

# **ADULT EDUCATION IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS**

**A Polish Field Study and its Theory**

**by**

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## INTRODUCTION

In this book I am going to focus on the problems of disseminating information and scientific knowledge in voluntary associations. My aim is to demonstrate logically, that these problems belong within the paradigm of andragogy, the theory of adult education. An association is a juridical, political and sociological category. Therefore it is usually studied under these three aspects. This, evidently, is the established convention.

It has, however, already been pointed out that associations fill functions of socialization, and that they, when properly modified, also may fill pedagogic ones, depending on the organizational principles and on the character of influences (positive or negative) in the social environment. Proving the effects of an educational activity carried out in these environments meets with serious methodological difficulties. Therefore, in pedagogical literature up till now, there is not too much room allotted to these effects. It is much easier to describe the character of the "socializing" environment in an association and the principles of its programs. In general, this attracts the interest of scholars who try to explain the social phenomena in formal organizations like associations. These attempts were made especially under the aspects of educational sociology and social pedagogy. They didn't arouse so many methodological reservations, although the concept of education in the sense of "upbringing" ("Erziehung") wasn't there clearly distinguished from that of "socialization".

I see an association, above all, as a legal category, a type of really existing institutions with defined competencies and formally defined roles, which the members of the organization try to fill. Among these roles I am especially interested in the educational processes, i.e. the realization of didactic tasks, planned for this purpose. So the pedagogical intention is, for me, the criterion that distinguishes the processes to be studied

from the rest of processes - which may, of course, also be very interesting from other aspects. In the legal sense, an association is a very specific category of voluntary organization, usually with adult members. The membership of younger people is very restricted by Polish law. Therefore the educational processes connected with the dissemination of scientific and general knowledge among adults, as a theme for andragogical research (research in the pedagogy of adults), force me to look into these problems from the aspect of adult education theory. The andragogical point of view enables me to build not only on the principles of social pedagogy, which traditionally takes into account the potential effects of the forces in the social environments to modify human personalities, but also on didactic theories that contribute to my relatively new methodological paradigm in a more detailed way, making it possible, I think, to study the educational problems in associations more precisely.

The specificity of the ideas presented here lies in the application of a new interpretation of the basic concepts. This is also consistent with the universal principles of dialectics, historicism and system analysis, now accepted by most scholars. Dialectics interpret the world from the point of view of internal relationship between things, making the proper use of conceptions possible, and also enabling us to detect the mutual connections between phenomena, their contradictory character, their variability and the unification of opposites. Dialectics speak of the need for extremely varying formulations of reality, and it warns against "absolutism" of conceptions, it points to their elasticity and mobility, corresponding to the complexity and variability of the objects they try to mirror. Historicism accentuates the concrete shape of social life with its contextual complexity and its dynamic character of a process. This implies specific methodological guidelines and - above all - it demands the relativisation of all social phenomena, including the recognition of the historical

character of the laws. The concept "historicism" may here be understood as a reference to the historical perspective and to a historical-comparative method, but it also implies the concretion and the contextual complexity of social life, which means, that the social reality is many-sided, complicated, multi-dimensional, and heterogeneous, and that it is necessary to study it in connection with the total historical context <sup>1</sup> .

I do not intend to offer here neither a grand synthesis, nor a detailed monograph, although I am introducing a theoretical structure and summarizing the actual state of empirical research - that of others as well as my own - and to clarify my standpoint towards them. This, then, is not as much a work on the theory of education in associations, as it is a scientific-critical study characterized by a certain subjectivity in the author - a relation of "corrective correspondence" towards what has been done up to now. In the work to make progress in knowledge, the method of "corrective correspondence" stipulates, as proven by Jerzy Kmita, that the existing state of knowledge should be understood epistemologically, and from the point of view of the efficiency of its practical implications in order to confirm one's own conception in as far as it is able to explain present examples of practical efficiency<sup>2</sup> .

In this corrective relationship I make use of critical analysis according to Habermas. I make an attempt at scientifically attacking incoherent and incompletely proven theses, confronting them both with reality and with the rules of logic and methodology, referring to the value of truth and to the belief that knowledge is an instrument for changing the world <sup>3</sup> .

In my reasoning, I suggest that the concept of "association" and its functions be understood somewhat differently from what is the case in literature hitherto:

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<sup>1</sup> Sztompka 1988, p. 5

<sup>2</sup> Kmita 1982/83, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Habermas 1983.

somewhat less universally and somewhat more concretely in relation to the time-and-space context. In Anglo-Saxon literature, the term "association" includes different kinds of organizations, such as trade unions, youth organizations, political parties, and even enterprises. For some of these, the term "voluntary association" is applied. We think that the first name (association) denotes organizations in a wider sense than the second one (voluntary a.). For this reason the word "association" is in our language rendered with an expression (*stowarzyszenie*) with a meaning closer to the Anglo-Saxon term "voluntary association"<sup>4</sup>.

In classical sociological terminology the term association is used to denote an artificial organization, created by a secondary group as a result of this group's aspirations to realize its own plans and interests, and it is distinguished from the "natural groups" ("communities") like a family. The general terminology doesn't give the whole truth about the situation of the individual designated phenomena. E.g. in a degenerated socialism, the term party means something special, different from the term association. It is not possible to identify these two terms with one another e.g. in order to hide differences in competence and political ideas. The contextual complexity doesn't permit the use of too general terms for the phenomena, as this would not render their real character and real functions. One ought then to use the well defined terminology of existing legal conventions.

In Polish legislation (in the Constitution of the Polish Republic), an association is one of many different voluntary organizations, with precisely defined competencies. It is distinguished from those goal-oriented and voluntary groups that work for their members' economic profit, and also from political organizations - like a party, that is first of all concerned with winning and keeping power, and further it is different from an

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<sup>4</sup> Katus & Toth (Eds.), 1990

an organization for the protection of the members and for exerting political pressure - such as a trade union - and also from a children's organization because of the definition by age. A new law on associations, from 1989, defines the competencies of these organizations. It gives many rights to adults and allows them to form different kinds of organizations, apart from political and economic ones. An association is, according to this law, a "voluntary, independent, permanent non-profit organization. It independently decides its aims and objectives, its program of activities, and its structure, and its activities depend on the work of the members. Children and adolescents may belong to an association, but they do not have the same rights as grown-ups (who enjoy full legal capacity). Their rights are to some extent restricted. In Poland, courts of law are entrusted with the registration of associations, and the government administration exerts some supervision<sup>5</sup> .

I also treat the concept "function" differently from some other authors. In his essays on the theory of culture, Bronislaw Malinowski once made a distinction between the function of an organization and its goals. The tasks formulated by the organizations he calls goals, or "the collection of symbols related to specific values that guide and coordinate activities in a desired direction."

Organizations are created to meet factual needs of society. And the satisfaction of these needs, the author labels "function". This distinction adds value to the scientific approach. In many Polish works, the identification of goals and aims with the concept of function leads to analyzing the "postulated" (desired) situation instead of the real one. This must be seen as a methodological mistake<sup>6</sup> .

The concept of function plays an important methodological part in social sciences as a fundament for working hypotheses. But the concept can be interpreted

<sup>5</sup> Ustawa z dnia 7 kwietnia 1989 r. (=Law of April 7th, 1989)(in: "Dziennik Ustaw PRL", Warszawa, April 10th, 1989, nr.20, par. 104)

<sup>6</sup> Ratman-Liwierska, 1988, p. 121; 1989.

differently. This depends on the epistemological, methodological and even political principles one assumes. Emil Durkheim once defined the function of an institution as the correspondence between the institution and the needs of the collective organism. Alfred Radcliffe-Brown substituted the concept "need" by "necessary condition of existence" and he connected function with structure as the sum of relations between the individuals. The function can then be studied, showing the influence of social activities on thoughts, feelings and actions of human beings, thanks to research on the cohesion and singularity of the social system in question. Already long ago the relativity of needs in a dialectical and historical change in social life was noted, and Robert Merton found reasons to introduce into functionalism the problem of relativity of functions; these may be open or hidden, and the organizational phenomenon under observation may be functional or dysfunctional. Functions, according to him, are observable effects, contributing to the adaptation and modification of the system, whereas dysfunctions are observable results, diminishing this adaptation or modification. Open functions are objective consequences, that contribute to the adaptation or modification of the system and that are intended and acknowledged by the participants, whereas the hidden ones are neither intended nor observed by them. These distinctions in their turn call for a closer study of the question of functionality in relation to cultural, social and psychological variables. My use of the concept of "function" is obviously linked with more modern interpretations than Brown's.

Also other concepts used in my study show the same picture as the concept "function": such concepts are education, socialization, skills and knowledge, pedagogy and andragogy. In accordance with my theoretical principles, I keep all these concepts clearly apart, and I also interpret them somewhat differently from what has

hitherto been the case in the literature to the subject. To this end I seek support in modern Western literature.

In the individual chapters, I am studying the arguments for more modern ways of formulating the nexus of concepts needed. I turn to several areas of social science and take a closer look at a selection of methodologically varied research projects in order to show that the studied social phenomena are not unambiguous. Their life depends on political conditions, among which the level of real democracy is a crucial factor. Therefore, in studying the functionality of associations, I prefer those methods that are capable of taking into account a great number of socio-political variables in interdisciplinary panel approaches. Those who want to do research work in a responsible way must use the competencies of the philosopher, the psychologist and the sociologist at the same time. The development of the human individuality demonstrates this, being closely connected with the psycho-social development. Many post-modernistic conceptions show this. Habermas', Kohlberg's and Erikson's models include different genealogies of individuality, understood as a dual process of socialization and at the same time one of individuation. Likewise, Mead's concept of the active subject's self realization in the processes of socialization strongly accentuates the need to use socio-psychological concepts to understand the problem of the forming of man in social systems<sup>7</sup>.

I am interested in the educational function. My selection of examples for demonstration is connected with my scientific competencies. This allows me to include into my analyses also the results of my own research work on the functioning of women's associations in the past, unhappy period of Communist Poland, when education often meant political indoctrination and the most important thing was filling the tasks assigned to the organization and the "canalization of human needs in the

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<sup>7</sup> Witkowski (Ed.), 1990

desired direction", as Aleksander Kamiński would have said. My work included both empirical field research and historical-comparative research.

From the general thesis about the dependence of the associations on political and social conditions I also derive implications allowing me to build a relatively new epistemological-methodological paradigm, applicable to research on associations. The establishment of such a paradigm is my objective. This paradigm is characterized by dialecticism, by a historical component, by complementarity and by a humanism of the type: homo problem solver.

An association as an element of social reality undergoes constant changes. Even at the same time but in different parts of the world, it is a phenomenon with different parameters. Its existence is that of a process, contextual in the time-and-space sense. Within it there are always a plurality of partial processes, crossing over one another and conflicting with each other, the same way as outside the organization. This complexity calls for an analysis of associational phenomena in accordance with the systems approach as proposed by Merton and organizational sociology in the latest edition. The theory describing them and analyzing their functions cannot be a collection of old axioms, but has to be modernized and amended, and may even have to be completely rebuilt, as it is dependent on social phenomena in constant change.

In the stream of philosophical thinking that is today labeled hermeneutics and defines itself as "post-Kantian", with the concept of understanding as the central principle of human life, objectivating itself in different forms of societal experience, including the form of scientific knowledge, dialecticism and historicism constitute an important part. It is also impossible to leave out critical analysis, that is today seen as a direct must in communicational rationalism<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Marotzki, 1991.

A complete review of the problems of associations calls for different aspects and different epistemological nets. The concepts connected with the theory of associations are relative, and their meaning is dependent on the arbitrary selection of aspect. Ralf Dahrendorf, in his analysis, makes use of both an integrational model of society and of a conflict one, although in an alternative interpretation. In relation to reflections on associations, it is also very possible to apply functionality in Merton's sense, that is taking into account the opposed categories of functional equivalents. The principle of complementarity here helps discover ideological causes for differences that may be described as theoretical or methodological ones. It can be applied where the complicated pictures of reality are threatened by impoverishment because statements are being formulated uncritically and because such empirical data that seem to support differing views are ignored. The principle of complementarity may help overcome dogmatic adherence to accepted ways of thinking.

Associations are created by people. So they are important in practical research. The organization's existence and character depends on the level of people's consciousness, on the range of their activity and their creativity. Man changes the world through his practical actions. This motivates the concentration on the humanistic problems. But this is a homocentrism based on the naturalization of man rather than on his deification. The main feature is "homo problem solver". The functionality of an organization is thus studied through the lens of people's expectations and identification with the organization. The life of an organization/association is a drama, acted in the consciousness of people. The axiological values and the identification of the mission are important.

Educational processes in associations have an andragogical character, as the central concept here is the adult as an acting and developing subject. His behavior

gets formed in the process of communication with others and in the processes of transfer of traditions. These processes are founded on time order, as social/societal time regulates the rhythm of collective life. This time must be, simultaneously, a time of stability and a time of change, a fact that causes the permanence of the influence on personality development. A foundation for this influence may also be the exceptionally fruitful crisis-phase theory formulated by Erik Erikson, today in Poland the most frequently quoted psychoanalyst. His thesis, expressed in the triad of "soma - psyche - ethos, and denoting a complex of personality-building processes, which mutually stimulate and determine each other - this contributes significantly to the foundation of an andragogical paradigm. The theory explains the cycles of changes in adults and it offers an attempt at solving the problem of identity with its differentiation of conditions and self-concepts and the individual's ability to act in the social world. The socio-cultural and socio-historical character of identity, as well as the dissemination of the thesis, that the creation of a psychodynamic personality is possible also in adult years, give the foundation for the theory of the permanence of education. Erikson's thesis, that the "ego" of the individual cannot exist without a specifically human environment, meaning a voluntary organization, also strongly underlines the importance of considerations concerning education in associations. His theory includes a holistic conception of the human being and a conception of research on man, in which the history of the individual is linked with that of social events. His analysis of the process of human maturation in specific phases, undertaken with the help of a number of key concepts - including identity and identity crisis - covers the whole of the life of the individual and of society<sup>9</sup> .

The formulation of these generalizations was made possible by a method of comparative analysis<sup>10</sup> .

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<sup>9</sup> Witkowski, 1988.

<sup>10</sup> See: Sztompka, 1974, p. 84.

## **ASSUMPTIONS**

### **THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONFLICT THEORY**

Surveying literature dealing with the problems of associations it is easy to note differences in epistemological and methodological approaches. These differences are above all connected with the system of concepts aiming at description and evaluation of efficiency of organizations of a given kind. Researchers use them to different degrees as schemes for empirical operationalization and quantification of variables, but the system of concepts is not yet perfect. Semantic and interpretational difficulties prevail even concerning the object of research itself. For instance, the term "association", used by many authors, has only occasionally the same denotation as the same term in its use in legal texts. Some authors use the term for every human organization, others for every voluntary organization or for non-governmental organizations. This tendency is found especially among sociologists and those representatives of social pedagogy, who base their analyses on the foundations of classical sociology. One can clearly see the analogy with the conceptions of Ferdinand Tönnies, Max Weber, and Talcott Parsons, to whom it is of crucial importance to distinguish those organizations, that are sometimes called associations, from other ones. In their classification, an association is an organization, in which the members are engaged in activities of a certain kind without definite breaks and where they explicitly direct themselves towards a certain objective.

There are also different interpretations, especially among those authors viewing the association as a specific kind of intentional formal organization. As the starting point for their further analysis they accept the legal / juridical convention in the political-structural field of

reality. The choice of such a starting point is linked with the conviction, that in scientific analysis the objective factors, connected with a specific time and place, are more important than choosing a universal quantifier.

For authors to define the object of their research is a still more complicated matter, when they try to reach the meaning of the concept "organization". Even experts in this field, representatives of organizational theory and organizational sociologists - the humanistic trend in a broader scientific concept of the problems concerning organizations - find this concept troublesome. This depends mainly on its ambiguity. In literature we find specifications like "voluntary organization", "formal organization" to denote different varieties of a "big organization", "complex organization", "goal-directed / intentional organization" and "bureaucratic organization"<sup>11</sup>. Generally speaking we are dealing with a social collective creating certain entities (the structural dimension) with certain norms and value systems that unite the members and determine their social behavior (the cultural dimension).

In Polish organizational sociology one prefers to see an organization as a materially existing economical, political, military, or other body, being a goal-oriented (intentional) group for collective action and a certain limited social system with certain attributes: intentionality, planning, program of actions, awareness of tasks and duties, internal structure and order, values, norms and codices, and further a certain isolation from the external environment in the form of a subsystem of society as a whole. In connection with the accepted definition organizations are the object of sociological analyses, in which they are treated as specific human configurations, submitted to the influences of objective factors, shaping these configurations. One also takes into account the influences of the human factor and the general regularities of collective life on other elements of

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<sup>11</sup> Morawski (Ed.), 1976, p. 17-35, Hirszowicz 1967, p. 15-17.

organizational processes. An organization of this kind may be exemplified by a factory, a church, a corporation, an authority, a school, an army, a party, or a sports club<sup>12</sup>. In exactly this sense of the concept "organization" there is a parallel to the views of Chester Barnard, expressed in his books and mainly in his deliberations to the theme of functions and pathology of the system of rules in normal organizations. That author treats an organization as an element in a wider system, a specific subtype of the phenomenon of cooperation between two or more persons, characterized by the consciousness and intentionality of human cooperation<sup>13</sup>. Here appears the conception of a system that is now the foundation for modern understanding of organizational phenomena.

The differentiation and selection of names used to denote the research object is only superficially a trivial problem. In reality the choice of name is linked to the choice of a specific political theory, which forms the foundation for specific interpretations of the studied phenomena. In modern conceptions of the problem area of organizations-associations, one of two main political theories will be chosen; the two of them represent two different views of the industrial society. One of the theories, often described as the utopian one, interprets the functioning of the social structure by the principle of agreement, resulting from a general consensus concerning values (consensus omnium) that warrants cohesiveness. The second one, seemingly a more rational one, accentuates the importance of conflict and is based upon the conviction, that cohesion and order in society has its foundation in the strength and dominance of some people and the subordination of others. Linked with this duality of views on today's society, two theories are found in sociology:

- 1) The integrational theory, where the social structure is an organized system,

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<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> Barnard, 1938 and 1946.

2) The coercional theory, by which the social structure is a form of organization maintained by force and coercion, and under constant change.

On the basis of the integrational theory for the collective structure, the elements in sociological analysis are "social systems", or voluntary unions of people, who honor certain values and who create certain institutions to secure correct cooperation. Such a view characterizes the conception of Talcott Parsons, as was already shown above. In coercional theories it is not voluntary cooperation and general agreement that secures the cohesiveness of the organization, but force and coercion. In terms of institutions this means that in every social organization the positions of people are linked with controlling other positions in order to secure real coercion, implying a differentiated distribution of power and leadership. It is assumed that the varying distribution of supreme power will, without change, be the factor that determines the permanent social conflict of a kind related to class conflict in the traditional - e.g. Marxist - sense. The origin of this conflict is, it is thought, the social role structure and the expectations concerning dominance and subordination linked therewith.

The main task in analyzing a conflict is, as Ralf Dahrendorf and others think, the identification of differences in ascribed roles in the hierarchy of leadership. The following steps in the analysis will be studies of the distribution of power and leadership. Dahrendorf derives his terms from Max Weber, who interprets power by relations, and leadership by the relations of superiority and submittance. In order to analyze a conflict, there is - according to Dahrendorf - a need for the conceptual element of "social organization" in analogy to the concept "social system". Social system, according to him, is a concept applicable to all kinds of organizations. The concept of social organization, on the other hand, is by him related to an entity, founded upon the dominance of leadership or conflict. The author is

convinced, that a useful name for this organizational unit would be the term "Herrschaftsverband", introduced by Max Weber. This term denotes entities like: a church, an enterprise, a political party, a trade union or a chess club. The author of the conflict theory for the industrial society contends that the study of this kind of social organizations should be undertaken under the aspect of the structure of coercion in an organization, in which conflicts of interests are born and which become the source of group conflicts. This author further assumes that leadership is the typical characteristic of a social organization, also in such a global social organization as is society itself. The leadership both symbolizes and tries to realize a functional integration of the social systems. The process of forming conflict groups is understood, by the author of the coercion theory, in the form of a model, the basic assumption of which is the thesis, that group conflicts emanate from the dichotomical distribution of supreme power in collectives based upon domination. The differentiation connected with the different individual positions causes conflicts of interests between people in these positions. In this context the author feels the need for the concepts of group and quasi-group. A group is an ensemble of interests, in which the constituting factor is the feeling of belongingness and a minimum of organization, plus "official" political interests in the form of published programs and ideology. Apart from these publicly expressed interests also secret ones may exist. Quasi-groups are such collectives, where individuals hold positions with identical hidden interests. The role structure in collectives may thus be characterized by a conflict orientation of hidden interests<sup>14</sup>.

The concept of conflict pervades the whole history of political thought, and it has been especially strongly accentuated in literature after World War ii, in a period when different interpretations of contemporary phenomena were fighting each other, one group

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<sup>14</sup> Dahrendorf, 1975, p. 429-449.

connected with a socialist orientation, the other with a capitalistic one. But a dialectical interpretation of the problems of conflict is getting more and more common as a basis for the interpretation of social phenomena both among scholars in socialist countries and among representatives of Western science. The industrial society is characterized by a tendency to change. The factor causing this is conflict based upon dichotomy and hierarchy. The direction of change, on the other hand, is linked with the problems of democracy and freedom or the problems of equality. In sociological analyses, as well as in all other sciences dealing with society, these problems are unavoidable. This is why Talcott Parsons' concept of the social system and the deliberations concerning organizations of the associational kind based thereupon, seem anachronistic.

More and more often modern sociology analyzes the relations between organizational and social structure, with special attention to class-social strata. Antoni Z. Kamiński sees a double linkage between global social structure and the structure of the organization: changes in the way the organizations work will cause changes in the class structure, and the class structure and the ideological values and social perspectives connected with this structure will influence the program and functions of the organization. The level of the organization's dependence on external conditions, what the author labels social entanglement, may be different, balanced or unbalanced, what decides about the low or high rationality of the organization. Above all the interests of privileged groups outside of the organization are of importance.

There may thus be an agreement or a disagreement between organizational structures and the global societal structure, and this depends on specific regulating mechanisms, leading to a development of mechanistic, adaptive or creative structures in an organization. In the mechanistic syndrome, characterized by the separation of the economic sphere from the political one, the regulators

function autonomically and impersonally. Among the most important mechanisms are: economical ones connected with a free market, political ones based upon parliamentary democracy, and the functioning of state law and administration. The core of organizational change, according to the author, lies in the transfer of external pressure to the interior of the organization, or - from the point of view of the global social system - in the mechanism of transformation of social needs into organizational goals, a mechanism closely dependent on central regulators in the system.

In the adaptive syndrome, the economical sphere and the political sphere compete with each other, and different interest groups in the organizational complex of the political system are in conflict with each other. The organizations develop a capacity for elaborating strategies. The typical mechanism is the political negotiation.

A further syndrome may also exist: the creative one. In this model, the most important relations are horizontal, symmetrical and individualistic, values are connected with the concept of self-realization, and the potential for social development lies in the use of democratic methods for taking decisions with aspirations to find the best solutions for all, instead of serving partial interests. In this system the most important thing is to liberate and to canalize human energy and to strengthen the motivation and involvement in work for society. The mechanism for the regulation will here be collective planning, and the correcting factor - collective control of the activities of the organization, directly by participants who accept the common values and understand the needs of society<sup>15</sup>

In the creative syndrome the main regulator must be democracy connected with self-government as the decisive condition for the political and social activation that is often what helps overcome an economical crisis.

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<sup>15</sup> Dahrendorf, 1961.

Władysław Markiewicz wrote, analyzing the political situation of his days, that "democracy can be realized in practice in today's society only by continually developing and extending the self-government of all kinds of social and collective organizations and institutions". The core of self-government is "the creation, on a nationwide scale, of specific institutional-structural frames securing the participation of the citizens in decision-making in all matters of concern to them". But this self-government cannot be liberated in conditions "when democratic centralism - which is the constitutional basis of the socialist state - deteriorated into a bureaucratic-technocratic centralism, "when the parties cooperating with communism like all other organizations and associations were treated purely instrumentally by the ruling party, or, more precisely, by the apparatus, identifying itself with the party"<sup>16</sup>.

Antoni Z. Kamiński observes the existence of complicated links between the structure of an organization and the central regulating mechanism - links that are based on different factors causing changes - as the author says - in times of social crisis and destruction of the traditional power system and privileges <sup>17</sup>. This is one of the most important sociological-political regularities, confirmed by the most excellent expert on social conflicts. In the light of contemporary revolutionary praxis and dialectic theories, crisis and renewal are not just alternative terms. Władysław Markiewicz, undertaking an earnest and deep analysis of Polish crises after World War II, and especially a class analysis of the workers' August protest strikes (which he sees as a manifestation of a special form of social conflict) strongly underlined this historical-sociological regularity, according to which "radical reforms of society are normally initiated and paid for by equally deep crises". The source of the August crisis, like the source of

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<sup>16</sup> Markiewicz, 1983, p. 73-79.

<sup>17</sup> Kamiński, Ant., 1976, p. 80-82.

what happened in 1956, 1968, 1970 and 1976 were, as the expert assumes, the decisions of the plenary session of PPR of August-September 1948, denouncing "the rightist-nationalistic deviation, what was identical with the acceptance of the centralist-bureaucratic model of socialism, characteristic of the so called epoch of mistakes and perversions, linked with the name of Stalin, not adapted to the cultural originality and patriotic and democratic-revolutionary traditions of the Polish nation"<sup>18</sup>.

Important to our theme are also those of Władysław Markiewicz's statements pointing to the connection and interdependence between spontaneous and organized actions, and the links between organizations and society as a whole. Conflicts in society cause economic, political, social and moral crises, and they are also visible in the functioning of organizations like the party where the crisis resolves itself into "on one hand maintaining the credibility of the party 'as such', as an entity in society, and on the other hand seriously shaking the confidence of ordinary members in the so called leading junta and in the methods of appointing its members - methods commonly known to be highly undemocratic... If we characterize very lapidarily the present situation in Poland as a tangle or bundle of manifold crises - of which the most visible one and the one most deeply felt by Polish households is the economical one - then all the same we must consider the crisis in the party as the most terrifying one... I see as the fundamental thing, as a *conditio sine qua non* for overcoming the political crisis and the crises in other sectors of the state system that are connected therewith that the Marxists realize the width and depth of the party's isolation from society"<sup>19</sup>.

In the light of conservative political trends, consciously and consequently influencing individuals,

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<sup>18</sup> Markiewicz 1983, p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 46-57.

small groups, and organizations is not important - what really is so, is to steer society as a whole. Luckily enough, one is now leaving the tradition of Marxist analysis of societal development in which there is a strong accent on the institutional mechanisms for the shaping of the phases of that development. It is no longer popular today to use the concept of cybernetic steering, whereas more humanistic concepts are being applied: steering and controlling, meaning influencing, certain social phenomena in the desired direction. Modern organizational sociologists think, that explanations of an organization's internal problems must be undertaken together with an analysis of fundamental problems of society as a whole, such as economical, political, social and ideological ones. The interest in these problem emanates, it is thought, "from the practical needs to lead in a desired direction the great contemporary processes of civilization: industrialization, the scientific-technical revolution, international cooperation in spite of constitutional-political differences, et cetera" <sup>20</sup>.

The concepts of steering society are connected with ideological functions and systems of instrumental values, be it humanistic ones. One should also value positively the axiological assumptions that serve the broader common needs and postulate a self-regulating society, a society without alienation, a planning and economizing society but still an industrialized and developed one. Witold Morawski, after having reviewed traditional and modern sociological research on organizations, sees these changes in approaches:

1) abandoning the treatment of organizations as isolated elements in the wider mechanism upon which the organizations seem to have no influence, and - instead - a many-sided and many-leveled inter-organizational, economic, cultural and political analysis;

2) extending the research interest from only studying productional-economical organizations to

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<sup>20</sup> Morawski, 1976, p. 37 - 40.

organizations of other kinds, e.g. schools or international organizations;

3) acknowledging the organization as such and the work of its leadership as a fundamental factor in raising efficiency;

4) directing attention to innovational processes, linking efficiency with technical and scientific progress;

5) looking at the individual in the organization not only in material and moral categories but also in political and cultural ones.

According to the author, these trends are connected with a trend towards more flexible models for analysis and also with an insight in the necessity to combine organizational sociology with the general theory of social development. This theory and not the theory of societal change is now the basis for the interpretation of collective processes. This means abandoning the static conception of social reality and taking an interest in the problems of the planned development of industrial society <sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, 46 - 57.

## **THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN GOAL AND FUNCTION AS A FOUNDATION FOR A HYPOTHESIS**

The concept of function has a very important methodological role in social sciences and is very often the foundation for a working hypothesis, helping to formulate a number of research problems. The solution of these problems requires, according to Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown and others, broad comparative studies of different kinds of societies and organizations and penetrating research on the greatest possible number of different ones. He thought, that the structure of a society together with the totality of social customs is characterized by a specific unity, which may be named a functional unity. Emil Durkheim once defined the concept of an institution's function as the correspondence between the institution and the needs of the social organism. Instead of "need", Radcliffe-Brown uses the term "precondition for existence", and he offers an analogy between organical and social life. The continuation of organic life depends on the functioning of its structure, and in the same way the continuation of the social structure depends on processes of social life, that is on activities and interactions of the human individuals and organized groups, of which they are members.

Function, then, is linked with the concept of structure as the totality of relations between individual beings. Thanks to a life process, composed of the activities of the individual elements, continuity is secured. The social structure can, according to Radcliffe-Brown, be observed only in its functioning, and function is the contribution of the individual's activities to the activity of the totality of which he is a part. If one wants to study the social life of a collective of this or that kind it is, according to him, necessary to start with field studies and direct observation of its functioning as a

social structure. We discover the function by studying the influence of collective activities on the thoughts, feelings and actions of human individuals, and also by studying the coherence and unity of the given social system <sup>22</sup>.

In his "Essays on the theory of culture", Bronisław Malinowski distinguishes between the concept of "goal/objective of an organization" and the concept of "function of an organization". The tasks and duties, formulated by the organization, he calls aims or "the collection of symbols relating to certain values, which uniforms activities, steering them in a desired direction". The goals are the main foundation of an organization, a foundation that serves the continuity of the organization's idea and expresses intentions and is accepted by the members of the group. Organizations are created to meet factual needs of society. A real satisfaction of these needs is, according to the author, a function. Aims and functions are elements in every organization together with:

- a) the staff, a group organized on the base of some power / authority,
- b) rules and norms accepted by the members,
- c) material equipment, technical aids and resources at the disposal of the group,
- d) activities and actions of members.

An organization, by Malinowski also called an institution, is "a group of people united in order to undertake some simple or complicated actions, with technical resources and organized in accordance with certain legal rules and traditions, such as myths, legends, laws, principles, and also with a training and readiness to fulfill its tasks". In other words, function is the role of the organization in the frames of the general cultural pattern, "an integrated result of organized activity". On his basis of functional anthropology, the author very consequently operates with the concept of a global social system, in

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<sup>22</sup> Radcliffe-Brown, 1975, p. 192 - 195.

which all organizational elements of the system in the form of subsystems promote the functioning of the larger entities. The definition of function is used by the author in his studies of an organized and stabilized system of activities, defining its nature and its links with other auxiliary functions. The connection between the organization and society as a whole, should, according to Malinowski, be understood objectively, i.e. on the basis of the effects of the organized activities and not on the basis of subjective human judgments. When the effects are identical with the postulated aims of the undertaken actions, the realized function is equal to the planned function. People who are active in an organization are not always aware of the real, objective sense of their actions; only a researcher can catch this sense, with the help of sociological analysis.

The issue of an organization's function, as Malinowski sees it, is closely related to his theory of physiological needs in the disguise of cultural facts. The individual wants to satisfy his needs, but his behavior is conditioned culturally. Culture as an instrument determining physiological and anatomical factors in man makes him adapt himself to its demands by training, by development of skills, by awareness of norms and development of likes and dislikes. Further, joining education with culture is linked to the necessity for a specific organization of political, economical and normative elements, that create instrumental imperatives. These elements can be understood as systems of patterns, elaborated by cultural institutions and by special groups of people. These special groups the author considers as organizations in a factual sense<sup>23</sup>.

