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How to organise a community?

Successes and flaws in the organisation of World Youth Day in Krakow in the eyes of pilgrims and hosts

1. Introduction

From its inception, the World Youth Day (WYD) has been perceived by researchers as not only a religious, but above all a cultural and social phenomenon.¹ Analysing the motivations of WYD participants to attend subsequent editions of the event, it can be noted that, apart from religious reasons, pilgrims manifest the willingness to discover new places, people and cultures. Meeting these needs is possible not only thanks to the organisation of events directly connected to the World Youth Day (as a part of Days in the Dioceses and the WYD Week), and the management of both the task teams in the church and outside of it, but also thanks to the coordination of non-church (tourist and cultural) events, as well as

¹ R. Rymarz, *Conversion and the new evangelization: A perspective from Lonergan*, "Heythrop Journal" (2010), pp. 753–767.

issues of infrastructure and security. Both the entire portfolio of projects which form WYD, and each particular action, can be perceived in various ways by the participants of the events. This is because participants' satisfaction can be connected to completely different factors when compared to other mass projects.

The objective of this paper is the identification of the opinion of WYD participants concerning the organisation of the entire event, as well as particular, distinctive activities that took place in the course of WYD. In particular, we want to highlight activities and events that were judged to have been well organised and evoked the sense of comfort and satisfaction. We would also like to indicate those activities and areas of the WYD organisation which participants judged to be ill-conceived or unsatisfactory. By 'participants' we understand the pilgrims as well as people who accommodated them including their hosts and other individuals and organisations receiving pilgrims and co-creating the WYD Programme and accompanying events.²

2. Research methodology

A pluralist perspective was adopted in the research³ by using the mixed methodology and drawing on both quantitative and qualitative data.⁴ It was decided that the study would consist of three phases, carried out before, during and after the World Youth Day.

The research conducted before WYD included desk research, in particular the study of the available statistical data (data from WYD organisers – registration statistics) and the analysis of documents, procedures, projects and activities of public institutions and NGOs involved in WYD

2 Research results presented in the article constitute a part of the research project *World Youth Day 2016 as a social, cultural and religious phenomenon*, carried out in 2016, and co-financed by the funds received from the Minister of Culture and National Heritage in the framework of the programme "Observatory of Cultural Activities".

3 P. Atkinson, M. Hammersley, *Metody badań terenowych*, Poznań 2000, p. 13.

4 P. Sztompka, *Socjologia. Analiza społeczeństwa*, Kraków 2012; Ł. Sułkowski, *Epistemologia w naukach o zarządzaniu*, Warszawa 2005.

(objectives, elements of municipal and voivodship policies, organisers' internal documents).

The research conducted during WYD included pilgrim surveys. During the final three days of WYD, 368 qualitative interviews with pilgrims from all over the world were conducted. Studies conducted after the World Youth Days (carried out 4 months after the conclusion of the event) included elite interviews (50 interviews) with representatives of entities that participated in the organisation of WYD, including: interviews with organisers on the part of the Catholic Church (parishes), representatives of municipal and communal authorities, voivodship and other public institutions and interviews with NGO representatives. Standardized interviews were carried out with businesspeople (100 interviews) as well as in-depth qualitative interviews with people who hosted pilgrims (50 interviews).

The collected research material underwent a qualitative analysis. The study quotes a number of interviews coded in the following manner: the number refers to the database entry (particular research subjects), while the abbreviations indicate: PI – interview with a pilgrim, HI – interview with a host accommodating pilgrims, and BI – interview with a businessperson.

