Between Gender Studies and „Gender Ideology“. Gender Education in Poland
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ABSTRACT: This paper aims at assessing the status and the potential of gender education in Poland by looking at its three aspects: 1.) Ambivalent and contradictory effects of the state-socialist legacies on the perception of gender roles and education to „gender“, particularly the discrepancy between „promised“ gender equality and enforcement of the traditional gender roles by the socialist state 2.) The development of various academic and non-academic women and gender studies programs post 1989, particularly its attachment to “western” style feminist theory and pedagogy, and 3.) Recent attacks on the „gender ideology“ initiated by right wing politicians and Catholic Church. In particular I will focus on instances of the debate on „gender ideology“; the debate about „gender“ that accompanied Polish ratification of Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence and the media discussion on the presence of “gender ideology” in the early education.

Introduction
Gender education can mean various things. It can refer to the accessibility of educational institutions to girls and boys, women and men. We can ask how many girls, as opposed to boys are sent to schools? How many women and men graduate high school? How many go to the university and earned higher degree? How many at the end achieve the highest positions in the educational systems, become professors and recognized academic? We can also ask how girls and boys are treated in educational system? Are they encouraged to the same activities? Does gender division exist in the teachers’ ideas on what professions girls and boys should be educated to? For instance, are boys encouraged to study mathematics, while girls to study humanities? Are women socialised to traditional gender roles that focus on carrying for children and elderly while men to work professionally outside the home? And finally we can ask what is the “gender” content of the educational programs? Do they include knowledge on gender: gender stereotypes, gender discrimination, gender rights and emancipation? How much of the educational activities are focused on “gender” issues? In this paper I will touch

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1 This contribution was presented at the Second International Gender Workshop: Overcoming Gender Backlash: Experiences of Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Poland which was organized by hbs Kyiv Office on 24-25 October, 2013 in Kyiv.
upon all of these aspects of gender education in various context in Poland since 1945 to present.

When talking about gender education it is particularly important to be aware how political the issue is. It is significant, I think that the three aspects of the gender education that I wish to discuss in this paper— ambivalent and contradictory impact of the state-socialist legacies on the perception of gender roles and education to „gender“, the development of various academic and non-academic women and gender studies programs post 1989, and recent attacks on the „gender ideology“ initiated by right wing politicians and Catholic Church – are all related to some important political transformation, or a historical milestone: the introduction of the state socialism in post-war Poland, systemic transformation of the 1989 and the re-emergence of the religious fundamentalism and conservatism in European Union’s Poland.

Between “Woman on a Tractor” and a “Good Housewife”: Socialism and „Gender“ Education in post-war Poland

Poland has a fairly good historical record when it comes to women and education. The year 1894 is consider the year when women where allowed to enter the higher education in Polish universities (Perkowska 1995), we even know the names of the first students at the Jagiellonian University which was the first that admitted women: Stanisława Dowgiałło, Janina Kosmowska i Jadwiga Sikorska. In 1902/1903 first women became Ph.D ate the Jagiellonian University, since 1897 women could begin their studies at the Philosophy department and since 1900 they could study medicine. First women, Helena Willman-Grabowska, became an academic teacher in 1927, in 1929 she became a University Professor. The number of women in higher education increased fast at the beginning of the 20th Century: in 1915 women constituted 9% of the students at Warsaw University, the number that increased to 20% in 1918, to 35% in 1923/24 and 35% in 1933. And then there was a Second World War.

During the post-war time two issues; to rebuild the country demolished by the war and to improve the country’s demographic situation have become the most pressing to the Polish state. The newly formed government encouraged everybody, including women to engage in the workforce. Women were supported in male professions and educated towards them, including work in coalmines and factories. During the immediate post-war period efforts of the newly formed state and women’s organizations were devoted to providing an equal access to education for people from all classes and fight the illiteracy, which raised dramatically during the war. Fighting women’s illiteracy and incorporating women into various levels of educational system have become priorities of the socialist state. One of the women who was the member of communist party Department on Women in post war Poland describes situation as follows: The situation was tragic, very bad. Women didn’t know how to read and write. And they didn’t have any resources or skills. We had to organize schools in the first place and then the women’s cooperatives to teach them how to generate income (Grabowska 2013). In addition the special policies have been introduced to assure the social promotion of the people of lower classes, women and men in education (Fidelis 2010). These efforts proved to be, at

