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MODEL I WZÓR OSOBOWY KSIĘDZA PARAFIALNEGO W INTERPRETACJI SOCJOLOGICZNEJ I W WYOBRAŻENIACH KATOLIKÓW DOROSŁYCH W POLSCE NA PRZEŁOMIE XX I XXI WIEKU

MODEL AND PERSONAL PROFILE OF A PARISH PRIEST IN SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION AND IN THE IMAGES OF ADULT CATHOLICS IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES

Streszczenie

Prezentowany artykuł składa się z dwóch części: teoretycznej i empirycznej. W części teoretycznej autor ukazuje dwie kwestie: metodologiczne założenia badań podjętych w artykule i socjologiczną interpretację modelu i wzoru osobowego księdza parafialnego. W części empirycznej ukazuje i analizuje z socjologicznego punktu widzenia wyobrażenia dorosłych katolików polskich dotyczące modelu i wzoru osobowego księdza parafialnego. W tych wyobrażeniach mieszczą się postawy i oceny obejmujące nastawienie księży parafialnych do modelu kapłana obowiązującego w Kościele Rzymskokatolickim. Podstawę dla tej analizy stanowią wyniki badań ankietowych, które zostały zrealizowane przez socjologów w minionym i obecnym wieku w parafiach wiejskich i miejskich. Badania te wykazały, że środowiskowy model i wzór osobowy księdza parafialnego ukazywany przez dorosłych katolików polskich nie jest identyczny z modelem kapłana postulowanym w doktrynie teologicznej Kościoła instytucjonalnego. W wielu aspektach i wątkach różni się on od modelu oficjalnego, na co wskazują wyobrażenia badanych katolików dorosłych dotyczące wprost tego modelu. Różnicę tę potwierdzają wyniki prezentowanych tu badań socjologicznych. Postawy i oceny badanych katolików dorosłych dotyczące modelu i wzoru osobowego księdza parafialnego były niekiedy istotnie zróżnicowane przez ich cechy osobowe i społeczne oraz zależne od środowiska parafialnego (od typu parafii – wiejskiej i miejskiej), a także od uwarunkowań wspólnoty lokalnej. Oceny pozytywne i krytyczne respondentów dotyczące modelu i wzoru osobowego księdza parafialnego były także ściśle powiązane z ich globalnym stosunkiem do wiary w Boga i do praktyk religijnych.

Abstract

The presented article consists of two parts: theoretical and empirical. In the theoretical part, the author shows two issues: the methodological assumptions of the research undertaken in the article and the sociological interpretation of the model and personal pattern of the priest on duty in a parish. In the empirical part, he shows and analyzes from a sociological point of view the ideas of adult Polish Catholics regarding the model and personal pattern of a priest working in a parish. In the empirical part, I show and analyze, from a sociological point of view, the ideas of adult Polish Catholics regarding the model and personal pattern of a priest working in a parish. In the imagination of Catholics, there are their attitudes and assessments, including the attitude of such priests to the model of a priest that is valid (functions) in the Roman Catholic Church. The basis for this analysis are the results of surveys carried out by sociologists in the past and present century in rural and urban parishes. These studies have shown that the community model and personal pattern of the priest serving in a parish postulated theological doctrine of the institutional Church. In many aspects it differs from the official model, which is indicated by the views of the surveyed adult Catholics directly regarding this model. This difference is confirmed by the results of the sociological research presented here. The attitudes and assessments of the surveyed adult Catholics regarding the model and personal pattern of the priest who serves in a parish were sometimes significantly by their personal and social characteristics and the parish environment (the type of parish – rural and urban), as well as the specificity of the local community. Positive and negative (critical) assessments of the respondents regarding the model of the priest serving in a parish were also closely related to their global attitude to faith in God and religious practices.

Keywords: Catholics, priest, pastor, sociology, pattern, surveys

Introduction. Theoretical and methodological assumptions of research

In the framework of the ecological paradigm concerning the parish priest, as perceived within the religious and social awareness of lay Catholics, lies his authority and position within the institutional Church and broader society. Simultaneously, the established archetype of the priest, as manifested in ecclesiastical doctrine regarding hierarchical priesthood and the operations of the institutional Church, serves as an ideal benchmark for scrutinizing indicators related to parishioners' affiliation with their clergy. In other words, it can be said that the environmental model of the priest is based on the theological and canonical status of the hierarchical priesthood as well as local customs and traditions expressing the desires and expectations of believers and religious people related to the personal model and the social role of the priest. The basis for the analysis of the undertaken problem are the results of sociological research on this subject carried out in the second half of the 20th century and in both decades of the 21st century.

Subsequently, the study focused on the sociological delineation of the individual's personal archetype and adopted a sociological perspective in understanding the personal

archetype and model of a parish priest. This approach was regarded as a theoretical foundation for scrutinizing indicators related to the perception and assessment of this archetype and model of a parish priest among the adult Polish Catholic population.

a) Sociological approach to the model and personal pattern of a human being

In each epoch, personal patterns and models of various phenomena are created and disseminated with varying frequency, among which some are only propagated, while others are actually implemented. These two concepts and states of reality are defined differently by sociologists as researchers of people's social lives. For example, Antonina Kłoskowska (1919–2001), a Polish sociologist, professor at the University of Łódź and the University of Warsaw, noted that "a personal pattern is a certain regularity, i.e. a relatively stable structure of human behavior, which is conditioned by socio-cultural factors. Patterns of human behavior expand – propagate. This property allows us to say that they are dynamic in nature, they are not only an expression, but also a factor of the uniformity of human behavior. They are a pattern of typical ways of actual behavior that are widespread within a given social circle[1].

Referring to Robert King Merton (1949), an American sociologist and professor at the Columbia University in New York, Kłoskowska points to two types of human cultural personal patterns: open patterns – conscious behavior, and hidden patterns – unconscious behavior. The author then explains that "as soon as we move from the realm of direct action to the reflection and reflection of the regularity of behavior in symbolic terms of any kind, the notion of a pattern is replaced by the notion of a model."[2] In her opinion, "the model refers to ideas about behavior, so in relation to the personal model it does not reflect reality, but propagates and disseminates certain ways of human behavior in this reality; a model is always a conscious model, it is a set of norms or ideas related to a specific sphere of social activity, formulated in words or in an image, for the purpose of familiarization[3].

Thus, the model is only a proposal of behavior, a set of features and attitudes that are conceived and then created by specific people. The author indicates two types of models: "propagated ones, which are produced for someone else's use and popularized in the press and other mass communication environments, and environmental models, which are the own product of the groups and environments to which they directly refer; there are also so-called

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[1] Antonina Kłoskowska, „Wzory i modele w socjologicznych badaniach rodziny", *Studia Socjologiczne* 1 (1962): 37.
[2] Antonina Kłoskowska, „Modele społeczne i kultura masowa", *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 2 (1959): 49–50.
[3] Kłoskowska, „Wzory i modele w socjologicznych badaniach rodziny", 45.

pure models, i.e. those that are devoid of counterparts in the sphere of social patterns. These models are promoted and sometimes completely rejected by the society[4].

According to Alicja Kuczyńska, psychologist, professor at the Institute of Psychology at the Faculty of Pedagogy, Psychology and Sociology, "a role model is an image of a way of being or acting in the world, an image that is socially treated as a value or a set of values worth following, which can be: passive, blind, mechanical, as unconscious duplication of images, repetition of perceived actions and imitation resulting from the conscious adoption of a certain scale of values[5]. In her understanding, "patterns of behavior are disseminated in various ways. Unreflective imitation and empathy play a role here. In most cases, however, the actors themselves are aware of the patterns of behavior they are following. Even people who are not very capable of reflecting on their own actions are able to say how they usually act in their society in a given situation, or how they should act[6].

In the light of this approach, it can be stated that a personal model is a realistic behavior, a set of specific features that can be found in a person, and it is determined by a set of norms and ideas related to the performance of specific social roles and functions. The personal model for an individual or a group is usually a human figure, which is the object of their aspirations[7].

In the modern world, personal patterns and models play an important role in the life of every human being, they are a kind of a kind of broadly accepted fashion. Why is this happening? A person consciously or unconsciously imitates other people or wants to imitate them in his own behavior and actions, wants to match them or "race" with them in pursuit of specific goals. In the opinion of Alicja Kuczyńska, "the trend of more intensive and constant imitation of others is caused by the disappearance of traditional authorities that ensure human security and the emergence of others that do not guarantee such security, and additionally weaken the sense of a separate identity of one's own "I", which deepens the need for imitation of existing patterns. As a consequence, a person adapts to existing patterns, so he can only be confident when he lives as others expect him to be. If we do not live up to this image, we not only expose ourselves to criticism and even greater isolation, but we risk losing our

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[4] Kłoskowska, „Wzory i modele w socjologicznych badaniach rodziny", 46.
[5] Alicja Kuczyńska, *Wzory modne w życiu codziennym* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1983), 34–35.
[6] Kuczyńska, *Wzory modne w życiu codziennym*, 39.
[7] Józef Baniak, *Portret księdza w wyobrażeniach i ocenach polskiej młodzieży. Studium socjologiczne* (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 2013), 162.

personality identity, which is synonymous with the threat of losing our sanity. The striving to be like people grows – and for very different reasons – into the rank of a basic life principle[8].

