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TYPOLOGY OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR UNDER CONDITIONS OF
CHANGE
AN ATTEMPT TO CONSTRUCT AN ANALYSIS INSTRUMENT

In this article I present one of the possible approaches to the problem of man's behavior and personality changes under conditions of disturbed development dynamics and integration of sociocultural macrostructures. The approach is a typological proposition that is a reconstruction of other authors' concepts functioning within the area of theory of anomie, such as Durkheim's, Merton's, Parson's, Simon's, Gagnon's, Herrary's, Riesman's and others', and their adaptation to my own empirical research requirements.

Theory of anomie offers a notional apparatus for description of societies characterized by "...breakdown in cultural structure occurring especially when there exists strong discrepancy between cultural norms and goals and socially structured capabilities of action of group members according to these norms. In such an approach, cultural values may contribute to evoke behaviors conflicting with what they themselves oblige" (R. K. Merton).

Though so far, the theory of anomie was applied almost exclusively in analyses of specific problems in Western societies, exposing the value of the success as the central one organizing the entire sociocultural system as well as an individual's

system of values, its applicability and empirical references go far beyond the area of societies from that cultural circle. Generally speaking, they appear whenever we encounter weakening or decay of integrative power of existing axionormative structures in relation to social structure and people's behaviors. It should also be stressed that the hypothesis and theory of anomie offers great cognitive capacity in the area of an individual's relations not with all values functioning in a society but solely with dominating the society's culture, especially with the relations maintaining cultural identity of the social system. Therefore, it shows only the part of reality, individual adaptive problems and social changes linked with the system of social values and norms already formed, sanctioned by tradition or law and subject to entropy at the same time.

The lack of a theory of anomie in analyses of our society, the exception being P. Sztopka's analysis of social renewal movement dynamics, is by no means an argument for rejecting it. Especially as the problem of loss of power to integrate and legitimize the social system's values, standards and principles constituting cultural and ideological expression of present Polish social system was frequently emphasized in Polish sociological literature (A. Jawłowska, S. Nowak, Z. Kwieciński, A. Jasińska-Kania, W. Pańków, W. Adamski) though not in terms of the theory of anomie.

The social condition of anomie, reduces integration of numerous individuals with socially consolidated cultural models. At the same time, it causes distrust of existing subjects of social integration. The general diminishment of social bonds system cannot remain without impact upon the course and effects of socialization processes. Such questions as "who should I be?", "how should I live?", "what should I appreciate in life?", "what to believe in?" - constituting what psychologists and sociologists refer to as sense of identity - express the elementary and the most profound of man's psychic needs. Without asking such questions and answering them it is virtually impossible to imagine personality development, self-improvement or educating work. But what kind of identity puts sense to our life, causing

us to engage in creation and defence of "self" with deep conviction that our choices are right? What kind of "self", and when, is exposed to specially painful conflicts, dangers and strains?

It should be said here, that any choice and process of accomplishing life goals is motivated by norms and values acquired in the socialization period that guarantee unity of personality structures. However, socialization and education processes do not always lead to formation of one's sense of identity. This sense does not always originate from social goals and values. There are individuals who never yield to socialization process as a result of premature cognitive and moral closure. They actually live outside society and its culture, immune to experiencing any moral conflict that would exceed the narrow circle of their private existence. There are also individuals who intentionally isolate themselves from society. Then, there exist individuals in relation to whom socialization-oriented educational process - succeeded. In such a case, strong internalization of cultural norms and values located at the center of axiological structure of society, externally supported and internally accepted, enhances transformation of consecutive life experiences into a permanent personality structure ensuring an individual's sense of identity. Brought up neither outside nor against society, but in it and for it such man is convinced he has the right to his own socialized "self". Therefore he expects social acceptance of his "self" - his beliefs, aspirations and behavior. When such acceptance is not offered, he feels cheated, lost, lonely, alienated in regard to himself and the outer world. When the prevailing system of social values and norms decays, everything that had made sense in his life and determined his individual dimension, becomes void of any objective basis, nothing is left "...except a combination of illusory images, fantasmagory vanishing under the influence of even a slight reflection, /.../ Now there is nothing to direct our efforts to and we feel we are getting lost in emptiness. In this sense it is fair to say that human activity is in need of something that outgrows it. We need not to be confirmed in some unattainable immortality, because it is included in our moral con-

stitution and we cannot even in part rid ourselves of it without losing the reason for existence" (E. Durkheim).

