



MARZENA SYLWIA KRUK

Maria Curie-Skłodowska University
in Lublin, Poland

ORCID iD: 0000-0002-5067-632X

THE (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL TIES AMONG UKRAINIAN CHILDREN WITH EXPERIENCE OF WAR IN POLISH SCHOOLS: TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

ABSTRACT:

When war broke out in Ukraine in 2022, many Ukrainian families found themselves facing an unprecedented, life-threatening situation. The uncertainty and constant risk to life compelled numerous families to make the decision to seek safety and protection in other countries. The consequences of the war are particularly acute for children, who are most deeply affected by the disruption of their former life structures and the breakdown of their immediate, previously secure, family and school environments. They are confronted not only with the trauma of war, but also with the new challenge of relocating and continuing their education in a different country. The abrupt severing of school ties, combined with a complete change of environment under conditions of wartime tension, raises the question of how children from Ukraine with experience of war reconstruct or establish entirely new school relationships and social ties. The aim of this article is to analyse whether and how the reconstruction of social ties among Ukrainian children with experience of war is taking place in Poland, from the perspective of their teachers.

KEYWORDS: school; social ties; peer group; refugee children; reconstruction

INTRODUCTION

As of 22 May 2023, the registered number of refugees from Ukraine in Poland is estimated at 1,605,738 (Regional Refugee Response Plan [RRRP], 2023). Women and children make up approximately 87% of this group. Refugee status continues to be granted primarily to mothers with children. Over 190,000 Ukrainian children attend Polish schools (Asylum statistics in Poland, 2023). Refugee families are exposed to a double pressure:

- Psychological pressure: negative psychological consequences for children, e.g. war trauma;
- Social pressure: disruption of existing social ties due to displacement and relocation (different country and social environment).

The phenomenon of forced migration is not limited to a mere change of residence resulting from external factors that compel families, most often mothers with children, to flee to another country. Unplanned migration, frequently occurring under time pressure, in adverse living conditions, and amid uncertainty about the future, as well as a lack of formal documentation,

means that these families are required to rebuild their psychological and social well-being from scratch in a new place of residence far from their native culture and established social relationships. On the one hand, separation from close family members, such as husbands, fathers, and grandfathers, and on the other, immersion in a new and unfamiliar living environment, lead to an accumulation of stressors and intense emotions; which may lead to further trauma and learning difficulties. Existing social ties are disrupted by both the direct and indirect consequences of armed conflict. In such circumstances, how does a child find their place within the school environment?

The aim of this article is to analyse the (re)construction of social ties of refugee children from Ukraine in Poland since 2022. It also attempts to describe the construction of *new* social ties by refugee children in the school environment during their inclusion in the education process in Polish schools. Therefore, the context of this analysis is the school environment – more precisely, educational institutions that have welcomed refugee children. The respondent group consists of teachers who, in answering closed-ended questions related to teaching and pastoral care, indicated how children from Ukraine build relationships both within peer groups of the same cultural background and with children from Poland. **Detailed research questions:**

1. Do children with experience of war from Ukraine exhibit difficult behaviour towards teachers in Poland?
2. Do children with experience of war display difficult behaviour towards other students in the host country?
3. Are there difficulties in integrating refugee children with other students in classrooms in Polish schools?

THE SOCIAL IMAGE OF A CHILD WITH WAR EXPERIENCE

The literature offers many theories on the formation of social networks and bonds by migrants (Massey 1993). In the case of refugees, the process of secondary socialisation is decisively disturbed (Ajdukovic, Ajdukovic, 1998). According to Boothby (1994), a new school environment (teachers, new classmates)

constitutes novel stressors that undoubtedly negatively affect the psycho-social development of refugee children. In addition, the trauma of war has a major impact on children's behaviour. Acculturative stress fundamentally alters refugee children's behaviour towards both teachers and other students (Steel, Silove, Phan & Bauman, 2002). Children may exhibit increased levels of aggression, apathy, or isolation (Burnett, Peel, 2001).