Such situations are quite common, they occur in every social group and community, so also in the environment of the clergy in general and in the lives of individual priests. Undoubtedly, they affect the perception and assessment of the personal model and the model of the parish priest by adult Catholics in various social environments, including rural and urban parishes.

b) Methodology Employed in the Research

Each research study has a specific general objective and specific objectives. This goal is to enrich the state of knowledge about the studied phenomenon or a set of phenomena and facts. Research achievements can have multiple purposes and different usefulness. Therefore, apart from the cognitive purpose, they can serve practical purposes[9].

The aim of this study is to show, in the light of the results of sociological research and nationwide social surveys carried out at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, the view and assessment of adult Polish Catholics regarding the personal model and the model of the parish priest, perceiving their approach and assessment in the field of "continuity and change". on the canvas of both centuries. In other words, an attempt will be made here to answer the question of whether in this situation we will be dealing with a regression leading to the disappearance of the positive attitude and assessment of adult Polish Catholics, or with the persistence of stabilization and durability of this attitude and assessment of parish priests? Both directions of this process (durability and change) will depend on various factors, including the demographic and social characteristics of the adult Catholics surveyed, as well as the socio-cultural and political conditions that occurred in both centuries and influenced the religiosity of Catholics, including their recognition institutional priesthood, social and religious position of parish priests. The goal defined in this way also assumes the adoption of an adequate research procedure, i.e. establishing a framework for research issues, formulating the main research problem, formulating a general hypothesis and specific hypotheses, selecting appropriate methods and techniques used in sociology required for a detailed description and analysis of indicators of cultic involvement of adult Catholics in the field of compulsory and optional repetitive religious practices. Such assumptions were made by all sociologists of religion in their empirical research on this subject.

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[8] Kuczyńska, *Wzory i modele w życiu codziennym*, 23.
[9] Wacław Pytkowski, *Organizacja badań i ocena prac naukowych* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1985), 189.

In the methodological literature, one can find various definitions of the research problem and the scope of research issues formulated by representatives of the social sciences and humanities. For example, Stefan Nowak, a sociologist and professor at the University of Warsaw, believed that a research problem is "a specific issue that a researcher must solve using procedures and methods used in a given field of knowledge. This issue can be formulated in the form of one general question or a set of specific questions, to which a sociologist (or other researcher) should find an adequate answer, in accordance with the subject of the scientific discipline practiced"[10].

In turn, Chava Frankfort-Nachmias and David Nachmias, specialists in the methodology of sociology, political science, pedagogy and psychology, claim that "a research problem is an intellectual stimulus that evokes a response in the form of scientific research. Not all intellectual stimuli can be studied empirically, and not all human behavior is guided by scientific knowledge. In fact, the basic assumptions made in science cannot be tested empirically. In general, problems that cannot be empirically substantiated (i.e., cannot be identified with observable behaviors) or that involve subjective preferences, beliefs, values, or likes, do not lend themselves to empirical study." Still, some subjective preferences or beliefs can be tested by scientific means in the same way that scientists study other empirical phenomena. Let us emphasize, however, that it is not subjective preferences that are the subject of the study, but the reasons why people take certain positions, and sometimes the behavior resulting from these beliefs. In addition, for a research problem to be empirically justified, it must be clearly and precisely formulated. Lack of clarity and accuracy can lead to unclear results that can be contradictorily interpreted[11].

The basic research problem that I will focus on in this study are the following questions: how is the model and personal model of the parish priest imagined by adult Catholics in Poland in the second half of the 20th century and in the first and second decade of the 21st century? Is their approach to the model and personal pattern of the parish priest adequate to the model of the priest found in the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, or are these approaches divergent? This issue can be broadly formulated in the form of the following question: what was the dynamics of perceiving and evaluating the personal model and the model of the parish priest by adult Polish Catholics in the assumed period of the turn of both centuries? To what extent was the perception and assessment of the personal model and the

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[10] Stefan Nowak, *Metodologia badań socjologicznych* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1985), 220.
[11] Chava Frankfort-Nachmias, David Nachmias, *Metody badawcze w naukach społecznych*, transl. Elżbieta Hornowska (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, 2001), 67–68.

model of the parish priest of the surveyed adult Catholics in Poland permanent and stable despite the change of time (in the new century), and to what extent did it change in a negative direction, differing from the official model in the Church? What factors influenced both trends – continuity and change – in the perception and assessment of the personal model and the model of the parish priest by the surveyed adult Polish Catholics in the assumed period of the turn of the century? The answers to these questions are based on the results of nationwide public opinion polls and many sociological studies that were carried out during this period.

What is the research problem and what constitutes it in sociological studies of social, cultural and religious phenomena and facts? It should be noted that there are many definitions of research issues. Stefan Nowak points out that "the subject matter of scientific research is a set of questions or, more often, a hierarchical system of questions of this kind, in which the condition for answering a more general question in this system is earlier answers to more detailed questions. These questions concern certain "objects" in the literal sense and events or processes to which they are not subject, and which define the more freely understood "object" of interest, that is, the field of interest to the researcher of social phenomena that he wants to know. An important procedure before proceeding to define the research problem is the exclusive and exhaustive distinction between the subject of research (objects, phenomena) and the research problem (questions concerning these phenomena)"[12]. The research issues in this study are formed by detailed questions arising from the main problem, for example, how the demographic and social characteristics of the surveyed adult Catholics, their family environment, type of their own parish, global declarations of faith and religious practices of the surveyed Catholics differentiated the perception and assessment of the personal model and the model of the parish priest, attitudes towards the institutional church and towards the clergy?

The subject of this sociological study are adult Polish Catholics who participated in public opinion polls and sociological research on the personal model and the model of the parish priest, aged 25-65, which was taken into account by researchers of this issue.

The concept of a thought process aimed at solving a given research problem is based on the correctness of putting forward hypotheses – general and specific. Hypotheses are to determine the relationships between variables and have a strictly limited range, they must be built on the basis of scientific knowledge. The results of empirical research determine the correctness or falsehood of a given hypothesis. So what is a hypothesis? There are many

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[12] Stefan Nowak, *Metodologia badań społecznych* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1970), 30.

definitions of a hypothesis, and their variety depends to a large extent on the specificity of the scientific discipline represented by a particular researcher. According to Stefan Szostkiewicz, "a hypothesis is a reason not yet accepted, considered in the course of trying to explain a fact, and which we submit only to the verification procedure"[13]. Wacław Pytkowski, on the other hand, will add here that "we make a hypothesis when we are unable to explain the facts and phenomena found by means of sentences previously considered personally true"[14].

The hypotheses put forward in this scientific study are both theoretical and empirical in nature, and also oscillate around specific problems presented in its subsequent parts. In the theoretical hypothesis, I assume, following other researchers, that in the conditions of radical social, political, economic and cultural changes that took place in the second half of the 20th century, in the initial phase of transformation in Poland there was a fundamental continuity of positive perception and evaluation of the personal model and the model of the parish priest among adult Catholics. Later, at the end of the last century, as well as in the first and second decades of the 21st century, there was a slow and then an accelerated decline in the positive perception and evaluation of the personal model and the model of the parish priest in the environment of adult Polish Catholics. The decline in positive perception and evaluation was more radical in the second decade of the current century, especially in large and large cities. However, this regression could be noticed in medium and small towns, as well as in rural parishes to a lesser extent and scope. At the end of the second half of the 20th century, the criticism of parish and religious priests was already noticeable, especially regarding their personal morality and political commitment, secularization of the style and mode of their priestly life. This criticism intensified clearly at the turn of the first and second decade of the 21st century, undoubtedly meaning the strengthening or intensification of the phenomenon of secularization in Poland, the processes of secularization in everyday and family life, the disappearance of the religious dimension of Sunday and major church holidays. Pointing out defects in the life, professional work and personal behavior of priests had a direct impact on negative changes in the personal model and profile of the parish priest in the adult Catholic environment, which functioned in the doctrine and pastoral work in the Church. These changes occurred even among people who are deeply religious and regularly practice religious worship, not to mention the attitudes of people who are religiously indifferent and non-believers or resigning from religious practices. This hypothesis will result in detailed

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[13] Stefan Szostkiewicz, *Procedury i techniki badań socjologicznych* (Warszawa: Wyższa Szkoła Nauk Społecznych, 1964), 38.
[14] Wacław Pytkowski, *Organizacja i ocena prac naukowych* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1985), 155–156.

empirical hypotheses related to the impact of demographic and social characteristics of adult Catholics, as well as other independent variables, on their perception and assessment of the personal model and profile of the parish priest. These hypotheses will be formulated in the following parts of the study.