The concept of organizational functions, observed in the context of social needs, permits a multi-level interpretation of the consequences of the organization's activities, but it can only be applied on very small

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<sup>23</sup> Malinowski, Bronisław, *Szkice z teorii kultury*, in *Szkice: Naukowa teoria kultury*, Warszawa 1958, p. 40 - 166.

societies. The structures of industrial societies are varied and complex and they are submitted to social change and to development, both concerning needs and concerning varying interpretations of the consequences of the organization's actions, which may be seen as positive or negative in different evaluations. Needs can be defined differently in different classes and groups in society and also in this or that historical time; for this reason they are now seen as dependent variables of social structures.

The relativity of needs in the dialectical and historical variations of social life has been noted already, and Robert K. Merton found it useful to introduce the relativity of functions - which could be secret or public - and of the given organizational phenomenon, that could be functional or dysfunctional. Functions as he understands them, are observable consequences, which contribute to the adaptation and modification of the given system, and dysfunctions are observable results, diminishing this adaptation or modification. Public functions are objective consequences, which are contributing to modification or adaptation of the system and which are intended and acknowledged by the participants, whereas secret functions are neither intended nor acknowledged<sup>24</sup>. In Merton's analysis, categories of functional equivalents are used to express cognitive relativism. Certain phenomena, thus, may be functional for some people or some groups and dysfunctional for others, and therefore it is necessary to consider for which category of individuals a given phenomenon has these or those consequences. One must take into account people of different status, different subgroups, as well as the broader social and cultural system. Terminologically, functions can be labeled psychological functions, group functions, social functions and so on. Merton's distinctions allow us to avoid the confusion, often met in sociological literature, of conscious motivations in social

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<sup>24</sup> Merton, (1968) 1982, p. 122 - 138

behavior, and the objective consequences of this behavior.

In accordance with these recommendations, contemporary sociologists analyzing the functionality of some organization don't limit themselves to the exploration of intended aims (aspirations), but they also try to grasp the whole complexity of consequences, including non-intended ones. Side effects are very often judged differently depending on the interests of this or that group. Also in Malinowski's schema, in spite of some shortcomings, there are some assumptions of special value for modern understanding of the functionality of organizations, pointing to the dual directions of the connections between organization and society. One may speak of a constant exchange, when the external society gives financial or other support to the organization, and these means are transformed within the organization, internally, in such a way that the organization's actions serve to satisfy some needs of the wider society, for instance by working with people having or lacking a certain kind of experiences, knowledge or talents, and working for innovations or conservation. The system of connections between an organization and the global system can be very varied. Scholars explore among other things factors that make the organization dependent on the external center and they study the aspirations of the organization to gain independence from that center <sup>25</sup>.

In Malinowski's conception the most long-lived element is the basic distinction between intended function and realized function, and the accentuation of the organization's social role. Concerning this role, contemporary sociologists distinguish "expressive" organizations and "organizations of social influence" / pressure groups. Speaking of expressive groups, they think of the satisfaction of personal interests of the members, articulation of their needs and expression of

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<sup>25</sup> Op. cit., and Katz & Kahn, (1966) 1979, further Etzioni 1964.

their personalities. Organizations for social influence, pressure groups, are understood to organize control and some pressure upon institutions exerting power, aspirations to have part in power, and to have aspirations for social and political change and organization of information concerning public matters. Influence of this kind leads to reforms of reality. The satisfaction of the members' needs is in the scientific interpretations connected with the organization's psycho-social functions. Thanks to his group membership, the individual satisfies his needs, first of all his need for affiliation, expression and activity, and also maybe his need for cultural integration into society, vertically or horizontally. The group is also seen as an educational environment, as it promotes personal development. The active mechanism here is the propagation of patterns and values, application of sanctions, activation and self-education <sup>26</sup>.

The distinction between goals and functions has been the foundation for hypotheses in many research projects concerning organizations. The same is true in the analyzed literature on the subject of my study, in works determining the regularities in the functioning of associations under an anthropological aspect. The most characteristic conception in this respect is found in Ewa Karpowicz's book. As a sociologist she studies social organizations in small towns. Already in the subtitle the author informs us that she describes "their intended functions and their realized functions". She treats two examples.

Her analysis is based both on legal documents and on answers given by members in interviews and inquiries. Her research included organizations of the association kind in two small towns and 265 persons, active in these associations.

Thanks to the activists' answers it was possible to point out the main achievements of the studied

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<sup>26</sup> Rose, 1959, p. 329; Rose 1955, p. 159-63.

organizations, expressing themselves in a generalization of ideas desirable in the socialist system: economic development, cultural activities, character formation, and giving help to those in need (social welfare, charity work). The respondents also helped the author to draw conclusions concerning the spheres of activity of the organizations, which were: first, their role in promoting the citizens' participation in public life, secondly their contribution to activation and extension of the field of activities, and, thirdly, in filling psychosocial functions for the members. Interesting were the answers of the activists to the question about the aim of welfare work in the association, undertaken by themselves and by other members, and also the answers to the question about psychical benefit and sources of satisfaction for them from this work. The activists were led both by aims connected with the satisfaction of their own personal needs and by aims directed towards collective benefit. Among psychical benefits from the work in the organization, the activists mentioned: personal development, opportunities to make use of their special knowledge and skills, acquiring deeper knowledge, realization of interests, opportunities to present one's thoughts and to work independently, feelings of success, self-esteem, authority and self-reliance, sympathy from the environment and finding an outlet for one's energy. The greatest satisfaction came from working "for the benefit of other people" - and the least one - from work "for the firm" or "for the town". The research project also explored the degree of the activist's own initiative in deciding to become a member<sup>27</sup>

Ewa Karpowicz mainly analyzed the external functions of social organizations, connected with their field of activities. But she also studied some internal functions. As external functions the author considered economic tasks, social, educational, cultural and political-ideological tasks and tasks linked with social

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<sup>27</sup> Karpowicz, 1977.

control. As internal tasks she considered integration, activation and - once again - education. As the author writes, the internal functions are connected with the needs and interests of the members, and the borders between the different categories of functions are not sharp. As a matter of fact, when an organization satisfies the needs of its members, it at the same time satisfies needs of the broader society, of which these members are an element.

The research projects under discussion pointed to the activating role of a voluntary organization in the development of the area where the organization works as well as offering satisfaction of the members' psychosocial needs. The author also wanted to demonstrate the educational role of the organizations, but - as she herself admits - this didn't fully succeed. The educational activities were treated in a general way and not empirically. In spite of this and in spite of the too small scale of her field study, the author's attempt at confronting social functions with the organizations' juridical, political and ideological assumptions has given interesting results, especially as she brought to the fore some fundamental questions concerning the factual functions of the studied organizations and pointed out weaknesses, mistakes, deviations and lack of consequence in the activities of the organizations. She also tried to identify some of the sources of these weaknesses; above all she found them in "the very advanced stabilization of the organizations' basic fields of activities", and also in the principle of rigidity of general goals, what limits the participation of the members in developing the program of activities. The author also pointed out that "too little weight was given to the need for integration of the members into public life, what prevents the optimal development of activity and social involvement of the membership" <sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> Op. cit. p. 167 - 168.

We are here dealing with a diagnosis of the factual functioning of voluntary field organizations, an analysis of phenomena and facts connected with the activities of these organizations and with the detection of some relations between them. Here we can see a model of analysis in its classical form. In her work, like in many other sociological works, intended or postulated aims are called "intended function" and the results following these goals, both intentional and incidental ones, are called "factual function" or "realized function".

Organizations are always created for some purposes, which are the rationale for the existence of the organizations. For this reason, the analysis of goals, aims and objectives is fundamental in a scientific sense. It permits the researcher to determine several traits in the studied organization, and may also be the gauge for the adequacy of other observations. The question of this adequacy is especially linked with the analysis of the interrelationship between the organization and its socio-cultural context. The context is the conditions of a variable culture, a culture in change. The aims are always involved in processes of adaptation to the surrounding reality, which decides on tasks and orientations within organizations, although also the aims of the members have to be considered to a certain degree; they may also have some influence on the formation of the external imperatives. Tasks are goals put before the organizations by specific pressure groups. If the member groups are aware of and accept the goals, these will become its directives. This specific pluralism of aims may be an important index for the competence of the members, their readiness to act, and also a measure for the dependency or autonomy of the organization.

Goals can be more closely defined in such a way that possibilities are given or not given, to interpret them differently. Goals expressed in general terms give a wider freedom of interpretation, whereas very exactly defined goals limit that freedom. This influences both the

activities of the organization and the climate in it. Precision or ambiguity of goals is a very important factor for the evaluation of how the organization is functioning. Important to organizations is above all the correspondence between the members' orientation and the imperative demands from society as a whole. The members, however, will realize these external aims only as far as they correspond to their own desires and motivations. Comparisons of goals from the aspect of ambiguity-precision are important, and this, in its turn, has to lead to analyzing the needs and motivations of the individuals and of the collective.

All these arguments are linked with the problems of research on the functions of organizations in relation to society as a whole and with the problem of the relationship organization-environment. Both the needs and the societal rationales of the larger structure are relative. Wanting to determine the functions of a given organization, one must see this organization in its class relationship and from the aspects of conflicting group interests: from a historical aspect, or from a geographical, a social, a political, a cultural, or a psychological one. In the organizational system of socialist society, for example, associations were out of principle predisposed to play a political role, transferring Marxist ideas and directives to the mass of members in the interest of the party programs. This is documented by a series of notes in the legal regulative of these organizations, especially concerning secularization, the formation of internalized attitudes and in general the dissemination of socialist culture. Obviously, also the aims laid down in the statutes of the organizations were relevant, and different types could be distinguished. Some organizations mainly pursued goals connected with sports, others had cultural goals, others just tried to simplify their work by linking their activities to the needs of their members.

## DIFFERENT SCIENTIFIC APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF THE EFFICIENCY OF AN ASSOCIATION.

It seemed that applying the concept of function in research on organized human collectives would definitely solve the problem of describing them objectively. But this did not yet happen, although experts in anthropology, social psychology, sociology and education willingly did apply it. Some of them themselves admit that their schemata of functions are not yet perfect. The efficiency of an organization, taken as a dependent variable is, they say, hard to catch. Also measurements of efficiency with the help of independent variables, for example of a socio-psychological kind, meet with interpretational limitations. The concept of efficiency is, it has been said, "rather obscure, and a consequence of this is the collection of comparatively ample data and very little understanding of what they mean" <sup>29</sup>.

In reality, even organizational sociologists, who may be the ones who in the most specialized way try to measure different aspects of the efficiency of industrial organizations - their favorite object of research - don't pay much attention to efficiency as such; instead they more often focus on measurements of conditions, in which the given organization is more or less efficient. Of importance, then, are profit, productivity, absenteeism, drifting among workers. Studying the input-output ratio in the given organization, they analyze different variables of role performance and ways of control, decision-making of the leadership, functioning of the information systems, allocation of financial resources and the application of new technique in production. Also different types of organizational structure are important <sup>30</sup>. Authors of works on associations acted in a similar

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<sup>29</sup> Yuchtman & Seashore, (1973) 1983, p. 222.

<sup>30</sup> See: Koźmiński, 1976, p. 105- 129, and Kamiński, Ant., 1976, p. 131 - 168, and Solarz, 1976, p. 239 - 275.

way in their research. In all the texts analyzed here, attention was given to a characterization of conditions of functioning of the studied collectives, although not all of them accomplished this in the same way.

Efficiency in an organization may be determined with the help of different concepts, categories and operational definitions, taking into account different points of departure for deciding which organizational practice and strategy is the best. Americans have observed such parameters as: size of the organization, the degree of harmony or discord between the goals of the organization and the needs and aims of its members, skills and motivation needed for pursuing the goals of the organization. They have also interpreted organizational phenomena differently. To the most well-known theories belong George Homans' theory of one internal and one external social system, Daniel Katz' and Robert L. Kahn's theory of the open social system, and further Theodor Newcomb's and Ralph Linton's theory <sup>31</sup>.

Up till now the vast majority of investigators tend to an approach based on two assumptions: first, that the organization sets a final goal, a specific function or identifying mission that it seeks to fulfill, and secondly that it is possible, by research, to identify that goal and determine to what degree it has been reached. The verification of the conclusions has been done either by analyzing the formal legal regulators of the given organization and by interviews or inquiries among the staff or by deducing the final goal from the theory and methods the researcher has adopted. In the first case one speaks of an "ascribed" goal or aim, in the second case of a "deduced" one. Working with the ascribed goal is in literature labeled "the formulated goal" and with the deduced goals (which may very well be different from the intended and conscious ones of the members) - "the functional conception" <sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> Cf Homans, 1950, Katz & Kahn, 1979; Linton, (1936) 1975; Newcomb et al., (1966) 1970.

<sup>32</sup> Yuchtman & Seashore, (1973) 1983, p. 223.

This goal-directed approach in assessing the efficiency of an organization has been criticized, because the method of using documents and interviewing those responsible to determine goals and aims brings the risk of idealization, rationalization, deformation, forgetting or even the suppression of certain crucial aspects of the functioning of the organization. Some methodological limitations are typical of this method: it does not permit a realistic evaluation, because the goals are ideal constructs. It has also been said that goals cannot be seen as characteristics of the organization itself, as they are products of the culture outside the organization. Some scholars even think that it is impossible to distinguish goals / aims from effects, because influences from the environment obscure the relation between goals and results, and people learn to work towards realistic goals and not towards ideal ones. Further it is thought, that organizational goals "are nothing but a process that is forced upon the organization by different forces in the environment, and not at all results, that the organization strives to attain" <sup>33</sup>.

All these objections undermine the foundations for this approach as a universal method in the study of efficiency in organizations, but they do not entirely wipe out the use of the concept of goals in the analysis of an organization. It may be useful in the study of people in organizations. In the light of the presented criticism, those Polish works treating associations and other social organizations, comparing assumed and realized aims, and especially those describing only ascribed/ attributed goals - all those works are not of any greater scientific interest. A bit more successful are just those studies, where the analysis of goals is done in order to characterize the human resources of the organization.

In American literature also the functional approach is criticized, although it is seen as superior to the described goal-directed one. The deduced goals approach

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<sup>33</sup> Op. cit. 223 - 226.

is regarded to be better than attributed goals approach: if one accepts the postulates and premisses of the functional model of the core of an organization and of its links with the total social structure, this solves the problem of identifying the final goals of the organization. The weakness of the functional approach, especially in Parsons' version, is connected with the concept of a system of external relations, which is a hierarchically superior system in relation to the organization, and not the organization itself. The functional model doesn't take this into account. It is also thought, that the model doesn't sufficiently specify the relations between the organization and its environment - the same criticism that was directed towards the goaldirected approach. One cannot, for instance, study the problem of organizational autonomy with the help of the functional approach<sup>34</sup>.

Some authors criticize both conceptions as traditional and inadequate in face of a complex reality, and they propose a third kind of scientific convention, which they label a conception, "in the light of the system's resources". They define these resources in the following way: "resources are (more or less) generalized means or facilities, that can be controlled by the organization and potentially - although indirectly - may be useful in the relations between the organization and its environment". In this view, it is postulated that the organization itself - and not any external entity - should be taken as the central system of reference, and that the object of research ought to be the relations between the organization and its environment. This is said to be a model for scientific analysis offering a universal schema - i.e. one applicable to all kinds of organizations - and making it possible, at the same time, to account for the uniqueness, the variability and changes in the given organization as well as comparing it with others.

To the authors of this conception, an organization is an open system with interactional relationship with its

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<sup>34</sup> Op. cit. 226 - 228.

environment and at the same time having certain distinguishing traits that make it possible to identify the studied organization. The connections of this system with the environment have to be a source of information concerning its functioning and efficiency, and the factual efficiency - not the behavior of people in the organisation - has to be the object of research. The final goals or the function of the organization are not to be taken into account. In two cases, however, it is permissible to involve the specific goals of the given organization:

1) in the description of means and strategies used by members to strengthen the position of the organization in negotiations, and

2) in the description of the personal goals of individual members or groups of members in the frames of the organizational system.

The criterion of efficiency is seen in the "bargaining strength" of the given organization, by which it is placed in this or that position in the social system. The place of the studied organization in the hierarchy of different social systems is said to be precisely a measure of this efficiency. Organizations may attain a certain bargaining strength with varying success in three steps: by importing resources - especially rare and valuable ones - , by using them, and by exporting them. The attention of the researcher has to be directed towards the continuous process of exchange and competition concerning these resources.

The authors of this conception maintain, that it facilitates a comparative evaluation of any two or more organizations, that in their relationship show elements of rivalry. Finding out the dimensions of competition in transactions between the organizations is the most important thing in evaluating their efficiency. Human activity is, as they write, "an important class of organizational resources", but people as an integral part of the organization count only as far as they are useful to it. In the conception one underlines the importance of

observing many variables and having multidimensional criteria and changing the interpretations of variables like profit or quantitative growth of the organization, that do not necessarily at all denote achievements<sup>35</sup>

In organizational sociology the research approaches described here, and presently becoming more and more criticized, are linked with broader theoretical foundations, that can be characterized as:

- a) classical organization theories,
- b) psychological organization theories,
- c) modern organization theories.

This threepartite way of simplifying the richness of problems has been exchanged for another one, distinguishing

- a) theoreticians of administrative systems.
- b) structuralist theoreticians,
- c) theoreticians of social groups,
- d) technological theoreticians,
- e) theoreticians of social systems.

F. W. Taylor is considered creator of the classical doctrine; in Poland his ideas are known as the "scientific organization of work". His technique for determining norms for work and production have become the fundament for a whole system of a - as it is seen today - "social philosophy of exploitation, typical of the epoch of class conflict between work and capital in capitalistic enterprises". To Taylor, man was just a subsidiary to the machine, valuable in relation to his physiological working capacity. In spite of the criticism connected with the philosophical subtext of this mechanistic conception, some of the author's ideas are still used, such as his methods of measuring the elements of work and his specific way of calculating due remuneration.

To the representatives of the classical stream of research are also counted scholars interested in problems of organizational administration. This group of

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<sup>35</sup> Op. cit. 228 - 235.

researchers is then called the "School of Administration". In their analyses the basic categories were: distribution of work, quantitative and functional processes, structure and scope of control, distribution of activities and positions in the organization, particular aims and tasks (e.g. production, service, finance, coordination), discipline, authority, centralization, the structure in decision-making and order-giving, hierarchy and stability of staff. On the other hand they didn't duly appreciate the problems of motivation, conflicts, informal groups and the personalities of the workers, and this deficiency is today strongly criticized.

To the psychological theories of organizations also belongs the so called "human relations school", with its neoclassical and naturalistic doctrine. This school was founded on E. Mayo's and his group's research in American factories and on research by behaviorist psychologists. They treat organizations as social systems, in which the behavior of the members as "a function of motivation of the individual and expectations of the social environment concerning the actors in the industrial, administrative, military or political game" is conditioned by the processes of work and leadership. The neoclassical doctrine accentuates the game, the 'human relations', involving the steering and the steered. Important is also the conviction that an improvement in the leadership's social qualifications will lead to an improvement of the working climate and to a fuller appreciation of the worker as a member of the collective. The initiators and the continuators of this doctrine also thought, that one must see not only the problems of the individual in the industrial civilization but also the social problems of groups in that civilization. They were further convinced that overcoming the negative phenomena found in industrial towns and productional units is possible if better conditions of cooperation are created. This thesis is the most criticized one today.

In modern organizational theories we meet another analysis of organizational problems, in which it is possible to use research perspectives of different branches of science: mathematics, informatics, cybernetics, sociology, psychology, praxeology or system theory. This conception has been created not only because there was a need for a multidimensional methodological approach but also because research institutes had an opportunity to be equipped with computers<sup>36</sup>.

The analysis of the situation in sociological research concerning organizations could be very extensive, because many research projects have been undertaken. Above all, however, just one type of organization has been taken into consideration. As W. Morawski observed, in Polish and foreign literature in the field of sociology of organizations, there is a concentration of attention to the industrial enterprise and the psychosocial aspects of its functioning, which means a considerable limitation<sup>37</sup>. The cause may have been the commercial interests of the sponsors and the special way the Anglo-Saxons treat science. Robert K. Merton once observed that there are relations between Puritanism, Pietism and Science - between society and science. These relations are said to be clearly visible if we compare how Protestants and Catholics work with science. Puritans, the author claims, put the greatest weight on natural science and technology, whereas Catholics considerably restrict these areas. Puritans are characterized by neo-realistic, utilitarian and empirical dispositions, and they believe in the victory of reason. Utilitarian norms are important in their attitudes, whereas Catholics prefer theoretical research<sup>38</sup>.

The association as a kind of organization, specific in a legal sense, hasn't so far attracted much interest among Western scholars. Sociologists in socialist

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<sup>36</sup> Doktor, 1976, p. 135.

<sup>37</sup> Morawski, 1976, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> Merton, (1966) 1982, p. 601 - 621.

countries have taken a special stand in questions concerning organizational research. Although they declared their interest in socio-humanistic problems of the organization, they were mainly occupied by problems of economic function and administration. On the other hand, pedagogues and historians have taken an interest in associations from a typically humanistic aspect. It should be noted, for example, that the concept "system" very seldom is seen in their works. In my review of research projects, only two works oriented towards history and local neighborhood do study organizations as subsystems of wider structural, legal, political and educational systems. These works deal with the analysis of socio-educational functions of associations with a broader background <sup>39</sup>.

In all the studied cases involving associations there is one trait in common: the very visible interest in the people within the organizations, and then above all, in the activists - board members, functionaries etc. The studies concern motives for membership and for active participation, personality traits in activists, and - mainly - their aspirations, their value systems and the level of their social involvement. For humanists it is obvious, that people are the acting force and that the destiny of organizations depends on them - then it is surely worth while to pay attention to them. After all, the organizations exist for the sake of the members. The problem of organizational efficiency, bringing into being a multitude of methodological approaches, is especially complicated in research projects in pedagogical (anthropogical) sciences. Today the educational activities of these organizations are almost exclusively described in the categories of process and system. The motive for this is the structure and organization of the series of actions undertaken by individuals or collectively in order to change, step by step, the personality of the student. Educational theoreticians analyze the personality-forming

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<sup>39</sup> Ratman-Liverska, 1984 (e), and Kabziński, 1985.

influences both on the level of processes and on the level of systems, what provides a basis for research into effects of these influences both on the level of educational processes and on the level of educational systems. Especially the systems concept is one of the scientific aspects giving hopes of new discoveries <sup>40</sup>.

But the concept of educational system is defined differently. Taking into consideration the variety of theoretical and methodological foundations, we find in literature three different kinds of system investigations: 1) the axiological one, in which personality models are formed and educational ideals and patterns are founded on the chosen value system and on the catalogue of educational goals; 2) the sociological one in which occurs an analysis of the functioning of the social system as a group of people educationally influencing each other, in accordance with the assumptions of social sciences; 3) the praxeological one, in which it is postulated that education is a system of human activities dependent on certain conditions and with a certain goal. - In the axiological orientation, the projects of the educational systems have a conceptual character. These projects are criticized mainly because there are serious and unavoidable discrepancies between the a priori assumed complex function and the factual function of the system. The theoretical models of educational systems also put restrictions on inventions and initiatives of the institutions where the visions are realized in practice. They induce a uniformization of the educational work on the level of the individual institutions. Especially dangerous may here be cybernetic educational models in which no deviations from the postulated parameters are expected.

The sociological understanding of the educational system helps disclose the links between the system in an individual institution and the local environment. It facilitates seeing structures within the system as subsystems in cooperation with each other, e.g.: the

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<sup>40</sup> Cf Muszyński, 1976; Kamiński, 1974, p. 43 - 48, and Radziewicz, 1983.

didactic system, the educational system, the administrative, economical etc. system and their interrelations and functionality in relation to the institutional system and also in relation to the goals of society as a whole and those of the local neighborhood. Also this approach has been criticized. It has been said, that studying a social system in concrete institutions or in different kinds of institutions doesn't give sufficient foundation for more general statements concerning conditions for the functioning of an educational system. Some scholars also think, that "by accepting in their research and theory building the sociological heritage, these authors of works on school systems and educational systems in different environments also have taken over the weaknesses and immaturity of that scientific discipline" <sup>41</sup>.

The praxeological approach is above all applied in the analysis of micro-systems, systems existing in individual educational institutions. In educational microsystems the analysis includes elements of four categories: contents of education, educational techniques, organizational forms, and external attributes. These categories form substructures (concerned with contents, organization, methods or with social structures). In some conceptions the microsystems become the basis for wider hierarchical sets of systems. In this case the development of the microsystem, although influenced by external factors, also is submitted to the laws of self-development. In literature it is thought, that this way of analyzing the system is highly commendable because of its consistence, its diagnostic precision and the possibilities for a dialectical analysis of what exists in reality <sup>42</sup>.

Pedagogues understand efficiency as effects of educational activities, which may be characterized by reaching the postulated goal to a higher or lower degree. Efficiency is measured by the degree of correspondence

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<sup>41</sup> Op. cit. p. 34.

<sup>42</sup> Op. cit. p. 31.

between factual results and postulated ones. Important is the problem of such categories of educational goals that can be quantified in order to allow empirical verification of the level of goal attainment. Most often also personality dispositions are taken into account: ideals, attitudes and patterns of behavior. These problems are extensively treated in educational sciences<sup>43</sup>.

Many empiricists think that research concerning symptoms of educational effects will become a study of attitudes of different kinds: cognitive, emotional and volitional elements of man's relationship to reality, if the psychological universe of attitudes is accepted, or otherwise only the individual's emotional relationship to reality, expressed through the respondent's value judgments, convictions and declarations, if the consonant attitude structure of sociology is accepted. In the psychological variety a scale of attitudes is built and one can with precision penetrate into their interior structure; in the case of sociological research, however, conclusions concerning the given attitudes are drawn on the basis of inferred indices <sup>44</sup>.

Instead of attitudes, some scholars endeavor to characterize their whole complex in the form of so called "main social roles". The research problem in this conception resolves itself into determining, to what degree the educational activities undertaken at school / institution level (micro scale) lead to the realization of educational goals formulated as main social roles: the roles of a citizen, an employee, a rational consumer, an active participant in cultural or political-ideological life, or the role of a member in an organization. As a measure of the educational effects in this case is taken the frequency of occurrence of behavior characteristic of the main social roles, and as a measure of efficiency - the degree to which the undertaken tasks have influenced the attained effects in the form of frequent behavior

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<sup>43</sup> Cf Muszyński, 1974, Szczepański, 1977, and Czerepaniak-Walczak, 1983.

<sup>44</sup> Cf Gesicki, 1986, p. 67 - 78.

concordant with the codes and norms of the main social roles <sup>45</sup>

Could really all processes of formation of attitudes and of main social roles be attributed exclusively to the studied educational system? Part of attitudes and roles might be the result of undiagnosed factors outside this system. These factors may promote or counteract the desired effect. Research of this kind offers the same advantages and the same risks as the goal-directed approach already discussed above.

In the study of effects of education there is also the possibility of appraising educational activities from a historical perspective. It is thought that a correct appraisal of the efficiency of educational activities can be done only from a certain distance in time. The draw-back is, that analyses made this way, as a rule concern the whole of educational influences on a generation or a selected group of people therein - they are holistic analyses of macro-systems. Further, with the rapid changes in social, economical, political and cultural conditions in which educational activities take place, educational systems of the past may not keep the same efficiency today - and thus they may not be worth researching <sup>46</sup>.

The deficiencies in existing methodological approaches in research concerning educational processes and systems - and, for that matter, also concerning other organizational systems - point to the need for finding more effective methods and more precise instruments for measurements. It may be worth while to try to apply here the kind of complex and interdisciplinary system analysis proposed by sociologists. Perhaps more attention should be paid to the problems of functions and dysfunctions of existing studied systems? Maria Hirszowicz once categorically stated, that the time has come to oppose to a unilateral approach, where some researchers analyze the organization without human beings (machine model), and

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<sup>45</sup> Czerepaniak-Walczak, 1983.

<sup>46</sup> Gęsicki, 1986.

others analyze man without organization (narrow psychological interpretation). One instead ought to take into account, she thinks, the sociological set of organizational factors in the processes. A crucial problem of today is to coordinate the modern organizations to the varying and often conflicting needs and interests of society<sup>47</sup>. Let us add, that not only the sociological conditions are important, but in general the problems of multidimensionality of factors. No organization exists in a vacuum, but in a complicated system of macro-structures. It is necessary to include in the analysis the threads explaining how the given organization is bound to the wider and widest social structure, accounting for factors like: the governing of the global society, the functioning of the economical system in decision-making and in information supply, processes of formalization and bureaucratization, processes of innovation and of institutionalization<sup>48</sup>.

On the other hand, scientific analysis demands precision and scrupulousness in conclusions, which must be founded on a micrographic description of the studied structures. For this reason one also ought to include the problems of internal processes and reciprocal connections of elements in order to give an exact and objective picture of the acting system, with its characteristic functions, dysfunctions and hidden functions. Further, this cannot be a frozen picture, because the dialectical factor of changes and development must be taken into account in a rapidly changing world. Another important problem concerns the unambiguity of concepts in an interdisciplinary approach - concepts that ought to be universal so that all sciences involved in the research project should be able to use them.

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<sup>47</sup> Hirszowicz, 1967.

<sup>48</sup> Morawski, 1976, 7 - 11.

## THE CONCEPTS OF EDUCATION, IDENTITY AND BEHAVIORAL CHANGE.

In studies dealing with pedagogical aspects of the work of voluntary associations and similar organizations we find very different definitions of the concept of education. Some authors tend to identify the educational processes in the institutions they have studied with all processes that they have found there, that is with socialization, social integration, expression et cetera. This is the case in the works of Alexander Kamiński, Irena Lepalczyk and Krzysztof Kabziński<sup>49</sup>. Others, however, distinguish between educational processes and those other social processes labeled by sociology as socialization, expression and integration. Further, in the framework of andragogically understood educational processes, they differentiate between different kinds of these. Especially - to give an example - they describe on one hand planned and goal-oriented educational processes governed by somebody else, on the other hand processes of self-education, "auto-creation" of the personality, according to differences in organization and (acting) subject<sup>50</sup>.

Taking into account the macrostructure of the educational processes, sociologists understand them as components of the general social development, the basic function of which is the tradition of culture from generation to generation and the preparation of new generations for an active and creative participation in the socio-cultural development. The educational processes in relation to the individual, seen on the basis of cultural-civilizational macrostructures in different societies, and the educational systems that correspond to them, as well as on the basis of the microstructures or the educational institutions of different kinds, are understood as his (the

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<sup>49</sup> Kamiński, A., 1974 (b), p. 155; Lepalczyk (Ed.), 1974; Kabziński, 1985.

<sup>50</sup> Muszyński, 1976; Miller, R., 1981; Pólturzycki, 1974; Ratman-Liwierska, 1983.

individual's) socialization through integration, over time, in more and more numerous and - as far as educational influences are concerned - more differentiated social groupings and entering into roles typical of these social groups (small child in family, pupil in school, member or leader in groups, worker in a factory etc.).

As the individual widens his or her participation in different groups and takes more and more numerous social roles in the process of education, the corresponding competence is also developed: skills and knowledge, intellectual experiences, motives and attitudes, ambitions and traits of character etc. In connection with such a globally and socially understood process, educational sociologists observe a dual function: 1/ on the social heritage level: the transfer and acquisition of elementary cultural values and the corresponding set of behavior through the individual's participation in social life; 2/ on the level of planned, institutionalised educational activities: strengthening the social development and guiding it by making the young generations aware of their present and future tasks in society and by developing adequate attitudes, knowledge and skills.

The basis for the identification, in sociology, of the process of education with that of socialization is the thesis, according to which the process of education in society as a whole is brought about by a series of linked factors, that do not function in isolation from the totality of society; the educational functioning of every educational institution is regulated by general, socio-cultural and legal-formal factors <sup>51</sup>.

