POLAND, SLOVENIA, THE WORLD Challenges of Present-Day Education

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POLAND, SLOVENIA, THE WORLD Challenges of Present-Day Education

ed by Anna Kozłowska and Janko Muršak

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Editorial Council Klemens Budzowski, Maria Kapiszewska, Zbigniew Maciąg, Jacek Majchrowski

Reviewer prof. dr hab. Barbara Sitarska prof. dr Zdenko Medveš

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Editors' Introduction

Transformations of education in changing Europe are multifaceted. One of the latter is the process of strengthening the cooperation among universities in this part of the world. This cooperation is carried out in many fields – from joint projects and researches – to joint analyses, discourses and publications. This monograph – a collection of reflections, thoughts and polemics deriving from theoretical and empirical researches, carried out as a part of a joint research project simultaneously undertaken at both these universities under the name "Problems and challenges of modern education" – constitutes one of the fruits of the cooperation between Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Cracow University and the University of Ljubljana.

The experience of Slovene and Polish academic teachers and research workers who have an innovative and pragmatic approach to education, turned out essential and inspiring for the project at issue. The comments – concerning different aspects of the process of the transformation of education – which were made by the authors – should be perceived as a whole. These comments and reflections are not only interconnected due to the main subject of research but also due to their concern about the reader who should feel invited to make some thorough reflections in the fields of educational activity. The analysis of texts contained in this collection allows to make a comment that the transformations which take place in education generate complexity and multifaceted nature of the problems that can be encountered at contemporary schools and in educational environment. These transformations also entail numerous threats in the process of human evolutionary adaptation in the period of permanent changes.

The scientific outcome of the research at issue was collected in three separate parts of the monograph. The latter are respectively the trends, problems and tendencies in the period of changes and transformations. Such pattern is justified on the account of the fact that what matters in the search of the model of modern education is

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primarily the accuracy of assessments and predictions, verified by strongly oriented theoretical and empirical researches. Scientific questions asked both by Polish and Slovene academic teachers were concentrated around the trends, problems and shortages as well as weaknesses of contemporary education. The project in question has devoted much attention to the tendencies, innovations and new challenges as well as educational achievements and as such they constitute the third part of the deliberations. As far as research trends are concerned what has been particularly emphasised was the development of educational terminology, mechanisms of proper relations in education and the ways of implementing new scientific discoveries in educational process on all levels of education. The second part of the monograph touched upon the problem of deficiencies and weaknesses of education in the period of transformations. What was taken into consideration and thoroughly discussed was the Bologna process and the issues of monitoring the quality of education. Another issue was the work with a student who is difficult and rejected by the peer group. Some crucial topics under discussion concerned integrative context of education at modern schools together with legal and organizational issues of educating the minorities. The third part of the monograph undertakes the problem of effective innovations and emphasises the main tendencies in education in transformation period. The authors devoted a lot of attention to deliberations concerning managing educational institutions and the cooperation of these institutions with other educational centres. Another problem that was dealt with was the issue of different alternatives in the activity and in the cooperation between parents and teachers in settling educational dilemmas at school and in family environment. The introductory text to more detailed analyses and deliberations of respective authors is the thesis of the associate professor Stanisław Nieciuński "The contexts of the 21st century education. Psycho-academic analysis".

As the editors of the series of monographs, we do express our hope that the collection at issue will familiarise the readers with educational problems in the period of changes and transformations. Although there are no ready made answers and solutions, we strongly believe that this study will contribute to a lively discussion on the subject of the dilemmas of modern education and its role in changing reality. Our intention was to create favourable conditions for further analysis of the problems discussed in this study. At the same time, we believe that the latter would lead both to the intensification of the cooperation between academic teachers in both academic centres and provoke both these centres to undertake further researches and joint research projects. This study can be treated as a point of departure in the process of revealing great potentials of education in synchronising and removing the hurdles and barriers in the transformation period.

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PART ONE

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STANISŁAW NIECIUŃSKI

Contexts of 21st-century education. Psycho-pedagogical analysis

Contexts of upbringing and the social mission of education

The process of education is accompanied by two types of contexts, which are (1) universal, unchangeable in all periods and communities, and (2) dependent on the conditions of life, derivative of the human challenges of the time. Both groups should serve the actualisation of the social mission of education entrusted to educational institutions and tutors. The work should bring about an "increase in the level of preparation of the students for independent, creative life in harmony with themselves, in harmony with other people and social groups, and in harmony with the entire environment". The word "preparation" present in this formula signals (1) the need for educational impact on students, and (2) the requirement of subjective treatment.

Thus the teacher–student relationship should be, as is rightly emphasised by numerous researchers, the relationship between autonomous individuals, of which each is an autotelic value. The context of education defining the relationship mentioned above, including the pedagogues' attitudes, should help to bring out internal richness, peculiar beauty, unique interests, and socially precious skills and abilities vested in the individual participants in the process of education. The approach of the tutors, characterised by thus defined features, should be accompanied by the ability

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of arrangement, indispensable for teachers, and consequently of placing students in situations triggering in them activity characterised by self-fulfilment and self-creation. The force of the external pressure exerted on the students cannot be excessive, as it would then threaten their internal freedom and dignity, prompting in effect their own authentic reactions to be masked.

The requirement to respect the autonomy and individuality of the students is but one of the number of fundamental postulates made present as a signal in the social mission of education presented above. Its second aspect, equally important, accentuates the need to stimulate the development of *specifically human* features of the students' psyche. What is meant here is a collection of features typical of the species of *homo sapiens sapiens*, decisive for the peculiarities of behaviour of its representatives. The features characteristic of the species include reflexive awareness of individuals, the ability to think in general terms, the skill of conducting relativist reasoning, the ability to intentionally steer ostensible behaviours, subjective freedom, openness to the world and creativity, including the competences that allow humans to create culture and civilisation.

Besides the aspects of the social mission of education discussed above, it has yet another relative aspect worth considering here. This is expressed by the postulate which emphasises the need for conditions to be produced allowing students their *own existential fragmentary character* in the process of education. It compliments, I believe, the list of the basic aspects of the civic mission of education, at the same time unveiling the next collection of respective educational goals and tasks. The pedagogical duty of careful observation of the phenomenon of belonging of individuals to broader wholes (ecological, social, cultural, spiritual) in the educational process is also emphasised here.

The basic areas of the context of education

For a student to become aware of his own fragmentary character, required is an understanding that people are not *monadic*, as G.W. Leibniz believed. They are *partially isolated* systems, vulnerable to external influence, requiring external complementation. Their biological existence and psychological existence are to a great degree conditioned and to some extent derivative of the properties of the systems that encompass them. After all, they draw the necessary information, energy, and goods from the environment, and it is in the environment that they satisfy needs, fulfil desires, make their dreams come true, look for and multiply the values they hold dear.

Taken together, the statements provided above mean, among other things, that the first principal group of factors of the context of education is composed of constituents of the human environment. They can be divided, it seems, into subgroups according to the criteria that allow the subjects of research to be distinguished, into (a) natural, (b)

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social, and (c) cultural empirical disciplines. Assuming that the phenomena characterised within the types of sciences mentioned have an educational impact on separate planes, it is to be assumed that there are three relatively different fields of the context of education. These are the areas of, respectively: (1) ecological dependencies and influences, (2) social factors, and (3) cultural regulations of the students' behaviour.

In each of the areas singled out here, the environment encompasses the individuals, influences them, stimulates their development, complements, and permeates into them. At times, it also threatens their existence, harms, enforces defensive behaviours, and persuades them to obey the laws that govern it. As long as the individuals remain alive, the environment never – and this requires emphasis – fully consumes them. People incessantly turn out to be capable of maintaining relative autonomy: they track the changing situations, foresee the course of actions, actively adjust themselves to them, make creative use of the natural phenomena, develop the economy, create culture, and realise their own potential in the processes of self-creation and self-fulfilment.

Both particular human behaviours and the competences that lie at their foundations prove that individuals are self-steering subjects, whose characteristic feature is imminent activity. They also believe that the conduct of people, including the undertaking of learning activities, and indirectly also the impact of institutional education, depends not only on the stimulations coming from the environment, but also to a great extent on the students themselves. They are conditioned by the factors that operate from the inside, derivative towards the state of knowledge of the learning persons, their abilities, tempers, drives, needs, emotions, motivations, decisions, and plans. It is worth adding that it is on the level of development of the internal regulative structures mentioned here that the degree of completion of the mission of education depends (also in what can be read in the first paragraph of this text), as is generally assumed in pedagogic sciences.

All the considerations provided above lead in effect to the conclusion that the background of the process of education presented in points \underline{a} , \underline{b} and \underline{c} (see the explanation of the symbols quoted in the paragraphs above) is not the only context that conditions the course of their constituent activities. There is a not less important plan that permanently accompanies educational events established by two internal (intra-individual) complexes of factors. These are respectively: a) the subsystem of anatomical and physiological conditions, and (e) the subsystem of psychological factors. They correspond to the successive relatively independent fields of the context of education, namely (4) the area of its *organism-related* determinants, and (5) the circumstances generated by the content, organisation, and functioning of *experience structures* of the subject.

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The basic factors in the context of education

Section 2 clearly proves that the course and effects of the process of education are determined in two manners. They depend, as was claimed above, on the constantly changing system of factors that operate (A) from the environment, and (B) from within the individual. The vectors of influences of the two constellations of circumstances mentioned are, as it is easy to notice, firstly mutually opposing, secondly convergent, and thirdly mutually influencing with different forces in different systems of conditions. On these grounds, it may be assumed that together they pose a particular "dimension" of the context of education, one of the fundamental ones spanning between the extremities: *environment – interior of the student*.

Proof of the existence of the bipolar dimension mentioned here is the fact that the educational influence results in pedagogically significant effects only when the types of factors distinguished here act together. Further proof is that there is a permanent informational and material exchange between the environment and the individual. In it, the individual behaves primarily in a reactive manner, as shown by the perceptive and consumptive activities displayed, initiating the chains of the individuals' further reactions. Secondly, the individual reacts actively, undertaking intentional physical actions focused on the environment, or impacting the environment through symbolical and communicational behaviours.

The *individual* – *environment* "dimension" is, as has been said, the basic and yet not the only modality that characterises the context of education. Of lesser significance is the common platform of the background of educational phenomena, that is disclosed in stating the fact that individuals are tutors for themselves. They master this ability through formation and progressing clarification of personal standards, as they develop their abilities to manage their own behaviour, and, as a consequence, acquire autocreative and self-fulfilment competences¹. Once these become assimilated, they behave reflexively, objectively, and rationally, at the same time disassociating themselves from the momentary emotional motivating impulses that appear within them.

Assuming that self-education is a function of the capacities of conducting autonomous choices and the intentional implementation of personal standards presented above, and also that the development of the group of competences takes place together with the formulation of the skills of mastering one's own unconscious and impulsive reactions, one may, it seems, point to another basic and common "dimension" of the context of education. This stretches, in line with these assumptions, between the following extremities: *mechanisms for regulation of behaviour – consciousness of the student*. What we are speaking about here is both self-awareness and awareness of the environment, especially in the understanding of functional and cause-and-result

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¹ R. J. Sternberg, *Psychologia poznawcza*, Gdańsk 2001.

dependencies that govern objects that activity pertains to. It fluctuates from lack of any knowledge thereof in unconditional reactions, via the ability of following signals in conditional reactions, and then of the awareness present in the forms of monospecific and polyspecific mental images in children², to the forms of more or less abstract notions in youth³ and meta-notions and meta-knowledge in adults⁴.

An attempt at ordering factors in the context of education, according to the basic modalities presented above, is shown in Chart 1.

Chart 1. An attempt to order the basic constituents of the context of education in line with two modalities: 1) consciousness – material variables in the psychological system, and 2) human – environment

CONSCIENCE

(phenomenological variables)

internal factors corresponding to the experiences of an individual the content of experiences, observations, and acts of memory and imagination.	Patterns and symbols influencing the individual cultural carriers of social awareness
Internalised information and factors triggering motivation, being the grounds for intellectual, emotional, and motivational actions	Systems of values; social, religious, moral, legal norms; language; myths; humanist, scientific knowledge; technological information; technology; art; etc.
I	П
Human	Environment
(Internal variables)	(External variables)
(Internal variables) III Genetic, neuropsychological, endocrynological conditioning, needs, drives, etc.	(External variables) IV Natural and economic conditions, behaviours of other people and social groups, results of own conduct, etc.

Mechanisms regulating human behaviours (physicalist data). Source: own study

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² K. Obuchowski, Człowiek intencjonalny, czyli o tym jak byś sobą, Warszawa 2007.

³ B. Harwas-Napierała, J. Trempała (ed.), *Psychologia rozwojowa człowieka. Charakterystyka okresów życia człowieka*, Vol. 2, Warszawa 2000.

⁴ S. Nieciuński, *Kształcenie akademickie a intelektualny rozwój młodzieży studenckiej*, "Państwo i Społeczeństwo" 2006, No. 3, pp. 15–27.

The content of Chart 1 shows, among other things, that the notion of the context of education – of basic importance for the considerations of this article – is a broad category and in a sense continuously defined in educational science. For groups of factors lying within the limits of the notion we defined, these are, respectively: internal factors corresponding to the experiences of the individual (in the first quarter of the chart), the cultural patterns and symbols that influence the individual (in its second quarter), substantial, energetic, and informative properties of the individual's organism (presented in the third quarter), and – analogous to the others – features of the individual's material and social environment (presented in the fourth quarter). Naturally, the individual factors are present in constellations, have an impact on one another, become mutually combined, and jointly influence the behaviour of the individual.

We should take note of the fact that the context of education is on the one hand created by the factors that pedagogues may relatively freely operate, while on the other hand these are elements over which educators generally have no control. Among the latter, one may point to genetic and neuropsychological factors, and a large share of ecological circumstances, as well as social and economic circumstances. Their existence makes us aware that the actualisation of the mission of education depends not only on the work of pedagogues, or more broadly on the activity of educational institutions. The individual is raised and educated by the entire reality: the society, its culture, non-social and extra-cultural circumstances, and besides that — as has been discovered — the individual is an educator for himself.

The greatest interest from the educational point of view is naturally caused by those components of the context of education that are subject to intentional shaping by teachers. They are the subject of research conducted in general didactics and specific methodologies, including those referring to didactic, *in loco parentis* and resocialising influences. Analysed within them are the functions of the individual circumstances and their systems in the attainment of goals of the strictly defined and relatively narrow fields of education. These functions are relativised by age, sex, health, and other individual characteristics of the students and the environmental determinants of their activity.

The changeability of the constituents building the educational contexts of the 21st century

I believe that neither the individual factors and/or mechanisms that constitute context of education, nor the laws of development and operation of the society, nor the content of the social mission of education, have changed in the 21st century. The process of learning is still defined by the same rules of classical and instrumental conditioning, modelling, perception, memory, speech and thought, and many are the universal psychological regularities. Expectations towards the organisers of

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education and educators still include preparation of students for independent and creative solutions of their own life problems in harmony with themselves and with the environment⁵.

