

The Visual Language of Socialist Propaganda in the Postcards from the Polish People's Republic

Delft University of Technology
Architecture History Thesis AR2A011

Table of Contents

<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Methodology.....</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Results</i>	<i>10</i>
General	10
Visual Themes and Frequencies	10
Visual Framing and Composition	12
Semiotic Patterns and Recurrent Signifiers	12
Visual Realism and Idealization	12
<i>Analysis & Discussion</i>	<i>13</i>
Monumentality and the Architecture of Authority	13
Collectivism Through Housing and Urban Planning.....	14
The Role of Absence in Visual Messaging	14
Symbolic Aesthetics: Colour and Compositional Strategies.....	14
Flowers and Visual Softening.....	15
Shifts in Visual Language.....	16
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>References</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>Appendix</i>	<i>21</i>

Introduction

Poland experienced many propaganda campaigns during the communist era. The socialist message was spread using different media, such as posters, movies, and poetry. Postcards offer rich evidence of culture and architecture as a visual record of the past, but scholars often underutilise them. They serve not only as simple souvenirs but are also cultural and political artefacts that reflect the zeitgeist of their times. This thesis examines Polish postcards from the communist era (1952-1989) as a medium of state propaganda, focusing on their representations of architecture and urban space. The goal is to find specific propaganda language that was used by the state. The hypothesis is that rather than being typical and neutral depictions of Polish cities, postcards of that time were part of a broader state-controlled narrative. In his book, Prochaska (2010) talks about how postcards serve as cultural documents that can shape national identity as well as national memory. He argues that postcards were very much used as tools for propaganda. These postcards were to reinforce socialist values through the portrayal of characteristic socialist symbols that this research focuses on. The dataset for this thesis consists of 92 postcards, from cities all over the country, to investigate how socialist ideology was encoded within these souvenirs.

Postcards were subject to little attention in the study of socialist culture. Socialist realism is known for its use of a wide variety of media such as posters, movies and architecture. However, postcards as a medium can incorporate a lot of information in a very condensed manner. That being said, this thesis seeks to build upon and expand existing research in this field.

The way that state-controlled imagery influenced public awareness has been studied by academics like Susan E. Reid and David Crowley (2002). Their collection of essays delves into various aspects of everyday life in socialist societies, including the built environment. It will help decode the symbolism embedded in architectural representations on the postcards as well as the urban spaces. It offers crucial background information for comprehending how postcards used socialist realism's larger visual language. The significance of architecture in socialist propaganda has

been examined by Anders Åman (1992) in *Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe During the Stalin Era*, who examines how metropolitan areas were created to represent state authority and community advancement. These observations will be applied and examined on the scale of a postcard, which compresses this information onto a piece of paper. Theo van Leeuwen's (2001) *The Handbook of Visual Analysis* is central to this study's methodological approach. This reference and its framework allow for the application of a systematic approach when deconstructing the imagery from the postcards. Through this, a conclusion can be reached that reveals the ideological underpinnings. Once again, David Prochaska (*Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, 2010) and Fraser (*Propaganda on the Picture Postcard*, 1980) have demonstrated how postcards historically serve as vehicles of historical memory and ideological messaging. The previous research provides background information regarding the topic of this thesis. By positioning Polish postcards within this broader discourse, this study highlights their role as curated propaganda tools in the period of the Polish People's Republic. Hopefully, this thesis will contribute new insights by shedding light specifically on how socialist propaganda was embedded within the everyday imagery of postcards, expanding already researched visual culture and state propaganda.

This leads to the research question: *How did postcards from the Polish People's Republic era create propaganda language and communicate socialist ideology through architectural and urban representations?* To answer this question, the study employs Theo van Leeuwen's framework for visual analysis, focusing on semiotics and iconography to decode the messaging within the postcards. The key themes of investigation include the glorification of socialist architecture and urban planning, the representation of industrial progress as a sign of national strength, the use of perspective, colour, and composition to frame ideological narratives, and the role of postcards in shaping public memory and national identity. This analysis will reveal how the Polish state used postcards as a subtle but pervasive form of visual propaganda, reinforcing specific ideological messages through a seemingly neutral, everyday medium.

This study employs an approach that integrates visual semiotics, iconographic analysis, and historical contextualisation. Following Theo van Leeuwen and Roland Barthes, the study will use visual semiotics to analyse how visual elements such as colour, framing, and composition encode ideological meanings through denotation and connotation. Applying iconographic analysis based on the works of Panofsky and Åman, the research will categorise depicted architectural elements such as modern architecture, monuments, industrial zones, and public squares and interpret their significance as propaganda language on the postcards. Finally, historical contextualisation will allow each postcard to be situated within the socio-political context of its time, facilitating an analysis of how visual messaging evolved across different periods of communist rule. By combining these approaches, the study will develop a comprehensive understanding of how postcards functioned as propaganda instruments.

By examining how socialist ideology was embedded in visual representation, this research will explore the role of Polish postcards in actively shaping public perceptions of the communist state. These images projected an idealized vision of urban life, reinforcing notions of collectivism, technological advancement, and national strength. Unlike more obvious forms of propaganda, postcards conveyed these messages subtly, making them particularly effective in normalizing state ideology within everyday life.