The collection of cognitively valuable source materials, the results of many different monographic studies and nationwide surveys, which allowed to capture a fairly complete picture of the attitude of adult Polish Catholics to the personal model and the model of the parish priest in the adopted period of the turn of the century, and at the same time to develop this sociological study and provide In order to obtain reliable answers to the basic question and numerous detailed questions, it required the adoption of a complex research procedure, i.e. a research procedure that would enable the achievement of the assumed goal. Appropriate methods and techniques used in empirical sociology and analytical sociology also significantly helped in achieving this goal. During the development of various source materials collected in the form of compact and partial publications, the results of sociological research and the results of numerous public opinion polls, carried out on various methodological grounds, I used the following methods: historical and comparative, selection and selection of source materials and analysis of their content, sociological analysis of the existing studies and research results, the statistical method and the correlation of variables, and the technique of tables[15]. The indicated procedures, methods and research techniques turned out to be helpful in the preparation of this sociological study. The category of "adult Catholics" consisted of people aged 25–65 who participated in the sociological research presented here. The authors of the research and social surveys presented here included their respondents in these age categories. It should be noted that the sociological research and public opinion polls presented here were carried out using various methods and techniques, and this diversity made it difficult to accurately compare their results and formulate statements and general conclusions.

The article's structure comprises three components: a sociological examination of the model and personal archetype of an individual; a sociological investigation into the model and personal archetype of a parish priest; the archetype and role model of a parish priest in the perceptions of adult Polish Catholics. A detailed presentation of the results of these studies

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[15] Earl Babbie, *Badania społeczne w praktyce*, transl. W. Betkiewicz et alii (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2007), 353–360; Hubert C. Blalock, *Statystyka dla socjologów*, transl. M. Tabin et alii (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1977), 430–437; Grzegorz Lisowski, „Praktyczne problemy z doborem próby do badań", in: *Metody statystyczne w socjologii*, ed. K. Szaniawski (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1968), 58–60.

will allow us to see the changes in the attitude of adult Polish Catholics to the model and personal model of the parish priest that occurred at the turn of the two centuries.

1. Sociological Perspectives on the Model and Role Model of a Parish Priest

The formal definition of the personal model and profile can be adapted to the personal model and profile of the priest and filled with theological and social content. Władysław Piwowarski believed that the expression "model of a priest" can be used in a triple sense: "1) as an official model, expressed in Catholic social doctrine, 2) as a propagated model, expressed in various forms of ecclesiastical meaning, 3) as a community model, shaped spontaneously by the concrete ecclesial milieu"[16].

On the other hand, in the interpretation of Piotr Taras, "the priest model is institutionally established or socially required (relatively approved) types and ways of acting, behavior and qualities of a clergyman fulfilling the social role of a priest. This model may have a simple structure, concerning only one function, or a complex one, concerning several functions. It can be established formally, institutionally or informally. It can be static or dynamic, ideal or existential. The lack of a significant difference (discrepancy) between the ideal, institutional and existential model proves the proper functioning of a given system"[17].

What elements make up the structure of the Roman Catholic priest model? According to Piotr Taras, "this structure is made up of three types of elements: theological and ascetic, legal and cultural. Legal elements are of fundamental importance in the priest's model, because they cover the whole life of a priest – the sphere of conscience and asceticism, or at least all of them are indicated by the Code of Canon Law, reminding priests of their basic clerical and professional duties and the privileges they are entitled to. These elements define the personal qualities of the priest, his duties and powers, and secure his prestige in the Church and in society. Cultural elements, on the other hand, are characteristic features of a given society, but they are also an expression of people's religious aspirations and expectations; they may be an image of the negative side of the priest model functioning in society. These elements are usually related to a specific country or even to its regions. The

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[16] Władysław Piwowarski, „Moralność jako sprawdzian żywotności religijnej", *Studia Warmińskie* 2 (1966): 97–98; Władysław Piwowarski, „Tradycyjny autorytet kapłana w procesie przemian", in: *Religijność ludowa – ciągłość i zmiana*, ed. Władysław Piwowarski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, 1983), 129–130.

[17] Piotr Taras, „Problem modelu kapłana w Kościele katolickim", *Znak* 20 (1968): 1117.

theological-ascetic elements, on the other hand, have as their basis Sacred Scripture, in which the priest is defined as "alter Christus"[18].

Józef Majka proposes a precise and complete typology of the elements that make up the structure of the model of the parish priest, dividing them into three categories, within which he enumerates numerous detailed elements. The general categories of these elements are as follows: "1) absolutely unchanging elements, that is, the theological components of the priest-pastoral model; 2) elements that do not change in fact, i.e. those resulting directly from theological elements, while the manner of their implementation is determined by the Church, taking into account specific factual situations, but does not change the norms defining the manner of operation and behavior of the priest – these are the canonical elements of the priest's model, defining the ministerial priesthood; 3) variable elements of the model of the priest resulting from the "signs of the times" and various environmental differences within which the priest preaches the Gospel and conducts pastoral activity in the parish"[19].

Summarizing this issue, Józef Majka points out that "the number of environmental factors shaping the model of the priest is very great, so it would be difficult to even exhaustively enumerate them: some act more directly and others indirectly, but together they are unchangeable elements. They all make up the practical model of the priest, they combine into one functional whole, they give a certain resultant, which is a specific personal model of the priest, functioning in a given period and in a given environment"[20].

Then Majka points to five basic factors significantly influencing the formation of the model of the parish priest. These factors determine the priest's functions in the parish community. These factors are as follows: "1) participation of the priest in the salvific mission of the Church, which results in its main functions and tasks: a) teaching the faith – awakening and strengthening it, b) presiding over religious worship, c) leading and directing the parish community and animating her religious life; 2) the concept of the Church and its image functioning in the consciousness of the priest: a) the Church as a hierarchical and institutionalized national or supranational community, b) the Church as a community or a federation of small communities with their own autonomy and independence; 3) social needs and expectations of the lay faithful addressed directly to the priest, which may be numerous and varied, and at the same time changing over time; 4) opportunities and resources at the

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[18] Taras, „Problem modelu kapłana w Kościele katolickim", 1118–1120.

[19] Józef Majka, „Wpływ środowiska i przemian społecznych na kształtowanie się modelu kapłana–duszpasterza", w: *Osobowość kapłańska*, ed. Józef Majka (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, 1976), 108–109.

[20] Majka, „Wpływ środowiska i przemian społecznych na kształtowanie się modelu kapłana–duszpasterza", 116.

disposal of the priest in the parish, conditioning his pastoral and social activities – they are generally different in a rural parish and different in a city or metropolitan parish; 5) the process of urbanization of culture, causing, among others, mental changes in the faithful regarding faith, religion, morality and attitude towards the Church and the clergy from positive to indifferent and critical. These factors converge and cause a rapid process of transforming the "ideal" model of the priest into a model "adequate" to the conditions of people's lives over time"[21].

In this context, Janusz Mariański points out: "In the model of a priest, an important role is also played by the priest's personal characteristics and professional activity, which can be analyzed from many points of view, including according to the so-called group option, in order to precisely define his managerial qualifications in the parish. In this option, we ask about a set of personal characteristics of a priest postulated by lay Catholics, which also form a model of a priest. This option is often inconsistent with the provisions of church law and theological doctrine, which take into account the model of the priest and the scope of his competence"[22].

A separate typology of priest's personal characteristics, which are important in his parish activity, is proposed by Ferdinand G. Fremel and indicates eight types: "1) the ability to concentrate on essential and primary matters; 2) the ability to make the right decisions, combined with independent thinking and responsibility for one's own actions and conduct; 3) personal character including such features as: honesty, truthfulness, justice, responsibility for entrusted people; 4) knowledge of people and criticism in selecting them for work in the parish; 5) systematic institutional learning and self-education; 6) contact and bonds within the parish group; 7) self-confidence, combined with the desire for success and the conviction of the correctly chosen course of action; 8) optimism in life, displacing resignation and apathy"[23].

In turn, Karl Frielingsdorf adds in this context: "these are important qualities that Catholics can expect in the personality and activity of a priest. These characteristics are also important for ecclesiastical authority"[24].

