

Wiesław Theiss

The Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw

## **Education and Commitment One Hundred Years of Social Pedagogy in Poland (1908–2008). Introduction**

### **Edukacja i zaangażowanie Sto lat pedagogiki społecznej w Polsce (1908–2008) Wprowadzenie**

**STRESZCZENIE:** Artykuł prezentuje rozwój pedagogiki społecznej w Polsce w latach 1908–2008. Analizy objęły następujące okresy historyczne: czas zaborów (przed 1918 r.), okres II Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939), lata powojennej odbudowy (1945–1955), okres realnego socjalizmu (1956–1980/1989) oraz czas zmiany ustrojowej (1989–2003/2008). Przedstawione zostały główne problemy, którymi zajmowała się pedagogika społeczna, założenia teoretyczno-metodologiczne tej koncepcji, ukazano czołowych twórców tej dyscypliny, przedstawiono też zasadniczy dorobek naukowy osiągnięty przez kolejne generacje pedagogów społecznych. Tekst jest przyczynkiem do historii oraz teorii pedagogiki społecznej.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** Pedagogika społeczna – ciągłość i zmiana, Helena Radlińska, ośrodki pedagogiki społecznej w Polsce, generacje pedagogów społecznych.

**ABSTRACT:** The article presents the development of social pedagogy in Poland in the years 1908–2008. The analyses covered the following historical periods: the partition period (before 1918), the period of the Second Republic (1918–1939), the years of post-war reconstruction (1945–1955), the period of real socialism (1956–1980/89), the period of political system change (1989–2003/08). The main problems dealt with by social pedagogy, theoretical and methodological assumptions of this concept have been presented, leading authors of this discipline have been shown, and the basic scientific achievements of subsequent generations of social pedagogues have been presented. The text is a contribution to the history and theory of social pedagogy.

**KEYWORDS:** Social pedagogy – continuity and change, Helena Radlińska, centers of social pedagogy in Poland, generations of social pedagogues.

Social pedagogy, one of the main currents in global and Polish 20th and 21st century pedagogy, deals with the issue of environmental conditions of human upbringing and care processes throughout the entire course of their life. It appeared on the map of Polish pedagogy at the beginning of the 20th century, and its creation and development were influenced by two groups of factors: intellectual-scientific and historical-social. Among the first group, the main role was played by: the traditions of the Polish Enlightenment (among others Hugon Kołłątaj, Stanisław Staszic), the Polish radical social thought of the early twentieth century (e.g. Edward Abramowski, Ludwik Krzywicki), Western sociological-pedagogical theories (e.g. Emil Durkheim, John Dewey), Polish empirical research in the field of psychology and pedagogy (Jan Władysław Dawid, Stanisław Karpowicz). Second, there were the independence aspirations of Poles, deprived of their own statehood from the end of the 18th century until 1918, as well as the changes in the social structure and economic situation of numerous social groups caused by the intensive development of capitalism at the end of the 19th century. (see Araszkiewicz 1978, p. 37–45; Wrocław 1969, 1974, p. 30–61, 1980a, p. 311–314; Wołoszyn 1998, p. 50–52).

The creator of social pedagogy in Poland was Helena Radlińska (1879–1954), a scientific and moral authority, a person who left their mark on various fields of social, cultural and scientific life in the country. Before 1918, Radlińska took part in underground educational and freedom-fighting activities, in 1925 she organized the College of Social-Educational Work at the Free Polish University (Wolna Wszechnica Polska) in Warsaw, the first university in the country to educate pedagogues/social and educational workers at the academic level. Until 1939, Radlińska was active in many European socio-educational organizations, in the years 1945–1950 she was a professor at the University of Łódź. She has published several hundred works in the field of social pedagogy, the history of education, adult education, librarianship and social work (Radlińska 2014; Theiss 1984, 1997).

### **1908: national education and citizenship school**

In 1908, Helena Radlińska published the article *Z zagadnień pedagogiki społecznej* (Radlińska 1908). It would be difficult to overestimate the significance

of this statement for the establishment and development of social pedagogy in Poland. It is the “founding text”! It contained – as the future would show – the lasting and universal foundations of a new perspective on upbringing and its role in the development of the human being, the society and the country. The starting point here was the idea of informal social education involved in the struggle for the country’s independence, and the target was a developed scientific and socio-educational program, defined as social pedagogy.

The category of “social pedagogy” did not appear in the aforementioned text by accident or out of the blue. The pedigree was double. On the one hand, it was backed by studies on the Polish tradition of democratic upbringing and on the assumptions of the contemporary schooling systems of democratic countries (e.g. England, USA, Australia, Switzerland). On the other hand – the criticism of the schools of the partitioning powers, as well as the criticism of the then dominant national Catholic educational concepts (Radlińska 1909, pp. 65–67; reprint Theiss 1997, pp. 206–209). Thus, by exploring desirable and approved models and rejecting what did not serve the purpose of fighting for the country’s freedom, Radlińska brought to the fore the solutions that were “civic and progressive” and at the same time “in line with science and the needs of life”. On this basis, she proposed a model of a Polish national (patriotic) and socialized school, as well as a model of social education. And to this day these are permanent signs that allow us to read and understand the earliest interpretations of social pedagogy from Radlińska’s perspective.

The school in question is to be “a place of upbringing, not of training” – Radlińska asserted. It is a civic school, i.e. one dedicated to “local government units”, as well as a social one, supporting the education of children from the poorest families, and at the same time supported by society and the state. In turn, social upbringing is the opposite of traditional national upbringing. It involves the whole nation, and not only the social elites, and its aim is to awaken and develop the strength of individuals and social groups, aimed at building the future free Poland.

Radlińska emphasized that social school and social education are based on scientific foundations: on social pedagogy. This term meant: “such approach to the teaching of upbringing that sees every individual as the child of their nation and time, the heir of the entire culture and the co-creator of its future” (Radlińska 1908). In the socio-political dimension, it was a radical thought, liberating and equalizing everyone in the right of access to culture, regardless of social, economic, national, religious, etc. barriers. In the pedagogical dimension, it was a far-reaching idea focused on the principle of providing support, through education, to individual and social development, finding and

building life competences, developing activity and cooperation, understanding and dialog.

The concept of social pedagogy was developed by Radlińska in 1913 in the text entitled *Praca oświatowa wobec zadań wychowania narodowego*, which was a fragment of the first textbook in the history of Polish social pedagogy and adult education, entitled *Praca oświatowa, jej zadania, metody organizacja*. In this perspective, social pedagogy was integrated into a broad, critical and committed concept of educational work, which in turn more clearly connected the idea of social education with the area of pedagogical practice (Orsza [actually Radlińska] 1913, pp. 145–152).

According to Radlińska, educational work is an independent socio-intellectual movement that resists the hostile influences of the partitioning powers, it protects and develops Polish culture, which creates the foundations of a free Poland. The main function of educational work in this sense is national (patriotic, independence-oriented) upbringing. It does not have a separate form, it is not a “special cult”. It is an integral part of a nation’s life, an element of a process in which all social forces that build the future take part. Such national upbringing performs the following tasks:

- empowerment and emancipation (“to make every person [...] realize »that they are a part of a larger, powerful whole: the nation and through it humanity«”);
- democratization of culture (“to make cultural wealth available to everyone”);
- social animation (“to bring all the forces out of the nation, to direct them towards the work on building the native culture”);
- creative activity (“to arouse in everyone the need for creativity in any field: science or art, craft or public activity”);
- education (prepare generations to undertake cultural tasks).

This concept of democratic national education, which still sounds modern today, was a new, if not revolutionary, view on the map of the pedagogy of the time. Radlińska once again breaks with the contemporary official, traditional pedagogy, in order to turn towards the innovative ideas of “new upbringing”, with the idea of free development of the individual at the forefront. It proposes a “pedagogy of life”, created by concrete people, embedded in reality, in a specific place and time, rooted in the historical experiences of the nation. And she consistently says that this is a social pedagogy that deals with the relationship between the individual and the society, and the influence of the social environment on the functioning of the school.

