



## **From miner's wife to Scientist. Changes in social roles of women in Silesia**

Urszula Swadźba, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, urszula.swadzba@us.edu.pl

SWADŹBA, Urszula. From miner's wife to Scientist. Changes in social roles of women in Silesia. *Individual and Society*, 2011, Vol. 14, No. 1.

The article addresses the problem of the changing of social roles of women in Silesia. This is a special category, because for many years Silesian women have been stereotyped as inactive miners' wives. The article shows the evolution of these roles since the mid-nineteenth century, when industrialization began in the Silesia region, until modern times. The analysis was conducted on the basis of materials and studies of historians and sociologists focusing on Silesia. The position of social roles of women in Silesia have been changing gradually. Currently, professional work is written in the biographies of women. Based on the results of the research conducted by the author, the place of work in the lives of women will be shown.

Social roles, women, Silesia, change.

### **Introduction**

The issue of women has already been the subject of a number of theoretical and empirical studies. Currently we are witnessing the weakening of the cultural pressure pattern directed at women, to firstly fill the role of wife and mother. Sociological research being conducted suggests that barriers still exist in the professional promotion of women, and the problems resulting from the merger of social roles. This situation affects women in Poland, but especially in Silesia. During the long industrial period, Silesian women, especially the wives of miners, were regarded by fulfilling their roles as wives and mothers. Today, the situation is changing, and women are taking different roles within the Silesian society, combining roles of family with professional roles.

The paper aims to trace changes of social roles of Silesian women from the mid-nineteenth century i.e. the period of shaping industrialism. The analysis will be the socio-historical and be carried out based on the research of historians and sociologist focusing on Silesia and based on the author's own research.

### **1. The social roles of women in Silesia in the early evolution of industrialism**

The position of women in the nineteenth century resulted from historical factors. Silesia was then under Prussian rule. This area was subjected to rapid industrialization in the second half of the nineteenth century. Industrialization in Upper Silesia was mainly due to the existing coal seams. Consequently, there was a growing demand for workers, especially miners. A characteristic feature of Silesian families during this period was the strict separation of male and female roles.

The social role of women in this period stemmed from the role of professional men. Men were appointed to work outside the home, mainly in mining and metallurgy. Working conditions were very severe. In the

---

nineteenth century, miners worked about 12 hours and steelworkers about 15 hours per day.<sup>[1]</sup> The work continued throughout the whole week, even on Sundays. The boys were prepared to work in blue-collar, especially the sons of miners were destined to become miners themselves.<sup>[2]</sup> In fulfilling this role it was required for a professional to have a wife who took care of the house. Maturity was reached by a young worker after his military service, and then in life through marriage and starting a family.<sup>[3]</sup>

For women, getting married and having children were great values. In a Silesian family, the man played an important role as breadwinner, but no less important was the role played by his spouse in caring for her hard-working husband and family. This was due to the fact that men were at work for 12 hours a day and therefore women carried the burden of managing the household and raising children. The family, in particular the wife had to support the worker by not working professionally but keeping the house in "good order" and caring for the upbringing of children.<sup>[4]</sup> Such content was passed in the teaching of the Catholic Church.<sup>[5]</sup> The hard working day was followed by a common meal at home. His labors were rewarded through service at home (bathing, clean clothes, meals provided) and the serene atmosphere of the family. Keeping order at home, cleanliness and neatness were demanded from the woman. Her tasks included working on the farm and the livestock with the help of children and grandparents. Breeding livestock allowed for the reduction of expenditure on food.<sup>[6]</sup>

Silesian families consisted of many children and women had to take care of educational tasks and upbringing. That responsibility lay in its religious and patriotic upbringing of the children in the Polish spirit, their socialization and implementation of social roles. Implementation took place mostly through the work.<sup>[7]</sup> Due to the large number of descendants, each older child was required to work in the household and help with younger children. The mother was responsible for the upbringing of daughters (in their moral conduct), in order to prepare them for marriage and providing them with a dowry. Daughters had to be prepared to the management of the household and thriftiness.<sup>[8]</sup> Silesian families were characterized by a large moral conservatism, which was the result of the Church and the Catholic press.<sup>[9]</sup>

In the teaching of the Catholic Church it was repeatedly stressed that the woman's place was at home, but this had not always been the case.<sup>[10]</sup> Women in Silesia before World War I were taking work in the mines, mills and factories. In 1875, the Upper Silesian coal mines employed 5 462 women, and a further 2,041 women as smelters of zinc, iron and lead.<sup>[11]</sup> It was mostly minor work on the surface. The number of jobs increased during conjunctures, when there was no shortage of work and employers were then willing to hire women due to the lower cost of labor.