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2 All quotations come from interviews with women – members of the communist parties and women’s organizations before 1989 in Poland and Georgia – that I conducted between 2010-2013. During that period I was a Marie Curie International Re-Integration Fellow. The interviews were conducted thanks to the support of the National Science Centre in Poland.
least partially successful; already in 1950 the 67 out 100 girls attended primarily school in Poland.³

While during the immediate post-war period women were encouraged to enter the labour market as critical mass and take upon traditionally male professions, including coal-miner, (Fidelis 2010), the period of the thaw, staring after the death of Stalin in 1953 has altered the educational paths for women. During that period the party leadership and the media have started to promote an ideal of the “New Women” one that supposed to combine the professional work with traditional gender roles. In the 1950s several reforms were introduced to help women juggle participation in the labour force, and fulfilling family tasks, including the reform of early education (introduction of the network of daycares and kindergartens), the maternity law and the abortion law (in 1956). In the new model of the socialist education women were, on one hand, encouraged to learn towards the professional career, while at the same they were taught to fulfill their traditional gender roles as housewives and mothers.⁴ As one of the women who grew up in the 1960s Poland remembers: The fact that I was a girl didn’t matter in school. There were no separate career ideas for boys and girls. I could be a doctor, I could be a cosmonaut, I didn’t feel the difference (Grabowska 2013). At the same time several institutions were established to help women manage the double burden of professional career and traditional house responsibility. In 1959 the Committee for Household was funded to provide education for women in the areas household management, budgeting, and new technologies. Anna, who worked at the Committee for 30 years, describes it as follows: We had administrative, training and economic demission. We conducted research on the organization of the household: furnishing, budgeting, economics in general. We also did research on household supplies. Back then many new kitchen supplies were introduced, and we had scientific literature, form Germany and France, and we looked it up. The new supplies: our research department tested washing machines, kitchen robots and refrigerators. They evaluated them and published their manual. And the training department organized workshops were we taught women how to use these supplies. We organized yearly workshop for trainers who then worked with the local league of Polish Women units locally. Indeed for some women this kind of „gender” education proved to be very valuable. For one of them skills learned in the League of Polish Women’s workshops became handy after the transformation: I was in generally really bad in housekeeping activities, but all I have learned became useful, even afterwards. As I was qualified I went to the early retirement and when the transformation came it turned out, my pension was really low. And sine I’m single I started to have troubles, so I put the skills I learned at the League to use. I saw jeans and made pizza. And it was all very useful what I have learned in the League, for free. I can saw and cook and I can do all that now as I work at the pizza restaurant.

State socialism is often criticized for offering only partial emancipation of women, yet its successes in the area of women’s rights, including educational advance, are not debatable. Illiteracy has been erased and the women have become a majority of university students throughout the country. State socialism in some ways thus provided the resources (educated women, certain mindsets) for the introduction of the gender studies in Poland after 1989. At the same time, while holding on into the existing gender


⁴ Countries in which the percentage of difference in favour of boys is less then 10:

⁴ Certainly during the state socialism the term “gender” was not in use.
roles, and providing special educational programs that encourage women to remain “at home” it sealed the traditional gender contract to which many contemporary critics of the gender education tap while critiquing the contemporary development in gender studies and gender practices in Poland.

Polish Transformation and Introduction of “Gender Studies”

It is, of course just a scholarly myth that the gender studies have been introduced to Poland only after the fall of state socialism in 1989. In fact the educational activities, both in formal and informal settings as well as transnational exchange between Polish feminists and the west have been developing since the early 1980s. In 1983 Renata Siemieńska opened the first feminist sociology seminar at the Institute of Sociology at Warsaw University. 1984 the first informal consciousness raising group stemming from Siemieńska’s seminar started to meet in Warsaw and Kraków, leading to two the organization of the two feminist events in the following years: 1986 Women’s Cinema Festival that featured 60 movies directed by women from around the world, and the first March Feminist Session that was organized in Krakow at the Jagiellonian University in 1987. This activities later lead to the establishment of the first two Polish feminists organizations: Polish Feminist Association in Warsaw and EFKa foundation in Kraków.