Radlińska's concept, which grew from Polish reality at the beginning of the twentieth century and addressed national needs, was not an isolated, specific creation, closed to the wider world. On the contrary. This view was consistent in many points with the theses of German and French pedagogical and philosophical thought at the time, among others by Paul Bergemann, Jean-Marie Guyau, Paul Natorp, Gabriel Séailles (Radlińska 1935, p. 240).

### **Theory – education – research (1918–1939/1945)**

In 1918, Poland regained its independence. The country, which began to recover from the severe damage caused by the partitions and war, faced enormous challenges. The range of the needs was enormous. The state administration system, economy and industry, social policy as well as culture and education were rebuilt. A large number of migrants returning to their free homeland needed help. The situation was significantly hindered by the Polish-Russian war of 1919–1920 (Czubiński 1987).

In the new social and economic realities of the country, schooling and education had a special role to play. Teachers, social educational institutions and local authorities were involved in the development of the new democratic and widely accessible school. The primary objective was to reach as wide a circle of the population as possible through literacy. Elementary education courses, agricultural training, lectures, workers' universities, folk universities, libraries were organized. Since the early 1920s, the illiteracy rate in Poland was 33.1% (7 150 000 people) (Wroczyński 1980a, p. 300–301).

In this situation Radlińska undertook the task of preparing professional staff in the field of social work. This goal was to be achieved by the College of Social-Educational Work in Warsaw, established by her in 1925, which she managed continuously – including the secret activities during the Second World War – until 1945. The university operated under the auspices of the private university – the Free Polish University. From now on, the College would become a school of social pedagogy in the full sense of the word. Radlińska gathered around her a large group of co-workers and students, formulated and developed her basic theoretical concepts and conducted extensive empirical research. Her closest associates included Kazimierz Kornilowicz (1892–1939), Antoni Konewka (1885–1944), Marian Bronisław Godecki (1888–1939), Anna Walicka-Chmielewska (1905–1981), Wanda Wyrobek-Pawłowska (Cwajgenhaft) (1912–1999).

The College educated social workers (including social pedagogues) at the higher level in the following areas: adult education, organization of social life,

librarianship, mother and child care. The group of general subjects common to all specializations included, among others, sociology with sociography, psychology, pedagogy and didactics, history of cultural work, and technique of mental work. The College taught “how to apply knowledge to life”. The College employed renowned scientists and practitioners, and the teaching level was high (see Radlińska 1964, pp 405–429). In the years 1925–1935, around 500 people graduated from the university; in 1939 there were around 650 students. These people visibly replenished the professional staff of state institutions, social institutions, cultural organizations and local governments. The College was not a lonely island in the Polish system of educating socio-educational workers. The Catholic Social School in Poznań (1927–1939) and the local government Social Work Study in Lviv (now Ukraine), established in 1935, operated in the country.

In 1935, Radlińska published a book entitled *Stosunek wychowawcy do środowiska społecznego. Szkice z pedagogiki społecznej*, in which she presented a systematic outline of social pedagogy, its point of view, theoretical basis and framework, as well as forms of social and educational work. This concept is based on the foundation of the earlier findings from 1908 and 1913. This is the basic explanation/thesis: “Social pedagogy is primarily concerned with the interaction of environmental influences and the transformative powers of individuals” (Radlińska 1935, p. 5).

At first glance, this simple definition contains fundamental and, in fact, uncomplicated decisions concerning the subject of social pedagogy (“interaction”, “influence”), its objectives and functions (“transformation of the environment”), the sources and forms of pedagogical activity (“the powers of individuals”). The first element of this relationship – the “environmental influences – are the phenomena and processes that occur in the living environment and which in a specific way, directly or indirectly, affect people and induce specific reactions and experiences. It is a complex, often difficult to observe and evaluate matter of mutual social relations, a system of connections and interdependencies, occurring in different types of environments (objective and subjective, direct and remote, material and invisible). The other side of this relationship – the “powers of the individuals” – is a deliberate effort based on specific ideological preferences and a system of values. Consolidated in attitudes, they influence the behavior of individuals or social groups, they connect people with other people and the common good. When human power potential is low or inhibited, it becomes a subject of cultural, educational and social concern and support.

The broadly understood upbringing has a basic influence on the formation and development of “individual powers” (“social forces”, “human

forces”). The following explanation from Radlińska deals with this: “In the name of the ideal, with the help of human powers, upbringing transforms the present day...” (Radlińska 1935, p. 15). Thus, social pedagogy with the help of “human powers” wants to build a “human world” in which – here the aforementioned “ideal” is revealed – the fundamental human rights are respected, including the universal right to learning and culture.

The second main element of social pedagogy developed by Radlińska at that time was the issue of methodology, organization and carrying out environmental pedagogical research. The research was based on an attempt to determine the impact of social conditions on the educational opportunities of children from poor, marginalized areas and areas exposed to social pathology. The aim was to design solutions to compensate for the hazards and deficiencies identified. This task was combined with the need to develop a new type of school – a community school, a multifunctional institution, a kind of environmental clubhouse focused on education and culture. Radlińska has developed a model of team-based environmental research in which a wide range of specialists, including teachers, psychologists, lawyers, social workers, doctors, nurses and students participated alongside the researchers. The method, course and results of environmental research were presented by Radlińska in a collective work entitled *Spoleczne przyczyny powodzeń i niepowodzeń szkolnych* (ed. Radlińska 1937). Radlińska’s solutions were ahead of the model of research and action proposed by Kurt Lewin in 1946.

The outlined line of development of social pedagogy, its disciplinarization and institutionalization also had its strong and important European references. At that time Radlińska actively participated in the international movement for the renewal of pedagogy and upbringing. She took part in Congresses on Moral Education (Geneva 1922, Paris 1930, Kraków 1934), conferences of the League for New Education (Montreux 1924, Locarno 1927, Helsingör 1929, Nice 1932) and in International Conferences of Social Services (Paris 1928, Frankfurt am Main 1932, London 1928). All these conferences, as well as many others in which Radlińska participated, created an open space for dialog and a platform for exchanging ideas, projects and presenting the results achieved (see Theiss 2017).

At the beginning of 1937, a congress of social pedagogues took place in Warsaw in the College of Social-Educational Work at the Free Polish University. This congress, which was attended by several hundred people, was connected with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of Helena Radlińska’s work. In the report from the Congress entitled *Nowoczesne kształcenie pracowników społecznych*, it was stressed that a new field of science and work had recently

been created in Poland, just like in Western Europe: social work. It was a planned activity in the field of social and educational care and assistance; an activity breaking away from charity, non-political, based on the results of scientific research; an activity with qualified staff, its own schools, methods and professional literature; an activity that supported the development of individuals and social groups, teaching not only the exercise of rights to culture and education, but also teaching how to reach for cultural goods and how to utilize cultural, scientific and educational institutions and equipment for this purpose (Kisiełewska-Zawadzka 1937).

### **Among other human sciences (1945–1954)**

The year 1945 ushered in a new era in the life of the world and Poland. During the war and during the German occupation, about 6 million Polish citizens were killed, including about 3.2 million Jews. As a result of the annexation of a part of Poland by Soviet Russia, about 1 million Polish citizens were deported to distant areas of Siberia. In addition to biological losses, the country has suffered great losses in all areas of its life: the economy, health, culture and education. Under the terms of the Yalta conference (December 1944), Poland found itself in the zone of Soviet domination, which was to have a negative impact on the Polish reality for many years.

The war took away many of Radlińska's students and co-workers, her library, apartment, and the already started and finished writings burned down. However, as if in spite of history and fate, driven by the desire to actively participate in the post-war life of the country, in 1945 Radlińska redeveloped her workspace. This time at the University of Łódź, Faculty of Social Sciences, she established the Department of Social Pedagogy and launched a non-university institution: The Polish Institute of Social Service. In the newly established chair, she brought together former and new collaborators and students, including former students from the College of Social-Educational Work. There were people in this group who in the near or more distant future would continue and develop the work of their master. They included, among others: Ryszard Wroczyński (1909–1987), Aleksander Kamiński (1903–1978), Irena Lepalczyk (1916–2003), Elżbieta Zawacka (1909–2009), Aleksandra Majewska (1907–1990), Tadeusz Pudełko (1922–2000), as well as the previously mentioned Wanda Wyróbkowa-Pawłowska and Anna Walicka-Chmielewska. They created a highly integrated environment, with a great deal of pre-war social experience and clearly crystallized ideological attitudes, which were fundamentally different from the climate of the Marxist university.



