



Women educational and career choices during the
Polish People's Republic period as the individual
interaction with the real world

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Abstract:

The process of educating women and men until 1948 had a universal nature. It has been provided without an excessive institutional. Adult education was a common interest of citizens and of a leading socialist party. Citizens were keen on rebuilding the country and creating better living conditions for themselves and for their children, politicians focused on the implementation of propaganda and economic assumptions of the socialist development of the country. After 1948 a lot changed, previous illiterates after acquiring the ability to write and read, were sent to work and low-education company schools did not provide education in the field of self-education or cultural and educational activity. It was a time of nationalization and ideologisation of education, when the authorities appointed woman's social roles. According to the new ideology of the state, a woman should take care of domestic, family issues and a practicing Catholic who became a worker, the head of the work, a woman building a new social order and a mother raising her offspring in a socialist spirit. The paper describes the experiences of a woman who lead an active life during the period of People's Republic of Poland (PRL), taking into account the systemic and educational context. The text analyzes narrative interview of a 76 years old resident of a small town of Lower Silesia (Poland) inhabited by around 20,000 people. PRL was a time of her highest professional and educational activity. The collected material was verified in terms of the choices made by the respondent and her educational and professional paths. Biographical narratives have confirmed on the one hand, the influence of the society on her individual development and on the other hand, reflexivity and a sense influence on the society. According to the sociological concept of Margaret Archer (1995), my paper discusses the problem of agency and the structure in the context of the socialization of respondent who on one hand was subject to restrictions of the state and on the other had benefited from many opportunities offered by the system.

Key words: PRL, education, women's, agency, structure

Introduction:

The main topic of my scientific deliberations is the emancipation of women in the communist era, including issues related to their educational possibilities and professional activation. Women lived in a town of 20 thousand inhabitants in Lower Silesia (Poland), they studied, found families and worked at the same time. In the article, I want to share the research method that will show the relationships and dependencies that women were subject to at that historical period. The article will show the relationship between the structure – the political and social system of the PRL¹, considered to be oppressive, and individual agency². It will present, how according to Margaret Archer's social theory³, the structure influenced individual decisions and how individual decisions influenced the structure – political and social system. The analysis of the research material was aimed at identifying factors affecting the mutual impact of individual agency on the structure and impact of the structure on individual agency. In this article, on the example of Mrs.

¹ Polish People's Republic (PRL) - the name of the Polish state in the years 1952-1989. Previously, in the years 1944-1952, the same state organism, recognized internationally after the establishment of the Provisional Government of National Unity (the first countries that recognized the TRJN on June 29, 1945 were the USA, the United Kingdom and France, while withdrawing recognition for the Polish Government in exile), functioned as a subject of international law under the name Republic of Poland. In the period 1944-1989, the state propaganda and colloquially, and sometimes in official acts of its authorities, was called the People's Poland.

² In the scientific literature, the term agency was translated differently: as "subjective agency", "subjectivity" or "agency". In this article I will use the term of agency, as this seems to dominate Polish sociology in recent years and such a convention was adopted in the translation of the book Margaret Archer, which is an important reference point for this article (explanation see Mrozowicki 2013: XXXV-XXXVI).

³ M. S. Archer proposes an anti-reductionist theory: the approach of analytic dualism. Although it recognizes the interdependence of structure and agency, it also maintains that they operate on two different time scales (see Article Leonarska 2015, Introduction to the Work of Professor Margaret S. Introduction to Professor Margaret S. Archer's Theory "

Katarzyna's narration, I show a sample of the analysis of the research material, limiting it to the educational and professional choices of the respondent. The method of scientific research used in the study is based on the philosophy of critical realism, whose cult figure is Roy Bhaskar⁴, which Margaret Archer was inspired by. Social theory of Margaret Archer departs from the paradigm of social theory of Anthony Giddens, who believed that the structure reduces the individual or the individual reduces the structure. In her social theory, Margaret Archer moved away from a reductionism in favor of analytic duality, showing that structure properties shape different situations that a person is subjected to and which may be restrictive on the one hand and on the other hand they can create a great possibilities. In this perspective of research, the question of emancipation of women in the period of the PRL, their possibilities of self-development such as education, professional activation and leadership, was subordinated to agency, which is the driving force of my female respondent. The internal factors such as reflexivity and conversational skills have become a contribution to changes in the individual as well also to the social changes.