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[21] Majka, „Wpływ środowiska i przemian społecznych na kształtowanie się modelu kapłana–duszpasterza”, 117–118.

[22] Janusz Mariański, *Żyć parafią. Socjologiczne aspekty kierowania wspólnotą parafialną* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, 1984a), 146–147.

[23] Ferdinand G. Fremel, „Zum Problem der Leitungstätigkeit in der Pfarrei oder der Pfarrei als Chef", in: *Dienst der Vermittlung. Festschrift zum 25-jährigen Bestehen des philosophisch-theologischen Studiums im Priesterseminar Erfurt*, eds. Wilhelm Ernst, Konrad Feiereis, Fritz Hoffmann (Leipzig, 1977), 610–611.

[24] Karl Frielingsdorf, „Wege zur partnerschaftlichen Führung in der Kirche", *Diakonia* 1 (1976): 6; own transl.

According to Zygmunt Jonaczyk, "these features, talents and skills can ensure professional success for a priest in various parish and social conditions in which he will have to fulfill his professional duties. Hence, a mature priestly personality should be expressed in the system of life and service to other people, with a view to raising the level and dynamizing their religiosity[25].

Therefore, the environmental model of the parish priest, composed of religious and secular features, can be analyzed from two points of view: "1) as an actual reflection in the awareness of lay Catholics of the personal characteristics of specific priests, or as the conformity of the model features of the priest with the expectations and indications of the laity; 2) as a state of wishes and expectations of lay Catholics. In both of these scales of reference, lay Catholics show an interest in priests, in those features of their personality and in those activities that these Catholics pay special attention to and which they themselves assess as necessary and necessary in the personality structure of a pastor-priest"[26].

2. The profile and personal model of the parish priest in the imagination of adult Catholics

In the light of these explanations, one should ask again which model of the parish priest was preferred by the surveyed adult Catholics in Poland in the assumed period of the turn of the century? Was this model completely in line with the official model of the parish priest in the Roman Catholic Church? Did the model of the priest functioning in the environment of adult Polish Catholics undergo negative changes under the influence of various factors, or was it stable and did not undergo these changes? The results of the scientific research presented here will make it possible to answer these questions.

Władysław Piwowarski, analyzing numerous statements of Catholics from rural communities in the Puławy region obtained during sociological research in the years 1966–1970, stated that "contradictory opinions circulate about priests in the rural environment under study. Certain postulates made towards the "ideal priest" are based by the faithful either on their own experiences and observations, drawn from the life and activities of parish priests, or on stories and anecdotes circulating in the environment of the local community". Probably,

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[25] Zygmunt Jonaczyk, „Kapłan – kierownik wspólnoty parafialnej", in: *Osobowość kapłańska*, ed. Józef Majka (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, 1976), 201.
[26] Józef Baniak, „Model kapłana diecezjalnego w Kościele katolickim – analiza socjologiczno-teologiczna", *Człowiek i Światopogląd* 8 (1987): 72–73; Józef Baniak, *Ksiądz w oczach młodzieży. Obraz kapłana w świadomości młodzieży licealnej i akademickiej na przykładzie Kalisza. Studium socjologiczne* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo „W drodze", 1993), 133.

however, the second of them, i.e. opinions over facts, has an advantage. Taking into account the data from two parishes, namely A and C (N=688), the following features of the parish priest model in the researched rural area of Puławy were obtained:

1. On the positive side: human, friendly towards people, equal for everyone – 28.9%; zealous, pious, caring for the parish – 14.8%; consistent in learning and deed, encouraging parishioners by their own conduct, exemplary – 14.5%; disinterested – 12.2%; intelligent, wise, educated – 4.0%; other features: tolerant, adapted to modern times, thrifty – 12.8%; I don't know – 11.2%; no response – 1.6%.

2. On the negative side: materialism – 27.5%; disrespecting other people – 10.1%; disrespect for priestly dignity – 7.8%; lack of zeal for God's glory – 3.2%; other features: gossip, quarrels, disrespect for clerical dress – 9.0%; «I see no faults» – 38.9%; no response – 3.5%.

The first of the above-mentioned features of a "good priest" directly inform how Catholics in the researched rural region of Puławy imagine a pastor performing religious service in their environment. The second ones also serve the same purpose, but indirectly, i.e. they talk about what kind of priest should not be, what kind of priest they would not like to have in their environment. Two features are most striking, namely the emphasis on people-first attitude and the strong sensitization of the faithful to the materialism of the priests. As could be seen from the interviews, similar features of the priest model were mentioned in all parishes in the same order. Taking into account the content of the statements, it is concluded that most of the respondents look at the priest traditionally, "holistically" – in accordance with certain patterns rooted in the culture of the local community[27].

The problem of the model of the parish priest was also taken into account by Władysław Piwowarski in his research on the religiosity of urban Catholics in 1969–1971 among respondents in Puławy, Płock, Kazimierz and Nowa Huta, asking them about the advantages and disadvantages of parish priests. Both types of features make up the environmental model of the priest constructed by these Catholics in the studied cities. The allegations then leveled against parish priests by respondents in individual city parishes, which are shown in Table 1, were as follows:

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[27] Władysław Piwowarski, *Religijność wiejska w warunkach urbanizacji. Studium socjologiczne* (Warszawa: Biblioteka „Więzi", 1971), 293–294. In the context, Stefan Czarnowski aptly wrote: "Regarding the official representatives of religions, the Polish peasant is very sensitive to the extent to which they approach the evangelical ideal, especially in the area of material selflessness. The Polish peasant does not spare money to enhance religious ceremonies when generosity seems appropriate, as evidence of necessity. However, he believes that the religious service itself should not be subject to charges; it is a religious service for which the interested parties are obliged to mutual services, gifts, but not payment. This is one of the perennial sources of friction with the clergy." Stefan Czarnowski, *Kultura*, Dzieła vol. 1 (Warszawa: PWN, 1956), 106).

Table 1. Defects of parish priests indicated by respondents in individual urban parishes during the community interview in the years 1969–1971 (in percent)

Priests' Faults	Puławy P	Puławy U	Kazimierz Dolny	Płock	Nowa Huta
Materialism	36,1	33,6	29,7	46,9	22,9
Unethical behavior	19,1	18,3	23,5	21,2	20,5
Violating celibacy	11,5	16,8	25,3	23,5	24,6
Insufficient diligence	3,5	3,6	6,3	4,8	10,2
Disregard for interpersonal connections	2,7	2,3	4,2	4,5	-----
Other faults	9,9	8,7	6,8	7,5	2,8
No faults	18,6	21,5	18,4	25,7	33,9
No response	5,1	4,1	5,2	1,1	4,6

Source: Piwowarski, Piwowarski, *Religijność miejska w warunkach urbanizacji. Studium socjologiczne*, 316. (Data do not add up to 100%, as respondents were free to point to priests' faults).

In general terms, the following percentages of the surveyed Catholics indicated these defects as follows: materialism – 34.9%; life unworthy of teaching – 19.8%; non-observance of celibacy – 19.1%; lack of zeal – 5.5%; disrespecting people – 3.2%; other defects – 7.2%; sees no faults – 24.9%; no response – 3.7%, with different percentages in different urban parishes. The most common accusations against priests at that time were: materialism and greed "for money", living inconsistent with what they themselves teach in parishes, and breaking celibacy. To a much lesser extent, priests were accused of lack of zeal in caring for the glory of God, disrespect for people and practicing politics, lack of professional preparation, drunkenness, gossip, quarrels in presbyteries. There was a significant percentage of people who had no complaints against priests. Some of them tried to justify it by pointing to a lack of time, incompetence in these matters or even a lack of interest. The author of the research noted that "the image of the priest obtained here based on the negative statements of the respondents is quite critical. It must be emphasized, however, that despite even severe criticism, attitudes hostile to the clergy are generally not noticed[28].

The author pointed out that the surveyed urban parishioners in all the surveyed towns also indicated the following advantages or positive personal and professional features of their priests, which are shown in Table 2.

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[28] Władysław Piwowarski, *Religijność miejska w warunkach urbanizacji. Studium socjologiczne* (Warszawa: Biblioteka „Więzi", 1977), 316.

Table 2. Advantages of parish priests indicated by respondents in individual urban parishes during the community interview in 1969–1971 (in percent)

Priests' Virtues	Puławy P	Puławy U	Kazimierz Dolny	Płock	Nowa Huta
Concern for people	49,8	50,4	39,7	40,8	41,4
Diligence	42,5	39,8	28,2	37,5	35,3
Selflessness	23,4	18,6	7,5	26,8	14,9
Consistency	18,7	18,8	19,0	10,9	18,4
Other virtues	6,2	8,0	1,7	28,7	9,3
I don't know	3,6	5,4	4,6	8,4	7,2
No response	6,2	4,1	5,1	2,0	2,1

Source: Piwowarski, *Religijność miejska w warunkach urbanizacji. Studium socjologiczne*, 317. (The data does not add up to 100% because respondents were able to freely indicate multiple faults of priests).