The result of Radlińska's intensive research and writing work at that time were numerous publications, such as: *Sieroctwo. Zasięg i wyrównywanie* (1946) (co-authored by Józef Wojtyński), *Oświata dorosłych* (1947), *Badania regionalne dziejów pracy społecznej i oświatowej* (1948). Important studies by her co-workers were also published: A. Kamińskiego, *Nauczanie i wychowanie metodą harcerską* (1948), R. Wroczyńskiego, *Programy oświatowe pozytywizmu w Polsce na tle społecznym i gospodarczym* (1949). In the near future, these books would open up new areas of research into social pedagogy. However, due to political censorship, some of Radlińska's works and the works of her collaborators could not be published in print, while others were banned from publication by the authorities. What is more, in the atmosphere of progressive Stalinization, Radlińska and her concept of social pedagogy met with biased and false evaluations. She was accused of practicing nothing more than bourgeois pedagogy before the war and of taking part in the fascization of the country, which was the rhetoric of the time.

In 1951 Radlińska presented a new approach to her concept of social pedagogy, or she only emphasized the new goals and the dimensions of this position, new orientation points. It was published in the *Egzamin z pedagogiki społecznej* script, subsequently reprinted in her *Pisma Pedagogiczne* (Radlińska 1961). Radlińska claimed then that: "Social pedagogy is a practical science which develops at the crossroads of human, biological and social sciences with ethics and cultural studies (theory and history of culture) thanks to its own point of view" (Radlińska 1961, pp. 361). This general perspective of social pedagogy, which has been outlined with great grandeur, does not mean losing or blurring its specificity, distinct features and typical issues. This is determined by the aforementioned "point of view", i.e. "...interest (of social pedagogy – WT) in the mutual relationship between the individual and the environment, the influence of the living conditions and the cultural circles on people at different stages of their lives, the influence of people on ensuring the existence of values by their adoption and promotion, and the processing of environments by »human powers in the name of ideals«" (Radlińska 1961, p. 362). These basic findings were supplemented by the structure of social pedagogy proposed by Radlińska, which included the following fields: theory of social work, theory of adult education, history of social and educational work.

What was new in this third phase of Radlińska's process of building social pedagogy (1908–1935–1951)? There were two issues combined: scientific and moral-social. The submitted theses exceeded the boundaries of science presented in formal, natural and scientific, verifiable and narrowly practical categories. Linking social pedagogy with human sciences, societal, cultural and

ethical studies, Radlińska even ostentatiously ignored the canons of Marxist teachings. In her dictum there are echoes of Wilhelm Dilthey's "sciences of the spirit", as well as echoes of the American neo-idealism philosophy of the early twentieth century, led by the principle of "open door" in science and teaching. The principle that places the ideas of freedom, truth, and good at the heart of upbringing and teaching is the same as the principle of education (see Sośnicki 1967, pp. 262–272). However, the proposal to include social pedagogy in the "trans-" and "interdisciplinary" scope, which is still a challenge and a promising opportunity for the upbringing sciences, draws particular attention.

Radlińska's scientific theses from 1951 also have another important dimension. They are a disaccord, a protest against the communist utopia, which was by no means a "beautiful dream". This is a testimony to the consistent, steadfast and committed attitude of resistance to the world of violence. At that time, when social sciences in Poland were dominated by a top-down interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, when Russian textbooks were obligatory in Polish pedagogy, when "old" institutions of science and culture were closed down, Radlińska put forward theses which belonged to a different dimension of science and culture: to the dimension of freedom and the world of unrestricted scientific creation. Radlińska did not recognize the barriers imposed by the communist state. She saw science in the perspective of unrestricted, long-term development, going beyond the reality of the present day world. This proposal was an important element of the intellectual and moral deposit that the social pedagogical community received together with Radlińska's heritage.

In 1952, for political reasons, the institutions led by Radlińska were closed down: The Chair of Social Pedagogy, the Institute of Social Service and the magazine "Opiekun Społeczny". 1954 saw the end of an important period in the history of social pedagogy in Poland with the death of Helena Radlińska.

### **A pedagogue in real socialism (1957–1980)**

October 1956 brought changes in the political and social life of Poland. The system has been partially liberalized. This was made possible by the wave of progressive destalinization (Stalin died in 1953) and the country's departure from strict dependence on Soviet Russia. The renewal included i.a. the disclosure and condemnation of Stalinist crimes, the release of some political prisoners, the suspension of the collectivization of agriculture, and the easing of censorship (Davies 1981, pp. 720–723). Broad circles of the

society were optimistic about the ongoing transformations under the slogans of democratization, the rule of law and transparency of public life. Time has shown that these were false hopes. The country continued to be governed by the Marxist-Leninist party, which meant, among other things, a political monopoly, central economic governance, ubiquitous control and censorship. Socialist upbringing was obligatory in pedagogical theory and practice. The communism prevailing in Poland took the form of the so-called real socialism.

In the post-October thaw trend, on April 13–14, 1957, the All-Poland Social Pedagogical Congress was held in Warsaw. About 500 people took part in the meeting, most of them representing the community of Radlińska's former students and collaborators. The congress was supposed to show the role of the social pedagogue in the ongoing transformations, especially their contribution to stimulating social activity and building general order. There was also a desire to protest against the "horrific irrationality and dehumanization" of the Stalinist era. In addition, the participants of the conference demanded the rehabilitation of social work/education, breaking silence around Radlińska, as well as – which was particularly important – the resumption of the activities of university departments of social pedagogy and the reactivation of the College of Social-Educational Work. Once again, the social pedagogical community was driven by the core of cardinal values, with the principle of serving others understood as aid in development aids, at the forefront. In the new social and political conditions, Radlińska's work was continued and developed by her closest students and collaborators, mentioned earlier: Ryszard Wroczyński, Aleksander Kamiński, Wanda Pawłowska-Wyrobkowa, Irena Lepalczyk.

The realization of the Congress desiderata, possible in parallel with the democratization of higher education, brought important results: in 1957, the Warsaw University established a chair of social pedagogy, and in 1961, the Chair of Social Pedagogy at the University of Łódź was reactivated. However, the College of Social-Educational Work was not reopened. The tradition of this institution was to be continued by the Association of the Free Polish University in Warsaw, established in 1957.

Ryszard Wroczyński, a pedagogue and historian of upbringing, was the founder and long-term director of the Chair at the University of Warsaw. In a short time, the chair became one of the most important social pedagogical centers in Poland, initiating extensive research on the functioning of the school in the environment, extracurricular education, adult education and child care. It is here that the new generation of social pedagogues received degrees and titles, among others: Helena Izdebska (1922–2002), Jerzy Wołczyk (1927–1978), Tadeusz Wujek (1927–2002).

An important place in the development of social pedagogy at that time was taken by Ryszard Wroczyński's book *Wprowadzenie do pedagogiki społecznej* (1966), then *Pedagogika społeczna*, developed and published as a textbook (1974, 1976, 1979, 1985). The concept of social pedagogy presented in it was based on such touchstones as: the scientific tradition of Radlińska's environment, the project of the concept of community school, the idea of lifelong extracurricular education. According to the canon of this discipline, this pedagogy was to perform two intertwined tasks: diagnosis of environmental influences on human upbringing and development, as well as planned educational work on rebuilding the living environment and developing creative human and environmental potential (Wroczyński, 1974, pp. 61–66). In a concise definition, Wroczyński explained: "Social pedagogy, based on empirical research, i.e. empirical studies, analyses educational influences stemming from the environment and determines the principles of organizing the environment from the point of view of the needs of upbringing" (Wroczyński, 1974, p. 67).