The institutionalization of gender studies progressed in the1990s, with the Research Centre for Women that has been established at Łódź University 1992, and the interdisciplinary seminar “Women’s Studies” being organized at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań in 1993. Established in 1996 the Gender Studies at the Institute of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Warsaw offered the country’s first interdisciplinary postgraduate courses dedicated to gender issues in culture and was lead Prof. Bożena Chotuj and Prof. Małgorzata Fuszara. In 1997 the conference “100 years of Women at Polish Universities” has been organized in Kraków. Graduate School for Social Research established in 1992 by Prof. Stefan Amsterdamski at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences offered the first graduate and Ph.D courses in women and gender studies, including legendary seminar taught by Prof. Maria Janion’s, which for years included topics such as identity politics, as well as sociology seminars held jointly by Prof. Małgorzata Fuszara and Prof. Anna Titkow. These gender studies programs have predominantly focused on the introduction of the western feminist theories into Poland and translating and transplanting the western model of gender education into the “east”. The history of western women’s movements, particularly US 2nd wave feminism, has become a point of reference in evaluating the Eastern European progress in the area of gender equality. Local genealogies, including that of state socialism were often left out of gender studies classes and syllabi, while the post war period remained represented as a “gap” in the history of Polish women’s movement (Grabowska 2012).

At the end of 1990s and beginning of 2000s more gender studies post-graduate programs and gender studies paths within the MA programs have been established at Wroclaw University, Jagiellonian University, Institute of Literary Studies at Polish Academy of Science. These programs like the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences directed by Dr. Monika Rudaś-Grodzka offer a range of focus areas including” sociology, anthropology, visual studies, men’s studies, political science, law, economics, and social policy, and literature. The internal diversity and interdisciplinarity of Polish gender studies has resulted in multiple new theories, which—although under the umbrella of gender studies—gain increasing autonomy: apart from
women’s studies, men’s studies and gay/lesbian studies have developed as well queer studies, involved in the study of sexual difference, desire, deconstruction of sexual norms, and polyamory.

Gender studies programs in Poland today are offered in the form of tuition-based postgraduate studies (lasting from two to four semesters), organized mostly in the faculties of social sciences and/ or humanities at major universities. Only a few private schools have set up one- or two-level gender studies specialization courses as part of cultural studies. Some humanities and social sciences departments at public universities and private higher education offer courses dedicated to gender issues, equality between women and men, and the formation and functioning of stereotypes based on gender, race, class, and other differences. No PhD program in the area exists.

A close collaboration between an initially small academic community and social organizations, bridging the gap between formal and informal feminist pedagogy, feminist theory and feminist practice is characteristic to Poland. This collaboration resulted in spreading gender education into informal, non-academic settings, and opening up to various audiences. In 1997 OSKa: Information Women Centre and Gender Studies in Warsaw collaborated on the organization of the 1st Feminist Summer School. The School has become a venue for the exchange of ideas and arguments between activist and scholars from Poland and from abroad for four editions. In 2000 the informal group Sisterhood Street has organized first Feminist Summer Camp, featuring the “gender studies” classes and workshops in the informal, holiday setting. The Feminist camp is organized almost every year since. The most recent instance of the nongovernmental organization’s engagement in the gender studies is Feminist Academy. This initiative organized by Feminoteka Foundation since 2012 brings together scholars and activists to talk about current issues related to gender.

Another important stream of the gender education in Poland are workshops and antidiscrimination educational activities. One example of the gender education in the form of workshop is Wen-Do, a feminist self -defence course that combines the elements of the physical defence and the feminist consciousness raising. In 2001, 16 Wen-Do trainers were educated by the German instructors and since then they organize courses for women and girls around Poland. Another organization which activities go beyond conducting gender workshops is Association for the Antidiscrimination Education (Towarzystwo Edukacji Antydyskryminacyjne-TEA). The Association that was established in 2009 defines its mission as developing and disseminating antidiscriminatory education, so very person c-creates the world free from discrimination and violence. The organization works with the representatives of the public administration, employers, educators, police, media, business and NGOs to improve standards of gender education in Poland. Apart from the workshops, during the recent years, TEA conducted the holistic screening of the Polish educational system at the elementary to postgraduate level, from the perspective of the antidiscriminatory practices (including the monitoring of the textbooks, and vocational trainings for teachers) and published a well