Man's adaptative problems, emerging under conditions of social anomie of society have a long tradition in the West, especially in the field of sociology and also social psychology. It began with Durkheim's analyses of suicides, set in the context of socioeconomic and cultural problems in France in the second half of the 19th century. American sociology shifted emphasis from selfdestructive inadaptability to deviant behaviors in general, i.e. behaviors deviating from culturally and socially established norms and values, typical of industrial and postindustrial societies.

Functionalists - generally speaking - refer to deviations as a kind of necessity imposed on an individual by objective immanent conflicts generated by sociocultural structures. Quite a different interpretation of deviate behaviors is offered by interactionists. Without negating the force of social determination, they stress the importance of internally motivated and personally created "role play", permitting an individual to transgress socially imposed definitions of style and strategy of life. It may be assumed that from the point of view of social and individual emancipation processes, the situation of axiological conflicts, moral tensions, disbalance and social inadaptation under social anomie conditions may work both as a stimulating and blocking factor. Thus, identity crisis typical of anomie adaptation varieties may be a condition hindering subjective personality development. In the light of recent psychological findings - it should also be regarded as a transitional stage through which it is imperative to pass in order to achieve subsequent stages of development and levels of identity.

Using the language and statements of different approaches and concepts of anomie, I propose a typological instrument for the analysis of human behavior under conditions of social-cultural macrochanges built on the basis of the following five criteria:

- 1) Does an individual engage himself in dominating goals (values) of the society that have so far supported his cultural identity?

2) What is the individual's attitude to social norms sanctioned by a given social order as acceptable means to achieve ends?

3) Does the engagement in accomplishing and maintaining dominating social goals evoke in man the sense of gratification, that is, does he accept awards from a given social order while at the same time accepting style of life?

4) What is the character of the individual's emotional attitude to sociocultural reality and his own place in it?

5) What is the base of the mechanisms of his relations with changes taking place in sociocultural macrostructures?

The obtained typology is a multi-dimensional construction. Not only does it not exhaust all logical possibilities resulting from crosslinking of their dimensions and weights, but also not all the dimensions separately are qualitatively different. The two last criteria, are used here only to supplement characteristics based on the three initial dimensions. This may be regarded as a significant weakness of proposed typology. On the other hand, it seems, its merit permits to identify these individuals who without engaging themselves in dominating axionormative structures of society; or simulating oppositional attitude toward them nevertheless receive gratifications for maintaining them.

This cognitive possibility enriched with the fourth and fifth dimensions gives in turn a basis for closer and more precise characteristics of types of people's social personality viewed here through the types of an individual's relations with the external environment, its behavior and response to changes taking place there.

I built this instrument, with the intention to apply it in analysis of empirical material collected during my own research conducted in the fall of 1981 among workers and leaders of sociopolitical organizations and trade unions. I made the assumption that every type of social personality should be considered in respect to two concepts of sociomoral order essential to conflicting society model. I refer to them here generally and conventionally as the "order of change" and "order

Table 1. Typology of adaptative reactions under conditions of social change and anomie

| Type of adaptative reaction vel social personality | Engagement in cultural goals | Attitude to social norms | Sense of gratification | Emotional attitude to reality | Type of adaptative mechanism |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Extreme conformist | plus | plus | plus | positive | adaptation |
| 2. Late conformist | plus | plus | minus | ambivalent | anomie |
| 3. Indifferent conformist | minus | plus | plus | ambivalent | anomie |
| 4. Compulsively engaged | plus | innovativeness | minus | ambivalent | anomie |
| 5. Conformist deviant | plus | innovativeness | innovativeness | ambivalent | anomie |
| 6. Conventional reformer | innovativeness | innovativeness | plus | ambivalent | anomie |
| 7. Missionary | innovativeness | innovativeness | minus | ambivalent | anomie |
| 8. Indifferent | minus | minus | minus | indifferent | immunity |
| 9. Escapist | minus | minus | innovativeness | negative | withdrawal |
| 10. Rebel | innovativeness | innovativeness | innovativeness | rejection with substitution | autonomy |

Legend: plus - acceptance; minus - rejection; innovativeness - modification.

of stabilization" found in social life and consciousness, with varying intensity and openness, interchangeably or simultaneously.

The most society-bound individual in this typology is the extreme conformist, engaging in the loftiest, main goals of a given social order. He is little susceptible to unlegalized manners of activity at the same time perceiving life as offering in fact all

he personally desires. Such an attitude may be the anticipated and expected result of socialization process - then engagement may be regarded as a natural strategy of life, a peculiar immunization of an individual, supplanting the necessity to bring about changes in adaptation schemata. It may, however, be also the result of naturalisation. Finally we can point to such specimens who have found themselves inside the discussed type as a result of conversion, that is radical ideological change and - in effect - total transformation of behavior. The extreme convert is distinguishable for his extraordinary zeal and conscientiousness to demonstrate his loyalty, which wins him the reputation of by-the-book enthusiast.