Mainly two categories of women worked: young girls before marriage and widows. The local population was sympathetic to this work because it allowed for the raising of money for the dowry of a young girl and the mending of the family budget. However, the Catholic Church was in opposition to this.<sup>[12]</sup> The work of widows was tolerated due to the reason of existence. They were burdened with children and after the death of their husbands - miners - had to ensure the maintenance of the family. Obtained mining widow's pensions were not always sufficient.<sup>[13]</sup>

In the opinion of the church work done by young girls had more negative than positive effects. Economically it had a positive effect, while morally it was negative as it pointed to the exploitation of workers by officials of the mine and increased premarital births.<sup>[14]</sup> A major complaint was the lack of time for thorough preparation in the household to carry out the future role of wife and mother.<sup>[15]</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the teaching of the Church indicated that women could contribute to events outside the home environment through charity activities such as helping poor children, girls at risk of "moral decline", etc. This activity allowed women to be involved in the wider environment, without sacrificing the main vocation of wife and mother.<sup>[16]</sup>

In conclusion it could be stated that during the formation of industrialism the social roles of women can be reduced to two levels:

- First, the role of women has focused mainly on the performance of tasks as a wife and mother. The role of the wife was complementary and was due to the nature of men's work
- Second, some women (young and widows) performed professional role. However, it was considered instrumental work, undertaken for reasons of human existence.
- At the beginning of the twentieth century, some women, especially the well-off, took roles outdoor,

realizing in social work.

## 2. The social roles of Silesian women during the interwar period

After Poland regained independence in 1918, much of the industrialized area of Upper Silesia formed part of it.<sup>[17]</sup> It was the most urbanized part of the country, which was significantly different to the rest of Poland. Silesia played a vital role in the economy of Poland. The autonomy of the Silesian voivodeship was a specific feature, which differentiated it from the rest of the country.<sup>[18]</sup> The autonomy of Upper Silesia worked towards the internal integration of the voivodeship, separating it from the rest of the country.

After regaining independence, Upper Silesia had virtually no intellectuals. Former German intellectuals had emigrated. The intellectuals who immigrated to Silesia came mainly from the former Austrian partition, where there were many intellectuals.<sup>[19]</sup> These intellectuals were mainly directed towards the teaching profession and state offices whereas those from the former Russian partition filled positions in the industry.<sup>[20]</sup> Working women were also among the arrivals.

In the interwar period, women from labor families worked hard at home. Sources indicate that their situation was often not enviable. Even in situations of physical violence and their husband's alcoholism husband they could not leave because they would not be able to provide for themselves and their children. Therefore, divorce and separation were not common, which does not mean that the family did not experience problems.<sup>[21]</sup> The roles of husband and wife were strictly separated. The most important task of women was running the household. In large families there was a lot of work. If the family had a small farm, women did not have much free time. They were responsible for taking care of the cleanliness of their homes or apartments. Silesian women were known for their excessive cleanliness during the interwar period.<sup>[22]</sup>

Another important task of Silesian women was also the raising of children. Silesian families were very conservative, based on Catholic morality. Girls were brought up very strictly to respect moral norms, some topics, such as sexuality, were taboo subjects.<sup>[23]</sup> Children were brought up to respect other people's property.<sup>[24]</sup> Silesian students were characterized by their respect for authority and discipline. It was common to show respect for older people, especially parents, father and mother.<sup>[25]</sup> Truthfulness and restraint in the expression of feelings were valuable. This resulted in avoidance of conflicts and disputes were alleviated. The whole process of education aimed to teach the younger generation that their behavior affected the harmony of family life for which they were responsible. The awareness of the value of both Family of Orientation and Family of Procreation were built. The traditional upbringing by Silesian mothers took place in the spirit of the Catholic Church which also played a big part.<sup>[26]</sup> It was believed that the best teacher for a child at school was a local teacher, and especially nuns who did not spoil what the child's family instilled.<sup>[27]</sup>

During the interwar period, the Silesian industry experienced a great economic crisis. This period of economic downturn caused a lack of employment for men.<sup>[28]</sup> Even the hired men were forced to take leave and work for a limited period. In this situation, there was no work for women in the industry as priority was given to men - the fathers of families. Only young girls worked, mainly as servants for richer people and on farms.<sup>[29]</sup>

Women were active in social organizations and women's associations. It was argued that self-education and additional courses for women were important, in order to acquire the qualifications needed for the good conduct of the household.<sup>[30]</sup> The Women's Association promoted the traditional family model, in which working women were only tolerated in certain circumstances. In the interwar period, however, a gradual shift in perceptions of family and the role of women followed. It was the result work done by immigrant women. Research historians suggest that in the twenties, in the period the organization of Polish schools in the entire province of Silesia, there was a greater influx of women than men. In 1935, the district of Świętochłowice, which employed the most teachers of the Silesia region, nearly two fifths of staff were women, in the district of Rybnik, which had the most schools in the region, women accounted for 40% of employees.<sup>[31]</sup> Such a high employment rate for women occurred mostly in areas most heavily populated in the so-called industrial part of the voivodeship. Work was mostly done by single women, but they often remained at work after getting married.<sup>[32]</sup> Married women who were working, however, raised concerns and objections. Silesian parents pointed to the different morals of immigrant teachers, especially women, consisting of wearing inappropriate clothes and having contempt for religious practices. It was emphasized that married teachers were not very interested in their responsibilities, and their altered states stimulated children's curiosity.<sup>[33]</sup> Therefore, in 1926, the Silesian Parliament introduced a "Celibacy bill". In accordance with the spirit of the law in the

---

voivodeship of Silesia, work in education could only be taken by unmarried women. In August 1926, 250 teachers were removed from the schools, and then a few dozen women who changed marital status were dismissed.[34] The purpose of the Act was to exempt jobs for men, saving reasons (holidays), and moral reasons. In addition to schools, higher educated women (with final exams) were employed in the administration offices. The vast majority of these women were immigrants as Silesian women were not yet qualified for this type of work.