What has changed, seemingly to a greater degree, are the three basic qualities that characterise the traditional context of education. Namely:

- the diminished level of integration of the constellation of factors that constitute the context of education;
- the increased pace of their influence on students:
- the increased intensity of the impact.

Among the crucial reasons for the changes occurring in this scope recorded in sociological and pedagogical writings are two ubiquitous social and cultural processes. They are: (1) *globalisation* of culture and organisation of the life of social groups, and (2) their *fragmenting*. Developing and strengthening in the background of the two processes is the phenomenon of *manipulating people* – equally significant in education – and, notably, unfavourable from the point of upbringing. In other words, the tendency to make use of other persons as tools for achievement of goals that are alien for them but in line with the stratagems of the manipulators is intensifying.

The reasons behind the first two processes listed above are in a certain scope common, while researchers usually situate them outside education⁶. Significant among them is the continually growing pace of changes of social life enforced by the growing progress in science and technology, economy, information, and communications. The level of knowledge of the contemporary human and the implementations and uses based on it allows the management, and even to a degree also steering of behaviours of large masses of humans. This leads in effect to the development of global cultural, educational, trading, production, transfer, financial, etc. centres, growing at the expense of the lesser centres systematically losing their importance.

Globalisation and fragmentation vs. the context of education

Globalisation, Z. Bauman⁷ claims, is the effect of developing the so-called "neutral space" known as cyberspace. It allows for the creation of "global reality", free exchange of information, technologies, capital, everything that could bring to an end or at least limit the freedom of the market. Moreover, it integrates more than only the market. J.E. Stiglitz believes that globalisation unites, and as a result also standardises the ideas preached, models cultivated, behaviours, lifestyles, cultural products, customs, contents, values, and worldviews⁸.

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⁵ See the first page of this text.

⁶ Z. Bauman, Globalizacja. I co z tego wynika, Warszawa 2000.

⁷ Ihidem

⁸ J. Szmyd, Tożsamość a globalizacja, Kraków 2006, p. 194.

As J. Szmyd writes, "the notion of globalisation may be understood as an objective and irreversible process of uniting the world into a relatively coherent whole, and at the same time the process of its uniformisation", and adds that it is composed of "a set of different transformations of the contemporary world moving towards the integration and unification of the fields of reality covered by it". Going further, he states that these changes penetrate and condition one another.

Fragmentation is, in reference to globalisation, a process that is in a sense opposing, originating primarily from the achievements of information technology and automation, changes in technology and organisation of work, and, as a result, the unusual boosting of the pace of social life. Its acceleration exerts a significant influence also on the personal life of the human being, transforms the manner of alimentation, manner of spending free time, communication, travelling, and gathering, acquiring, processing and using knowledge. As a result, the traditional structures of organisation of societies turn out to be useless, if not downright dysfunctional, and undergo disintegration, falling to pieces, bits, shreds, elements. The cultural models shared through the means of mass communication mix, building a relatively hardly transparent mosaic of axio-normative postulates of behaviours that are mutually indifferent and at times downright contradictory.

Fragmentation, according to Jerzy Mikułowski-Pomorski, is the process where "certain constituents cease to belong to the wholes they used to belong to, become liberated and live their own lives, or after a certain time move into recomposing wholes. Yet fragmentation is not the disappearance of parts of given wholes, the total decomposition; it is rather the continuation of the parts in a certain state – distinguished and recognizable – capable for a time of operating on their own, yet also requiring an external reinforcement. Such a state of syncretism, i.e. the existence of certain fragments next to one another, may be proof of the fall of the system without prospects for the appearance of something new. In that case, fragments exist alongside one another, without influencing one another"¹¹.

Both the processes presented above lead – through their numerous economic, social, civilisational, and cultural results – in effect primarily to the major polarisation of contexts of education. It is the fact of developing mutually opposing zones of po-

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⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 197.

¹⁰ Ibidem

¹¹ http://www.zjazd-pts.uz.zgora.pl/grupy_stand.html, pp. 1 and 2. See also: other works by the author. J. Mikułowski-Pomorski, *Więź społeczna w warunkach fragmentaryzacji*, [in:] *Kultura – media – społeczeństwo. Księga jubileuszowa ku czci Ojca Profesora Leona Dyczewskiego*, Lublin 2007, pp. 201–222; J. Mikułowski-Pomorski, *Fragmentaryzacja w mediach: proces i narzędzie* [in:] *Studia nad mediami i komunikowaniem masowym. Teoria – rynek – społeczeństwo*, ed. by J. Fras, Toruń 2007, pp. 28–45; J. Mikułowski-Pomorski, *Fragmentaryzacja jako proces ponowoczesny. Rekompozycja poprzez fragmentaryzację*, "Transformacje", December 2006, pp. 13–34; J. Mikułowski-Pomorski, *Komunikacja wobec procesów fragmentaryzacji*, [in:] L.W. Heber, M. Niezgoda [ed.] *Społeczeństwo informacyjne*, Kraków 2006, pp. 92–104.

verty and richness, transfer of riches from the poorer regions to the more opulent ones, consolidation of the so-called *globalising elites* and masses of relatively poor people antagonistic towards them. The members of the first group mentioned have plentiful access to money, authority, and prestige ensured, their children graduate from the best schools and universities. The members of the latter, on the contrary, remain territorially bound to the local community throughout their lives, while their education, standards of life and opportunities for changing their own social and economic status remain relatively low, and drop even lower with time.

What is noticed at the same time is a progressing disintegration of local forms of collective and community life. As Szmyd states, "there comes the weakening of the sense of community of the city and neighbourhood, the shrinking of the public space in the cities to the expansion of enclosed spaces, establishment of new divisions and spatial and social segregations" 12. The influence of subcultures on the youth grows, the number of deviant and socially pathologic behaviours increases, new fundamentalist movements appear and develop, and terrorism is on the rise. In the wake of the increased mobility of people, dangerous illnesses – including AIDS – spread; new, numerous, cultural and ethnic conflicts emerge on the local scale, while on the global scale civilisational antagonisms aggravate.

At the same time, due to the expansion of Western, and especially American, civilisation, the disintegration of regional and local cultures continues. These processes are accompanied by standardisation and the universalisation of patterns of behaviour and thinking; culture reaches individuals in mutually unconnected slivers, it is replaced by subculture, disfigured, and made shallow. Szmyd believes that "Disney's global colonisation makes the human conscience shallow and uniform, 'kills' high culture, 'litters' traditional cultures, and displaces original art''¹³. To quote M. Levy, it "closes the mind, lays the imagination to waste, warps the sense of taste, changes traditional lifestyles, destroys the cultural, moral, and religious identity of numerous national communities, and limits competition 'in the market of images and ideas'"¹⁴.

Manipulating people and the educational context

The progressing disintegration of the axio-normative system of social wholes results – as we know – in the destabilisation of the sense of realism and identity of subjects¹⁵. In this way conditions develop that favour the effective manipulation of

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¹² J. Szmyd, Tożsamość a globalizacja, Kraków 2006, p. 202.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 203.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Stanisław Nieciuński, Akademicka edukacja w warunkach fragmentaryzacji kultury i życia społecznego a tożsamość studentów, [in:] Stare i nowe konteksty socjalizacji. Dylematy tożsamości, ed. by Z. Pucek, Kraków 2007.

others, even of entire social groups. Drawing personal benefits from the game of semblances conducted today on a mass scale in different fields of life is possible thanks to relatively easy access to the means of mass communication. The omnipresent paid propaganda and advertising serves the political elites, managers of economy, promoters and stars of pop culture; developing consumer attitudes in the recipients, and especially in children and youth, who express the inclination to purchase unnecessary, unified articles.

The authors of the *American Heritage Dictionary* define the notion of manipulation as follows: "it is a clever and insincere management aiming at the manipulating party achieving benefits"¹⁶. Tomasz Urban, a Polish researcher, states that it is the "conscious influencing of the feelings of others so that the decisions they make are driven by emotions, and not rational, conscious thinking"¹⁷. Yet another opinion is expressed by Wojciech and Marek Warecki, and Benedykt Peczko, an NLP expert and therapeutist. They state that "it is a deliberate and intentional exerting of influence on a person or a group in such a way that unconsciously and of their own will they carry out activities that satisfy the needs (actualise the goals) of the manipulator"¹⁸.

The goals that manipulation perceived in such a manner aims for are at odds with those contained in the social mission of education. This is so, among other reasons, because manipulation is based on the intentional disruption, reduction, dulling, and even downright blocking of the reflexive, rational phase of the "partners" activity, while education is based on the *stimulation* of its growth. This is also because both the manipulators and the educators carry out the goals they follow with consideration, yet the former do it so as to subordinate the activity of the manipulated persons to their own plans, and the latter to make students independent. Finally, since the manipulators try to initiate such conduct in their "partners" that is not fully controlled, expressed in emotional, stereotypical, schematic, and compulsive behaviours, while the pedagogues on the other hand encourage the participants of the process of education towards conduct that is prudent, controlled by the mind, critical, and axiologically justified. The attitude of the manipulator to the person or social group subjected to manipulation may thus be defined as an *instrumental* relationship. Contacts of participants in the process of education are of a personal and *non-instrumental* character. Here, the autotelic values of the mutual educational relations should be not only the students but also the educators.

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¹⁶ Quoted in D. Lakhani, *Perswazja, sztuka zdobywania tego, czego pragniesz*, Gliwice 2007.

¹⁷ T. Urban, *Obrona przed manipulacją poprzez zrozumienie technik manipulacji*, http:eioba.pl/obrona_przed_manipulacja_poprzez_zro... visited on 6th June 2008_

W. Warecki, M. Warecki, Slowo o manipulacji, czyli krótki podręcznik samoobrony, Warszawa 2006;
B. Peczko, NLP – Prawdy i mity, Polski Instytut NLP, www.econlp.com/content/view/32/22/.

The social interactions between the two should optimise the development of personality in both the groups, favour the formulation of attitudes open to the world (and especially to other people), support individual talents, encourage them to work on themselves, and make them more independent.

The context of 21st-century education and the identity of the students

The processes of globalisation, fragmentation, and manipulation discussed above are constantly intensifying and have, in the last decades, rendered the pedagogic art of operating the factors of the educational context more complicated. The traditional forms of education, and in consequence also educational institutions, including family and school, are undergoing a crisis and in effect losing out to incoherent, and non-systematic, haphazard education devoid of the leading role of teachers. Carrying out the social mission of education is in this way becoming ever more difficult. Attempts at reconstruction of a coherent system of education, expressed by continuous reforms of education that frequently also destabilise the process of education, are bringing about unsatisfactory results.

The guiding idea of the premise of this article is that reflections on the constituents of the context of education may help to remove the obstacles pointed out above.

Abstract

The processes of globalisation, fragmentation, and manipulation discussed here have increased in the recent decades, thus complicating the pedagogical art of using factors that belong to the context of education. The traditional forms of education, and what follows, educational institutions (family and school included) experienced crisis, in result losing to the incoherent, not systematic, random education devoid of the leading role of the teacher. As carrying out the social mission of education becomes in this way increasingly difficult, attempts to reconstruct a coherent system of education, expressed through the continuing reforms of the school system, which frequently destabilises the process of education further, produce results that are far from satisfactory. Thus reflections on the factors of the context of education may favour of the elimination of the difficulties signalled above.

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JOANNA AKSMAN

The innovative capacity in carrying out the process of aesthetic education through television programmes (results of an experimental study)

The innovative capacity in conducting the process of aesthetic education through films (television programmes) on art presented in this article results from an experimental study. The assumptions of this method were carried out during classes with a group of lower secondary school students as part of the *Dzieci w Galerii*¹ project co-managed by the author of this study. The project was conducted in Kraków in 2000–2002, and was a proposal for educational activity designed for primary and lower secondary schools, conducted in cultural institutions, contemporary art galleries, and Kraków museums. The content assumptions of the projects were based on methods and didactic approaches of the teaching of museum sciences, the regional education subject track, media education and issues related to national heritage. The main objective of the project was to create and show options of co-operation and links between the school environment and museums, art galleries, and centres of non-school education. The causative fact I introduced to the classes organised as a part of the project was the recording of the meetings with a VHS camera by volunteer participants. My hypothesis – based both on knowledge gleaned from subject

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¹ Theoretical assumptions for the project and its practical implementation by Renata Gaj and Joanna Aksman. For more information on the project, see the article by J. Aksman, R. Gaj, *Dzieci w Galerii – cykl warsztatów o sztuce współczesnej realizowany w galeriach Krakowa*, [in:] J. Samek (ed.), *Sztuka i pedagogika IV*, Kraków 2006, pp. 236–243.

literature and from previous experience² – was that the emotional involvement both of those who make a report from the classes and of those who are recorded will grow and stimulate the didactic process, in this way allowing better retention of the information acquired. Thus presented, the hypothesis resulted from two interesting proposals that I found in the literature on the subject. In both cases, they were supported by research:

- 1. the proposal put forth by Marian Michałowski on the increasing role of emotional establishment of television programmes (for example, the manner of the host's narration)
- 2. the proposal put forth by Lucyna Kirwil about positive motivation to watch television programmes, influencing a better retention of content.

Falling back on the claims put forth by Jędrzej Skrzypczak and Wacław Strykowski³ that defined the planes of receiving a message and using the classical formula of the communication process as interpreted by Robert Jakobson,⁴ Michałowski draws six semantic layers of television programmes, formulating specific requirements for them. They are:

- 1. the presentational function, which defines the relations between the message and the object to which the message pertains, for example reliability, objectivity, upto-dateness
- 2. the emotive function, which is the representation of the attitude of the creators of the programme expressed e.g. by the use of evaluating terms, special type of narration, etc.
- 3. the function of appeal, which in most cases concerns the objective that is not expressed directly in the programme, but results from its content
- 4. the meta-linguistic function, which means such an application of the language of television that it is understandable by the broadcaster and the recipient
- 5. the aesthetic function, which is the aesthetic level of the programme
- 6. the phatic function, which concerns highly complicated conditions, including the significance of the information presented, the manner of its presentation, the language, the aesthetic level, and also an attempt to suggest a quasi-dialogue that the broadcaster tries to establish with the recipient.

The research that makes use of the functions mentioned here towards television programmes is evaluative in its character. It is so as there is no scientifically recognised, fine-tuned methodology of research on the use of television programmes. It is, therefore, another proposal of a critical look at the existing television programmes for children. One that is worth attention as it gives an opportunity for longitudinal research, and

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² This refers to the early experience that I acquired while co-organising the project Galeria dla dzieci – Gallery for Children, situated in Kraków's Galeria Zderzak gallery of contemporary art.