The sciences dealing with education, however, make a distinction between education and socialization, or, at least, they realize the need to observe, that personality development can be understood in a wider or in a more limited sense. In this case one thinks of a process of social development in the individual, taking place through his / her participation in social life -

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<sup>51</sup> Kowalski, 1979.

sometimes called "non-planned education" or "natural education" as opposed to an intentionally planned, institutionalized one. Those advocating the need to differentiate between education and socialization are in general interested in the normative side of education. Heliodor Muszyński, who roots on Marxist pedagogy, thinks that the intentional educational activity is always a fundamental element of social life, which in its turn can be planned and organized. Education as a specific social phenomenon - a product of and at the same time an integrant element of collective life has to be studied in the context of the group in which it takes place, of its internal structure and internal social processes; this may be an object of study for sociologists. The pedagogue's interest will lie in education as an activity in society with certain directing goals and a determination of internal (= included in the activity itself) and external conditions for the efficiency of planned educational processes <sup>52</sup>.

For this theoretician of education it is also essential to distinguish between educational processes and socialization. Education is defined as "all intentional activities in the form of social interaction, aiming at positive and lasting changes in human personalities". Socialization, on the other hand, is "the sum of processes by which the individual, under the influence of the surrounding society, acquires psychical dispositions making him/her capable of living in a civilized society". The concept of socialization may in this context include all kinds of influences, intentional as well as unintentional ones <sup>53</sup>.

Heliodor Muszyński also relates to the problem of the student's person: according to earlier definitions only children and youth would be students, but in Muszyński's opinion, such a narrow definition is no longer acceptable, because everybody may be exposed to educational influences, irrespective of age or social position. In a

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<sup>52</sup> Muszyński, 1976, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> Op. cit. p. 22

similar way, he makes a distinction between education and training. Human personality is composed of two fundamental kinds of psychical dispositions: directive dispositions and instrumental ones. The former kind will influence how a person relates to the world and to himself, his goals and values. The latter kind, on the other hand, will decide on the executive side of human endeavors, i.e. on what kind of actions will be taken in order to realize the intentions. In the first case, we are dealing with emotional-volitional processes, in the second one with intelligence and skills. Different psychological regularities determine their development.

In practice, thus, there may be teaching and learning as the mere transmission of knowledge and skills, not concerned with the forming of directive dispositions (goals) - or also a teaching, that at the same time also shapes human attitudes, value systems and motivations. Between these two kinds of processes (training and education) there are differences in practice, and consequently there must be important distinctions to be made between the two scientific concepts.

This duplicity of personality-forming processes has got different names in pedagogical theory. In training we are dealing with activities, seeking to shape, modify or develop certain instrumental dispositions, skills, in the individual - i.e. "instrumental training". In "directive education", on the other hand, we are concerned with activities seeking to shape, modify or develop volitional dispositions of a certain stability over time. Further subdivisions of the two main concepts of training and education have been proposed. The educational results may lie within the ideological, moral, social or aesthetical sector, and the training may concern general skills or vocational ones <sup>54</sup>. The pedagogical and didactic methods will also be different, a fact that has been the theme of several books in these two disciplines of applied science.

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<sup>54</sup> Op. cit. p. 26

Taking these considerations into account, we may conclude, that - in spite of the fact that education in all the given examples has been treated as an unseparable element of life in society, there are conceptual differences. If education is explained by exposing its relationship with the structures of the collective in which education takes place, then the focus is on the societal and social context, characteristic of sociological thinking and research. When the focus lies on the description and explanation of changes over time in educational practice, these changes will be studied in the framework of the conventions of the science of history. Further: if the focus of interest lies on the psychic (psychological) structures of the people involved, then this study falls within psychology. But, if education is understood under the aspect of its tasks and goals and if the researcher in this connection describes or projects certain sets of activities intended to produce certain effects on the student's personality, then we are dealing with pedagogical-praxeological research.

Many experts on problems concerning task-oriented education are of the opinion that the criterion of intentionality is the main characteristic of their position. Their project is to describe the varieties and the time-and-space order of activities, that under given conditions will lead to the realization of a vision of an altered and more desirable state of matters than the present one. This presupposes an awareness of the goal, and a knowledge of the effects of the undertaken operations. The study of goals requires axiological considerations of goal formulas, deduced from a certain value system, as well as deliberations concerning methods and conditions for modifying human personality - part of the theory of education. It is also necessary to project technologically the actions that are adequate in relation to the given goals and consistent with priority values. In accordance with deliberations concerning these three sectors of practical activities, decisions will have to be made on educational

goals, on selection of participants, tasks, organization of the educational activities, and the situations in which they are to be implemented. To describe education as a societal activity in pedagogy means characterizing it in all three aspects mentioned above <sup>55</sup>.

Of interest for our theme are the conceptions in the field of pedagogical theory that facilitate an objective description and explanation of educational processes in associations as goal-oriented groups. In the comprehensive works of Heliodor Muszyński (1974, 1975, 1976), Romana Miller (1966, 1981) and Krzysztof Konarzewski (1982) we get acquainted with a precise characterization of complex educational processes, their preconditions and the complicated problems of interpreting educational outcomes. We also learn to distinguish between the basic concepts of education and training, socialization and psycho-therapy, forms and methods of personality-forming influences. Of importance to us is the difference between "systemic" and "simple" kinds of educational activities. Activities of the systemic kind include individual institutions or small educational groups, as well as large groups, societal organizations, or the educational system of society as a whole, of which the others are subsystems. Simple educational activities have the form of individual tuition, group tuition, collective tuition (the work of an educator with a group of students/pupils), and self-education (identity of subject and object /educator - educand) <sup>56</sup>.

Analyzing literature to the subject, including not only works from pedagogy but also those from social psychology and sociology, we arrive at the conclusion that the individual can be educated in and by a group. It has been proved, that the source of psychic / psychological change in the individual may be not only the educational activity as such, but also the behavior of the people who form the learner's social environment. In the

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<sup>55</sup> Konarzewski, 1982, Urbański, 1986, p. 44.

<sup>56</sup> Muszyński, 1976; Miller 1981, and Konarzewski, 1982

group method, the educator (the initiator, the creator of the educational situation, the decision maker) refrains from direct influence and tries to shape the social environment of the "educand" (be it a pupil, a worker, a TV-viewer, a son) in such a way that its impact supports the intended changes in the learner, in his views, attitudes and behavior. To the educator's disposition for this purpose are techniques for selecting group members and composing groups, the use of parallel, competing groups, techniques for exerting pressure through the application of punishments and rewards, the possibilities of modifying social norms and roles and even those of modifying the cultural life pattern. Of importance are also group project methods, which do not demand the presence of the educator <sup>57</sup>.

As far as we are dealing with associations with educational tasks in their programs, as educational ones, in which the methods of personal, situational and social influence are functioning beside methods of guided self-education, we easily notice that they are specific pedagogical structures, as individual subsystems belonging to the societal educational system and having many connections with other subsystems. We will also notice the variety of organizational structures, operated by the decisionmakers of these structures <sup>58</sup>.

All attempts at influencing the personality are characterized by some degree of intentionality and organization. More and more researchers tend to the opinion that there are no unintentional influences - what was earlier labeled "natural education". They think that in the life of human collectives there exist mechanisms for social control in a political, economical, moral, or educational sense - in all these cases there exists a certain degree of intentionality in the actions influencing human personality. This intentionality may have different sources, different forms and degrees, it may be

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<sup>57</sup> Op. cit. 1982, p. 204.

<sup>58</sup> Muszyński, 1976, p. 308.

characterized by secrecy or openness, by competence or lack of it, by professionalism or amateurism founded on everyday observations, by preference for rewards and sanctions et cetera. Intentional education may take place in the family, in a factory or with the help of mass media. In the family we can see how clearly the educational aims and objectives are articulated - they propagate political programs and we can study specific methods of influencing the child, the projections of visions of the future personality of the son or daughter. In the working-place, employees are given opportunities for self-realization, competition and co-determination concerning working conditions and interpersonal relations. Mass media as instruments of political, economical, and administrative power propagate the specific intentions of these powers - they propagate political programs and seek to make people respect political and legal order. All the examples mentioned do show that there is a very great variety of options in effecting personality changes, because a lot of institutions are interested in shaping a specific human profile, although they represent different powers: political, economical, educational, or others<sup>59</sup>. If the techniques for cultural or social influences on the personalities of individuals living in human collectives are called intentional education, then it is acceptable to identify educational processes with planned socialization. But it would be erroneous to state that all socialisational influences have an additional importance in an educational sense. The fact is that there are also negative influences, creating barriers to the process of influencing educationally. The effects of such influences cannot be included among the ideals formulated by axiological pedagogy. Romana Miller correctly proposed the distinction between positive and negative socialization, and on this basis, she distinguished the concept of education from that of socialization<sup>60</sup>. This classification

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<sup>59</sup> Urbański, 1986, p. 49.

<sup>60</sup> Miller, 1981.

is still under debate - and the issue may not be of importance to the practitioners of education. Irrespective of the semantic differences, however, we have to consider what possibilities the social group has for effecting behavioral changes in the individual members.

On the basis of sociology, social psychology and other behavioral sciences, we are familiar with the group's capacity to model behavior and attitudes, also labeled the group's capacity for behavioral changes. There are theoretical models of group behavior and models of the behavior of individuals in groups, descriptions of structural and environmental determinants of this behavior - such as developing the goals and the structure of the organization, the establishment of a formal system for the distribution of sanctions and rewards, interpersonal processes, group ecology, and leadership. Evaluating behavior, one applies different criteria: productivity, rate of innovations, job satisfaction, loyalty, absenteeism et cetera. Strategies are being developed for directing and changing human behavior, using different conceptions, like the theory of small group ecology, the theory of groups dynamics, the theories of conditioning and modeling, the theory of guidance and counseling. Important for human behavior in groups is also the level of consciousness in members, and for that matter, also their motivations, values and attitudes are taken into account. In this connection, theories of motivation, perception, identification et cetera have been created.

The theories of small group ecology are founded on research in locally specified, internally ordered human groups, treated as the independent variable. The research program, initiated by the Americans in the fifties, seeks to interpret the different forms of internal adaptation of groups under different conditions, describe their impact on the communication process, on work efficiency and social relations, and to elucidate the role of leadership style and the effects of the arrangement of chairs in the room, when members' behavior is concerned. The main

basis in these theories is the thesis stating the strong influence of intra-group ecology on the feelings of the members and on group behavior, It has been shown, e.g., that the size of the group (the number of members) influences group structure, its closedness, and some dimensions of its activities. The size also directly influences behavior and attitudes.

Very important are the control mechanisms and the "tools" at the disposal of the group leader, helping him guide, develop or restrict the members' activities. It also turned out to be possible to create conditions, in which a person will be prepared to take greater risks, if he is allowed to take decisions together with the rest of the group members (transfer of risk). It was proved that the "local" relations between people bring about specific ways of mutual orientation and often decide on the quality of problem solving and on the degree of conforming to group pressure and even on the degree of satisfaction <sup>61</sup>.

The theory of group dynamics was founded by Kurt Lewin, who studied group processes experimentally, using the special technique of action research. These theories interpret the strategies for changing human behavior, i.e. education, schooling, vocational retraining, counseling, therapies et cetera. Americans admit that it is very difficult to keep all these terms separated semantically, and so they prefer using the general term of "change". Group dynamics is related to the forces that are active in groups, and the study of group dynamics has to answer the questions: what is it that creates the strength of the group, what are the conditions modifying it, and what are the effects of its activities? The basic principle in these theories is that the individual's behavior, attitudes, convictions and values have a strong connection with the groups to which the individual belongs.

The role of the group can be seen from three aspects: 1) as the source of influencing the members;

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<sup>61</sup> Sommer, 1983, p. 7; Russell, 1983, p. 217.

2) as an object of change, 3) as the advocate or agent of change. This theory is not just a theoretical construct but was formulated for operational purposes, above all for organizational development. This takes into account such problems as: the identification of tasks and values, cooperation and conflict, control and leadership, opposition to and acceptance of change, making use of human resources, exchanging information, developing the organization.

Most often one has been concerned with the impact on the dynamics of industrial organization, although the advocates of change also try to apply their theories in the sociology of the countryside, in economics, in anthropology and in such groupings as a parish, a hospital or a cultural-educational organization.

Warren G. Bennis claims that at least 8 different programs may be functioning in this field: 1) "presentation and propagation" founded on "the assumption that knowledge means power and on the insight that a man knowing the Truth would rule the world" 2) "programs for the central leadership", arising from the insight that ideas as such are not actions, but that the need for their realization decides on the strategic importance of their role; 3) "schooling in the field of interpersonal relations" in order to make key persons aware of what science says about behavior and of the importance of these facts for themselves; 4) "programs of staff development" - which is the Source of All Wisdom in the system of commissioned courses today; 5) "methodical consultation", involving the researcher's inquisitiveness, scientific understanding, confrontations and solutions, and scientific advice to the partner; 6) "the transfer of ideas to the central leadership", based upon the idea of changes through those in power; 7) "developmental studies", which take place in the field of engineering, when there is a need for solving specific, limited problems; 8) "Action research" which gives

recommendations as to how to make recommendations accepted. - There are also sets of programs of this kind concerning "training", "consultation" and "applied research". All these programs for planned change are characterized by a rational and technocratic attitude, and they are intended for use by experts - i.e. representatives of the behavioral sciences.

The theory of conditioning and modeling has been built mainly on the theses of B.F. Skinner and Douglas McGregor, stressing the importance of environmental factors in shaping behavior. Both scientists assume that the frequency of a certain behavior depends on external factors in the environment. The conditioning of human behavior may be classical or instrumental, and mainly means strengthening the desired reactions (positive reinforcement) and eliminating non-desired ones through sanctions (negative reinforcement). Also the research work done by other American behaviorists has proved that there are links between human behavior and varying environments. Starting from the assumption that behavior is a function of environmental interactions, they have pointed to the role of intentional regulation of behavior by changing the environment and reinforcements in concordance with specific sets of rules. Today there is a dramatic growth in opportunities to implement this part of the concept of conditioning, founded on the conviction that the problems arising because of strong reinforcements can be solved by changing the conditions, i.e. by shaping the environment so that the reinforcements that generate the non-desired behavior will not be active, or by reducing the influence of these conditions and creating positive ones. The theory of positive reinforcements gains special importance in the administration, in such spheres as: staff training, staff development, awards and other available kinds of rewards, supervision and leadership, planning the

distribution of responsibilities, structuring and changing the organization <sup>62</sup>.

Behavioral theory is also helpful as a foundation for practical counseling. It is an important instrument in the learning and "de-learning" of behavior and in counseling, changing methods of information, of interpretation and explanation, training and reconditioning, of persuasion, motivation and moral support, delicate guidance towards certain things and away from others. Directive procedures are not recommended, because telling people what is good and what is bad and what they are supposed to do is not an efficient course of action. In counseling it is more advisable to influence the environment in order to create strong connections between strong reinforcements and the desired behavior. The main problem for the advisers and consultants is the question: in what way is it possible to "motivate" a person to really want to behave in the desired way <sup>63</sup>

For the problems of administration and organization, important considerations take place within the theory of attitudes and motivation. It is not possible - as Helen Peak states - to demonstrate the effects of reinforcements if only the present reinforcements are taken into account. It is necessary also to include the history of earlier reinforcements, received by the individual. The history of these earlier reinforcements is mirrored in the motives and attitudes, of which the human personality consists. It has been demonstrated that it is possible to influence and to modify these also in adults <sup>64</sup>.

The problems of behavioral change have been so widely treated in literature that we find a lot of very different levels of discussion, and radically differing views in each of them. On one hand, theoreticians of

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<sup>62</sup> Nord, (1973) 1983, p. 30; Skinner, (1973) 1983, p. 230.

<sup>63</sup> Meyerson & Meyerson, (1973) 1983, p. 13, and Spilberger & De Nike, (1973)1983, p. 51.

<sup>64</sup> Mc Clelland, (1973) 1983, p. 83, and Peak, (1973) 1983, p.101.

organizational theory propose expert-led modeling of human behavior in groups, or in groups by groups, on the other hand there are visions of macro societal planning, whereby they hope to solve a series of global and specific problems in the different fields of economy, politics, and culture of the given region. Specialists in the field of social planning and sociologists try to convince us of the rationality of a holistic approach. The motor in social planning, taken in a wide sense, is the identification of the need and the description of the problem, after which researchers work on structuring the decision problems and the methods of asking the relevant questions.

According to specialists, the solution of a social / societal problem may be reached in a series of stages, e.g.:

1) groups try to define and describe the conditions which they find damaging or else undesirable. They make their findings public, creating a climate for debate;

2) some "official" organization or institution will acknowledge the justification of the group's criticism. This may lead to some official steps, like: proposals for reform and pointing out who will be responsible for reacting to the criticism and to the demands of the group.

3) once more the same group will present their criticisms and demands and express their dissatisfaction with the official remedial measures. They will criticize the bureaucratic ways of those entrusted with the handling of the matter, and they will refuse to trust these bureaucrats;

4) the lack of relevant reactions or the refusal from the official side to instill the proposed changes leads to a disposition to create alternative "anti-institutions";

This example demonstrates just one of the many scenarios that have been published so far. Some of these devise highly refined strategies and games. Some people

see sociotechnology as something of "a borderland between science and art" <sup>65</sup>.

From the other side, humanists and pedagogues demand that individual identity should be protected, and they prefer a dialectical education. Man is the (responsible and active) subject of social life. As a social being, with the greatest respect for all that is common and similar, he / she will solve problems in conformity with accepted social patterns and so contribute to the continuity and identity of society. But man is also an individual, capable of solving his vital problems in an original, innovative, creative way. This also contributes to the development of society. Because of this, it is very important to protect the values that lie in the identity and individuality of each human being and in his inner autonomy. The development of civilization and of organizational forms of society restrict the freedom of the individual, making him a "citizen governed from the outside and a consumer, manipulated by commercials and advertisements, stupefied by propaganda, exploited for aims that are totally alien to him".

But in spite of the individual's obvious dependence on the social groups to which he belongs and whose rules, traditions and values he observes, the social world must leave so much freedom for his acting as a subject as to balance the autonomy they themselves feel.

Jan Szczepański therefore distinguishes between the concept of being a subject - especially in the political sense - and the concept of individual identity. In his interpretation, being an active subject is "a phenomenon in the relations between the acting person and his / her social world, i.e. the groups and other forms of collectives to which he belongs and on which he depends", while identity is "a phenomenon of the inner life and of the inner autonomy of a person, to a great extent independent on this person's relationships to society". This outstanding representative of social science

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<sup>65</sup> Kubin, 1987, p. 48.

doesn't deny that man belongs to society, but he also wants to draw attention to the individual dimension of human life, on which so much depends <sup>66</sup>.

The image of man as envisioned by theories and modern research differs from the traditional one in older theories, especially behavioral ones. It is still accepted that man is dependent on his environment, but his actions are no longer explained by such internal factors as drives, instincts, needs et cetera, but in accordance with the models for motivation, theorists speak of goals, aims and objectives, tasks and values ascribed to them. There are also question marks concerning the applicability of the concept of attitude for the explanation of human activities, as there is no connection - or a too weak one - between verbal indices, with the help of which attitudes are defined, and behavioral and emotional indices. Likewise, the concept "motive" is replaced by the concept of goal (aim, objective).

But in conformity with "the model of values and expectations", "the model of subjectively expected usefulness", "the social theory of learning" and "the theory of motivation for achievements" and above all, "the theory of attributions", man is a being, demanding the right to choose, the right to take free decisions and to bear the consequences of his actions in relation to himself. Man doesn't want to act under coercion, he doesn't want to feel helpless and being reduced to dependence on others. He demands to understand the world and to have an influence on it. In the characterization of man from the viewpoint of psychologists and philosophers, the most important feature is his striving to understand the world - i.e. cognitive processes. Consequently, he takes an interest in justice and in a just distribution of wealth, in responsibility, interpersonal trust, freedom of choice,

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<sup>66</sup> Szepański, 1987; Witkowski (Ed.) 1990.

risks and the perception of them, "taught helplessness" or alienation <sup>67</sup>.

Also the strategists of defense and development of human civilization refer to the decisive human factor and in connection with this they propose a new program of culture and education for the future: a permanent education directed towards innovativeness, i.e. generally speaking towards a "dialectical education". We are here dealing with an education that will be an active factor in a dialectical development, the essence of which is that man and the world by mutually influencing and conditioning each other will realize the possibility of a harmonic coexistence, at the same time increasing the world's richness, and the relations between these elements: man, education, world - all these are included in the spiral of dialectical changes.

For man's coming to an understanding with the world, the following mechanisms are important: 1) learning from imagination, not only from experience - that man might experiment mentally and build scenarios of change, and evaluate, in beforehand, his possible range of actions; 2) the figurative actualization of possibilities, and not only linear ones, taking the form of projections of opportunities for creating chances and offering choices to the individual; 3) subjective-active selection and realization of goals and not only unfree adaptation to changes, because the situation of modern man demands a radical strengthening of his belief in his own potentialities and in his autonomous power of controlling the flow of events; 4) liberation of different pro-social and spontaneous cooperative ventures, independent of rules, norms and standards, but bound by their own feeling of justice. An important feature is detecting the directions for creative action, not only the stabilized existing world but also the creation of dimensions of the unknown one <sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>67</sup> Gliszczyńska (Ed.), 1983; Kozielecki, 1986.

<sup>68</sup> Łukaszewicz, 1987; Witkowski (Ed.), 1990.

A basic principle is that the individual's full engagement in the problems of the macroworld is possible only from a position in the microworld in the form of a spontaneous act of the subject, emanating from his own understanding of the world and of himself in this world <sup>69</sup>. In the light of this thesis, the theses of sociotechnology turn out to be a menace to the individual, for him to defend himself against.

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<sup>69</sup> Obuchowski, 1987, Witkowski, 1988, and Witkowski (Ed.), 1990.

## **FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATION IN THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS FROM A METHODOLOGICAL ASPECT**

The term "voluntary association" denotes a non-profit, voluntary, self-governing organization with a certain permanence in time, the activities of which takes place in accordance with the Polish law on such organizations. Voluntary organizations that strive to grant citizens equal rights to participate actively in public life, to express freely individual views and to pursue individual interests belong to this category and they are to some extent dependent on controlling governmental institutions.

The voluntary association is a democratic element in the organizational system of the Polish society, which grants freedom of congregation in concordance with the Polish Constitution, the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the International Agreement on Civil Rights. Among all kinds of organizations, the voluntary association is characterized by its relatively greater freedom in forming its profile of activities, its internal structure, and expressing its opinions in public. It differs from other organizations in both goals and functions. It is not a trade union, and it is not a political pressure group. Neither is it a political party. The government guides and directs the association, but concedes it a relative autonomy<sup>70</sup>.

A voluntary association can be characterized from several aspects: legal position, aims and goals, kind of internal ties, social tasks, greater or lesser difficulty of these tasks, geographical distribution, or number of people involved. In juridical literature the predominant interest lies with their role in the economical and cultural development of the country. Most often, this role is defined in the context of state and law theory. To this end

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<sup>70</sup> Prawo o stowarzyszeniach, Ustawa z dnia 7 kwietnia 1989 r., in: "Dziennik Ustaw PRL", nr 20, par. 104 (=Law on Associations, Law of April 7th, 1989).

theoretical methods are applied, involving mainly critical analysis of organizational documents. We are indebted to Janusz Romul for an ambitious and complex attempt at defining the societal-legal foundations for the activities of associations and the principles and tendencies for the development of the relationship to the state<sup>71</sup>.

Organizations of this kind are treated in a similar way in the juridical analyses undertaken by Lucjan Wiśniewski<sup>72</sup>

The legal context does not, however, restrict the understanding of this special category of social organization only to the aspect of legal convention. In the sociological sense, an "association", like many other organizations, is a kind of social institution, regulating interpersonal relations and promoting mutual understanding and harmony. It may also be considered as a goal-oriented group of a formal character, created to pursue individual and collective goals, organizing educational activities and being based on the social roles of the members. The accentuation of the educational role of the association is well motivated by sociological theories of education, beginning with Florian Znaniecki. It is, however, necessary to observe, that in these theories, the development of the human personality, which takes place in a group because of the duration of the bounds to the group, means socialization, and not education in a stricter sense<sup>73</sup>.

As I have already pointed out, sociologists are above all interested in the social role of human organizations, both of those of an expressive character and of those rather directed towards having an impact on society, i.e. seeking to organize control and exerting a certain pressure upon institutions representing the power structure. Expressivity, or realization of the interests of the members and articulation of needs, as well as aspirations to change reality - which are found especially

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<sup>71</sup> Romul, 1969.

<sup>72</sup> Wiśniewski, 1974.

<sup>73</sup> Znaniecki, 1975.

among the leaders of the organizations - may cause personality changes. For this reason, sociological interpretation underlines the educational character of the formal group as a means for personality development and learning.

An important mechanism for changes in this sphere is the propagation of values and patterns of behavior, the application of sanctions, the task mobilization and the self-education. Also the opportunity of cultural integration in the group does support the educational role, as the individual in a natural way satisfies his/her needs for affiliation, expression and activity<sup>74</sup>.

In Polish social research, collecting empirical data on the functions of voluntary organizations is a very rare thing. On a small scale it has been done by Ewa Karpowicz, whose work we have already met. Her analysis concerned organizational aims and functions in a juridical-sociological aspect. She could demonstrate the activating role of the voluntary organization in the development of the local region, thanks to her use of the case study method, including surveys and analysis of written sources<sup>75</sup>.

The smallness of the researched group and the rather one-sided perspective didn't allow the author to make any wider generalizations. Considerably more interesting, however, are Salomea Kowalewska's generalizations concerning the social role of Learned Societies.

This author applied three sets of concepts: epistemological, sociological, and normative ones. The localization of the studied societies in time and space, and a description of their structure and functions are the basis for defining their social role. Activity reports of the organizations as well as her own observations enabled her to define the cognitive content of the work of the society. Attention was paid to the activities of groups within the

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<sup>74</sup> Rose, 1959.

<sup>75</sup> Karpowicz, 1977

societies as well as to the satisfaction of needs of external social groups. The study showed the importance of the praxeological activities of the societies in relation to respected norms. In the analysis, the postulated and the realized functions of the organizations were taken into consideration, and the importance of the political and societal conditions was stressed<sup>76</sup>.

Historians, too, take an interest in voluntary associations, among other kinds of voluntary organizations. One of the most recent works in this field is Krzysztof Kabziński's monograph on the educational and cultural functions of the Society for Popular Reading-Rooms. The author established the organizational and functional model of this organization by using the characteristic methods of historical research, including: archive studies, analysis of journals, diaries and newspapers as well as interviews with former active members (functionaries). He described the cultural-creative as well as the socio-pedagogical, the national and the enlightenmental functions. His study analyses the background and the development of the organization, mainly its political and societal working conditions, and also determines the functions in time and space.<sup>77</sup>

The pedagogues have usually studied youth organizations. Worth mentioning here is above all Aleksander Kaminski's works, in which the method of historical analysis is applied. He gives an almost complete theory of Polish youth organizations in the past. These organizations are treated by the author as specific subcultures with well defined functions. The starting point in all his analyses is his conviction that all organizations, of children, youth or adults, fill an educational function in the psycho-social sphere. Having himself already both practical and scientific experiences from youth organizations, Kaminski also started reflecting on voluntary organizations of adults. He has

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<sup>76</sup> Kowalewska, 1974.

<sup>77</sup> Kabziński, 1985.

thus described consumers' cooperatives as well as work cooperatives and the Society for the Popularization of Culture and Science. As was already pointed out above, cooperatives are not associations in our sense of the word. The author put all the three organizations under the label of associations, although this applies only to the third one.

Methodologically interesting seem to be the attempts made by Kamiński to measure the efficiency of the work of socio-educational school organizations (also labeled associations by him), using percentages of active participation among members. More interesting still is the idea of using an index of staff attitudes and staff behavior when measuring socio-educational efficiency. This idea, however, was not put into practice. In spite of terminological errors and in spite of the fact that empirical measurement was only partially realized, we do find, in one of the author's theoretical works, a mature diagnosis of modern associations, with a characterization of the typological functions: "Proximity by choice", "Integration", and "Expression". To his general theses, the author adds advice as to how to strengthen the socio-pedagogical impact of the work<sup>78</sup>

Research on the educational effects of an institution or work-place in general meets with many problems, hard to solve. Romana Miller has written about these several times<sup>79</sup>. Measurements are usually restricted to institutions that define themselves as educational ones. Diagnoses of this type fall since long into the domain of socio-pedagogy, a discipline that assumes the existence of educational possibilities in the complicated structures in today's society. She tries to prove this assumption. An example could here be the monograph on voluntary associations as an educational environment<sup>80</sup>. Striking in this monograph is the wide variety and great number of

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<sup>78</sup> Cf Kamiński, A.I., 1971, p. 5, and Kamiński, A.I., 1963, 1968, p. 17; 1974, p. 155.

<sup>79</sup> Miller, 1981, 1966

<sup>80</sup> Lepalczyk (Ed.), 1974.

social organizations presented there, among which also the association as an organization of adults. In this interdisciplinary and multi-aspect conceptual frame, intended for the analysis of such organizations as: youth groups, study circles, scouts, Children's TV-groups, neighborhood groups, learned societies, film clubs, leisure time activities for school children, trade unions, Working men's associations, and journals as well as principles for giving rewards and distinctions - within this conceptual frame the author tries to answer the question: do these institutions, in a general sense labeled associations, fill an educational function?

In some publications we get an answer, empirically verified through a study of a minor sample of people (characterization of actors) or through a case study of an institution (characterization of institutions). These answers do not allow us to draw any more general conclusions. In other works we meet with wide generalizations, often made in the context of scientific research concerning themes that are very remote from our question, because it is hard to find the answer in historical-sociological studies of social communication or in descriptions of the developmental changes in the socio-economic structures of the country-side. As a result, the described phenomena, each from different disciplines, are treated as instruments for socialization rather than as educational environments. Only those influences should be labeled educational ones that are organized with a specific aim/goal and program and strive to attain specific pedagogical effects, mainly the enrichment of the human personality by elements that are socially desirable. The effects of socialization, on the other hand, may be not only positive, but also negative. Modern pedagogy distinguishes between the three concepts: education, socialization, and psychotherapy<sup>81</sup>.

In the book we are discussing, it several times happens that conclusions concerning the educational

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<sup>81</sup> Miller, 1981.

functions are drawn on the basis of activity reports from the organizations themselves, what can be scientifically deceptive. One leaves with the impression, that we have here to do with an interpretation of assumptions and "facts from a desired reality", as one of the authors frankly declares<sup>82</sup>.

Is there any reliable way to clarify the functional relationships between the changes in the personality of the participant/student/client as effects and the stimuli that provoke these effects. In many works claiming to analyze relationships of this kind, we only find a demonstration of the cognitive function (information and knowledge), which is only one out of many functions of education. One example: research projects on the educational effects of mass media have, in reality, developed into studies of the children's use of their leisure time and an analysis of the children's interests and knowledge, supposedly emanating from the mass media. One has thus studied only some cognitive elements (which in addition might come also from other sources): orientation/information and knowledge concerning different thematic fields<sup>83</sup>. On the contrary, education strives - apart from mediating knowledge about objective reality - to the development of the emotional function, by establishing emotional relations between the objective structures of societal demands and the individual elements of experiences and attitudes. We have here also to do with a motivational function, deciding on the correspondence between personal and societal needs, and on the function of volition, aiming at changing the environment and creating a personality.

There are also publications in which the authors have tried to study exactly these educational functions. Interesting results were reached by researchers who measured the efficiency of ideology-based educational organizations of children and youth. One author has, for

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<sup>82</sup> Pudełko, 1974, p. 251.

<sup>83</sup> Izdebska, 1981.

example, studied specifically the impact of the organization on attitude changes in members, and the motives for belonging to this organization. As I mentioned above, the study confirmed the strong interrelationship between the quality of the organization's work and the attitudes which the members ascribed to themselves. An analysis was made of goals, contents and forms of activities of the educational organization, plus an opinion poll among members, evaluating its educational functions. On the basis of the young members' answers it was found that the organization influenced the development of socialization, cooperational skills, patriotic feelings, and initiative<sup>84</sup>.

Thus, attention was paid not only to a description of the "potentially educational" work, but also to the opinions of persons, formulating statements evaluating its functioning. If we assume, that subjective opinions can be a source for valid scientific conclusions, then this method is good. But if we question the validity of conclusions built on answers from respondents, the method will cause doubts. Doubts will certainly appear, when the evaluations come from children and juvenile respondents, whose power of judgment has not yet been sufficiently developed. However, the doubts will disappear when the respondents are adults with their mature judgment of reality.