3. WYD project – key events

The World Youth Day (WYD) held in July 2016 in Krakow can be described as one of the largest international events⁵ organised in Poland. The execution of this project started as early as 2013, when during a mass on the Copacabana Beach in Rio de Janeiro that concluded the previous edition of WYD Pope Francis announced the venue of the next event⁶. The end of the project can be considered to be the end of the year 2016 when organisers presented reports summarising the entire event. Due to its logistic complexity, WYD was compared numerous times, especially in the me-

5 Krajowe Biuro Organizacyjne Światowych Dni Młodzieży, <http://www.kdm.org.pl/> (23.11.2017).

6 *Papież wybrał Kraków* [*The Pope chose Cracow*] (2013), <https://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-z-kraju,3/papiez-wybral-krakow-swiatowe-dni-mlodziezy-w-2016-odbeda-sie-w-polsce,342947.html> (23.11.2017).

dia, to events such as Euro 2012 football championships, co-organised by Poland and Ukraine. However, a deeper analysis of the phenomenon allows for a conclusion that WYD was a project of an incomparably larger scale and scope which – due to the character of the event itself as well as its participants – required coordinating organisational efforts of various entities and communities. Entities involved in the organisation of WYD included church and public institutions, local governments, NGOs and the private sector. Their efforts were focused on logistics of the event itself, as well as creating the programme, since both of these organisational aspects impacted WYD participants' experiences.

The World Youth Day consisted of a number of events divided into three parts. The first one was Days in the Dioceses, when the youth visited various locations across the host country. The structure of Days in the Dioceses depended on the characteristics and style of the host diocese, as each had significant autonomy in designing their offer. Originally, it was, above all, the time for the participants to meet and get to know one another, for integration, exploring the culture and topography of the region. At this stage of WYD, numerous tourist trips and games were organised for the participants. Their creation involved the participation of not only church institutions and organisations, but also commune, powiat and voivodship cultural institutions as well as local NGOs. It should be emphasised that many of these activities were organised also within grass-root initiatives of local communities hosting the pilgrims. In the course of the research conducted during WYD, over 300 records were collected, indicating cultural or tourist events held as a part of the Days in the Dioceses. However, this number should be treated as an estimate – many of the events planned for the Days in the Dioceses were not featured in official programmes published online. It should be stressed that one “event” often encompassed several activities happening at once or on the same day, e.g. local festivals which included various concerts, workshops and meetings. Additionally, during Days in the Dioceses, WYD participants had the opportunity to visit museums free of charge. In Warsaw these included the Warsaw Uprising Museum, POLIN, the Royal Castle, Palace in Wilanow and Copernicus Science Centre.

Another part of the WYD project were the so-called “Key Events”, i.e. a week-long stay of the youth in the main host city. After the conclusion of Days in the Dioceses, all WYD participants travelled to the Krakow diocese, appointed by the Pope as the venue for the experience of Key Events between 25 and 31 July 2016. Monday was the day for the arrival of the youth who attended the opening ceremony on Tuesday, and on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday attended the catechetical sessions and the Youth Festival. Key Events were accompanied by special meeting zones, called Reconciliation Zones, as well as the Vocation Expo. An extremely important, integral part of the Key Events Programme of the World Youth Day was the Youth Festival: a “religious, artistic and cultural programme” that took place over the four consecutive days (Tuesday through Friday) in the time free from catechetical sessions and the so-called Key Events, i.e. official meetings of the youth with the Pope, or Holy Masses.⁷ The programme, featuring over 200 events, was realised in Krakow and its surroundings, including Brzesko, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, and Proszowice. The Festival included such activities as performances, dancing, concerts, exhibitions, movie screenings, location-based games, guided tours, evangelizing activities, sporting competitions and tourist activities. Artists and organisers who prepared the Festival came from all over the world, including France, Mexico, Peru, USA or Indonesia. In the months preceding Key Events, both particular groups of participants and cultural organisations could submit their propositions of events and activities, which were then included in the programme of the Festival. Krakow was dominated by concerts, performances and exhibitions – as many as 20 – including the biggest one: *Maria Mater Misericordiae* at the National Museum. TIFF – The Inigo Film Festival – took place as well. Furthermore, sporting events, workshops, and games were organised. The programme offered in towns hosting pilgrims around Krakow was significantly varied, with a particular emphasis placed on the one hand, on the local identity and discovering the location, and on the other hand, on the promotion of the region – short walks, longer excursions, and lo-

⁷ WYD Programme, www.krakow2016.com/program (21.11.2017).

cation-based games were a popular way to familiarise the guests with local history and culture. The conducted research revealed that the Youth Festival was the element of WYD which participants and observers of the event remembered most vividly. It was often called ‘a festival of youth and cultural diversity’. The festival was also the time for integration for the participants of WYD with the residents of Krakow and neighbouring host towns, presenting themselves and displaying their culture, and above all – for strengthening the sense of community.