³ J. Skrzypczak, W. Strykowski, *Media w kształceniu i wychowaniu*, "Człowiek i Społeczeństwo" 1992, Vol. 8.

⁴R. Jakobson, W poszukiwaniu istoty języka. Wybór pism, Vol. 2, Warszawa 1989.

studies discovering changes in communication competence of individuals and groups. Such a dependency was presented by Michałowski, who claimed in accordance with cognitive psychology that, with the reception of successive television programmes, communication competences form and develop. The pilot studies he conducted confirmed (after three years) an increase in the emotive function, which he believes to be a possible testimony to the improved receptive maturity of the group studied. There is, however, another reason why his research is precious: to a certain degree it suggests that in educational programmes one does not refer mostly or solely – as frequently observed – to the intellectual realm. The emotional attitude of the author of the programme together with the increase in receptive maturity becomes very important in the reception of programmes. This is most probably a specific guideline for the producers of educational programmes for children and young people, as well as for the critics evaluating them and the teachers selecting them for educational purposes.

The second piece that is interesting in relation to the above results from the psychological research conducted by Kirwil. On the grounds of her research on the reception of "Sesame Street", it was discovered that both the main content and the peripheral messages are better memorised thanks to the stimulation with positive emotions accompanying the reception of the programme, for example parents' encouragement, or joint watching with the parents. In other words, the greater the satisfaction from the programme, the better the retention. There is, all the same, no direct dependency between the processes of focusing attention and memorisation: this question is still subject to research. Nevertheless, psychologists emphasise that in the reception of television programmes a large role is played by environmental conditions, which serve as guidelines or reinforce motivation to decode specific information or to repeat it.



Photo No. 1: Classes for lower secondary school students at Artemis contemporary art gallery in Kraków conducted as a part of the "Dzieci w Galerii – Children in the Gallery" project.

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⁵ Results of the study quoted in L. Kirwil, *Psychologiczne zagadnienia odbioru telewizji* [in:] ed. K. Jakubowicz, B. Puszczewicz, *Człowiek a telewizja*, Warszawa 1990, p. 65.

I tried to prove the correctness of the hypothesis through the results of quantitative studies obtained through an analysis of questionnaires and a knowledge test for lower secondary school students. The questionnaire was meant to show the opinions of the students participating in the project on the media-based manner of sharing knowledge of art that the participants of those classes created themselves.

Analysis of the questionnaires proves that besides computers (50% of the students) it is TV – named by 31.25% of lower secondary school students – that continues to be the most frequently used type of media.⁶ It goes without saying that the young people participating in the study are the media generation, as books ranked last among their favourite types of media.

In reference to audiovisual media, reception is most often passive. Nearly every other lower secondary school student equated his or her contact with the media with the need for entertainment, only 25% with the possibility of education, while the remainder had no fixed opinion. Interestingly, compared to the passive type of reception, the eagerness for active participation in the creation of media messages was attested by 62% of respondents, and only 19% did not feel such a desire, while an equal number had no fixed opinion. A similar number – 68% – wanted media communication concerning their class to be made by a classmate and not by a professional or the person running the classes. The idea of recording interesting events in the life of the class related to arts by a person selected from among the students was supported by choosing the first two categories on the scale, that is "yes, decidedly" and "rather yes", by 62.5% and 37.5% of respondents respectively. The respondents watched a report from the opening of the project, which in the research was the creative element of the experiment. Most often they did so with interest: "yes, decidedly" was selected by 31.25%, and "rather yes" by 50% of persons, with 6.25%, providing no answer to the question, and 12.5% of respondents not being interested in the report. However, the same people who watched the report without interest agreed with another question, that the very idea of recording these events by a classmate was a successful one.

A very high number (94%) of respondents proved to be eager to gather the audiovisual messages connected to the art that they have created, yet the open question concerning the goals that such material could serve was answered by 62.5% of respondents, of which 37.5% would treat them as souvenirs, 19% would use them for educational purposes, and 6% to get to know the students better.

All those participating in the study were eager to watch films on television during lessons. They would like to see them most in humanities (56%), foreign language lessons (37.5%), and sciences (31.25%)⁷.

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⁶ Ranked below were radio (12.5%) and digital photography (6.25%), while the following ranked lowest: press, photography, and books.

⁷ The total percentage exceeds 100, as students were allowed to make multiple choices.

Referring to films on art, students declared that during lessons they would watch the following, in descending order of preference:

- 1. a film by a classmate from an excursion to a museum or gallery in another country; NP⁸
- 2. a film from an excursion by the whole class to an interesting place, related to art in another country; NP
- 3. a film from an excursion by the whole class to an interesting place, related to art in Poland; NP
- 4. a film by a classmate from an excursion to a museum or gallery in Poland; NP
- 5. a film by a classmate from an excursion to a museum or gallery in Kraków; NP
- 6. a film from a class excursion to an interesting place, related to art in Kraków; NP
- 7. a film about the art of Kraków; P
- 8. a film about Polish art; P, and a film about the art of another nation; P⁹.

These preliminary quantitative data allow the condition of the contact between lower secondary school students and the media to be described:

- 1. In the majority of cases, this is passive reception focused on entertainment.
- 2. The passive character of the reception is, however, accompanied by great eagerness to create media messages by the students (62.25%).
- 3. Nearly all the students want to build multimedia libraries (mediatheques), yet only 19% are aware of the educational function of the teaching aids gathered, which means that the recognition of the function that the media may play in a lesson is low.
- 4. Nearly all the students were eager to watch a report from the opening in which they participated; even those (a decided minority) who were not interested in the opening declared that the very idea of recording of interesting events related to art, which their class participates in, by a member of the class is worth doing: no respondent opposed this idea.
- 5. All students would eagerly watch films on television in lessons, especially humanities. Interestingly, they would be most keen to watch non-professional films made by their peers, showing places that present art in other countries, with Poland and Kraków ranking lower. The last positions in the rankings were taken by professionally made programmes, and here the order was reversed: first came films about Kraków, and later about Poland and other countries.

To sum up, the opinion of the lower secondary students on the media-based manner of sharing knowledge of art, based on their own media representations, is highly positive. An analysis of the questionnaires proves that they want to: make such media images, assemble media collections that provide images of the events that the class have experienced, watch these reports during various school classes, and make use of the video recordings made by their peers for the use of classes on art. Finally, it

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⁸ The abbreviations NP and P mean, respectively, programmes made in a nonprofessional way, and those made professionally.

⁹ The last two categories claimed the same number of choices.

seems that they desire knowledge of the art of other countries, and it is in the school that they see an opportunity to use the media representations they have, e.g. from holiday travels to Polish and foreign destinations.

Let us take a handful of authentic and, to a great extent, enthusiastic opinions of students as a conclusion on the results obtained in this question-based study:

- a. on the idea of recording interesting events related to art in which their class participates:
- "it gives a new point of view on the world"
- "we could gather this type of materials and watch in lessons"
- "it can be watched again"
- "it's very interesting, and moreover it's fun"
- "it's interesting to see yourself on the TV"
- "it's something new, and above all interesting..."
- "it's interesting, we can later see ourselves, and see how we presented ourselves. It's useful, and I would gladly participate in such projects."
- "it seems to me that it is much better to see someone you know on TV, and it's better to know that one of your classmates is making the whole film"
- "it was interesting later to watch what happened some time earlier"

b. on the idea of gathering cassettes with interesting events in the life of the class and using them for school classes

- "I like the idea because this collection may become a great memory"
- "it's a good idea, we could learn something interesting"
- "it's a very good idea and will definitely develop our knowledge of art"
- "it's a good idea, will always be useful for other classes, they'll see how interesting it is to participate yourself in such classes"
- "sure I support it, as time [in a lesson] flows quicker, and it seems to me that with time these cassettes (watching them) will become better, more interesting, and even fun"
- "it could be an interesting archive of the life of the class".

The author believes that the questionnaire-based study presented here provided not only a picture of the students' opinions on the media method of presenting art in school classes, but the statements by the respondents show a rare emotional attitude to this type of classes. This confirmed the earlier conclusions from the observations of students selected for the experimental study that was conducted before and after the broadcasting of the report in the class. The interest in the lesson was visible even before the class; students were excited and curious, and exchanged opinions on the opening of the exhibition. During the broadcast, there were moments of focused attention, yet what prevailed were numerous comments on the behaviour of the individual, others, and the manner of making the report: thus it was a critical observation

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of audiovisual material with numerous elements of joy and laughter. Most probably, the broadcasting of this material could also be useful during tutorials concerning, for example, the behaviour of the young generation during cultural events.



Photo No. 2: Emotional states of secondary school students watching a report from the meeting in galleries of contemporary arts, made by their peers.

Nevertheless, the intention of the author of the study was to test whether – besides the options of using the recording mentioned above – its broadcasting helped to increase knowledge of the presented art and the opening itself. To achieve this, a short unannounced quiz was conducted after the report was presented.

The results of the quiz showed that:

- 81.25% of students listed at least one arts gallery they had visited during the project;
- 62.5% of students named at least one Kraków artist who presented their works in the galleries visited;
- 50% of students were capable of listing all the stages of the third edition of the *Dzieci w Galerii* project shown in the report presented; 25% gave full answers;
- 75% of students provided the correct definition of the notion of *wernisaż* (lit. "varnishing", the Polish word for an opening of an exhibition translator's note).

The last two questions in the test concerned the aspects of individual meetings conducted with the group during the project, yet were poorly exposed in the report; answering them required rather careful independent attention during the classes in the galleries and during the opening of the third edition of the project. The knowledge of students on abstract art and impasto painting was decidedly smaller:

- 37.5% provided a correct answer on abstract art, 25% an incomplete answer, and 37.5% gave no answer at all;
- the question concerning the impasto painting received 31.25% correct answers, 6.25% incomplete answers, and some 62.5% respondents did not answer the question at all.

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The author believes the results presented above – coming from both the questionnaire and the short quiz – to support the hypotheses formulated before conducting the experimental study:

- the emotional involvement probably grew, both in those who authored the report from the classes and in those who were recorded, which helped to enliven the teaching process
- as well as the better retention of the information acquired.

It is to be emphasised, however, that confirmation of this hypothesis would require that studies be conducted on a decidedly greater sample.

The author of the experimental study described above points to the ultimate cause of the more general reason for using these audiovisual materials that are developed by students themselves both out of school and as a part of school classes and excursions in the school and appreciation of their role¹⁰. The knowledge and skill in the media that secondary school students have – or may have, thanks to the support of the teacher – and can use in relation to arts provide a potential plethora of teaching aids, so far unexplored, which brings plenty of educational benefits. They may be used in various classes of humanities, for different purposes, whose definition should lie with the teacher¹¹.

We must also emphasise, though, that the frequency of their presentation in lessons should be controlled so as to maintain a certain level of emotions related to the screening of such films. As contemporary research proves, the emotional level of the programme and the positive attitude to it may influence better retention of its content¹². For this reason, the class multimedia library, composed not only of programmes recorded from the television but also films made in a nonprofessional manner, with the main protagonists being persons who were closely connected to the author of the programme, should be popularised. Psychologists emphasised long ago¹³ that the introduction of children's peers, favourite pets and persons, and friendly adults into the plot of a programme helps too maintain a appropriate level of focusing attention in children. This mechanism is known as identification. The experimental study proved that the probability of maintaining focused attention increases further if the programme (in this case, a report) is about classmates.

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¹⁰ A. Kozłowska, Multimedia w ksztalceniu studentów pedagogiki i doskonaleniu nauczycieli [in:] T. Brodziński (ed.) Technologia informatyczna w edukacji i przygotowaniu zawodowym, Szczecin 2000, p. 272.

¹¹ A. Kozłowska, *Miejsce technologii informacyjno-komunikacyjnych w rozwijaniu kompetencji pedagogicznych*, "Państwo i Społeczeństwo" 2008, No. 1, vol. 8, p. 299.

¹² A. Kozłowska, Szanse i zagrożenia technologii informacyjno-komunikacyjnych w relacjach nauczyciel akademicki – uczeń, [in:] K. Jankowski, B. Sitarska, C. Tkaczuk (eds.) Nauczyciel akademicki jako ogniwo jakości kształcenia, Siedlce 2003, p. 144.

¹³ M. Taraszkiewicz, *Dziecko przed telewizorem*, "Zagadnienia Wychowawcze a Zdrowie Psychiczne" 1987, No. 2/3, p. 54.

Even better effects are achieved when the mechanism of identification is accompanied by the meetings having a regular character, which favours the acquisition of a positive attitude to the protagonists, and establishment of an emotional contact with them.¹⁴ This thesis probably requires more profound studies, yet on the grounds of the statements of students contained in the questionnaires, one may state that they are interested in such a form of transferring knowledge and using it in the school curriculum.

Another impact of the experimental study is to turn attention to the fact that the media-related tasks that must be performed by students to have their own audiovisual material published at school are connected to one of the most basic missions of the programme of media education, namely preparing the student to use the media as tools for intellectual development, and, in future, for professional employment¹⁵. To a certain extent (by independent development of a message), they also lead to the other task of media education, namely the critical reception of the media¹⁶. This turns the attention of the teacher–practitioner to the variety of goals and potential of integrating the content of teaching by using non-professionally created media communications¹⁷.

Concluding on the impact of the experimental study, it is worth reiterating that having students make their own media productions and gathering them in class multimedia libraries lies within one of the three tasks that television should conduct in the process of aesthetic education. It refers to the activity of students, motivating the students to their own media activity – which is one of the most important attitudes required for proper functioning with the media¹⁸.

The correct way to conduct the "Reading and media education" inter-subject track and the assumptions of aesthetic education therefore requires the continued activity of the teacher, following the contents and methods of sharing these contents in contemporary media, orientation in contemporary information technology, and openness to innovations in the teaching process conducted. The impacts of the experimental study drawn above may pose a certain challenge for the contemporary teacher. These who skilfully use the conclusions presented in the work, and make use of the media

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¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 54.

¹⁵ A. Kozłowska, Kształcenie nauczycieli w świetle trendów edukacji technicznej, [in:] Trendy technickeho vzdelavani, Olomouc 2001, p. 182

¹⁶ W. Strykowski, Media w edukacji: od nowych technik nauczania do pedagogiki i edukacji medialnej [in:] Media i edukacja, Poznań 1997, p. 18.

¹⁷ A. Kozłowska, Technologie informatyczne w edukacji studentów kierunków pedagogicznych [in:] Trendy technickeho vzdelavani, Olomouc 2000, p. 224.

¹⁸ A. Lepa, *Pedagogika mass mediów*, Łódź 1998, p. 150. In this question, the author proposes that even the most routine activity of student – for example DIY, cooking, and crafts – be considered a creative pursuit, which I fully agree with. Thus, it must be assumed that making a report from the opening of an exhibition in the experimental trial discussed above also lies among creative pursuits of the students.

communications created by teenagers, may probably count on the enlivening of the teaching process, greater criticism of the students towards the construction of a media product, and possibly also on the effective increase of their knowledge potential¹⁹.

