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# Teacher-Parent Cooperation and Social Engagement in 1945–1989: Legal and Educational Perspectives

## ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to describe, explain, and evaluate the cooperation between teachers, parents, and the broader social environment from 1945 to 1989 within a legal-educational framework. A critical analysis of source materials and scientific studies was conducted. The study reveals that the dynamics of statutory solutions were closely tied to the political situation, necessitating a division of this historical period into distinct stages, each characterized by its own legal and educational framework.

The research draws inspiration from the theory of Andrzej Janke, who identified six periods of school-family cooperation between 1944 and 1989. However, this study shifts the focus from the school to the teacher, expands the analysis to include the social environment, and refines the nomenclature and time periods based on the author's findings.

The main conclusion is that, despite differences across the various stages, all were marked by a monocentric order and shared common features. Top-down legal regulations and strong ideological influences hindered the development of a culture of mutual trust. Consequently, collaboration between teachers, parents, and the social environment was fraught with shortcomings from the outset, including schematism, superficial actions, actionism, and opportunism.

## KEYWORDS

school, teacher, parents, social environment, cooperation, education law, Polish People's Republic

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## Introduction

In the humanities and social sciences, as well as in common perception, the school is understood as an institution with a social character. This perspective is reflected in its history, development over time, and its tasks (Milerski, Śliwerski 2000: 227–228). The importance of schools has been emphasized both in the works of classical pedagogical and sociological theorists and in contemporary pedagogical-sociological approaches (Znaniński 2001; Bystron 1933; Kowalski 1976; Szymański 1988; Kawula 1996; Mikiewicz 2016).

A unifying element across these various positions is the central role of the teacher, who is of strategic importance to the school's existence and functions. Each of these functions—adaptive, reconstructive, and emancipatory—contains a strong socializing element. The school is perceived as an integral part of the social environment, with cooperation between the school and its community largely determining the effectiveness of the educational process.

However, the essence, goals, and forms of this cooperation, as well as its legislative underpinnings, have varied significantly depending on the historical period.

The goal of this analysis is the cooperation of teachers with parents and the social environment in Poland from 1945 to 1989, a period that should be regarded as distinct due to its unique political and legal context. The aim is to highlight the main developmental trends in legal regulations governing teacher cooperation with the school's external environment and to identify the factors that influenced these trends.

## New reality. New teacher

The collaboration between teachers, parents, and the social environment from 1945 to 1989 was embedded in the social order of the time, which organized a system of individual and group agreements. This monocentric order, characterized by central authority and an extensive control apparatus (Ossowski 2001: 60), determined the nature, direction, and expected outcomes of this collaboration. It also defined the place and social role of the actors involved. The teacher had a pivotal role here as the one who was entrusted by the

authorities with the mission of fulfilling top-down ideological and political objectives integrated into their educational duties (Mielczarek 1997; Grzybowski 2013a; 2013b; Chmielewski 2006; Kahl 2008). The teacher was no longer just a facilitator of institutional educational and upbringing goals but became, as it was termed, the “right hand of the party”—an extension of political power within both the school and the community (Grzybowski 2013a: 179–184). This pattern persisted, with varying intensity, throughout the period of People’s Poland, officially known as the Polish People’s Republic after 1952. This reality gave the teacher’s cooperation with various social actors a unique character, which was further reinforced and sanctioned by specific legal frameworks.

The shifting social and educational processes between 1945 and 1989 complicate any attempt to describe uniform legal regulations governing teachers’ cooperation with the social environment during this period. The evident dynamics in legislative solutions necessitate dividing this historical period into distinct stages, each characterized by specific legal and educational circumstances. With regard to family and school relations, such a division was made by Andrzej Janke who distinguished the following periods:

1. Prefiguration of a forward-looking and instrumentally oriented model of family-school relationships (1944–1948).
2. Programmatic alienation of family-school relationships (1949–1953).
3. School-centric determination of socialist family-school relationships (1954–1959).
4. Pseudo-democratic consolidation of family-school relationships based on the dominant role of the school (1960–1972).
5. Programmatic-instrumental incorporation of family-school relationships (1973–1987).
6. Dramatic attempt to democratize adragocentrically oriented family-school relationships (1988–1989) (Janke 1995: 278).