This situation sought to change the development of professional education addressed to girls. 250 people graduated per year from Silesian teaching seminars, 75% of this group was girls.[35] Security Seminars in Myslowice trained staff for orphanages and kindergartens. Merchant and trade schools were established, where female students could receive thorough general and theoretical training.[36] For the purpose of developing a market of services, industrial and craft school were established. Gradually, local girls, after graduating from school and obtaining the necessary certificates, started appearing on the labor market. It was difficult to estimate what the percentage was, but it was certainly not very high. At the end of the interwar period more young Silesian women were working in services due to the growing market and the emergence of more jobs. Women in this manner realized that there were also other ways of self-realization than marriage, and women could combine professional and family life.

Summarizing this period, it should be noted that during the interwar period Silesian women generally did not change their social roles.

- The most important thing for them was the role of wife and mother. Professional roles were limited. This resulted in part from the objective situation of lack of work, during the Great Depression of Economics.
- Professional roles were definitely more often held by immigrant women. This gave the example to the younger generation of Silesian women which led to them choosing a different path in life.

### **3. Changes in social roles - the period of real socialism**

After World War II the industrialized part of Upper Silesia formed part of Poland, which changed its political system. The postwar period (The Forties and the Fifties) was a time of rapid economic demand for Silesian products (coal and steel). The Silesian industry created a huge demand for jobs. Initially, Silesian women traditionally worked only before marriage. However, widows, whose numbers increased after the war, also worked. Women took jobs in the industry, performing mostly ancillary works. Sometimes, however, women were also achieving equal success in jobs which were typically reserved for men.[37] The lack of professional activation favored the lack of qualifications. In Silesia the labor environment of the 40s and 50s did not provide for the customary education of girls.

Material conditions of families living in Silesia were very difficult in the forties, fifties and sixties. Families were mainly sustained by working men (laborers), and often in suburban environments from garden plots.[38] Family incomes were not very high. The family continued the complementary roles of male and female. These family roles were of high value for both men and women. Men worked professionally and expected from their wives, that after returning home they would not have any other responsibilities. Sociological studies conducted in the late fifties showed the traditional approach to career women.[39] The degree of activating the work of women was dependent on local conditions and the nature of the environment.[40] In the mining settlements (Czerwionka, Murcki), where there was a lack of jobs for women, between 7 to 10% of miners' wives with children worked professionally whereas in the urban district of Katowice - Bogucice the number was already 27%. In the total study group, the proportion of working women (mothers) was 16%.[41] And in the test environment at the time, mothers with children, employed in metallurgy accounted for approximately 35% of the population.[42] These differences may stem from the fact that the miners always earned more and their wives had no economic need to work. In the steel sector wages were generally lower and the vision of the traditional role of women was losing to the existential need.

In the mining environment, the attitude towards working women, from both men and women were generally negative. Women themselves felt that marriage, especially giving birth to a child was a natural factor to stop working. A major factor was the categorical opposition from the husband (miner). Also, men did not see the sense of women's work. The decisive factor here was the tradition, where "miner's honor" did not allow for women to work. Both parties also indicated that it was impossible to reconcile three-shift work of the husband with the work of his wife and household duties.[43] It should be noted that the qualifications of the miners wives were generally very low. Almost all had only primary education, and only a small number of those had completed vocational school or secondary education. Therefore,

they worked as unskilled laborers. The work was of an instrumental character and treated only as a temporary necessity.<sup>[44]</sup> Only inactive women in a younger age group were interested in working.

This situation began to change, however, in the sixties, due to the fact that more and more girls from working class families of autochthonous origin were graduating from vocation schools. Conducted sociological research indicated that they were more often taking work as skilled laborers.<sup>[45]</sup> This situation resulted from the fact that in the sixties and especially the seventies further development of the mining industry followed, so the men preferred to take up employment in this sector of the economy due to higher earnings. Therefore, part of Silesian women combined roles of parenting and professional training, continuing their career after having children, thus breaking the traditional fulfillment of social roles. This was often due to the force of the economic situation.<sup>[46]</sup>