Abstract

The article presents potential of innovation in the process of aesthetic education by television programmes on art. The assumptions of the method were practically implemented in Kraków in the years 2000–2002 during classes with a group of lower secondary school as part of the "Children in the Gallery" (Dzieci w galerii) project. The classes were developed for primary and lower secondary schools, and conducted in institutions of culture, contemporary art galleries, and museums. The main objective of the project was to establish and show a possibility of cooperation between schools on the one hand, and museums, galleries of and centres of extra curricular education.

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 $^{^{19}}$ As I have remarked earlier, the author's conclusions should be tested by studying a larger group of respondents.

JERZY FREUNDLICH

Is an adultescent's muffin top a turn-off? Structural and sociolinguistic features of English neologisms

Introduction

Paul J.J. Payack, founder of Global Language Monitor, the Texas-based language-related website, is not shy of making bold predictions: the English lexicon will reach the one million mark on 29 April 2009¹. The claim should be received with fingertips poised above the salt pot, however: not only is Payack's method, indeed any method, of accurately quantifying the English lexicon questioned by linguists in the field², but Payack has cried "Wolf!" on a number of previous occasions, having first predicted the milestone for summer 2006 and been forced more than once to revise his expectations³. Whatever our scepticism regarding attempts at a precise enumeration of the English lexicon, there can be no denying the copious additions to the language constantly being made. Each new edition of a standard English dictionary, such as the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, is eagerly awaited to discover which new words have "officially" entered (and, in some cases, departed) the language. The rate at which the stock of English words is growing seems staggering,

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¹ Global Language Monitor, 30 December 2008.

² Nunberg (2006), Sheidlower (2006).

³ Wikipedia, Global Language Monitor (February, 2009).

with large numbers of new words appearing annually⁴. Many of these will not be recorded in a dictionary, and of those that are, the majority will probably have lost their currency within a few decades, a phenomenon documented by the lexicologist John Algeo⁵. Nevertheless, all new words, including those which later disappear from dictionaries or were never included in one, are a reflection of human behaviour, fashion and societal change in a given snapshot of time, and although some words might lose their currency, they never lose their meaning and can always be drafted back into use as circumstances dictate, as will be seen in the case of one notable example⁶. This short paper will take a selective look at words which have entered the English language ("officially" or otherwise) in recent years and are still in current use, describing some of the lexical processes whereby such words are formed and discussing the social impetus behind their emergence.

The criteria applied in this paper for selecting neologisms for consideration are that they should be non-specialist and in popular use, the latter indicated by frequent appearance in the broadcast and print media and on the Internet. In short, they are words being used on a daily basis by the population at large, reflecting social trends and economic changes; as such, they may be described as popular neologisms. This will exclude an extremely large group of new words: those coined to refer to inventions, discoveries and developments in science (including medicine) and technology. Apart from the limitations of space in a paper of this length, the rationale behind the exclusion of specialist coinages is that the present work is particularly concerned with the sociolinguistic aspects of neologisms and, therefore, with new words whose *raison d'être* is to reflect changes affecting the lives of the population at large.

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⁴ It should be noted that the geographical sources of English neologisms are many and diverse, including not only the countries where English is spoken as a first language but also those where it is an official language, which is the case in most member states of the Commonwealth. The Indian sub-continent, in particular, has long provided additions to the English lexicon.

⁵ Algeo (1993: 281), 'An examination of 3,565 words recorded as new between 1944 and 1976 shows that 58 percent are not recorded in recent dictionaries and so are apparently not in general use today. ... Successful coinages are the exception; unsuccessful ones the rule, because the human impulse to creative playfulness produces more words than a society can sustain. Therefore no dictionary can ever record more than a fraction of the new words coined.'

⁶ Credit crunch

⁷ The boundaries between specialist and general usage are by no means leak-proof and specialist coinages may enter mainstream use as what was once a pioneering development in science and technology begins to affect the general population. These are frequently met in abbreviated form, as in DNA and GMOs.

⁸ Some qualification is needed here, in that the uptake of non-specialist newly coined words tends to be greatest among younger age groups. By definition, neologisms are "new" and are more likely to be coined and used by those at the cutting edge of social change, the young. Crystal (1999) makes the following observation: 'The steady emergence of new forms and disappearance of old ones presents an ongoing challenge to our linguistic identity. Our intuitions about language are grounded in a lifetime of previous usage, laid down in childhood, and slowly nurtured through individual histories of linguistic contact and preference into a mature norm of comfortable familiarity which includes our native dialect and personal style. Most people become set in their ways, linguistically speaking, and find further change – whether in themselves, their children (or grand-children), or in society at large – to some extent an intrusion. It is therefore not surprising that, whatever their political persuasion, most people are by nature linguistically conservative.'

Lexical formation of neologisms

Algeo used the phrase "creative playfulness" to describe the impulse which gives rise to neologisms, and this seems particularly apt in the case of English lexical formation; the processes used eminently lend themselves to the flexible, inventive and frequently humorous manipulation of lexemes and morphemes to form new words. This section will describe four of the most productive methods of forming popular neologisms: compounding, blending, affixation and acronym formation.

Compounding

Compounds are combinations of existing words which, most commonly, give rise to endocentric nominal structures¹⁰ consisting of a head noun preceded by a modifier, usually an adjective, gerund or another noun. Compounds may be:

closed: *healthspan* – the period of life during which a person is healthy (on the pattern of *lifespan*)

hyphenated: *speed-dating* – an organised method of meeting potential romantic partners in which participants evaluate each other over the course of a single event through a series of brief one-on-one meetings.

open: congestion charge – a charge made to drive into an area, typically a city centre, that suffers heavy traffic.

Compound nouns formed from phrasal verbs are exocentric structures. If the verb + particle order is maintained, the resulting compounds are usually hyphenated, e.g. *turn-off* (someone or something that causes a loss of interest or sexual excitement); if the order is reversed, the result is generally a closed compound, e.g. *downturn* (a decrease in economic performance or activity). Worth mentioning are two examples from the Internet age, *download* and *upload*, which, as nouns, look as though they derive from phrasal verbs. However, in the related verbs, *download* and *upload*, *down* and *up* function as affixes (on the pattern of *unload*)¹¹.

Blending

Unlike compounds, which use whole words, blends are formed by abridging and then combining various lexemes to form a new word. English has long had portmanteau words; however, recent years have seen "a growing tendency towards cannibalising chunks of existing words with increasing ingenuity and inventiveness" 12.

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⁹ Algeo (1993: 281). See note 5.

¹⁰ Non-nominal exocentric compounds are also produced in English and tend to be adjectival: *laid-back*; *over-the-top*; *one-on-one*; *drive-by*; or occasionally adverbial: *drop-dead*; *jaw-droppingly*.

¹¹ The phrasal verb *load up* does, of course, exist but simply means *load*, e.g. a vehicle or container.

¹² Maxwell (2006)

A common method of forming blends is by adding the beginning of one word and the end of another, the classic example of this being *brunch* (breakfast + lunch); there are other methods, however, and more than one definition of a blend. A reasonable working definition is that suggested by Algeo: "a combination of two or more forms, at least one of which has been shortened in the process of combination"¹³. Examples of blends are:

adultescent (**adult** + adol**escent**) – a middle-aged person dressing or acting like a teenager or young person

mocktail (mock + cocktail) – a cocktail containing no alcohol flexitarian (flexible + vegetarian) – a vegetarian who occasionally eats meat frankenfood (frankenstein + food) – genetically modified food¹⁴.

Affixation

Most new words emerging through affixation are the result of adding derivational affixes. Examples using traditional affixes are: regift (to give as a gift something which the giver previously received as a gift); and deshopping (the practice of buying an item (for example, of clothing), using it once and then returning it to the place it was bought for a full refund, having had the intention of doing so when buying the item). However, recent years have seen the appearance of a number of new affixes or changed the sense of traditional ones, taking a morpheme from an existing word and using it as an affix with virtually the entire sense of the original word. Examples are agri-, as in agriculture, carrying the whole sense of that word, thus agribusiness (large-scale business activity based on agriculture); and -(a)thon as in marathon, referring to an activity taking an extraordinarily long time (often with the purpose of raising funds for charity), thus telethon and walkathon, respectively a lengthy television programme and a walk covering a considerable distance organised specifically to raise funds for charitable causes.

An interesting example using an inflectional affix is the colloquial British word *bladdered*, meaning extremely drunk. This is a participial form of a verb which, for practical purposes, does not exist in modern British English. Since the alcoholic beverage of choice for most young Brits is beer, it may be that the derivation is not unconnected with the effect on the bladder of consuming the copious amounts of beer required to deliver the desired degree of inebriation.

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¹³ Algeo (1977: 48). Not all lexicologists would subscribe to Algeo's definition. For a fairly detailed discussion on the criteria for admissibility as a blend and the definitions proposed by different lexicologists, as well as on blend structure in general, see Gries (2004).

¹⁴ In the light of the emergence of other *franken*- words (*frankenfruit, frankenpet*), it could be argued that these words are examples of affixation, with *franken*- as a prefix carrying the semantic value "bizarrely unnatural; freakish".

¹⁵ The original prefix *agri*- was simply an inflectional form of the Latin *ager*, meaning "field".

Acronym formation

Acronyms are to be distinguished from initialisms; both are formed from the initial letters of words, but in the latter they are pronounced as individual letters, as in BBC and DVD, while in the former they are pronounced as a word, as in scuba /'sku:bə/ /'sku:be/ (self-contained underwater breathing apparatus) and NATO /'nerteu/ (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation). Neologisms in the form of an abbreviation using initial letters may be acronyms or initialisms, but acronyms, as a sequence of phonemes producing a pronounceable word, are more memorable since they form a recognisable lexical unit and are often decapitalised as a result, as in quango / kwængou/ (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation) and bogof / 'bogof / ("Buy one, get one free" in supermarket promotions)¹⁶. In fact, acronyms are such an effective method of committing to memory what would otherwise be long names or terms that one gets the distinct impression that organisations and departments or government programmes are often deliberately named in such a way that their initials form easily pronounced acronyms. Acronyms which are also existing words are desirable and if the resulting acronym is a word which has a semantic connection with the aims or functions of the organisation, so much the better. A good example of this is the aptly named UK anti-smoking pressure group ASH (Action on Smoking and Health).

Neologisms as indicators of social change The economy

At the time of writing (February 2009), the socio-economic *tsunami*¹⁷ being felt by millions of people around the world is the global financial (rapidly becoming an economic) crisis. In the wealthy West, citizens are faced daily with the prospect of redundancy, repossession of their homes and limited access to credit, among other difficulties. Economists describe it as the worst economic crisis for decades. The financial/economic crisis has spawned many recent neologisms, which is clear evidence that, as far as non-specialist English is concerned, the coining of new words closely reflects changes either directly affecting ordinary people or which they see taking place around them.

An affixation coined in the years leading up to the current global financial crisis to describe what is often believed to be its underlying cause and which has rarely been out of the headlines ever since is *sub-prime* (U.S. *subprime*). This is an adjective used in connection with mortgage loans made to those who have previously been

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¹⁶ Both these words may also be encountered capitalised.

¹⁷ One well-established method of forming neologisms not discussed in the body of the paper is borrowing. The word *tsunami* (of Japanese origin, meaning a very large ocean wave following an earthquake, sometimes of great destructive power) first came to the attention of the general public after the Great Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004 and has since extended its meaning to describe a cataclysmic event, especially the current global financial crisis.

late with mortgage payments, have a less-than-perfect credit rating and are generally perceived to be high-risk borrowers. When one considers that the meaning of the base word from which the affixation is derived, *prime*, means "of the highest quality", describing such borrowers as occupying an undefined position somewhere below those offering minimal risk might appear to be something of a euphemism to disguise the folly (as has turned out to be the case) of such imprudent banking practices. As an adjective it may apply to either party or to the transaction itself, giving *sub-prime borrower*, *lender* or *lending/loan*.

Other new coinages are used to refer to sub-prime borrowers, actual or potential. The blend *funt* /fint/ (financially **unt**ouchable) is used to refer to a non-credit-worthy person, as is the acronym *ninja*¹⁸ (No income, no job, no assets), giving rise to *ninja loan*, meaning much the same as *sub-prime loan*.

We have already mentioned the ubiquitous *sub-prime*; equally common is its offspring, the *credit crunch*, meaning a sudden and severe reduction in the availability of credit. This, however, is not a new compound, having been originally coined in the 1960s to describe credit conditions in the U.S. in 1966, when credit was extremely hard to come by. It is an interesting example of a coinage that drifts in and out of use according to the availability of credit¹⁹. Little wonder that it was pulled out of mothballs with a vengeance to describe the current state of affairs.

The credit crunch was preceded by the *housing bubble* or *real estate bubble* (extreme house price inflation fuelled by demand, speculation and the irrational belief that the market will continue to boom indefinitely). Those buying property at the height of the bubble and now finding themselves in *negative equity*, that is, owing considerably more on the mortgage than the current market value of the house, might be referred to as *homedebtors*. The current situation has witnessed the emergence a phenomenon virtually unheard of previously: large numbers of homedebtors who are unable or unwilling to keep up their mortgage payments simply relinquishing control of the property and sending the house keys to the mortgage lender. The envelope and its contents are appropriately described as *jingle mail*. And if you thought *ipod* referred to a gadget, think again; it is also an acronym to describe the younger generation of people finding themselves severely weighed down by the economic situation, the *ipod* (insecure, pressured, overtaxed, and debt-ridden) *generation*.

One final example from the financial world is a compound used to describe someone who takes advantage of a special introductory offer on a new credit card, such as

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¹⁸ *Ninja* is an existing borrowing from Japanese referring to a class of 14th century Japanese people who were trained in martial arts and were hired for espionage and assassinations. An example of an acronym forming an existing word.

¹⁹ The origins of the term *credit crunch* are documented in Owens and Schreft (1995).

a low or zero interest rate for a limited period, uses the card for the duration of the offer, then cancels the card, switching to another with a similar offer, and so on. Those who promiscuously switch credit cards looking for the best rates are, appropriately enough, called *rate tarts*²⁰. It would be interesting to know whether rate tarts also go in for deshopping.

Fashion and the body

This is an area of life where change takes place at a rapid pace, throwing up a plethora of neologisms in its wake. One fashion trend affecting the way many young women in the West have been dressing over recent years is *hip-hugging*²¹ jeans, with interesting consequences from a lexical point of view. This particular fashion can be quite unforgiving when combined with a short top if the wearer is carrying any excess fat around the hips; the resulting roll of fat which spills out over the top of the tight-fitting trousers is called a *muffin top*²² because it resembles the way the top of a muffin overflows the edge of the paper case. Another fashion trend popular in the early 2000s was the exposing of the Y-shaped waistband of thongs worn with hip-hugging jeans, giving rise to the rhyming compound *whale tail* because of the resemblance to the latter²³.