Andrzej Janke’s framework was, as I have already mentioned, a research inspiration. However, given the subject matter of this study, it became necessary to shift the focus from the school to the teacher, to broaden the scope to include the social environment, and to revise the nomenclature and time divisions based on my own conclusions.

## Stage one (1945–1947): Prefiguration of the instrumental-ideological model of cooperation

The post-war years are an exceptional period in the history of Polish education for a number of basic reasons, including the scale of economic and social destruction, demographic disruptions that hindered or even halted school operations, problems with securing infrastructure such as buildings, books, teaching aids, and educational staff. A number of issues, including the matter of cooperation between teachers, parents, and the social environment, were dealt with on an ad hoc basis.

Formally, provisions from the interwar period remained in force such as the Act on Associations of October 27, 1932 (Dz.U. 1932, poz. 808) and the Act on the Integration of School Self-Government with Local Self-Government of February 27, 1939 (Dz.U. 1939, poz. 93). Legal continuity in this area was further affirmed by a circular letter from the Ministry of Education dated August 11, 1945, which stated that school committees or parents' circles "cooperating with the school in the fulfillment of its tasks to the extent practiced so far" should continue to operate in schools (Pęcherski, Świątek 1978: 246–247). However, from a legal standpoint, this was a rather enigmatic directive, as the outbreak of war had prevented the issuance of executive regulations for the 1939 Act (Janke 1996: 167). This was neither the first nor the last instance where educational issues were governed by lower-level regulations, while pre-war provisions were selectively retained in force "in part, in those areas that the people's government deemed suitable for adaptation to the new political reality" (Pyter 2015: 107).

The 1945 circular brought the implementation of compulsory education and the associated task of rebuilding schools, reflecting the core goals of post-war educational policy (Pęcherski, Świątek 1978: 246–247). This emphasis was further reinforced by instructions issued to organize general education and teacher training institutions from 1945 to 1948, which highlighted the importance of collaboration among educational and social actors, particularly in terms of sending children to school and providing material and financial support (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 41–43, 172–176, 178–180, 185–186).

The professional role of the teacher, centered around a sense of social mission, was also embedded in the concept of cooperation. A key document in this regard was an appeal to teachers made on August 1, 1944, by Stanisław Skrzeszewski, the head of the Ministry of Education of the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PKWN). Skrzeszewski called for active teacher participation in reopening schools, securing equipment, textbooks, and teaching aids—all with substantial assistance from the public and the National Councils (Dz.U. RO 1944, poz. 24). The activation of teachers was further emphasized in each subsequent set of instructions regarding the organization of the school year (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 41–43, 172–176, 178–180, 185–186).

### The center of gravity in legal-educational cooperation (1945–1947)

During the years 1945–1947, the legal-educational dimension of the teacher's cooperation with the extracurricular environment focused on organizational and financial issues. Simultaneously, however, changes were unfolding that gave Polish education—and by extension, this cooperation—a distinctly ideological character in the subsequent historical period. The process of ideologization began as early as 1944, and a careful reading of the documents of the time reveals the direction of the modernization of the educational system (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 41–43, 172–176, 178–180, 185–186).

Equally indicative was the 1945 proclamation by the Board of the Union of Polish Teachers (Polish abbreviation: ZNP), which encouraged union-member teachers to participate in collective action and to shape the new socio-political reality (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 541–542). In practice, this meant working for trade unions, worker-peasant organizations, local governments, and cultural and educational institutions (Mauersberg, Walczak 1999: 541–542). While initially directed at ZNP members, these expectations soon became binding on the teaching profession as a whole.

A significant turning point came in April 1947 with the Political Bureau of the Polish Workers' Party (Polish abbreviation: PPR) Central Committee meeting, where an “ideological offensive” in education was announced (Jakubowski 1975: 227). This moment marked

the beginning of a new socio-political reality for the cooperation of teachers with parents and the broader social environment.

## Stage two (1948–1959): Offensive-ideological and programmatically indoctrinated model of cooperation

The structural and symbolic Sovietization that permeated the post-war socio-educational reality (Hejnicka-Bezwińska 1996: 38–52) also influenced the relationships between teachers and other social groups. The teacher retained a strategic role within this framework. Stanisław Skrzyszewski's 1947 declaration of the "battle for the soul of the teaching profession" (Kryńska, Mauersberg 2003: 156) shaped the education system, teacher training, personnel policies, and the model of the so-called socialist teacher. This model emphasized ideological commitment alongside youth, proper social background and strong political and political loyalty, with social engagement as a key component (King 2012: 351–363). In other words, the political-agitational direction promoted by Eustachy Kuroczko began to take effect and became a core pedagogical function, with ideological agitation considered one of the main pedagogical responsibilities (Smołalski 2006: 36).