The foundation of Radlińska's heritage was also the basis for the chair at the University of Łódź, which was headed by Aleksander Kamiński, a historian and pedagogue, a writer and an outstanding participant of the Polish resistance movement during World War II. In the textbook *Funkcje pedagogiki społecznej. Praca socjalna i kulturalna* (1972, 1974), he made an important division: he distinguished social pedagogy as one of the trends of pedagogy in general from social pedagogy understood as a separate discipline. The first one does not have a separate status, it is a field/current of pedagogy dealing with researching the influence of the environment on upbringing and organizing the environment in accordance with the objectives of upbringing (environmental pedagogy). The second is a discipline separated from pedagogical sciences, and its separate subject covers the issue of care for socially, culturally and educationally disadvantaged individuals and social groups, as well as upbringing prophylaxis supporting the development of people of all ages (pedagogy of care, social pedagogy) (Kamiński 1972, pp. 11–12).

Over the next two decades, both proposals would have a certain impact on the shape of social pedagogy in Poland. From Wroczyński's broad position emerges a narrow, very utilitarian concept of a community school, which will be additionally connected by some educators with the policy and strategy of the state-party program of "building a socialist Poland". It was assumed that school, apart from its teaching functions, would be the main center of care and educational work in the local community, and that its task would be to inspire, organize and coordinate various forms of social and cultural activity of

children, youths and adults (see Janowska et al. 1973; Cichosz 2006, pp. 52–65). Such a school was supposed to be an important element of the “uniform educational front”, and the effectiveness of this solution was proved by similar solutions present in other countries of the socialist bloc, mainly in Russia, the German Democratic Republic and Yugoslavia. However, if the sometimes pushed, facade ideological interpretation of this solution was to be rejected, the principle of close connection between the school and the environment would play a positive role in raising the cultural level of Poland in those years.

On the other hand, the influence of Kamiński’s stance would result in the stance assuming that social pedagogy is a theory of social action, and on the other hand, that social work is a separate professional activity, and not a trend in social pedagogy, aimed at helping in solving living problems, social reintegration and increasing the well-being of individuals, groups and social environments, taking the center of the stage. These interpretations, inspired also by European solutions, relaxed the hitherto strong relationship between social work and pedagogy, with a view to strengthening the link between this discipline and social policy and assistance, sociology and management (see Marynowicz-Hetka et al. 1996).

Another space for the development of social pedagogy at that time was created by the aforementioned Society of the Free Polish University in Warsaw, which had branches all over the country and published the nationwide periodical “Człowiek w Pracy i w Osiedlu”. The co-founder and long-term manager of the Society, Adam Olgierd Uziembło (1906–1990), a social activist, mathematician and pedagogue, shaped this institution into a thriving research, teaching and popularization center based on bottom-up scientific initiatives. He included the results of his studies in social pedagogy and adult education i.a. in his book *Różne sposoby rozumienia terminu pedagogika społeczna...* (Uziembło 1968).

Thus, in the next stage of development, social pedagogy, so far orthodox and decidedly monolithic in its shape, went into the phase of pedagogical heterodoxy, in which new ideas and new solutions came to the fore. The ethos of Radlińska’s environment, led by the ideas of freedom and service to other human beings, clashed with the principles of an authoritarian system based on violence and control. This raises the question of the limit, the crossing of which at that time meant giving up the values adopted, or simply betrayal. The leaders of social pedagogy at that time – Wroczyński and Kamiński, as well as Lepalczyk, Wyrobkowa-Pawłowska and others from Radlińska’s group of students – not only remained faithful to their ideals, but in their actions kept an adequate distance from what real socialism offered or imposed by force. They adamantly stood by the heritage of the creator of the Polish

version of social pedagogy. An important testimony to this attachment was the publication of a three-volume collection of works by Helena Radlińska, which was of fundamental scientific importance: *Pedagogika społeczna* (1961), *Zagadnienia bibliotekarstwa i czytelnictwa* (1961), *Z dziejów pracy społecznej i oświatowej* (1964). To this day, these books are the main source for studying Radlińska's legacy.

The reform of university studies carried out in 1965 led to the inclusion of social pedagogy in the curriculum of pedagogical studies, which provided preparation for the professional work of a pedagogue in institutions of extracurricular upbringing, social rehabilitation and revalidation, assistance and social welfare (Pilch 1974, pp. 179–186). Changes in the university education of teachers have led to the creation of new chairs and institutions of social pedagogy at the following universities: Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (1970, headed by Stanisław Kowalski), Pedagogical University in Bydgoszcz (1972, Edmund Trempała), University of Silesia (1974, Henryk Gąsior), Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (1976, Stanisław Kawula).

Thus, in the difficult years of the 1960s and 1970s another generation of scientifically independent social pedagogues entered the stage of social pedagogy, along with representatives of the generation of Radlińska's direct students and collaborators (S. Kowalski was a sociologist associated with the Poznań tradition of Florian Znaniecki's school). The next decade in the history of the country would bring the twilight of "real socialism", a wide range of opportunities for scientific research, foreign cooperation, and both would have a clear impact on the development of social pedagogy.

### **Social pedagogy in a time of great change (1980–2003)**

In August 1980, the independent trade union "Solidarność" was established in Poland. It was a historic moment, one of the most important dates in the recent history of the country. "As the historian said, the beginning of the end of real socialism in its classic Soviet-European form was approaching" (Paczkowski 1996, p. 466). However, it still took almost a decade for the final success to be achieved. Martial law stood in the way of freedom aspirations and demands (December 1981–July 1983). The supporters of the Solidarity camp finally won in the free elections of 1989. A period of systemic transition followed (see Kojder 2016, pp. 138–168). Soon the political opposition in Hungary and Czechoslovakia followed in Poland's footsteps. The culmination of the process of the country's liberation took place in 2004, when Poland joined the European Union.

The “great change” (1980–2003) in Poland consisted in the transition from a centralized and control-based society to a pluralistic and decentralized society. This was followed by the transition from isolation to globalization, covering vast areas of social, economic and cultural life. On this ground, in the field of education and pedagogy it was possible – in the first step – to develop pedagogy in the direction of heterodoxia (Greek: *heteros* – different), when critical and opposing tendencies as well as alternative solutions, appeared in the place of the disintegrating socialist pedagogy. In the second step, falling on the decade of the 1990s, as ideological liberalization and openness to external influences progressed, heterogeneity began to dominate in pedagogy: different-form, eclectic pedagogy; education loses its “monopoly” on the “arrangement” of the human being and the world through education (see Rutkowiak 1995). Paradoxes of that time included “public whitewashing” – a radical change in the attitudes of part of the pedagogical community. Thanks to such a “change”, the former keen representatives of socialist pedagogy, often also functional party activists, became “teachers of democracy” overnight.

The community of social pedagogues reacted quickly to the changes taking place in the life of the country. On 23–24 November 1981, the Fifth Meeting of Social Pedagogues was held in Warsaw. The aim of the conference was to take a stand on the ongoing changes, update curricula, and consolidate the social pedagogical community around the slogans of social transformation. The Congress was dominated by the voice of representatives of the younger generation of social pedagogues, who, returning to the tradition of social pedagogy, wanted to reappraise its validity and usefulness. Social pedagogues from Germany took part in the meeting, which at that time was also a testimony of the changes taking place. The bulk of the conference materials was published only after martial law was lifted in the volume *Pedagogika społeczna – poszukiwania i rozstrzygnięcia* (ed. Pilch, Smolińska-Theiss 1984).

The meeting of social pedagogues in 1981 was a typical initiative for the then emerging “space of mobilization”, i.e. an area for dynamic and initiative-seeking works that reached for new questions and horizons that appeared in the sciences of upbringing. Priority was given to the issues of reconstruction and building the identity of pedagogy, Catholic pedagogy was revived, Western concepts of alternative pedagogy and critical pedagogy were coming forward. Against this background, numerous monographs and detailed studies on social pedagogy appeared, which clearly indicated the following directions and areas of research: 1) issues of social pedagogy theory and methodology, 2) history of social pedagogy and socio-educational work, 3) theory and practice of social work, 4) issues of culture, citizenship and environmental animation.