In a comprehensive analysis, the virtues of parish priests highlighted by surveyed adult Catholics in various cities were as follows: zeal in upholding the glory of God – 36.7%; respect for people and kindness – 44.4%; selflessness in religious services – 18.2%; consistency in adhering to proclaimed ethical and religious principles – 17.2%; other virtues – 10.8%; lack of orientation – 5.8%; no response – 3.9%. According to Piwowarski's assessment: "The mentioned negative and positive qualities allow for the construction of an 'ideal priest' model operating in the examined social environments. As mentioned earlier, two characteristics are most striking, namely humanity and kindness, as well as materialism. The former indicates that urban Catholics do not want to perceive a priest as a bureaucratized official, arrogant, and inaccessible to people but rather as a person full of simplicity, sincerity, and openness. The latter, confirmed also among positive traits, signifies that urban Catholics expect selflessness, understanding, and sensitivity to their material situation from a priest.[29].

In research conducted among parishioners from rural areas in the Płock region and among immigrants from rural areas in Płock between 1967 and 1976 by Janusz Mariański, the issue of the parish priest's model, encompassing both virtues and faults in his personality and professional actions, was also addressed. To understand the structure of this priestly model, respondents were posed two questions: the first related to opinions on what constitutes a "good priest," and the second (complementary) gathered critical remarks about priests circulating in the surveyed community. The researcher explained that the index of positive traits attributed to and expected from priests, derived from responses to the question: if people say they have or had a good priest, what do they appreciate most about him, turned out to be exceptionally rich and somewhat scattered. In order to systematically present them, positive

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[29] Piwowarski, *Religijność miejska w warunkach urbanizacji. Studium socjologiczne*, 317–318.

traits were categorized into several general categories. The demanded virtues of a priest by the surveyed Catholics are depicted in Table 3.

Table 3. Virtues of parish priests from rural areas demanded by Catholics from rural areas and immigrants from rural areas in Płock between 1967 and 1976 (in percentages)

Personal and Professional Virtues of Priests	Parishioners Parishers from rural areas		Outmigrants from Villages	Total
	1967 rok	**1976 rok**		
Religious, devout	30,0	13,8	16,2	20,0
Cult organizer	24,0	14,9	11,1	16,7
Cares for the parish	19,6	25,4	28,4	24,4
Cares for people	18,3	37,6	34,0	30,0
Consistent in life	12,6	7,4	6,1	8,7
Good steward	12,6	16,6	18,9	16,0
Selfless	10,6	9,4	16,2	12,1
Other virtues	8,3	9,8	15,6	11,2

Source: Janusz Mariański, *Dynamika przemian religijności wiejskiej w rejonie płockim w warunkach industrializacji* (1967–1976) (Poznań–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Pallottinum, 1984b), 394.

Analyzing the indicators of the postulated advantages of parish priests by the surveyed Catholics from rural areas from both research periods, let us note that the advantage "religious, pious" was preferred by 16.2% fewer respondents in 1976; the feature "organizer of worship and teaching" was also lower by 9.1% and 11.1%; the trait "cares for the parish" more by 5.8%; the attribute "human, approachable" more by 19.3%; the feature "consistent in life" by 5.2% less; the trait "good host of the parish" more by 4.0%; the feature "disinterested" less by 1.2%; "other qualities, e.g. preacher, doesn't gossip" more by 1.5%; "general advantages, e.g. our parish priest" less by 2.3%; no opinion: increase by 3.5% and no answer: decrease by 0.3%. There were significant differences between the preferences of Catholic priests from rural areas and immigrants from rural areas living in Płock. Rural immigrants more often preferred such virtues as: care for the parish, thriftiness, selflessness than indigenous rural parishioners.

In his conclusions, the author of the research pointed out that "it turned out that the essential feature of the image of a 'good priest' is openness to the needs and problems of the faithful, a kind and friendly attitude towards them, not emphasizing superiority over parishioners and the ability to live with people, i.e. everything that to social communication between the clergy and the faithful. Three further features: "organizer of worship and teaching", "taking care of the parish" and "good host of the parish", indicate the recognition of the priest in the aspect of pastoral functions as an organizer and responsible for religious and

administrative life in the parish. A good priest performs his "official" duties when he properly conducts services and administers the sacraments, conducts catechization of children, ensures that the church is properly equipped and that church property is properly administered. The presence of the "thrifty" feature in the priest's model is striking in the researched environment, which indicates a particular overemphasis in the pastor's activity of his economic and investment initiatives in the parish. It is only in the background that the parishioners of the Płock region mention the religious values of the priest's character, such as "religiousness and piety", "by vocation", "a true priest", "authentic faith" and "consistency in life". The feature "disinterestedness" gained a not very wide range of acceptance, despite the fact that in the criticism of some aspects of the lifestyle of the clergy, the so-called "materialism" ranked among the most undesirable qualities in a priest. There is a certain group of Catholics who pay attention to the easiness of speaking and persuading in sermons, appearance, reading, making little demands on parishioners and others. For some parishioners, every priest is good or their own pastor is an exemplary priest. Every tenth respondent was unable to mention even one of the characteristics of a "good priest". The set of postulated qualities that a "good priest" should possess shows many similarities in the relations between rural parishioners and urban Catholics of rural origin[30].

In turn, showing the negative features in the model of the parish priest mentioned by the respondents, Mariański noted: "Among the negative features, excessive interest in material goods was put forward. The second group of allegations relates to defective intra-parish relations between the priest and the parishioners. According to the respondents, a priest should adjust to the community in which he works and be equally friendly to everyone. The third statistically most frequently mentioned defect are inconsistencies in the priest's private life and discrepancies between the preached moral and religious ideals and the actual conduct of priests. On the other hand, criticism of priests' pastoral negligence is relatively unpopular. In the rural environment, in contrast to the urban environment, there are also relatively rarely accusations in which permanent or fleeting ties between priests and women are emphasized. In the light of the postulated positive features of the priest model, as well as the features excluded from this model (negative), the natural features of the priest's character come to the fore. They gain a higher approval than features related to pastoral and administrative and

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[30] Janusz Mariański, *Dynamika przemian religijności wiejskiej w rejonie płockim w warunkach industrializacji* (1967–1976) (Poznań–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Pallottinum, 1984b), 394–395.

economic functions, strengthening the material foundations of the functioning of the parish. There was a clear regress in features directly related to the religious role of the priest[31].

Sociological research carried out in 61 Catholic parishes in urban (A, B, C), rural (E, F, G) and rural-urban (D) parishes in the years 1967–1984, concerning the conditions of Catholics belonging to parishes, included, among many detailed issues, also the question of the personal model and the environmental model of the parish priest, which consisted of advantages (positive features) and disadvantages (negative features) in his personality and the way he behaved in the parish community indicated by the surveyed parishioners. The positive features of a priest indicated by the surveyed Catholics are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Advantages of priests indicated by rural, urban and rural-urban Catholics in the years 1967–1984 (in percent)

Virtues of Priests	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
Compassionate	40,7	37,5	27,6	38.7	35,5	24,3	38,1	34,6
Zealous	13,9	28,5	27,8	20,0	44,2	11,4	35,0	25,8
Selfless	14,3	25,1	9,5	13,2	9,4	20,7	7,7	14,3
Consistent	15,1	15,8	12,1	15,2	4,9	11,0	16,2	13,0
Modern	8,6	14,1	12,4	8,3	4,5	0,0	8,7	9,4
Organized	23,5	16,7	7,1	7,9	22,5	12,1	19,1	15,6
Cares for the church	0,0	0,0	3,9	2,9	22,4	14,2	22,7	13,2
Educated	6,9	0,0	16,7	3,9	0,0	0,0	0,0	9,2
Tolerant	0,0	0,0	7,0	3,6	0,0	0,0	6,8	5,8

Source: Ryszard Kamiński, *Przynależność do parafii katolickiej. Studium pastoraln*e (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1987), 260–261. (Data do not add up to 100%, as respondents could indicate various advantages of parish priests). Legend: types of parishes: A, B, C – urban parishes; D – urban-rural parishes; E, F, G – rural parishes.

