious indifference or accepted an atheistic outlook. It is worth noting that some people, despite rejecting the traditional model of religiosity, still perform some religious practices e.g. during major holidays. The phenomenon is probably connected with an influence of the family environment on this category of people. As for the group of Catholics characterized by intensified religiosity is concerned, it is not easy to define what this religiosity is based on. As was found out, a group of Catholics was characterized by both intensive religious attitude and special religious involvement. These features are expressed, above all, in their conscious choice of the faith motivated by personal reflections, in putting the stress on a consequential element of religiosity and in a frequent practice of Holy Communion, as well as

active participation in the Mass and in undertakings launched by the parish. It was difficult to find out whether this group of Catholics accepted as their reference system the traditional model of religiosity or some other model, for instance, the one introduced by Vatican II. It seems that the group is most interested in reforms of the Church. Taking this into account it can be assumed that the second model is rather more adequate for the analysis of the indicators of religiosity in this group of Catholics. Dissemination of this type of Catholics in the examined social environments does not probably depend only on the quality of priesthood (some Catholics in this group criticize and avoid priests), but also on other factors. In total this group includes 10—15% of Catholics in the examined urban environments.

As it was pointed out, the greatest influence on changes of the traditional model of religiosity is exerted by demographic and social features of the respondents. The hypotheses referring to a relationship between sex, age, education and occupational structure and the level of the religious life of the examined persons were almost fully corroborated. One exception were the indicators of religiosity which were not statistically related to the mentioned variables. Thus, we may state that women are more religious than men. Similarly, younger and older generations are more religious than the middle one. In this case, however, there were some differences according to the analysed indicators of the religious life. The regularity described above is related to religious practices. Then, the level of religious life depends on the level of education — the higher the education the lower the religiosity. Finally, a differentiation of the religious life is influenced by an occupational structure. As it was proved, people involved to a greater extent in the creation of a new society show a lower level of religiosity. Out of all the mentioned variables the greatest influence on a differentiation of the level of religiosity is exerted by education. It proves that this factor is especially conducive to a reinterpretation of the traditional system of legitimizing religious attitudes and behaviour. Education is a source of „intellectual mobility” which contributes to the dissemination of „non-conformist” attitudes. What is more, education creates a possibility of participation in pluralistic culture, and this culture — as it is known — contributes to the disintegration of traditional religiosity.

Most of the factors analysed above perform the functions of „partial variables” which must be analysed together in order to explain changes in the traditional model of religiosity. Two or three of them may be accepted as more „global” variables and

they include family environment and the culture of a region on one hand, and the structure of education on the other. The former two factors are favourable to the maintenance of the traditional model of religiosity and the latter brings about changes in the model.