The first of these directions – *issues of social pedagogy theory and methodology* – was to a large extent a kind of review of the “holdings”. In the context of the new social conditions, the question was to what extent the current shape of social pedagogy meets the new needs and requirements, both scientific and practical, and to what extent it is necessary to rebuild and introduce new elements. A more detailed focus was on the general issues of form, structure, subject matter and scope, as well as the conceptual grid of social pedagogy (see Kawula 1983). These statements were dominated by “general constructive criticism”, in which the image of “traditional and respected” achievements of the classics of social pedagogy, sometimes referred to as “a certain standstill, or even conservatism” (ed. Radziewicz-Winnicki 1992, p. 4) co-existed with an outline of the social transformations taking place and the problems arising in this context, such as: economic development and employment, individual economic activity, permanent education, material consumption, local community, social threats (among others: ed. Syrek 1993; ed. Radziewicz-Winnicki 1995; ed. Górnikowska-Zwolak, Radziewicz-Winnicki 1999; Radziewicz-Winnicki 2001; ed. Radziewicz-Winnicki, Roter 2004). On the other hand, it was proposed to extend the participation of social pedagogy as a science and social pedagogues as “practitioners of education and social change” in the ongoing reconstruction of social life and in the transformation of the education system (Przeclawska 1996; ed. Przeclawska, Theiss 1999). One of the postulates was that in order for this participation to be professional, rational and valuable, it was necessary to develop social pedagogy as an academic discipline (ed. Marynowicz-Hetka et al. 1998).

New textbooks and compendia were also included in the trend of the signaled searches. They were dominated by attempts to present and systematize the structure, content and function of social pedagogy. Most of them were collective works with a broad perspective of presentation, documentation and interpretation: Tadeusz Pilch and Irena Lepalczyk (ed.), *Pedagogika społeczna* (1993, 1995), Stanisław Kawula (ed.), *Pedagogika społeczna. Dokonania – aktualności – perspektywy* (2001). Later, subsequent textbooks were published, exceeding the limits of the previous assumptions and interpretations: Ewa Marynowicz-Hetka (ed.), *Pedagogika społeczna. Podręcznik akademicki* Vol. 1–2, 2006–2007), Andrzej Radziewicz-Winnicki, *Pedagogika społeczna* (2008).

What connected the work of theory and methodology of the time with the research on *the history of social pedagogy and social and educational work* was the figure and work of Helena Radlińska. Numerous publications have raised questions about the sustainability of Radlińska’s heritage and its role



in the new historical era. The innovative, universal and still current nature of Radlińska's concept was emphasized, as was her moral attitude and involvement in the life of the country, and it was regarded as a model to be followed in the new conditions (ed. Lepalczyk, Badura 1980; Theiss 1984; Wroczyński 1984; ed. Lepalczyk, Wasilewska 1994). The time came soon for studying the scientific heritage of Aleksander Kamiński (i.a.: Ciczkowski 1996; ed. Lepalczyk, Ciczkowski 1999). A valuable, collective portrait of social workers from Radlińska's circle was brought by *Słownik biograficzny pracowników społecznych* (ed. Gładkowska et al. 1993). The book *Opieka społeczna w Warszawie 1923–1947* dealt with the little-known or even hitherto omitted social work of the time of war and occupation between 1939 and 1945 (ed. Gładkowska et al. 1995). Wanda Wyrobkowska-Pawłowska, who has already been mentioned, was the initiator and coordinator of this research and co-editor of the publication.

The third trend of the presented research – *issues of social work theory and practice* – found a very fertile ground for development in the new political conditions. This was determined by research needs and practical tasks caused by negative phenomena that occurred in the area of social life. Changes in the economy and agriculture have resulted in an increasing area of poverty. There has been an increase in alcoholism, family breakdowns and pathologies, juvenile delinquency, and difficult access to education and culture in peripheral environments. These were the main, but not the only, problems of the post-communist society, which required immediate preventive and corrective action (see Olubiński 1997; ed. Marzec-Holka 2000, 2005). Social educators were well prepared to undertake these tasks. Referring to the traditions and models of social activity as defined by A. Kamiński and I. Lepalczyk (see: Kamiński 1976; ed. Lepalczyk 1981; Marynowicz-Hetka 1986), they commented on the theory of social work (i.a.: Smolińska-Theiss 1994; Szmagański 1994; Kawula 2002; ed. Kantowicz, Olubiński 2003; Olubiński 2004), to focus in particular on the issue of education of social workers and volunteers (i.a.: ed. Marzec-Holka 1998; ed. Kromolicka 2003).

With time, the problems of social work began to extend beyond the area of social pedagogy, and the scientific community practicing this sub-discipline of knowledge began to strive for scientific autonomy. The result of this trend was the establishment of the Polish Association of Social Work Schools (Polskie Stowarzyszenie Szkół Pracy Socjalnej) in 1990. The Social Welfare Act of 2004 defined social work as a separate discipline of knowledge, and the profession of a social worker was also granted the status of a separate profession.

The fourth area of research, intensively developed after 1980/1989 – *issues of culture, citizenship and environmental animation* were also anchored

in the earlier works, mainly of A. Kaminski Street, as well as in the interwar environmental studies of H. Radlińska. These experiences were related to the so-called environmental method, defined in a classic way as “organizing the local community around the social and educational tasks(*community organization*)” and “activating the local community (*community development*)”.

Environmental working methods and social-educational animation gained wide popularity in the processes of the “great transformation” of the 1980s and 1990s. They have proved to be accurate and effective tools for developing on the ruins of post-communist society of such values as: public sphere of social life, civic attitudes, social emancipation of small communities – villages, towns, districts of large cities. This way, local communities regained their cultural identity and subjectivity, and returned to the memory of the place and memory of the family.

One of the main roles in the process of democratization of public life of those years was played by the sociological concept of a “small homeland”, adopted for educational and social purposes, by Stanisław Ossowski (Ossowski 1967). The small homeland was no longer just a safe place, a sphere of protection against the “ideological homeland”, but “a place of my own”, a place that needed care and investment. This was the direction of the pilot programmes of educational research and activities carried out in the local community of a small town (ed. Smolinska-Theiss 1988, 1991; Smolinska-Theiss 1993; Theiss 2001). The idea of small homelands was put to a wide practice by non-governmental organizations and was also a subject of the nationwide social and cultural program “Small homelands – tradition for the future” (“Małe ojczyzny – tradycja dla przyszłości”). In the then visible quantitative and qualitative development of research and environmental activities, over time separate problematic and thematic areas began to be created, such as environmental education (Theiss 1992), civic and economic activation (ed. Mendel 2002, 2005, cultural border area (Nikitorowicz 1995, ed. Nikitorowicz 1995, 1997), regional education (ed. Kossak-Główczewski 1999; Petrykowski 2003), pedagogy of the place (Mendel 2006).

\* \* \*

On May 1, 2004, by virtue of the Accession Treaty, Poland joined the European Union. Poles decided on this historic event in a nationwide referendum. Poland was one of the 10 countries of Central and Southern Europe which at that time were admitted to the Community. The country gained a wide range of opportunities for development and entered a new phase in its history. New and important tasks have arisen for school and education.

The field of social pedagogical theory, research and practice has expanded to include European education, intercultural dialog, social integration, mass emigration, antagonisms and conflicts, international childcare (see: ed. Kawula et al. 2003; Pilch 2005, 2008; ed. Surzykiewicz, Kulesza 2008; ed. Lalak 2008). Recent years have shown that the list of these problems is far from complete.

### **In lieu of an ending**

More than a hundred years have passed since in the first decade of the 20th century, thanks to Helena Radlińska, social pedagogy began to emerge and develop in Poland. Over time, this new trend in the history of the upbringing sciences took the form of a relatively consistent theory, developed its own research workshop, took certain institutional forms and brought together a wide range of theoreticians and upbringing practitioners. The emergence and development of this discipline was in fact a process of accumulation of ideas and concepts, enrichment and development of views, development and improvement of solutions, rather than a transition from one source and one content to new arrangements and practices.