The final element of the World Youth Day were meetings with the Pope. The last days of the stay in Krakow (Thursday through Sunday) were devoted to meetings with the Pope. The meetings constituted four main events: the Papal welcome in the Błonia Park, the Way of the Cross, the all-night vigil with the Holy Father, and the Final Mass at the Campus Misericordiae in Brzegi. Above all, it was the time of prayer, reflection and strengthening one’s faith.

According to organisers’ intentions, such an extensive programme of the World Youth Day was supposed to facilitate the execution of the main objective of the project: “experiencing the great community of the Catholic Church” (World Youth Day, 2016). This could be read as the wish to strengthen and develop the existing community of Church members, indispensable for its continuation and development.

4. WYD organisation – pilgrims’ perspective

An event of such a grand scale, with an enormous tourist and marketing potential, requiring management and control on many levels, involving the cooperation of numerous entities from various sectors, held at a time of global unrest and problems, an event of a special character due to its religious experience nature, was undoubtedly one of the greatest organisational challenges both Krakow and Poland have ever faced. All participants of WYD realized this fact: both those who arrived to meet the Pope, and those who felt responsible for the ultimate running and the result of these meetings.

Most WYD participants expressed very favourable opinions about the accommodation, catering and their stay in Krakow and in the parishes hosting the pilgrims. They encountered hospitality, a warm welcome and kindness from their hosts:

Hospitality, greeting. Everyone gets a warm welcome in this city. [PI-97]
Incredible hospitality, we were received like royalties, people in Spain aren't like that, each day was better than the one before, for instance, on the way to the campus, strangers came out of their homes, not just to stand outside, but they gave us water, food, to cool us down. [PI-11]

The Poles were considered to be organised by pilgrims who stayed in Krakow at the time. They noted that the success of WYD was the result of the work of many people who made every effort to create the best possible conditions for the pilgrims to attend celebrations. Pilgrims themselves also reported the Poles' readiness to provide assistance and support:

What touched my heart the most was the manner in which Poles received us, and the fact that everything is well and precisely organised. I received a very warm welcome from Polish families. [PI-284]
I think that Poles are very systematic about their approach to time. Time for everything is allotted and marked in the schedule. And this is good, because in Brazil, we don't have anything like it, and thanks to such behaviour we could enjoy this even more. [PI-47]

Participants of WYD noticed both organisational problems and obstacles, and areas well prepared and managed. Above all, it should be emphasised that impressions concerning the general level of preparations to celebrate WYD, resourcefulness and efficiency with which everything was executed, were positive:

This relatively small city with this (available) infrastructure managed really well and we are absolutely astounded by the hospitality. [PI-67]

Despite the challenge Krakow and Poland had to face: receiving and accommodating a very large number of people, both the planned schedule of trips and stays, and the efficiency and results of its implementation were satisfactory:

I liked the organisation very much, there was a clear plan which the management could execute seamlessly in these days, even though several million people arrived. Such organisation is really amazing and astonishing. [PI-344]

Other positive aspects include, above all, the sense of security which was successfully achieved thanks to the efforts of the people securing the project, according to the participants of WYD:

I'm impressed by the security, and safety. I feel very safe. [PI-108]

With good organisation, with everything to do with logistics, and with safety. This is tension, a sense of instability, but the level of security – we see helicopters above, and the military. It's a bit like in Germany – the organisation is strict, it isn't like France, where everyone does whatever they want. [PI-163]

The participants openly discussed their previous concerns in this respect, the general anxiety which nowadays accompanies most public events, particularly the fears connected with terrorist attacks:

[...] the only negative feeling was a rumour, a certain fear that something bad would happen (an attack – note) but I try not to worry, I'm not worried now. [PI-116]

When it comes to other organisational aspects of WYD, such as transport and communication, or catering services, opinions of the interviewees were divided. However, it should be noted that critical voices were in the minority. Some interviewees did not notice the aforementioned difficulties – on the contrary, they found the entire management of the tourist traffic very efficient:

What is more, I'm surprised with the good organisation of the event, police, municipal guard – it's quite problematic, organisation-wise, and I think Krakow and Myślenice manage very well.”