In the seventies the financial situation of families improved due to rising living standards in the country. Families of miners, who were favored by the authorities, were particularly affected by this. They were shown in the media as a model, mothers who brought up the sons of miners were given awards.<sup>[47]</sup> Empirical studies conducted during those times indicated that family was of great value especially to Silesian women. Family ties started being more personal and emotional. Also, women gained more opportunities in the implementation of their personality through their careers.<sup>[48]</sup> The percentage of economically active women increased, some sections such as trade, education, and health- and social care were dominated by women.<sup>[49]</sup> The transformation of the age structure of working women occurred gradually. While in the fifties and sixties, the highest activity rates for women were characterized by the youngest age group, the oldest by the lowest, then in the seventies, levels of these indicators were equalized.<sup>[50]</sup>

The mining environment had changed. Studies have shown that 41% of miners' wives worked professionally, with the lowest economic activity characterized by women under 30 years old, and the highest - at the age of 30-34 years and 40 - 44 years.<sup>[51]</sup> The professional environment, which cultivated mostly the traditional system of awareness levels of sharing professional roles underwent transformation. These changes which occurred in the sixties and seventies were also shown in 1999 by empirical research done by the author of the article, where respondents were questioned about the professional roles of their mothers. They showed that 64.6% of respondents of Silesian origin had working mothers.<sup>[52]</sup> They worked mostly in services and often had practical vocations as a nurse or as a salesperson. Such a high percentage of respondents (Silesian) whose mothers worked professionally, provided proof that the traditional roles of men working as bread earners and women maintaining the household had changed.

Along with the general changing of the real situation, changes in attitudes towards women and work occurred. Sociological studies showed a peculiar ambivalence of attitudes, especially in the case of men.<sup>[53]</sup> In fact, they considered such work to be either a possibility or a necessity, but in relation to their own wives treated this work as a necessary evil, or referred to it as being negative. Any satisfaction which resulted from the career of their wives was solely due to the additional income which wives brought to the family budget and were thus only factors of an economic nature. Self-realization at work were not taken into account, and the wives of workers rarely voiced an opinion on this. Such aspects of psycho-social nature as: job satisfaction, self-value or self-realization of personality, were rarely seen as important. All the women surveyed indicated that work had negative consequences for their families.<sup>[54]</sup> However, paradoxically, young inactive women often saw work as a factor in development and creativity.

It should be noted that such a situation concerned women with vocational education who occupied lower positions at work. However, there was also another process. A decreased size of families, allowed women to enter professional life. The education of girls from local families were improving systematically. The norm was to obtain basic vocational education, but more often also graduating from technical secondary schools.<sup>[55]</sup> An important factor in the improvement of women's education in Silesia was the establishment of The University of Silesia in 1968, that provided courses in humanities, which were traditionally more popular among women. This allowed local women to complete higher education. Women starting their careers after graduation, was regarded by them as the norm. Work experience was not only a economical requirement, but also one of creativity and self-realization. The roles in the Silesian family changed. Studies indicated that in the case of women acquiring professional work, the domestic duties were taken over by men.

Summarizing this period, it should be noted that:

- In the period of real socialism, the roles of Silesian women changed partially. Women started working

---

professionally, however, the positions concerned were often those which required low skill and education and had mostly existential value.

- The starting of work by women had a great impact on the division of responsibilities in the family. Men had to take over part of the domestic roles and upbringing of the young generation.

#### **4.The period of systemic transformation - changes in roles of women**

The period of systemic transformation, which occurred after 1989, was a serious trial for the Silesian family. Disturbing phenomena such as job loss, unemployment, impoverishment of families severely affected Silesian families. Security of employment and earnings, which was known to the inhabitants of Silesia during the entire period of real socialism was not so obvious anymore. Pauperization of individuals and families was increasing, while others were having an increase level of life. Employees with higher education and high qualifications began to earn more than blue collar workers in mining.

According to sociological research family still proved to be of great value, particularly related to women. [56] However, it was subject to large changes. There was a decline in the number of marriages. In 2000 and later the average age of marriages shifted (the median age of bridegrooms in 2006 was 27.3 years and for women - 25.3 years). Especially the number of divorces have been rapidly increasing in recent years - double that of the year 2000. [57] However, there were fewer divorces in traditional Silesian communities. [58] In this period, in Silesia, the fertility rate of women decreased from 1.22 in 2000 to 1.17 in 2006. There is thus a very low generational replacement rate in families. Most children are born in families, although in recent years an increasing number of illegitimate births took place (in 2002 - 14% of the total in 2006 - 16.8% of the total). [59] Important factors which influenced these processes are the change in morality, the increased number of professionally active women, the larger number of women obtaining higher education and the changing of social roles often hinder the fulfillment of the maternal.

The financial/existential function is important to the families. However, it is not only the role of men anymore. The young generation appears to favor the joint responsibility of spouses for their families. Gradually, a progressive egalitarianism in the responsibility for maintaining family responsibilities can be seen. Also, men have gradually been taking over part of the duties that once belonged only to women. [60] Educational aspirations for sons and daughters equalized. In the mid-nineties the percentage of people who wanted higher education for their children was: 62.1% for sons and 64.4% for daughters. [61] The increase occurred in the educational aspirations of working-class families in Silesia. [62] The vast majority of parents thought that only higher education can prepare children, both son and daughter, to perform their professional role.