Each time has its own structures, so the PRL period also had them. For my respondent, PRL was the period that emancipated her, the time of development and gaining career peaks, professional and social promotion. According to Margaret Archer's theory, an analytical approach to the analysis of structure and agency is necessary with the simultaneous inseparable view of these two elements as two sides of the same coin. This approach enabled the respondent to keep an active contact with all reality orders; social, natural and a practical. The respondent used the internal factors of her agency such as self, personal identity and social identity. This allowed a reflective assessment of the situation, which was supported by external factors such as authorities and all of this so the respondent could become who she wanted to be, and she wanted to be a woman of success, a leader faithful to her ideals.

Historical/Economic context of the Polish People's Republic (PRL)

The People's Republic of Poland, under the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union, wanted to prove that a socialist state with a centrally controlled economy (planned economy) is able to cope with the problems typical for a capitalist economy such as unemployment, financial crisis or overproduction, yet at the same time implementing utopian visions of a "perfect society", including postulates about social equality. The PRL Authorities, implementing the three-year economic in 1947- 1949, considered it necessary to take an urgent synergy actions focused on combining the state economic development with educational activities, including a massive fight against illiteracy.

Education in PRL:

Adults education in PRL was of a universal/common nature. Until 1948, it took place without an excessive institutional housing and an ideology. It was a common interest of citizens and PRL authorities. Citizens were keen to rebuild the country and by that create a better conditions of life for themselves, their children and family. For PRL powers it was to implement the propaganda goals of the communistic party and the economic development of the country. From 1947 to 1951, in order to combat illiteracy, education had focused on reading and writing, after which adult students had guaranteed work as well as the possibility of continuing education. Workplaces often had offered education, which replaced vocational schools functioning in the interwar period. The school in the communist period was to create a new man - a man of socialism, earning money at work and having an influence on shaping the working conditions. Education in the Polish People's Republic at the level of a high school was directed mainly to youths from peasant or workers' families, children of intellectuals constituted a minority of students at universities and technical universities. This happened due to system for university admissions, in which a pupil with peasant and workers' origin got a higher number of points in relation to persons of intellectual/academic origin. The authorities wanted to make a cultural revolution, thus raising the new folk intelligentsia. The People's Authority at the education level shaped conformist behavior, condemning and smothering all manifestations of opposition to the views of the socialist state. The same recruitment scheme was in effect in informal teaching. Non-formal education in Poland had a tradition that originated

⁴ Roy Bhaskar (1944 - 2014) is the most-known philosopher as the creator of the philosophy of critical realism and metaReality

from pre-war times. It took place at People's Universities or in public libraries. An important role in this form of adult education has been played by associations such as: People's Institute of Education and Culture (Ludowy Instytut Oświaty i Kultury), Association of People's Universities of the RP (Towarzystwo Uniwersytetów Ludowych), or Society of the Workers' University (Towarzystwo Uniwersytetu Robotniczego).

The participation of women in the reconstruction of the state:

After the end of the Second World War in 1945, the Polish economy, due to enormous damage, required a quick and thorough reconstruction. The official power of PRL tried to achieve this goal through the multitude and variety of activities, including through large-scale emancipation activities, including the active inclusion of women's potential in the economic development of the socialist state, in exchange offering, in accordance with socialist ideology, equality for example in access to work, study and public positions. The authorities triumphed, Poland was rising up from the ruins, and the economic successes of the early PRL; exceeded pre-war production indicators. The three-year plan, centrally controlled economy was made thanks to the enormous involvement and use of women as a cheap labor force, which after the war was the main reserve and resource of the country's economy. In the initial phase of existence, People's Poland, due to the lack of sufficient manpower, was forced to employ women in typically masculine occupations, creating the possibility of professional advancement, at that time, teaching and employing women in the position; driver, masonry or miners. Daughters of pre-war small peasants or rural housewives made social advancement by obtaining education and skills in many professions, like spinnaker, seamstress, nurse or teacher. There has been an intergenerational change, women have acquired education and professional skills that their parents could have previously dreamed of.