From the very beginning, the concept of social pedagogy had evolved into a concept which in a short period of time created a lasting, unchanged “permanent core” (see Heller 2009, pp. 78–80). In classical social pedagogy, represented mainly by Radlińska, Wroczyński and Kamiński, the following fundamental ideas belonged to such “invariables” of social pedagogy:

- the idea of social justice; all people should have equal opportunities for development; democratic social order provides this opportunity;
- the idea of subjectivity; the social world, the variable and dynamic structure are formed by “social forces”;
- the idea of social education; the young generation has the right to an equal start, which is provided by the universal access to education and culture;
- the idea of subsidiarity; the society has a duty to provide development assistance to all those in need, and at the same time this support cannot eliminate the individuals’ groups’ and social environments’ own efforts to solve the problem (Przeclawska, Theiss 1996, p. 11).

In various historical epochs – starting from the time of the partitions, through the interwar and the after-war period, the years of real socialism, to the period of great systemic transformation – social pedagogy in Poland was perceived in different ways by the scientific, social and political environment – from understanding and approval to criticism, hostility and even rejection.

This created a “field of play”, a dynamic, changing space that stretched between social pedagogy as science and the outside world. Once dialog, cooperation and exchange of ideas prevailed in this field, sometimes the “game” was dominated by players representing the state or political party, and the outcome of this game was a foregone conclusion. Hence, the next conclusion is that the emergence and development of social pedagogy in Poland was not only a development and change within the paradigm, the accepted and approved model of science, theory and methods; the historical and social circumstances, as well as the activity of individuals or the efforts of small groups of researchers played a large role in this development.

However, regardless of the historical era and development phase, two elements of social pedagogy seem to be at the forefront: the idea of universally accessible education and the idea of social involvement. The first is based on the “democratic norm”, according to which everyone has the right to education, culture and development without restriction; education is an inalienable part of democratic order, it is both its component and its goal. On the other hand, the category of “social involvement” of social pedagogy oscillated, depending on the historical period – generally – between criticism and apologetics of the existing socio-political conditions. The intensity and form of this involvement was determined by many detailed factors – apart from objective circumstances, also individual experiences and life strategies of the scholars, and besides overt factors, also hidden ones.

Among the various possible forms of involvement of social pedagogy, the most important, related to the essence of this discipline, was the involvement in the implementation of the submitted educational and social-educational ideas and solutions. Involvement here meant above-average, going beyond typical socio-educational practice, individual or collective activity, based on the ethos of service to fellow human beings. The term “service” in social pedagogy bridged the gap between two worlds: the world of ideas and the world of reality, theory and practice. In the classic view of Radlińska and Kaminski, “service” was also – very importantly – a major objective of education of social pedagogues/social workers. The special nature of “social service” is even well reflected in the ardent words of Kazimierz Kornilowicz (1892–1939), a pedagogue and social and educational activist known in the interwar period, contained in *Tezy bukowińskie* (1926): “We serve people and ideas. That is our privilege. It is not the desire for profit, but the will to serve that drives our work. We do not sell our hardships. We voluntarily want to give and create. We are members the voluntary social services” (Kornilowicz 1976, p. 107).

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries various new interpretations and positions in the field of social pedagogy began to emerge. More or less original, developed, mature, they form a more general picture of the social pedagogy of the “third generation” and “fourth generation”. If the first generation includes the classics of this discipline, usually faithful to Radlińska’s findings and comprehensively embracing social pedagogy, the second generation is associated with focusing on issues on selected areas, dictated by the needs and possibilities of real socialism, the third generation appears with the breakthrough in formation, the progressing democratization of the life of the country and the open flow of social, cultural and educational ideas, the fourth generation of social educators is located in the “era of confusion and divergence” of the reality referred to as “global turbo-capitalism” and the clashing forces of nationalism and theocracy. In a world that seems to be losing its “moral compass”, that departs from the traditional social order based on freedom, democracy and law (Bauman 2017, p. 259 et seq.). These influences include, in different ways, pedagogical thinking and action. There are rapid changes in the paradigms of the social sciences that make it necessary to think in the short term” (Malewski 2010, p. 12). The activities of various pseudo-educational entities are widely visible, including market and service organizations, effective in diagnosis and activities of an animative, activating, revitalizing nature, modeling local social policies, etc. (see Winiarski 2017, pp. 22–24).

Hence, from the point of view of the “cracked world” (Cohen 2017), questions arise regarding the future: is the “permanent core” of classical social pedagogy still visible and necessary? Is it an “archival” matter now? What does socially involved pedagogy mean, or what can it mean today? What do the youngest researchers, no longer “grandchildren” or even “great-grandchildren” of Radlińska, contribute to the present day social pedagogy in Poland? Will the emerging “fourth generation” of social pedagogy, which builds new programs of theoretical and empirical research, adequate to the current reality and current social and educational priorities, including national and international research projects, dominated by diagnoses, expertises and reports, remain in any way connected with its historical “permanent core”, a collection of relatively stable theorems, determining the identity of the discipline? Will the interest in classical social pedagogy mean only a compensatory “return to the womb”? Will Radlińska remain an emblematic person, who only looks good on various banners of scientific kinship? It is hard to say. “We are not prophets, but creators” – these are the words concerning the future that Radlińska wrote in the “founding text” of social pedagogy from 1908. These words are worth repeating today.

## Literature

- Araszkiewicz F.W., (1978), *Idealy wychowawcze Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, PWN, Warszawa.
- Bauman Z., (2017), *Retrotopia. Jak rządzi nami przeszłość*, PWN, Warszawa.
- Cichosz M., (2006), *Pedagogika społeczna w Polsce w latach 1945–2005*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.
- Cichosz M., (2014), *Pedagogika społeczna. Zarys problematyki*, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", Kraków.
- Cichosz M., (2016), *O pedagogice społecznej i jej rozwoju. Wybrane zagadnienia, wybór tekstów z badań własnych*, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", Kraków.
- Ciczkowski W., (1996), *Dziedzictwo pedagogiczne Aleksandra Kamińskiego*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.
- Cohen R., (2017), *W 2017 roku nasz świat popękał*, "Gazeta Wyborcza", 30.12. 2017–1.1.2018.
- Czubiński A., (1987), *Najnowsze dzieje Polski: 1914–1983*, PWN, Warszawa.
- Davies N., (1981), *Boże igrzysko. Historia Polski*, Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy Znak, Kraków.
- Frąckowiak T., (2007), *Pedagogika społeczna – pytania o tożsamość i przyszłość*, [in:] Kromolicka B., Radziejewicz-Winnicki A., Noszczyk-Bernasiewicz M. (ed.), *Pedagogika społeczna w Polsce po 1989 roku. Przemiany w nauce, obecność międzynarodowa, kręgi tematyczne prac badawczych*, Wydawnictwo Śląskiej Wyższej Szkoły Zarządzania, Katowice.
- Frąckowiak T. (ed.), (1996), *Koncepcje pedagogiki społecznej*, Wydawnictwo Eruditus, Poznań.
- Gładkowska M. i in. (ed.), (1993), *Słownik biograficzny pracowników społecznych*, Towarzystwo Wolej Wszechnicy Polskiej, Warszawa.
- Gładkowska M. i in. (ed.), (1995), *Opieka społeczna w Warszawie 1923–1947*, Interart, Warszawa.
- Górnikowska-Zwolak E., Radziejewicz-Winnicki A. (ed.), Czerkawski A. (współprac.), (1999), *Pedagogika społeczna w Polsce – między stagnacją a zaangażowaniem*, t. 1–2, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice.
- Heller M., (2009), *Filozofia nauki. Wprowadzenie*, wyd. 2, Petrus, Kraków.
- Janowska A., Winiarski M., Wołczyk J., (1973), *Szkoła środowiskowa. Założenia teoretyczne i wyniki sondażu diagnostycznego*, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa.
- Kamiński A., (1972), *Funkcje pedagogiki społecznej. Praca socjalna i kulturalna*, PWN, Warszawa.
- Kamiński A., (1976), *Podstawowe pojęcia pedagogiki społecznej w pracy socjalnej*, Instytut Wydawniczy CRZZ, Warszawa.
- Kantowicz E., Olubiński A. (eds.), (2003), *Działanie społeczne w pracy socjalnej na progu XXI wieku*, Wydawnictwo Edukacyjne Akapit, Toruń.
- Kawula S., (1983), *Studia z pedagogiki społecznej*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Olsztynie, Olsztyn.
- Kawula S., (2002), *Pomocniczość i wsparcie*, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Kastalia", Olsztyn.
- Kawula S., (2012), *Pedagogika społeczna. Dzisiaj i jutro*, Wydawnictwo Edukacyjne Akapit, Toruń.
- Kawula S. (ed.), (2001), *Pedagogika społeczna. Dokonania – aktualność – perspektywy*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.
- Kawula S., Marynowicz-Hetka E., Przeclawska A. (eds.), (2003), *Pedagogika społeczna w perspektywie europejskiej. Przeszłość, teraźniejszość, przyszłość*, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Kastalia", Olsztyn.
- Kisielewska-Zawadzka R., (1937), *Wychowawca ludzi dorosłych. Na czterdziestolecie pracy prof. Heleny Radlińskiej*, "Bluszcz", nr 8.