A rather ingenious ploy by some clothing manufacturers in recent years has been to assign smaller sizes to articles of manufactured clothing than is actually the case. The aim of this practice, referred to as *vanity sizing*, would appear to be to encourage sales by making customers feel good about themselves while under the impression that they are slimmer than they are, which is argued by some to be a direct consequence of the rise in obesity rates in the West.²⁴ One consequence of vanity sizing is that clothes-sizing for women has undergone an across-the-board downwards adjustment, with a new smallest size of 0, or *size-zero*. This compound²⁵ has become the centre of an extremely lively, occasionally vitriolic, debate concerning women's health. There has been a trend for fashion houses and women's magazines to prefer extremely thin, some would say anorexic, models, which in turn has led to a backlash in wider society, with many believing that young girls were in danger of becoming anorexic in trying to emulate the top models. Consequently, there have been vociferous campaigns to ban *size-zero models* from catwalks and fashion magazines.

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²⁰ In informal British English, a *tart* is a woman who is considered to be sexually promiscuous.

²¹ An adjectival compound of relatively recent provenance.

²² Muffin top is an award-winning neologism, named by Australia's Macquarie Dictionary as its "word of the year" in 2006 and by the American Dialect society as one of the "most creative" new terms that same year.

²³ Whale tail won the American Dialect society's "most creative word" award for 2005.

²⁴ Johnson (2006).

²⁵ Size-zero is usually adjectival, size-zero models, but can be nominal, choose size-zero. As a nominal compound it reverses the usual sequence of modifier + head. A similar example is ground-zero.

A new compound adjective to describe clothes which epitomise the very latest fashion is *on-trend*, and a style of clothing that accentuates the natural contours of the body, in other words very tight-fitting, is *body-con*, a contraction of *body conscious*.

A particular social phenomenon of the 1990s was the emergence of the *metrosexual* (blend of **metro**politan and hetero**sexual**), an urban heterosexual man who takes a strong interest in his appearance, using beauty treatments and wearing fashionable clothes. As a result, men are now undergoing treatments and procedures which were previously the preserve of women. Botox(\mathbb{R}^{26}), a preparation of botulinum toxin, has been used cosmetically to remove wrinkles in women for some years; more recently, however, men have also opted for this treatment, giving rise to the coinage *boytox*. Another recent trend for men has been the removal of body hair, presumably because it is considered to make them more sexually attractive. This used to be confined to the torso and arms, but more recently some men have included the lower body for an all-over removal of body hair by waxing and/or shaving. The procedure is referred to as *manscaping*²⁷.

For those who might be dismayed by what could be considered excessive attention to their physical appearance on the part of certain "modern" men, it is comforting to know that the more traditional type of male is still among us, the heterosexual man with minimal interest in his personal appearance, spending as little time and money as possible on personal grooming and fashion, in short, the *retrosexual*²⁸.

Young people²⁹

As was previously suggested³⁰, the younger generation are at the cutting edge of language change; a great many neologisms are coined by or concerning them. This is predictable since it is they who are most likely to instigate new social trends. For many older people, the behaviour of the young is seen as a threat to the established social order. In Britain, special legislation³¹ was passed in 2003

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²⁶ A blend, **bo(t)**ulinum **(t)ox**in.

²⁷ Although it might seem at first glance to be a blend, *manscaping* might more properly be considered a derivative, that is, a combination of a free morpheme, *man*, with a bound morpheme, the combining form *-scaping*, as in *landscaping*.

²⁸ Here we can add two further newly emerged categories: the heterosexual male in love with his gadgets, the *technosexual*; and the *ubersexual*, a heterosexual male who is compassionate and sensitive but also exudes traditional manly qualities such as confidence and strength. He is also passionate about causes and principles. Interestingly, the prefix is from the German *über*, meaning 'over', 'above', but which has recently been used in English neologisms meaning 'superior', 'the best', possibly after Nietzsche's concept of the *übermensch*.

²⁹ For present purposes, this covers a wide range from adolescence to the mid-thirties. However, certain social phenomena affect some age bands within this wider group more than others or are exclusive to them.

³⁰ See note 8.

³¹ Anti-Social Behaviour Act, 2003.

to protect society from anti-social behaviour (including vandalism, drunkenness, abusive behaviour, harassment, organising illegal raves and begging) by enabling courts to issue civil orders against individuals prohibiting them from committing specific acts. The vast majority of these orders have been made against young people, especially teenagers, and the acronym form, $ASBO / \ensuremath{\mbox{\mbox{\tiny m}}} 2000 / \ensuremath{\mbox{\tiny m}} 2000 / \ensuremath{$

Lad culture (also referred to as laddish culture and laddism) is a young male subculture dating from the 1990s with macho associations. Stereotypically, it describes young men whose lives revolve around the copious consumption of alcohol (especially lager beer), football, womanising, fast cars and men's magazines. It was exemplified in the BBC sitcom, Men Behaving Badly. An interesting social development since the 1990s has been the emergence of the female counterpart of the laddish type, the ladette (lad + diminutive suffix -ette), a young woman who indulges in laddish behaviour: being boisterous and loud and drinking to excess.

A particularly unpleasant trend among predominantly young males which relies on recent technological developments is *happy-slapping*, the practice of physically attacking a victim while an accomplice records the event on a camera-equipped mobile phone, which is then sent to other mobile phones or posted on the Internet. The widepread practice among young people of posting content, sometimes distasteful, on the internet has led to the coining of the term *youtube generation*.

In a lighter vein, developments in information and communication technology have led to the emergence of a somewhat bizarre form of group activity on the part of younger people. Through Internet bulletin boards or mobile phones, large numbers of strangers arrange, at short notice, to congregate at a predetermined place to perform a pointless, mildly humorous act and then disperse at a given time, the whole thing being intended as a sort of practical joke designed to surprise passers-by. These semi-spontaneous gatherings go by the name of *flash mob*, among whose most notable examples are pillow fights in New York and Toronto and a "silent disco" at Victoria station in London.

As might be expected, a number of neologisms are coined by younger people reflecting changing patterns of courtship. Meeting and making the first tentative steps with a potential mate has always been a tricky business. Recent years have seen the appearance of *blind*, *Internet* and *speed-dating*. However, an unlikely new en-

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³ The Independent (2008).

vironment for that crucial first meeting has emerged which, according to anecdotal evidence³³, is proving at least as effective as any of its predecessors in providing a milieu in which young people feel few inhibitions about striking up conversations with complete strangers. Unlikely, because it derives from recent legislation at first thought to be, if anything, socially restrictive: that of banning smoking inside bars, restaurants and clubs, all destinations for young singles. It seems that popping outside for a quick cigarette and taking the opportunity to flirt with a fellow smoker, or *smirting*³⁴, is proving to be a very effective icebreaker.

Conclusions

The English lexicon is expanding at a considerable rate, reflecting the heightened pace of social change. Among the most productive methods of new word formation in English are compounding, blending, affixation and acronym formation, which, apart from providing convenient lexical structures facilitating the formation of neologisms, lend themselves to a degree of creativity and inventiveness in the process. The areas of social change which the present author has found of particular significance in providing the sociolinguistic environment for the coining of new words are the economy, especially the current global financial crisis; changes in fashion and physical appearance; and social changes instigated by or affecting young people.

Abstract

The English lexicon is expanding at a considerable rate, reflecting the heightened pace of social change. Among the most productive methods of new word formation in English are compounding, blending, affixation and acronym formation, which, apart from providing convenient lexical structures facilitating the formation of neologisms, lend themselves to a degree of creativity and inventiveness in the process. The areas of social change that the present author has found of particular significance in providing the sociolinguistic environment for the coining of new words are economy, especially the current global financial crisis, changes in fashion and physical appearance, and social changes instigated by or affecting young people.

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³³ Impact Lab blog (5 July 2007).

³⁴ A blend of *smoke* and *flirting*.

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AGNIESZKA GUZIK

Analysis of factors determining the process of education

The question about the significance of education in the contemporary world is in fact a question about the man who must be able to function in social and cultural reality, in its full changeability and variety. This is a question about the goal towards which young people are educated, brought up, and formed. It is important that the reflection covers pedagogical activity and that answers to the questions above are always sought, so as not to pass by the reality, not to lose the focus on the sense of educational actions, and finally, if not primarily so that these actions are undertaken with the student as the goal.

Following the above, how to bring up young people? How to teach them so that they can live and cope in the existing social conditions?

The form and significance of educational pursuits

Pedagogical literature emphasises that in the world full of changes and variety, educational actions are to equip the young people not only with the competence necessary to function in the reality they find, but also to transform this reality in a conscious and responsible manner. Thus there arrives the necessity to educate such a type of man that – as Z. Kwieciński believes – will be capable of standing

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up to difficult circumstances and tasks. The author believes that what is necessary is a full-fledged human being who will have well-formed competences. "To formulate and solve the new, difficult tasks; wise, responsible, and active and capable of solidary co-operation, and critical selection and judgement among the multiple and dazzling cultural offers along the universal values and principles".

With the current civilisational development, as R. Geisler claims, the education of individuals should be focused "on individualism, ease in conforming to changes, entrepreneurship, and the skill of finding one's place in a highly technologised world". In the contemporary social and cultural reality, as W. Sztumski claims, individuals should be educated and brought up to live in the world of risk. For that reason, the author believes that educational curricula must form the readiness to undertake risky actions that cannot be eliminated or avoided by the young. Thanks to this, the young people will be prepared "to independent life, which on the successive stages of maturity continues to become ever more risky". The question of what defines the shape of educational activity arises here. What factors should be taken into account?

Individualism

An important factor in educational activities should be the phenomenon of individualism, which is ever more common in the contemporary world. Following F. Adamski, an individual is obliged to be an individualist. In the real life, where there are no clear-cut rules of social and cultural life, and generally recognised standards and authorities, every one is sentenced to own decisions and choices. As Adamski claims further, in a pluralist society, everyone has a broad possibility of choice in nearly any realm of life. The expression and consequence of such a status quo is, the author believes, the individualism that is manifested in that "an individual, and not the external forces situated beyond or over that person – be they legal standards, religious norms, pressures of the family environment or impact of the school – become the final instance, legitimising his life choices and means to achieve them that he uses. Social consent for the individual – free choice of norms and standards of fulfilment of life pursuits is understood as as if a 'need' in a pluralist society".

U. Beck and E. Beck-Gernscheim claimed that individualisation is favoured and reinforced in this type of society by e.g. the labour market, and the need for mobility and training⁴. The authors believe that individuals must – to greater extent than pre-

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¹ Z. Kwieciński, Edukacja wobec nadziei i zagrożeń współczesności, [in:] Pedagogika i edukacja wobec nadziei i zagrożeń współczesności, ed. by J. Gnitecki, J. Rutkowiak, Poznań 1999.

² R. Geisler, Jednostka i społeczeństwo w postmodernizmie, Częstochowa 1999, p. 140.

³ W. Sztumski, Ryzyko i świadomość ryzyka, [in:] Społeczeństwo a ryzyko: multidyscyplinarne studia o człowieku i społeczeństwie w sytuacji niepewności i zagrożenia, ed. by L. W. Zacher, A. Kiepas, Katowice 1994, p. 14.

⁴ K. Slany, Alternatywne formy życia małżeńsko-rodzinnego w ponowoczesnym świecie, Kraków 2002, p. 36, see: U. Beck, Społeczeństwo ryzyka. W drodze do innej nowoczesności, Warszawa 2002, pp. 197–205.

viously – provide for themselves guidelines and carry them out in their biographies through their own actions. To achieve benefits and be successful, people are forced to undertake an effort and do something on their own. Life is based on continuous struggle for victory, on "competing for limited resources – not only in a one-off manner but day in day out. In this way, a normal biography becomes a 'biography of choice"5. In a postmodern society, individuals are forced to be individualists, and are sentenced to individualism. In this way, it becomes a compulsion and does not result from free decisions. Thus a new definition of the human being arises in the postmodern world: homo optionis. "This is the human, who was given the need to choose, to make decisions about everything: life, death, identity, religion, marriage, parenthood, and sustaining social ties. All these phenomena, once they have been broken down into options must be decided to the smallest detail"⁶. For that reason, the process of individualisation requires individuals to be active: long-term planning, adjustment changes, initiative, flexibility and resilience to frustration. U. Beck and E. Beck-Gernscheim believe that "the term 'individualisation' should be perceived as a certain designating trend, with various level of advancement in various areas or environments". One of the features of this trend is "a life of one's own". such a lifestyle requires that an individual is active, creative, and acts fast. "Individuals become actors, constructors, jugglers, and directors of own biographies and identities, but also of social ties and relations to others"9.

Yet "a life of one's own" obliges also to responsibility for all the failures and defeats. For that reason, a risk of action is inscribed into this type of functioning, the more so as this life is treated as an experiment. Such a lifestyle is of global character, and is influenced by global influences and fashions. It is not directed by clear rules of behaviour, and there is no single recipe for being successful within it. In this concept, individualism is perceived as an imperative of "uncertain liberties", as a "tyranny of options" from which individuals desire to escape, to become liberated so as to reduce in this way the anxiety of the future, responsibility, defeat. W. Sztumski believes that a certain recipe for the functioning of an individual under the condition of risk of initiated actions and choices is the awareness of the existence of that risk, and readiness to undertake it. The author believes these two factors to influence significantly the shape of the path through life and attainment of goals. "A man aware of risk and ready to undertake risk-loaded actions does not avoid them, taking into account the threats resulting from uncertain results or possibility of failure. He does not avoid them, as he knows that risk cannot be avoided. For this reason he under-

⁵ K. Slany, Alternatywne formy życia..., p. 37.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

takes risky actions, even though they may lead to unfavourable/adverse results"¹⁰. This is how an individual creates and actualises a concept of life concerning the past, and carries out the individual vision of own fate.

Following H. Domański and A. Dukaczewska, it is beyond doubt that "individual achievements are the main criterion for evaluation of the value of individuals, they are the touchstone of their popularity and success in life, and eventually: they are a testimony to their usability¹¹. The authors perceived individualism in the eagerness to rely on oneself, determination in reaching specific goals, whose implementation provides a guarantee for the future success. For that reason, an individualist is a self-reliant person actively seeking an own place, aiming at reaching the chosen goal, with the sense of authorship and control of one's fate. Such an individual is believed by A. Zandecki to believe in own powers, skills, and potential in organising own life, independently of assistance from the others¹². B. Gawlina claims that the shaping of individuality of the young is performed by the liberation from under the educational/wychowawczych influences and power of authorities so as to form oneself and one's own life independently. This liberation the author believes may be expressed for example in persistently carrying out the walk of life, planned by the maturing person, in which such a person builds own private life, becoming responsible for it¹³.