Analyzing the indicators presented in Table 4, it is not difficult to notice that Catholics in all types of parishes perceive various advantages (positive features) in parish priests, and they are also indicated by a small percentage of respondents (all these advantages were indicated by 16 respondents). Taking into account the general preferences of the advantages of priests in terms of rank, we can see that the largest percentage of respondents indicated a positive attitude of priests towards the laity, visible in the attitude of respect and in recognizing their personal dignity ("human priest"). At that time, a third of the surveyed parishes noticed this advantage in their own priests, although sometimes the percentage of people seeing it was much higher, and in others it was lower. In second place, a quarter of the surveyed parishioners indicated the religious zeal and deep faith of their priests, although in

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[31] Mariański, *Dynamika przemian religijności wiejskiej w rejonie płockim w warunkach industrializacji* (1967–1976), 397–398.

some parishes the percentage was higher and in others lower, especially in urban parishes. Other advantages of their priests, visible in the table, were noticed by smaller or much smaller percentages of parishioners, such as tolerance for any differences from Catholicism, good non-theological education, the ability and willingness to adapt to contemporary cultural and social conditions, to modernity. Other respondents, in a negligible percentage, saw in their priests disinterestedness for the living conditions of parishioners, consistency in life visible in acting according to the rules preached to the faithful, or care for the parish church and the religious cult celebrated there. Sometimes the respondents did not see any advantages in their priests – parish priests and vicars.

The author of the study of the results of these studies noted: "In the postulated priest model, parishioners prefer positive features that can be divided into three groups. In the first of them there are attributes related to the priestly mission of a priest: zeal for the glory of God and the related generosity, dedication, and above all disinterestedness and compliance of life with the professed and preached faith. The percentage of parishioners postulating features from this group is considerable. The second group includes features related to the priest's pastoral work: adjusting the priest to the present, care for the parish church, organizational and preaching skills of the priest. The reach of this group of parishioners is much smaller than the previous one. Finally, the third group includes natural features: humanity and humane treatment of the faithful and their life problems, education and tolerance. The range of parishioners of this group is considerable, especially due to the often raised feature of treating the faithful in a human way by priests. The exceptional role of the priest in the parish, however, does not protect him from the criticism of the faithful. Therefore, in the reported studies, the opinions of Catholics regarding the priest model were supplemented with critical remarks about priests. The opinions expressed are often a manifestation of stereotypical beliefs, popular opinions in the community and rumors about priests, as well as one's own experiences[32].

In turn, the defects and allegations against priests made by the surveyed adult Catholics in these 61 parishes are shown in Table 5 according to the same division.

Table 5. Defects and accusations against priests indicated by rural, urban and rural-urban Catholics in the years 1967–1984 (in percent)

Faults	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total

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[32] Ryszard Kamiński, *Przynależność do parafii katolickiej. Studium pastoraln*e (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1987), 260–261.

of priests								
Materialistic	28,5	28,9	35,6	36,7	26,2	24,5	23,0	29,8
Lives without principles	20,1	33,0	8,7	3,7	13,4	9.6	7,2	14,4
Violates celibacy	16,4	14,7	17,2	12,8	13,1	14,7	15,3	14,9
Lack of zeal	8,1	3,1	8,0	0,0	7,6	6,7	10,6	7,5
Harmful to parishioners	2,2	4,3	11,1	2,0	6,5	5,8	11,8	6,4
Selfish	0,8	4,7	7,2	4,9	2,9	5,3	6,8	4,6
Intolerant	21,5	5,3	3,8	4,9	1,6	7,6	4,9	3,8

Source: Kamiński, *Przynależność do parafii katolickiej. Studium pastoralne*, 262–263. (Data do not add up to 100%, as respondents could indicate various faults of parish priests). Legend: types of parishes: A, B, C – urban parishes; D – urban-rural parishes; E., F, G – rural parishes.

The research showed that the disadvantages and allegations against parish priests were shown by an even smaller percentage of respondents than their advantages, as only 11.6% of the respondents drew attention to all the disadvantages listed in Table 5. Among these faults, the largest percentage of Catholics in each type of parish indicated the practical materialism of their priests, visible in the excessive prices for religious services, in the comfort of life, getting rich at the expense of the faithful's everyday life. Other defects, such as: living contrary to the moral principles preached to parishioners, non-observance of celibacy, permanent or temporary living with women, lack of religious zeal, lack of respect for the laity in the parish and in other situations, selfishness and preference for one's own needs and goals in life, intolerance for other views religious, moral, political and cultural, were already indicated by much lower percentages of respondents. Of course, the faults of priests and the allegations against them were distributed differently in the indicated types of parishes, although they were more frequent phenomena in rural and rural-urban parishes than in urban ones.

However, research has shown that the most common accusation leveled at parish priests is materialism. The author of the study tried to defend the prestige of priests in this respect and noted: "in many cases this accusation is a stereotype deeply rooted in local tradition, rather than a manifestation of real criticism. However, regardless of the reasons, it should be emphasized that this allegation is raised by a significant percentage of parishioners in all environments. Other accusations, often brought against priests, are living inconsistent with teaching and non-observance of celibacy. Both disadvantages were mentioned more often by urban than rural parishioners. The opinions of the parishioners are often very general and seem to be a repetition of common opinions. Only a small percentage of parishioners accuse priests of lack of zeal, disrespect for parishioners, being guided by human

considerations and intolerance. It seems that the quoted criticism of priests reveals the desire of parishioners for a more authentic implementation of the priestly mission. Many statements show concern for priests to represent a higher moral and human level, testify to the search for opportunities to better fulfill their pastoral tasks[33].

Urban Catholics (indigenous peoples and rural immigrants) in Kalisz and Catholics from rural areas in Kotłów and Przedborów participating in sociological research in the years 1986–1987, asked in the open question of the questionnaire to indicate personal and professional advantages and disadvantages forming their model of a parish priest, listed several characteristics of both types – positive and negative. First of all, let us recall the positive features and activities of the model of a parish priest with a religious and secular profile, which was constructed by the surveyed Catholics from urban and rural areas in the Kalisz region. Their evaluations will be shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Positive religious and secular features of the priest model indicated by urban Catholics and immigrants from rural areas in Kalisz and rural Catholics in Przedborów and Kotłów (in percent)

Positive Virtues in the Model of a Priest	Kalisz	Rural Immigrants	Surveyed Villages	Total
Positive Traits in the Model of a Priest with a Religious Profile				
Vocation, Faith	84,2	77,7	88,5	83,5
Lives according to the Gospel	76,7	72,5	87,7	79,8
Exemplary catechist	76,5	68,5	87,5	77,5
Religious, devout	73,2	72,0	85,2	76,8
Prays personally	71,5	65,0	83,7	73,4
Cares about the liturgy in the parish	70,2	57,7	84,5	70,8
Cares about the piety of the parish	69,0	61,5	73,5	68,0
Exemplary preacher	69,7	56,5	76,7	67,6
Cares about the church's decor	67,0	62,0	69,7	66,2
Cares about the parish's finances	62,5	54,7	75,7	62,6
Average indicators	72,0	64,8	81,2	72,6
Positive Traits in the Model of a Priest with a Lay Profile				
Merciful, helpful	74,5	67,2	72,0	71,2
Just to people	71,2	69,0	69,7	70,0
Approachable to people	70,0	68,7	70,5	69,5
Respects parishioners and others	67,3	66,0	72,2	68,5
Tolerant	69,2	63,2	60,5	64,3
Can listen to people	65,6	63,2	62,2	63,6
Selfless	67,7	57,2	64,7	63,2
Cultured, tactful	67,0	59,0	62,8	62,9

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[33] Kamiński, *Przynależność do parafii katolickiej. Studium pastoraln*e, 262–263.

Understands people's problems	62,2	56,5	59,5	59,4
Educated, wise	64,0	54,2	51,5	56,5
Social worker	58,0	54,5	49,0	53,8
Cares about his appearance	51,0	43,0	34,7	43,7
Combats gossip in the parish	40,5	39,5	41,5	41,0
Average indicator	66,3	58,5	59,3	60,6

Źródło: Józef Baniak, *Obraz kapłana w świadomości katolików świeckich* (based on the example of Kalisz, Kotłów, and Przedborów). *Studium socjologiczne* (Poznań: Dom Wydawniczy Rebis, 1994), 223–225.