This was the case throughout the entire historical period, even during times of lower ideological pressure. The requirement for active involvement nothing of its relevance, as evidenced by its inclusion in the first post-war legislation regulating teachers' rights and duties: the Act of April 1956 (Dz.U. 1956, poz. 63). In practice, this legislation formalized teachers' roles in election campaigns, agricultural censuses, agitation for production cooperatives, workplace ceremonies, committees of national councils, and combating illiteracy (King 2014: 393–411).

Parents' committees and guardianship committees were regulated through separate legal and educational provisions. The functioning of parents' representatives and their cooperation with teachers was standardized during the period in question by ministerial decrees issued in 1949, 1951, and 1954, as well as circulars from 1950 and 1957. Additionally, the Act on Territorial Organs of Uniform State

Power of 1950 (Dz.U. 1950, poz. 130) played an indirect but equally binding role in this context.

The Ordinance of the Minister of Education of 1949 was the first post-war legal act devoted specifically to parents' committees. Its legal foundation was the Act on the Temporary Establishment of School Authorities of 1920 (Dz.U. 1920, poz. 304). The publication of the ordinance coincided with the completion of the fundamental phase of constructing the new socio-political system, and the moment for implementing plans to formally involve parents in the ideological tasks of schools.

As mandated by the legislation, parents were expected to cooperate with teachers in the following areas: enabling access to education for children from peasant-worker backgrounds, promoting democratic and progressive upbringing, countering reactionary influences on children and youth, organizing campaigns and celebrations, helping with homework, and undertaking care-related responsibilities (Dz.U. MO 1949, poz. 25). The prioritization of these duties coincided fully with the objectives of the educational policy of the time. To reinforce this cooperation, the ordinance granted legal legitimacy to the participation of the chairman of the parents' committee in recruitment and scholarship committees. Moreover, teachers were required to strengthen closer relationships with the parental community through provisions obliging parents to observe lessons and attend board of teacher meetings.

Oversight of this cooperation fell to school authorities, who retained the right to suspend or dissolve parents' committees if it was found to be inactive, to violate the interests of the school or to exceed its powers (Dz.U. MO 1949, poz. 25). The fully indoctrinating nature of teacher-parent collaboration became evident in the Act of 1950 and its accompanying circular. With increased powers granted to national councils in educational matters, it was decided that upcoming elections to parents' committees would be held under the auspices of local education committees (Nalepiński 1967: 23). This change effectively removed parents' committees from the school setting, subjecting teacher-parent cooperation to full supervision. Committees were required to report on the conduct of lessons and classes they observed and approve educational and ideological work plans (Dz.U. MO 1951, poz. 233).

By making parents instruments of control and indoctrination, this undermined the culture of trust that was the basis of genuine cooperation, and rendered parents, at least formally, external and alien to the school and its teachers. Ironically, this was also disadvantageous for the authorities since the foreseeable ineffectiveness of such cooperation called into question the fulfillment of the ideological goals that they sought to achieve. This circumstance, as well as political developments, such as the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, which signaled, at least in theory, a loosening of the system, prompted decision-makers to revise the rules for parents' committees in 1954 (Dz.U. MO 1954, poz. 115).

Under the new regulations, principals, teaching staff, and education departments once again assumed supervisory responsibility for the committees' functioning and their cooperation with teachers. However, the priorities for collaboration remained unchanged, with the ideological formation of the "builder of socialism" coming to the fore. The regulations also introduced a requirement for the so-called "pedagogization" of parents, which was framed as a manifestation of agreement between teachers and parents on the ideological education of the younger generation. The authorities aimed to activate parents and unify activities while silencing dissent through the newly established class councils.