Socialization of women in the PRL:

According to the new ideology, the women in the People's Republic of Poland had transform from a household guardian and a practicing Catholic to a worker, a work leader which building a new social order - a modern mother raising her offspring in a socialist spirit. Young women ambitiously sought their place in society, a niche that would allow them to settle higher without entering into a confrontation with men in the social hierarchy. Women on a huge scale were educated, raised their qualifications and skills, climbing the ladder of social and professional advancement, gaining more independence than their mothers. It was then, with the consent of the state, that the women learned to successfully combine employee duties with the role of a wife and a mother. Women of the People's Republic of Poland have made social and cultural advancement thanks to external factors such as the ideology of the socialist state, the political and economic situation of the country as well as the internal factors related to their own activity and aspirations.

Research methods:

The methodological part, gives only one out of four interviews to the sociological analysis due to time constraints. Analysis made in terms of social structure and phenomena that accompanied the respondent in her daily life, referring to the education system, professional activation and socio-political activity. Analysis are based on biographical narration, based on the social theory of Margaret Archer; interaction between structure and agency, agency and structure (structure-agency, agency-structure).

Agency

Margaret Archer emphasizes the social and cultural context of agency that she believes is a condition for the actions of individuals.

The term agency should be understood as the ability of an individual or group to predict and make a choice. The agency is also a resource that the unit has at its disposal, like for example a level of education. In Polish scientific literature, the word agency has been directly translated into "subjective actions"

Structure

The concept of the structure reflects the possibilities and limitations of the individual or institution. Margaret Archer, deeply rooted in critical realism in her concept, mainly presents the relations that take place between structure and agency and between agency and structure, that is between the individual and society and between society and the individual. Placing his thoughts between methodological holism and methodological individuality.

Narration

Narrative interviews were collected in 2017, from a female residents of a small town located in Lower Silesia in Poland. The respondents are women who currently are over 76 years of age, and their period of the highest professional and educational activity was in the period of the Polish People's Republic. Collected interviews made it possible to learn about the perspective of their subjective experience of the world and it will be used in my PhD, which I hope will contribute not only to the theoretic explanation of concepts but also to the understanding of processes related to the emancipation of women in PRL. They will be used as a proof of the individual memory of women about women of that period.

For the needs of today's speech and due to time constraints, I will present a fragment of the analysis of one narrative, a woman who in the communist era was the head of the city authorities as the Head of the City.

A fragment of Mrs. Katarzyna's narration

The respondent is Mrs Katarzyna, daughter of the intellectuals/intelligentsia from around Warsaw, with a tragic history in the background. Mrs. Katarzyna's family after the beginning of the Second World War was sent to Siberia, where in extremely difficult existential conditions she survived the war. After returning to Poland in 1946, the family settles in Lower Silesia. Mrs. Katarzyna father had a higher education in economics, so he found employment (without any problems) in the industry in the management team without any problems Mrs. Katarzyna's mother did not work professionally, she duplicated the traditional and conservative social roles assigned to a woman. The respondent, together with her older sister Zofia, after finishing the 7th grade of elementary school, began her education in a 4-year high school. In 1956, at the instigation of father, Mrs. Katarzyna started her studies at the University of Economics in Wrocław, where ladies were a minority at that time.