In the Polish literature to this subject we mainly find sporadic attempts at scientific definitions of the educational function of this or that voluntary association, although those attempts are not fully successful from a methodological point of view. In international research, on the other hand, such studies are getting more and more frequent, especially among specialists in social sciences. Adult education, linked with the idea of life-long learning is seen as an important factor in democracy, and anyway it is not regarded as a "futurist slogan of the advocates of an idealistic pedagogy". And although not serving

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<sup>84</sup> Iniewski, F., 1979, p. 167.

ideological goals, nor being a political weapon, it is born out of deeply felt emancipatory needs among minority groups and disadvantaged groups as well as from individual human aspirations.

Today the idea of permanent education is almost generally accepted, but the conditions for its realization are being created to a quite inadequate degree. In many highly civilized countries, education of mature adults is a normal thing, being in high demand and being legally sanctioned and enjoying special attention from the government, but even there the financial means allocated to adult education from the state budget are insufficient. In this situation, progressive political groups and voluntary organizations seek to compensate for the bad situation by taking up adult education activities themselves. They often become real pressure groups and groups active in the realization of democracy. Even those among them that are connected with culture, politics, religion and business rather than with education are very active in the realization of this beautiful idea.

In the Nordic countries voluntary adult education has a long tradition, dating back to the 19th century, and there much has been done to secure its optimal functioning in today's situation. Special governmental and other research programs are being pursued since the seventies. To give an example, a special adult education development and cooperation project was initiated in 1976, inspired by the Nordic Council of Ministers. Scientific surveys have been undertaken concerning organizations and forms of adult education and different aspects of social policies in the individual countries. Likewise, The Nordic Folk Academy is a center where practitioners and theoreticians meet, coming from different universities, institutions and research centers involved in developing adult education work and organizations. A first *Nordic Adult Education Researcher Meeting* took place in Kungälv in 1990 under the auspices of the Academy, and a second one, in 1991 in

Gothenburg, already in the present site of the Academy. Every year since then researchers from different countries and even continents, representing different disciplines of social studies, including pedagogy / andragogy, meet in this coastal city to analyze a selected research problem from a conceptual and theoretical perspective with a view to methodological solutions and research strategies. In the new interdisciplinary research field we find above all problems concerning the creation of formal and non formal structures in adult education, linked to the democratic change in today's societies.

Among the Nordic countries, Finland and Sweden may pride themselves in having the most institutionalized system of adult education research. The first chair in adult education was established in Finland already in 1964. The situation in Sweden is similar. Here educational research in the field of adult education is linked not only to the interests of the scientists but also to the government's decisions. In many universities special adult education departments have been established, and on a higher level, professional cadres of educators (andragogues) undergo an education and training where specific andragogic models are included. At Linköping University already about 30 dissertations in the field of adult education have been published. Hence, Linköping is not only a center of education and training of adult educators but also an important research center, functioning as the main link in the network of Swedish institutions that are since the seventies engaged in systematic research, publicized both in local and international publishing houses.

Also in Denmark we find research in the field of adult education - the country has a unique tradition of "højskoler" (residential colleges of non formal adult education) and other very vital forms of popular education. The beginning of serious research programs falls likewise in the seventies, and from 1985 R&D work takes place within the frames of the *Foreningen for*

*Forsknings- og Udviklingsvirksomhed i Folkeoplysning og Voksenundervisning (The Society for Research and Development in Adult Education)*. In Denmark specialists in adult education are educated and trained at the *Royal Danish School of Educational Studies* and in special departments of some universities.

The Norwegian situation is similar. Both andragogic research and the education of andragogues on university level are important in Norwegian educational policy. Like in the other Nordic countries, the beginnings here took place in the seventies, and considerable growth began in the eighties and is still continuing<sup>85</sup>

In the Nordic community, adult education is structurally widely developed and fills very important functions in national culture. This surely is a reason for the willingness of researchers to do research in this field. The bulk of research consists in collecting data and analyzing them statistically. It is important to describe facts that are crucial for theory and in the longer perspective for the optimalization of practices in the described field within the system of adult education. Studying adult education in voluntary organizations one tries above all to find out whether these organizations are just a supplement to public education, pursuing the same goals, or if they offer an education that is a real alternative to the one organized by municipalities and state, with a different program. A main task here is to map opinions among participants and staff in order to find out whether the goals and practices of the educational programs of the voluntary organizations meet the expectations of participants and staff. In this way one studies the functioning of an organization, in which education is a priority.

The collection of empirical data is important also in order to determine how the organization functions and the scope, character and level of realization of the programs of the studied organizations and their educational

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<sup>85</sup> Toumisto et al. (Eds.), 1992, and Brattset, 1986.

systems. The whole voluntary sector in the given country is involved in such research, at least when the most important features of their activities are concerned. In Norway in 1990 - to give but one example - 37 out of a total of 44 organizations were subject to analysis; their activities involved song and music, aesthetics and fine art, trade union studies, sciences, social studies, languages, the humanities and religion, sports, social and health care, economy, administration, and the use of computers. The outcome was that of the total of 3 million Norwegians in the ages 10-74 years, as many as 600 000 persons participated in different forms of educational activities in voluntary organizations; the number of participants in Folk High School courses was merely 15 000. Besides this category of organizations, the study included "formal career education within the enterprises", "primary and secondary schools", "distance education" and "free market training". The total number of persons participating in the different sectors of education in the country was 1 346 000.<sup>86</sup>

The results of this research project (called "FAFO") prove that voluntary organizations are an important sector in Norwegian adult education and that the adult education offered by them enjoys considerable appreciation from the public. The result also substantiates the conviction that it is possible for an adult to learn new trades and to develop culturally and intellectually.

One might think that such research in the field of andragogy and staff development would be feasible only in countries with a long and established tradition of both adult education and democracy. A proof that the Nordic countries are not exceptional in this respect is the situation in The Netherlands. In the *Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden*, a highly respected university known since centuries, you find in the *Faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen* besides general pedagogy and other pedagogical disciplines also andragogy, and its students

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<sup>86</sup> Moland, 1992, p. 178.

are educated and trained to be professional adult educators. The special *Department of Adult Education and Information* runs a series of research programs in this field, funded by governmental and private sources, often on special request from the outside. A very characteristic trait in the whole Department, including andragogy, is the strong international orientation.<sup>87</sup>

This may be the reason why this Department initiated a set of actively working international research groups which in a systematic way elaborate diagnoses of the situation in adult education in individual countries with respect to the role of voluntary organizations. So, just in Leiden the idea was born to create an "European Symposium on Voluntary Associations", which is not only a forum for voluntary associations and similar organizations, but also a forum for researchers specialized in adult education, today not only from Europe but also from other parts of the world. The theoretical foundations as well as the organizational basis for the ESVA were worked out at Leiden University and Budapest University in cooperation with the rest of Hungarian universities and academic centers.

The initially bilateral cooperation of Dutch and Hungarian adult educators led to a series of conference alternating between the two countries: in 1984, 1986, 1987, 1989, and 1990; step by step the number of participants from other countries increased. The actively working group of the ESVA today are researchers from British and Nordic universities and academies. The key theme of research and of the conference agenda has been the role of non-governmental, voluntary citizens' organizations in education and in cultural development. ESVA's activities in Europe have attracted the interest of governmental decision-makers, politicians, researchers and scientists as well as the interest of the general public. A lasting result are the ESVA publications in English<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Leiden University (info. folder, 1990)

<sup>88</sup> Toth & Katus (Eds.), 1986; Katus & Toth, 1990, 1991.

Many initiatives have been undertaken in order to stimulate the exchange of information and the transfer of scientific knowledge in the field of voluntary organizations and their roles and functions in the changing political and societal arena in Central Europe. At all symposia one has tried to demonstrate that voluntary associations are indispensable in every country "as bastions for democratization, as agents of change in social and political life, as defenders of the interests of the individual or also as agents of adult education and public information". By definition, these organizations are non-governmental and independent, and - even in countries of a weakly developed or collapsing democracy - they fill an important social and cultural function, especially in the fields they are primarily interested in: human rights, democratization of society, protection of the natural environment, women's emancipation, minority groups, discrimination of the elderly and the handicapped. They have also a lot to say in the field of dissemination of scientific knowledge.

In accordance with its program, the ESVA collects information concerning this important role, as its members seek to find the best solutions to these difficult questions and to elaborate strategies for improving the lives of individuals and groups. The member associations from Eastern, Central and Western Europe are the basis for the scientific observations, and in the focus of these observations are the organizations providing adult education. The analysis of their activities is undertaken both on the local, regional, national and European levels. The research reports are based on methodically varied data collection and analysis: from historical and comparative research to sociological, political, and andragogical research. Full freedom is given to the researchers, with special hopes attached to interdisciplinary research, which is today in high esteem.

A unifying idea is the assumption that associations, being in principle non-profit citizens' organizations,

aiming at the realization of high social, national and cultural goals, based upon authentic human activities and initiatives, are promoters of functioning democracy. In the ESVA studies these organizations are distinguished from political parties and charitable organizations. On the other hand they are counted among pressure groups. The ESVA members, preparing their contributions to the annual symposia, try to direct their analysis of the collected material to the theme the Executive Committee has decided in advance. The conceptualization of the research and the problem identification is connected with the present socio-political and economic situation in the region in question. This is evident from the characteristic themes for the consecutive symposia: "*On the Role of Voluntary Associations in the Culture*" (Balatonszabadi, Hungary, 1989), "*Voluntary Associations in East and West Europe*" (Leiden 1990), "*Voluntary Associations in the Furthering of Cultural Pluriformity*" (Moscow 1991), "*Voluntary Associations in the New Europe*" (Warsaw 1992)<sup>89</sup>

Also the titles of the individual contributions are symptomatic: "*Voluntary Associations and Citizen Participation within the Modern State*", "*Creation of Environments for Citizen Participation in Dealing with Major Social Issues*", "*Development of the Social Sector*", "*Voluntary Associations and City Management*", "*Adult Education and the Role of Education to Free-Market Economy*", "*Legislation and Voluntary Associations in Hungary*"<sup>90</sup>. Here we see a development of forms, contents and working conditions of the studied organizations. The analysis reaches from the status of groupings and conflicts, through the building of their structures and the canalization of their activities to their legal sanctioning. Important in this latter phase are the problems connected with cooperation between the private

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<sup>89</sup> Katus & Toth (Eds.), 1990, 1991, ESVA 1992

<sup>90</sup> Katus & Toth (Eds.), 1991, ESVA 1992.

sector and the authorities and the stabilization of the work in the favorable conditions of a democratic society.

The 1991 symposium in Moscow calls our attention to the content and time of the great transformations that do not occur without great difficulties. Also the choice of Warsaw as the venue for the 1992 meeting was intentional. It was not only a distinction for Poland, the country that inaugurated the global transformation in Eastern and Central Europe. The organizers also wanted to underline, that Poland is a country where the changes are bringing political freedom and directing the activities of the groups towards economic problems. Very illuminating in this context is the title of a Polish paper: *"The Dilemmas of Freedom and Democracy"*. The Warsaw symposium also demonstrated the development and scope of the analysis of the functions of voluntary organizations. I can here indicate that development by using the title of the paper presented by Otto Feinstein, an American researcher from Wayne State University and Michigan Ethnic Studies Center in Detroit: *"From Theory to Praxis to Theory"*<sup>91</sup> He stated this already in 1991 at the Leiden symposium. His prognosis was correct, as he could, at the Warsaw 1992 symposium, listen to the lecture of his Dutch colleague professor Bastiaan van Gent, who already analyzed, as a methodologist and a theoretician, the justification of the concept used in scientific texts dealing with voluntary associations. What leads to new accents in the building of theory in the andragogic paradigm is the introduction of new concepts and reinterpretations of a part of those already in use. We find some already in the title of this presentation: *"Volunteers, practitioners and academics. Three Kinds of Knowledge About Adult Education and Information."* The symposium also with great attention listened to and discussed a Polish paper dealing with the educational functions of associations in the andragogic paradigm,

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<sup>91</sup> Feinstein, 1991.

what is not yet a popular aspect with the older generation of researchers.<sup>92</sup>

The problems connected with the educational functions of associations are getting more complex and have a strong link with andragogics and - more precisely - with andragogy. This latter term, widely used in anglophone literature denotes the theory of the education of adults, whereas "andragogics" is concerned with the practice and methods of educational influences and thus is directed towards the practitioners. "Andragologia" on the other hand deals with research methodology. This is the opinion of B. van Gent, referring to M. Knowles, the nestor of American andragogics, and also to K. Popper, the well-known sociologist of science.

The voluntary sector has a new role in Eastern and Central Europe where it is favored by the atmosphere of freedom. But changes are occurring also in the US and in Western Europe in connection with the economic recession and the lack of funds for education, for humanistic research and for social welfare. The problem is whether voluntary associations are capable of taking a new role upon them. Some people think that there must exist a network of different social groupings, including autonomous voluntary associations capable of representing the interests of different groups. They further think that it is necessary to link the sector of voluntary associations with adult education in such a way as to get rid of ideology and get hold of the role of education proper. How? Is it possible to build a healthy society only by focusing on rights? These and other questions intrigued the participants of the ESVA symposium in Warsaw.

In 1993, at the following symposium, which is already in preparation by the executive committee, the researchers will try to answer these questions. A new group of scientific experts in adult education has been created: the *European Society for Research on the*

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<sup>92</sup> Gent, ESVA, 1992; Ratman-Liwierska, ESVA, 1992.

*Education of Adults*, the ESREA, founded by a number of renowned andragogues from European universities and other research institutes. Also this organization has its secretariat at Leiden University, and its leader is Barry J. Hake. In this new society there are already two Polish members, representing a new andragogic orientation.

Research on the voluntary sector is also in the focus of German interest. In March 1992, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft* held its thirteenth congress in Berlin with the theme: "*Erziehungswissenschaft zwischen Modernisierung und Modernitätskrise*". This pregnant formula allowed the researchers to reflect on post-modern theories, education and socialization, as well as on criticism of humanism and moral universalism as categories in pedagogy. The discussions were concerned with the sense of the concepts but still more with the possibility and potential of scientific reflection on different controversial theories, ideologies and false alternatives (anti-humanism!), which may determine the direction of further educational activities in the complex conditions of political and social transformation.

Philosophical and pedagogical deliberations in the contributions of German politicians and academicians were supported by an expo of books and other materials illustrating the development of such pedagogical subdisciplines as andragogics, gerontopedagogics and social pedagogics. The German associations are active in adult education<sup>93</sup>. This is shown not only by their Congress but also by the next great cultural event they organized in the autumn of 1992, the so-called "*Eurotrain for Training*", a very special "train of friendship" for specialists in adult education from different countries in Europe who were reflecting on how to optimize their educational work among adults - during a trip from Berlin to Vienna, with additional stops in Warsaw, Prague and Budapest. This was a special congress, devoted to the

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<sup>93</sup> Erziehungswissenschaft, 1992.

technology of adult education and to analysis of the theoretical problems linked to the present situation of adult education in a changing world<sup>94</sup>.

It might seem that only the technology of education and the theoretical dilemmas of new pedagogical subdisciplines are in the focus of the researcher's attention. This, however, is not the case. In andragogics there was no lack of research on the constantly actual problems of women, seeing themselves as a minority group in many European countries. Already in UNESCO's program for the 1990s, women's education is emphasized as a global problem. In their way, adult educators are attempting to solve the problem.

The issue is still on the agenda in countries that have entered the road to democratic transformations but "instead of one step ahead, they take two steps back" because of the limitations in spendings for social purposes and the difficulties in the labor market as well as the strengthening of new religious ideologies - taking over after communism, as an antidote - all these things don't favor the women's situation and their possibilities to make use of the rights they have already attained. The problems have also been observed by the *American Helsinki Committee*. In March 1992, that committee published a report analyzing the situation of women in post-communist Europe, especially in Poland. This report informs on the growing menace of discrimination of women. Together with *Human Rights Watch*, further analysis of the women's situation will be undertaken <sup>95</sup>

In andragogic research, too, women's education is continuously present. Even in rich Sweden, sex turns out to be a factor discriminating women when access to education and study conditions are concerned. In spite of radical educational reforms in that country and heavy governmental subsidies to education, there are serious differences both in the distribution of education (in

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<sup>94</sup> Europäischer Weiterbildungskongreß..., 1992

<sup>95</sup> Women's Rights Project, Washington, Helsinki Watch, New York, March 12th, 1992, records an increasing discrimination of women in Poland.

connection with the traditional educational and professional roles of the sexes) and with the exploitation of women in the labor market. In the analysis undertaken by Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman from *Umeå University*, based upon an interpretation of women's life stories under the aspect of their educational choices and ambitions, it turned out that in spite of what the planners intended, women "choose less demanding study programs in order to have time also for reproductive tasks. In educational policy, educational choices are seen as individual ones: everybody is supposed to be able to choose according to his/her intellectual capacity and interests, whereas women often declare that their choices depend on other persons, whom they have to look after, and that the choices are related to the period in life in which these dependencies occur".

The Swedish author didn't restrict herself to statistical analysis. She also applied qualitative analysis to the prevailing educational policy and to the real-life situations in which people were living, thereby using the case study method, the analytical 'step-by-step model' and questionnaires. Of special value was her analysis of the local, social and educational factors in the female respondents' life histories. Three questions of hers allowed her to explain much in the field of social and educational determinants of the fates of women: "Why don't some women with very good marks from secondary education continue at university level? What are the causes of female dropouts? and: How do women with university degrees use their education in their professional work?" The author's results will be helpful to politicians and educators in planning recurrent education, an important sector of the system of adult education. Comparing her findings with the report of the *Secretariat for Equal Chances* - in which we are informed that in Sweden there is one male labor market including 250 groups of vocations/ professions, and another one for

women, with merely 30 groups - it is evident that the real advancement of women still lies in the future<sup>96</sup>.

In research on educational issues one often applies non-conventional methods of data collection. Life histories, similar to the biographies used by historians, supported also by more objective research - including statistical methods - contribute to the elucidation of many problems concerning women and their education. The constant presence of women's issues in scientific research is easily substantiated if one glances through the publications of the *National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE)* or reports from the *European Bureau of Adult Education*, or the monthly publication of the *German Adult Education Association* <sup>97</sup>.

If, on the other hand, we make a global overview and especially if we look at the Third World, then the problems of women's vocational/ professional advancement and of the satisfaction of their educational aspirations are very abstract ones. At world conferences of educators and researcher in adult education, representatives of African, Asian, and Latin American countries often tell how difficult access to education is for women, and even where access is principally granted, there are restrictions in the form of religion, caste, customs and economy causing that the number of women actually participating is negligible and making the slogans of women's emancipation illusory. Women are still counted among disadvantaged groups in official scientific reports.

To these groups also belong immigrants (legal and illegal ones), the unemployed, ethnic minority groups (e.g.. gypsies), illiterates, the physically and mentally

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<sup>96</sup> Elgqvist-Saltzman, 1988, p. 66.

<sup>97</sup> Malmquist (Ed.), 1992; *Working with women*, NIACE 1991; *European Bureau of AE* 1991 (stencil); "Adult Education and Development" 1989.

handicapped, drug addicts and alcoholics, homeless people, prisoners, people with chronic diseases or else in need of constant care. A very unfavorable position may also be held by migrants or elderly people. The causes of these situations are different. The *Meeting in Finland 1990* discussions led to the distinction between "global changes" and changes in individual, social and cultural circumstances <sup>98</sup>

Nor do conferences dedicated to Third World problems neglect the problems of women and women's education, which are treated as being as important as the issues of global cultural development, political reforms, ecology, satellite communications and humanism. At the "*17th Annual Third World Conference*", held in April 1991 in Detroit, inspired by and under the auspices of *Wayne State University* and financially supported by *The Third World Conference Foundation*, prominent representatives of the world of science, among others the Nobel Prize laureate George Wald, discussed women's issues. Mohammed A. Abdulmatlub presented a paper titled: "*Women and socio-economic development in Libya*", Mary Hockenull: "*Women in Rural Africa: The Never Ending Question of Water*", and Sucha Sabbagh presented the dramatic situation of women in Palestine. The contributions were published in two volumes in 1992, in the US<sup>99</sup>

These papers, based upon carefully selected sources, reports and field research, provided the foundations for scientific conclusions. They are comparable to other scientific results in the analysis of the situation of women in the Third World, as we can see from the publication of the *Swedish International Development Authority*, which gives an up-to-date presentation of research and conclusions in the field of women's literacy in a historical and a geographical

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<sup>98</sup> Meeting in Finland Seminar, 1990, nr. 3, p. 57.

<sup>99</sup> 17th Third World Conference proceedings, Detroit-Michigan 1992, UNIPRINT Services, Wayne State University.

perspective, and also treats methodological aspects. The problems of literacy and post-literacy work are presented in their different stages of development. In the research strategies described, one has always tried to assess the facts that signal success in adult literacy work: socio-political and economic factors, general needs and involvement from international agencies. Also the value of analyzing the minds of the respondents was stressed and above all the individual motivation for learning, strengthened by the world-wide long-term programs and by shorter national ones, characterized by mobilization and support for learning to read and write<sup>100</sup>

In international literature, then, andragogical problems concerning the functions of education in voluntary associations are treated as a sector of the national program of education. Collective and individual interdisciplinary and andragogical research projects shed some light on conditions and development of educational processes among adults, women included. Women's lib issues, in connection with cultural-educational problems are often a subject of research and discussions in regional and global fora. From time to time attention is also geared towards problems of research strategy and theoretical identification of problems in the light of social sciences and andragogy.

No wonder, then, that research is being undertaken on the educational activation/ mobilization of women and the educational processes they are involved in, in the field of adult education theory - which, following Western terminology, could be called andragogics or andragogy. And although my empirical research was undertaken already in 1981, the indices used, and the research strategy applied, don't in any way differ from accepted international patterns.

With a perspective of ten years and with the support of comparative materials, I will, in the following text, make an attempt to identify the research object and

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<sup>100</sup> Lind & Johnston, 1990.

to throw light on the methodological perspective, in accordance with the principles I have laid down. In contrast to more general (in the sense of selection of research issues) projects as well as to more specific ones (strictly related to the structural context of the given model of formal or non-formal education in the voluntary sector), I have, in my presentation of the issue of women's education in women's voluntary organizations, taken pains to elucidate more in depth the motivational, cognitive and volitional behavior of the persons, who were subject to goal-directed actions and programs of behavioral change as well as being actively engaged in self-education. But I took less interest in problems related to the creation of organizational structures in the organizations I studied. Basically, the people in the organizations, not the organizations as such, were the subject of my analysis.

## **EXAMPLE OF THE METHOD**

### **WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY MOVEMENT IN THE YEARS 1945 TO 1981.**

The liberation from Hitler's occupation and the changing political conditions created a new historical era in Poland. The so-called People's Government had as its main task the development of a new political and economical system. There was a need for a rapid removal of the effects of the war, a need for the organizing an administration, for a land reform, for reconstruction and development of the industrial potential and of the common infrastructure. At the same time a rapid organizational development took place in the Polish Workers' Party (PPR), the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), and the People's Party (Stronnictwo Ludowe).

Of decisive importance for the development of the political situation was the victory of the forces, that took over power, and the foundation of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) as a result of the Unification Congress in December 1948. The program for building Socialism became first priority.

The phenomena that checked the development of real democracy, connected with the activities of the party and the bureaucratic methods checking the creative initiatives of the masses - all these things were of minor importance for the process of political consolidation and stabilization, as compared with the strong will and belief in the future among those who had survived the war and found their place in their country, now freed from fascism.

Attempts were made to create the illusion of real democratic freedom, and for this reason so-called voluntary organizations were established. Among them was the Citizens' Social League of Women (Społeczno-Obywatelska Liga Kobiet), that later took on the name of

the Women's League (Liga Kobiet). On the basis of a decree of the Council of Ministers of the 4th of September, 1945, the League got the status of an association and was entered into the official register of associations and unions. The League was number 35 in this register, but it was the first one working among women in Poland. In the fourth paragraph of its statute, its tasks were defined: "The League is to work for the development of laws on social welfare and for a more radical social welfare policy, in the first place in mother and child care, for collective health, for the promotion of culture of everyday life, and for bringing general attention to the problems connected with the life of urban and rural women". In the first statute and "declaration of ideology" also was expressed the need for the participation of large groups of Polish women to help realize the tasks of the Party and the Government"<sup>101</sup>.

The government considered the Women's League as the heir of the progressive traditions of the voluntary movement, especially with relation to the ideological-political role it had to fill, developing the so-called "conscious engagement and active social attitudes of women". This role motivated that the organization already in its fourth year of existence received the status of an association of higher societal usefulness". This was decreed by the Council of Ministers on December 9th, 1949 <sup>102</sup>.

Great weight was attached to the activities of the women's organization. It was on the League to make women familiar with the principles of Socialist democracy, with the new life structures of the country, further to inspire them to studies and to creative work to promote the new system, and to eliminate the still considerable illiteracy among women. Its main task had to be forming the political consciousness of women, transferring decisions and directives to the local branches

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<sup>101</sup> Statut Społeczno-Obywatelskiej Ligi Kobiet, 1946.

<sup>102</sup> Dziennik Ustaw nr 51, par. 385, 1949.

and also stimulating members to voluntary work in accordance with these directives. The new social situation and the demographical-economical necessities caused a growing need for qualified functionaries. Among them there ought to be women.

The First All-Polish Congress of the Women's League, that took place on March 3rd, 1951, put at the head of the organization's program the issue of fighting for peace and the realization of the aims of the Six Year Plan. As one of the main tasks of the League was defined the task of involving, in the organization's activities millions of women, in cities, in towns and in the countryside. According to the program, every woman in Poland ought to accept as her duty, as a challenge of honor, to take an active part in the realization of The Six Year Plan.

In a period of growing need for manpower for the realization of the tasks defined by the Six Year Plan, the Women's League came forward with the claim that women should be working in all vocations and professions and in all fields in the country, also in leading positions, in the leadership of social and economic organizations, in National Committees and in the Diet (Sejm). In accordance with the decisions of the first congress, the League took upon itself the task of bringing another 1,23 million women into work in all branches of the Polish national economy. At the end of the six years, women ought to be 1/3 of the total labor force of Poland. The League's organizational and propagandistic efforts have no doubt contributed to the growth of the number of women in the labor force from 873,000 in 1946 to 2,07 million in 1956<sup>103</sup>.

In the struggle of the organization and in its endeavors to make women real co-rulers of the country, in the pathos of the great reconstruction and construction period, it was sometimes forgotten that not every kind of job was suitable for women. The shortage of labor caused

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<sup>103</sup> II Zjazd Ligi Kobiet. Materiały, Warszawa 1957, p. 4-5

that the employment of women was propagated also in such jobs where till then only men had been working: in mining, in metallurgy, in the building industry and on tractors in the fields. Nobody asked, whether this kind of vocational activities is suitable for women with regard to physiology and health or whether the combination of the duties of a mother and those of an industrial worker can have positive effects for mother, child and place of work. The motto was launched of fostering the child not in the family but in collective groups, in day nurseries and preschools.

Luckily enough, women were also given opportunities for acquiring the necessary vocational qualifications, training and social prestige, to be able to enter actively into trade unions, voluntary associations and political parties, and to participate in representative bodies of these organizations. In the period of the Six Year Plan, 40,000 women were members of People's local and regional councils, being 19% of the total number of members of these councils. Of the board members of voluntary organizations and cooperatives, women often were 20-25%, and in the Diet at the time there were 76 female deputies <sup>104</sup>.

Women more and more often claimed their rights and demanded satisfaction of the needs of their daily life. They were conscious of their important role and they learnt to defend themselves. In this period, however, the intended rise of living standard didn't occur. This was especially visible in the budgets of private households, and women's daily life became immensely hard. Great, nationwide projects superseded the needs of the families - collective issues the issues concerning the individual.

Propagating women's employment in those Stalinistic years, the League often forgot to take into account the diversity of individual abilities and skills for different jobs, and was mainly guided by the needs of the national economy, and it overlooked the women's duties

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<sup>104</sup> Op. cit.

as housewives, wives and mothers. In this situation work in the home was considered less important.

At the second Congress, July 11th - 13th, 1957, this was corrected. It was admitted, that the organization had been "too passive and too inconsequent in vindicating women's interests towards party and government, trade unions and cooperative institutions and enterprises", that it had not undertaken any serious attempts at abolishing or mitigating the causes and sources of the difficulties with which the women had to fight. In its program the organization had understood the slogan of equal rights too uni-laterally.

Thus the League started to eliminate the faulty solutions of the "women's issue". This work was connected with a deeper restructuring of political thought and of the stand of the authorities to human affairs. After the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party in 1956, more positive conditions were created for the Women's League to enact its specific role and to pursue a rational program of action.

The Congress decided to remodel some of the activities of the League in order to satisfy better the various needs of women and children, as was pronounced in the organization's first statute. The League - it was stated in the decision - "will continue to work for a growing involvement of women in the life of our nation, for a strengthening of the woman's position as the co-ruler of the country". It was also stated, that in its work the organization also ought to become "a great school for citizenship education of women" from all kinds of environments.

Women's employment was mentioned among the most fundamental problems. The League had to fight the obstacles hindering women to choose freely a vocation or profession; further it was decided to act against discharging women-employees who were the sole breadwinner in their families, and to try to establish a lower retirement age for women. Being concerned about the

health of women and children, the League saw the need for developing prophylactic, hygienic and health activities. The organization further stated the need to continue the educational activities and child and family care. Fighting demoralization, hooliganism and "social pathology" for the sake of raising the cultural level of everyday life in family and society, was recognized as a very urgent problem. The congress also demanded that cultural work among women be intensified, that households be modernized and supported by services for the home. The Congress, as we read in the resolution, "invites all women in cities, towns and in the countryside, to common work and to mutual help in solving their problems and meeting the needs following from the threefold role of women: as mothers, housewives, and citizens <sup>105</sup> .

Issues of life and work of Polish women, living in different environments and working in varying vocations were focused. Attention was paid to women's needs and interests, whereas the political aspects were set aside. These decisions meant returning to the original program conception, in which the League had so much to offer the women.

During more than twenty years, the League worked both in rural and in urban areas and also in army and militia centers, in work-places and in institutions. Organizationally the League was connected with the trade unions and the personnel departments.

In the beginning of the sixties the Women's League was again a popular organization. Its work in a favorable socio-economic situation in the country was supported by the party and the administration. Continuing industrialization, development of agriculture, rising cultural and educational level, involvement of broad masses of workers in the direct exercise of power - all this created good conditions for the vocational, social and cultural activation of women. Also the socio-juridical

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<sup>105</sup> Op. cit., p. 22 - 30.

situation was very favorable for women in families and in political and social life. In 1962 every second woman in towns was employed. The number of women working in industry was close to one million <sup>106</sup>. Employment and the concomitant material and social independence helped and helps satisfy the women's ambitions. Thanks to these aspirations and ambitions the women improved their vocational and professional qualifications. They made use of the opportunities. With full engagement and consciousness of their role and tasks as citizens, women took upon themselves duties and tasks in family, work, social relations and politics.

The third National Congress of the League, which took place in the days 17th - 19th of February 1962, expressed a very positive evaluation of the work of its staff for the solution of the problems of women and their families. The Congress also recommended a continuation of the running program. First priority was given to the question of women's employment and career opportunities, and to the issue of up-grading vocational and professional qualifications. A proposal was made concerning support to organization of child care, to make it possible for women to be actively engaged in "the process of building Socialism". The educational, cultural and ideological work in the organization ought to help achieve this. The following tasks were proposed for the consideration of the Congress:

- 1) increasing the socio-political and general level of women from all kinds of environments;
- 2) helping women to acquire vocational and professional qualifications and to create career opportunities ;
- 3) strengthening the family ties, the culture of family life and modernization of household work;
- 4) increasing participation and advancement of the woman in social and political life, especially in national

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<sup>106</sup> III Zjazd Ligi Kobiet. Materiały, Warszawa 1962, p. 19, ZGLK.

councils, trade unions, cooperative self-government and in farmers' circles;

5) activation of jobless women.

The proposals were well motivated. In the councils supervising rural cooperatives there were only 9% women, and on the boards of the cooperatives 2%. On the boards of the farmers' circles only 4,5% were women, and in their presidiums 1%. In the presidiums of the national councils on all levels there were only some tens of women in the whole country <sup>107</sup>.