Methodology

This thesis attempts to employ a qualitative and interpretive approach based on Theo van Leeuwen's (2000) framework of social semiotics. The methodology includes iconographic, semiotic and comparative analysis to systematically examine the visual cues and elements that suggest propaganda language on the postcards from the era of Polish People's Republic (1952-1989). The overarching goal is to identify how these images operated as visual texts that encoded propaganda language through architecture and urban design.



Figure 1: Postcard 1. Example of a postcard discussed in this work.

The dataset consists of 92 postcards that have been collected from private sources. The common theme between these postcards is that they feature cities and places within cities, such as parks, main streets, public squares, bridges, and roads. On the website of Chicago Postcards Museum (n.d.) they are defined as View Cards. These collected postcards depict cities from across Poland ranging from bigger cities such as Warszawa or Kraków to smaller regional towns. The selection covers a time span

from the 1950s to the 1980s, however, most of the postcards obtained fall towards the later part of this range. A coding system will be used to catalogue them based on the data extracted from the postcards.

Drawing on the framework that considers Iconography and Semiotics (van Leeuwen, 2001), the analysis is split into three layers: General Information, Iconographic Analysis, and Semiotic Analysis. This method aligns with established methods in visual research. It is an approach to employ a structured, multi-dimensional approach as well as treat the visual material as a data (Rose, 2016; Stanczak, 2007).

The first layer of analysis deals with basic metadata such as the year of production, location and the decade it was produced in. The use of this contextual data provides a foundation for further analysis. It allows for a situation of each postcard within a specific historical and geographical framework. This layer includes:

- **Identification number** of the postcard
- **Location** represented on the postcard
- **Decade** of production extracted from the information on the back of the postcard (if possible)

Such a foundational layer allows for comparative analysis and can help track the visual trends across the different decades.

In *The Handbook of Visual Analysis's* Chapter 5, van Leeuwen (2001) distinguishes three layers of pictorial meaning: representational, interactive and compositional. It comes down to the notion that images communicate meanings at several layers. Representational meaning deals with what is depicted, such as buildings or urban settings. Interactive meaning considers how the viewer is positioned through perspective, gaze and distance. Compositional meaning addresses what the arrangement of the visual elements is, such as the central placement of certain symbols or the use of symmetry to suggest order and authority.

That being said, the second part of the analysis focuses on iconography. Postcards are analysed using a classification system based on present visual themes. All of the

postcards are categorised into thematic groups including monuments, industrial facilities, public squares, residential buildings and cultural institutions. In order to understand how the imagery conveyed ideological meaning, this study follows Panofsky's iconological analysis, which corresponds to van Leeuwen's (2001) representational meaning. As previously mentioned this notion concerns what is literally visible in the image such as objects, places or people. Therefore, this layer of analysis consists of such categories:

- **Visual Theme:** monuments, industrial areas, public areas, housing or cultural institution
- **Representational Meaning:** What is shown? What objects? What buildings? What places?

This layer will help in finding reoccurring visual motifs that may have potentially been used to convey certain ideologies.

The third part of the methodology involves semiotic analysis. In this part interpretation takes place. According to art historian Erwin Panofsky (1970), a representational visual image's denotation is what all viewers, regardless of culture or period, would understand the image to be showing. The focus is shifted to how signs and symbols are embedded within the visual language of each postcard. The aim is to find ideological meanings conveyed through visual strategies. On the basis of Roland Barthes' (1977) concepts of denotation/connotation, this analysis deals with more basic features such as colour schemes, framing, angles and looks for symbols such as red flags, statues or construction cranes. It is expanded by van Leeuwen's emphasis on the importance of the interactive and compositional meaning. All that interpretation to find out how the ideological messages were communicated more indirectly. The notion of modality – the degree to which an image appears real or credible – will be applied to assess how photographic realism was used to legitimize the underlying socialist message (van Leeuwen, 2001). The categories here are:

- **Interactive Meaning:** Gaze direction, low/high angle photo, close up/distant view, viewer positioning
- **Compositional Meaning:** How are the images on the view cards arranged? Is there a central image? Is there symmetry? Is there a hierarchy?

- **Symbols & Signifiers:** Flags, statues, emblems, use of the red color, industrial machinery, modern architecture
- **Modality / Realism:** Degree of realism or idealization
- **Ideological Tags:** Final interpretation of the postcard's propaganda message, includes themes such as State Power, Collectivism, Technological Progress or Social Harmony.

Below is the table that is going to be used to catalogue each postcard:

Table 1: Template for the postcard analysis

ID	Location	Decade	Visual Theme(s)	Representational Meaning	Interactive Meaning	Compositional Meaning	Symbols & Signifiers	Modality /Realism	Ideological Tags
48	Oława	1970s	-Housing -Public space -Urban landscape	-Modern residential complexes -Modern bus station	-Eye level -Wide, low angle	Symmetry	-Order -Cleanliness -Bright colors	Idealization	-Urban modernity -Collectivism -Social Harmony -Technological Advancement

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, such a layered methodology ensures a systematic analysis of each postcard. This approach moves from surface-level observations to deeper interpretation. Thanks to such an approach the research question of how postcards from the Polish People's Republic era were using a specific propaganda language. Additionally, using the general information layer it is possible to perform a comparative analysis, investigating how the propaganda language evolved over the existence of the Polish People's Republic in response to the historical developments (Urban, 2021; Åman, 1992). Earlier postcards may have emphasized monumental architecture and state power, while later ones more of everyday imagery.