However, certain interviewees were of the opinion that the conditions and time of the commute, as well as the reliability of public transport left a lot to be desired.

The one thing I must say was badly organised was the affair with trains, which were overcrowded [...] [PI-77]

Badly organised transport, very slow, a great number of people, it was difficult to get to the Campus, on our way back we arrived home very late as well. [PI-13]

Among various problems, pilgrims also noted the quality of catering services which was judged by some of them as substandard:

It was all badly organised, the server lady ignored us, it'd be unthinkable in Spain; here it seems you serve at the leisure of the server, and it should be the other way around. [PI-39]

Not all restaurants in Krakow accept pilgrim vouchers. In my opinion it's rather a bad thing, because pilgrims should be served in every restaurant. Maybe it's a small problem with organisation between the church, the city and Poland, or maybe it's a political issue. [PI-92]

But that's true, an hour and a half in the line to the restaurant and then the information that they are out of food, while we don't understand anything because they say it only in Polish, that's what caused our disappointment in the end. But that's inevitable. [PI-152]

In responses of the interviewees who encountered certain organisational difficulties, the issue of time was raised the most often⁸. They in-

⁸ Cf. W. Pokojska, A. Pudełko, *Masowość a turystyka kulturowa – doświadczenia uczestników Światowych Dni Młodzieży*, „Turystyka Kulturowa” (2017) No. 4, pp. 73–87.

— indicated that many actions required a lot of time which they would rather use differently:

I think the issue of transport is quite difficult, as is the question of partnership with restaurants. There are numerous partner restaurants located far from the city centre, while those located downtown are overrun, so you have to wait an hour or two and there is not much time left. Eating takes two hours. [PI-156]

The one thing I don't like is the transport, we must walk a lot and far (long distance from the city centre to the hotel) which leaves us little time. [PI-130]

Among unsuccessful organisational solutions WYD participants listed the feeble flow of information, both between persons responsible for the services and participants, and the form of the information – unclear signs. It resulted in certain puzzlement and confusion among participants:

Information other than this directly concerning WYD (signs on monuments, roads, streets...) only in Polish; since Polish doesn't resemble anything, it was hard for me to understand and guess where I was... [PI-27]

Another few difficulties mentioned in interviews with WYD participants included too small a number of public toilets, and trash:

It was very hard to find a toilet in Krakow, they are almost nowhere to be found. [PI-197]

But on this subject, too, completely different opinions concerning cleanliness and order in the city were recorded:

I expected Poland to be a poorer, post-communist country, and it is orderly, clean and organised. [PI-31]

5. Hosts and other recipients of the WYD organisation

With hindsight, the surveyed Poles (hosts, employees of institutions and businesspeople) had fond recollections and opinions about the World Youth Day. What stayed with them most was the great number of people living in Krakow at that time, as well as the scale and scope of the event, which they considered to be global. For the majority of the respondents it was a period of a positive “chaos” reigning in Krakow, a certain departure from the routine of everyday experiences, a time of many surprises and interesting observations:

Personally, I think that such a big, world-scale event won't happen again in Krakow, not on that scale, where people actually came from all over the world and you could meet so many people. [HI-1]

It's hard to say, there was a certain aura in the city, some sort of cheerfulness, and hope, it was kind of awesome, and this is what I remember – that Krakow for a moment changed its face completely for that time. It entered a somewhat liminal space, a transitory period of chaos. But it was a very positive chaos, filled with some sort of positive energy [BI-10].

A pleasant image of young people united by a shared idea, and I think it's great in any situation, regardless whether it's connected to faith, or anything else. I have a very positive memory when it comes to how the streets looked, and the entire atmosphere in the city [BI-88].

With a great number of people, a very well organised, much needed event, worthy of the organisational effort. Poland was well prepared to receive the youth and I think that pilgrims were satisfied as well [HI-5].