Anthropologists and sociologists define the refugee experience as a rite of passage to which refugees are subjected (De Berry & Boyden, 2000; Turner & Stets, 2009). Refugees have already broken *ties with their roots and former cultural background*, yet have not fully established their own new place that they could regard as *home*. Refugee reception centres or schools do not fulfil this role; rather, they represent transient places characterised by separation or *exclusion*. Furthermore, the longer individuals remain in these places, the more destructive the experience of being an *outsider* may be. This in-between period at the centre is referred to as the liminal phase by the authors (Pawlak, 2013).

Children are often *thrown into a completely new, hitherto unknown, social environment in another country*. An unplanned change of location can lead to social isolation (Hale et al., 1993). Cultural alienation in the new school environment leads to the inclusion, alienation, and inactivity of refugee children (Jeznach, 2007; Jensen & Shaw, 1993), as well as to decreased participation in both educational (didactic) and social activities (joint games). *Strangeness* is not a constant characteristic of things, people and phenomena, but it is a property shaped within the dynamics of social ties (Szydlak & Nowicka, 1996). Cultural alienation is recognised as an encounter with cultural difference at both the individual and supra-individual level (including the material, communal, or mental dimensions) via indirect or direct contact, and is characterised by an emotional reaction manifested through distance and difficulties in perceiving a given phenomenon (Szydlak & Nowicka, 1996, p. 23).

The school environment is a distinctive setting and, as a total institution, is governed by its own internal structures and assessment criteria; however, children and young people should remain at the centre of all teaching and educational activities conducted within it. In situations of sudden change and the disruption of existing social ties, refugee children are faced with the challenge of forming new peer bonds and relationships with teachers.

New cultural codes, particularly in the context of armed conflict, become part of the process of constructing a *new identity* (Alexander, 2010). For young people living in an era of globalisation, this process may, on the one hand, be difficult and demanding; on the other hand, it may also constitute a new experience that can, over time, bring positive changes, such as learning new cultural codes, developing openness, and establishing new peer relationships.

In sociological theory, social bonds are described and analysed by scholars such as Castells (2007) and Putnam (2008). The main issues they address include the typology of social bonds, the social construction of these ties, and the factors influencing their evolution, both in a positive (strengthening ties) and negative (deconstruction) direction. When seeking to identify the most important features distinguishing social ties from related concepts, it can be assumed that they involve the existence of mutual contact aimed at satisfying the essential needs of the individual, awareness of the existence of social ties, respect for a shared axionormative order, and mutual dependencies that form the framework of such relationships (Żurek, 2014, p. 31).

A social bond is created and maintained through factors that both unite and divide individuals within collective coexistence. Such a bond constitutes *the totality of the interactions, relationships, and dependencies that bind an individual to a group, collectivity, social control centre, or another individual. It is based primarily on the awareness of belonging to a group, a community of values and interests, the prioritisation of group interests over individual ones, and the identification of one's activities and beliefs with those of the group, which is the result of the internalisation of the group's basic conformities* (Olechnicki & Załęcki, 2004, p. 244).

The situation of migration – and particularly refugeehood – places migrants/refugees in a completely new context that gives rise to specific migration networks (Kohli, 2006). Massey et al. (1993) conceptualised migration networks as systems of interpersonal ties, connecting migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in both regions of origin and destination. These bonds may be based on kinship, friendship, or common origin (Massey et al., 1993).

Material, symbolic (Lin, 2002), and emotional resources are rooted in these networks. The exchange of such resources among actors is crucial in the process of building bonds. Children are open and naturally able to share resources while remaining unaware of the underlying processes taking

place. In situations where they have fled from war accompanied by only one parent, this exchange may be disrupted due to anxiety, fear, stress, and other psychological factors that can lead to isolation and secondary exclusion (Williams & Berry, 1991).