Results

This chapter presents the results of the visual analysis of the dataset consisting of 91 postcards. Drawing from the carefully revised methodology. Additionally, following the understanding of photography as inherently political, specifically in how it shapes public memory, this chapter points at the patterns that came up during the analysis. Afterwards, the results are looked upon and critically interpreted. The fully filled-in table can be found in the appendix.

General

The total number of postcards was 91 out of which 49 were from the 1980s, 36 were from the 1970s, 3 were from the 1960s, 1 was from the 1950s and 2 were unidentified. About a fifth of the postcards were from bigger cities and most of them included smaller towns and tourist towns.

Visual Themes and Frequencies

Out of the 91 postcards, monuments appeared in almost half of them. That was often in combination with public space. Monuments included churches, statues and memorials. More often than not were they placed in the centre of the composition or at the endpoint of leading lines, which emphasized their importance and satisfied the principles of centrality and salience (van Leeuwen, 2001).

Residential buildings and housing estates were present in roughly a third of the postcards. They often employed eye-level, wide-angled views that normalize the repetitiveness and monumentality of modern mass housing, placing them in pleasant environments with bright colours. The uniform look and repetitiveness, for example, aligned rows of windows, identical facades, and big, orthogonal volumes represented collectivism and urban order (Urban, 2021; Åman, 1992).

Industrial areas were not a significantly reoccurring theme in this dataset. It was seen on some postcards from towns with big industrial areas, usually among other images.

Public spaces, including parks and green spaces, were frequently integrated into residential settings. Greenery was supposed to soften the harsh and monumental architecture. Everyday aesthetics were carefully curated in socialist countries at that time (Crowly & Reid, 2002). An argument can be made here that these images were supposed to shape what is seen as natural and desirable (Berger, 1972).

There was a selection of cultural institutions such as museums, theatres or libraries visible on the postcards. They were never the central point of the postcard, unless their architecture was prominent. An example is Warsaw's Palace of Culture and Science which was very central in the postcards where it appeared due to its Stalinist Architecture and recognizability.

Often, the postcards advertised the city's infrastructure, such as a big road system, bridges, or public transport, mostly using sweeping perspectives or from an elevated viewpoint like in Figure 2. Their frequent inclusion indicated the state's desire and promise of technological advancement.



Figure 2: Postcard no.27.

Visual Framing and Composition

The compositional choices across the postcards reflected a strong preference for symmetry and frontal or distant viewpoints. Symmetrical framing—observed in the majority of the postcards—was used to convey control, visual harmony, and ideological stability. The compositional meaning of such a formal arrangement reinforces the political hierarchy (van Leeuwen, 2001). In terms of viewer positioning and the interactive meaning, distant views, eye level and wide views dominated. This visual distancing often positioned the viewer as an observer of a grand, organized urban landscape—encouraging admiration rather than engagement. Close-ups were used selectively, particularly for highlighting monuments or symbolic architecture.

Semiotic Patterns and Recurrent Signifiers

The “Symbols & Signifiers” and “Ideological Tags” columns in the dataset revealed a rich vocabulary of socialist visual rhetoric. Recurring signifiers included monumentality, cleanliness, infrastructure, and flowers - each signalling values such as state authority, social discipline, industrial progress and social harmony. The last and final part of the interpretation was the ideological tags coded into each postcard: “Social Harmony,” “State Power,” “Urban Modernity,” and “Technological Advancement” were among the most common. These ideologies were visually encoded through composition, iconography, and motif repetition.

Visual Realism and Idealization

The modality of most postcards was coded as high realism. There were some exceptions that included moderate realism and idealization. A lot of the scenes presented were clean, ordered, and aesthetically curated, with no trace of poverty, decay, or political unrest. As Prochaska (2010) and Sontag (1977) have noted, the photographic image in such contexts serves as a form of curated memory—showing not what was, but what ought to be seen.

These stylistic choices support the hypothesis that postcards functioned as subtle ideological instruments. They celebrated a vision of socialist life that was modern, stable, and under control—despite the real political and economic challenges of the era.

Analysis & Discussion

The use of propaganda language in the postcards, ranging from concepts such as monumentality, symmetry or cleanliness reveal how the government wanted to embed a new reality into the everyday visual culture. These seemingly apolitical souvenirs served as instruments of soft propaganda, presenting an idealized, state-approved version of public life.

Monumentality and the Architecture of Authority

In a lot of the postcards, there can be found a dominant presence of monuments. They were consistently placed at the centre or endpoint of visual composition. It could symbolize the state's centrality in both historical memory and spatial planning. Such compositions create connotative meaning by reinforcing cultural codes—in this case, the association between monumental architecture and state legitimacy (Barthes, 1977). Images do not simply represent places; they curate what is to be remembered (Fraser, 1980). Various monuments in the postcards could mean there was a great emphasis on creating a sense of historical memory, an ideological permanence.



Figure 3: Postcard no.30

Collectivism Through Housing and Urban Planning

The visual repetition of residential housing blocks—seen from an eye-level or aerial perspective—helped communicate the message of social equality, functional order, and urban planning (Fig.3). Rarely have the scenes included homes and personal touches like gardens. It was an attempt to reinforce the idea of the collective over the individual. Postmodern socialist architecture in Poland blended ideological constraints with evolving urban forms (Urban, 2021). The analysed postcards also had a blend like that, offering spaces that feel both controlled and softened. It was done using the juxtaposition of natural additions and harshness of modern architecture.