All the above mentioned varieties of extremal conformism may manifest themselves in attitudes actively supporting internally accepted social order as well as in attitudes passively agreeing to the status quo. They may be people oriented monocentrically who declare themselves in favor of order of change or stabilization, or policentrically oriented, who take interest, participate in and receive gratification from supporting both concepts of social order. I would term the latter as schizophrenic conformists, perfect cameleons - "Zeligs" - who can even reveal features of hypocrisy.

Late and indifferent conformists are the types, that share not only ambivalent attitude to social-cultural reality and themselves - typical of anomie varieties of adaptation - but also strong tendency to adapt. They are the specimens whose sense of security and identity have been founded on a rigid principle to acknowledge and subordinate to prevailing social authorities. Their motto in life is "not to be conspicuous, to behave or even to think as others do because they know the best". Under the circumstances of axiological and social conflicts their personality equilibrium is so disturbed, that they activate a defensive mechanism forcing them to rigidly internalize all external authority-sanctioned moral standards. This, added to authoritarian personality features, does not predestine them to complete adaptation. Their conformism, which in fact is a caricature of adaptation,

leads in effect to breakdown in existing explanations of the sense of identity, unwitting oscillation in morally disbalanced society and factual impotence to go beyond experienced schemata of ill and "vague" adaptation.

Any solutions that would free them from burdensome conflicts with the external world cannot be applied for because of experienced socialization and personality features. Full conformism comes too late or threatens with strains; alienation deters with perspective of even greater isolation, while autonomy is still an unacquainted path. There remains the incessant agonizing anomie - whether in active or passive form.

Both late and indifferent conformists are very little resistant to fundamental modifications of social life. They will accept as a rule any change, provided that it will not threaten their sense of security. One of the more significant differences between them is the late conformist, for his overrigid adaptation deprives himself of the ability to experience gratification while the indifferent conformist, demonstrating only the ritual of adaptation possibly draws greater profit from offered awards feeling a certain satisfaction for being more far-sighted than others.

The representatives of this variety of adaptation, as with the former one, may "result" from incomplete immunization and incomplete naturalisation or suchlike conversion.

Compulsively engaged conformists, conformistic deviates, conventional reformers and missionaries are the types who - while representing an anomic kind of adaptation - oscillate between adaptation and more or less radical nonconformism and innovation. They all share a clear inclination to ignore normative expectations of the social environment and variously intensified acceptance of the status quo. Their conformism, contrary to the one characterized previously, is colored with consciously preserved innovation, which - in such an arrangement - transforms into tactics of ritual nonconformism, seeming opposition or limited rebellion.

Compulsively engaged and conformistic deviates approximate each other with the strong motivation, implanted during early so-

cialization, to engage in supporting axiological foundations of the social order. There is expressed their conformism to reality. They substantially differ in attitude to gratifications offered by the system. Compulsively engaged reject the style of life that can be granted by society in return for its active affirmation. He is convinced that if it is perceived as really gratifying it will become the focus of activity, a goal into itself, and prevent him from establishing a continually mobile level of aspirations.

By contrast, the conformistic deviate clearly expects to be rewarded for his loyalty and involvement. Having come into possession of gratification means (positions, privileges) he feels an extremely strong urge to test volumes of pleasure in constant search for new styles of life. He continuously chases after awards, uncommonness which evokes in him the sense of impunity in the possible methods to accomplish goals and receive gratification. He understands that privileges granted by the social system secure convenient posts better than other kinds of social reactions, such as; recognition for competence, respect, trust. He is aware that his attitude to life may generate internal conflicts and be condemned. He protects himself against it by a strongly developed sense of impunity and a manifestation of loyalty, regarding it as a protective umbrella against attacks from both sides.

Though the two constantly demand new, often extreme normative solutions they never exceed ideologically permitted boundaries and will never participate in a change that could disturb structural foundations of the social order.

The conventional reformer and missionary are likened by remarkable involvement in search for directions of radical change of not only the ways to accomplish main goals and social values but the values themselves. In spite of that, strategy of their reformative actions is locked within "close dialog" and "legal opposition" only. For a conventional reformer, the desire to introduce more general changes is restricted by total acceptance of gratifications offered by the social system. Their contents are constituted by the conventional image of the "good life" and

"good society". Limitation of reformative actions to such formula for a missionary results from his peculiar sense of identity based on the concept of his own person as "an instrument of history". Therefore his activeness for change assumes the form of profound, personal but clearly depersonalized political reaction which attempts to transform the "great march" born of strategic necessity into a durable social and political system. According to a missionary, if the necessity for change is not legitimized by objective premises, then it means that those changes are probably unnecessary or the right moment for them has not come yet. The only thing left then is to cultivate one's value and wait patiently for appropriate conditions to carry them out.