The sense of authorship and subjectivity

Yet for an individual to be able to form his individuality by constructing own life, such an individual must be the performer of specific events, or, in the words of X. Gliszczyńska, must show "conscious and goal-oriented activity focused on the achievement of a desired impact" Moreover, it is important that the individual has the sense of authorship, which means that he attributes to the self the selection of defined goals and efficiency in action or its lack. The persons who are convinced about the authorship/creative power of own actions show the sense of internal locus of control (LOC). Thanks to this, they believe in the possibility of managing their lives, and treat majority of life situations as tasks to be solved, and also believe the probability of success in carrying out these tasks to be greater. As R. Drwal believes,

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¹⁰ W. Sztumski, Ryzyko i świadomość ryzyka, [in:] Społeczeństwo a ryzyko..., p. 14.

¹¹ H. Domański, A. Dukaczewska, Samodzielność i chęć polegania na sobie, [in:] Elementy nowego ladu, ed. by H. Domański, A. Rychard, Warszawa 1997.

¹² A. Zandecki, Dominacja orientacji prezentystycznej w planach życiowych młodzieży wskaźnikiem niepewności i zagrożeń jej rozwoju, [in:] Edukacja i młodzież wobec społeczeństwa obywatelskiego, ed. by K. Przyszczypkowski, A. Zandecki, Poznań – Toruń 1996.

¹³ B. Gawlina, Dorastanie młodzieży do odpowiedzialności, [in:] Wychowanie interpretacja jego wartości i granic, Kraków 1998.

¹⁴ X. Gliszczyńska, *Poczucie sprawstwa*, [in:] *Człowiek jako podmiot życia społecznego*, ed. by X. Gliszczyńska, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1983.

"the sense of internal control and faith in own potential related thereto – the potential of influencing the course of events – allow more independent, active, and often more efficient activity, especially in matters that are important for the individual" bhat is important for people is as a rule dependent on the fulfilment of specific goals, whose attainment is connected to believing oneself as the architect of own actions. X. Gliszczyńska believes the condition necessary to perceive oneself as the source of all actions is the acceptance of goals of these actions considered in harmony with own hierarchy of values. The author believes the sense of authorship to play the instrumental function in achieving various goals 6. For that reason, people with the sense of LOC aim at making independent decisions concerning the shaping of own life and reality that surrounds them.

Connected to the sense of LOC is also the optimistic attitude to life. In the opinion of T. Mądrzycki both the sense of authorship and conviction about own efficiency, and optimism together with hope related to the expectation of fulfilment of desires are important factors that influence efficiency in building and executing life plans¹⁷. According to Z. Zaleski, the attainment of goals – both short- and long-term – empowers the individual with the sense of own subjectivity and authorship. Attainment of the goal, the author claims, increases as the subjective conviction that fulfilment of following plans that define every person's future makes sense. The success in carrying out plans makes people perceive themselves as individuals capable of managing their own lives¹⁸. As J. Górniewicz believes, if a man has the sense of influencing the events and is convinced that it is he who exerts such an influence, such an individual may be considered the subject of events. "For that reason we achieve this sense of our subjectivity by the analysis of own actions in material reality and in imagination. We become the subject through contrast with the objects of the external world, by becoming aware that this world undergoes transformations that result from our activity, which in itself becomes a value thanks to the achievement of a sense of satisfaction from that activity¹⁹. The author believes that subjectivity is most often defined as an internal source of all and any causality. This means that the subject is not determined in his actions, is free in his decisions and deeds, and yet this does not release him from the sense of responsible operation in material and social reality. J. Górniewicz claims that "subjectivity is present wherever there is an exertion of influence on events"20. Thanks to this, the individual may transform

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¹⁵ R.Ł. Drwal, *Osobowość wychowanków zakładów poprawczych. Badania nad funkcjami podkultury zakładowej*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1981, p. 46.

¹⁶ X. Gliszczyńska, Poczucie sprawstwa...

¹⁷ T. Mądrzycki, Osobowość jako system tworzący i realizujący plany, Gdańsk 1996, p. 232.

¹⁸ Z. Zaleski, *Cele osobiste a sens życia*, [in:] *Sens życia*, ed. by K. Obuchowski, B. Puszczewicz, Warszawa 1990 p. 46.

¹⁹ J. Górniewicz, Kategorie pedagogiczne: odpowiedzialność, podmiotowość, samorealizacja, tolerancja, twórczość, wyobraźnia, Olsztyn 1997, p. 23.

²⁰ J. Górniewicz, Kategorie pedagogiczne..., p. 24.

the world and himself according to the life plan he is constructing. In the process of developing an own future, of significant role is the sense of subjectivity, which – as D. Jankowski points out – "implies three important elements: a) own categories, namely standards, values, and goals considered own in a given moment; b) cognitive control, that is the capacity to identify the goal, the manner, and the means of action used; c) the LOC that is the actual influence exerted on the course of events and states of reality. The presence of all these elements in a significant manner defines this sense of being a subject in a specific chain of events" 21.

Shaping the identity

In the social and cultural reality, distinguished by the pluralism of principles and ambivalent choices, a modern young man is trying to find his place in the world, and an answer the questions "who am I" and "where am I going". Forming/Building himself, a maturing individual enters a period of crisis, which E. H. Erikson believes to be a natural breakdown, demolishing "everything, one has so far been, and the world in which one has lived. This crisis at the same time is the time of the birth of a greater desire to be someone, but also sometimes – one in which, despite the discovery of the great opulence of perspectives looming ahead – the young person is not yet ready to 'choose oneself'"22. To solve positively the crisis of identity and answer the worrying questions, to undertake the search and experiment with a variety of solutions, one needs a period of delay, deferral – a time of psychosocial moratorium. This is the period of "suspense between childhood and the adult age", which is "awarded to the one who is not ready to face the duties, who needs time"²³. This E. H. Erikson believes to be the period when the young can prepare for independent undertaking of the tasks of adulthood. The stake is high: the positive solution of the conflict of identity or the stopping of psychosocial development and the onset of an identity confusion, which results in loss and stagnation²⁴. The positive solution of the crisis of identity may cause difficulties for individuals, especially in the contemporary social reality, which is characterised by variety, contradiction, and uncertainty. This reality may pose opportunities but also threats for the personal development of young people. This is what E. H. Erikson turned attention to pointing the dangers of the time of the moratorium. He pointed at the possibility of developing – on the one hand – a protracting period of deferment, and on the other – a premature conclusion and too hasty undertaking of obligations. The first phenomenon carries the threat of what E. H. Erikson believes to be an "identity confusion", while the latter – of

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²¹ D. Jankowski, Autoedukacja wyzwaniem współczesności, Toruń 1999, p. 61.

²² M. Opoczyńska, Moratorium psychospołeczne – szansa czy zagrożenie dla rozwoju, [in:] Klasyczne i współczesne koncepcje osobowości, ed. by A. Gałdowa, Kraków 1999, p. 125.

²³ See: E.H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, New York 1968; *Identity and the Life Cycle*, New York – London 1980.

²⁴ E.H. Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle*, New York-London 1980, p. 132.

the choice of "negative identity²⁵. "The identity confusion" means an unskilled use of the time of deferral and the socially offered roles in which the young people can experiment, which leads to the inability of defining and identity. This moratorium extends into infinity and ceases to be a means leading to a goal. It becomes a goal in itself. This makes the time given to the young people for undertaking important life decisions be treated not as an ally but as a rival. For that reason, it is squandered if not downright lost for the fulfilment of tasks that are as noncommittal as unimportant. The persons who experience "the identity confusion" are incapable of making a decision to select something lasting, to which they would remain faithful. "They give up to time, and together with it, they pass away in every moment. They live as if they wanted to become lost in time, they do not believe in time and in the fact that it may bring changes. They avoid thoughts about the future and let themselves be 'locked' in the current moment, which – as it immediately slips away – is for them a proof of their own futility and worthlessness' They are incapable of living their lives, which rather "happened" to them, independent of their will.

The other danger that threatens the young person in the period of the moratorium is the pre-mature ending of the "time of the trial" and the selection of such "obligations for life that assume the form of the so-called negative identity."²⁷. E. H. Erikson believes it to be based on defining oneself and one's place in the world on the grounds of the values rejected, and unaccepted by the society. This is a way of forming an own person on the principle of the choice of what the given culture believes improper. "This is, in other words, seeking for an own place in the world where one should not seek it; it is becoming one who one must not be"²⁸.

The reasons behind these two threats Erikson believes to lie, among others, in the social environment in which the young grow. The author believes that it is the environment that is responsible for the defeat/disaster of moratorium-time pursuits. Not only indirectly, but also directly through:

- 1) purposeful extension of the period of deferral (examples include actions of teachers and educators as well as the social policy of the state and general social factors presented above influencing the decisions of the young people that are related with undertaking important life decisions);
- internal contradiction of the systems of values offered to young people (an example may be the chaos of values and ideals promoted by the contemporary world);

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²⁵ E.H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, New York 1968, p. 246.

²⁶ M. Opoczyńska, Moratorium psychospołeczne..., pp. 132–133.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 135.

 $^{^{28}}$ Ibidem.

3) providing models that serve the construction of the "negative image" of oneself (an example may be a situation where the young encounter nearly solely communications of the type "you must not do this", "you cannot be like that", at the same time receiving in return no clear guidelines and guidelines showing what one should be like)²⁹.

Closing remarks

In today's social and cultural reality, the functioning of the young generation may not be limited only to the passive copying of standards and norms passed to them by the adults. With contemporary civilisational changes, for the human to be able to develop, the human should perceive himself as the source of all actions, and the surrounding world – as an opportunity for fulfilment of own potential³⁰. It is important, therefore, that persons supporting the development of the young people are aware of the specific character of the role shaped through the challenges of the contemporary.

Abstract

The question about the significance of education in the contemporary world is in fact, the question about the human who must know how to function in social and cultural reality that is full of changes and variety. This is a question about what the young people are educated, taught, and formed towards. It is important that the reflection covers pedagogical actions and continues to seek an answer to the question posed above, not to miss reality, not to lose the sense of educational pursuits from view, and – primarily – to undertake these activities with the student in mind.

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²⁹ M. Opoczyńska, Moratorium psychospołeczne..., pp. 133–137.

³⁰ K. Obuchowski, Człowiek intencjonalny, Warszawa 1993, p. 9.

ANNA KOZŁOWSKA

Difficult pupils and school bullying – selected problems of Polish schools in the era of transformation

Almost every teacher, regardless of his academic title, qualification, seniority or commitment, happens upon pupils whose behaviour cause trouble. However, the way, or method, he uses to deal with the troublesome pupil is a measure of his pedagogical professionalism. In other words, the difficult pupil is a challenge to the teacher's pedagogical and educational competence. The number of troublesome pupils is constantly growing. One of the reasons for the aggravation of this phenomenon is that secondary education has become universal. This universality of education has led to a lowering of education standards and spreading patterns of behaviour that once did not occur among secondary-school pupils. Another reason for the growing difficulties is the distortion of the world caused by conflicts, terrorism, new customs among young people, aggressive behaviour, indifference to flagrant lack of manners and lack of consistent educational actions.

Why are pupils sometimes difficult?

The answer is not simple. Maybe the difficult pupil is a product of the clash between his expectations and school reality, so different from his dreams and ideas about school. A pupil who begins his education comes to school with certain expectations. Some are obvious and understandable, but others are a kind of youthful pipe dream and magical thinking. The pupil wishes that:

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- school were a place of great adventure and unceasing entertainment;
- school satisfied his youthful curiosity;
- school gave him an opportunity to meet new friends, who would always like and accept him;
- studying were not related to effort and failures;
- teachers were omniscient and versatile, but most of all extremely understanding;
- his mistakes and inappropriate behaviour were quickly forgotten (like in a family)
- teachers were always just in their judgment and always had a lot of time for him, regardless of the circumstances.

Similarly, teachers also have expectations, some more realistic than others. The teacher wishes that:

- pupils were able to discern his extraordinary personality;
- pupils always liked and respected him, no matter whether he deserved it or not
- pupils treated him with all due respect;
- pupils treated his subject as special and unique;
- pupils shared his viewpoint on many important issues, also of a general nature
- pupils were disciplined and well-prepared for all classes;
- pupils were delighted with his lessons, even when he feels that he could have taught them better.

These two worlds of expectations and desires, some more realistic than others, clash with each other at school and often produce a pupil who by convention is called difficult, that is one who causes educational and didactic trouble. The difficult pupil is also characterised by a certain polarity. Both his hostility and his excessive submissiveness become problematic. Also his uncontrollable talkativeness or withdrawal and silence can cause problems. The pupil is sometimes difficult also because:

- he does not understand the teacher's instructions;
- he has lost interest in the subject or has never become interested in it;
- he sees no relationship between his life and the subject taught;
- he is afraid that he will not cope with difficult tasks;
- he needs more stimulation;
- he is bored with the subject:
- he unconsciously equates the teacher with other important people in his life, e.g. his mother and father, and takes it out on the teacher;
- he relieves his painful experience and frustrations at school;
- he does not know why his behaviour is wrong because constant swearing and aggression are standard patterns of behaviour at home;
- he wants to attract other pupils' and teachers' attention to himself.

Difficult situations between a teacher and a pupil usually occur in four complementary areas of mutual relations.

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Area A. The teacher places excessive demands on the pupil and constantly wants to correct his behaviour. In such a situation, the teacher easily transforms into a persecutor. He usually does not take into account the pupil's individual needs and capabilities and his work is accompanied by stiff rules of conduct. During class, there must be order and discipline, sometimes attained by rigour and power. This attitude is usually defensive and corresponds to the principle: they will either be afraid of me or they will laugh at me.

Area B. The teacher's attention focuses on himself. It is the teacher who is the centre of attention. He treats his pupils in a formal and superficial way and his actions as the only mission that needs to be fulfilled.

Area C. This relationship is characterised by the teacher's excessive submissiveness towards pupils. The teacher is too indulgent, caring and protective. In such a situation, the teacher seldom places clear demands on pupils and then checks and evaluates their fulfilment.

Area D. In this relationship, the teacher adopts an avoiding attitude. The teacher usually does not place any demands and does not impose any constraints on behaviour. The teacher is carefree, unconcerned and reckless.

Moderation is the teacher's virtue, which means neither excessive focus on the pupil, nor excessive focus on himself; neither excessive leniency, nor excessive demands. The easiest way to deal with the difficult pupil is to find balance between the teacher's and student's inner and surrounding worlds. Such an attitude can be called a "sensible commitment". It means that only reasonable activity can guarantee success in the teacher's profession. Research shows that the teachers with the most and the least teaching experience have the greatest problems. According to an analysis of teacher professional development phases, the first group of teachers focuses mainly on maintaining discipline in class and making a good impression. The second group – long-serving teachers – often suffers from the syndrome of getting stale in the job.