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5 Agnieszka Mrozik “Gender studies in Poland: prospects, limitations, challenges”

6 http://siostrzana.org/


8 http://www.wendo.org.pl/readarticle.php?article_id=1

9 http://www.tea.org.pl/pl/SiteContent?item=projekty
received report on this study “The Great Invisible”. On top of it TEA organizes training academy for the antidiscrimination educators in Poland and monitors the Coalition for Antidiscrimination Education that brings together various public and social entities. Most recently the Association has collaborated with the Art University in Poznan and Polish-Japanese School of Computer techniques in Warsaw, in organizing the art exhibit of the works related to discrimination in education.

“Gender Ideology”? A Backlash against the Gender Education

From the very beginning gender education in Poland, as influenced by psychoanalysis, poststructuralist, Marxism, and postcolonial studies has become a subject of the harsh attacks from the neoconservative and ultra Catholic forces. In 2000 philosopher Agnieszka Kołakowska published an article in which she called feminist pedagogy a “new type of terrorism” and accused gender studies as being a politically correct “pseudo science”, which aims at indoctrinating new generations of Polish humanists. More recently however the attacks have been directed towards another level of education. While the gender studies at the university level seem fairly well established, the opponents of gender education turn into the early education, particularly in primary schools and kindergartens, express their discontent towards the presence of “gender” content in textbooks and class materials. These recent attacks echo the broader discussion on the presence of the category of “gender” in the Polish public while the critiques travel from high level of politics to the Catholic and neoconservative media at the local and national level. They focus on the lower level of education for a reason. Since 1990 when religion has been introduced into Polish schools ago, early education has been a safe and unquestioned sphere of the popularization of Catholicism among children.

It all started, perhaps on April 2012 when, then Polish Minister of Justice, Jaroslaw Gowin, criticized the Council of Europe's convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence and claimed that the convention is an expression of feminist ideology and thus threatens traditional family values. In the convention “gender” is defined as “the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for women and men”. According

10 http://tea.org.pl/pl/SiteContent?subitem=wielka_nieobecna
11 http://tea.org.pl/pl/SiteContent?subitem=dyskryminacja_a_edukacja
12 See, eg.: A. Kołakowska, „Barykady politycznej poprawności” [Barricades of Political Correctness], Rzeczpospolita, 29.01.2000
8 See: B. Choluj, „Różnica między women’s studies i gender studies? W: Katedra 7/200
13 In response to the Minister’s statement, the government’s plenipotentiary for equal treatment – Agnieszka Kozłowska-Rajewicz – ensured in an interview for the Polish radio, TOK FM that Poland will sign the convention and said that she believes that Minister Gowin’s statement was a misunderstanding. She also said that she sent an official letter to the Minister, asking him to confirm his position and asking him for a meeting to discuss the convention. She also stressed that the content of the convention is not contradictory to the Polish constitution. On the contrary – ensuring greater equality would positively affect women’s dignity. “Equality and justice are things we should fight for and they are not threatening for Christian values, such as marriage and family” – she argued.
to then minister Gowin such definition is “not coherent”, he claimed he cannot agree to
obeying the idea to educate about “non-stereotyped gender roles” as such education
would undermine the Christian concept of dignity, which is fundamental to the Polish
constitution. Moreover, he argued promoting the “non-stereotyped gender roles” could
be in conflict with the promotion of family values and maternity, to which the authorities
are obliged under article 18 of the constitution.\(^{14}\) An open attack of the minister on
“gender” has become a starting point for the ongoing campaign against what in the eyes
of some conservative politicians and the representatives of the Catholic Church is a
“gender ideology”. According to its critiques “gender ideology” is a threat to the
traditional family and gender roles, and the “younger daughter” of Marxism that aims at
sexualisation, and possibly demoralization of young children.