The construction of new social ties in refugee contexts occurs within specific social groups (Reguła, 2020). Social ties are formed on the basis of real or virtual contacts between individuals within the social network. They arise from intentional motives (those that foster the formation of bonds), but they can also emerge situationally or contextually (as a result of differing circumstances) (Żurek, 2014, p. 31). Bonds can also be imposed, or they may develop into relationships in which the need to maintain the bond is automatic. Specific circumstances for the formation of social ties arise in situations of forced migration or refugeehood. The reasons for the emergence of a given type of bond are explained by the concept that social relations constitute the primary basis of social bonds (Żurek, 2014, p. 31) – i.e. they are the reason for the existence of such social relations.

In the context of forced migration and continued schooling, these ties are, on the one hand, *forced* and based on characteristic structures, including:

- A. the broader school community (the school environment as a whole);
- B. classroom peer groups;
- C. groups of children with experience of war.

An important feature of a group – in addition to its intra-group structures – is its capacity to produce its own values, patterns of behaviour, and rules of conduct, the recognition and observance of which are binding on its members (Sorys, 2021, p. 14). The ways in which bonds manifest themselves are related to specific behaviours and activities regulated by a socially or group-accepted axionormative order (Żurek, 2014, p. 31). One of the most important and general norms concerns the interdependencies that exist between individuals connected by a bond. Secondary groups indicate broader forms of participation in the social structure. They are primarily associated with occupying a specific position within a group and involve more indirect or anonymous forms of contact and interaction. These groups allow for considerable diversity in the values and attitudes of their members, and they also constitute a sphere

in which interactions occur by virtue of the positions held within the group and the various roles performed, leading to the creation, consolidation, and even transformation of cultural symbols that guide behaviour and serve as criteria for evaluating oneself and others (Sorys, 2021, p. 24).

Solidarity and group cohesion play an important role. In cohesive groups, people feel safer and are more willing to adhere to the norms that apply within them. Group cohesion and a sense of solidarity are influenced in particular by:

- small group size;
- similarity of life circumstances;
- a shared sense of external threat;
- a high level of approval for those who comply with group norms;
- emotional bonds, arising in part from a sense of being valued;
- recognition of similarities between oneself and others (Sorys, 2021, p. 27).

M. Granovetter distinguished between strong bonds, characterised by intensity, reciprocity, and durability, and weak bonds, characterised by lower levels of commitment, dependence, and obligation. Both types of bonds perform different social functions. It is usually assumed that weak ties allow access to individuals occupying different, and often higher, social positions. Such contacts offer opportunities to obtain certain, previously inaccessible, resources, and thus the potential to improve one's position (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1360). Strong cohesion increases the group's influence over its members. As cohesion increases, so does the group's tendency and ability to influence its members. The intensity of pressure exerted by the group on its members depends on the balance of power between them (Sorys, 2021, p. 17). M. Leary recognised that social ties are fundamental to achieving another important goal, which is the maintenance of high self-esteem. His research confirmed the hypothesis that self-esteem functions as a sociometer and varies depending on whether a person feels accepted or rejected by others (Leary, 2007).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The exchange of these resources takes place within a specific school environment, both in educational settings and leisure contexts. Many refugee families spent the initial stages of their displacement in schools and spaces adapted for accommodation. In this context, it is pertinent to ask what kinds of relationships are formed by refugee children with their peers in Polish schools. Does the development of such relationships in a war context help them to process trauma and lead to positive outcomes in the social sphere?

To answer the research questions, a quantitative research method was employed using a sample of 1,723 primary and secondary school teachers in Poland between May 2022 and October 2023. The study focused on the educational process of refugee children and was addressed to primary and secondary school teachers in Poland. Respondents answered an online questionnaire consisting of 24 closed-ended questions.