However, the organisation of a meeting, attended by so many people at the same time in one place, and moreover with people from different cultural backgrounds, was, according to some respondents, the cause of numerous problems which Krakow should have managed better. Others, however, regarded it as the confirmation of organisers' capabilities and responsibility, and something to be proud of. The surveyed participants listed both successes and failures which they had observed at the time. It

should be noted, however, that most of these aspects received ambiguous assessment. Activities which received mixed reviews include above all the problems with transport and mobility – for Krakow residents moving around the city and pilgrims commuting to Krakow:

Now, the ease of entering sectors and public transport, shuttle buses ran until four even 5 a.m., so there were no problems with getting out of the Błonia Park., There were no traffic jams, or gridlocks where people would just mill around and couldn't move, so it was all really well organised, from where I'm standing. [BI-5]

I was under the impression that it was rather well organised. Maybe there were even too many trams. Especially late in the evening, because they drove around empty, but I understand that it was all in good faith. So, in general, the organisation – very good. [BI-39]

You know what, it's hard for me to say, because on the first day that the Pope came, I couldn't get back home, unfortunately. They said there would be trams and buses, and so on. They closed off streets, including the one from which my bus should depart, and there was only the information that trams don't go in some direction or other. [BI-7] However, well, the city was somewhat paralysed, even the tiniest, least popular corners of Krakow were crowded. So, it was difficult to move around by car, or even by public transport. Trams had a hard time keeping up with transporting pilgrims and Krakow residents. Actually, it's the biggest flaw. [BI-44]

The level of cleanliness and order in the city was, according to some respondents, questionable and it was criticised, while others expressed a completely opposite reaction – they were pleasantly surprised by the organisation in this area:

There was a little problem with cleaning around Stolarska street. Waste disposal wasn't well organised. [BI-17]

When it comes to negative aspects, I'd say the trash. [BI-91]

The number of toilets on the way back, at night, on foot from the Błonia Park, you could find nice and clean toilets everywhere. [HI-29]

Similarly divisive was the issue of marking the most important places dedicated to pilgrims, which would facilitate their moving around the unfamiliar city:

The only thing was that there were too few signs, in the very centre of Krakow, to show where is the largest concentration of catering points, where the vouchers from the packages could be used. I'd give some more thought to proper marking. [BI-11]

Maps which pilgrims received were too small. Medical help points weren't clearly marked. They're weren't well made. [BI-75]

Numerous negative opinions concerned the quality and efficiency of giving out meals, the standard of catering services and competences of people responsible for catering:

Because for one thing, people ate on the street. In general, the organisation was quite bad at the beginning, in my opinion, because they didn't expect so many people to come. [BI-12]

I saw very long lines and pilgrims who stayed here told me that one day they didn't manage to eat lunch, even though they paid for packages that covered the cost of meals. When they were left in the city centre for two hours, they queued for so long, that they weren't able to buy and eat that food. [HI-25]

Maybe the way of organising meals they could get with their pilgrim packages was a bit chaotic. I know that where I live the restaurant was occupied until very late. It was hard to find a seat there; perhaps other restaurants were less popular. [BI-43]

The highlight of the event, which was emphasised and praised numerous times, was the efficiency of uniformed services which made the participants feel safe and provided the sense of security:

[...] the event security, thanks to the work of the police and volunteers, it was a plus, you could feel safe, especially when many people were afraid that a panic might erupt in the crowd, that perhaps there

weren't enough emergency exits in the Błonia... some might have complained, but everything turned out great, as it should, despite the mass of people. [BI-37]

Controlling such a huge crowd was managed successfully, municipal authorities and policing services passed the muster. [BI-72]

[...] initially, before WYD, perhaps it was media that created the concern that it's going to be one huge disaster, that there can be terrorist attacks, that Krakow will be gridlocked, that it will be a nightmare. Panic was spread, some people left the city for this reason. It turned out to be very nice, there was no traffic, no attacks. Many people who left didn't participate in this WYD, and I know they later regretted it. [HI-26]

I mean, people felt safe. There was security all the time, uniformed services were very well prepared, very professional, very helpful, so I think that also this hospitality, the sense of security, and a sense of organisation. When anything got broken, it was fixed right away, so I think that people felt happy and safe here. And it created an atmosphere of a place to which you want to return. [HI-4]