In mid 2013 the conservative and mainstream media have been preoccupied with the
discussion about the textbook “Equality Kindergarten” co-authored by Joanna
Piotrowska, Ewa Rutkowska and Anna Dzierzgowska. The textbook focuses on
“teaching the respect for the other people choices” and proposes the number of
workshops’ scenarios and education plans for how to approach the issues related to
gender in the early education. According to some critics the textbook is a threat for the
traditional Polish values and serves as a massive attack of the homosexual and feminist
lobby on the Polish family. In one of the statements, the representative of the Polish
ultraconservative party Law and Justice argued: This seems like a coordinated action.
The content that serves the family as such and the traditional Polish and Catholic
values—which are cherished for centuries—are removed from the textbooks. At the
same time more and more space is taken by the theories that question the family as a
standard model of upbringing.\(^{15}\) According to the critics the textbook aims not only
to destroying family as such but also at challenges “natural” gender behaviours. As one of
the recommendation in the book calls for unisex toy corners, with dolls and cars for both:
boys and girls, the Catholic psychologist panics: It an absurd she says, and continues: If
we leave only the blocks in the playing corner, sooner or later boys will start building
cars or through them at each other, while girls will build animals and kiss and hug them.
The gender differences are impossible to change and they shouldn’t be.\(^{16}\) Another critic,
Dariusz Oko, a Catholic priest argued in the media: They assume that our gender
identity does not derive from nature but from culture, it could be said that it is our
imagination or even fantasy. As such it is entirely flexible and can be shaped during the
education process, most likely according to the gender ideology. Here it starts the whole
avalanche because if even such a natural thing as gender can be socially shaped, can
be matter of social contract, then everything can. It opens up the whole area for social
engineering that was even beyond what the communist though about.\(^{17}\)

In the conservative and Catholic narrative thus the gender education is nothings less
then ideology, which is a “younger sister” of Marxism. Leszek Woroniecki, Catholic
priest argues that “gender” is a form o Marxism that focuses on sexualisation of children.
For Woronicz gender is a very dangerous ideology – theory of sex that negates the
nature, and proposes the production of sex by the society. This negation that the sex of
the person is a gift, which they bring at the moment of being born as a man or a woman,

\(^{15}\) http://www.bibula.com/?p=68186
\(^{16}\) http://gosc.pl/doc/1572145.Genderowe-przedszkole
\(^{17}\) http://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/106423/nd/Gender---ideologia-totalitarna
is the result of nature, the internal and external, genetic and psychological feature.\textsuperscript{18} Another Catholic priest, Dariusz Oko in the recent interview argued: We cannot talk about gender philosophy but rather of gender ideology. Philosophy is a radical search for truth and good, while ideology is a tool of uncompromising struggle for one’s own interest with no respect for truth and good.\textsuperscript{(...) In this sense gender is a classic example of ideology, it is a tool in uncompromising struggle for the benefits of the atheist gender and homolobby.\textsuperscript{18}}

Gender ideology has, according to its critiques three origins. First there are fighting gays, who want to promote their evidently troubled lifestyle as the best. The Catholic journalist fears that this is a signal that the activities of the homosexual lobby begin to bring effects, as the Ministry of Education is not hiring the reviewers of the school textbooks from the pool recommended by the LGBT organizations.\textsuperscript{20} Second there are fanatic feminists (often lesbians) who by the slogan of women emancipation want to free them from motherhood, children marriage family and men (...) After the class struggle we now have sex struggle. But hatred and desire for revenge are never good advisors, for example the 2nd World War was in some respect the result of the German’s need to take revenge. More broadly Oko argues gender ideology is supported by all of the GOd’s enemies, and the enemies of the religion (...). The meaningful force being is constituted by the group of richest American billionaires, who (...) invest gigantic money in contraception, abortion and development and dissemination of gender ideology.

According to Oko for gender ideologists: gays, feminists and atheists the school is the most important battleground now. After the failure of the idea to legalize homorrelationships, the struggle focuses on school. The proponents of gender want to introduce compulsory sexual education, which would be designed by the people who are the most sexually distorted- genders. In these textbooks the words such as „mother”, „father”, „marriage” „faithfulness”s are banned (...) According to genderists sex has to be practiced already in diapers. There is an institutional and systemic support behind such organized expansion of gender ideology. Oko summarizes it as follows: We have associations and organizations for education against gender discrimination, gender studies at the renowned universities, the gender trainers advertise their workshops in schools and so on. Behind this institutions there are international organizations, UN, European intuitions or state institutions.