Speakers at the Congress stressed the importance of cooperation with other voluntary organizations in Poland and the need for international contacts. The women were interested not only in their closer neighborhood. They wanted to learn about the situation of women in other countries. They were interested in the living standard of their sisters, their social situation, and their participation in the struggle for peace. To the development of such interests surely contributed the session of the Council of the Women's World Democratic Federation, that took place in Warsaw from November 28th to December 5th 1960. For the first time Poland received representatives of women from all continents - 138 representatives of 60 different countries. Eugenia Cotton, of France, was the chair person, and the Women's League was the host as a member of the Federation. The Warsaw congress of the Federation coincided with its 15th anniversary. The ideas common to all statements of the delegates were peace and disarmament, struggle for the political autonomy of nations, the problem of emancipation, solved in different ways in individual countries.

It was a situation of threats: remilitarisation of West Germany, increasing number of American military bases, fascist terror in Spain, racial discrimination in South Africa. In this situation, women from the whole world, united in their own international federation, formulated a "Declaration on the issue of total

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<sup>107</sup> Op. cit., p. 47 - 48.

disarmament, national autonomy, and peaceful coexistence between nations" and a "Manifest of the Federation". These documents were approved by the session and testify above all to the international solidarity of women.

The end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties was a period of intense international contacts between women. In 1957 the Democratic Union of German Women organized a seminar in Potsdam with the theme: "Protection for mothers - a right for women and an obligation for society". The World Federation prepared further congresses: 1958 in Vienna, 1963 in Moscow, 1969 in Helsinki. Representatives of the Polish women's movement actively participated in the work of the Federation. At that period not only women from Europe and America, but also women from Africa and Asia participated. A long series of other organizations also organized global conferences and meetings of different kinds: The International Council of Women, The International Federation of Women with University Education, The International League of Women for the Defense of Peace and Freedom, The International Association of Women in the Juridical Professions, and even The League of Cooperativist Women. Women of different races, different nationalities and religions, living in different political systems, met to strengthen their solidarity and to fight for increasing the number of women in different vocations and professions, for their education, and for a peaceful future for their children and for all mankind.

In Poland, the revitalization of the women's movement in the sixties is clearly visible in - among others - the Society of Children's Friends, the Polish Committee for Social Welfare, and the Polish Red Cross. The growing participation of women in trade unions, in farmers' circles and in the cooperative movement caused that these organizations more and more often - in addition to the tasks laid down in their statutes - worked for the

satisfaction of needs and the abolishment of obstacles, occurring in the work and life of women and their families.

The Women's League could at the same time note great achievements in its work, that kept developing in accordance with the needs of different environments. Women's clubs were created, and so were reading-rooms, meeting places, and juridical consultancies. In the League, specialized sections were created; noteworthy are especially the section of law experts and the section of architects. At the same time the number of women grew in trade unions, in farmers' circles and cooperative associations as well as in the parties. Some of the activists of these organizations launched the idea of taking up these same activities in the League. In the mid-sixties it was often claimed that the responsibility for work among women ought to lie totally within the women's organizations. This was - it was said - an argument for change. A considerable portion of the active members asked themselves the very fundamental question, whether the vocational / professional and social advancement of women, equality of wages and salaries, rights connected with motherhood (which had been attained by so hard struggle and which were not yet satisfactory) - whether the women's special interests and needs will not get lost among all the important issues in organizations with other - and very varying - priority aims. Will men, accustomed to hegemony in family and place of work and being the real leaders of these organizations, take the same interest in women's issues?

The voices of the advocates of change in the structure of the women's movement were strong enough to convince the political leadership of the need for change. In February 1966 it was decided that a change in the organization of the women's movement should take place. By an authoritative "Instruction of the Secretariat

of The Central Committee of the PZPR" <sup>108</sup> the groups of the League in places of work and cooperatives were dissolved. From that time on, the League had to work only in urban housing areas. "From the decision of the fourth Congress of the Party, determining the direction of the further development of the national economy follows for women in towns and countryside the task of increasing their involvement in the realization of economical goals and in the socio-political life of the country", the instruction reads. "The attainment of these goals demands, that all organizations active in Poland should solve that part of the women's problems that is connected with the basic programs of these organizations" <sup>109</sup> .

In the period 26th to 28th of June 1966, the Fourth National Congress of the Women's League was held, a new program was laid down, and new forms and methods of work in the changed situation were envisaged. In that situation the changes in the women's movement were seen as being "in accordance with the principles and the aims of the women's movement and valuable for the women" <sup>110</sup> . The new tasks were defined in the resolution of the session and in the statute of the League, issued on the basis of decisions and instructions of the Council of Ministers from May 1st 1967 and further on in an appendix to a decree of the Minister of the Interior of May 22nd 1967 <sup>111</sup> . Among the tasks for the women's organization the first place was given to "ideological-educational work" and to "development of the socio-political activities of women". After these were mentioned "problems connected with women's work" and "promotion of the culture of family life" <sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> O pracy partyjnej wśród kobiet. Instrukcja sekretariatu KC PZPR, Warszawa February 1966, PZPR.

<sup>109</sup> Op. cit., p. 4-6.

<sup>110</sup> Uchwała IV Krajowego Zjazdu Ligi Kobiet, in Nowy etap działalności Ligi Kobiet, Warszawa 1966, ZGLK, p. 148.

<sup>111</sup> Dziennik Ustaw nr 13, 1967, and Monitor Polski nr 26, par. 121, June 9th, 1967.

<sup>112</sup> Uchwała IV Krajowego Zjazdu Ligi Kobiet, p. 148 - 158.

The resolution adopted by the congress sought to motivate this kind of changes: "Today's situation allows the Women's League to concentrate the strength of all units on its immensely important work among women in their housing areas, outside of the places of work, in metropolitan areas as well as in small towns and villages. The high social value of that work is evident from the fact, that in the housing area are concentrated all problems of importance for the life of women and families and for the development of society - problems linked with the satisfaction of the family's everyday needs, with the upbringing of children and youth, with the satisfaction of cultural needs and the building of interpersonal relations in the neighborhood" <sup>113</sup> .

As the main branches of activities were recognized: "raising the ideological-political level, the level of education and vocational qualifications, culture, ethics and skills for everyday life; - further: increasing women's participation in co-ruling the country, strengthening the position of women in the national economy, in society and in the family".

The activities of the League had to be concentrated upon: "information and counseling on vocations and jobs for women, developing vocational and professional qualifications and promoting women's employment in accordance with the needs of the national economy, fostering and education of the young generation into healthy, dedicated patriots of the People's Poland, duly prepared for life and work as citizens; - raising the ideological, ethical and cultural level of women and families; - especially taking care of young women and single women, or women who are single parents, in the period of preparation for gainful employment; - cooperation with specialized voluntary institutions and organizations providing care and support for women who have finished working; - cooperation with organs of social welfare and social workers in the field of family

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<sup>113</sup> Op. cit., p. 148 - 149.

care and care for the old; - the dissemination of knowledge and skills indispensable for running a household, based upon analytical-scientific work concerning the needs of the contemporary family" <sup>114</sup> .

As was said in the statute of 1967, the League is "a voluntary and ideological organization of Polish women, with activities in cities, towns and villages in all of Poland". Its work includes pursuing ideological-educational, cultural-vocational and social activities. In accordance with the new rules, the women created League groups in housing areas, taking into account common interests: work, housing environment, etc.

In the new structure of the women's movement, four different centers were entrusted with work for women, having at the same time a responsibility for the development of their own voluntary and professional activities. Thus, trade unions were to carry the responsibility for women working in enterprises in towns and in the countryside. Rural women, working in private or small farms were left to the care of farmers' circles. Cooperative associations took the responsibility for women who were members of cooperatives. And finally, for the Women's League there remained just women in urban housing areas, whether employed or not.

According to the resolution of the party leadership, programmatic changes were introduced in the different voluntary organizations. In 1966, the Central Council of Trade Unions recommended the creation or reactivating of special commissions for women-employees in individual enterprises, as well as on regional and national levels. These commissions had to work for "the full implementation of the decisions of the TUC concerning the further development and perfection of the activities of the trade unions among and for women-employees". The delegates (women) in the women's commissions also had

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<sup>114</sup> Statut Ligi Kobiet, Warszawa 1967 ZGLK, p. 6 - 8.

to represent women's issues in all other specialized commissions of the unions <sup>115</sup> .

Also the cooperative movement took a central decision of a corresponding kind, on December 7th, 1966, underlining the importance of activating women's groups in the individual cooperatives and in their unions, defining the role of special sections for women on national, regional and local levels <sup>116</sup> .

The new principles also concerned the farmers' circles. At the special Third National Congress of Delegates from Farmers' Circles, in December 1966, a resolution was adopted, in which the circles committed themselves to helping the circles of rural housewives in the realization of their program of activities. In the program of action of the unions of farmers' circles, the influence of the Circles of Rural Housewives (KGW) was considerably increased, to make them more capable of promoting the social and economical activities of rural women. In the resolution, the tasks of these councils were defined as: "initiating different kinds of activities among rural women, on local, regional and national level; - participation in the elaboration of programs and directives for the Circles and in the evaluation of its work; - organization of help to Circles in developing new forms of work; - presenting proposals concerning the work of the Circles and the needs of rural women to the steering committees of the unions of farmers' circles<sup>117</sup> .

A novelty in the structure of the women's movement was the appointment by the presidium of the national committee of the National Unity Front in May 1966, of a National Council of Polish Women, and in October of the same year, of women's district councils of the National Unity Front. The resolution implied that the

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<sup>115</sup> Wytoczne prezydium CRZZ w sprawie powołania i działalności komisji kobiet pracujących, in Zbiór dokumentów 1967, p. 30.

<sup>116</sup> Uchwała Prezydium Naczelnej Rady Spółdzielczej z dnia 7 grudnia 1966 roku w sprawie: dalszego rozwoju i doskonalenia pracy wśród kobiet w organizacjach spółdzielczych, in Zbiór dokumentów 1967, p. 47.

<sup>117</sup> III Krajowy Zjazd Delegatów Związku Kółek Rolniczych, Warszawa 1966, p. 131.

Council should have to decide on the directions of work and take care of the coordination of women's voluntary work. The Council was intended as a representation of the whole mass of women active in the organization vis-à-vis the national leadership and women's organizations abroad. The Council included representatives of the Women's League, of the Central Union of Farmers' circles, of the Central Council of Trade Unions, of the Central Cooperative Council and of the Central Council of Army Families.

Likewise, from 1966, the women's district councils had to represent all women in the district and be a forum for cooperation between women in farmers' circles, rural cooperatives, trade unions and in other organizations, active in the rural area. The district councils had to strengthen and not to substitute the activities among women <sup>118</sup>.

What was the reason for the party leaders and, later on, for the central organs of voluntary organizations to decide on changing the structure of the women's organizations? Roman Wieruszewski believes that the real reason for the reorganization of the women's movement was a crisis in the Women's League, consisting of a "discrepancy between the slogans in the program and the results really attained" <sup>119</sup>.

The coordinated - but not uniform - work with rural and urban women, in different vocational and social environments, commissions and councils of women, had to facilitate the realization of goals and strengthen the work for the women's issues. But in reality, what happened was loosening up the hard-knit and strong women's movement and weakening its power of action. Sincere doubts were aroused already by the number of voluntary organizations, entrusted with work among and for women. The Women's League and the circles of rural

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<sup>118</sup> Uchwała Ogólnopolskiego Komitetu FJN w sprawie powołania Krajowej Rady Kobiet Polskich przy OK FJN. Wytoczne Ogólnopolskiego Komitetu FJN w sprawie powołania Gromadzkich Rad Kobiet ..., in: Zbiór dokumentów, 1967, p. 3 - 16.

<sup>119</sup> Wieruszewski, 1975, p. 207.

housewives, the cooperative movement with its centers for "the Modern Housewife" in the countryside and those of the "Practical Lady" in the city, trade unions and their commissions of working women, in spite of the fact that they were centralized under the protectorate of the Revising Commission of the Communist Party (KRKP) in the All-Poland Committee of the National Unity Front (OKFJN), led to the dispersal of human and financial resources. In practice, the conception of KRKP did not pass the test - a purely representative organ without executive power. The position and status of women's organizations in relation to the organs of central government was reduced. On the background of the general situation and of the socio-political and economical crisis of the seventies, with a culmination at the end of the decade and in the eighties, the role of women and of women activists was deflated.

In the seventies, opinions concerning the dismembering of the women's movement began to change. In some places of work, women spontaneously started organizing their own circles. But it was not until after the turbulent days of August 1980 that the 1966 resolutions of the party apparatus were finally revised. Already in the months immediately after August 1980, the League proclaimed its support for a socialist revival and its efforts also led to some useful improvements in its statute, among others the right to form circles in places of work <sup>120</sup>, but it took a whole year before the League decided to convoke a congress. The Eighth - and Extraordinary - National Congress of the Women's League was held 28th - 30th of October 1981. The organization decided to restore its position and its weakened authority. The climate of the deliberations at the congress was full of worries and anxiety for the actual situation and for the future of the Polish people. In the speeches slogans like these dominated: "Why are we not

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<sup>120</sup> Nowy Statut Ligi Kobiet ustalono i zgłoszono na podstawie zarządzenia Ministra Spraw Wewnętrznych z dnia 15 grudnia 1980 r., Monitor Polski nr 30 z dnia 30 grudnia 1980 r.

strong enough to get out of the tunnel?", "Without women - no democracy", "The corset is still binding us", "We have very heavy tasks ahead", and "The League of all Polish women".

The interference of the authorities into the structure of the women's movement was characterized, in the legal sense, as "unprecedented" and "against the law on associations". It was brought to public attention, that the reorganization of '66 had taken place under pressure from the party apparatus of those days, in connection with charges like: "the organization had not lived up to the then growing need for positive news from the front-line of building socialism" and "it (the League) had become burdensome and unpractical because of its social demands and its criticism of working relations and conditions in many enterprises". At the congress there were people speaking of "window-dressing" and "fascination with an accelerated tempo of development", "loss of clear-sightedness as to symptoms of an approaching crisis", but they were not prepared to agree with the opinion that "the League is just an organization of retired old ladies and of urban housewives, occupied by their kitchens and by stair-case gossip...".

Neither were people prepared to agree with those who criticized the League for submissiveness in the face of the alarming tendencies in the country; quite the opposite: the League had noted them and brought them up at "very non-submissive" meetings with the political leadership - although this had not been reported in the "smooth communications" from those meetings. In the congress material, published in the journal "Our work" ("Nasza Praca"), the organizational issues and the women's issues in general were presented in their true shape, and very sharply at that. Mention was made of the first, and very positive, period of work of the League, when numerous new forms of cultural activities were developed, when counseling and educational activities were expanded, together with a real system of help and

care for children, families, repatriates and old people. The organization's contributions in the form of proposals for legislation and other systemic solutions of women's issues were emphasized. It was noted, that a woman, although highly educated and qualified, responsible for home, family and for the education of children, is treated in national economy as a reserve labor force. It was stated that social policy was "inconsequent", "didn't seek solutions by organizing institutions for child care, nor by securing means of subsistence, nor by modernization of household work or by using collective means of nourishing children and grown-ups" <sup>121</sup>.

The tone of these statements was a proof of courageous and honest approaches to the new realities. At the congress, the delegates adopted their new statute, which entitled the organization to work in all kinds of environments. The League of Polish Women - this name was chosen to underline the integration and solidarity of all Polish women - was in the future to create new sections on county level, town level, parish level and even block-level, and circles in enterprises and in housing areas. In the frames of the organization would in the future participate the Circles of the Militia Family and the Organization of Army Families. The League as "a voluntary-ideological organization, working among women and representing their interests vis-à-vis all authorities in our country" will work along these lines:

- strengthening the position of women in socio-political life and in the national economy;
- influencing the social policy of the country;
- forming a public opinion of disapproval of all activities impairing legal principles and involving intolerance towards different beliefs and philosophies;
- looking after the interests of women in work and home;
- solving problems connected with the realization of economic reform;

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<sup>121</sup> VII Nadzwyczajny Zjazd Ligi Kobiet, "Nasza Praca", 1982, nr 1, p. 2 - 65.

- strengthening and developing local groups of the League. - These points are included in the program resolutions of the Congress <sup>122</sup>.

Depending on the economical situation of the country and on the policies of government and party, there were changes in the tasks laid upon the women's movement in Poland. From organization-building, the League went into educational activities, and from general problems to concrete actions for the sake of women and their families. The organizational structure of the movement was developed, new kinds of activities were implemented. In the documents it was strongly stressed that the goal of the organization is to further the interests of women and their families and help in difficult situations, always giving first priority to the task of forming the political consciousness of the women and transposing political messages and directives of the party into concrete political actions. The core of the programs of the Commission for Issues Concerning Working Women in the Trade Unions, Groups of Rural Housewives, groups of Women's League and the union of Polish Female Cooperativists included education for citizenship, activation (mobilization) on social issues in working life, increase in their pedagogical, legal and cultural competence, help in acquiring vocational qualifications and jobs and manifest assistance to women and their families in difficult situations.

In a general assessment of the achievements of the women's movement in Poland, it must be stressed that the concept of emancipation, launched by this movement, was a rational one. In the strife for the realization of the principles of equal rights, expressed by law, Polish women didn't forget, that their natural and social duty consists of combining the roles of a citizen and a mother. Nor ought we to forget the importance of the feminist press, which was closely linked to the development of

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<sup>122</sup> Uchwała programowa VIII Nadzwyczajnego Zjazdu Krajowego Ligi Kobiet, "Nasza Praca", 1982, nr 1, p. 45. Statut LKP uchwalny na VIII Nadzwyczajnym Zejeździe Krajowym Ligi Kobiet.

the women's movement and of the local centers, in which all the important social, cultural and educational activities took place and where the consciousness and knowledge of women has been enriched.

From a perspective of some years, a certain periodicity is clearly visible in the women's movement. There are distinct borders between periods of growth and periods of regression. A flexible responsiveness to political needs, as defined by the movement, was often characteristic of the voluntary organizations, whereas the principle of voluntarism and meeting the interests of the members was seldom respected. The women themselves were not satisfied with the then mandatory model. From soundings and inquiries of opinions it is evident that part of the women would like to have one, strong organization, present in all kinds of environments, through which they themselves would have the chance to fight for their rights and needs. But there were also those thinking that there may be strength in working in a variety of different organizations, open to both men and women <sup>123</sup>.

In the development of the Polish women's movement, the idea of one - only one - common organization of and for women didn't appear until after the second world war. It was a new idea, not built on Polish traditions. In the inter-war period there had existed a great variety of women's organizations, differing both organizationally and in their programs of action. The Polish Women's League and the groups of Rural Housewives were the only organizations in the People's Poland. In comparison to the pre-war period this was very little. The presence of women in political parties, in different nationwide, regional and local voluntary organizations, with differentiated, specialized kinds of activities, may, however, have been a functioning alternative to organizations including one sex only.

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<sup>123</sup> Opinion of Roman Wieruszewski (Wieruszewski, 1975, p. 221)

Are feminist organizations then unnecessary? There are different opinions concerning this issue. Some professional associations - like the professions in question themselves - are very much dominated by women, e.g. the teachers' or health workers' associations. Some organizations dominated by women are: The Society of Children's Friends, The Polish Committee for Social Welfare, The Polish Red Cross, in which most active are people employed in schools and child care. Although women may dominate in numbers among members, this does not, however, correspond to their representation on the boards of these organizations - that representation often being very small. In such a situation there seems to be a motive for the existence of separate organizations for women. This will help integrate the women, it will help satisfy specific women's interests and needs and activate them in voluntary work and in trade unions, what in turn will overcome the negative effects of the since long established tradition of male dominance.

## **AN ATTEMPT AT MEASURING THE LEVEL OF TRADITIONALISM AND MODERNITY IN MEMBERS OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS**

In 1981, in the Białystok, Łomża and Suwałki provinces (summarized as the Białystok area) of Poland, I made an attempt at measuring the level of women's traditionalism or modernity, relating the findings to the women's membership in certain organizations and to their housing environment (urban-rural). The survey included 1592 respondents. Activists of women's organizations in the Białystok area were the research group, whereas the control group consisted of women from the same environments (urban and rural) who were not members of such organizations, but who in other parameters resembled those in the research group. I also took care to warrant the anonymity of responses in the inquiry.

The investigated group from rural environments in the Białystok area included 354 women who were members of the circles / local groups of the Country Housewives' Circles (KGW), and 366 non-members. In urban environments the research project included 404 members of the Polish Women's League (LKP), and 468 female urban dwellers outside that organization. The following table (Table 1) presents the characteristics of the women in the two sets of environments as to age and membership, in percentages.

**Table 1 Respondents by housing area, age, and membership/ non-membership in the KGW or the LKP respectively.**

Percentages

Age	Members		Non-members	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
18-23	5%	2%	10%	4%
24-35	41%	43%	46%	46%
36-55	52%	53%	40%	47%
56 and more	2%	2%	4%	3%
	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>N=1592</b>				

In the rural area, the largest age group among members were 36-55 years old (53%) and the smallest ones were 18-23 (2%) and above 56 (2%). Also in the urban area, women of the age 36-55 were the most numerous group (52%), and the smallest group 56 and more (2%).

The socio-demographical characteristics of the researched groups of women are presented in Table 2 (in percents):

**Table 2: Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents from urban and rural areas.**  
Percentages

	Members		Non-members	
	Urban %	Rural %	Urban %	Rural %
<b>Place of birth</b>				
- urban	52	6	42	
- rural	48	94	58	
	= 100%	= 100%	= 100%	= 100%
<b>Marital status</b>				
- single	17	5	24	
- married	83	95	76	
	= 100%	= 100%	= 100%	= 100%
<b>Social background</b>				
- professional	21	2	15	
- peasant	43	84	50	
- workers	36	14	35	

The vast majority of activists / members in the rural areas were born in the countryside (94%), coming from peasant /farmers' families (84%). Almost all of them were married (95%). In the urban area more or less half the number (43% of members, 50% of non-members) had a rural background (what is not surprising, as the whole area is predominantly agrarian). The majority were married: 83% and 76% respectively.

The educational level of the respondents is summarized in Table 3, in percents:

**Table 3: Educational level of the respondents**  
**Percentages**

Highest education	Members		Non-members	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Elementary	0%	42%	2%	35%
Basic vocational	12%	23%	14%	32%
Intermediate technical	26%	13%	24%	8%
Secondary	45%	16%	44%	21%
Higher	17%	6%	16%	4%
N=1592	100%	100%	100%	100%

Among respondents belonging to the Polish Women's League the most numerous group were the secondary school absolvents (45%); almost the same figure was found for non-members (44%). Women with intermediate technical education in urban areas: 26% and 24% respectively. In rural areas the largest group merely had elementary education.

In the sphere of social-political activity, members - both in rural and in urban areas - decisively prevailed over non-members. The following table (Table 4) illustrates this:

**Table 4: Political and other memberships of the respondents.  
Percentages**

	Members		Non-members	
	Urban LKP N=404	Rural KGW N=354	Urban N=468	Rural N=366
Polish United Workers' Party	37	5	16	2
Democratic Party	1	0	1	0
United Peasants' Party	2	2	2	9
Org. of Army Families	19	1	0	0
Soc. for Polish-Soviet Friendship	13	1	2	0
Circles of Militia Families	14	0	0	0
Society for Propagating Lay Culture	3	0	2	0
Union of Polish Socialist Youth	8	2	6	0
Polish Red Cross	7	0	3	0
Sums	104%	11%	32%	11%

(% being members of the enumerated organizations)

*Note: Several women belonged to more than one organization - especially among urban LKP members.*

The division of domestic responsibilities between family members may be seen as an index of traditionalism-modernity<sup>124</sup>. In many spheres of our lives the principle of "male rule" still prevails. Most obvious is this in the organization of home and family life, where the man - husband and father - decides in matters of importance. This patriarchal principle is also visible in

<sup>124</sup> Bednarski, 1976; Wawrzyniak, 1980.

the division into "male" and "female" roles and the one in "better" (male) or "worse" (female) jobs <sup>125</sup>. The division of roles in the family has been established through centuries and has survived longer in rural areas.

As new production relations and new production techniques have developed and due to women's aspirations and to the gradual democratization of society, the attitudes justifying this hierarchical division of roles are being reevaluated. Although family relationships more and more often are taking the form of partnerships, a research project of B. Wawrzyniak in the years 1975-78 in the Mid-western macro region of Poland showed that 76,3% of the men were of the opinion that there was an established division of duties between husband and wife, and 53,9% were against helping their wives in domestic chores.

The women, however, were of a different opinion. As many as 30,3% of the women in the inquiry considered the existing division of tasks between women and men unfair. 20,2% were not able to formulate their opinions to the subject, because - as the author ascertains - as a consequence of their heavy work load they had no time for reflection... It further turned out not only that men were unwilling to take part in the household work and other "female" jobs, but that women more and more often pursue activities that were traditionally regarded as typically "male". This often happens in families combining farming and work in a factory: the man will take the job outside of farming, and the wife will take over the male jobs connected with agricultural production <sup>126</sup>.

And what about the division of roles in household and family in the Białystok area in 1981? Well, women did a lot of things defined by themselves as men's jobs, not only in the household but also in the field. The men helped in the activities generally regarded to be typically

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<sup>125</sup> Wawrzyniak, 1980, p.82.

<sup>126</sup> Op. cit., p. 85 - 86.

"female". The children were engaged in all kinds of work, but according to the principle of sex differentiation. This indicates an inconsistency in the realization of egalitarianism.

A tendency towards an equal division of home-and-family duties was more apparent in the urban environment, what is connected with the more rapid tempo of change in this environment. Just like in the rural area, the tendency was stronger with activists than with non-members. The kinds of household work done by the respondents and their families are reported in the following table (Table 5) (in percents):

**Table 5: Types of domestic chores &c of the respondents. Percentages.**

	Members		Non-members	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
<u>in the house-hold</u> : all kinds of house-hold chores	94%	89%	96%	96%
<u>on the farm</u> : working in the fields, animal husbandry, helping parents	2	73	4	78
<u>so called female jobs</u> done by men: cleaning, shopping, cooking, washing, help in animal husbandry	42	29	31	26
<u>so-called male jobs</u> done by women: lighting the fire, wall-papering, helping in the field and in the barn	15	38	21	63
jobs done by the respondent <u>in her school age</u> : helping her parents in the household and on the farm	94	81	97	90
<u>jobs done by boys</u> : cleaning, shopping, cooking	67	68	63	69

*Note: Percents do not add up to just 100 because each respondent answered all questions.*

Another important indicator of change in contemporary societies regards the criteria for the selection of the marital partner. In the old days, in

preparing a marriage, it was very important to protect the interests of the family. Economic factors, ownership of land, and its location, origin in a special class or social group - all this decided on the choice. Strict sanctions warranted a proper selection. Nowadays, the choice of partner is being modified under the influence of new patterns of behavior and lack of family sanctions, but in the countryside economic considerations rooted in tradition still often influence the choice <sup>127</sup>.

Only part of the respondents took an environmental factor as a criterion for the choice of partner: about half of the rural groups and somewhat less in the urban ones; in this respect there were no differences between members and non-members. The traditional stereotypes of contracting marriages within the local environment is thus being abandoned.

According to the opinions of the respondents, the basis for marriage ought to be feelings. Good relationship and mutual respect between the partners is more important than having the same religious beliefs (spiritual status) or ownership of land (material status). Great importance is attributed to vocational / professional qualifications, but distinctly greater still to human values in the family. The analysis of the data allows us to ascertain, that the women of the Białystok area are abandoning traditionalism also in their life philosophy. This has been found already in other studies <sup>128</sup>. No differences related to living environment or to membership-non-membership were found in the women's opinions concerning criteria for the choice of marital partner.

In my research project, the criteria for selection of marriage partners have been treated as an indicator of attitudes. The following table (Table 6) illustrates this (data in percents)

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<sup>127</sup> Op. cit., p. 47, Bednarski 1976, p. 52 - 56.

<sup>128</sup> See: Ratman - Liverska, 1984 (b)

**Table 6: Criteria for the selection of marital partner.**

**Percentages of respondents agreeing with the statements in the first column.**

	Members		Non-members	
	Urban %	Rural %	Urban %	Rural %
<i>"In your opinion, matrimony should be based on</i>				
- above all: feeling	87	99	93	95
- holding of land by one of the partners	1	21	4	23
- both partners having vocations / professions	53	60	46	56
- the fiancée may lack a vocation but be expecting a legacy	4	8	4	18
- the partners should have the same religious beliefs	49	67	54	62
- the partners should tolerate each other's religious beliefs	72	83	64	66
- important is a good relationship between the partners and not the religious convictions	80	79	73	77

*Note: The percentages do not add up just to 100, because each respondent could answer all the questions*

Generally it can be stated that the women's attitudes in cognitive-evaluative and motivational-emotional aspects indicate progressive tendencies. But the existing model for life is still incongruent with social needs. Today the most urgent issue is to overcome existing barriers, to accelerate changes in morale and consciousness, depending on the modernization of household and home economy, the greater acceptance towards innovations, and the increase in women's levels of education and aspirations.

This is a task for voluntary organizations which attract women dissatisfied with the lack of social recognition, deprived of possibilities for advancement in the structure of the individual rural farm, overburdened with family and professional duties, without opportunities to develop their own personalities and to use their leisure time for cultural activities.

## THE ACTIVISTS' VIEWS OF LIFE AND RELATIONS TO RELIGION: DECLARATIONS AND PRACTICE.

The character of the activist's philosophy of life has an enormous impact on her actions in the field of voluntary work. What are the women in the investigated associations like? We already know, that they were seen as very important in the programs of socialist indoctrination, especially in the process of secularization, i.e. "the liberation of man's mind from the influence of religious ideas, thinking habits, attitudes and practices, that have been obscuring his understanding of the laws of history" <sup>129</sup>. The aim was to secularize not only the institutions, but also the human minds, in accordance with the ideals of "the humanistic culture of socialism"<sup>130</sup>

But a rational mind cannot be brought to oppose religion or to accept atheism, unless this occurs in accordance with his own interpretation of reality, his own subjectivity and identity, his own motivation for change, confirmed by his own actions - thus: not so much because of launched programs of indoctrination, as because of his factual attitude to the world.

J. Jerschina, studying adolescents, wrote that "the processes of secularization, processes of liberation from the isolation in religion, cannot be understood as a process of discarding religiosity, but as one of creating new attitudes towards oneself, towards nature, society and history". In relation to this assumption, the author has studied: 1) the individual's adaptation to his own, subjective possibilities to learn to know the world and to change it; 2) his religious and secularized self-identification; 3) his participation in religious practices; 4) his religious motivation and his ideas of the genesis of the world and of man; 5) his attitudes to the Church.

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<sup>129</sup> See: Jerschina, 1987, p. 8.

<sup>130</sup> See: Program laickiego wychowania młodzieży, Federacja SZMP and TKKS, Warszawa 1975.

A total of 17 indices were used - among these: the young person's views of his own attitudes, and his parents' attitudes to religion, information on periods of religious doubts and inner conflicts on the background of attitudes to religion, information concerning external conflicts, and on his thoughts about the role of a super-natural factor and other factors deciding his destiny, etc.

It turned out, that secularization and laicization in today's Polish society occurs as a consequence of planned and purposeful actions, spreading the socialist view of the world and of man's relations to nature, to society and to his own self, the propagation of rationalistic interpretations of the world and of the possibilities for changing it in accordance with the spirit of the saying: "nothing is more valuable to man than man" <sup>131</sup> .

We must admit, that the activists of the women's associations have a certain ascendancy over other groups of women, as far as laicization is concerned. It is their duty, according to the program of the organization, to be actively spreading models of desirable attitudes and personality traits. Among these traits, a very important one is the engagement in progress and in the promotion of human happiness in this world. According to Marxist conceptions, it is upon man - man only - to create a better world and to shape his own self at the same time. He has to be active, responsible and able to liberate himself from the myths and prejudices of irrationalism <sup>132</sup> . Is this the attitude we find in the activists of the studied associations?

In the selection of research variables, those were taken into account that helped answer the question most directly. I attempted to clarify the respondents' general relationship to religion and their level of secularization, by assessing their self-identification.