Sociological studies on the value of work carried out by the author of the article, indicate that Silesian women see work as an important value. [63] Such a statement as: "A job is needed to ensure that a person can fully develop their talents", indicates the acceptance of work as an axiological value in life. Acceptance of women exceeds men's approval. Women answered "strongly agree" (Female - 41.5%. Male - 37.1 %) more often. Also, more women believe that "Receiving money without having to earn it is humiliating" (strongly agree: Female - 44.3%, Male - 31.7%). Women also strongly accept the assertion, that one should never be forced to work unless one wants to (strongly agree: Female - 29.2%, Male - 20.7%). [64] The reasons for this state of affairs can be found in the conflict of maternal and professional roles. These results show the change in awareness and changes in the value systems of women in Silesia. Treating work by women as a value is also due to the fact that the situation in the Silesian families is changing. Men working in the mining industry have the opportunity to retire, often at the age of 45-50 years, thus women are the only professionally active people in the family. A recent study showed that professional roles in the family has changed. Men are already retired in more than 20% of families, and women work. Earnings obtained by women are thus very important for the budget, and their work is important to themselves because of the factor of creativity.

Due to the changes on the labor market, the work performed by women were also more widely accepted. [65] In Silesia there was an increased supply of jobs for women because of the development of the services market. [66] Professional careers are treated by both men and women as an expression of independence, the opportunity to gain money and the implementation of their personalities. Therefore, currently in traditional Silesian families girls are primarily being prepared to fulfill professional roles and a solid education serve to reach this. Since the nineties the percentage of female students in Silesian voivodeship has exceeded that of males by 5-7%. [67] The analysis of interviews and other previously conducted studies show the direction of change in the consciousness of the Silesian families. [68] This direction is independent from the size of one's home town and the education of one's parents. A sample

of one of the free interviews conducted by the author can serve as an example of the changes in the position and role of women:

"My great-grandmother was the wife of a miner, and sometimes worked in the woods. My grandmother brought up children, and later worked in a factory as a laborer. My mom finished her studies and works as a teacher. I finished chemistry at the Technical University in Gliwice and in 2009 I defended my PhD at the University of Belfast, Ireland, where I currently work. Work gives me great satisfaction. I discover new things. I work in an international research team. I am married, but I have put motherhood on hold. "Scientist, 28 years old, from Gostyń).

Obviously this is not a typical example, but a lot of women from local Silesian families, have completed their studies and perform well in their professional roles while at the same time combining these roles with those of the family. The conclusion is that the stereotype of Silesian women as being the unemployed wife of a miner has been put to rest.

In summary, the period of systemic transformation has brought big changes in the performance of social roles for women of Silesia:

- It was widespread among women of Silesian families to obtain higher education. Women began to take professional roles in masses, which was favored by factors such as the development of the service sector.
- A new quality feature is a change in family roles, greater egalitarianism and responsibility of both partners for the family. The attitude toward women and work changed.

### **Od ženy baníka k vedkyni. Zmeny v spoločenských rolách žien v Sliezske.**

Článok popisuje problematiku zmien v spoločenských rolách žien v Sliezske. Ide o špeciálnu kategóriu, pretože mnoho rokov boli sliezske ženy stereotypne vnímané ako nečinné manželky baníkov. Článok približuje evolúciu týchto rolí od polovice 19. storočia, keď v Sliezske začalo obdobie industrializácie, až po súčasnú dobu. Analýzy boli uskutočnené na základe materiálov historikov a sociológov zameraných na oblasť Sliezska. Pozícia spoločenských rolí sliezskech žien sa postupne mení. V dnešnej dobe je profesia žien popisovaná v životopisoch. Na základe výsledkov výskumu uskutočneného autorkou, bude poukázané na miesto práce v živote žien.

[1] „Praca”, 4. VII. 1890. „Katolik” 17. I. 1882, „Praca” 20. VI. 1890, „Katolik” 10. I. 1982; ŻYWIRSKA, Maria (Ed.). *Życiorysy górników*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Związku Zawodowego Górników w Polsce, 1949, p. 319-320.

[2] “Due to the large family, it was 15 people together, 17 including parents, and also because of my mother, immediately after graduating from school, I started working underground in Brada coalmine, where I worked for 2 years”. ŻYWIRSKA, M. *Życiorysy górników...*, s. 313-317.

[3] BUKOWSKA-FLOREŃSKA, Irena. *Rodzina na Górnym Śląsku*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2007, p. 63-74.

[4] „Praca” 25 luty 1890.

[5] „Praca” 25 luty 1890.

[6] BUKOWSKA-FLOREŃSKA, I. *Rodzina...*, s. 152.

[7] “It was necessary to bring coal and wood for my mother every day so that she had something to make the fire from and cook for my father when he came back from work as well as for us kids, as there were 8 of us... When autumn came every year I had to stock up on cabbage leaves from the fields in order to feed the animals. And when the time came I went together with my brothers to the spoil tip in order to pick up the old coal and wood to make fire”. ŻYWIRSKA, M. *Życiorysy górników...* s.315 - 316.