The group of respondents included female teachers (88.51%) and male teachers (11.49%). A significant proportion of respondents had more than 10 years of professional experience in educational institutions (20.26%). Most respondents (48.29%) were qualified, certified teachers. The others were contract teachers (18.06%), nominated teachers (17.37%), or trainee teachers (16.28%).

Type of school: 91% of respondents worked in public institutions and 9% in non-public institutions. The questionnaire was primarily sent to primary schools (81.53%), general secondary schools (14.64%), technical secondary schools (10.53%), stage I and II sectoral vocational schools (6.15%), and post-secondary schools (0.68%).

The average number of students per school ranged from 100 to 500, accounting for 47.74%. Smaller schools, in which the number of students did not exceed 50–100, constituted 18.33%. Very small schools (with fewer than 50 students) accounted for 7.93%, while very large schools (with more than 1,000 students) made up 4.24%. Reception and lower primary classes (years 0–4) accounted for 50.07%, early years classes (years 1–3) for 45.96%, and post-primary classes for 19.56%. Moreover, in the surveyed schools:

- 77% did not offer classes teaching minority languages;

- only 19% had such classes;
- schools in which the respondents worked did not run preparatory classes (73%);
- more than half of the respondents were not form tutors (53%).

The thematic scope of the study concerned problems and difficulties in both the teaching and pastoral domains. On the basis of the research conducted, the following research hypotheses were verified.

ANALYSIS OF THE AUTHOR'S OWN RESEARCH

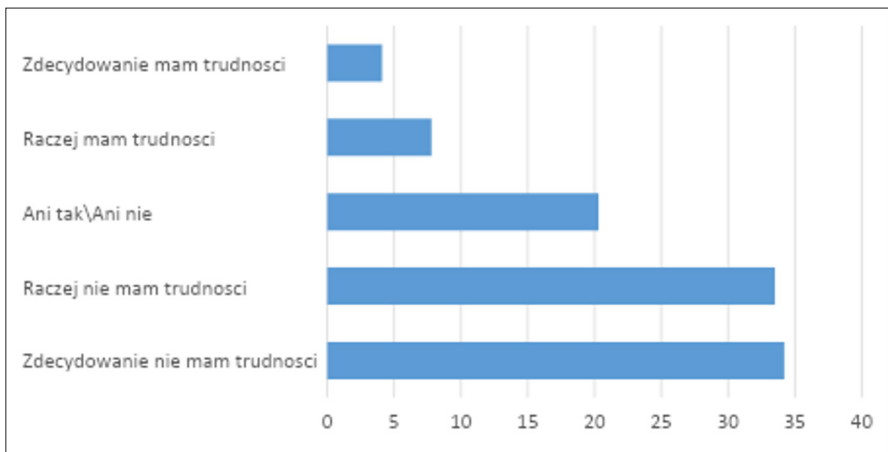
Respondents were asked whether refugee children's inappropriate behaviour towards teachers constituted a significant difficulty. The majority of teachers (69.5%) reported a negative response (38% indicated that they definitely did not have difficulties with refugee children's inappropriate behaviour towards teachers, and 31.5% tended not to have difficulties). Taking into account the age of the children, inappropriate behaviour was most often indicated by teachers working with the youngest children (grades 1–3), and least frequently experienced by secondary school teachers. The size of the locality in which the school was located did not appear to be a relevant factor, but small differences were observed when taking into account school size. The larger the school, the more often teachers indicated that they definitely did not experience such difficulties. It can be concluded that the vast majority of teachers do not experience behavioural difficulties with children who have experience of the Ukrainian war in Polish schools.

In the next question, teachers were asked about inappropriate behaviour by refugee children towards other students (Figure 1).

Just under 68% of teachers indicated that they did not observe inappropriate behaviour among refugee children towards other students (34.2% definitely did not have difficulties, and 33.5% tended not to have difficulties). In this case, the children's age also proved to be a significant factor differentiating the respondents' answers. The older the refugee children, the less frequently teachers reported problems with inappropriate behaviour towards other students.