The Role of Absence in Visual Messaging

One of the most significant findings from the dataset is not what is shown, but what is absent. In a lot of the picture's humans are missing, or if present they are rather small and not legible. This absence reinforces the notion of order and state control without the chaos of real life. The visual absence of people can also work as propaganda language (Stanczak, 2007). The viewer is put in a very cynical position, removed from the chaos of everyday life. A concept of “normalization” comes to mind here, which makes the extraordinary feel ordinary by removing any signs of conflict or irregularity (Berger, 1972).

Symbolic Aesthetics: Colour and Compositional Strategies

The use of visual strategies like symmetry, frontal framing, and high realism affirms van Leeuwen's (2001) observation that compositional choices help communicate ideological meaning. The repetition of red elements—such as flowers, flags, and signage—further ties the visual to the ideology. Red, in the socialist context, represents the blood of workers, revolution, and party loyalty (Firth, 1973). These create a harmonious, optimistic view of socialist life. They do not invite scrutiny but rather offer reassurance. Mechanically reproduced images—like postcards—are powerful tools for normalizing ideology, especially when they combine realism with selective memory (Benjamin, 1935).

Flowers and Visual Softening

One of the more interesting motifs across the dataset is the frequent inclusion of flowers and flower beds, and more specifically, red flowers (Fig.4). These floral elements appear in a range of settings—from flower beds in public squares to park edges, to gardens, and commemorative arrangements near monuments. As previously stated colours—particularly red—carry political connotations in both private and public symbolism. Within the visual language of socialism, red signifies revolution, labour struggle, and state sacrifice. From a semiotic perspective, red flowers act as emotional signifiers. They encode not just beauty, but ritual and memory, particularly when placed near statues or memorials. As Crowley and Reid (2002) observe, even banal aesthetic choices in socialist design often carry implicit ideological weight. The repetition of red floral imagery across numerous postcards contributes to normalisation (Rose, 2016).



Figure 4: Postcard no.44

Shifts in Visual Language

The big limitation of this thesis is its dataset range. It was claimed in the beginning that the evolution of propaganda language would be discussed. While the visual language of the postcards has evolved over time, it is not visible in this dataset. It is only possible to talk about the postcards from the 1970s and 1980s. After the Stalinist period, in the 1960s and 1970s, the imagery began to shift. The visual emphasis moved toward industrial efficiency and infrastructural development. Postcards from these decades more frequently depicted factories, bridges, and roads—symbols of a modernized, planned economy. This reflects the “rational utopia” that Crowley and Reid (2002) describe as characteristic of mid-era socialist urbanism. The postcards from the 1980s coincide with the rise of Solidarity, the martial law imposition and the state crisis in Poland. The views from those times seem less political, which can be interpreted as an effort to stabilize the ideological narratives during times of uncertainty (Urban, 2021).

Conclusion

This thesis was an attempt at using postcards depicting cities and their urban landscape as primary sources. By applying a structured methodology that integrates iconographic and semiotic analysis, the research decoded the subtle propaganda language embedded in a seemingly mundane object: the picture postcard.

The research question guiding this study was: *How did postcards from the Polish People's Republic era create propaganda language and communicate socialist ideology through architectural and urban representations?* In response, the findings revealed that these images were not neutral or purely decorative. Rather, they systematically employed compositional strategies - such as symmetry, centrality, and distant viewpoints - to frame urban space in line with socialist ideals. The ideological messages conveyed ranged from glorification of state power to normalization of collectivist living and celebration of urban modernity.

Several motifs that kept reappearing - monuments, mass housing, public parks, and even things such as red flowers - functioned as key signifiers within this visual language. While monumental imagery communicated the authority and continuity of the state, the near absence of individual subjects further emphasized the collective over the individual. Red flowers, often underestimated in previous literature, emerged as powerful aesthetic devices that symbolized sacrifice, memory, and ideological beauty - anchoring political values in the everyday landscape.

These postcards conformed to a high degree of visual realism and sometimes idealization, depicting Polish cities as clean, ordered, and harmonious. In doing so, they produced a curated memory of socialism—one that strategically omitted poverty, dissent, and disorder. As scholars like Prochaska (2010) and Sontag (1977) have argued, such imagery does not merely reflect reality but actively constructs it, shaping collective memory in alignment with state ideology.

Though the dataset was limited to primarily the 1970s and 1980s, it also revealed a subtle temporal shift. The postcards of the 1980s, while still propagandistic, appeared

slightly more depoliticized—less monumental and more picturesque—perhaps reflecting the instability of the late communist period and the regime’s effort to maintain visual cohesion during a time of political and economic strain.

In conclusion, this thesis contributes to the broader discourse on visual propaganda by highlighting how Polish postcards served as curated instruments of ideological communication.