---

[8] „*Katolik*” 1872-1914, „*Monika*” 1876-1880.

[9] SŁADEK, Roman. *Wychowanie chrześcijańskie wg „Moniki”*. „*Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne*” 1982/XV, s. 121-123.

[10] „*Katolik*”, 9. III. 1883, nr. 19, 28. X. 1884, nr. 84, 30. I. 1885, 27. V. 1887. nr. 41.

[11] JONCA, Karol. *Polityka socjalna Niemiec w przemyśle ciężkim Górnego Śląska 1871-1914*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo „*Śląsk*”, 1966, p. 130.

[12] *Ibidem*.

[13] WANATOWICZ, Maria. Ubezpieczenia społeczne na Górnym Śląsku i w Zagłębiu Dąbrowskim w XIX i XX wieku. In: WANATOWICZ, M. (Ed.). *Śląskie konfrontacje historyczne (XIX - XX wiek)*. Katowice : Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1999, p. 9-31.

[14] “When a girl leaves school they will accept her to work, especially when she is pretty, and if the clerks are attracted to her, before nine months pass, the clerk will make a miner out of the loader under the condition of marriage” „*Katolik*” 3.IV. 1887.

[15] “Because girls work in mines and smelters, families are deteriorating... and even though one day the female labourer will get married, she cannot cook or sew a shirt or patch up holes, she does not know how to bake bread... a young mother does not know how to deal with a baby, the house is dirty, the food is bad... So the man, instead of coming home from work, goes to the pub to warm up with one drink and then returns home tipsy. He shouts, swears and hits. The happiness of the family disappeared forever, the kids are not brought up well either”. “*Katolik*” 3. VI. 1887. “For the Christian spirit and customs, women and girls working in industries, is a poison, the true moral disease and plague. The owners of mines, smelters and industries, as well as their clerks desperately want women to work, as their work is cheaper.” “*Katolik*” 5. VI. 1887

[16] „*Katolik*” 14 IV. 1910.

[17] Formally, Silesia became part of Poland on 15-06-1922

[18] Passed by the Parliament of the Republic on 15th July 1920, contained an internal mode of the whole province of Silesia in Polish state borders, giving Silesia autonomy with its own parliament and treasury. The German-Polish Upper Silesia Convention concluded at Geneva on 15th May 1922, referred to the division of Upper Silesia and part of the voivodeship in force until 1937. The Convention guarantees of civil rights and all licenses acquired prior to the change of state, the protection of religion and language, education and maintenance of social insurance in its current form, it provided the public the right to cross the border on the basis of circulating cards , regulate water supply, electricity, rail traffic, etc.

[19] At a timewhen the Polish lands belonged to the Austrian partition there was a possibility of development of Polish schools.

[20] WANATOWICZ, Maria. *Inteligencja na Śląsku w okresie międzywojennym*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1986, p. 87.

[21] GÓRNIKOWSKA-ZWOLAK, Elżbieta. *Szkic do portretu Ślązaczki*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo „*Śląsk*”, 2000, p. 185, 189.

[22] BUKOWSKA-FLOREŃSKA, I. *Rodzina...*, p.119, 139-219.

[23] GÓRNIKOWSKA-ZWOLAK, E. *Szkic do portretu...*, s. 139-219; GOJAWICZYŃSKA, Pola. *Ziemia Elżbiety*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Czytelnik, 1977.

[24] "Participation of crime in Silesia compared to other Polish areas was the lowest. There was a strikingly low degree of theft - 10% lower than the ratio between theft and other crimes ".Source: SZWEDOWSKI, Stanisław. *Nasilenie przestępczości w województwie śląskim*. „*Głos prawników śląskich*” 1938 nr 1 ;BŁASZCZAK-WACŁAWIK, Mirosława. *Miejsce i rola regionalnej kultury w procesach życia społecznego zbiorowości Górnego Śląska*. In: BŁASZCZAK-WACŁAWIK, Mirosława - BŁASIAK, Wojciech - NAWROCKI, Tomasz. *Górny Śląsk. Szczególny przypadek kulturowy*. Kielce: Wydawnictwo J.Schumacher,



1990, p.14; KOPEĆ, Eugeniusz. „*My i oni*” na Górnym Śląsku (1918-1939). Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk”, 1983, p. 44.

[25] Ibidem; BUKOWSKA-FLOREŃSKA, I. *Rodzina...*, s. 75-85; GORYŃSKI, Lech - ŁACIAK, Tadeusz - TRZASKA, Edward. *O karności w szkołach śląskich. „Chowanna”* 1937, s. 9.

[26] BUKOWSKA-FLOREŃSKA, I. *Rodzina...* p. 291-292.

[27] WANATOWICZ, M. *Obraz rodziny górnośląskiej w oczach przybyszy. „Zeszyty Chorzowskie”*.T. 2, 1997, p.204-205; SYSKA, Jan.Z *walki o Śląsk i szkołę powszechną. Wspomnienia z lat 1918-1939*.Opr. W. ZIELIŃSKI. Katowice, 1975.