- Kojder A., (2016), *Pobocza socjologii*, Oficyna Wydawnicza, Warszawa.
- Korniłowicz K., (1976), *Pomoc społeczno-kulturalna dla młodzieży pracującej i dorosłych. Wybór pism*, wstęp, wybór i opracowanie O. Czerniawska, Ossolineum, Wrocław.
- Kossak-Główczewski K., (ed.), (1999), *Edukacja regionalna mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk.
- Kowalski S. (ed.), (1974), *Funkcjonowanie systemu wychowawczego w środowisku*, "Studia Pedagogiczne", t. 32.
- Kromolicka B. (ed.), (2003), *Wolontariusz w życiu społecznym środowiska lokalnego*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, Szczecin.
- Lalak D. (ed.), (2008), *Dom i ojczyzna. Dylematy wielokulturowości*, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa.
- Lepalczyk I. (ed.), (1981), *Problem kształcenia pracowników społecznych*, Towarzystwo Wolej Wszechnicy Polskiej, Warszawa.
- Lepalczyk I., Ciczkowski W. (eds.), (1999), *Bogactwo życia i twórczości Aleksandra Kamińskiego*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.
- Lepalczyk I., Badura J. (eds.), (1980), *Pedagogika społeczna Heleny Radlińskiej*, "Człowiek w Pracy i w Osiedlu", nr 2/3 (92–93).
- Lepalczyk I., Marynowicz-Hetka E. (eds.), (1990), *Przekształcanie środowiska społecznego. Dorobek i kierunki dalszych badań*, Towarzystwo Wolej Wszechnicy Polskiej, Warszawa.
- Lepalczyk I., Wasilewska B. (eds.), (1994), *Helena Radlińska – portret pedagoga (rozprawy, wspomnienia, materiały)*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź.
- Lorenz W., (1994), *Social Work in a Changing Europe*, Routledge, London–New York.
- Malewski M., (2010), *Od nauczania do uczenia się. O paradygmatycznej zmianie w andragogice*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej, Wrocław.
- Marynowicz-Hetka E., (1986), *Pomoc w rozwoju dziecka i rodzinie*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź.
- Marynowicz-Hetka E. (ed.), (2006–2007), *Pedagogika społeczna. Podręcznik akademicki*, t. 1–2, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Marynowicz-Hetka E., Piekarski J., Cyrańska E. (eds.), (1998), *Pedagogika społeczna jako dyscyplina akademicka*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź.
- Marynowicz-Hetka E., Piekarski J., Urbaniak-Zajac D. (eds.), (1996), *Pedagogika społeczna i praca socjalna. Przegląd stanowisk i komentarze*, Interart, Warszawa.
- Marynowicz-Hetka E., Skoczylas-Namielska E. (eds.), (2015), *Pedagogika społeczna. Wstępy i kontynuacje*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź.
- Marzec-Holka K. (ed.), (1998), *Pracownicy socjalni i wolontariusze a możliwości reformy pomocy społecznej*, Wydawnictwo WSP, Bydgoszcz.
- Marzec-Holka K. (ed.), (2000), *Społeczeństwo, demokracja, edukacja. Nowe wyzwania w pracy socjalnej*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Bydgoskiej, Bydgoszcz.
- Marzec-Holka K. (ed.), (2005), *Marginalizacja w problematyce pedagogiki społecznej i praktyce pracy socjalnej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, Bydgoszcz.
- Mendel M., (2014), *Pedagogika "po człowieku". Szkic w nowej perspektywie*, "Pedagogika Społeczna", nr 4.
- Mendel M. (ed.), (2002), *Animacja współpracy środowiskowej*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.
- Mendel M. (ed.), (2005), *Animacja współpracy środowiskowej na wsi*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń.
- Mendel M. (ed.), (2006), *Pedagogika miejsca*, Wydawnictwo DSWE TWP, Wrocław.

- Modrzewski J., (2016), *Socjopedagogika. Studia – szkice – refleksje – wspomnienia*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań.
- Modrzewski J., (2016), *Czas spotykany, przeżywany, dokonany, zapomniany. Autobiografia sentymentalna*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań.
- Misztal B., (2000), *Teoria socjologiczna a praktyka społeczna*, Universitas, Kraków.
- Nikitorowicz J., (1995), *Pogranicze, tożsamość, edukacja międzykulturowa*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie Trans Humana, Białystok.
- Nikitorowicz J. (ed.), (1995), *Edukacja międzykulturowa. W kręgu potrzeb, oczekiwań i stereotypów*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie Trans Humana, Białystok.
- Nikitorowicz J. (ed.), (1997), *Rodzina wobec wyzwań edukacji międzykulturowej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie Trans Humana, Białystok.
- Olubiński A., (1997), *Socjalno-wychowawcze problemy postkomunistycznego społeczeństwa*, Wydawnictwo Edukacyjne Akapit, Toruń.
- Olubiński A., (2004), *Praca socjalna. Aspekty humanistyczne i pedagogiczne*, Wydawnictwo Edukacyjne Akapit, Toruń.
- Orsza H., (1913), zob. Radlińska (1913).
- Ossowski S., (1967), *Z zagadnień psychologii społecznej*, PWN, Warszawa.
- Paczkowski A., (1996), *Pół wieku dziejów Polski: 1939–1989*, PWN, Warszawa.
- Petrykowski P., (2003), *Edukacja regionalna. Problemy podstawowe i otwarte*, Wydawnictwo UMK, Toruń.
- Piekarski J., (2008), *U podstaw pedagogiki społecznej. Zagadnienia teoretyczno-metodologiczne*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź.
- Pilch T., (1974), *Rozwój studiów pedagogicznych*, [in:] *Pedagogika i potrzeby społeczne*, Wołczyk J., Wroczyński R. (eds.), PWN, Warszawa.
- Pilch T., (2005), *W poszukiwaniu wspólnych fundamentów Europy*, [in:] *Tożsamość bez granic. Współczesne wyzwania*, ed. E. Budakowska, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa.
- Pilch T., (2008), *Pedagogika społeczna na początku XXI wieku*, „Pedagogika Społeczna”, nr 4.
- Pilch T., (2014), *O narodzinach i rozwoju polskiej pedagogiki społecznej*, „Pedagogika Społeczna”, nr 4.
- Pilch T., Lepalczyk I. (ed.), (1993), *Pedagogika społeczna*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, Warszawa.
- Pilch T., Lepalczyk I. (eds.), (1995), *Pedagogika społeczna*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, Warszawa.
- Pilch T., Smolińska-Theiss B. (eds.), (1984), *Pedagogika społeczna – poszukiwania i rozstrzygnięcia*, „Studia Pedagogiczne”, t. 46.
- Przećławska A. (ed.), (1996), *Pedagogika społeczna. Kręgi poszukiwań*, Wydawnictwo Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, Warszawa.
- Przećławska A., Theiss W. (eds.), (1999), *Pedagogika społeczna. Pytania o XXI wiek. Pamięci Profesora Ryszarda Wroczyńskiego*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, Warszawa.
- Radlińska H., (1908), *Z zagadnień pedagogiki społecznej*, „Muzeum” 1908, t. 2.
- Radlińska H., (1935), *Stosunek wychowawcy do środowiska społecznego. Szkice z pedagogiki społecznej*, Nasza Księgarnia, Warszawa.
- Radlińska H., (1961), *Pedagogika społeczna*, Ossolineum, Wrocław.
- Radlińska H., (1961), *Zagadnienia bibliotekarstwa i czytelnictwa*, Ossolineum, Wrocław.
- Radlińska H., (1964), *Z dziejów pracy społecznej i oświatowej*, Ossolineum, Wrocław.
- Radlińska H., (2014), *Życiorys własny/Self biography*, „Pedagogika Społeczna”, nr 4.