References

- Åman, A. (1992). Architecture and ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin era: An aspect of Cold War history. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 48(3), 202–204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10464883.1995.10734641>
- Barthes, R. (1977). *Image, music, text* (S. Heath, Trans.). Fontana Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1935). *The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction*. Harvard University Press.
- Berger, J. (1972). *Ways of seeing*. Penguin Books.
- Chandler, D. (2000). *Semiotics for beginners*. University of Wales.
- Crowley, D., & Reid, S. E. (Eds.). (2002). *Socialist spaces: Sites of everyday life in the Eastern Bloc*. Berg.
- Cullerne Bown, M. (1998). *Socialist realist painting*. Yale University Press.
- Firth, R. (1973). *Symbols: Public and private*. Cornell University Press.
- Fraser, J. (1980). Propaganda on the picture postcard. *Oxford Art Journal*, 3(2), 39–47. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1360217>
- Prochaska, D. (2010). *Postcards: Ephemeral histories of modernity*. Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Rose, G. (2016). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Sontag, S. (1977). *On photography*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Staff, F. (1966). *The picture postcard & its origins*. Lutterworth Press.

Stanczak, G. C. (Ed.). (2007). *Visual research methods: Image, society, and representation*. Sage Publications.

Urban, F. (2021). *Postmodern architecture in socialist Poland: Transformation, symbolic form and national identity*. Routledge.

Van Leeuwen, T., & Jewitt, C. (Eds.). (2001). *The handbook of visual analysis*. Sage Publications.

Appendix

The images of the postcards can be found in a separate file.