In my mind, the World Youth Day is a huge phenomenon in present times; times of threats, terrorism, when everyone is afraid to go somewhere, and suddenly people from all over the world arrive to Krakow to meet the Pope and it's so beautiful. [HI-12]

Among the positive aspects of the WYD organisation, the respondents indicated also the attractive offer that accompanied main celebrations, which enabled a better use of time spent in Krakow, exploring local culture by pilgrims, the integration of pilgrims and mutual exchange, as well as fun and entertainment:

So, a pilgrim who came to Krakow from the start had several options to choose from, various side events. It's a very important thing, because oftentimes, while attending various events, you can notice that

the only thing organisers care about is that this principal event was the most important happening [...]. [BI-36]

Many cultural events, many activities organised in parishes, for example at Dominicans there were tours in various languages, including the history of the monastery. Many parishes held such events. Prepared in foreign languages. [HI-20]

The Pilgrim Package also received positive reviews, its contents as well as organisers' ingenuity was appreciated:

A backpack, a waterproof poncho, or whatever it's called, a bat, as they say, I still have it and it's unbreakable. Everything was awesome. [PI-16]

Some of the surveyed participants were pleasantly surprised by the reaction of local communities, and Poles in general, to the pilgrims and WYD celebrations. They recalled the kindness, openness and understanding shown to pilgrims. They recalled how eagerly and efficiently the involved people dealt with organisational issues of WYD, and how kind their attitude towards the pilgrims' visit was:

[...] so much energy sprung from the residents of Wadowice, which we had never witnessed before. On the very first day, July 25, when the pilgrims came and we made an unofficial opening of WYD and an ice-breaking party, even then we could see that a crowd of residents, particularly those who hosted pilgrims in their homes, came with us to the town square and had great fun until the evening. [WI-16]

I liked the fact that the residents of Krakow made the grade; I mean that everything was well prepared – some of them left, so the youth could move more freely, it was nicely organised. [...] I liked that people wanted to participate in this event, that there was a crowd, that everyone enjoyed themselves and had smiles on their faces. [HI-9]

The general impression and assessment of the WYD organisation by the interviewees was very positive. The praised aspects include organisers' efficiency and ingenuity, attractiveness and diversity of the programme,

the atmosphere created by the residents of Krakow and the pilgrims. Above all, participants felt taken care of, protected and safe. More controversial organisational aspects reported by the participants, even if they often approached the subject with understanding, were: communication, transport and catering services. In a few cases, the issues of cleanliness, order, exchange of information and signage were raised as well.

6. Summary

The most important findings of the study include:

1. The general image of the WYD organisation was decidedly positive among pilgrims. Even certain shortcomings or problems related to the stay and participation in religious activities were always presented alongside opinions referring to the entirety of the experience, which was predominantly positive. In other words, the sphere of religious experience and joy resulting from the opportunity to meet the Pope, which dominated the pilgrims' responses, smoothed out shortcomings or problems they had noticed as tourists.

2. Decidedly the most positive area of the WYD organisation turned out to be accommodation and support for the pilgrims. In fact, there were no critical opinions in this respect, and the immaterial side of this organisation was particularly emphasised, i.e. hospitality, kindness and the willingness to assist in any situation. The second matter is the question of security organisation, which was especially important in the face of concerns about the terrorist attacks threat.

3. More polarised were opinions about transport and commuting, as well as catering services. There were both favourable opinions as well as responses indicating certain shortcomings and flaws, especially in the area of the frequency and comfort of travelling, as well as service and access to catering points.

4. The organisation of WYD from the perspective of hosts – both those who accommodated pilgrims and who supported them – was slightly less favourable. Undoubtedly, it resulted in part from the fact that when the celebrations were over, it was possible to look back at the events calmly

and without heightened emotions. The assessment of transport and mobility was polarised – on the part of residents and pilgrims who moved around the city as well as pilgrims commuting to Krakow; cleanness and order in the city were divisive issues as well. The aspect which received the weakest marks is the standard of catering services. In hindsight, hosts highly praised the work of uniformed services (security) and the cultural offer prepared by various institutions.

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