[28] During the downturn, unemployment in Silesia, took on a very considerable size, particularly large in the thirties. In 1933 it was estimated that the unemployed was 135.6 thousand., or about one third of the workers. The peak unemployment rate of unemployment reached 10% of all inhabitants of the voivodeship of Silesia.Source: HREBENDA, Adam. *Górnośląska klasa robotnicza w latach międzywojennych 1922-1939*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1979, p. 109.

[29] GÓRNIKOWSKA-ZWOLAK, E. *Szkic do portretu...*, p. 139-219.

[30] KEMPA, Grazyna. *Edukacja dziewcząt i kobiet śląskich*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1996, p. 55-62; KEMPA, G. *Uwarunkowania szans życiowych kobiet na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1848-1939*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2001.

[31] GLIMOS-NADGÓRSKA, Anna. *Polskie szkolnictwo powszechne województwa śląskiego (1922-1939)*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2000, p. 162-163.

[32] Overall in Silesia worked professionally 115 348 women, representing 25% of all women. Among working women, the single and the young dominated. Only 4.5% were married women. Source: HREBENDA, A. *Górnośląska klasa robotnicza...*, p. 72-75; WANATOWICZ, M. *Obraz rodziny śląskiej...* , s. 209.

[33] WANATOWICZ, M.*Ludność napływowa na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1922 - 1939*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1982, p. 292-293.

[34] GLIMOS-NADGÓRSKA, A. *Polskie szkolnictwo powszechne...*, p. 182-183.

[35] Ibidem, s. 166-167.

[36] "In Upper Silesia, the first of the craft establishments was a Female Vocational School in Rybnik, the school of the Ursuline Sisters est 1926. Source: KEMPA, G. *Edukacja dziewcząt...*, p. 106.

[37] SUCHACKA, Wanda - STELMACH, Kazimierz. *Jadwiga Niewolik będzie pierwszym wytapiaczem*. Warszawa: Biblioteka Przdowników Pracy nr 66, 1951.

[38]CZAUDERNA, Danuta. *Rodzina robotnicza w śródmieściu Katowic. „Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne”*. T.12. 1977, p. 184-231.

[39] MROZEK, Wanda. *Rodzina górnicza Przekształcenia społeczne w górnośląskim środowisku górniczym*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk”, 1965, p. 82-98; ADAMSKI, Francizek. *Hutnik i jego rodzina. Badania nad środowiskiem zawodowym hutnika oraz składem i typem rodziny hutniczej*.Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk”, 1966, p. 91-108.

[40] MROZEK, W. *Rodzina górnicza ....*, p. 121.

[41] Ibidem.

[42] ADAMSKI, F. *Hutnik i jego rodzina ....*, p. 123.

[43] MROZEK, W. *Rodzina górnicza...*, s. 127-135.

[44] Ibidem, s. 128.