ID	Location	Decade	Visual Theme(s)	Representational Meaning	Interactive Meaning	Compositional Meaning	Symbols & Signifiers	Modality / Realism	Ideological Tags
1	Kolobrzeg	1980s	Monuments, Public Space, Housing	Memorials, Pier, Housing Block	Distant views	Symmetry	Cleanliness, Monumentality	High realism	Social Harmony
2	Kolobrzeg	1980s	Industrial Area, Public Space	Boats, Grain Elevators, , Port Entrance, Buildings	Distant views	Symmetry	Machinery, Infrastructure	High realism	Industrial Progress
3	Ratusz Wrocławski	1980s	State Building	City Town Hall and its elements	Close ups	Symmetry	Monumentality	High realism	State Power
4	Stary Sącz	1980s	Public Space, Cultural Institutions, Nature	Public Square, Coffeshop, Museum	Distant views	Symmetry	Cleanliness	Moderate realism	Social Harmony
5	Choszczno	1980s	Monuments, Public Space, Housing	Memorial, Lake, Housing Block, Main Street, Church	Distant views	Irregularity	Cleanliness, Monumentality,	Idealization	Urban Modernity, Social Harmony
6	Nowy Sącz	1980s	Nature, Public Spaces,	Hills, Map, Public Square, Ruins	Distant views	Symmetry	x	High realism	Collectivism
7	Ostrów Wielkopolski	1980s	Public Spaces, Industrial Area, Cultural Institutions	Public Square, Industrial Worker, Old Architecture, Book Club	Mixed views	Irregularity Emphasis on the monument, Hierarchy	Factories	Naturalistic	Social Harmony, Industrial Progress
8	Warszawa	1970s	Monument, Public Space,	Memorial, market square, ruins,	Mixed views		Monumentality	High realism	Collectivism
9	Orzesze	1980s	Nature, Industrial Area, Public Space	Shopping Mall, School, Forest,	Wide, low angles	Hierarchy	Modern Architecture, emblem	Industrial aesthetic	Social Harmony, Urban Modernity
10	Ostrów Wielkopolski	1980s	State Building, Public Space, Industrial Area,	City Council, Public Square, Factory, Public Market	Wide, low angles	Horizontality	Factories, Red flag, Modern Architecture,	Moderate realism	Social Harmony, Urban Modernity, Collectivism Social Harmony, Urban Modernity, Industrial Progress
11	Elbląg	1980s	Monument, Industrial Area	Factory, Church	Wide shots	Irregularity	Factories, Infrastructure	High realism	
12	Olsztyn	1980s	Cultural Institution	Museum	Mixed views Eye-level perspective, mixed views,	Irregularity	x	High realism	x
13	Warszawa	1980s	Monument, Cultural Institution, Public Space	Sculpture, Old Palace - now Museum, Orange Tree House, Statue		Regularity	Monumentality	High realism	Social Harmony, Historical Memory
14	Wrocław	1980s	Monument	Cathedral, Waterfront, Statue of a Pope, Monument	Mixed views	Hierarchy	x	Moderate realism	Historical Memory
15	Rybnik	1980s	Public Space, Housing, Cultural Institution	Market, Theatre, Housing Block	wide, low angles	Horizontality	Modern Architecture	High realism	Urban Modernity, Social Harmony State Power, Technological Advancement, Social Harmony, Urban Modernity
16	Warszawa	1980s	Monument, Public Space, Cultural Institutions	Monument, Museum, Theatre, Road, City Centre	distant views	Symmetry	Infrastructure, Cleanliness,	High Realism	
17	Jastrzębia Góra	1980s	Nature, Public Space	Sea resorts, Shopping Mall, Beach with boys,	low, wide angles	Symmetry with a central element	Modern Architecture	High Realism	Social Harmony
18	Kartuzy	1980s	Nature, Monument, Public Space	Lakes, Memorials, Cathedral, Public Square	mixed, distant views Frontal and oblique perspective	Symmetry	x	High Realism	Social Harmony
19	Busko Zdrój	1980s	Monument, Public Space	Public Baths, Park, Resort		Verticality	Cleanliness, Modern Architecture, Flowers Herd of sheep, modern architecture, infrastructure	High Realism	Social Harmony
20	Bieszczady	1980s	Nature, Public Space	Mountains, Animals, Resorts	Wide angles	Horizontality		High Realism	Social Harmony
21	Goluchów	1980s	Monument Public Space, Monument, Nature, Housing, Industrial Area, Cultural Institution	Castle and its elements	Low, narrow angle	Moderate symmetry	x	High Realism	x
22	Racibórz	1980s		Industrial Center, Museum, Neighbourhood with a playground	Wide, low angles	Hierarchy, verticality	Modern Architecture, Cleanliness	High Realism	Urban Modernity, Social Harmony
23	Olsztyn	1980s	Monument, Public Space	Central Market, Old Monument, Hotel	mixed views Eye level, immersive views	Equality	Cleanliness, Modern Architecture, Flowers Cleanliness, Modern Architecture, Infrastructure	Moderate realism Moderate realism	Urban Modernity Collectivism, Social Harmony, Urban Modernity
24	Ustron	1980s	Nature, Monument, Public Space	Chairlift, Modern neighbourhood, Timber Church		Centrality, leading lines		Moderate realism	Technological Advancement, Infrastructure Urban Modernity, Infrastructure, Technological Advancement, State Power
25	Katowice - Chorzów	1970s	Public Space, Cultural Institution	Park with pathways and museum building	Wide shot, eye-level	Leading lines, centrality	Cleanliness, flowers,	Moderate realism	
26	Warszawa	1970s	Public Space, Urban Landscape,	Roads, River, Bridges, Modern Buildings,	Wide, eye level angle	Symmetry	Modern architecture, Red public transport	High Realism	
27	Oleśnica	1970s	Monuments, Urban Landscape, Public Space	Church, Castle, skyline, Public Swimming Pool	Mixed views	Symmetry	x	High Realism	Collectivism
28	Warszawa	1970s	Nature, Monument, Public Space	Park with monuments	Close ups	Hierarchy	Red flowers, Cleanliness	Moderate realism	Social Harmony Urban Modernity, Technological Advancement, Social Harmony
29	Katowice	1970s	Public Space, Monument	Big modern hotel, Memorial, Modernist buildings, Grand Street	Wide shots	Verticality	Grand public space, Cleanliness, Modern architecture	Idealization	
30	Kraków	1970s	Monuments	monuments, church, memorial	Low, narrow angle	Symmetry, equality	x	High realism	Collectivism
31	Polcyn-Zdrój	1970s	Nature, Public Space	Nursing homes, Urban Landscape, Garden	Low, narrow angle	Irregularity	Flower bed	High realism	Social Harmony
32	Byczyna	1970s	State Building, Monuments, Public Space	Town hall, monument, public market City fragment, Town hall, old town, Public square with a monument, museum	Low, narrow angle Eye level wide and narrow shots	Symmetry, equality	Red flowers Modern architecture, cleanliness, monumentality	High Realism	Social Harmony, Historical Memory
33	Tamów	1970s	Urban Landscape, Public Space, Monuments	Castle, cathedral, amphitheatre, memorials, Public square, Residential Development	wide, distant views	Symmetry		High realism	Urban Modernity, Historical Memory Urban Modernity, Historical Memory, Social Harmony
34	Płock	1970s	Urban Landscape, Nature, Public Space			Oblique symmetry Pathways divide park, housing structures aligned	modern architecture, statues, monumentality	High realism	
35	Tczew	1970s		Skyline, Public Square	High angle, distant views		cleanliness	High realism	Social Harmony
36	Dźwirzyno	1970s	Public Space, Nature	Hotels, Nursing home, Lake, Beach	Wide, distant views	Symmetry with hierarchy	Modern architecture	High realism	Social Harmony
37	Polcyn-Zdrój	1970s	Nature, Public Space	Nursing homes, Garden, Commercial street, Hotel	Narrow angle	Symmetry with central image	Flower bed, cleanliness	High Realism	Social Harmony
38	Wodzisław Śląski	1970s	Urban Landscape, Public space	City Skyline, Residential Complex, Central Market, Public Nature Park	Wide, distant views	Symmetry, horizontality	modern architecture, order	High realism	Social Harmon, Collectivism, Urban Modernity