A difficult pupil at Polish schools often appears in the context of violent behaviour, related to school bullying. Such a pupil often assumes the role of an instigator of aggressive behaviour towards younger male and female pupils. The environment is particularly conducive to such behaviour. The change from the system of education based on eight years of primary school and four years of secondary school to a new three-stage system of education gives the difficult pupil a "perfect" opportunity to find new victims at school. Due to the short stages of education, a pupil has to face a new school, new teachers and new schoolmates, and start his struggle for survival in difficult school reality more often than before. The school becomes an arena of brutal behaviour, where the stronger and ill-mannered rather than the wise manifest their rights with the use of force. In the past, bullying occurred in Poland only in the army. Senior soldiers would make the lives of newcomers – known as "cats"

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in Polish – difficult. They would invent various "games" to make the newcomers know their place. Currently, this phenomenon occurs on a large scale also at Polish schools. First-grade pupils are terrorised in many various ways by older pupils, who compete against one another in inventing new methods, often very brutal, of tormenting their schoolmates. This usually starts with measuring the school corridor with a match, which is just a prelude to further long-term aggressive and violent activity.

The phenomenon of bullying has its origins in initiation rites. The phenomenon of a special "admission" of new members to a given community is as old as communities themselves. Initiation rites, preceded by difficult and sometimes also humiliating tasks, are found in almost every culture in the world. The aim of hazing, first taste of the sea, initiations and other customs is to fully involve new members in a given community. Their aim is also to check whether the candidate for a member of a given group is worthy of becoming one. If new people succeed in coping with the tests, a formal admission takes place. At certain schools, such initiations are a long-standing tradition. On the day of hazing, first-grade pupils fulfil different tasks and are later appointed as lawful pupils of the school. All is supervised by adults – teachers and parents – and it is an important event in the life of the school.

Today, such rites are still an important attraction at many schools; they even attract new pupils. Their aim is to integrate newcomers with the school community, and to reduce the distance between first-graders and their teachers, who also participate in the event. The moment a first-grader is accepted and regarded as a member of the school community by older pupils is very significant for the life of the school. Therefore, although participation in hazing is not obligatory, few first-graders decline to participate in the common play.

However, there is something that makes school bullying different from other forms of initiation. First of all, it is the form of organisation, or rather lack of organisation. Virtually every older pupil considers himself "entitled" to appoint first-graders the way he wishes. Sometimes first-graders are humiliated by several schoolmates one after another, and the only way to avoid further tasks is to escape quickly enough. There is no equality between first-graders and older pupils, and no turning point after which a pupil ceases to be perceived as a "new kid". In the case of hazing, every pupil has to pass the same obstacle course in an approximate time. In the case of bullying, some first-graders — usually those who are tall and strong or get along with pupils from higher grades — manage to avoid any form of appointing, but some are tormented month after month.

Bullying, which occurs even at primary school and continues at middle and often vocational school, distorts the social life of young people. "School bullying" as

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a developing school subculture is an informal structure that is typical of the so-called "other life" of a group, i.e. a class or school community. In order for bullying to develop at school, its typical patterns of behaviour and values have to be attractive and at the same time accepted by young people. It should be remembered that if the black mark of bullying clings to a middle school for good, it will become a permanent element of the school life, very difficult to combat.

An analysis of this issue poses further, more detailed questions concerning the origin of the phenomenon of aggression and bullying in schools. Two basic sets of reasons can be determined. The first set includes those resulting from pupils' unsatisfied needs, for example a state of deprivation, which occurs when the important needs of some young people are not satisfied, such as: the need to feel safe, the need for acceptance, a sense of belonging to a group, a sense of importance etc. Other needs can also be the reason, e.g. the need to tighten emotional ties and group solidarity and the need to counteract monotony and boredom.

Another set of reasons responsible for the increasing wave of aggression at schools results from the poor quality of educational work at schools. This poor quality is manifested by, among other things, lack of evaluation or superficial evaluation of interpersonal relations in class and at school, lack of concern to create an atmosphere of trust and cooperation in classes and at school, developing competition between pupils and disruption of the process of communication, inability to create a class team and to lead it, inappropriate systems of punishment and awards used at school and inappropriate organisation of class and school work.

The following features characteristic of the system of education are also conducive to the development of the phenomenon of bullying in schools: a system geared – first and foremost – to transferring knowledge, shortcomings in the educational role of the school, and too many pupils in classes and at schools, which leads to anonymity.

Conclusions

The problems of Polish schools named above – difficult and aggressive pupils, prone to violent behaviour towards their peers – are confirmed by pupils' statements made during integration classes conducted at schools, and the opinions of parents and teachers, as well as pedagogues employed at counselling services to which victims turn. There is no doubt that the phenomenon of violence at school, known as bullying, including persecution and various forms of harassment, has existed for a long time. Even in old novels one can find descriptions of pupils persistently tormenting their schoolmates. Although the phenomenon has been known for a long time, it started to be dealt with in a more systematic and scientific way relatively

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late, i.e. not until the beginning of the 1970s. Initially, research was limited to the region of Scandinavia, but in the 1980s and in later years the importance of the problem was being noticed in other regions of Europe and the world, like Japan, Canada, the United States and Australia. Research conducted by a team from the Institute of Applied Psychology (Kraków 2004) has shown that over half of the respondents (a group of 402 teachers and 1844 pupils) were affected by the phenomenon of pupils being tormented by other pupils.

The factors conducive to the development of this phenomenon are numerous, for example: young people emulating the patterns of behaviour of adults, the growing popularity of aggressors within peer groups, declining authority of teachers, tacit consent and lack of opposition from other pupils at school and the syndrome of denial of the problem, which often affects school headteachers and teachers.

The pupils who took part in the research defined verbal and physical aggression as dominant among all other threats. Theft, extortion and cyber-violence, i.e. threats and blackmail on the Internet or by mobile phone, were also ranked high on this shameful list. Recently, sending humiliating pieces of information, films, photos, adding comments in blogs and discussion forums, or sending information by other instant messengers have become more and more popular. In February 2008 alone, 78 victims of cyber-violence from all over the country asked for help from the special "helpline" website (by way of comparison, in 2007 the number of victims equalled 50). Research on cyber-violence (Dzieci Niczyje Foundation and Gemius SA [in:] Gemius. Myśli bez granic No. 2/2008) conducted with a sample of 3000 pupils aged 12–17 in January showed that almost half, i.e. 47% of respondents, had experienced cyber-violence in the form of vulgar name-calling on the Internet, and over 57% admitted to having at least once become the protagonist of a film recorded against their will. In 87% of the cases, schoolmates were responsible for virtual violence. These incidents often result in children breaking ties with schoolmates and mistrusting those closest to them, playing truant, a sense of alienation and sometimes suicide attempts.

Although the problem has been exposed by the media for years and despite training for teachers and pupils, there is still a stigma attached to being threatened by or being a victim of violence, and therefore incidents of violence are seldom reported by their victims. It is alarming that many pupils who have been victims of violence do not report this fact. Teachers who have participated in research (Częstochowa 2002, Kraków 2004, Stockholm 2004) admit that their knowledge about negative occurrences at their school rarely comes from the victims, but rather from other teachers, pupils or the headteacher. The teachers who took part in the research cited above often perceived pupils as lost, easily influenced by group pressure, ill-adapted to coping with stress, following hedonistic values, or lacking any authorities or family support.

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The family and its relationship with the school, or rather lack thereof, as one of the reasons for the growing wave of violence at schools, is a separate problem emphasised by research reports and subject literature. Research shows explicitly that parents seldom meet the class tutor or school pedagogue on their own initiative, even if their child's behaviour clearly suggests problems with social adaptation. Moreover, relations with parents are often a source of stress and frustration of the teacher which results from the universal demanding attitude of parents and their tendency to blame teachers for all educational problems and pupils' failures at school. Research (Kraków 2004) has also shown that teachers are tired of making attempts to cooperate with parents and feel a total lack of support from parents in their battle against the aggressive behaviour of young people. Teachers also feel that their job has lost any sense and feel helpless at work. This phenomenon is particularly important since, according to Seemann (1975), it may lead to a lowered ability or even inability to foresee social situations and the results of one's own and others' behaviour. As a consequence, it may lead to losing the sense of one's work or even life. This is indirectly related to the fact that teachers have many serious doubts concerning the sense of their educational and teaching efforts. Other alarming results of research show that some teachers feel threatened by aggressive behaviour of young people at their places of residence.

Both subject literature and research clearly show that there is a great need for implementing preventive programmes and taking measures to reduce the level of aggression and the wave of violence in schools. An attempt to solve, at least partly, this complex issue may turn out to be crucial not only in the context of the current situation of education, but also in its future dimension. For it can be assumed that aggressive pupils, tormenting their schoolmates, will also cause trouble later in their lives. The risk of a criminal record or alcohol problems is higher among this group. Many recent studies have confirmed this thesis (Olwens 2007). They show that approx. 60% of the boys who persecuted their schoolmates at primary and middle school committed a criminal offence by the age of 24. Almost 40% of them were sentenced for three or more offences. In a control group (i.e. a group of boys who were neither perpetrators nor victims of bullying) the percentage equalled 10%. On the other hand, the crime rate was average or lower than average among persons who were harassed in their childhood.

Therefore, all preventive measures taken by schools, psychological and pedagogical counselling services and the police may turn out to be crucial in eliminating or partly reducing the wave of school violence. It might be a good idea for a school to devote one particular day to organising special classes on school bullying instead of regular classes. Such classes should be conducted not only by the headteacher and teachers, but also by the school psychologist and doctor, representatives of parents, external organisations and the board of education. If a survey was previously

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conducted among pupils, such classes would be a good opportunity to present its results in public and to analyse it (together with a psychologist). One could also use other means, e.g. a video on bullying in schools. One should also remember that children who are victims of school violence are often timid and intimidated. They fear that the interference of adults will only worsen their plight. In such a situation, it would be useful to launch a special telephone line, operating several hours a week, for everybody to be able to call and to speak anonymously about the problems at and after school. The school psychologist or some other person related to the school could be on call. The task of such a person would be, first and foremost, to listen to the caller and provide help. Such a telephone line could also be useful to parents who have noticed their children tormenting or being tormented by other pupils. By calling a given number, they could receive advice on further action. In order for the preventive measures to bring any results, cooperation with families against the wave of aggression at school should take the form of common actions of teachers, the headteacher and parents.

Despite the necessary simplification of the complex issue of aggression and bullying and school, it is important to acknowledge that the phenomenon has become alarmingly widespread and has adopted alarming forms. School bullying poses a threat not only to pupils, but also to teachers. Data from the subject literature and research show clearly that it is necessary to take measures that will afford a detailed examination and more accurate diagnosis of the phenomenon.

Following the detailed diagnosis of the problem, it is necessary to start implementing planned and focused educational procedures at all levels of education. The extent to which the actions taken by the school will raise pupils' competence to reduce aggression and at the same time develop cooperation needs to be further surveyed by researchers. However, one must assume that the necessity to work out a programme of violence prevention at and after school that will cover not only pupils, and to prepare training and courses for teachers, is one of the greatest challenges in today's education. Moreover, such a trend in education should allow an attitude to be developed of thoughtful coexistence, cooperation, partnership and empathy among pupils. Teachers, by fulfilling this challenging task, should become thoughtful, sensitive and tolerant class tutors. Their role should be to help pupils find sense in those activities where others see only opportunities for aggressive, humiliating and violent behaviour.

Abstract

Nearly all teachers may encounter students causing problems with their behaviour, irrespective of the teacher's scientific title, qualifications, experience, and involvement. Yet the manner how and

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degree to which the teacher copes with the troublemaking student is the measure of pedagogical professionalism. In other words, a troublemaking student is a challenge for all educational competences. The number of such students continues to increase. One of the reasons of intensification of the phenomenon is the fact of secondary education becoming increasingly common. This commonness lowers the standards of education and spreads the behaviours that used to be absent from the former higher secondary school (liceum). Another reason behind the increasing difficulties is the deformation of the world by conflicts, terrorism, new habits of the young, aggressive behaviour, indifference to the glaring lack of culture, and lack of cohesion in educational pursuits/actions.

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BORIS KOŽUH

Average Effect Size in Meta-analysis

Introduction

Meta-analytical research is based on the integration of a range of primary studies, which affords us a better knowledge of the phenomena in question. The effect size is calculated for every single study. If the research problem is clearly defined and the studies are well selected and adopted, the statement that all the studies analyse the same phenomenon is substantiated. It means that the results of all studies reflect the influence of the same factors. As a result, all effect sizes reflect the same effect. This deliberation is justified in a theory which is the starting point for meta-analysis.

Integration of effect sizes collected in particular studies means finding the average size effect. It is assumed that all particular effect size values constitute the evaluation of an unknown, general value. Therefore, the next statistical operation in meta-analysis is the calculation of the average size effect.

The average effect size of standardized arithmetic mean difference

Usually, the effect size is indicated in the form of a standardized arithmetic mean difference of groups given in a comparison. The easiest method to calculate the

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average size effect is to calculate the arithmetic mean of all effect sizes of particular studies, using the following formula:

$$d_{average} = \frac{\sum d}{k}$$

Table 1 provides an example of the use of an arithmetic mean calculated from seven experimental studies.

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Table 1. The average	CHECK SIVE HOL	n me resuns of seven	experimental studies

studies	n	d
1	24	0,35
2	24	- 0,49
3	24	0,24
4	24	0,69
5	24	0,28
6	24	0,73
7	24	0,28
1_	0,35+(-0,49)+0,24+0,69+0,26	8+0,73+0,28
a =	7	
d=	0,30	

The method of determining the effect size presented in the table can be used when studies are carried out on samples of the same number of respondents. Such a situation occurs in the event of multiple repetitions of the same experiment with equally numerous comparative groups. In the meta-analysis of non-experimental studies, the above method is possible only when a few studies are integrated. Often, repetitions of the same experiments are made on samples of different sizes. In meta-analysis, integration of experimental studies alone is very rare. Studies that constitute a repetition of the same experiment are even rarer. This usually results in situations where particular effect sizes are obtained from the results of samples of an unequal number of respondents. Large samples provide more precise evaluations of effect sizes. Therefore, evaluations obtained from larger samples should be given greater significance than evaluations obtained from smaller samples. For this reason a simple arithmetic mean is replaced with a weighted mean. The size of samples in particular studies is used as a weight. The average effect size is calculated according to the following formula:

$$d_{average} = \frac{\sum n \cdot d}{\sum n}$$

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Table 2 provides an example of the use of a weighted mean calculated from seven experimental studies.

studies	n	d	n ·d
1	29	0,41	11,89
2	30	0,56	16,80
3	28	0,32	8,96
4	60	0,76	45,60
5	52	0,43	22,36
6	64	0,68	43,52
7	24	0,26	6,24
Σ	287		155,37
		155,37	1 200,07

Table 2. The average effect size from the results of seven experimental studies

$$d = \frac{155,37}{287}$$
$$d = 0,54$$

Many authors consider the proposed approach insufficient (Hedges and Olkin 1985, Rosenthal and Rubin 1982). Many circumstances in meta-analysis have led to the development of numerous methods to determine unbiased evaluation of the average effect size. All the developed methods are based on using more optimal weights than sample size. The only method chosen for presentation is the approximation method. It is used when the size of the compared groups is approximate and larger than ten. According to the method, the weighted mean is calculated according to the following formula:

$$d_{average} = \frac{\sum n \cdot w}{\sum w}$$

$$w = \frac{2n}{8 + d^2}$$

Table 3 provides an example of the use of a weighted mean calculated from ten studies.