In the case of the two types, ambivalence toward reality and one's self seems to be particularly intense. The conventional reformer is torn between acceptance of the social order warranting safe and socially prominent position and permission and involvement into its modifications. The situation of social anomie and violent changes in the system create a dilemma to him. What, how, and under whose auspices to reform? where is the line between safe and harmless change to the system when such a change is outside the ramifications of legal opposition?

The missionary's attitude to act in the name of higher goals makes him incapable of experiencing gratification but does not prevent him from the danger of fundamental acceptance of the change. His anomie relations with the environment, maintained by cultivating lofty ideas, are being soothed with incessant faith and hope in justice and the right of the world. However, under conditions of deep moral crisis, social vacuum and unpredictable bewildering regularity in the course of events, failures of yesterday- today and uncertain tomorrow the foundations of this faith may become unsettled.

The indifferent and the escapist represent a group of outsiders in the present typology. Though they differ radically in their social backgrounds, the character of socialization, related experiences and attitudes to the reality, they both live in complete isolation from society with its problems and conflicts. They are characterized by low intensity, weakness or cold, emotion-

less rejection of dominating social values and established norms of behavior. However, while the indifferent neither cares much for nor pursues awards from the social system, the escapist appreciates innovative and possibly deviant gratification styles. Outsiders, though excluded from direct political participation, do not feel in the least rejected, frustrated or lost because they regard such activity as others' domain. However, for the same reason they do not feel responsible for the decisions taken without them.

Total withdrawal from social life has a different origin in the case of the indifferents and the escapists. The indifferents - coming as a rule from low, economically, culturally and educationally impaired levels of the society - are in fact unsocialized individuals. They are drifting about in society without any affinity to it. They are people of little life requirements and understanding. They act on impulse, "background hustle" constituting probably a numerous group of "historic margin" people.

It looks different with the escapist. They come from upper classes, privileged economically, culturally and educationally. This seems to be manifested by the very style of rejection of social goals and the relatively complex intellectual equipment. Typically, their withdrawal is not the result of unacquaintance with elementary rules in social life, advantages and dangers inherent in involvement. On the contrary, their sociopolitical awareness is usually so developed that it forces them to the well-considered decision to resign from involvement in over- or outside-personal dimensions of life.

It can be expected that under the conditions of social anomie, dramatic changes and persistent indoctrination from opposite concepts of social-moral orders these alienative varieties of adaptation are of transitional nature. To break out the isolation and try to join the current of events and problems of hitherto ignored world, the escapists will have to make a conscious but uneasy decision to change their adaptative schemata. In the case of the indifferent type, such a decision would have to be preceded by the socialization process, started with some delay.

However, it would be difficult in both cases to predict the degree, durability and the character of reorientation.

The typology concludes with the rebel. This term designates individuals who are not only bent on abolishing the existing axionormative structures to substitute them with alternative visions. They are also keen to change the life style bonded to offers from the current social order. Such an attitude need not be associated solely with that of a revolutionary or rebel engaging in open, direct ideological or even physical fight. What is meant here is rather - and also - an autonomous reflexive "everyday" attitude, openness toward another human, continuous consideration of and acting "on the value", the "open dialogue", profound humanism, prosocialness and self-accomplishment.

It is the permanent presence of these features in an individual's behavior and not a single act of disloyalty or protest, that determines qualification into that personality category. Many times it happens that total rejection of the ruling social order evokes and enhances greater radicalism in devising and executing changes. However, when that anticipated change takes place there is the possibility of enthusiastic acceptance which automatically limits and impairs innovative aptness in the yester-rebel. Instead of concentrating oneself on cultivation of the "pilgrim's ethos" and constant opening to a change, such an individual may tend to transform his strategy into an attractive life style. Such a quasirebellious attitude is then easily saturated with orthodoxy driving toward total conformism with the newly established order.

The rebels' strong involvement in the problems of reality causes them to experience the sense of anomie under the conditions of deep moral crisis in the society. However, if that does not force them into anomic varieties of adaptation it is only because they carry out the arduous struggle - seemingly pointless to others. The struggle for their independence and justification for engaging in something that does not exist yet but should, from the point of view of their ethical principles.