39	Warszawa	1970s	Nature, Public Space, Monuments	Public baths, Park, Resort	Narrow angle mixed, immersive views	Hierarchy	x	High realism	Social Harmony
40	Warszawa	1970s	State Building, Public Space, Cultural Institution	State, multifunctional building	mixed, immersive views	Symmetry	Red color, Stalinist architecture	Moderate realism	Collectivism, Social Harmony
41	Ustka	1970s	Nature, Industrial Area, Public Space, Monument	Monument Lighthouse, Port Entrance, Beach	verticality	Infrastructure		High realism	Social Harmony
42	Szczecinek	1970s	State Building, Nature, Cultural Institution	Museum in a gothic tower, Lake, Town Hall	Wide angles	Verticality	Order, cleanliness, bright colors	Moderate realism	Cultural Development, Social Harmony
43	Busko Zdrój	1970s	Public Space, Monument	Public Baths, Park, Villa, Public Cafe, Gardens	Low, narrow angle	Symmetry, centrality	Red flowers, cleanliness, arcades, order	Moderate realism	Cultural Development, Social Harmony
44	Chelm	1970s	Urban Landscape, State Building, Monument, Public Space	Town Hall, Public Squares, Church, Train Station, Shopping Mall, skyline	mixed angles, narrow crops	Central image, hierarchy	Cleanliness, order, monumentality, modern architecture, bright colors	Moderate realism	Social Harmony, Urban Modernity
45	Świętochłowice	1970s	State Cultural Institution, Monument	Community center, Memorial	Narrow angle, eye level Low angle on monument, distant factory view	Asymmetry	Modern architecture, order, memorial	Moderate realism	Historical memory, State Power
46	Inowrocław	1960s	Monument, Public Space	Nursing homes, Park, Gardens		Symmetrical layout, centrality	Flower beds, cleanliness, order, statue	Moderate realism	Social Harmony, Historical Memory
47	Sejny	1960s	Nature, Public Space	City skyline, vacation homes, forest	Eye level, wide angle	Symmetry	x	High realism	Social Harmony
48	Oława	1970s	Housing, Public Space, Urban Landscape	Modern residential complexes, modern bus station	Eye level, wide, low angle	Symmetry	order, cleanliness, bright colors, modern architecture, infrastructure	Idealization	Urban modernity, collectivism, social harmony, technological advancement
49	Tychy	1980s	State Building, Industrial area, housing, public space	Town Hall, Modern Residential Complex, Hospital	Wide shots, closeup	Centrality, symmetry	architecture, monuments, cleanliness, order	Moderate Realism	Social Harmony, Urban Modernity, Industrial Progress, collectivism
50	Warszawa	1980s	Public Space, State Building, Monuments, Urban Landscape	State Public building, fountains, Modern residential area, park	mixed views	Hierarchy, verticality, horizontality	modern architecture, monuments, stalinist architecture	Moderate realism	Social Harmony, state power, urban modernity
51	Świnoujście	1970s	Public Space, Industrial Area, Housing, monument	Port, beach, Ship, Modern housing block	low, wide angle	symmetry	machinery, modern architecture, bright colors	Moderate realism	Social Harmony, Industrial Progress, collectivism
52	Gdańsk	1980s	Urban Landscape, Monument	Old town, Town hall, skyline	mixed views	Irregularity	x	High realism	x
53	Krynica	1970s	Nature, Public Space	Gardens, Nursing Home, Public Park, Public Cafe	mixed, wide angles	symmetry	modern architecture, cleanliness, red flowers	moderate realism	Social harmony
54	Biała Piska	1980s	Public Space, State Building	Town Hall, Shopping mall, Street view	low, wide angles	verticality and horizontality	moderna architecture, cleanliness, order	High realism	Social Harmony, Historical Memory
55	Gdańsk	1980s	Urban Landscape, Monument	Skyline, Cathedral and its interior	mixed angles	horizontality and verticality	x	High realism	x
56	Częstochowa	1980s	Monument, Cultural Institution, Public Space	Town hall, street view, church, memorial, museum	mixed low angles	Hierarchy, centrality	statues, modern architecture, red flowers	High realism	State Power, Cultural Development, Social Harmony, Historical Memory
57	Gniew	x	Urban Landscape, Monument, public space	Housing blocks with green space and benches	eye level, low angles	symmetry	x	High realism	x
58	Ustrón	x	Nature, Public Space	modern hotels, nursing homes and landscape	low narrow and wide angles	irregularity	modern architecture, bright colors	Moderate realism	Social Harmony, Urban Modernity
59	Mszana Dolna	1980s	Nature, Public Space	Street view, bus station, motel, landscape	low, wide angles	symmetry	modern architecture, cleanliness, bright colors	moderate realism	Social Harmony
60	Gdańsk	1970s	Public space	River, Old town, City gates, Monument building, City landscape	Mixed views	Symmetrical, slight hierarchy	Cleanliness	High realism	Historical Memory
61	Wejherowo	1980s	Public space, Residential buildings	Modern neighborhood landscape, Catholic church, Lake, State cultural institution, People	Mixed views	Equality	Modern Architecture	High realism	Urban Modernity, Social Harmony
62	Strzelno	1980s	Public space	Historical residential buildings, Catholic church	Low angle	Equality	-	High realism	-
63	Żywiec	1970s	Nature, Public Space	City square, Parks with villas, Lake, Modern shopping hall	Mixed views	Lack of summatry, slight hierarchy	Cleanliness, Modern Architecture	High realism	Urban Modernity (slight)
64	Polanica Zdrój	1980s	Public space	Public cafe, Public park, State cultural institution, Modernist Hotel, Glass factory	Mixed views	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Factory, Modern Architecture, People	High realism	Industrial progress, Urban Modernity (slight), Social harmony
65	Rabka	1980s	Nature, Public Space	Flowers, Villas in parks, Modernist Hospital	Mixed views	Slight hierarchy	Modern Architecture	High realism	Social Harmony
66	Jarosławiec	1980s	Nature, Public Space	Modern hotel, Entrance to the beach, People, Nature, Polish flag	Mixed views	Equality	Modern Architecture, Flag	Moderate realism	Social Harmony
67	Sztum	1980s	Monument, Nature	Lake, boats, historical castel, Catholic church	Mixed views	Hierarchy	Memorials	High realism	Historical Memory
68	Katowice	1970s	Public space, Residential buildings, Monument	Modern office building, Modern sport hall, Statue, Modern residential buildings, Public transportation	Wide angle	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Modern Architecture, Monumentality	High realism	Urban Modernity
69	Mińsk Mazowiecki	1980s	Nature, public space	Red flowers, Park with benches, Modern national bank, Lake, Public school, city square	Mixed views	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Red flowers, Modern Architecture, Cleanliness	Moderate realism	Social Harmony
70	Ciechocinek	1970s	Nature, Public space	Flower carpet, Public cafe, park with a salt graduation tower	Low angle with central nature view	No hierarchy	Flowers, Cleanliness, Cultural Institution	Moderate realism	Social Harmony
71	Ostrów Wielkopolski	1970s	Public space, Technological Advancement, Industrial progress	Train station, Public park, Industrial automation plant, State building, City square	Eye-level, wide angle	Lack of symmetry, No hierarchy	Factories, Infrastructure,	High realism	Industrial progress, Technological Advanement
72	Wisa	1970s	People, Folklore	Polish Folklore, Dancing people	Eye-level view	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	-	High realism	Social Harmony
73	Żegiestów	1980s	Public space, Residential buildings, Nature	Park with pathways and benches, social and cultural institutions	Eye-level, far view	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Nature, Cleanliness, Cultural institutions	High realism	Social Harmony, Collectivism
74	Wybrzeże Gryfickie	1970s	Public space	Public beaches, Boat, Nature, Hotel	Wide angle	Symmetrical, Centrality	People, Nature	High realism	Collectivism
75	Krynica	1950s	Monument, Public Space, Nature	Public square, Nature, Public transportation	Wide angle, distant view	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	People, Nature, Cleanliness	High realism	Social Harmony
76	Świerkianiec	1980s	Monument, Public Space, Nature	Public park with statues, a lake, a villa	Mixed views	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Statues, Nature	High realism	Social Harmony
77	Kraków	1980s	Public space, Monument	Barbican, Catholic church, Historic market hall	Wide angle, distant view	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Cleanliness, Monumentality	High realism	Historical Memory
78	Racibórz	1980s	Public Space, Urban Landscape	City square, Catholic church, cars	Mixed views	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Cleanliness,	High realism	Historical Memory
79	Racibórz	1980s	Monument, Public space	Monument, Museum, Theatre, Road, City Centre	Mixed views Mixed views, Low angle with central nature view	Symmetrical, Centrality	Statues, People	High realism	Historical Memory
80	Sochaczew	1980s	Nature, Public space	City square, Ruins, Catholic church, Red flowers, Modernist building	Low angle, mixed views	Symmetrical, no hierarchy Lack of symmetry, No hierarchy	Cleanliness, Nature Cleanliness, Nature, Monumentality, Modern Architecture	Moderate realism	Social Harmony
81	Warszawa	1980s	Public space, Nature	Modernist hotel, Public park, Villa/Palace	Low angle, mixed views			High realism	Social Harmony, Urban Modernity
82	Tczew	1980s	Public space, Nature	City square, Red flowers, Public park, Modern neighbourhood, Lake, Catholic church	Mixed views, central red flower view	Symmetrical, slight hierarchy	Cealiness, Nature, Modern Architecture	High realism	Social Harmony, Urban Modernity