- [45] KASPROW, Ewa. Czynniki adaptacji kobiet do zawodów tradycyjnie męskich. „*Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne*”, T.10/1972, p. 205-311.
- [46] SWADŹBA, U. *Śląski etos pracy. Studium socjologiczne*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2001, p. 85.
- [47] Najwyższe uznanie dla górniczych matek „*Trybuna Robotnicza*” z 29. XI. 1971, Toast na cześć rodziny „*Trybuna Robotnicza*” z 23. XII. 1971, Owoce rzetelnego trudu „*Trybuna Robotnicza*” z 4. XII 1971.
- [48] MROZEK, W. *Górnośląska rodzina robotnicza w procesie przeobrażeń*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląski Instytut Naukowy, 1987; ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, Wojciech (Ed.). *Wartości a style życia rodzin*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytet Śląskiego, 1992.
- [49] *Roczniki statystyczne województwa katowickiego. 1974, 1978*. Katowice: Wojewódzki Urząd. Statystyczny, 1974, 1978.
- [50] FRĄCKIEWICZ, Lucyna - STRUBELT, Waclaw. *Spoleczne problemy miast przemysłowych*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej, 1988, p. 134.
- [51] JACHER, Władysław. *Socjologiczne aspekty wprowadzania czterobrygadowego systemu pracy w górnictwie węgla kamiennego*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice, 1981.
- [52] SWADŹBA, U. *Śląski etos...*, p. 136-137.
- [53] MROZEK, W. *Górnośląska rodzina robotnicza ...*, s. 103-111.
- [54] Ibidem, s. 108.
- [55] SWADŹBA, U. *Śląski etos...*, p. 94-99; KOSECKI, Wiesław. Wybór szkoły i zawodu przez młodzież pochodząca z rodzin górniczych. „*Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne*”. T.20, 1987, p. 139-155.
- [56] BUDZYŃSKA, Ewa. *Obraz rodziny u katowickiej młodzieży*. In: ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, W. (Ed.). *Rodzina wobec wartości. Socjologiczne studium rodzin wielkomiejskich. Na przykładzie Katowic*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Instytut Górnośląski, 1999, s. 70-83; ZYGMUNT, Agata. *System wartości rybniczian*. In: SWADŹBA, U. (Ed.). *Śląski świat wartości*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Gnome - Uniwersytet Śląski”, 2008, s. 49-64; ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, WOJCIECH. *Troska o rodzinę czy zbijanie majątku?* In: ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, WOJCIECH (Ed.). *Rodzina w środku Europy. Rybnik - Nitra - Hradec Kralowe - Szeged*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytet Śląski, p. 147-170.
- [57] FILIPCZYK-HALLADIN, Barbara. *Sytuacja społeczno-demograficzna rodziny. Stan i przeobrażenia, kierunki przemian*. In: ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, W. (Ed.). *Rodzina w województwie katowickim. Opracowania i raporty*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Instytut Górnośląski., 1998, s. 27-33. FILIPCZYK-HALLADIN, Barbara. *Procesy demograficzne na Śląsku*. „*Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne. Seria Nowa*” 2010. T. 1., s. 70-82; ZYGMUNT, Agata. *Demograficzny obraz województwa śląskiego na tle przemian ludnościowych w Polsce - szanse, zagrożenia, prognozy*. „*Studia Socjologiczne*” 2009 nr 4., s. 167-190.
- [58] ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, W.: *Rodzina jako wartość w tradycji kulturowej Górnego Śląska*. In: ZIEMSKA, Maria (Ed.) *Rodzina współczesna*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2001, p. 84.
- [59] FILIPCZYK-HALLADIN, B. *Procesy ...* s. 79.
- [60] WĘGRZYN, Katarzyna - WĘGRZYN, Grzegorz. *Sytuacja materialno-bytowa rodzin*. In: ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, W. (Ed.) *Rodzina wobec wartości...*, s. 9-17; BUDZYŃSKA, E. *Struktura rodziny katowickiej*. In: ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, W. (Ed.). *Rodzina wobec wartości...*, s. 215; ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, W. *Rodzina jako wartość ...*s. 78-79; KISIEL, Alexandra. *Rodzina - tradycyjna czy nowoczesna?* In: SWADŹBA, U (Ed.). *Praca, rodzina, obowiązki czyli o stylu życia Rybniczian*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Gnome”, 2007, p. 44-54; BUDZYŃSKA, E. *Struktura rodziny górnośląskiej z perspektywy badań socjologicznych*. „*Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne. Seria Nowa*”. 2010, T. 1., p. 209-225.
- [61] ZAGAŁA, Zbigniew. *Edukacyjne i zawodowe aspiracje mieszkańców Katowic*. In: ŚWIĄTKIEWICZ, W. (Ed.). *Katowice. Miasto i jego mieszkańcy*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Instytut Górnośląski, 1995, p. 53;

[62] SWADŹBA, U. *Śląski etos...*, p. 207-213; .SWADŹBA, U. *Wykształcenie jako wartość . Ewolucja świadomości Ślązaków*. In: JACHER, Władysław - KLASIK, Andrzej. (Ed.). *Region w procesie przemian. Aspekt socjologiczny i ekonomiczny*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Gnome”, 2005, p. 75-86.

[63] SWADŹBA, U. *Miejsce pracy zawodowej w życiu kobiet śląskich*. In: SWADŹBA, U. (Ed.). *Praca czy rodzina? Dylematy kobiet śląskich*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Gnome”. Katowice 2009, p. 62-78.

[64] *Ibidem*, p. 68.

[65] ROJEK-ADAMEK, Paulina. *Kobieta silna, kobieta mądra*. In: GAWRON, Grzegorz - PACTWA, Bożena. *Czynniki integracji i reintegracji zawodowej kobiet na regionalnym rynku pracy*. Tychy: Śląskie Wydawnictwa Naukowe, 2008, p. 157-178; PACTWA, B. *Pracujące kobiety na lokalnym rynku pracy*. In: GAWRON, G. -- PACTWA, B. *Czynniki integracji i reintegracji zawodowej kobiet...*, s. 127-156; SWADŹBA, U. *Praca jako wartość w życiu Ślązaków*. In: SWADŹBA, U. (Ed.). *Śląski świat*. p. 73-78.

[66] MUSTER, Rafał. *Program Operacyjny kapitał ludzki 2007-2013 a badania rynku pracy*. In: GAWRON, G. - PACTWA, B. *Czynniki integracji i reintegracji zawodowej kobiet...*, p. 207-212.

[67] *Roczniki Statystyczne Województwa Śląskiego. 2001 - 2008*. Katowice: Wojewódzki Urząd Statystyczny w Katowicach, 2002 - 2008.

[68] SWADŹBA, U. *Od rębacza do socjologa. Zmiany struktury społeczno-zawodowej w tradycyjnych społecznościach śląskich*. In: SIWIK, Anna - HABER, Lesław. (Ed.). *Od robotnika od Internauty. W kierunku społeczeństwa informacyjnego*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo AGH, 2008, p. 125-140.