Religious resp. secularized self-identification is generally seen as an indicator of the persons insight in the

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<sup>131</sup> Jerschina, 1987, p. 8

<sup>132</sup> Jaroszewski, 1970, 1966.

level of correspondence between his / her own views of the world and the religious view (religious self-identification) or the secularized view (secularized self-identification). This notion follows from the well-known psychological theory, according to which "insight in one's own attitudes", "self-image", or "subjective ego" is one of the decisive factors in determining human behavior. On the basis of this theory many investigators are endeavoring to get hold of this factor.

In this case, self-identification was studied with the help of a question concerning faith or atheism, and another one concerning secularized upbringing and education of one's own children. Information was gathered concerning religious doubts, religious practices, and motives for these. This doesn't exhaust the list of indices, that might have been used. But those applied are fundamental enough to permit conclusions concerning the direction of the person's development - towards religion or towards secularity. Self-insight is a fundamental element of personality, influencing its dynamic. In our case self-insight permits us to determine some regularities in the field of attitudes towards religion.

Table 7 presents data concerning the investigated women's readiness to inform on their religious belief, with comparisons between the subgroups: rural and urban environment, members and non-members of the studied associations:

**Table 7: The respondents' declarations of religious belief or non-belief. Absolute numbers and percentages.**

Declaration of belief or unbelief	Members				Non members			
	Rur. N	%	Urb. N	%	Rur. N	%	Urb. N	%
<b>I deeply believe and I practise religion</b>	244	69	206	51	282	77	280	60
<b>I just practise</b>	66	19	36	8	34	9	44	9
<b>I practise because of public opinion in the environment</b>	12	4	12	3	16	4	22	5
<b>I do not believe</b>	2	-	80	20	2	-	66	14
<b>I do not believe, but I sometimes go to church</b>	24	7	42	10	6	2	22	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>348</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>376</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>434</b>	<b>93%</b>

Table 7 shows that religious self-identification dominates among the respondents. Most of them characterise themselves as "deeply believing and practising" (in the rural groups: 69% of (KGW) members and 77% of rural non-members, in urban groups: 51% of (LKP) members, and 60% of urban non-members). Only a tiny minority were non-believers: in urban groups 20% of the members, 14% of non-members, and in the rural groups less than one percent. Some of them just went to church from time to time, and of these some did it only because of public opinion in the environment. A certain number of women take part in religious practices without being deep believers.

A certain portion of urban women, especially activists, are dissociating themselves from religiosity.

**Table 8: The respondents' declarations of opinions concerning religious or secularized education (Erziehung) of children.**

**Absolute numbers and percentages.**

	Members				Non-members			
	Rural (KGW)		Urban (LKP)		Rural		Urban	
<b>A. - I am in favour of a consequently secular education (Erziehung) of children from birth</b>								
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	24	7	82	20	32	9	108	23
No	274	78	192	48	288	79	204	45
=	44	12	68	17	40	11	60	13
<b>B. - My husband is of the same opinion</b>								
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	112	32	142	35	128	35	156	33
No	156	44	118	29	146	40	108	23
=	56	16	72	18	40	11	72	15

*NB: The sign = indicates "indifferent"*

Table 8 includes additional data, permitting us to determine the level of secularisation among the women, now declaring their preferences concerning the fostering and education (Erziehung) of their children. The majority don't want a consequently secularized childhood for them. And they are convinced that their husbands are of the same opinion. A secular upbringing and education of children - and that from their birth - would mean a total rupture with the predominant practice of christening and communion. It would also mean a radical rupture with the traditional community, in which the religious practices are not only tokens of religious identification, but also of morality and patriotism. Few mothers would want such a rupture, that would create an unfavourable situation for her child. Filling the duties recommended by

the Church is a kind of insurance against such a situation, and this is one of the motives for many parents who are not emotionally or intellectually connected with religion.

To declare a preference for a completely secular kind of education for one's child indicates a very advanced stage of secularization of mind. This alternative occurs in table 8 with only 7% of KGW members and 20% of LKP members, and among non-members only with 9% of rural women and 23% of urban ones. But a group of some size also say, that they are indifferent in the matter. In total, then, 29% of the women are to some extent abandoning the religious tradition.

**Table 9: Religious doubts or Non-belief as declared by the respondents.**

**Absolute numbers and percentages.**

**"I have doubts in matters of belief and religious practices"**

	Members Rural (KGW)		Non-members Urban (LKP)		Rural		Urban	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Yes</b>	110	31	130	32	58	16	164	35
<b>No</b>	242	69	240	60	302	82	276	58
<b>?</b>	2	-	20	5	6	2	26	6
<b>Tot</b>	354	100	390	97	366	100	466	99

Table 9 in its turn indicates that there is a certain but not strong tendency to doubts about religion and religious practices. In this respect there is a clear difference between the numbers of doubters among rural members and non-members. KGW members express doubts in matters of religion and religious practices considerably more often than non-members in the same

environment. In the urban area there is no such difference.

With what do the respondents connect their doubts? The secularization may emanate from the transformation of the whole society, it may also depend on social microstructures and on the individual's own personality and personality development. Determinants often referred to are: social background, character of the local environment - including its level of urbanisation -, the processes of socialisation and education, and age and sex<sup>133</sup>.

A pedagogue will be most interested in the relationship between education and secularization. Analysing the causes of doubts and of non-belief under the influence of a secular education, as indicated by the respondents, it turned out, that doubts in matters of religion and religious practices are linked with school education already on elementary level, further on with the reading of books, newspapers and journals, with going to lectures and also with social contacts. In the opinions of the women, the factors that are especially strongly linked to states of doubt are historical and scientific books, journals read outside of work, and social contacts in leisure time. Less important are lectures from natural science or social science.

In general it can be stated, that the respondents are developing attitudes against religion and that they are moving along the scale from deeply believing to secularised non-believers. Perhaps the most striking proof for this is their willingness to reveal themselves, openly and truthfully, in an issue that is generally considered very sensitive. They also, in addition, analysed their own doubts, what undoubtedly indicates a conscious and autonomous attitude. The activists show less identification with religion than do women of the control group. This is most evident in the urban groups.

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<sup>133</sup> See: Jerschina, 1987, p. 86 and tables.

## THE WOMEN'S ASPIRATIONS

The hierarchy of objectives is determined by material needs, needs for knowledge and self-realization, emotional needs et cetera. These objectives may be linked with the acquisition of goods for consumption, or with the upgrading of vocational qualifications and with everyday work, with the needs of personal and family life, with vital aspirations, directed towards a micro-environment, limited by immediate and personal bounds, or towards a macroworld, in which needs for social action are realized. Generally speaking, women's aspirations can depend on abstract or concrete values, on personal interests or on social ones. Is there, in fact, a kind of social vacuum between the world of family life and the institutions of public life - as was shown by research projects in the 70s concerning the value system of Polish society<sup>134</sup>, or were there at least some associations, like the ones we are studying, which filled this vacuum and were a domain of useful voluntary activities?

Let us establish, by analysing the answers of our respondents, what, to them, is the most important thing in life. Table 10 shows the hierarchy of aspirations in life, ordered from highest to lowest number of responses.

Table 11 classifies the answers in categories of ambitions /aspirations. Here we take the respondents' membership in associations and their home area into account.

Irrespective of these dimensions, the respondents in general give priority to ambitions connected with the future of their children, whom they want to bring up and educate. Parental ambitions have the first place in rank among the groups of women in the study. They regard the upbringing of their children as the most important task of their lives.

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<sup>134</sup> Jasińska - Siemieńska, 1978, p. 291.

**Table 10:** The hierarchy of the respondents' goals and aspirations in life.

Absolute numbers, percentages, and ranks.

Vital goals and aspirations	Urban Members			Non-members		
	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank
<i>Rearing children</i>	124	31	1	140	30	1
<i>Own qualification</i>	64	16	2	70	17	2
<i>Apartment or villa</i>	34	8	3	40	9	3
<i>Social work</i>	12	3	4			
<i>Personal or family happiness</i>	10	3	5	8	2	7,5
<i>Furnish one's rooms</i>	8	2	8	22	5	4
<i>Getting married</i>	8	2	8	12	3	5
<i>Buying a car</i>	8	2	8	8	2	7,5
<i>Building a house</i>	8	2	8	8	2	7,5
<i>Trip abroad</i>	8	2	8	8	2	7,5
<i>Buying agro-machinery</i>	-	-		-	-	-
<i>Enlarging animal husbandry</i>	-	-		-	-	-
<i>Having a model farm</i>	-	-		-	-	-
<i>Buying more land</i>	-	-		-	-	-
<i>Expanding farm buildings</i>	-	-		-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>71</b>		<b>316</b>	<b>70</b>	-

Vital goals and aspirations	Rural Members			Non-members		
	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank
<i>Rearing children</i>	110	31	<b>1</b>	162	44	<b>1</b>
<i>Own qualification</i>	20	6	<b>2,5</b>	-	-	-
<i>Apartment or villa</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Social work</i>	12	3	<b>7,5</b>	-	-	-
<i>Personal or family happiness</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Furnish one's rooms</i>	8	2	<b>9</b>	88	24	<b>2</b>
<i>Getting married</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Buying a car</i>	<b>20</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2,5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>
<i>Building a house</i>	14	4	<b>5,5</b>	20	5	<b>3</b>
<i>Trip abroad</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Buying agro-machinery</i>	16	5	<b>4</b>	10	3	<b>6</b>
<i>Enlarging animal husbandry</i>	14	4	<b>5,5</b>	-	-	-
<i>Having a model farm</i>	12	3	<b>7,5</b>	-	-	-
<i>Buying more land</i>	6	2	<b>10,5</b>	18	5	<b>4</b>
<i>Expanding farm buildings</i>	6	2	<b>10,5</b>	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>68</b>		<b>310</b>	<b>84</b>	-

**Table 11: Categories of respondents' aspirations, by membership/non-membership and living area (urban/rural). Absolute numbers, percentages, and ranks.**

Categories of ambitions / aspirations (=a)	Urban Members			Non-members		
	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank
	<i>Parental a.</i>	124	31	<b>1</b>	140	30
<i>Intellectual a.</i>	64	16	<b>2</b>	70	15	<b>3</b>
<i>Material a.</i>	58	14	<b>3</b>	78	18	<b>2</b>
<i>Personal a.</i>	18	9	<b>4</b>	20	5	<b>4</b>
<i>Recreational a.</i>	8	2	<b>6</b>	8	2	<b>5</b>
<i>Vocational, Productional Social aspirations /</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
	12	3	<b>5</b>	-	-	-

Categories of ambitions / aspirations (=a)	Rural Members			Non-members		
	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank
	<i>Parental a.</i>	110	31	<b>1</b>	162	44
<i>Intellectual a.</i>	20	6	<b>4</b>	-	-	-
<i>Material a.</i>	42	12	<b>3</b>	120	32	<b>2</b>
<i>Personal a.</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Recreational a.</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Vocational, Productional a</i>	54	16	<b>2</b>	28	8	<b>3</b>
<i>Social a.</i>	12	3	<b>5</b>	-	-	-

Irrespective of differences in membership or home area (urban/rural), the respondents in general give priority to aspirations connected with the future of their children, whom they want to foster and educate. Parental ambitions have first place among all groups of women in the study. They regard child rearing as the most important task of their lives.

Respondents from urban areas only unwillingly answered the question: what vocation or profession, and what education do you desire for your children? Only about 50% of those organized in LKP and about 56% in the control group in the same urban environment answered this question. With the rural respondents the result was quite different: more than 70% of the women in KGW and more than 90% in the control group answered. It is somewhat amazing that urban women, who generally have secondary or higher education, unlike the rural women with only elementary or lower vocational education are undecided as to the future education of their children. The result may be caused by the fact that there are so many more educational opportunities in the urban area, or also by the more critical attitude of women with higher education. Further analysis will bring light onto this. Those urban women who did answer the question, wanted their children to get higher education: for girls humanistic studies, for boys higher technical studies.

We must note that the preferred professions / vocations were very traditional ones also among rural women; for girls: higher pedagogical or medical education - both giving high prestige in the public opinion of the rural environment - and for boys: secondary or higher technical education. Rural women, however, seem to have lower ambitions than urban women, at least when boys are concerned. Rural women would rather that their sons be educated as quickly as possible and that their education or training should prepare them for taking over the farms after their fathers. This explains the preference for practical vocations (mechanical and agricultural) at lower or secondary level. As the respondents put it: "every pair of hands is useful in the private farm, although expert knowledge in agriculture may also be helpful."

Is there a connection between the educational expectations and the general intellectual ambitions of

these women, with their higher or lower appreciation of education and knowledge? Among women belonging to the League, aspirations concerning general education and further vocational training held second place, second only to those concerning family life. Among urban non-members, the same ambitions held third rank. Women in KGW, the rural association, also appreciated the value of education and knowledge, but to a lower degree than their urban sisters: fourth rank from the top of the hierarchy.

In the private sphere, the priority values may be understood as a means to satisfy needs for consumption, as it is assumed that higher qualifications also give higher income (what was not true in 1980-82, however), or - what is socially desirable - that they lead to a stronger self-esteem and to greater social usefulness. It is possible that this second interpretation has a certain relevance, and that the intellectual ambitions result from felt needs for self-realization and knowledge in the women themselves, and that their own aspirations were identified with those concerning their children.

From the answers it is evident, that great weight is attached to objectives connected with the acquisition of material goods. But this is to a higher degree valid for the non-members, in whose answers these material goods hold the second rank, as compared with the third rank among the members of the associations (Rural KGW and urban LKP). The urban respondents want to have an apartment, more seldom a villa, whereas the rural ones want to build a house or to modernize the one they already possess, providing it with water and sanitation; they also want to acquire more land for cultivation, more agro-machinery and to enlarge their cow-sheds and stables. It might appear that the aspirations connected with material values point to a desire for more consumption. But in reality this is not so. The desired objects in this case are just articles of primary importance to secure a normal existence. To the rural

women, the things they desire are not to help them live comfortably - just to enable them to manage their farm and animal husbandry. Among the respondents we also meet those dreaming of purchasing a car. Especially among rural women this was apparent (6% of members, 3% of non-members, as compared with 2% of urban women of both categories). In the present living conditions of these women, a car is a very valuable thing, as it facilitates contacts with shop, health center, school, cultural center - all these may be rather far away from the rural women's homes.

For urban women, a car surely is a luxury, not only because of the abundance of other means of communication. The farmers in the North-Eastern region, where relatively profitable private farms are in majority, can afford such luxury much more often than the worker in socialized urban factories.

From further analysis it is obvious that the aspirations of the respondents with regard to material goods for themselves are much humbler than what they desire for their children. Both urban and rural mothers show higher material aspirations for the future of their children than for their own. For their children they hope for a house with a garden rather than an apartment in a big house block (53% of members, 44% of non-members in urban areas, and 70% and 59% respectively in rural areas).

In the case of rural women, it further turned out that they want their children to work in the city rather than in the countryside (36% of KGW members and 30% of the control group). It should then be noted, that in this case KGW activists show higher figures than non-members. Working on one's own farm is hard, workdays last from dawn to dusk - but this should not justify the desire to abandon it for a more comfortable urban life.

The aspirations connected with personal life rank high (fourth rank) with urban women, both members and non-members. A characteristic feature is that only urban

respondents express such personal aspirations that are connected with emotional "belongingness". Among rural respondents not a single one expresses anything that could be classified as just personal, individual. Only urban women give answers like: "want to get married", "seek personal happiness and have a family", "have somebody near me and lead a quiet life". This fact can be interpreted in two ways: either as shyness and reticence in rural women or maybe lack of aspirations for their own persons, or also as a sign that their emotional needs are already satisfied. Living conditions in the countryside favor the satisfaction of needs for emotional belongingness, offering close contacts between family members and neighbors. It is also of importance, that in the countryside there are more young men than young women prepared to remain there and to work in agriculture. Finally, it is also possible that women living in closer contact with nature will be less frustrated than urban women.

The fifth rank in the hierarchy is held by social ambitions - but only with members of the women's associations. Answers like: "I want to do social work", "In the future I want to work socially for the countryside and for rural women" are in general placed within the category of "less important things that you would like to work for". Social ambitions of this kind found in the answers, are connected with the women's work in the organization to which they belong. They are conscious of these tasks, but they do not give them highest priority.

The two greatest differences in aspirations were found in two categories: recreation and vocation-production. Aspirations connected with attractive leisure time activities - although referred to the "less important" category - were mentioned only by urban respondents, irrespective of membership. Rural women didn't even once mention dreams of going abroad or spending holidays on the Black Sea. Their aspiration are directed towards more prosaic matters, such as modernizing their

farm. Rural women want to have model-farms, they consider the possibilities for expanding animal husbandry, and their main aim is: purchasing the machinery and other equipment they need.

The women's answers show strong correlation with the women's vocations and home areas. The majority of KGW members point to vocational-productional aspirations - with 16% of the sample; this set of aspirations holds second rank in the hierarchy; to a lesser degree the same is valid for rural non-members: 3rd rank and 8%. The great importance that KGW members attribute to modernization and rationalization of their private farms is quite self-evident, as the organization in question places these at the top of their educational-activating program. Earlier, the League of Women likewise - and with considerable success - tried to promote voluntary and vocational activation among their members, but in the 80s its influence in this field turned out to be insufficient.

The survey of aspirations was supplemented by an additional study of the respondents' evaluations of their own achievements and success in life. See Table 12!

**Table 12: The espondents' evaluations of their own achievements in life**

	Members				Non-members			
	Rural (KGW)		Urban (LKP)		Rural		Urban	
<b>A. - What is, in your opinion, your greatest achievement in life?</b>	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1) I don't find anything of the kind	48	13	62	15	58	16	98	21
2) The respondent describes achievement	54	15	56	14	100	27	70	15
3) Hard to tell	252	72	286	71	208	57	300	64
<b>Total</b>	<b>354</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>404</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>366</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>B. - If you compare yourself with your classmates from school (elementary, secondary), do you find that you have achieved</b>	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1) More than the majority of them	30	8	36	9	14	4	44	9
2) More or less as much as they	98	28	134	33	70	19	184	39
3) Less than the majority of them	26	7	40	10	58	15	50	11
4) Hard to tell	138	39	194	48	138	38	184	39
<b>Total</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>404</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>280</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>462</b>	<b>98</b>

The assumption was that there should be a correspondence between the priority values (vital aims and ambitions), indicating a coherent system of values in the respondents. The question "What do you consider your greatest achievement in life" caused them a good deal of trouble. The most frequent reply was: "Hard to tell" (71% of urban members, 64% of urban non-members, and 72% and 57% respectively of rural respondents). Members apparently were more reserved than non-members. A negative evaluation of their own achievement (category of answers: "There is none")

occurred more often with non-members, both urban and rural (21% of urban non-members, 15% of members, and 16% resp. 13% of rural ones). Most pessimistic, then, were urban non-members.

Defining their greatest achievement, urban women mentioned - by order of frequency:

- 1) rearing children
- 2) school completion, having a vocation
- 3) having an apartment or a house with a garden
- 4) securing a peaceful family life.

Rural women on the other hand counted among their greatest achievements:

- 1) rearing children
- 2) providing machinery for their farm
- 3) building a house
- 4) having acquired expert knowledge in their vocation (in agriculture etc.)

Apparently, the respondents are very careful and modest in appreciating their own achievements, and if they do express any judgments, then - just as in the case of aims and aspirations - their replies are connected with family life, and with intellectual, vocational and material features. The answers differ according to organizational membership, educational background, and living environment. Although this is not a major factor, there seems to be somewhat more of criticism, reserve and modesty in the answers of urban women and in those of members.

The conclusion drawn from the respondents' evaluations of their own achievements are congruent with the preceding statements concerning vital aims and aspirations. One may assume that the analyses we have undertaken lead to a correct diagnosis of the level of aspirations. It should be added, however, that conclusions concerning individual traits of the studied personalities (i.e. attitude elements) have the character of hypotheses, as it is not known whether the lack of

answers evaluating their own achievements does indicate modesty, insecurity or lack of personal aspirations in general, connected with a minimalist attitude (low aspirations for one-self), just as it is not possible to know for sure, that a negative judgement of one's achievements indicates a state of dissatisfaction, linked with pessimism, or if it just a rational statement of facts, linked with a critical attitude.

On the whole, the vital aims and aspirations, visible in the answers, are parallel to the established model of aspirations in Polish society, where some of the main values are: care about the future of the young generation, acquisition of knowledge and vocational qualifications and getting a satisfying job. The high position of parental ambitions in women is linked with the traditional Polish conception of the woman-mother, whose first duty is to care about the development and upbringing of the children. It also testifies to the concentration on social micro structures and to the high valuation of family links, which in 1981, in the face of growing chaos in the country, meant taking refuge into the domestic sphere. The family, in which the women feel secure, is in such a situation an oasis of emotional satisfaction.

In the answers that have been analyzed, it was fully evident, that the value systems of the respondents gave priority to practical usefulness; instrumental and concrete values are predominant, and abstract values are very little developed.

Judging from the answers, it doesn't seem that the respondents attach any weight to values like health, social advancement, safety, moral values, interpersonal relations, as the aspirations for the near or more distant future did not include any data allowing us to confirm their presence. It is possible, that another research method could have filled such a gap, e.g. a method using a sample of a priori designed structural categories, which the respondents would have to rank.

In recent literature to the subject, however, such a "suggestive" approach is not accepted, because it somehow forces the respondents to answers and may create fictitious value systems<sup>135</sup>. Apart from that, the method I used for data collection and analysis has been developed by making comparisons between preferences of values in the framework of the given system. A consequent set of answers testifies to the coherence of a rational and conscious system of values in the respondents, i.e. it testifies to the connection between structural categories. Many scholars think that coherence and integration, as opposed to an autonomy of different value categories (isolated values) - indicates a value system really existing in the minds of the respondents <sup>136</sup>.

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<sup>135</sup> Jałowiecki, S., *Struktura systemu wartości, konstrukcje teoretyczne i techniki analiz*, in: Gliszczyńska, 1982, p. 12.

<sup>136</sup> Op. cit., p. 122.

## EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.

Apart from many other tasks, women's voluntary associations have also been pursuing educational ones. In The League of Polish Women (LPK) as well as in the Circles of Rural Housewives (KGW) the work aimed at the adaptation of the members and their integration into the socio-cultural life of the organization, but also more specifically educational processes were realized by creating educational situations, leading to specific activities <sup>137</sup>.

There is a diametrical difference between the educational role of the social environment (family, colleagues, neighbors, trade unions, associations, etc.) and the role of educators, who in a conscious and organized way try to exploit these environments for a harmonious process of personality development in the adult person. It is the goal-directed intentionality of the educator that decides on the classification of these efforts as educational ones.

Certain educational effects result even from such activities that occur among ordinary members, motivated by their feeling of duty towards certain demands from the side of the organization, and from passive participation, consisting of formal fulfillment of tasks within the association. The activity of ordinary members often lacks substance and is merely verbal, in the form of statements delivered at meetings and conferences. Making statements helps formulating conclusions and decisions, to be implemented later. Connected with the member role such tasks have a certain instrumental-educational importance. Obviously, the role as an activist - a member having more responsible tasks - will have stronger effects on personality development.

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<sup>137</sup> On the basis of research among women members of LKP and KGW in the Białystok region in 1980- 81.

The different kinds of activities - cultural-educational, service, normative - indicate an elaborated educational plan, implemented in special cultural-educational centers, with the equipment the work requires. To attain their goals, the women's associations have created specialized structures like: women's clubs, groups for popular education, vocational courses, pedagogical and juridical counseling, centers for home economics, schools for mothers, courses on health. Popularization of scientific knowledge also takes place through the publications of the League of Women and through those of farmers' clubs, spread among the groups all over the country.

In their work, the voluntary associations I studied have made use of the achievements and experiences of the women's movement, whose traditions they continue, and of the values inherent in local and regional culture. They also took part in the broader social movement, linking their work with the local society, as well as with the wider society. The associations continually tried to improve their educational work and to stimulate educational needs and interests among their members.

The authentic interest in the realization of the program of action testifies to the vitality of a cultural-educational center. This will happen only when the members find that the center can offer the means for satisfying their psycho-social needs in attractive kinds of activities. The scope of opportunities for expression and self-realization available to women of different ages and different walks of life will decide whether a center is a "center for life" or not <sup>138</sup>. The women's voluntary associations in the Białystok region have attempted to make their centers such "centers for life", but the aim is not always mirrored in the practical activities of the centers. They have used well-chosen means and cultural-educational methods in certain forms of permanent

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<sup>138</sup> I have compared the centres of the associations I have studied, referring to the model traits of the cultural-educational centre as defined by A1. Kamiński. See: Kamiński, 1974, p. 170 -257.

education of adults. Those are the same forms that W. Okoń, classifying certain kinds of adult education and training in the field of production, labeled: 1) highly organized forms of permanent education, 2) collective forms of free education, 3) individual forms of work "on one self"<sup>139</sup>.

Highly organized forms of education, linked to school education, called recurrent education, also takes place in the women's associations as courses for staff and board members and as specialized vocational courses and counseling. These forms serve two purposes. They give women the opportunity to receive vocational education and training, and to refresh and develop vocational skills and knowledge. They also aim at forming attitudes, cognitive and behavioral patterns, skills and knowledge needed for functioning and working rationally in job, home and society.

The members of the KGW and the LKP, especially those with special tasks (e.g. staff and board members) in the organizations, were included in the training of functionaries. This training aimed at an all-round strengthening of the self-government of all units of the women's organizations, by means of staff development.

Many women in the Białystok area, especially in the countryside, were still lacking specific vocational education and training. The courses and the consultation service offered by the organizations helped the members acquire knowledge and skills needed for an external job or for working in one's own household - what also requires professional competence. The vocationally qualifying courses prepare for a state examination. Both theoretical education and practical training were included, although the latter was given more space.

Great weight was attached to self-study and consultation, and also to competition. Frequent tests helped consolidate skills and knowledge acquired in the short and intensive courses.

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<sup>139</sup> Okoń, 1979, p. 9 - 29.

One of the forms of vocational training for the members of KGW and functionaries of the farmers' circles were the so-called "qualification courses for independent farmers" and the so-called "agricultural prep. course". The contents of this course was connected with the main productional challenges laid down in the plans for agricultural development. The basis of the courses was the obligatory agro- and zoo-technology, but they also included cultural and general educational contents. The courses in the countryside took place in autumn and winter.

Also the Polish Women's League (LKP) was organizing courses of different kinds. In cooperation with the cultural administrators and the labor exchange offices they ran courses on different specialties of importance in household and family management: nourishment, cutting and sewing, knitting, and other handicrafts, home economics. The specialized vocational courses obligatorily included instructors working in the associations' cultural-educational centers, such as the centers for housewives or the juridical consultancies. Participation was open both to members and non-members.

The courses and the consultancies organized by the women's associations helped promote progress and spread innovations, developing the organization and technology of production as well as introducing principles of rational work. It is possible to say, that these courses also influenced the direction of the changes of family life and social life. In the Białystok region much had to be done in this area. For this reason the women's associations also opened a research center of their own and entered into cooperation with the centers for scientific information at the relevant institutions.

The organized forms of education offered by the women's voluntary associations served an education with vocational and professional as well as cognitive ambitions, with aspirations for social promotion and

recognition, for liberation of initiative and promotion of openness to innovations. Some of the cultural-educational activities were of the type of "free education", with respect to traits like: spontaneity and energy for development, when so required by societal needs. A characteristic trait of free education is that it is based upon authentic human needs; this also explains its enormous differentiation and variety. Free (Liberal) education was offered by institutions like: "open universities", parents' universities, schools for mothers, radio-nets and publishing houses linked with the organizations, further discussion clubs, women's clubs, socio-juridical consultancies, health courses, libraries and reading-rooms, cultural studios, and "know-and-think-clubs" in the places of work, etc.

This educational work helped disseminate knowledge from different fields, according to the learning interests of the participants. Most often they wanted advice on socio-juridical, pedagogical and psychological matters, as well as on personal hygiene, protection of health, motherhood and family planning, and first aid. Very popular, therefore, were meetings with specialists in medicine, law, pedagogy and psychology. The popularization of knowledge also took the forms of reading circles, film strips, radio programs, competitions and quizzes.

Another important group of activities in liberal education among members in the women's associations was economy and special pedagogy. These themes were offered by a row of centers of different kinds, created by the associations: centers for home economics, for renting household equipment, centers for "The Practical Woman" and "The Modern Housewife". kindergartens, children's camps, playgrounds, mother-and-child centers, youth centers and clubs for retired people, etc.

The economic-productional activities served two aims: rationalization of the household, and vocational activation of women - in rural areas in farming, and in

urban ones in this or that specific vocation or profession chosen by the woman.

Services like financial help, help in matters concerning housing and living conditions, canteens in the work-places, nursery schools and pre-schools, leisure time educational centers, care of old people, living individually or in governmental homes for the elderly, fundraising for social purposes, provision of clothing and food for children, organizing - with the help of medically educated and trained members - actions to promote hygiene and health, or offering specialist advice in other fields, undertaking surveys and inquiries to diagnose social needs - all these activities meant influencing society through the activists of the organizations, but were at the same time a school for developing their pro-social attitudes.

An important form of women's education was the individual's self-education, including participation in cultural creative and reproductive work, in fine and applied art and crafts, and voluntary social activities.

The members of women's voluntary associations were quite aware of the educational value of social work, they were convinced that their inner persons were developing through it - what was also confirmed by the inquiry <sup>140</sup>. This conviction gets stronger with widened responsibilities. The realization of objective-organizational tasks also undoubtedly involves education and training. With respect to the kind of activities undertaken by the activists we can distinguish:

- political-ideological education, for society,
  - education through work, for working life,
  - "altruistic education" through work in service and work with the needy and handicapped,
  - art education (both creative and receptive)
- through creation and distribution of culture,

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<sup>140</sup> I am referring to an opinion poll that I undertook among a representative sample of leaders of circles in the LKP and the KGW from the Białystok region. See: Ratman-Liwerska, 1984 (a)

- education for leisure time by working in entertainment, sports and tourism,
- ethical education by taking part in defining and disseminating legal and moral norms and traditions.

The social relations and interactions occurring during the realization of different kinds of activities in the association help internalize moral, social, patriotic, philosophical, aesthetical and other values - but this takes place only if the leader of the activity group endeavors to transform the randomly composed group, with which she is confronted at the beginning, into an educational unit, a circle, in which it will be possible to do intentional educational work. The efforts towards such a transformation involve an educational method. A. Kamiński once labeled this method the method of self government / self reliance. The activists of the associations are aware of the value of this method and use it permanently. This, however, is just one of the ways of exerting educational influence.

In the researched organizations, many methods of educational activation are used, with the aim of stabilizing socialist attitudes, convictions and values, and desirable personality features like intelligence, knowledge and skills. Co-responsibility, democracy, autonomy and commitment are the main bases of the associations' work. These principles determine the selection of methods, among which the associations prefer those involving personal influence - this is also the reason for the painstaking selection of staff, to secure the possibility of projection of "appropriate" personality patterns. By consciously planning the program of activities, the association creates conditions for leading the self-educational work of the women.

## **THE DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND RESEARCH IN THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AS A FUNCTION IN ADULT EDUCATION.**

In a broad sense, dissemination of knowledge can be understood not only as dissemination of facts concerning reality, but also as the formation of a specific kind of existence, a specific life-style, characterized by taking interest in the world, by seeking knowledge, by reflection, by taking responsibility, and by creativity. Science is a value for life, offering better conditions for subsistence and more efficient methods for action. But this cannot be the only asset. In peaceful and happy conditions, such an optimistic vision of learning seems well founded. But today, when we know that the results of science do not only lead to progress but are also causing a threat to our whole civilization, serving destructive and dehumanizing forces - today we must look for new and more appropriate ways of disseminating scientific knowledge. One proposition is concerned with a dialogue between science and culture and with the necessity to take into account the existential experiences of other cultures and also the results of alternative science  
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We are experiencing an acceleration of the contacts between science, practice and collective consciousness, especially between science and technology. Science itself does not change reality, it just creates preconditions for changes, which may be good or bad because of other factors. One of these factors is popularization, to be more exact: the dissemination of scientific knowledge, the kind of knowledge we rank highest in our educational system, in all its varieties.