83	Buczkowice	1980s	Nature, Public space	Modernist public school, Museum, Modernist hotel, River	Mixed views	Slight symmetry	Modernist Architecture, Nature	High realism	Urban Modernity
84	Łódź	1980s	Monument, Public space, Industrial area, State building	City square, Public transport, Statue, Red flowers, Sewing factory, Industrial building, State building	Mixed views	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Factories, Infrastructure, Cleanliness, Monumentality	High realism	Industrial progress
85	Knurów	1980s	Public space, Nature	Modern neighborhood, Public swimming pool, People, State cultural institution	Mixed views	Hierarchy	Modernist Architecture, Nature	High realism	Social Harmony, Urban Modernity
86	Warszawa	1970s	State building, Public Space	Modern neighborhood, State building, Public transportation, People	Wide angle	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Stalinist Architecture, Modern Architecture	High realism	Urban Modernity, State power
87	Jasło	1980s	Nature, Public space	Landscape view, Red flowers, Modern neighborhood	Mixed views	Lack of symmetry, No hierarchy	Modern Architecture	High realism	Urban Modernity
88	Wybrzeże Gryfickie	1970s	Public space	Public beaches, Boat, Nature, Lighthouse	Wide angle	Symmetrical, no hierarchy	Nature, People	High realism	Social Harmony
89	Inowrocław	1970s	Monument, Public Space, Nature	Red flowers, Statue, Public park	Mixed views	Symmetrical, Hierarchy	Cleanliness, Nature	High realism	Social Harmony
90	Gdańsk-Westerplatte	1970s	Monument, Public Space	Monument, Ruins, Tank monument, People, Memorials	Mixed views	Equality	Memorials	High realism	Historical Memory
91	Andrychów	1980s	Public space	Red flowers, City square, Public pool, People, State cultural institution	Mixed views	Symmetrical, Hierarchy	Cleanliness, Cultural institutions	High realism	Social Harmony