Urban and Catholics from a rural area of the Kalisz region in the 1980s clearly preferred religious features and actions of parish priests over secular ones, although they did not underestimate the latter – 72.6% vs. 60.6%, and the difference was 12%. This situation occurred in every group of respondents: Catholics from a rural area: 81.2% vs. 59.3%, difference – 22%; rural immigrants: 64.8% vs. 58.5%, difference – 6.3%; urban Catholics in Kalisz: 72.0% vs. 65.3%, difference – 6.7%. Religious guilds and activities of priests were most numerously preferred by Catholics from a rural area in Kotłów and Przedborów, and secular guilds and activities by urban Catholics in Kalisz. The presented positive features and activities of priests are components of the environmental model of the priest, which functioned then in the consciousness of the surveyed urban and parishioners from rural areas. The emphasis on religious features and activities in this model means that the local Catholics knew what constitutes the essence of the priesthood and what is its basic purpose, which, however, also includes natural features and activities. This model can be perceived from two points of view: 1) as an actual reflection in the consciousness of lay Catholics of the personal characteristics and actions of specific priests, or as the conformity of the characteristics and actions of a priest with the expectations and postulates of lay Catholics, which can be applied to a significant part of the population of parish priests; 2) as the state (range) of wishes and expectations of lay Catholics regarding both types of personal characteristics and priest's actions, caused by the lack of these desirable characteristics and actions in parish priests known to Catholics[34].

Religious and moral authority and the social position of priests in urban and rural environments do not protect them from criticism from lay Catholics. On the contrary, parishioners, looking for positive personal qualities and actions in priests, sometimes strongly criticize and reject certain immoral features and behavior that they notice in some of them on a daily basis. These features and activities of priests collide with the personal model of a good priest that functions in their social environments. Criticism of priests' negative characteristics

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[34] Baniak, *Obraz kapłana w świadomości katolików świeckich (na przykładzie Kalisza, Kotłowa i Przedborowa*, 223–225.

and actions covers both the religious sphere and the secular sphere of their personal and priestly lives in and outside the parish. In both of these spheres, lay Catholics see faults and faults in parish priests. The charges against priests by Catholics in Kalisz and in both villages at that time, covering both spheres of their lives and activities, are shown in table 7.

Table 7. Negative religious and secular features in the priest model indicated by urban Catholics and rural immigrants in Kalisz and Catholics in rural areas in Przedborów and Kotłów (in percent)

Negative Traits (Faults) in the Model of a Priest	Kalisz	Rural Immigrants	Surveyed Villages	Total
Negative Traits in the Model of a Priest with a Religious Profile				
Fees for sacraments	62,2	63,2	56,7	60,7
Does not adhere to principles	59,5	51,0	40,7	50,4
Weak personal piety	31,0	31,7	28,7	30,5
Intolerant	32,0	27,2	23,7	27,6
Neglects catechesis	22,7	20,5	22,2	21,8
Does not care about the liturgy in the parish	24,5	17,0	14,5	18,8
Does not care about the glory of God	21,5	18,7	15,7	18,6
Lacks vocation	19,7	16,5	11,7	16,0
Average indicators	34,1	30,7	26,7	30,5
Negative Traits in the Model of a Priest with a Lay Profile				
Comfortable lifestyle	76,7	65,7	62,0	68,1
Engages in politics	70,5	67,0	44,7	60,7
Involvement with women	67,0	59,7	51,7	59,4
Lay lifestyle	66,5	59,5	39,5	55,1
Moral conservatism	36,5	35,0	34,2	35,4
Disregards laypeople	38,2	34,0	31,0	34,4
Education deficiencies	36,5	29,0	23,7	29,9
Ignores people's problems	23,5	28,2	36,7	29,5
Abuses alcohol	31,0	26,7	17,0	24,9
Gossips in the parish	15,0	15,7	28,7	19,8
Quarrels in the rectory	12,7	14,5	18,0	15,1
Average indicators	43,1	39,5	35,2	39,1

Source: Baniak, *Obraz kapłana w świadomości katolików świeckich (na przykładzie Kalisza, Kotłowa i Przedborowa). Studium socjologiczne*, 223–225.

The indicators in the table above indicate that more than a third of the surveyed Catholics in the Kalisz region in the 1980s pointed to many personal defects in pastoral activities or in the personal conduct of parish priests, including their own parish priests and vicars. This criticism was most often expressed by native Kalisz inhabitants, and least often by the inhabitants of both villages. These faults were often sharply criticized in their family and parish environment. In the religious sphere, the largest percentage of the surveyed Catholics criticized priests charging too high fees for religious services and sacramental services, and this was most often done by rural immigrants in Kalisz. The conduct of priests

against Catholic ethical and moral principles, which they themselves recommend or order parishioners, was also criticized. Other defects of priests were noticed and criticized by much smaller percentage of respondents in the city and in the villages. In turn, in the secular sphere, the largest percentage of respondents reproached parish priests for practical materialism, comfort in life, the pursuit of money and a consumerist approach to life, excessive political involvement and support for the views of a particular political party, as well as emotional and sexual contacts with women. It turned out that the respondents more often noticed the faults of priests in the secular sphere than in the religious sphere - 39.1% vs. 30.5% (including Catholics from rural areas – 35.2% vs. 26.7%, difference – 8.5%; rural immigrants– 39.5% against 30.7%, difference – 8.8%, urban Catholics in Kalisz – 43.1% against 34.1%, difference – 9%.

Generally speaking, the religious and natural virtues as well as the religious and natural vices of parish priests shown by the surveyed Catholics from rural and urban areas form a comprehensive personal pattern and model of the parish priest, which is largely consistent with the official model of the Catholic priest in the Church after the Second Vatican Council[35]. The personal and professional qualities of priests were assessed positively by the respondents and indicated the necessity of them in the personal model and in the model of the priest. On the other hand, the faults of both types were assessed negatively and criticized, while pointing out that they are unnecessary in this pattern and model, with which priests should fight and remove them from their own priestly and personal lives. Of course, this model of priest has both factual elements and wishful elements, if it lacked virtues and more vices in priests' personalities and actions[36].

Marek Korzeniowski, in his 2002 study of the attitudes of three generations of adult Catholics in the Kędzierzyn-Koźle region towards the parish clergy, also took into account the issue of the community model of the parish priest, which functioned in the minds of the surveyed Catholics. This model consists of positive characteristics (advantages) and negative characteristics (disadvantages) covering the personality and activities of the priest in the parish. The author of the research, trying to recognize the empirical "image" of a priest in the surveyed community, asked the respondents what people currently value most about a priest, and what do they most often accuse him of? This question was open, and the respondents

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[35] Bronisław Tomczyk, „Model kapłana w świetle dokumentów Soboru Watykańskiego II", *Studia Warmińskie* 9 (1975): 276–313; Mario Midali, „Crisi del sacerdozio e risposta del Concilio", in: *I sacerdoti nello spirito del Vaticano II*, ed. A. Favale (Torino: Leuman, 1968), 307–345.

[36] Baniak, *Obraz kapłana w świadomości katolików świeckich (na przykładzie Kalisza, Kotłowa i Przedborowa). Studium socjologiczne*, 231–233.

indicated the advantages and disadvantages of priests themselves, which they knew from their own experience and from other sources, including the public opinion or from information taken in their own parish and family community. The respondents mentioned numerous advantages and disadvantages of priests, and the author of the research included the features most often indicated in all three generations of respondents in the sociological analysis. First, let us pay attention to the valued positive features of priests indicated by these respondents, and then to their negative features or the accusations most often made against them by the laity. The most valued advantages and criticized disadvantages of parish priests indicated by the local respondents are shown in table 8.

Table 8. Advantages and disadvantages of parish priests indicated by three generations of Catholics in the area of Kędzierzyn-Koźle (in percent)

Components of the Model of a Parish Priest	Generation I	Generation II	Generation III	Total
Positive qualities (virtues) of parish priests				
Understanding, tactful	38,0	40,0	32,5	36,8
Respects all people	54,6	65,2	50,4	56,8
Well-educated	15,7	13,0	6,0	11,5
Zealous in serving God	44,4	32,2	34,2	36,8
Understands contemporaneity	13,9	15,7	18,8	16,2
Other virtues	3,7	1,7	0,0	1,8
I cannot assess	0,9	1,7	9,4	4,1
No response	1,9	0,9	2,6	1,8
Negative qualities (faults) of parish priests				
Practical materialist	47,2	60,9	63,8	57,5
Abuses alcohol	3,7	3,5	2,6	3,2
Acts immorally	1,9	6,1	9,5	5,9
Outdated in views	5,6	11,3	23,3	13,6
Intolerant	7,4	16,5	19.0	14,5
Does not respect people	8,3	8,7	19.0	14,5
Divides people financially	13,9	17,4	8,6	13,3
Other faults and accusations	5,6	4,3	1,7	3,8
I cannot assess	26,9	13,9	10,3	16,8
No response	9,3	5,2	6,9	7,1

Source: Marek Korzeniowski, *Religijność pokoleń. Studium przypadku rejonu kędzierzyńsko-kozielskiego* (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 2005), 255–256. (The respondents could indicate various virtues and vices of priests).