Despite the legal changes, the continuation of the previous course was evident. National council committees retained the right to exercise social control, and committee members were permitted to observe lessons and school activities (Dz.U. MO 1954, poz. 115). Although reports from these observations were to be submitted only to the headmaster or teachers, this could hardly be considered valuable element of cooperation. Additionally, the vague stipulations regarding social control by national councils and the reasons for suspending or dissolving committees further hindered effective collaboration (Dz.U. MO 1954, poz. 115).

The future, moreover, showed that these fears were not unjustified. October 1957 saw the publication of a circular delineating new scopes of cooperation with teachers. Notably, ideological matters were given surprisingly little space in favor of custodial-educational and material-financial issues, which, however, did not equate to the marginalization of the priorities set by previous legal acts



(Dz.U. MO 1957, poz. 156). As Janke observed, “the real intentions of the authorities of the time became fully clear after 1960” (Janke 1995: 281).

Among the social entities with which teachers cooperated—or were required to cooperate—were the welfare committees established by a ministerial directive in 1949 (Dz.U. MO 1949, poz. 45). The Soviet pedigree of the committees, the purpose of their establishment, and their assigned tasks clearly indicate their political nature. They were to be set up in workplaces and rural cooperatives with the aim of bringing the school closer to life and fostering connections between students with the working class and rural peasant masses. They were composed of the most ideologically dedicated workers—members of the Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR)—along with non-party members who supported party policies, school management, a representative from the parents’ committee, and a teacher. Notably, the inclusion of a workplace representative alongside parents’ representatives and the social-pedagogical committee (Dz.U. MO 1950, poz. 90) further extended the committees’ influence over the direction of educational work.

Cooperation with teachers was explicitly focused on issues that were most important for the authorities of the time: organizing meetings with labor leaders and social and workers’ activists, hosting ideological lectures at schools or workplace facilities, participating in school and workplace celebrations, contributing to recruitment committees and final examinations, and meeting the material and financial needs of students and schools (Dz.U. MO 1949, poz. 45). The committees’ top-down appointment process and indoctrination-oriented objectives were fully in line with the offensive-ideological model of cooperation prevalent at the time.

This was not made easier by the presence of welfare committees, which added another layer of control over teachers, supplementing the oversight already exerted by parents’ committees. This dual oversight, coupled with the mandated nature of cooperation, led to the waning of committee activity after an initial period of intensive engagement. Over time, this cooperation became largely formalistic, often reduced to the provision of financial support by the workplaces. A revival of committee activity occurred during the 1960s.

### Stage three (1958–1972): School-centric and programmatically indoctrination-polytechnic model of cooperation

The period after the so-called October Thaw of 1956 was used by educational authorities to consolidate the changes consistently pursued since 1944 (Janke 1995: 281). A pivotal moment in this era was the 1958 meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), during which key decisions for the future of Polish education were made. In terms of pedagogical cooperation with parents and the social environment, the most significant decisions were intensifying the ideological nature of schools, secularizing education and polytechnizing teaching. This placed heightened demands on teachers requiring an ideological awakening and active participation in combating perceived forces of backwardness, ignorance, and clericalism (King 2013: 89–102). It was also in this spirit that the "Act on the Development of Education and Upbringing" of 1961 was prepared (Dz.U. 1961, poz. 160).

This legislation was preceded by two notable regulatory changes in 1960: a new set of guidelines for parent committees issued in May and updated arrangements for welfare committees in August. According to these new provisions, parent committees were ostensibly given more autonomy and self-governance. Cooperation with the teacher was also mentioned in a correction in the provision, i.e. the regulation on parental visits to classrooms was revised, stipulating that such visits could occur only at the teacher's invitation with the permission of the head of the school. Additionally, direct supervision of teacher-parent cooperation by education and culture committees of the national councils was abolished, which created the appearance of democratization (Dz.U. MO 1960, poz. 132). However, if one reads the Regulations more carefully, this impression quickly fades as for the first time the regulations explicitly required cooperation "with the school in strengthening the socialist direction of teaching and upbringing," and to link "this teaching and upbringing with life" while disseminating "pedagogical knowledge and the principles of socialist upbringing" among parents (Dz.U. MO 1960, poz. 132).