A similar pattern was observed with regard to school size. The greater the number of students in the school, the less often difficulties with inappropriate behaviour were indicated. The situation was slightly different in the case of the size of the locality. Teachers working in rural areas and in small – to medium-sized towns more frequently answered that they definitely had no difficulties (between 34% and 36.4% of responses), compared to less than 24% of teachers working in large cities (with over 500,000 inhabitants). Teachers in large urban areas more frequently chose the answer *I definitely have difficulties*.

Figure 1. *The greatest difficulty in the pastoral process when working with a refugee child – a child's misbehaviour towards other students*



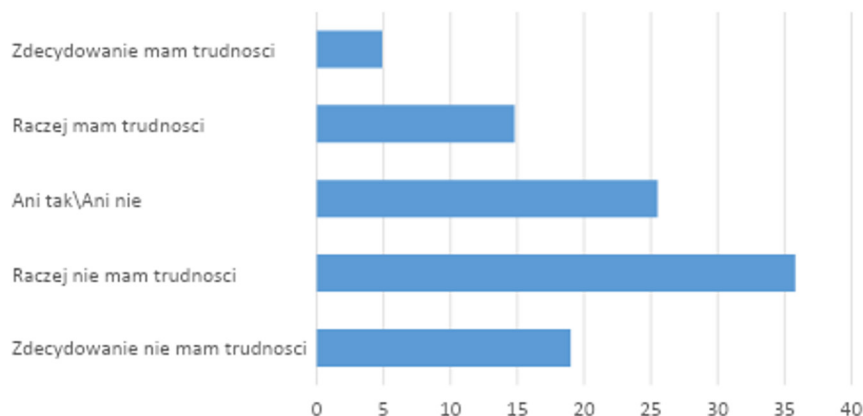
Source: author's own elaboration.

The next issue concerned difficulties in integrating a child with experience of war with other children in the class. Difficulties in integrating refugee children with their classmates were reported by nearly one in five teachers (*I definitely have difficulties* – 4.9%; *I don't really have difficulties* – 14.8%), while more than half of the respondents held the opposite view (*I definitely do not have difficulties* – 19%; *I do not really have difficulties* – 35.8%) (Figure 2).

This problem was most frequently indicated by teachers from the largest cities (over 500,000 inhabitants – 29.2%, and 100,000–500,000 inhabitants – 24%), and less often by those teaching in medium-sized towns (50,000–100,000

inhabitants – 15%), as well as in rural areas (18.7%) and small towns of up to 50,000 inhabitants (19.6%). Positive responses were less frequent among teachers working in very large (13.6%) and very small schools (17.2%). In the remaining types of schools, the combined proportion of *I definitely have difficulties* and *I tend to have difficulties* responses hovered around 20%. Problems with integration were most often observed by teachers of years 1–3 of primary school (21.1%) and years 4–8 of primary school (20.6%), and least often by teachers in post-primary schools (16.3%). Nearly one in four respondents selected the answer *Neither yes nor no*.

Figure 2. *The greatest difficulty in the pastoral process when working with a refugee child – the integration of a refugee child with other children in the class*



Source: author's own elaboration.

CONCLUSIONS

Nearly 70% of teachers reported that refugee children have a positive attitude towards teachers in Poland, while the remaining 30% reported encountering a negative attitude from this group. When the children's age was taken into account, inappropriate behaviour was most often indicated by teachers of students in years 1–3 and least frequently by teachers in post-primary schools. A notable proportion of children were found to establish positive relationships with teachers, with the greatest difficulties in this respect observed among early primary students (years 1–3). The size of the locality was not a significant factor in this case; however, slight differences were visible when considering the size of the school. The larger the school, the more often teachers selected the response *I definitely do not have difficulties*.