These studies showed that humanity or a good attitude towards people turned out to be the most desirable feature of a parish priest in this region in all three generations. This advantage of the priest was most often noticed by representatives of the middle generation, slightly less often by the oldest generation, and least often by the youngest generation, but the difference between them is small. In the youngest and oldest generations, the second and third

place are the same features of a priest – zeal in fulfilling God's service, as well as tolerance and understanding for people who think and act differently. However, both of these features of a priest were more often indicated in the oldest generation. In the middle generation, the second place is taken by tolerance and understanding in contacts with people, before zeal in pastoral service. The greatest importance of this feature was attributed to the oldest generation. Adaptation of parish priests to modernity was indicated in the young, and less often in the oldest generation. Quite the opposite was valued for the education of priests, the value of which increased as the age of the generation increased: from the youngest to the oldest[37].

Priests' faults were mentioned less often than their advantages. Among the negative features, the excessive attachment of many priests to material goods and comfort in everyday life, the pursuit of money, was most often indicated in each generation. The next places were the following faults and accusations against them: lack of tolerance for people with different views and styles of conduct, maintaining differences between the rich and the poor in the parish, with preference for the wealthy, civilizational backwardness and narrow views on various life problems of people. Other vices of priests reached 10% of the surveyed population: disrespect for people, debauchery and drunkenness. The highest percentage of negative statements against parish priests was in the youngest generation. There is a regularity that the younger the generation of Catholics was, the more often priests were accused of excessive materialism, backwardness and narrow views, lack of tolerance and understanding for people, debauchery and immoral conduct. In turn, the accusation of maintaining the differences between the rich and the poor appeared twice as often in the youngest generation than in the middle and oldest generations. More religious people formulated various allegations against parish priests much less often than less religious and non-religious people. Every second deeply religious person claimed that priests attach too much importance to the material side of life, although this accusation was formulated much more often by people with less faith, by traditionally believing, doubting and indifferently religious and non-believers. The exception is the accusation of maintaining differences between rich and poor people by priests – the most common one, because deeply religious people most often put it against believers and religiously indifferent people[38].

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[37] Marek Korzeniowski, *Religijność pokoleń. Studium przypadku rejonu kędzierzyńsko-kozielskiego* (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 2005), 255.

[38] Korzeniowski, *Religijność pokoleń. Studium przypadku rejonu kędzierzyńsko-kozielskiego*, 257–258.

Conclusion

In summarizing the analyses conducted within this article, an endeavor is undertaken to articulate both general and more profound conclusions, amalgamating the findings of the scientific research expounded herein.

Firstly, it should be noted that the community model of the parish priest postulated by the surveyed adult Catholics in the period adopted at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries is characterized by cohesion and mutual conditioning of the priest's personal characteristics and religious and secular activities in its positive layer. However, personal characteristics and religious activities clearly dominate in this model of the priest over his typically secular or natural features and activities. Numerous respondents in the rural and urban environment pointed out that some parish priests move too far away from their religious role, and at the same time consciously secularize their priesthood. This change can also be seen in their clothes, when they give up wearing a cassock or even a collar, in the style of everyday life, in their authoritarian attitude towards the laity, in almost exclusively dealing with their own problems and needs, especially political and economic matters. Respondents noticed such a change more often in the current than in the past century.

Secondly, the same respondents claimed in both parts of the assumed period that lay Catholics in Poland still expected their priests in the parish to remain exclusively priests, to take care of their own vocation, to accept and correctly fulfill their priestly role and to fulfill its functions well arising in the parish and in other circumstances. In this way, according to the respondents, priests who respect their own priesthood will themselves stop the decline in the prestige of the priesthood in society and the regression of their own authority. Perhaps in this way they will be able to encourage young, religious men to follow in their footsteps, to choose the priesthood as their own way of life and professional career. This postulate of Polish Catholics, who pointed to the need for the priesthood in society, visible in the results of numerous sociological studies presented here, has not lost its relevance in the constantly changing living conditions of people, it remained valid in the past, and is also valid in today's conditions. Often the respondents pointed out that "good priests will always be needed by religious people who want to live according to the evangelical principles and the teachings of the Church."

In other words, the surveyed adult Catholics wanted to tell priests not to "go beyond their own mission in the Church and in the parish, beyond their own religious role in social relations, but stay within its framework"; that they "transmit religious values to the lay

faithful", "not engage in politics", "proceed morally and do not scandalize the laity". Lay Catholics in Poland once wanted and now want to tell priests that the essence of their priesthood is to serve and help people in the religious and spiritual sphere, and not to "manage" them and their religiosity, that lay faithful want to be treated subjectively in the Church and parish, and not objectively, that they want their personal and personal dignity respected, they want to be partners of priests in the parish, not their "servants" in life and in the parish environment.

Thirdly, for this reason, the surveyed adult Catholics included these personal qualities and professional skills in their own model and personal model of the parish priest, not forgetting about his faults, which priests should remove from this model and from their lives. For these Catholics, a priest who zealously performs his priestly duties and is distinguished by ordinary human qualities embodies the highest values and noble ideals of life, which they personally want to imitate in their own religiosity and in everyday life. Such priests, fully and completely devoted to evangelical ideals and people's life problems, were once wanted and are now wanted by the overwhelming majority of the surveyed Catholics from rural and urban areas in Poland, especially at the time of disappearance of authorities and traditional religious and moral values. Expectations of adult Catholics regarding the contemporary model of a priest result from their good intentions and are full of hope for positive changes in the institutional Church, in the environment of the clergy.

Fourthly, these expectations of lay Catholics addressed to parish priests were in the past and are now an expression of their criticism and opposition to the existing ecclesiastical reality in Poland. In this diversified reality, the faithful perceive the boundary clearly and deeply separating the clergy from the laity, and also hindering proper dialogue and cooperation between these two "naves" of the institutional Church and the People of God. Such a border was introduced in the past and still is introduced by the priests themselves in the parish environment.

Fifthly, the high evaluation of the virtues of parish priests and the sharp criticism of their faults was significantly differentiated by the personal and social characteristics of the surveyed adult Catholics, as well as by external conditions – secular and ecclesiastical. However, the greatest impact on this assessment of both types of characteristics of parish priests had the respondents' global attitude to religious faith and obligatory cult practices. Positive opinions on the virtues of priests were definitely more often expressed by deeply believing and systematically practicing Catholics, and at the same time they very often criticized their faults, especially those related to morality and relations with the lay faithful in

the parish. On the other hand, greater liberalism in evaluating the virtues and criticizing the vices of priests was revealed by Catholics who had little faith, rarely practiced, and were religiously indifferent and did not fulfill religious practices. It should be added that a certain difference in the attitude to the advantages and disadvantages of parish priests was caused by the type of parish. Catholics from rural areas more often than urban Catholics saw the virtues in their priests and criticized their vices more liberally. In turn, urban Catholics, especially those from large cities, were more sparing in praising the virtues of priests from their own parishes, and more often noticed and criticized their various personal, social and pastoral faults. This distinction was found in almost all of the studies reviewed here. Such an approach to the advantages and disadvantages of priests characterizes the model of the parish priest in the environment of the surveyed Polish Catholics in the 20th and 21st centuries, although its greater expression concerns the 21st century.

At the end of these reflections, let us give the floor to some researchers of the attitudes of lay Catholics towards priests, their advantages and disadvantages, or those who talk about the model of the parish priest in the past and present situation of the Church in Poland. For example, Władysław Piwowarski noted in the early 1980s that "criticism of the faults and misconduct of parish priests, expressed by Catholics and other lay people, is often justified because it has a solid basis in specific life situations and circumstances, while pointing to the need making important changes in the life and conduct of priests. This criticism is often combined with sincere concern and foresight for social prestige and the priest's rightful place in the local community. Lay Catholics, pointing to the numerous defects of parish priests, try to question the model of priest and the type of his authority proposed to them, which differs from their own expectations and group feelings, as different from their ideas about a "true priest"[39].

The expectations and indications of the surveyed adult Poles and Catholics regarding the model and personal model of the parish priest are also aptly expressed today by the profound thought of Józef Majka from the 1970s, in which he noted: "a priest should always be a man representing an internally uniform spiritual figure of a man of prayer and action confirming in his life and activity all natural and supernatural values, open to the needs of other people and ready to make sacrifices for their salvation[40].

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[39] Władysław Piwowarski, *Tradycyjny autorytet kapłana w procesie przemian, w: Religijność ludowa – ciągłość i zmiana*, ed. Władysław Piwowarski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, 1983), 129–130.

[40] Majka, „Wpływ środowiska i przemian społecznych na kształtowanie się modelu kapłana-duszpasterza, 132.

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