Science is a value submitted to changes, and, consequently, the dissemination of scientific knowledge

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141 Suchodolski, *Perspektywy popularizacji nauk*, in *Okoń*, 1979, p. 30 - 45.

undergoes reinterpretations. The popularization of science in journalism is being transformed into scientific journalism, and in cultural-educational work it is being changed into dissemination of insight concerning the applications of scientific knowledge - sometimes using means and methods of dramatic arts. J. Kubin proves that just very few people - lovers of science and readers of popular science publications - are interested in the acquisition of knowledge as such. Much more often people are interested in science as a foundation for the individual's everyday work in his different social roles. Scientific knowledge is just part of that foundation. People are interested in philosophy and views of life related to their work, they are interested in knowledge in the fields of politics, technology, nature, society, knowledge explaining features of love, marital problems, the rearing of children, knowledge concerning health and nutrition, and also in encyclopedic knowledge. Each discipline of science gives only fragments of knowledge in fields like those mentioned <sup>142</sup>.

In andragogy, a subdiscipline of pedagogy dealing with education and development of adults, there is only a slight difference between "dissemination of scientific knowledge" and "popularization of science" <sup>143</sup>. In educational work the first concern is scientific knowledge and not - for instance - metaphysical knowledge or trivial everyday information. Applied science has to take into account the results of the related specialized pure sciences. In the educational work of giving the large public access to scientific results one does not apply a classification of knowledge according to scientific disciplines.

Kazimierz Wojciechowski, one of the creators of adult education theory, expresses his doubts about the value of distinguishing different levels in the popularization of science. For him there is no so-called

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<sup>142</sup> Kubin, 1985

<sup>143</sup> See: Encyklopedia oświaty i kultury dorosłych, Wrocław 1986, especially the article: Popularnonaukowe książki i czasopisma, p. 230 - 232.

high level science, for scholars and experts, and another, second or third level one for so-called normal or simple people (who are no longer identifiable just as factory and farm workers)<sup>144</sup>.

In literature we meet different opinions on this theme. The differences may depend on different research traditions and different theoretical assumptions. The general discussion concerns - leaving semantic questions aside - the function of the system of dissemination of scientific knowledge on a practical scale: in schools and in out-of-school education, in governmental and private institutions, on expert level as well as on a general one. All these have in common the quest for a permanent and efficient system for the dissemination of scientific knowledge in the whole society <sup>145</sup>.

The reformed educational systems seek to organize a large battery of educational influences in school- and out-of-school education, in accordance with the ideas of optimization of school structure and school functions and the ideas of modernization of the educational processes as well as with the idea of permanent education. More and more often one speaks of the global or universal educational system, comprising the totality of channels through which people get into contact with scientific knowledge and ideological contents, values and patterns. The label "educational institution" is used not only for those organized social groups having education as their main task, but also for those doing educational work as a by-result of their specific main work in other fields. Some sociologists and pedagogues regard as educational - in a wide sense - also the socializational influences observed in societies of today. Thus they regard as educational all factors influencing personality development in people participating in organized collective life, irrespective of whether these influences

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<sup>144</sup> Wojciechowski, 1973, p. 323.

<sup>145</sup> Kubin, 1990, p. 301 - 338.

are positive - i.e. in accordance with the educational goals - or negative, counteracting these goals <sup>146</sup>.

It may well be that we all, and through all of our lives, are "educands", although the educational institutions, contents and methods may change, and although there may be a decrease in adaptivity and an increase in innovative creativity. But many scholars propose that institutions should be recognized as educational ones only if they explicitly regard education as a central task, of relevance for the wider collective, and if they dispose of the material means and resources needed for public educational work. Then, educational institutions would be only those consciously and intentionally taking educational roles upon themselves, organizing educational processes - although they don't need to be schools in a strict sense<sup>147</sup>.

In modern societies, the dissemination of scientific knowledge is an element of a wider educational system and is being realized not only in schools (where not popularization, but other kinds of teaching predominate) but mainly outside of them. It thus involves not only the young generation, but also adults, who are potential recipients and potential users of scientific knowledge on an amateur scale. Providers of this specific information are not only teachers transferring information to pupils in the general educational process, but also popularizers, who are engaged in spreading information and in arousing theoretical interests among adults, active in society <sup>148</sup>.

Besides practical knowledge and training, the popularization of scientific knowledge holds a very important position in the Polish women's voluntary organizations, i.e. in the League of Polish Women (LKP) and the Circles of Rural Housewives (KGW) - socio-ideological mass organizations working among women of

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<sup>146</sup> See: Szczepański, J. et al. in "Polska 2000", 1972, nr. 2, p. 187, and Pilch - Passini, 1979.

<sup>147</sup> Miller, R., 1981, Ratman-Liverska, 1984 (a).

<sup>148</sup> Znaniński, 1984, p. 424.

varying interests, varying life philosophies, working professionally or not, of different ages and different educational levels. The importance of popularization depends on its potential for changing reality, on changes in cultural policy and - above all - on the interests of the members of this social movement. The women's organizations see as their fundamental duty the creation of conditions for women to fill, in an adequate way, civic, vocational and domestic functions, and to strengthen their position in political, social and economic life, to increase the status of the woman - the activist, the employee, the mother, the organizer of life at home <sup>149</sup>.

Modern Polish women receive most of their education in the comprehensive school system, that carries the bulk of educational work in the country. But in their own associations, they want to complement, to deepen or to update their knowledge in an attractive and less demanding, voluntary out-of-school education. The associations try to meet this demand by providing both general and specialized education, often vocational education and training as well. This system is integrated into the still wider organizational structure of what could be called a cultural-educational system, as it comprises not only cognitive activities in a didactic sense (i.e. processes of teaching-learning and self-education, development of different instrumental functions and skills), but also educational processes modeling and directing the development of the personality, of attitudes and character, values and feelings, and of preparedness to act for good causes and ideas.

My rather comprehensive research on socio-educational and cultural functions of the women's voluntary associations, undertaken in the North-Eastern part of our country in the years 1979-1982 <sup>150</sup>, showed, that these organizations are a special category of social organization, using natural socializing mechanisms in an

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<sup>149</sup> Statut Ligi Kobiet Polskich, Warszawa 1981, p. 1 - 5.

<sup>150</sup> Ratman - Liverska, 1983, p. 83

educational (Erziehungs-) direction and - at the same time - offering social activities facilitating the educational activation of the members. True to their goals and ideals, the women's associations take upon themselves the task of promoting patriotic attitudes and civic awareness in their members, disseminating among them both general knowledge and vocational instruction, elevating their ideological and cultural level, strengthening tolerance and good-will, stimulating their members to creative participation in all spheres of life in the country, attempting to gather all women's groups and centers in a development program for the whole country, to strengthen its structure and to promote social justice.

The position of the researched associations in the framework of the cultural-educational system depends on their awareness of their educational duties, their specific pedagogical self-identification - which was confirmed in the research project - as well as the existing possibilities for manipulation by different educational means. In the associations occurred not only processes of adaptation of the members to life in an existing culture, but also processes of goal-oriented education realized with the aid of intentionally created educational situations, promoting personality development.

The kinds of cultural and educational activities that were carried out indicated the existence of a carefully thought-out educational system. It is carried out in special, adequately equipped centers: in women's clubs, in "people's universities", as courses of general education, vocational courses, as pedagogical and legal consultancies, centers for home economy and domestic science, schools for mothers, courses on health and hygiene, and also - in the PRL area - schools for political education, what points to the broad egalitarian and emancipatory program launched by the PZPR-party and concretized in an untraditional catalogue of women's social roles.

In this sense, the women's voluntary associations are educational microsystems, connected with the system

of parallel adult education and centers of out-of-school education. Besides ideological functions and other specific and substantial tasks, they also have pedagogical ones. The researched organizations are characterized by a functional openness and by certain distinguishing traits - of which the members' autoidentification holds a priority position, in accordance with the identification with the professional role in the findings of American sociologists.

The educational activity was realized in accordance with the rules of liberal educational work and took place in the framework of a strongly organized structure of interdependent elements. These elements concerned contents, organization, goals and norms inspired by a pragmatic system of values and cultural patterns, further social roles of ordinary members and functionaries, founded in the motivational-conscial sphere of their personalities. In the microsystems of associations, the realization of the educational goals defined by the statutes and programs of action took place in the form of permanent education of adults.

The sector of intellectual and ideological development through educational (cognitive) activities in the women's association was very large. It consisted of different forms applied in counseling, popularization of science, reading, self-study, courses, etc. To serve the cognitive aspirations of their members, the associations organized a network of centers / workshops of permanent education. There the women had access to the results of science, in the sense of a system of well founded theories and hypotheses, being the result of the scholars' research work and also being the most developed form of collective consciousness.

The dissemination of scientific results and methods in the educational work of the women's association was also linked to the creation and development of the association's own organization for scientific research. Making use of the professional experiences, academical education and research capacity of those of their members

who were employed in scientific institutions, the women's associations did not only disseminate scientific knowledge from certain disciplines, but they also initiated and carried out research activities of their own in the field of science, elaborating analyses and expert findings for the authorities as well as for the work of the organization itself, in fields like the functioning of laws concerning families and children, or living conditions of the population, including family budgets and hygiene of family dwellings, or social politics, or traditions, or the origin and development of the women's social movement. The outcomes of this research work was often presented at conferences, symposiums and seminars on scientific or popular level. They were often organized by the national boards of the associations, and essential expert support was given by specific scientific institutions outside of the organizations, e.g. The Army Historical Institute and The Institute for Mother and Child.

The active members in the local associations highly appreciate activities developing the mind and enriching the knowledge. In the study of motives for participation <sup>151</sup> it turned out that cognitive motives, i.e. the wish to participate in the educational activities of the women's association, ranked second among activists in KGW and third among LKP- activists on a 1-7 scale, 31% and 26% of all respondents. These results are presented in Table 13.

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<sup>151</sup> Op. cit.

**Table 13: The respondents' motives for participation.  
Ranks, Absolute numbers and Percentages.**

		Allo /Sociocentric m.			Egocentric motives							
		1	2	3	4							
		Altruistic motives	Ideological-political	Cognitive motives	Artistic & cultural m.							
		Wish to work for others, esp. women in form of service, welfare or cultural-educational act.	Wish to participate in the realization of the socio-political program and in citizens' polit. co-determination	Wish to learn and develop through popularizational and productive work	Wish to satisfy needs for artistic creation and experiences of art and culture							
Org	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%
<b>A. The respondents' own motives for joining the organization and working in it.</b>												
LKP	1	114	82	2	40	28	3	36	26	6	2	1
KGW	1	96	70	4	18	13	2	42	31	6	6	4
<b>B. Other persons' motives for joining and working.</b>												
LKP	1	74	53	4	22	16	3	32	23	-	-	-
KGW	3	42	31	5	4	3	1	54	40	-	-	-
		<b>Egocentric motives</b>										
		5	6	7								
		Affiliational motives	Personal interest	Motives of self-affirmation								
		Wish to spend leisure time pleasantly by participation in outings, entertainments etc.	Wish to be able to profit from welfare and technical services.	Wish to advance socially, to gain prestige								
Org	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%			
<b>A. The respondents' own motives for joining the organization and working in it.</b>												
LKP	4	24	16	6	2	1	6	2	1			
KGW	3	36	26	5	10	7	7	4	3			
<b>B. Other persons' motives for joining and working.</b>												
LKP	2	40	29	5	18	13	6	4	3			
KGW	4	34	25	2	52	38	-	-	-			

The strong cognitive aspirations characteristic of rural activists may be caused by lack of previous education and the scarcity of other educational opportunities in the country-side. The women's associations would here fill a considerable gap by creating conditions for liberal education of different forms.

The dissemination of scientific knowledge in the women's association is an attractive way of giving the great number of members access to the fruits of science. It may take the form of expert or popular lectures, films, books, journals, expos, radio and televé auditions in the framework of People's universities, in the form of a discussion club, a staff training course, or also in less frequent forms like conferences, the symposia, group sessions or individual study. These activities help members understand the difficult language of science, they enrich their fund of knowledge and develop their minds.

An important element in the cultivation of the mind are the cognitive abilities. Awakening and developing them can be said to be the most important goal for intellectual education. Under the label of cognitive abilities I understand such personality traits as: quickness and acuity of observation, fantasy, a critical mind and logical thinking, independence in problem-solving, capacity for synthesis, objectivity and impartiality in tackling problems, and also a keen interest and critical control of one's own views. Intellectual capacities are a precondition for the acquisition of knowledge and insight, and they are also the basis for preparation for work and for changing reality. Intellectual capacities, however, do not exhaust the program of developing the human mind. To the contents of that program also belongs inducing the individual to self-education, i.e. developing one's own ways of acquiring knowledge, using available aids and building upon one's own interest.

The development of the human mind includes forming a view of the world, of a philosophy - an internally consistent system of views and convictions concerning society as well as the physical world, founded on knowledge sought and evaluated by the individual herself. The task of developing the human mind involves social, moral, aesthetical, cultural, and physical education, and education for citizenship. The forms of intellectual training found in the researched associations and highly appreciated by the members, demonstrate this close relationship, being the frames for the contents of education. Table 14 shows how the leaders of the circles evaluated the different forms of activities in certain fields of education.

**Table 14: Evaluation of the forms of work in the women's associations.  
Ranks, Absolute numbers, and Percentages.**

**Kinds of educational (Erziehungs-) activities realized in the women's associations**

	1 Education for work through work			2 Moral ed. social service work			3 Citizen education through participation in establishing norms and rules			4 Ideological-political ed. through propaganda activities.		
Org	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%
LKP	5	17	12	1	119	85	25	36	26	25	36	26
KGW	5	25	26	1	100	74	5	9	6	6	4	3

**Kinds of educational (Erziehungs-) activities realized in the women's associations, ctd.**

	5 Intellectual ed. and ed. concerning philosophy of life, by cognitive methods			6 Aesthetical ed. by help of dissemination of art and other cultural goods			7 Ed. for leisure time activities through recreational activities, sports &c.		
Org	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%	Rank	N	%
LKP	4	32	23	7	1	1	6	10	7
KGW	2	50	37	7	1	4	4	20	15

*NB: The percentages don't sum up to 100%, because the respondents in their open answers mentioned several forms of circle work, which were, by the author, classified into the seven categories of education (Erziehung) presented here. Source: Own research.*

The respondents gave their opinions concerning contents as well as organization of the form of education (Bildung und Erziehung) that takes place in activities of an explicitly educational character, as well as concerning those of an economical and recreational character. The organizational form of work - the groups or circles - described by the respondents is also well known in scientific literature. The circles are especially appreciated among the activists of the KGW, ranking second in the scale used in the table; among activists of the LKP the circles only hold fourth rank. The very positive evaluation does not only depend on the respondents' conviction that circles are one of the best forms of work in general, but also on the conviction that the circle work in itself develops the mind and the personality. Already earlier we found that rural women's motives for membership were linked to their intellectual and cognitive aspirations. This was also confirmed by the analysis of life goals, among which the KGW activists gave high rank to education.

Developing the mind and furnishing it with scientific knowledge includes a complex and structurally diversified set of activities in the women's association. The members stressed the importance of scientific knowledge in several fields: agriproduction and animal husbandry, horticulture, health, personal hygiene, cosmetics, motherhood, child rearing, technical innovations for the household, and in general, in both natural and social science. Also political and ideological issues were stressed by the respondents. Most often, the activists take part in courses of further education, but more liked are expos, competitions and demonstrations of methods of production. They appreciate the support given by instructors. In those circles where preference is given to complementary and vocational education, using attractive and intelligible methods, cognitive motives rank high among the respondents.

Education for active participation in society, for work and for cultural life - all this is possible only by way of developing the human mind, by didactic forms and methods. Forming intellectual attitudes, such as inquisitiveness, rationality, a critical but open mind, intellectual honesty - this will positively influence cultural development. Satisfying intellectual needs requires the fulfillment of three conditions, as Ignacy Małecki has stated:

- 1) Creating the psycho-physical predispositions for intellectual development;
- 2) Establishing opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge;
- 3) Providing social conditions promoting and stimulating intellectual development <sup>152</sup>.

So far, research results<sup>153</sup> substantiate the assertion that women's associations in Poland, in what is now a past period of Polish history, really did seek to meet these conditions. In what direction and how far did they reach the intended effects? Did not, incidentally, developing intellectual attitudes just mean "molding" - as was often said - a Marxist conception of world and life - "the only true one". Were not the educational processes limited to indoctrination of the then dominating ideology?

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<sup>152</sup> Małecki, 1985, p. 17.

<sup>153</sup> Ratman-Liverska, 1989 and 1987

## **THE FORMING OF ATTITUDES AS A PRODUCT OF EDUCATION AND INDOCTRINATION**

The aim of my research work, then, was to find out if an association - in the sense of an intentional group of a formal character, created for the realization of individual and social tasks - is a factor in educational activation.

The object of my research interest were associations working for and among women, i.e. groups within the League of Polish Women, the LKP, in urban areas, and Circles of Rural Housewives, the KGW, in the countryside, and groups from the organization of families connected with the army and the militia, in their specific environments. The theme of my studies implies pedagogical aspects. As a matter of fact, the concepts involved relate to the educational processes organized by the association. This special category of social organization is characterized by the implementation of an intentional and preplanned program of influences, aiming at modification of behavior in individuals or groups.

The educational (erziehungsmäßige) functions were studied in representative groups, including activists in the studied associations (research group) and non-members with the same living areas, same age et cetera (control group). The methods used were empirical data collection mainly by diagnostical interviews (1592 persons) and an opinion poll (276 persons). My total material thus includes 1868 women from the counties of Białystok, Łomża and Suwałki (traditionally summarized as the Białystok area). The data collection took place in the years 1980-81.

The studied associations are - both in the social context and in the pedagogical one - institutions which should be recognized as part of the total society's educational system. intentionally created to fill the function of forming, modifying or developing emotional-

volitional dispositions and proficiency in the personalities of the members. Achieving the intended changes in the women's personalities includes an instrumental side, concerned with knowledge of reality and of how to affect it, but also an axiological side, connected with the forming of man's relation to the world and to other people, i.e. his beliefs, attitudes, value systems and life style.

On the basis of the soundings of opinions concerning educational activities in associations I have undertaken, it turned out, that the respondents connect these functions with education for internationalism, equality, socialistic ideology, respect for human work, patriotism, socio-political involvement, economizing, discipline, responsible citizenship, and cooperation. In a theoretical context these traits relate to socio-ideological attitudes.

Numerous statements of the activists indicated educational functions in the sphere of intellectual attitudes. As a result of acquiring "practically useful and general knowledge", "about themselves and other people", "about the country's culture and economy", "about society as such", as well as "about the structure of the women's movement", the activists may form their "theoretical inquisitiveness", "rationalism", "openness of mind towards innovations and progress", "critical ability in evaluating the world", and "intellectual honesty, linked with objectivization of judgments about reality". These are the respondents' own views.

In education within the association, activists also see opportunities to form their own character, especially concerning: honesty, justice, solicitude, trustworthiness, courage in expressing one's own views, moral judgment, sensitivity to wrongs done to others, culture of life, tolerance towards other people's philosophy of life, respect for collective property, loyalty, sympathy, respect for the dignity of others, positive acceptance of life, capacity of self-development, independence, optimism

and readiness for committed and responsible action. Aspirations for moral values and for generally accepted ideals are by the respondents referred to that self-education, that is initiated by the organization's activities. In the field of moral education, they don't like being directed or influenced just verbally, but they are convinced that they learn to overcome difficulties and that they develop informally, thanks to the tasks the organization gives them.

The analysis of the empirical data shows that the activists to a great extent characterize themselves by socio-ideological, intellectual, and moral-perfectionist attitudes. In their work in the association they are mainly guided by allocentric motives. The desire to work for others showed itself in the postulates of the concrete service-care and cultural-educational work. It appeared that they have a special insight concerning the diagnosis of needs and the methods to meet these needs. They know the fundamental forms of cultural-educational work and they are able to implement them in their work in the neighborhood. They are aware of the importance of their activities and they hope to exert social influence through them. This is connected with an active stand towards reality, with strong attitudes and motivation to serve the collective. The desire to realize the socio-political and civic program to a higher degree appeared where ideological questions and values concerning society as a whole were given first priority.

Theoretical knowledge was very important to the activists. They highly appreciated forms of work like popularization of knowledge and culture as well as production and training. In the groups in which preference given to vocational training and up-grading with the help of attractive and straightforward methods, cognitive motives were clearly seen in the respondents. This was also linked to the earlier education of these persons: the lower the earlier educational level, the stronger are the educational motives.

Affiliational motives, on the other hand, were strong especially in the neighborhoods that are poor in cultural and leisure-time institutions. The desire for friendly contacts was more typical in younger women than in more mature ones, but was also typical of women in retirement age.

Artistic-cultural motives were expressed only sporadically. In the programs of the organizations, cultural and creative values were stressed, and concrete forms of work were recommended to promote them, but practice did in this case leave quite a lot to desire.

The aspiration for social and vocational / professional advancement - for a career, for gaining personal prestige and honor - was not unknown to the activists. In their environment they were considered ambitious. They are very satisfied by receiving an order or other token of collective appreciation. The motives of self-interest and self-realization were, however, at the end of the list in the statements of the respondents.

My studies showed that traits of socio-ideological introjection came close to the propagated pattern. The degree, to which value systems were internalized depended on the time spent in organizational work. Did this testify to the educational character of the work of these associations?

Among other things it was possible to show empirically that the duration of practice in the association decisively influenced the respondents' motivation for their work: the longer the practice, the less importance the respondent attached to ego-centered aims and the more to allo- and socio-centred ones, and the character of her activity, initially very intuitive, changed into an efficient one with a deep rational motivation.

This was caused by the gradual increase in complexity and difficulty of tasks and in organizational-objective demands in relation to the members. The ordinary member thus plays another role and the demands on her are small, as compared to those on a treasurer, a

chairwoman of this or that committee or a delegate to the central assembly. In these activists we find a strengthened awareness of their duties, a development of competence and a higher level of subjective responsibility, as a consequence of the functions entrusted to them. It is an established practice in women's organizations to distribute functions in a varying way. Earlier experience of work in organizations, and the personality predispositions related to these experiences are taken into account.

The analysis of the respondents' hierarchy of goals and life aspirations, the level of aspirations and their evaluation of themselves and of others did not show any dramatic differences between urban and rural women, nor between members and non-members. There were, however, some trends. The studied groups all gave priority to needs connected with motherhood and family. Members and non-members, irrespective of living neighborhood, gave first priority to ambitions concerning their children's future. Rural women, however, had less ambitious plans for their children when education was concerned, giving priority to practical vocations and early jobs. There was a slight difference in the women's intellectual aspirations. Higher aspirations of this kind occurred with the activists and were caused by deeply felt needs for knowledge and self-realization.

The greatest differences in aims were found in these two categories: recreational demands - which did not at all occur in rural women - and vocational-productional aspirations, which were very strong in rural activists, who were emotionally linked with their vocational role and their living environment. Also social aspirations were more strongly accentuated in members.

In the valuation of their own life achievements, activists showed greater constraint and modesty, but not the pessimism found in non-members. Members were also more critical than non-members in matters of views of world and life, but this phenomenon occurred only with rural activists. A slight difference was also

noticeable in how their own motives for action and those of other people were evaluated. It was, however, found that the respondents, especially the members, were rather of the analyzing, objectivating and critical kind of persons.

The research project shows that the activists identified their role in the associations with that of an educator (Erzieherin). They wanted to promote humanistic values and ideas. They were characterized by pro-social attitudes and they were intent on developing such attitudes among the ordinary members of their groups. In the direct contacts with them, they tried to exploit the educational value of the situation, and in the programs of the groups they preferred tasks conducive to educationally useful situations.

The process of becoming aware of the educational (Erziehungs-) tasks following from the goals of the associations and from the observation of conditions for the realization shows the strength of the pedagogical identification of the activists. Influencing others is an instrumental educational function. It also contributes to changes in the activists themselves, giving them an opportunity for self-development and creative self-expression, connected with self-education.

The evaluation of the women's associations in the Białyostok region by the chairpersons of the groups gave an outlook over the implementation of educational and self-educational functions in the studied organizations. In them a cultural-education program was realized. The educationally activating role of the association expressed itself in the propagation of specific social, moral, and political norms and principles in the cooperation in the social, cultural and economic development of the region, in the creation of favorable conditions for cooperation in activities for humanitarian values and ideas.

In the answers of the activists we observe the connection between their voluntary activities and the educational process, which expressed itself in the forming

of ideological-social, intellectual-existentialist, and moral attitudes. The process of these personality transformations took place in purposefully chosen forms of organization and content, in the economic, recreational, welfare, propaganda, and cognitive activities. The cultural and the service-oriented activities served the forming of interpersonal attitudes and the moral development in accordance with the adopted program.

In the work of the LKP, aesthetic education was but poorly represented. The activists of that organization were not supposed to give any weight to aesthetic values. Albeit, the activity reports mentioned attempts to promote artistic activities, and they even contained photos aimed to prove the existence of folkloristic ensembles (which were, as a matter of fact, ensembles from the KGW, invited by the municipal centers of culture).

The activists of women's associations in the Białyostok area were above all organizers of help for people in difficult situations in life. Their help was rational and efficient. Thinking of the character of interventions (the social influence), the activists also worked constructively, as their social work induced lasting changes in different neglected spheres of women's and families' lives. The wish to change, and the ability to perform this resulted from certain personality traits, but it was also possible to assume, that it happened at the instance of the association, that mobilized to committed work and influenced the formation of subjective attitudes.

It would be an exaggeration to call these changes revolutionary. But the activists' relation to reality, characterized by criticism of what is evil and bad, and by concern for what is good and useful to the individual and to society, as well as their hard and often uncompromising struggle to overcome the negative phenomena that still exist in the rural and small-urban environment in the Białyostok area, above all in the sphere of philosophy of life and traditions - this testifies to the fact, that they

brought about a rationally understood emancipation and promoted ideas of a democratization of society<sup>154</sup>.

The radical political, legal and economical changes in Poland after World War II have to a certain degree influenced the solution of women's political, economic and social problems, securing their access to education and to jobs. Under the socialist system, equality of rights between men and women was realized as a fundamental principle at the level of women's full engagement in collective production. In the program of the PZPR it was stated, that the criterion for the realization of the constitutional rights of equality as well as for the solution of the so called Women's question should be the full mobilization of women into working life. And generally this was interpreted as: employment in the socialized economy, that is outside of the family's own household<sup>155</sup>. This departure from the traditional female roles, then, was the direction of emancipation.

The mobilization of women for employment is a social process on the background of certain economical and social conditions. One should thus see the problem of women's mobilization not only under the aspect of formal rights and of indices of employment but in the context of the overall conditions of their existence. In literature the following factors influencing the development of women's vocational mobilization are most common:

- a) the socio-economic development of the country and the politics concerning women's employment,
- b) social welfare policy concerning women and their families,
- c) changes in women's individual and family life,
- d) women's psychological and ideological characteristics<sup>156</sup>.

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<sup>154</sup> Ratman-Liwerska, 1984 (e)

<sup>155</sup> Kurzynowski, A, Aktywność zawodowa kobiet w 40-leciu PRL, in *Kobiety polskie*, 1984, p. 12 - 22.

<sup>156</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>157</sup> Erasmus, 1984, p. 5.

<sup>158</sup> Koberdowa, I, *Kobiety w ruchu robotniczym*, in *Kobiety polskie*, 1984, p. 25.

The egalitarian development preferred by the Marxist parties, giving everybody - thus also women - the possibility to enjoy the achievements of socialism collided - as writes one of the experts on the matter - "with the utilitarian-rationalistic principles calling for a maximization of women's rights, for an improvement of their starting conditions, but in the interest of socio-economic development and in concordance with the financial and material resources of society <sup>157</sup>. On one hand, thus, equal rights were created for women to use civil rights and liberties and to have jobs, and on the other hand: these opportunities were limited by economic and cultural conditions. "We must critically say", writes Irena Koberdowa, "that the theoretical declarations of the labor parties concerning women's rights very often failed to be realized. Women became the most practical reserve labor force, that would be in large numbers employed in case of need, often with the approval of the socialist parties. And in other situations the opposite took place, always with convincing arguments: sometimes the mother and housewife was the ideal, sometimes the free worker" <sup>158</sup>.

The author utters these words thinking of the past, but I think that they are valid also today. The series of economic crises and the changes of governments in the post-war period did not promote consequent and stable welfare policy. Economical depressions caused cuts in public expenditure, what impoverished an existence that was poor already from the beginning. The need for women with small children and households of their own to take a job for subsistence and not for their own satisfaction, increases the work load of women to an extent that surpasses their psychical and physical possibilities, especially with insufficient social welfare and poor rights connected with motherhood.

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<sup>159</sup> Kubin, 1985.

<sup>160</sup> Kubin, in Kubin - Suchodolski, 1990, p. 301; Ratman-Liwerska, op. cit. p. 425

The non-functioning service, the difficulties of getting food, problems of communication, the weakening of the system of governmental child care, the lack of sufficient number of places in nursery schools and pre-schools - all these are factors hampering a real social and vocational advancement of women. Some of them did not very much appreciate the achievements of socialism and the equality of rights that they had obtained. In the consciousness of women, the highly praised social values were degraded and their level of aspirations is lowered. These disquieting phenomena ought to be counteracted by women's organizations. Were they?

From research can be seen, that in the past period of The People's Poland, out-of-school education for adults was an indoctrinating social system, composed by different subsystems and governed by institutions and organizations of the larger system - the governing system of degenerated socialism, in which the party leadership exerted non remitting control. There were obvious tendencies for the dominating group to control and subdue institutions and organizations disseminating general and scientific knowledge. Priority was given to ideological teaching / indoctrination in accordance with the binding interpretation. In spite of the great number and diversity of institutions active in the field of dissemination of general and scientific knowledge, they were all steered according to the demands and norms of the dominating group of central decision-makers. It was also declared that the institutions of formal censorship and legal regulations ensured the realization of prescribed contents (propaganda, core contents). This is why the author used the term monocentrism for the model existing in The People's Poland <sup>159</sup>.

We find some signs of such a model in the women's voluntary associations I studied. But some reservations can be made. Not everything depends on central decisions. People decide on the realization of

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## **AN ATTEMPT AT OVERCOMING CONVENTIONS.**

### **EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION IN AN ANDRAGOGICAL PARADIGM**

Traditionally, the science studying methods and preconditions of an efficient education is pedagogy, the theory of education, submitted to the prevailing political and cultural trends. In such a view pedagogy is the praxeological discipline that develops the theory of action. The point of departure in pedagogy is always the practice of education:

- education as development, cultivation, and shaping of human existence
- the educational and didactic situation, as the smallest time-space element
- guidance as the common instrument in the service of education.

But pedagogy is only one of the sciences dealing with education, which have all passed through the consecutive stages of evolution: from the stage of speculation, via attempts at scientific systematization and experimentation, to "integrism", the newest stage, in which pedagogy integrates research concerning projection-optimization with descriptive-explanatory investigations. The object of that research are educational strategies, submitted to verification, falsification, optimization, et cetera in theoretical categories.

In pedagogy, as well as in the extra-pedagogical disciplines dealing with education, the most important feature is the human being in different environments, in which he may be exposed to processes modifying his personality. For this reason, the sciences dealing with education are regarded as part of humanities (humanistic sciences). These sciences are today often called

"anthragogy" or "antropogogics", a term including such disciplines as pedagogy, andragogy, and gerontopedagogy. Even the term "andragogy" may be understood in a more specific way. Bastiaan van Gent, e.g., is of the opinion that, in the education of adults, one may speak of the theory on one hand and of practice on the other. He proposes the term "andragogy" for the theoretical part, and "andragology" for the methodological part<sup>161</sup>.

Pedagogy deals with the problems of education and fostering of children and youth, living in a defined environment, including the home and family sector, pre-school, school and out-of-school sector, all of them above all connected with the local environment.

Andragogy penetrates the problems of personality development in adults by means of culture and art, sciences, education - thus fields wider than the local ones - and such approaches that are rather the art of rationally influencing the mental contents and the disposition for action in an individual that has already been educated to some extent, than the coercion that is needed in the education of children.

"Geragogy" on the other hand, concentrates on preparing people of advanced age for life in old age. It gives the theory of education in and for the old age, studying the individual from the point of view of the complex of specific psycho-physiological traits and also as an individual with a specific social role, specific values and a specific legal position.