To fight this system parents and teachers have to watch closely what is thought to their children and to protect their children against the gender ideology. Dariusz Oko argues: We have to defend them with all our strengths, because they are our most precocious treasure and the biggest responsibility. People who are sexually or ideologically disturbed should not be near the schools. (...) Nobody has a right to invade the holiness of the family. That is why we have to participate in marches write letters to the ministry of education and defence and other members of government (...) We have to control what is going on in school watch closely the courses that.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{18}http://m.wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,117915,14711688,Kosciol_na_wojnie_z_gender__To_mlodszar_corka_marksizmu.html?utm_source=m.gazeta.pl&utm_medium=testbox&utm_campaign=maintopic
\textsuperscript{19} http://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/106423/nd/Gender---ideologia-totalitarna
\textsuperscript{20} http://pl.soc.dzieci.narkive.com/WnDN9OHW/przedszkole-zrobi-ci-dziecko-na-t-czowo
\textsuperscript{21} http://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/106423/nd/Gender---ideologia-totalitarna
The most recent instance of the Catholic Church’s attack on “gender ideology” seemed to cross the boundary of ridiculous, when the archbishop Józef Michalik attempted to blame “gender” ideology for paedophilia amongst Catholic priests. In his October 6th speech Michalik suggested that sexual education leads to the weakening of the traditional family and ultimately is responsible for the peadohilia. He stated: We could avoid a lot of molestation if the relationship between parents would be healthy. We hear often that this inappropriate attitude or behaviour beginning when the child is looking for love. It is searching, it clings. It gets lost and it sucks another person in. And he continued: Today we receive instructions from the international organizations, that we have to inform, and introduce children into sexuality in kindergartens. It is horrible think, we have to help a child and the family to be stronger to find an easy way out. The statement of archbishop cause and outcry of the human rights, women and children rights organizations. They have also met an objection from the public opinion and mainstream media. Michalik had to apologize for his words, which however did not stop him and other representatives of the Church to continue expressing their views on “gender ideology.”

Conclusions

The recent heated debate on the “gender ideology” can have contradictory effects on the “gender education” in Poland. On one hand it can lead to revealing the immensely radical and conservative character of the Catholic Church. By allowing its leaders, and participants to express ideas and opinions that are unacceptable for majority of Poles, the Church, one can say, will shoot its own foot. Eventually, many hope, after the series of such revelation public opinion will realize that the ultraconservative and radical views are not an exception but a norm in the Catholic Church. This, accompanied by the introduction of the EU recommended standards of education, may lead to removing the religious classes from Polish schools and marginalization of Church in public sphere. On the other hand however the 23 years of the Catholic education in schools and the unquestioned, even but state- socialism attachment to the conservative “family” values, and gender roles, might become a fertile ground for seeding fear of “gender ideology” consisting of teaching about untraditional gender and family roles, even amongst otherwise “progressive” Poles.

There are a number of local and transnational forces that need to be taken into account in the discussion about gender education in Poland. First we need to remember about historical legacies of 19th Century and state socialism. In particular it is important to point out to the ambivalent effects of the state socialism on women’s education. While on one hand it supported women’s education into non-traditional gender roles, it at the same time solidified these roles by maintaining traditional gender division in the private sphere. The gender education that emerged in Poland during in the 1989 period, often did not take into account specific context of Polish “gender history” including the history of gender education. While gender studies programs of the 1990s focused on translating

23 [http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,14742202,Abp_Michalik_o_pedofilii__Gdy_dziecko_szuka_milosci_.html#ixzz2hgAGmGry]
and transplanting the western models of feminisms and gender studies, it only recently have transformed into more contextualized educational settings.

While the higher education has been a locum of the previous efforts and discussions about gender education, in most recent months these debates turned into early education. The presence of gender education in early education, while proved to be non-existent by various studies in Poland, remains a subject of the attacks of the Catholic Church. The traditional family remains the focus of these debates, which often lead into the clashing of the very traditional, fundamentalist ideas of the representatives of the Catholic Church, and the more settled approach of the public opinion and mainstream media.  

Work cited:


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http://www.wprost.pl/ar/420426/Zsexualizowane-dzieci/