„ ... studies at the University of Economics in Wrocław I started at the instigation of Daddy. Back then it was a „manly” direktion, girls were hardly there. Thanks to my parents and principles of good manners and respect for learning. I have always wanted to learn, I had many interests, but Daddy talked me into economics, he said that knowledge of economics will always be useful to me, even when I run my home.”

Mrs. Katarzyna's father, during the last years of his professional activity, was the director of a branch of the National Bank of Poland, where as for those times he earned well but not enough for the maintenance of a 4-person family, including two studying daughters. Despite financial difficulties, the respondent's father never consented to the professional activity of his wife.

„ ... we were both studying with Zosia, but daddy even then did not let mom go to work, he said that we must have more financial discipline and be more careful about what we spend money at”

Mrs. Katarzyna said that she had a love of books from her family home. Mrs. Katarzyna's mother was considered an educated person, she had graduated from high school and passed the so-called a "small high school diploma".

"I have always read books since I remember home, and mommy even liked to read a poetry. Because of the prominent positions that daddy held, we hosted at home doctors, lawyers, secretaries of the party, educated people who were friends of daddy".

In 1964, Mrs. Katarzyna graduated and successfully defended her master's thesis. The title of the work is; "Analysis of the impact of external, internal and irregular factors on the formation of costs, on the example of confectionery plants". Katarzyna said that during her studies she was able to take an advantage of the returnable scholarship offered to students by the workplace. The condition was one, after completing studies, the graduate had to work for several years to work out the costs that the enterprise incurred to finance studies.

"I did not decided to use this form of help, because daddy did not let me. He said that it was not a good start of my professional career. He told me that freedom in making decisions is the most important, he said that I was capable and that it would be a shame if I had to go to a workplace only because I have something to give them back. Daddy reminded me that they took me to a university without a points for my origin, but only because of my passed exams, so I should be able to handle without a scholarship, then I began to give a private lessons. "

Mrs. Kasia father belonged to a political party, same with Mrs Katarzyna. Questioned about the reasons for which she did joined a political party she replied;

"It's daddy and my first manager who advised me to do so. They said you're young, all your career is a front of you, and because you do not sign up for the party you will lose everything. You are a woman and that is why every hobbledehoy who wears pants will win with you, do not lose so foolishly your chances. Your ideology in the party is to be a good person and a solid employee, daddy said that I should always be honest and help people"

The father of Mrs. Katarzyna in the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) did not occupy any exposed positions, he was an ordinary member, however. Mrs. Katarzyna was appointed as a the deputy of a first secretary of the City Committee of the Party. Mrs. Katarzyna never regretted her decision, she said it was a very good move.

"there were no communist ideology, it was a pure calculation, it was known that if I did not sign in, my professional career would never happen. It was always people from party who took a prestige's position and this did not change until today, PRL and modern democratic system does the same. I have study my whole life, I have raised my professional qualifications, I was a precursor to the introduction of work organization rules and ergonomics of production. I have always been faithful to the promises given to my parents, I always hear how my dad talks to me... remember that you should be always honest, because this is what the catechism and profession requires of you. Today, I live in a housing estate in a cooperative flat, modestly furnished, because despite the enormous opportunities given to me, I always tried to take care of the people whom I managed and then I thought about myself, it was always more important to me: to be, not to have"

Mrs. Katarzyna is 78 years old, she lives with a sense of great professional fulfillment while her family life is unfulfilled.

"I always had a strong personality. I learned quickly, I was eloquent, however in my selfish approach and the pursuit to the peak of my professional and a social career, I go too far. In this pursuit for the success, I forgot about my family. I'm alone today, I know I made a mistake. "

Mrs. Katarzyna greatly regrets that to stay on top of the professional and a social hierarchy, she neglected her daughter and husband.

"I did not want my family to look like this, but it happened. I was young then, the party encouraged me to work, and I wanted to be better than men and I was. Unfortunately, it cost me dearly. I thought that the common good is a supreme good, that the implementation of economic plans and care for city residents is my mission. "

When Mrs. Katarzyna was the head of the city, she did many important things and took very courageous steps. She took care of the development of construction in the city.