Just under 68% of teachers also did not report negative behaviour by refugee children towards other students. The older the children, the fewer instances of aggressive behaviour towards other students were reported by teachers. Teachers working in rural areas and in small – and medium-sized towns more frequently selected the response *I definitely do not have difficulties* (between 34% and 36.4% of responses), compared with just under 24% of teachers from large cities (over 500,000 inhabitants), who more often chose the response *I definitely have difficulties*.

Difficulties in **integrating refugee children with other students** in the class were reported by nearly one in five teachers. This problem was most frequently indicated by teachers from the largest cities (over 500,000 inhabitants – 29.2%, and 100,000–500,000 inhabitants – 24%). Problems with integration were most often observed by teachers of students in years 1–3 of primary school (21.1%) and students in years 4–8 of primary school (20.6%), and least often by teachers in post-primary schools (16.3%).

FINAL REMARKS

Based on the quantitative study conducted on a sample of $N = 1,723$ teachers in Poland, concerning difficulties in teaching and pastoral processes when working with refugee children and their impact on the reconstruction of social bonds, it can be concluded that, in the vast majority of cases, the formation of new relationships and networks proceeds appropriately and without aggressive behaviour. Difficulties in building relationships and new social bonds are more evident among children in years 1–3 of primary school, while older students appear to cope more effectively with the new environment. Children attending smaller schools in small towns and rural areas (with more closely knit community groups) manage significantly better and tend to establish relationships more easily within the whole school community.

The construction of new social bonds in a new social environment produces positive effects, which in turn contribute to the reconstruction of existing or disrupted ties within the immediate reference group (among groups of refugee children). The newly established relationships have a positive impact on minimising the psychological and social consequences of war at both the individual and group levels.

It can be concluded that these relationships are generally positive in nature, and that the presence of refugee children brings benefits to the school community. It should also be noted that older students in post-primary schools, particularly those in small towns and rural areas, cope more effectively and are more engaged in building lasting relationships with their Polish peers.

REFERENCES

- Alexander, J.C. (2010). *Znaczenia społeczne*. Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS.
- Ajdukovic, M. and Ajdukovic D. (1998). Impact of displacement on the psychological well-being of refugee children. *International Review of Psychiatry*. 10 (3), pp.186–195.
- Bartmański, D. (2007). Nowa perspektywa teorii społecznej. O założeniach socjologii kulturowej Jeffreya Alexandra. *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 3, pp.19-40.
- Block, K., Cross, S., Riggs, E., and Gibbs, L. (2014). Supporting schools to create an inclusive environment for refugee students. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. 18(12), pp. 1337–1355.
- Burnett, A., Peel, M. (2001). Asylum seekers and refugees in Britain: Health needs of asylum seekers and refugees. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*. 322(7285), pp. 544–547.
- Boothby, N. (1994). Trauma and violence among refugee children. [In] A. J. Marsella, T. Bornemann, S. Ekblad, & J. Orley [Eds.], *Amidst peril and pain: The mental health and well-being of the world's refugees*, American Psychological Association, 23, pp. 239–259.
- Castells, M. (2007). *Społeczeństwo sieci*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- CEO, Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej (2023). *Raport. Uczniowie uchodźcy z Ukrainy w polskim systemie edukacji*. Warszawa.
- De Berry J., Boyden J. (2000). Children in adversity. *Forced Migration Review*, 9, pp. 33–36.
- Eisenbruch, M. (1990). The cultural bereavement interview: A new clinical research approach for refugees. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 13(4), pp. 715–735.
- Granovetter, M. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, pp. 1360–1380.
- Hale, S., Hicks, E., and Hugo, J. (1993). *Counterweight: Alienation, Assimilation, Resistance Spiral bound*, Santa Barbara: Contemporary Arts Forum.
- Jeznach, A. M. (2007). Świat *innego*, świat *obcego* – świat uchodźcy. [In:] Lalak, D. red. *Migracja. Uchodźstwo. Wielokulturowość. Zderzenie kultur we współczesnym świecie*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Żak, pp. 122–126.
- Jensen, P. S., and Shaw, J. (1993). Children as victims of war: Current knowledge and future research needs, *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*. 32(4), pp. 697–708.
- Kohli, R. K. S. (2006). The sound of silence: Listening to what unaccompanied asylum-seeking children say and do not say. *British Journal of Social Work*. 36 (5), pp. 702–721.
- Leary, M. (2007). *Wywieranie wrażenia na innych. O sztuce autoprezentacji*, przeł. A. Kacmajor, M. Kacmajor. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.
- Lin, N. (2002). *Social Capital. A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino A., and Taylor, J. E. (1993). *Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal*. *Population and Development Review*, 4, pp. 431–466.