The indoctrination-polytechnic profile of cooperation was further reinforced by the August 1960 instruction, which legally formalized the activities of welfare committees. These committees' role was

bolstered by the establishment of welfare councils tasked with coordinating committee efforts and providing instructional and methodological support. Schools, and by extension teachers, were overseen by work councils in regular contact with workers' self-government, school authorities, and social organizations. This collaboration aimed to bring students closer to workplaces and supervise efforts to "pedagogize" parents (Nalepiński 1967: 78). The policy's emphasis on professionalization, pedagogy, and ideological conformity fully coincided with the priorities of educational policy, which culminated in the educational reform of 1961 (Dz.U. 1961, poz. 160).

From a practical point of view, however, the ideological directives did little to alter the actual dynamics of interaction between teachers, parents, and the social environment. Cooperation remained formalistic and superficial. The ideological overlay certainly did not help in shaping mutual relationships, further alienating participants, deepening distrust, and undermining genuine collaboration. These difficulties were exacerbated by the political crises of the era, including the socio-political unrest of 1968 and the protests of 1970, ultimately leading to the failure of the parademocratic initiatives and unification efforts championed by the authorities.

#### Stage four (1973–1987): A programmatic incorporation-instrumental model of cooperation

The political and social crises of the late 1960s and early 1970s, followed by Edward Gierek's rise to power, brought a sense of hope for the renewal of Polish education. The concept of teacher cooperation with parents and the broader social environment became integral to the intensively promoted vision of building a developed socialist society. The importance of the non-school environment in creating a comprehensive and unified system of education and upbringing was acknowledged by the party authorities, the authors of the 1973 Report on the State of Education, and the authors of the Resolution on Educational Reform passed by the Polish Parliament in October of the same year.

According to the prevailing concept, educational impact was to take a coordinated form, in which the school and the teacher occupied strategic positions. However, the ideals of socialist pedagogy required

the support of all educational and cultural institutions as well as social organizations to achieve effective implementation (Cichosz 2020: 103–107). This vision of cooperation soon translated into concrete legal measures. One notable example was the 1973 amendment to the rules governing parent committees. A ministerial decree issued in October of that year strengthened the legal status of these committees, expanded their aims and tasks, and required them to popularize the principles of socialist education both within schools and families, in collaboration with teachers (Dz.U. MOiW 1973, poz. 124).

The bolstering of the committees' legal standing and the addition of new prerogatives were not coincidental. First of all, these changes were in line with the overarching concept of a socialist society, in which the balanced authority of all educational entities was intended to ensure the efficacy of a unified educational system. Second, in implementing the party resolution, the authorities had already, the year prior, taken steps to shape the composition of these committees. Local PZPR authorities selected the chairpersons, while increasing the number of committee members who were also party members (APS KW PZPR WNiO 1972, sygn. 6, p. 7). Under these circumstances, the legislators could afford to minimize the overt ideological content in the new committee regulations, as Janke observed. These regulations were further addressed in a special letter from Jerzy Kuberski, then Minister of Education and Upbringing, directed to parents and teachers (Janke 1995: 283).

Allies of teachers in fulfilling the vision of a unified socialist education system traditionally included workplace welfare committees. In June 1976, a relevant ordinance on the matter was issued, narrowing the essence of this cooperation to three basic tasks: ideological and educational efforts, the pedagogization of society, and the organization of leisure activities. The most significant forms of recommended collaboration included disseminating knowledge of civic and socio-ideological duties by teachers, familiarizing students with the role of workplace party organizations, promoting modern and rational family life organization, and fostering the idea of education for work and through work. These goals were pursued through initiatives such as organizing socially useful work, arranging excursions to workplaces, inviting work leaders to schools, and hosting joint cultural and educational activities (Dz.U. MOiW 1976, poz. 56).

The escalating political and economic crises of the late 1970s and early 1980s, culminating in mass strikes and the imposition of martial law in December 1981, not only failed to create an atmosphere of positive cooperation between teachers and educational entities, but also introduced destabilizing factors, exacerbating atomization and mutual distrust. Despite these realities, the party authorities doubled down on the ideological agenda. In December 1982, they introduced a resolution aimed at integrating and coordinating all school and non-school institutions in ideological and educational work. This initiative was formalized a year later through the program “Main Directions and Tasks of the Educational Work of Schools” which became part of educational practice (Janke 1995: 283).