- Radlińska H. [Orsza H.] (1913), *Praca oświatowa wobec zadań wychowania narodowego*, [in:] *Praca oświatowa, jej zadania, metody, organizacja*, pr. zbior., Nakładem Michała Arcta, Kraków.
- Radlińska H., (1909), *Podstawy wychowania narodowego*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa II Polskiego Kongresu Pedagogicznego odbytego w dn. 1–2 XI 1909 r. we Lwowie*, J. Kornacki (oprac.), (bmv), Nakładem Komitetu Wykonawczego Polskiego Kongresu Pedagogicznego.
- Radlińska H. (ed.), (1937), *Spoleczne przyczyny powodzeń i niepowodzeń szkolnych*, Naukowe Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne, Warszawa.
- Radziewicz-Winnicki A., (2001), *Oblicza zmieniającej się współczesności*, Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls”, Kraków.
- Radziewicz-Winnicki A., (2008), *Pedagogika społeczna*, Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, Warszawa.
- Radziewicz-Winnicki A. (ed.), (1992), *Pedagogika społeczna u schyłku XX wieku. Zagadnienia wybrane*, ZSPM Press, Katowice.
- Radziewicz-Winnicki A. (ed.), (1995), *Problemy i tendencje rozwojowe we współczesnej pedagogice społecznej w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Śląsk, Katowice.
- Radziewicz-Winnicki A., Roter A. (eds.), (2004), *Ryzyko transformacyjne nowego ładu społeczno-edukacyjnego*, Śląska Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania, Katowice.
- Ritzer G., (2004), *Klasyczna teoria socjologiczna*, Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, Poznań.
- Rutkowiak J. (ed.), (1995), *Odmiany myślenia o edukacji*, Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls”, Kraków.
- Smolińska-Theiss B., (1993), *Dzieciństwo w małym mieście*, Wydział Pedagogiczny UW, Warszawa.
- Smolińska-Theiss B., (1994), *Źródła pracy socjalnej. Od chrześcijańskiego miłosierdzia do liberalnej demokracji*, „Problemy Opiekuńczo Wychowawcze”, nr 5.
- Smolińska-Theiss B., (1998), *Zmiany w pedagogice społecznej – pedagogika społeczna w warunkach zmiany*, „Problemy Opiekuńczo-Wychowawcze”, nr 3.
- Smolińska-Theiss B., (2015), *Pedagogika społeczna w Polsce z perspektywy zjazdów pedagogicznych*, „Pedagogika Społeczna”, nr 2.
- Smolińska-Theiss B. (ed.), (1988), *Badanie i działanie. W poszukiwaniu metod organizowania środowiska wychowawczego*, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa.
- Smolińska-Theiss B. (ed.), (1991), *Węgrów. Siły społeczne małego miasta*, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa.
- Smolińska-Theiss B., Theiss W., (1995), *Pedagogika społeczna a polityka*, „Forum Oświatowe”, nr 1–2.
- Sośnicki K., (1967), *Rozwój pedagogiki zachodniej na przełomie XIX i XX w.*, PZWS, Warszawa.
- Suchodolski B., (1974), *Heleny Radlińskiej koncepcja wychowania jako poszukiwanie sił i mocy w rozwoju*, „Człowiek w Pracy i Osiedlu”, z. 1–2.
- Surzykiewicz J., Kulesza M. (eds.), (2008), *Integracja w świecie powszechnej migracji. Otwarte pytania pedagogiki społecznej*, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa.
- Syrek E. (ed.), (1993), *Współczesne zagrożenia w strukturach społecznych*, Wydawnictwo „Wiczorek-Press”, Katowice.
- Szmagalski J., (1994), *Teoria pracy socjalnej a ideologia i polityka społeczna. Przykład amerykański*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa.
- Sztompka P., (2005), *Socjologia zmian społecznych*, Znak, Kraków.
- Szubert E., (1966), *Towarzystwo Wolnej Wszechnicy Polskiej. Geneza – rozwój – perspektywy*, TWWP, Warszawa.
- Theiss W., (1984), *Radlińska*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, Warszawa.

- Theiss W., (1992), *Praca socjalno-kulturalna w środowisku – "Pogwarki węgrowskie"*, „Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny”, nr 3–4.
- Theiss W., (1997), *Radlińska*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie “Żak”, Warszawa.
- Theiss W., (2008), *Mistrzowie i uczniowie. Pokolenia i generacje w polskiej pedagogice społecznej*, „Pedagogika Społeczna”, nr 4.
- Theiss W., (2017), *Udział Heleny Radlińskiej w europejskim ruchu społeczno-pedagogicznym (1918–1939)*, “Society Register”, nr 1.
- Theiss W. (ed.), (2001), *Mała ojczyzna. Kultura – edukacja – rozwój lokalny*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie “Żak”, Warszawa.
- Theiss W., Bron M. Jr, (2014), *Freedom fighter – instructor – professional. On becoming an adult educator in Poland*, “Pedagogika Społeczna”, nr 2.
- Trempała E., (1985), *Rozwój, kierunki i ośrodki pedagogiki społecznej w Polsce Ludowej*, [in:] *O sytuacji w naukach pedagogicznych*, ed. W. Okoń, Ossolineum, Wrocław.
- Trempała E., Cichosz M. (eds.), (2000), *Funkcjonowanie i kierunki rozwoju pedagogiki społecznej w Polsce*, Wszechnica Mazurska, Olecko.
- Trempała E., Cichosz M. (eds.), (2001), *Pedagogika społeczna. Tradycja – terażniejszość – nowe wyzwania*, Wszechnica Mazurska w Olecku, Olecko.
- Urbaniak-Zajac D., (2003), *Pedagogika społeczna w Niemczech. Stanowiska teoretyczne i problemy praktyki*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź.
- Uziębło A.O., (1968), *Różne sposoby rozumienia terminu pedagogika społeczna: rozważania o przedmiocie, zakresie i metodach badawczych*, Wojskowa Akademia Polityczna im. F. Dzierżyńskiego, Warszawa.
- Winiarski M., (2017), *W kręgu pedagogiki społecznej. Studia – szkice – refleksje*, Społeczna Akademia Nauk, Łódź.
- Wołoszyn S., (1998), *Nauki o wychowaniu w Polsce w XX wieku. Próba syntetycznego zarysu na tle powszechnym*, wyd. 2, Dom Wydawniczy Strzelec, Kielce.
- Wroczyński R., (1969), *Pedagogika społeczna – jej rozwój i współczesne problemy*, [in:] *Oświata i pedagogika w Polsce i na świecie*, red. B. Suchodolski, Ossolineum, Wrocław.
- Wroczyński R., (1974), *Pedagogika społeczna*, PWN, Warszawa.
- Wroczyński R., (1980a), *Dzieje oświaty polskiej 1795–1945*, PWN, Warszawa.
- Wroczyński R., (1980b), *Pedagogika społeczna Heleny Radlińskiej na tle polskiej myśli wychowawczej Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, “Człowiek w Pracy i w Osiedlu”, nr 2/3.
- Wroczyński R., (1984), *Nurt pedagogiki społecznej w polskich koncepcjach wychowawczych*, “Studia Pedagogiczne”, t. 46.
- Wroczyński R., (1985), *Animacyjna funkcja pedagogiki społecznej*, “Paedagogica Societatis”, Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, nr 686.
- Wroczyński R., (1993), *Pedagogika społeczna*, [in:] *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna*, ed. W. Pomykało, Fundacja Innowacje, Warszawa.