It is my merit that many residents of my hometown could live faster in their own apartment.

"In PRL, people have been waiting for an own flat for 20 and more years. I led to the modernization of waterworks, there was an eternal water problem in the city, people were tired of caring water in buckets. Many people still thank me for this and I'm surprised that they remember it.

Analysis

I made an analysis of Mrs. Katarzyna's social advancement in the context of her educational path and career advancement, which could be called cloning of a father's path. Mrs. Kasia got the same education as her father had, the same, but in the case of a woman it meant something more – a social advancement. Analysis of the memories of Mrs. Kasia focuses on two assessments of the situation; external and internal factors that influenced her success and her achievement of higher education and professional and social promotion.

The assessment of the external factor affecting Mrs. Katarzyna's decision focuses on the authority of her parents, and in particular on the respondent's father, who was the daughter's main advisor and the driving force of her actions influencing her reflection and educational and professional decisions made. In this case, the factor of agency was manifested in using the experience of the respondent's father. Mrs. Kasia had a great confidence in the father who owed his professional success to education and determination. The respondent wanted to imitate him because he was an authority for her.

The next analyzed element was the recruitment system for studies, which as an external factor reduced the chances of the respondent at the beginning, who did not have the chance to get additional points for the intellectual/intelligentsia origin in recruitment. Lack of this points turned out to be a factor generating an increase in ambition. In this case, the factor of agency was manifested in the search for analogy. The respondent recognized that the maturity exams have passed without a problem, that is, she has adequate knowledge to pass the entrance examination to university without an additional support. She applied a retrospective thought, made a reflective assessment of her own chances, and with such a positive attitude passed her entrance exams.

Another analyzed factor related to the education of the respondent was the decision to choose at that time a very masculine studying field, economics, which by the respondent's father, was considered to be useful in running a household. The father, while choosing the field of study, influenced his daughter, persuaded her to duplicate his educational choices. He spoke about economics in superlatives, otherwise, in the case of statements regarding the use of the knowledge and skills acquired during the studies by the daughter. The father also assumed the failure of his daughter to obtain employment in the profession, yet he did not discourage his daughter. He decided that, as a least she would use the acquired knowledge in running her household. Father's argument seemed sufficient. Mrs. Katarzyna raised in the patriarchal family, she recognized the Father's argumentation. In this case, the factor of agency manifested itself in the authority of the father and in rational risk assessment. The Respondent decided that when she decided to study economics, she did not risk anything, because in the worst case, she would use this knowledge by running her own home/household.

The next considerations concern the possibility of the respondent taking an advantage of the return scholarship. PRL tried to link scholarships to students with industry. The reason was still a high demand of the industry for specialists. The respondent's father was in this case a "brake", he did not want his daughter; a talented young woman to made such

a commitment at the start. Mrs. Kasia, being in Siberia with the whole family suffered hunger and cold, she experienced the bitter taste of slavery, which is why dad's arguments about the possibility of losing freedom, even the financial one, appealed to her intellect. The argument that the family will manage without this money freed the entrepreneur in the respondent. Since then, she has been providing private tuition.

The respondent had a great confidence in the father who owed his professional success to his education and determination. Mrs. Katarzyna wanted to imitate him. In this case, the factor of agency was manifested in the use of the father's authority - the financier who recognized that the scholarship in the proposed form is not a good deal for a promising career of his daughter. By reflection, the respondent found an alternative solution to co-finance her student budget, one that would not deprive her of her liberty/freedom in decision making.

Another analysis concerns the decision of respondent to join the ranks of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR). Like the previous one, the decision was discussed and consulted with the father. Mrs. Katarzyna knew that external factors, including social structure and culture, would not support the development of her professional career. Mrs. Katarzyna was aware of that. Every day she observed her mother, who did not work with intellectual and educational potential, who, despite getting a relatively high education at that time and having a chance for employment, did not work.

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