In such a structural conception, the criterion for differentiation is age, which is of importance for methods of influencing personality development and for the organization of special educational systems.

Malcolm Knowles and Erik Erikson are the best ones to testify to the differentiation of the concepts of "childhood" and "adulthood". Adulthood is the final result of the changes and transformations which the

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<sup>161</sup> Tueros, 1975; Gent, ESVA, 1992.

psychical/psychological structures of man undergo during life. Their maturation involves a gradual transition from dependency to autonomy, from passivity to activity, from subjectivity to objectivity, from ignorance to erudition, from low to high range of responsibility, from a low level of capabilities to a high one, from limited interests to wide ones, from egotism to altruism, from lack of self-acceptance to its attainment, from an amorphous identity to an integrated one, from a focus on details to a focus on principles, from superficial relationships to deep ones, from imitation to original creation, from a need for security to an acceptance of uncertainty, from production to rationality. These dimensions characterize the individual steps in the development of human identity, and then also that of the mature adult personality. The theory of the eight stages of man's psycho-social development, proposed by E. H. Erikson, strengthens this conception.<sup>162</sup>

From the point of view of the organization of educational processes it is important to note the differences concerning: self-insight, quantity of experiences, readiness to learn, orientation in time, and attitudes to education. On the basis of this differentiation, many researchers have attempted to design models for educational measures in pedagogy and andragogy. Both M. Knowles and S. Meyer - e.g. - see the didactical measures as dichotomically separated. In practice, however, the differences will not be that absolute. In analogy to the continuum of growing and maturing in life, the two areas (pedagogy, andragogy) form a continuum that reflects the direction of development of the educational process<sup>163</sup>

The common denominator is: Education for everybody - everybody is capable of modifying his / her personality. If they want to and if they are given adequate conditions, they can, irrespective of age, in a creative

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<sup>162</sup> Erikson, 1974; Knowles, 1972.

<sup>163</sup> Meyer, S.L., 1977; Knowles et al, 1985; Knowles, 1980

way assimilate new knowledge. This thesis allows us to bring all the different sciences concerning education into one whole. Further, one can draw the conclusion that educational processes can continue all through the individual's life.

The idea of permanent education has in fact become a basic principle in postindustrial democratic societies, pervading the educational systems of many countries in the world. It is the motor of modernization of educational systems and strategies. The advocates of pragmatism-instrumental orientation see in that idea a social obligation for the updating of education and vocational qualification that has been made necessary by the scientific and technological development. There is also a different concept, in which the need for permanent education and personality development is conditioned by the desire to make use of all the conveniences and benefits of civilization and consumption aspirations define the area of education. In this idea one can see humanistic values, within everybody's reach.

Adult education is a link in an educational system understood as a whole, at least in theory. And that theory is developing at great speed. A consequence of this is that the theory is still incoherent and factographically fragmentary. "We were very successful in collecting data, but less so in their coordination with theory", writes Ranko N. Bulatović (1986), ... "and a fact is of importance only as far as it can be included in a theory"<sup>164</sup>. In the global picture of pedagogical sciences, adult education has a special place, as its development has taken place mainly thanks to the cognitive experiences of these sciences, but it also realizes its own cognitive tasks outside of the limits of these sciences. Its scientific core is understanding, explaining, forecasting, and controlling the students' educational progress. It also has to classify the educational situations, define stimuli and motives created by them, and record the reactions in

order to be able to elaborate optimal models for adult behavior in different life situations. Its role must include giving help in different fields and in different tasks related to adult education practice <sup>165</sup>. The practical and social role of andragogy has to be - what is also strongly underlined in literature <sup>166</sup> - building a cumulative system of theoretically sound and practically useful knowledge.

In research on the socio-educational activation of women in their voluntary associations <sup>167</sup> an andragogic view has been adopted. This means defining problems and interpreting research results in correspondence with the paradigm of the science that studies phenomena of adult education. Ana Krajnc refers to classical and contemporary treatments of the theory of adult education in literature, represented by E. Rosenstock (1924), H. Hanselmann (1951), J. Kidd (1973), T. Husén (1941), F. Pöggeler (1974), C. Titmus (1981) and others, when she summarizes the development of andragogy, including an evolution of concepts, a new interpretation of aims and a widening of the field of investigation. She quotes the definition given by C. Titmus in 1979 of andragogy as "the art and science of helping adults to learn, and the study of adult education theory, processes and technology to that end", and she formulates a new interpretation of adulthood, specifying the subdisciplines of andragogy, the andragogical cycle and new fields of observation and research in that discipline <sup>168</sup>.

The andragogical viewpoint accentuates, as L. Tuross says, "the integrative character of education and self-education of adults, the complexity of conditions characterizing the process, its environmental differentiation, its historical changes, the dynamics of its interior contradictions, the multiphasity and variety of its effects". It also facilitates the observation and registration

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<sup>164</sup> Rubenson, 1982; Bulatović, 1986, p. 272; Malewski, 1991.

<sup>165</sup> Kargul, 1986, p. 73.

<sup>166</sup> Bulatović, 1986; J. Nowak, 1982, p. 587.

<sup>167</sup> Ratman-Livierska, 1984, 1991, p. 161.

<sup>168</sup> Krajnc, 1991.

of facts, showing the educational and self-educational mechanisms engaged in the functioning and development of the adult personality, the elements of self-regulation and inner guidance occurring in that process <sup>169</sup> .

In the literature to this subject there are differences of opinion concerning the question whether andragogy is an autonomous discipline or not. Nobody denies, that there exist wide fields of educational activities deserving scientific study. Education is not only the work of schools and teachers. There is a whole set of different institutions undertaking intentional work to "induce into the process of self-education and -formation new dispositions as long as the human egos maintain their plasticity - which in normal, healthy people doesn't get totally lost until the last moments of life. (T. Kotarbiński, 1971), and pedagogy is not the only science studying education (B. Nawroczyński, 1971). One even speaks of a global or holistic cultural-educational system, including all sources and channels through which scientific knowledge reaches people and modifies their value systems and their patterns of behavior <sup>170</sup> .

However, not all institutions create intentional educational situations. Those influences that occasionally have importance for the forming of the personality profile of a person, thus influences of socialization, can be counted as pedagogical ones only if they are consistent with positive influences planned with an educational aim. In adult education, the consciousness of the educational tasks and the disposition of material means for the pursuit of these tasks allows us to single out educational phenomena from other ones.

In my studies of the educational functions of the voluntary association, I assumed that the it is a principally educational institution, that is: it realizes preplanned functions of personality development, following accepted patterns and with the help of special

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<sup>169</sup> Tuross, 1974, p. 243 - 245.

<sup>170</sup> Tuross, 1974, motto.

instruments selected for this special purpose. I was, namely, as many other investigators before me, convinced, that these associations are intentional and formal groups, created to realize individual goals and social tasks, organizing educational processes for individuals and based upon the members' social roles (A. Kamiński, 1970, I. Lepalczyk, 1974). The educational role of the association is obviously linked to the group's influence upon personality development in the individual - the group offering a basis for comparisons, a model, a help to the individual to define herself and her situation, and a source of group pressure in the form of sanctions. The association, then, is an environment, in which a person, filling certain social roles, is exposed to the same cultural patterns. The influence of the group may be one of socialization but also an intentionally educational one - or even one of indoctrination. I treated the association as an important element in the whole system of adult education in Poland.

In my research I used as indices of the realization of the educational function, the level of pedagogical (or rather: andragogical) autoidentification, i.e. the process of becoming aware of the educational tasks that follow from the program of action of the association, and the observance of the conditions for their realization, plus an evaluation. An additional index was in this case the characteristics of the staff members' personality patterns: their internalization of values, the quality of their attitudes, their motivational system etc. My starting point in andragogy allowed me to identify and observe creational and self-creational activities in the educational processes occurring in the researched associations. The criterion of adulthood and of subject-function of the actors in this process, together with their awareness of this function as (acting, responsible) subjects, gave me the instrument to define and circumscribe my research object.

I saw here the essence of education in the many-sided, multi-dimensional, complex and holistic process, and also in a specific category of social phenomena and acts of human behavior - thus, in its full structure. The sociological and psychological contents became the nearest basis. Contrary to sociologists and psychologists, I worked above all with praxeological hypotheses. I tried to observe the studied phenomena in a dialectic way and in their time-space frames.

The issue of efficiency of a women's voluntary association as a cultural-educational institution has been tackled in accordance with a functional approach, to some extent founded upon Merton's analysis of organizations, i.e. including a comparison between intended and realized functions, and taking into account not only the immediately observable differences but also the hidden ones. My starting point was an analysis at a cultural-institutional level, and then the association was treated as a legal body and - at the same time - as a socio-educational institution.

In documents like statutes, by-laws and programs, the studied associations formulated goals including developing commitment in their members, increasing their ideological-political, cultural and aesthetical level, disseminating general as well as vocational knowledge, strengthening the socialist morality and the respect for traditions (except religious ones), teaching civic responsibility and autonomy and how to fill adequately tasks in society, family and work, spreading knowledge of health and hygiene, offering juridical, pedagogical and psychological consultancy, not forgetting tasks in home and household. These are goals consistent with the tasks defined by the past system of adult education and by socialist pedagogy.

In my research I found that the women's voluntary associations were that special kind of organization, that could use the natural socialisational mechanisms in an educational direction, but they were also able to run

programs of socio-educational activation. The awareness of their educational tasks, confirmed in the research project, and the opportunities they had to use different educational resources, place the studied associations in the network of the (adult) educational system of Poland of those days. That system was saturated with ideological contents and it was put into practice through salaried staff; for sure, it aimed at programmatical indoctrination. In reality, however, it was dependent on numerous social conditions that modified the tasks they were charged with. To a substantial extent, processes of goal-directed education, in the form of purposefully arranged pedagogical situations and in special, duly equipped cultural-educational centres, they indicated a premeditated system of education and indoctrination. Above all, we find this in the "schools for the political education of women", which were created in the seventies. Educational methods are also used in such organizational forms as "schools for mothers", "legal and pedagogical consultancies", "centers for home economics".

From this aspect, the women's associations were cultural-educational micro-systems, and they had links to the subsystem of parallel education and out-of-school education. They filled pedagogical functions besides ideological ones, they opened careers and they fulfilled other specific tasks connected with the family roles of the members, which they dealt with in their circles, expressing their in children. in their own intellectual development, and in their house-holds, consuming so much work and worries.

The researched organizations are described as open functional models with special characteristics, among which the pedagogical auto-identification of the members (like the identification of mission in the research work of Katz and Kahn <sup>171</sup>) holds a position of priority. The models are defined by introducing the principle of

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<sup>171</sup> Scott & Cummings, 1983.

system analysis, taking into account environmental indices of organizational behavior. The women's voluntary associations are also treated as a human system with an awareness - on many levels - of situation and position. I attempted to see the educational process not only as a system - a structure of mutually linked elements - but also on the "dramatic side of human affairs", as Jan Szczepański might have phrased it, i.e. taking into account the sphere of evaluations, observations, aspirations, views and convictions of the individuals of whom the group or association is composed.

The subject-role of women, extensively researched, is submitted to an evaluative analysis (axiological approach). We will then be able to learn to know the motivational basis for voluntary social activity, the different types of socio-educational activities, the hierarchy of goals and aspirations, the level of values and the position of personality patterns in the consciousness of the respondents, and also the methods and contents of the evaluation.

The observed phenomena were localized in time and space. A historical method was applied as well as the field study method. Both theoretical and practical methods were used. The historical study included archive studies, analyses of journals, diaries and newspapers as well as interviews with earlier activists. The actual situation was studied by participant observation, by interviews with activists (not only members of the researched organizations), analyses of plans and programs and other documents, apart from activity reports of the organizations, further action research, diagnostical sounding of a representative group of women from the researched region as well as sounding the opinions of a representative group of active members (activists) of the associations.

The research project involved about 2,000 persons. Both objective and subjective indices were used.

## **A PROGNOSTIC REFLECTION:**

### **THE VISION OF A EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND OF THE FORMATION OF AN ADULT EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE THIRD POLISH REPUBLIC.**

We are living in turbulent times. We are seeing the system of communist totalitarianism falling apart. Dissolved are the military and political-economic forces that have been hindering us. We are beginning to re-discover our identity, which we had been losing under the great powers around us. In the new geopolitical situation, Poland wants to have the full role of an acting subject - not an object - in history, renewing all our old and natural links with Europe. The success of such an integration will, however, depend on the realization of real and radical economic reforms and social stabilization. We are already in a situation, where the characteristics of real democracy are in the making, and the most widespread hope and desire in our country concerns establishing balance, stabilization and order, and - above all - tangible perspectives of progress for our citizens, who have been so deeply frustrated through their experiences during the previous epoch.

In what direction are we moving? Will our peaceful transition to democracy - made possible by our deeply rooted consciousness of our own political past, this catalyst of change - lead us to a total and uncritical copying of the Second Republic with all its flaws and merits. Or will we - as is our custom - fight between ourselves and fence ourselves off from the world, re-entering into a medieval darkness of ignorance and intolerance? What good will we import from the West?

Among the paradigms of human progress, at least two deserve attention here: the "civilization of love", proposed by the Pope, and the "civilization of wisdom",

propagated by the association Scholars For Peace, The main issue in the Pope's doctrine is the ethical conviction that charity and compassion rank higher than righteousness and justice. In the scholars' doctrine, on the other hand, pacifist values are the first priority. In the Christian paradigm of evolution the most important issue is brotherhood between human beings, based upon the love of one's neighbor, but in the scholars' paradigm of a civilization of wisdom, the most important task of all is preserving and protecting human life on Earth. The idea of a "civilization of wisdom" is founded on the commandment: "Thou shalt not kill". Three theses are of fundamental importance in that civilization: 1) The fundamental precondition and indispensable point of departure for building a sensible world is an absolute ban on war; 2) Man's freedom depends on overcoming the ecological crisis; 3) The preservation and protection of the cultural heritage is a precondition for the survival and development of human existence.

Europe needs uniting its economic potential in order to withstand the pressure from the competing economic superpowers. It has been proposed to remove state borders, to create a monetary union, a free market for goods, services and capital, and a common European welfare system. The relationship between this free market and the surrounding world causes both hopes and fears as to our place in the new system. What do we know about the process of unification in general, and what do we know about Western Europe?

In the European continent there are similarities and differences between peoples, there are trends both towards unification and disintegration, and there is both a certain common cultural identity and cultural differences. Europe is not only a geographical area but also, and above all, a cultural and socio-historical concept with Phoenician, Greek and Roman roots, a concept specific as to forms of co-existence and contents of co-operation

between ethnically, religiously, politically and economically different people.

In modern thinking about history, the ideas of cooperation and coordination are concerned both with unification and with the preservation of pluralism. The pluralism in outlooks on life and ways of life in a continent with a common past and a common future is value to be preserved. The vision of unity, of a future European Union, does not only rely upon economical calculations: there are very strong elements of common cultural and juridical tradition, of common humanistic ideals and the common practice of parliamentary democracy. The desire of great men and women of our time is, as John Paul II said in the European Parliament, that Europe, free and with free institutions, ought to be extended to its outer geographical and historical borders, so that the common culture of Greeks, Romans, Teutons and Slavs could coin, in unison, the societal systems and ideologies. Bringing Western and Eastern Europe closer together is unavoidable, and Poland is an interesting area, although the country is today civilisationally retarded.

The success of integration will depend on the elimination of those differences that separate us from the West. Surely, economy will decide on the possibilities for a pan-European development - an economy competently handled by specialized institutions and well educated producers. Do we have these? The pauperization of the Polish intelligentsia and the lack of perspectives for the future surely do not favor reform. In the World Bank's July appeal, attention is given to a "humanization of expenditure" from the funds made available to the post-communist countries. One has to invest in people, in the spheres of culture and education for adults. Do we possess institutions capable to secure an education of educational staff adequate in the new conditions?

With great zeal we have in Poland already almost completely liquidated the governmental-statal structure of adult education, both in general and in vocational

education, by demolishing the frail net of andragogical institutions. Easier to understand is that we also liquidated the old indoctrinating cultural-educational machinery, and that we are instead giving priority to the vital movement of voluntary initiatives. This is the direction to take in the present situation of severely restricted financial means - but not solely for reasons of economy. But haven't we, also, in our mania of destruction, got rid of things and people that might have become useful in the new situation. I am thinking first of people, enthusiastic about adult educational work and possessing expert knowledge in the field. Why haven't we yet started a comprehensive program of andragogical courses, preparing educational staff for adult education? Without new educational systems of adult education it will not be possible for us to meet the exigencies of the present, nor to overcome our retardation in relation to the Western countries, where adult education and a cadre of educators, educated and trained at university departments of adult education are important factors in the economical and cultural development of the countries.

It may be worth while to turn to our historical experiences, which in the hard times when Poland had lost its autonomy shaped our national consciousness, taught us to work from the basis and implanted entrepreneurship. Without neglecting the achievements of Polish adult education up till now, we have to revise our educational programs, to include new ideas and to make use of educational strategies, valid at all times. We shall also look to examples from other countries.

In the field of tension between a general societal challenge and a biographical bias - let's create a framework for an educational society, as desired by activists in The Association of Polish Adult Educators, The Association Polish Folk High Schools, and The Kalisz foundation of Folk High Schools, demanding an amendment to our constitution granting all citizens the right to personal development through education and

requalification during their whole lives. This request is motivated by the deep concern of the organizations about the future of the poorly developing movement for permanent education in Poland and by their will to strengthen democracy in the country.

Two strategies are possible: a compensatory strategy and an innovative one. Both are needed, in order to overcome the deficiencies in basic education, and in order to change the world, respectively. Only a flexible and self-regulating system of solid, diversified and attractive educational activities, capable of meeting people's neglected but ambitiously developing demands as well as the educational needs defined by the national economy. adult education has to be a generator of reform and development, an agent of societal and social change. It has also on several occasions been a weapon in political struggle.

Besides realizing objective tasks, common to a larger collective and connected with ideological and economical priorities, adult education also satisfies the individual's needs, among which - as our research confirms - educational aspirations play a very essential role as a means for creating a new consciousness and also for social or vocational advancement. Adult education traditionally pays special attention to the humanities. Adult education also is a school for democracy and may become a civil right, granting opportunities for personal growth. We are here speaking of a system, that makes real the nice vision of an education consistent with the definitions elaborated some years ago at Salzburg and stressing the value of offering a diversified educational program<sup>172</sup>.

Bearing in mind that in today's Poland there is a need for different actions caused by the changes in the political system and by the transition to market economy, it is indispensable - as already the Ministry of National Education understood - to elaborate and introduce a

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<sup>172</sup> Grundbegriffe, 1983, p. 10.

flexible system of requalification and upgrading, with well prepared educational personnel, modern programs, adequate organization and information, consulting services - and stabilized financing, mainly from the government. Participants in international meetings of andragogs, organized by the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), the European Bureau of Adult Education / European Association for the Education of Adults (EBAE / EAEA) and the European Symposium on Voluntary Associations are advocates of such an educational system. In Poland the same claims have been brought forward by a courageous but diminishing group of experts in adult education, members of The Association of Polish Adult Educators (SOP). This organization is one of several tens of providers of adult education, but the only one with ambitions of playing a social-professional role. We haven't got a federation, comprising all adult educators, and able to supervise the fulfillment of the program of permanent education at all levels and at the same time take care of the profession as such. It is possible that The Association of Polish Adult Educators will soon develop into such an organization, obtaining the status and the support that the authorities have hitherto refused to give.

The governmental program of action, now presented by the Ministry of Permanent Education sounds exceptionally promising, but in my opinion also the voluntary movement of adult education is worth taking into account. The wave of changes and reforms that sweeps over our country today has also included the voluntary organizations. Since 1989 we have a law on voluntary associations, which we have been waiting for since 1932. People coming together and creating all kinds of organizations with local or wider goals is an essential feature of democracy. Our new law secures it. In our new law, associations are voluntary organizations of a certain duration, founded on the common work of their members, self-governing and non-profit-making. They

constitute the middle segment of formal voluntary organizations. They may have integrational functions, e.g. for minority groups, in which we now are noticing a growing cultural and political activity. It is possible to create new and to preserve old national values in certain associations of creative artists and regional societies. It is also possible to do compensatory educational work and social welfare work for disadvantaged groups in (specialized) educational organizations. Voluntary associations are the essence of individual and collective life. They fill several functions, among which surely innovation is most important. Such innovativeness would be very valuable in the endeavors to give adult education a profile of its own. Are our associations interested in this?

Analyzing statutes and programs of action of educational associations, we easily notice that they really try to live up to these demands. They are filled with ideas of democracy, autonomy and entrepreneurship - but in practice the planned functions are seldom realized in a consequent way. They only occur where the most energetic young activists have gathered. In the educational activities of the associations there is a clear trend towards the humanities, towards ecology and also towards economy. This follows from the adopted task of reforming the political and economical structure, but also from the desire to preserve and protect the still surviving universe of values of our culture and the wisdom of our people. The Association of Polish Adult Educators, for instance, wants to integrate cultural workers into adult education. The organization seeks to rally activists from all educational associations (of which there are more and more), as well as theoreticians of adult education and andragogs. It also tries its capacity in publishing. Preferred forms of work of The Association of Polish Adult Educators are lectures, seminars and conferences, for development of theory as well as for staff development. It also organizes courses and consultancy.

The recently created Association: Polish Folk High Schools is likewise interested in form and contents of adult education. It comprises educational workers implementing the idea of Solarz's residential colleges in rural areas. The aim is to revive the traditions of Polish adult education that proved their value, both in theory and in practice, in the times of the Second Republic. The organization also seeks to create a European Folk High School (European People's University) in Poland, as a workshop for free and creative thinking, inspired by the ideas of Ignac Solarz and N.F.S. Grundtvig, and as a meeting place for continuous contacts between educationists engaged in promoting humanistic values in the common European civilization.

Polish adult educators also still hope to be able to revive the Institute of Adult Education that existed before World War II, combining educational and scientific functions. There are very wide fields of adult education worth investigating scientifically. Polish universities provide education in the humanities, in law, economy, mathematics-natural sciences and social sciences. Among the social sciences are also the pedagogical ones, organizationally connected with the departments of pedagogy and psychology and educating educational, social and cultural-educational workers. Names of courses like "Pedagogy of cultural work", or "Special pedagogy" indicate the existence of specific sub-disciplines in the field of educational sciences, with their specific paradigms and specific fields of application. This diversification is accounted for in the selection of programs for lectures, seminars, exercises and periods of practice. We must admit, that there is too little of teaching practice.

Following Polish tradition our universities prefer a broad theoretical education and leave to schools of education to care for the skills needed in teaching and in dissemination of scientific knowledge. The traditional theoretical university studies in Poland may have been

satisfactory in the past. In the face of societal change and radical transformation of our economy, we are forced to consider a reorientation of higher education, both in contents and in methods. We need highly qualified specialists in different branches, some of which are quite new to us. Therefore it is necessary to review study programs and organizational frameworks under the aspect of today's economical and societal imperatives.

Adult education is only on the surface autonomous and professionalized. In reality, within adult education there are continuous changes of (e.g.) types of interaction between educational staff and other pressure groups. Still stronger interrelationship exists between policies of education, culture and communication. This view is i.a. supported by UNESCO staff, formulating a long-term international program concerning communication and the mass media, human rights, futures studies, peace and disarmament, education for all, science and culture for development - not merely under the aspect of national heritage and collective expectations but also under the aspect of creativity and innovations. Taken into account are also the relations between science, technology and (adult liberal) education in the endeavors to solve the problems of energy, natural environment and information. In these fields there will be substantial changes, the consequences of which cannot be fully foreseen. This forces us to transform our educational system to deal with these alarming changes - and this transformation, above all, has to include adult education.

It is generally accepted that adult education is a system of public institutions, whether of the school type or not, with the task of offering knowledge to adult people. Such a description is, however, inadequate in relation to the number and diversity of educational activities for adults in the world. The diversity is dictated by the political, economic, social and cultural diversity of different societies. Some examples of this diversity of educational offerings: liberal education, general

education, vocational training, training within industry, agricultural education, women's education, open universities, universities of the third age, andragogical agencies for the unemployed, cultural-educational work, popularization, self-education.

Adult education has always had a wider scope than that of teaching-learning. The transmission of knowledge is often linked with artistic performances. The trait distinguishing adult education from other educational systems is the specific character of its institutions, such as clubs, libraries and reading rooms and folk high schools, in which educational and cultural activities are knit together. In Polish andragogical literature adult education is given a broader definition: as an activity with the aim of securing general or vocational education, and development and satisfaction of cultural needs of adults and working youth. Adult education is also understood as a social system of institutions aiming at goal-oriented education in different elements of culture, for working youth and adults.

In Western countries a still more general definition of adult education prevails. Adult education is understood not only as an activity offering opportunities for adults to enrich their lives, but also - what indicates its societal importance - a specific development of civic responsibility. In face of the need for permanent education, an adult education movement has to be organized, in order to change attitudes and behavior that are blocking the road to technical and societal progress.

It is not possible today, in a time of scientific and technical progress, of automatization, of autonomization of individuals and nations, to limit the scope of adult education to general education and vocational training, to contents connected with post-school education or even to organized participation in cultural life.

According to andragogues, adult education has to be an issue for the whole nation, strengthening and controlling the process of societal change. It can no more

be just an activity bound to applied knowledge, an alternative or supplement to school education. An adult is constantly developing his intellect and his instrumental skills, the quality of his professional work, which he has chosen consciously, being responsible for his actions. The roles of the adult person are not only immediately productive, they also imply a row of new tasks, for which the once acquired school knowledge is not sufficient. Life-long learning is a must! The same time-perspective applies to character, will, values and attitudes. Therefore the authoritative definition of adult education will be - not the transfer of knowledge and skills, but -helping individuals to realize their potentials. A confirmation of this thesis is an ethical argument, questioning the praxeological concept of adulthood as strictly a concept of age. In anthropology, adulthood is not defined by passing a certain age limit. quite the opposite - it is a holistic, dynamic, potentially developing educational quality.

"Personality" was once understood statically, as a specific structure of constitutive traits, but more and more often today, in philosophy, psychology and pedagogy, it means a dynamic structure, dialectically changing, a quality enriching itself by new elements all through life - the most important ones being: forming the self-consciousness and consciousness of the individual member of society. The image of man is a complex structure, which may be characterized by expressions like "a syndrome of dynamic traits", "an open system", "self-regulation", "a stage of continuous imbalance". Man is obliged to guide himself by a specific system of orientation, which in humanistic and cognitive conceptions is determined by the system: "man - world". Thanks to that system, man can generate new values, new goals and tasks, new behavioral patterns. Society determines the program for this process and also facilitates the transmission of results to others in the systems of communication.

A picture of personality from the perspective of ethical simplicity is being proposed. This picture accentuates character traits like warmth and sympathy, independence on social role, peace of mind and feeling of inner strength and potentials, openness to life experiences of others and to the surrounding reality, capacity to live fully in the moment, confidence in oneself and in other people <sup>173</sup> .

Not only eutyfronics, the anthropological philosophy of technique, gives us arguments for changing our thinking concerning adulthood - the fundamental category of adult education. Humanists point to the dominating role of the consciousness of man's being an acting subject, with a responsibility for the world and for the belief in man's development potential. For this reason adult education must concentrate upon developing humanistic values, create opportunities to experience these values, create psycho-social conditions and programs empowering people to experience, understand and internalize such fundamental values as respect for man, his freedom, his involvement in matters of society, his creativity and developmental potential. In this understanding of man, both societal imperatives and individual happiness of man are kept in view.

According to the UNESCO staff document, the general development of adult education has to be governed and directed by

- a) goals of highest, global relevance,
- b) pedagogical goals,
- c) societal goals,
- d) individual goals.

The global goals are connected with the need for maintaining international peace, cooperation and understanding. They indicate the need for protection of the environment and - in connection therewith - the need for developing a conscious relationship of man to the

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<sup>173</sup> Kamiński, 1986.

surrounding world - nature and culture. There is also the need to build a bridge between the individual and the world, to secure understanding and respect for different traditions and cultures, to develop and to spread varying deeds of solidarity and cooperation in different local and wider groups of society, to develop skills in using different sources of information, training in self-learning, group learning and learning in institutions, in basic education and in higher education and training.

The pedagogical goals have to be linked with the dissemination of knowledge, on different educational levels, and in a wider and wider area, although differently in different regions of the world and related to actual educational needs.

The societal goals are linked to changes in individual groups in society, to technical progress and to changes in employment and labor market; these changes have to be met by new methods and contents in vocational education and with opportunities for further qualification and requalification. The individual goals have to reflect the richness of human needs and aspirations, which means increased concern for humanistic values and, likewise, for greater job and life satisfaction.

For these reasons adult education has to become an active factor for understanding and communication between nations, an instrument preparing people for current and future socio-economic changes. To summarize: adult education is conditioned by the societal and economic development on the given country, it is an element of its political system and of the political system of the world, and it seeks to develop human life. The government and the state have to be responsible for its status and conditions.

The concept of "societal/social function" has been introduced into educational sciences. For this reason, it is important to study goals and tasks of adult education from this viewpoint. The concept of "societal" function is

wider than that of "societal/social goal". It includes all effects of educational activities, also those that were not intended. In general, andragogs agree that adult education has filled and still does fill both a remedial and reserve function in relation to compulsory school education, and a specific function of its own. In the former function, compensatory adult education, it fills lacunas in the adult person's previous education. This "compensation" is done on different levels: from alphabetization to post-graduate education. We speak of the specific function of adult education, when teaching / courses go further than compulsory education, and also when it strives towards a global ("all-sided") development of human personality, including physical training and skills development, societal and aesthetical development, training will power, enrichment of feelings, interests and skills, development of intellect, character and attitudes - and, besides this, it involves a process of growing and rising to tasks, overcoming negative socialization, development of the individual for the sake of his / her engagement for progress.

In andragogical literature we meet distinctions between concepts like: teaching and individual learning, between education and self-education, popularization, cultural-educational work and permanent education. These are fundamental concepts. Among societal functions in adult education in a wider sense are also different effects of the undertaken activities, and then above all the function of adaptation, which means that the individual, thanks to the education he received, adapts better to the conditions of life. Also the integrational function is mentioned, involving a closer relationship between the individual and his social group. Other important functions of the education, training and development of adults is the dissemination of knowledge, ideas and progress, further the economic function and the political one. Under the influence of educational activities, man works better and more efficiently, he

understands the world and his own role in it, accepting certain programmatical political contents, and becoming a conscious subject-agent in the balance of forces. In connection with the political role of adult education one may speak of a progressive and constructive function of adult education or of a "backwarding" and conservative one.

In adult education, certain organizational-programmatical systems occur. One of these is the cultural-educational one. It fills specific functions. Experts in this field speak of a creative function, including stimulating amateur creativity, taking good care of spontaneous creativity, developing local and regional research and development projects, organizing group activities or larger projects enriching local social and cultural environment. Other functions are: dissemination of culture, group development, reform of local social centers, social integration, offerings of rational recreation and qualified entertainment, propaganda - influencing people's opinions, attitudes and behavior in line with the political rationality. We then see, that the societal role of adult education is connected with both individual needs and the social and societal needs of larger pressure groups.

The issue of adult education may also be dealt with in a political sense. Roger Fieldhouse, for instance, states that, in capitalist countries and in liberal ideologies, adult education has always been seen as an instrument for the emancipation of the working class and for societal change on a greater scale. With respect to financing, it may also be an instrument for societal control - as was the case in the socialist countries <sup>174</sup> .

In the process of global change of the Polish society, we are leaving a monocentric system in order to enter a polycentric one which is typical of the democratic society. Linked to this transition are necessarily also

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<sup>174</sup> Fieldhouse, 1990.

transformation of the social and educational system. It is very important, that education really becomes a factor that adds energy to the trends towards democracy and pluralism. Different solutions are possible, but there is a need for a parallel and complementary transformation of society and education, and that adult education be both an agent of change and a result of the same. As is now accepted<sup>175</sup> one has to "aim at such reforms of adult education, that increase its efficiency in promoting a polycentric society", a task that will crave its "reorientation from systemic goals and functions to individual aims and preferences".

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<sup>175</sup> Malewski, 1991 (b).

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