- Olechnicki, K., Załęcki, P. (2004). *Słownik socjologiczny*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Graffiti BC.
- Pawlak, M. (2013). *Organizacyjna reakcja na nowe zjawisko. Szkoły i instytucje pomocowe wobec uchodźców w Polsce po 2004 r.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IPSiR UW.
- Pluta, D. (2008). Zarys zjawiska uchodźstwa. Aktorzy zjawiska uchodźstwa a proces kształtowania uchodźcy. [In:] Czerniejewska, I., Main, I. red. *Uchodźcy. Teoria i praktyka*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Jeden Świat, pp. 34–49.
- Putnam, R.D. (2008). *Samotna gra w kręgle*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie i Profesjonalne.
- Reguła, H. (2020). Refugee and refugeeism – theoretical and social perspective. *Social Dissertations*, 14(4).
- Sorys, S. (2021). Ewolucja więzi społecznych. [In:] Salamon, K., Kutek-Sładek, K., Karcza, B. red. *Teoretyczno empiryczne interpretacje tożsamości społecznej z uwzględnieniem perspektywy familiologii*. Kraków, pp. 11–31.
- Steel, Z., Silove, D., Phan, T., and Bauman, A. (2002). Long-term effect of psychological trauma on the mental health of Vietnamese refugees resettled in Australia: A population-based study. *The Lancet*, 360(9339), pp. 1056–1062.
- Szydlak, P., Nowicka, E. (1996). Swoi i obcy. Granice jawne i ukryte. [In:] Nowicka, E., Nawrocki, J. red. *Inny – obcy-wróg*. Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, pp.185–219.
- Statystyki azylowe w Polsce 2023*. [dostęp: 12.07.2023].
- Turner, J.H., and Stets, J. E. (2009). *Socjologia emocji*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Ustawa (1991). *Ustawa z dnia 7 września 1991 r. o systemie oświaty*. Dz. U. z 2022 r. poz. 2230.
- Ustawa (2003). *Ustawa z dnia 13 czerwca 2003 r. o udzielaniu cudzoziemcom ochrony na terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*. Dz. U. 2003 nr 128 poz. 1176.
- UNHCR 1992. Biuro wysokiego Komisarza Narodów Zjednoczonych do Spraw Uchodźców (1992), *Zasady i Tryb ustalania statusu uchodźcy*. Genewa.
- UNHCR (2023). *Regional Refugee Response Plan for the Ukraine Situation*, Poland
- Williams, C. L., and Berry, J. W. (1991). Primary prevention of acculturative stress among refugees: Application of psychological theory and practice. *American Psychologist*, 46(6), pp. 632–641.
- Zetter, R. (1991). Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity. *Journal of Refugee Studies*,4(1), pp. 39–42.
- Zetter, R. (2007). More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization. *Journal of Refugees Studies*, 20(2), pp. 172–192.
- Żurek, A. (2014). *Więzi społeczne a zjawisko samotności i osamotnienia*. [In:] Grotowska-Leder, J. red. *Więzi społeczne, sieci społeczne w perspektywie procesów inkluzji i wykluczenia społecznego*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, pp. 23–36, DOI: 10.18778/7969-483-9.03