To ensure proper implementation, so-called advisory teams were set up, consisting of representatives from school administrations, cooperating organizations, parent committees, and welfare institutions. Functioning under local party authorities, these teams effectively placed the Commissions for Science and Education of the PZPR in full control and supervision of cooperative efforts (APS, KW PZPR WNiO sygn. 65). The determination of party-educational authorities to maintain the ideological course of cooperation and to promote their vision of a socialist educating society—supported by pedagogical theorists<sup>1</sup>—was of little use. The system continued to erode, and cooperation, when it occurred at all, became ad hoc and strictly formalistic. Under these circumstances, any collaboration was driven more by inertia than by genuine commitment or enthusiasm.

### Stage five (1988–1989): Transformational and forward-looking programmatic democratic model of cooperation

The political transformation of this period signaled changes not only within socio-political structures but also marked—at least in

1 The concept of a socialist educating society was discussed in the following publications, among others: Suchodolski B. (ed.) (1985). *Pedagogika. Podręcznik dla kandydatów na nauczycieli*, Warszawa: PWN; Muszyński H. (ed.). *System wychowawczy szkoły podstawowej. Założenia teoretyczne*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie; Wołczyk J. (1976). *Szkoła otwarta*, Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy CRZZ; Lewin A. (1983). *System wychowawczy a twórczość pedagogiczna*, Warszawa: PWN; Wroczyński R. (1968). *Wychowanie poza szkołą*, Warszawa: PZWS.

principle—a new chapter in the history of Polish education. The departure from the socialist school paradigm led to a model of cooperation between teachers, parents, and the social environment that aligned with democratic standards, emphasizing autonomy and self-governance as both its essence and primary goal.

This shift was highlighted in two major documents from this period: one a legal act and the other a programmatic guide for educational development. The first, the Regulation of the Ministry of Education of November 1988, granted parent committees a meaningful role for the first time in the history of the People's Republic of Poland. These committees became “self-governing representatives of parents” with the right to voice opinions on “important matters of school” and to offer “social evaluation” (Dz.U. 1988, poz. 292). The second document, the 1989 *Report on the State and Directions of Development of National Education in the People's Republic of Poland*, extended this direction. It marked a significant shift that was extremely important from the point of view of the philosophy of education from a statist model of cooperation to a civic one. The concept of an educating society was re-envisioned, this time focused on “the principles of integration and agreement in matters of education at the level of specific local environments, around specific human communities, in specific living conditions” (*Edukacja narodowym priorytetem* 1989: 291).

The notion of educational coexistence and cooperation in raising the younger generation, as expressed in these documents, was still in its infancy and burdened by the legacy of the past. Nevertheless, it represented a symbolic return to the ideals espoused by the classics of pedagogy and the sociology of education. The true legal-educational departure from socialist principles, however, did not occur until the passage of the Act of 7 September 1991 on the Educational System (Dz.U. 1991, poz. 425).

## Conclusion

In the introductory discussion, it was emphasized that the legal-educational foundation of teacher cooperation with parents and community organizations from 1945 to 1989 was an immanent part of the monocentric order prevailing during that time, which influenced the essence, objectives, and tasks of such cooperation. Its

entanglement with educational policy meant that, aside from the brief post-war phase and the fleeting end of the communist period, cooperation rarely took on a substantive form. Instead, it was constrained within an ideological framework.

The ideological foundation and core of this cooperation took shape during the second highlighted period, 1947–1959, which explains its apparent overrepresentation in this text. Over time, certain aspects of this cooperation naturally lost their vigor, while others persisted largely out of inertia. Taken as a whole, the cooperation model from 1945 to 1989 can be regarded as a prototype for relationships between educational actors during this period. However, in educational practice, the ideological anchoring of this legal foundation rendered it temporary, performative, and prone to conflict.

Mikołaj Winiarski also noted the systemic objectification of this cooperation by identifying distortions in its axiological, ethical, pedagogical, organizational, and sociotechnical dimensions. The imperative-administrative and adragocentric nature of the system, combined with ideologization, slogan-driven superficiality, impoverished psycho-pedagogical relationships, asymmetrical interdependence, and a unified, schematic approach, shaped the model of cooperation. These factors made it ineffective from a socio-educational perspective (Winiarski 2000: 74–80). This outcome occurred despite the legislator's intentions, but it was inevitable in a system where the humanist-pedagogical dimension of education was supplanted by a political one, and all educational actors were embedded in an ideological world of senses and meanings.

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