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In the course of analysis of the empirical material collected during the research in the fall of 1981, it turned out that it is not only difficult to label the examined individual according to the proposed typology. On the contrary: the empirical material called for a change of terms and components of the constructed typology. Adapting the theory of anomie to the requirements of analysis of problems and situation of Polish society, I was aware of the necessity to introduce into it significant modifications and supplementation. The task was performed in a separate work and made me realize the complexity of the very subject of the research. Already at the theoretical analysis stage, especially at the construction of types of adaptation and personality, I tried to anticipate and take into account the theoretical requirements, empirical material, and peculiarity of social-cultural context in my own study. However, that was only the beginning of operational problems I encountered at the last stage of empirical analyses. The first was connected with the extraordinary complexity of the axiological reference plane in respect to which people's behaviors and personality changes were analyzed. The second resulted from the adopted principle of a general approach to a given individual's characteristics, which constituted a unique system of biographic, personality and social features in every case.

The greatest difficulty lay in unhomogeneity and conflictability of axiological bases for people's cultural identity. They were not neutralized but instead even more prominent following social change process after August 1980. Thus, asking the question about human behavior during rapid changes and disintegration of sociocultural macrostructures it could not be assumed that, from cognitive standpoint, human reaction and attitude to only one social order concept are interesting. In fact there functioned, also during that period, at least two concepts, which I denoted as the order of change and the order of stabilization. An exact and unequivocal characteristic of either - especially

precise description of their mutual links and differences - is by no means an easy task, especially on the empirical operations plane. Hence the assumption, that in regard to each of the two concepts of social order there may have emerged formally identical types of human behavior, is also both an indication of complexity of the research subject and its necessary simplification. A conformist is - in that approach - both the individual who engages in, defends and renders support to the order of stabilization and the individual who engages in, defends and participates in support of the ethos and order of change. They differ "merely" in their orientation to values and norms and resulting consequences for their respective attitudes, aspirations and styles of existence. A similar situation exists in the case of the remaining types, with the exception of indifferent individuals functioning in principle detachedly from existing social life concepts.

This should be borne in mind during conscious or unintentional evaluations of particular individuals representing the types of adaptation to change. Conformism, which is commonly considered pejorative, may in such an approach gain quite a reverse meaning. How should an individual be evaluated, who completely, sometimes zealously engages in defending and supporting the values of social renewal movement following August 1980? Depending on his own ideological, political and ethical interpretation some will label him a progressive "rebel", others a "dissident" or "oppositionist" while still others a "counterrevolutionary" or "revanchist", etc. Meanwhile, we are dealing with an individual who, consciously participating in social protest against the existing social order, places himself in the new social order. He defends its foundations and new authorities, acknowledging the fought out - or rather under construction - state of affairs as right, just, totally acceptable and requiring no alternatives. Such conformism is a description of a type of adaptation and does not solicit moral evaluations.

The same may be said about the types who display a more or less innovative attitude to reality. The compulsively engaged whom I termed more adequately in our conditions: principal

idealist, ritual oppositionist (in the typology: conformistic deviate), conventional reformer or missionary need not at all be associated with higher moral estimates or represent a more progressive orientation than the conformist. The syndrome of features typical of the engaged (principlial) idealist is shared both by those who view and evaluate social changes from the perspective of renewal movement's values and by those who view and evaluate reality from the other end. The ritual of opposition may be maintained both within change of order oriented structures and within structures oriented to the defence of the status quo. It is possible to make reformative efforts and declare oneself in favor of modification of the concept of order of change; because it seems subjectively imperfect. The same attitude may be assumed with regard to hitherto functioning order. Eventually even escapism is a life style that may be differently conducted depending on cultural specifics and degree of tolerance within each of the social orders.

The present work is methodological: however, it is not my aim to give an account of otherwise important problems and operational difficulties. My intention has been to show cognitive capacity and advantages resulting from application of a certain sociological theory hitherto functioning only in the Western countries and to analyse our socioeducational problems. At the same time I wanted to share my awareness of some risk connected with too mechanical adaptation of theoretical hypotheses and categories originating from sociocultural and political background different than ours. In spite of such differences the idea to reconstruct and modify the theory of anomie for application into my own empirical studies turned out to be accurate and cognitively very fruitful. The typology proposed here is one of the working approaches applied in research design. The analysis of the empirical material forced out the introduction of additional types (passive observer of changes in the group of escapist and desocialized individual in the indifferents group) and alteration of terms of several others. However, it does not change in the least the fundamental premises and considered dimensions of

constructed typology, It only makes them more legible and more adequately depicts the character of entanglement into the specific social context.

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