Table 3. The average effect size from the results of ten studies

studies	n	d	W	w ·d
1	20	0,45	4,88	2,19
2	42	0,81	9,70	7,86
3	26	0,36	6,40	3,30

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studies	n	d	w	w ·d		
4	30	0,71	7,06	5,01		
5	25	0,53	6,04	3,20		
6	55	0,44	13,43	5,91		
7	28	0,28	6,93	1,94		
8	31	0,60	7,42	4,45		
9	86	0,43	21,01	9,03		
10	50	0,69	11,80	8,14		
		Σ	94,67	50,03		
	$d = \frac{50,03}{94,67}$					
		d = 0,53				

The use of the approximation method results in a greater error in the evaluation of the average effect size. However, the values obtained by this method are closer to the values obtained by using the optimal weights procedure, when the following conditions are fulfilled:

- 1. The value of the effect size in the general population is close to zero.
- 2. Large sample size.
- 3. The size of compared groups is identical or approximate.

Due to the particular goal of this paper and its limited size, the issue concerning the description and the ways to use other methods to determine the average size effect will not be developed here. The methods presented are sufficient for most meta-analytical studies.

Average effect size of correlation coefficients

Integration of correlation coefficients is very similar to the procedure of integration of standardized arithmetic mean differences. The main difference is that due to the nature of distribution of sample correlation coefficients, the correlation coefficients are often converted to Fisher's coefficients. All fundamental statistical operations are based on Fisher's coefficients. The easiest way to determine the average effect size from correlation coefficients is to use a simple arithmetic mean. The method proves correct in studies with groups of the same size. When differences between group sizes are small, the error resulting from the use of this measure is small; however, as the difference increases, the error also increases. The average effect size is calculated according to the formula:

$$r_{average} = \frac{\sum r}{k}$$

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Table 4 provides an example of the use of an arithmetic mean calculated from a series of experimental studies.

Table 4. The avera	ge effect size	from the resu	Its of eleven	experimental	studies

studies	n	r
1	106	0,63
2	106	0,34
3	106	0,54
4	106	0,28
5	106	0,54
6	106	0,72
7	106	0,43
8	106	0,27
9	106	0,47
10	106	0,45
11	106	0,29
	Σ	4,96
	$r = \frac{4,96}{11}$	
	r = 0,45	

When correlation coefficients exceed the value of ± 0.50 and the group size is less than one hundred respondents, the convergence proposed by Fisher should be performed. The first step of the proposed procedure is to convert all correlation coefficients to Fisher's coefficients. This strategy facilitates calculation of an arithmetic mean constituting the average effect size, according to the following formula:

$$Zr_{average} = \frac{\Sigma Zr}{k}$$

Table 5 below provides an example of calculation of an arithmetic mean of Fisher's coefficients. It presents the integration of nine studies.

Table 5. The average effect size from the results of nine experimental studies

studies	n	r	Z _r
1	65	0,56	0,618
2	65	0,48	0,523
3	65	0,38	0,400
4	65	0,49	0,536

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studies	n	r	Z _r			
5	65	0,58	0,662			
6	65	0,36	0,377			
7	65	0,55	0,618			
8	65	0,63	0,741			
9	65	0,59	0,678			
		Σ	5,153			
$Zr = \frac{5,153}{9}$						
	Zr = 0.57					
	r = 0.52					

In meta-analysis, integration of the results of studies of identical sample size is very rare. Usually, differences between sample sizes are large. The greater the difference between sample sizes, the greater the error in the calculation of the average effect size. These are the cases when an arithmetic mean is replaced with a weighted mean. There are two ways to calculate the weighted mean:

a/weighted mean of Pearson's coefficients:

$$r_{average} = \frac{\Sigma \cdot rw}{\Sigma w}$$

$$w = n - 1$$

Table 6 provides an example of the use of a weighted mean calculated from twelve studies.

Table 6. The average effect size from the results of twelve studies

studies	n	r	w	r ·w
1	323	0,32	322	103,04
2	421	0,16	420	67,20
3	217	0,49	216	105,84
4	130	0,36	129	46,44
5	320	0,41	319	130,79
6	207	0,39	206	80,34
7	152	0,44	151	66,34
8	128	0,30	127	38,10
9	234	0,36	233	83,88
10	308	0,43	307	132,01

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studies	n	r	w	r ·w		
11	252	0,49	251	122,99		
12	488	0,34	487	165,58		
		Σ	3168	1142,65		
	1142,65					
$r={3168}$						
		r = 0.36				

b/weighted mean of Fisher's coefficients:

$$Zr_{average} = \frac{\sum Zr \cdot w}{\sum w}$$

 $w = n - 3$

Table 7 presents the way to calculate a weighted mean of Fisher's coefficients, related to 10 studies.

Table 7. The average effect size from the results of ten studies

studies	n	r	w	Zr	w · Zr
1	130	0,36	127	0,377	47,88
2	32	0,50	29	0,549	15,92
3	127	0,38	124	0,400	49,60
4	105	0,42	102	0,448	45,70
5	29	0,53	26	0,590	15,34
6	63	0,66	60	0,703	42,18
7	233	0,48	230	0,523	120,29
8	213	0,59	210	0,678	142,38
9	542	0,44	539	0,472	254,41
10	432	0,68	429	0,829	355,64
		Σ	1876		1089,34
$Zr = \frac{1089,34}{1876}$					
Zr = 0,58 $r = 0,52$					

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Average effect size of proportion and difference of proportions

All the methods, rules and possibilities of calculating effect size discussed above are also related to the integration of studies, where the effect size is defined in the form of proportion or difference of proportions.

Identical sample size in all studies facilitates the use of a simple arithmetic mean, calculated according to the formula:

$$ES_{average} = \frac{\Sigma ES}{k}$$

Table 8 provides an example of calculating an arithmetic mean from eleven studies.

Table 8. The average effect size from the results of eleven studies

studies		ES		
1	1 0,22			
2		0,21		
3		0,11		
4		0,09		
5		0,05		
6		0,18		
7		0,16		
8		0,08		
9		0,27		
10		0,21		
11		0,05		
	Σ	1,63		
$ES = \frac{1,63}{11}$				
ES=0,15				

If the studies include samples of different sizes, a weighted mean has to be used, calculated according to the formulas:

$$\mathsf{ES}_{average} = \frac{\Sigma \mathsf{ES} \cdot \mathsf{w}}{\Sigma \mathsf{w}}$$

$$w = \frac{n}{1 - ES^2}$$

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Table 9 presents the integration of seven studies.

Table 9. The average effect size from the results of seven experimental studies

studies	n	ES	w	ES ·w	
1	165	0,11	167,02	18,37	
2	327	0,21	342,09	71,84	
3	431	0,33	483,67	159,61	
4	178	0,24	188,88	45,33	
5	290	-0,15	296,68	-44,50	
6	246	0,30	270,33	81,10	
7	323	0,28	350,48	98,13	
		Σ	2099,15	429,88	
$ES = \frac{429,88}{2099,15}$					
ES = 0.20					

Integration of dissimilar effect sizes

The area of the methodological investigations presented above concerned the procedures of determining the average effect size. So far, this paper has analysed the possibilities and methods of obtaining the same kind of effect sizes related to all integrated studies. The authors of primary studies did not determine effect sizes. The effect sizes were calculated on the basis of the results of primary studies in the course of meta-analysis. If the results of all primary studies are of the same kind (e.g. means), the effect sizes obtained are also of the same kind (e.g. Hedges' "d").

Another procedure concerns the cases where effect sizes obtained from particular studies are of a different kind. The results obtained and expressed by different effect sizes make it impossible to calculate the average effect size directly. In such cases, it is necessary to convert different kinds of effect sizes to one kind in such a way that the average effect size is expressed in the form of an arithmetic mean or weighted mean. One of the best methods of conversion is to convert all effect sizes to correlation coefficients and use them as the only effect size.

Converting "d" to correlation coefficients

The correlation coefficient conversion theory is well-known and extensively described in subject literature. This paper presents only those procedures and formulas which are indispensible for calculations:

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1. In cases of different sample size, the following formulas are used:

$$r = \frac{d}{\sqrt{\frac{d^2 + (n_e + n_k - 2)}{\tilde{n}}}}$$

$$\tilde{n} = \frac{n_e \cdot n_k}{n_e + n_k}$$

2. In cases of identical sample size, the following formula is used:

$$d \cong \frac{d}{\sqrt{d^2 + 4}}$$

3. In cases when effect sizes are small, all the calculations can be reduced, using uncomplicated formulas for calculations (Hunter and Schmidt 1990, p. 235):

a/ Calculation of "r", when "d" values do not exceed 0.41:

$$r = \frac{d}{2}$$

b/ Calculation of "d", when "r" values do not exceed 0.21:

$$r = \frac{d}{2}$$

After conversion and obtaining similar effect sizes, further research procedure should be conducted according to the guidelines provided in the initial part of the paper.

Conclusion

The aim of a meta-analytical study is to integrate the results of a set of empirical studies. In meta-analysis, the operations are based on the assumption that the integrated studies describe and explain the same phenomenon. As a result of this assumption, the results of all studies reflect the influence of the same factors. Every particular study has its own effect size. The integration of the collected effect sizes of particular studies leads to the general value of effect size being obtained.

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The first statistical operation is the calculation of the average effect size. This goal can be achieved by using different methods to determine arithmetic means with regard to sample sizes or other factors.

The main condition for this operation is homogeneity of effect sizes from particular studies. The test of homogeneity is usually performed prior to calculation of the average effect size.

The average effect size thus obtained constitutes only an evaluation from samples. The determination of the significance level of the average effect size is the final operation in the described procedure.

Abstract

The assumption of the meta-analytical study is integration of the results of empirical researches. The activities in the meta-analysis hinge on the assumption that the integrated study describes and explains the same phenomenon. Consequently, the results of all the individual studies reflect the impact of the same factors. Each individual piece of research has its effect size. The integration of the data gathered from the individual studies is the action that leads to the achievement of the total value of the effect size.

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ANDRZEJ MIRSKI

Creativity as a significant goal in education

The basic assumptions of the article

- 1. The most important civilisational requirement of our time is creativity. We live in a post-industrial period based on information, knowledge, and creativity, with an especially important role being played by those who create this knowledge, and effectively transform and enrich information. Because the goal of education is to prepare the student optimally for the world where he is going to live and act, it should aim for stimulation of the student's creative potential.
- 2. By nature, a human is a creative individual. It is only in creativity that the human can fully realise his human potential and experience the sense of fulfilment. As the goal of education is also the personal and intellectual growth of the student, it should aim for development of the student's creative capacity and creative lifestyle.
- 3. The author of the article defines creativity as a transaction between the resources and means owned, and the requirements of the environment within which these resources are transformed in a way that brings about a new quality capable of satisfying these needs and requirements. The most important criteria of creativity are novelty and usefulness. Usefulness is connected to the satisfaction of one's own needs and those of others, and these are in fact satisfied effectively only when they are based on values.

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- 4. The aspect of novelty is significant, as lack thereof leads to stagnation. Yet actually precious products may be achieved by falling back upon the cultural heritage accumulated in the past, which can be creatively transformed and improved. The opposite of creativity is on the one hand both the routine and the banal, and on the other hand thoughtless, destructive, avantgardist rejection of the past heritage of humanity. Despite the vastness of this heritage, novelty is still viable thanks to the uniqueness of every individual, on the condition of the individual's authenticity and originality.
- 5. There are four most important aspects of creativity: disposition, output, process, and the pressure of the environment. In the process of education the most important thing is concentration on the development of creativity in the sense of disposition (creative potential). To achieve this it is necessary also to become acquainted in the broadest possible scope with the achievements of the great shapers of culture; learning to respect, collect, and register one's own, even modest achievements; learning the basics of the creative process; and developing an environment conducive to creativity.
- 6. The egalitarian concept of creation is far more justified than the elitist one. Traditional education supports, nevertheless, the elitist vision of creativity, presenting eminent creators as "geniuses" so great and exceptional that living up to them is to be believed unattainable by the student. Promoting the egalitarian vision of creativity, the school may stimulate creativity among all its students.
- 7. *Homo sapiens* is the *homo creator*: we are all creators in the sense of private creation, and the opportunity of appearing in the public space increases, naturally with the appropriate workload and effort.
- 8. Creativity may be manifested in every field of people's life and work. For this reason each type of education, including professional development, should care for the stimulation of creativity. The higher the level of education, the more important such a pressure should be.
- 9. The essence of creativity lies in having something important to communicate and expressing it in an appropriate, professional language: scientific, technical, literary, musical, visual, etc. What lies at the base of any creative activity are the basic competences that can be divided into general and specialist. The general creative competences are a certain readiness of the mind to be creative within any field. The specialist capacities make it possible to actuate the creative potential in a definite means of communication. The role of general education is primarily to stimulate the general creative potential and to learn the basic means of creativity and their specific characteristics, while vocational education, artistic schools, and higher education should focus also on the development of special creative competences. Creative competences can also be divided into hard (intellectual) and soft (emotional, motivational, self-regulational, and personality-related).

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10. The most important factor in creative stimulation at school is the teacher himself, his creative attitude and personality, inspirational activity, giving an example, and staking out the roads and horizons for the student's creative activity.

Creativity as a requirement of civilisation

Education plays its role properly when it correctly prepares the young person to live in the surrounding world, to play his function in the existing society, at the same time empowering him with opportunities for comprehensive development as a human being. According to Kwieciński (1989), education covers all the personforming influences that lead to the shaping of an individual aware of his own developmental potential, with fixed identity, capable of active self-fulfilment, undertaking supra-personal and distance tasks, and reproductive co-operation in a variety of communities: national, cultural, and global. Thus, the key feature that allows the individual to meet these goals is creativity. Thanks to this, we can adjust in the most effective manner to the environment, shaping it at the same time. Creativity is the most precious resource and a requirement of today's civilisation, providing at the same time the greatest opportunity to develop one's own potential. This is the case as we live in the era of information technology, post-industrialism, whose characteristic feature is the knowledge revolution. As far as in the agrarian era, before the first revolution, land was the most crucial thing, as were the raw materials, machines, and material products in the industrial era, in the era of information, it is the products of the human mind that become the most important material.

The value of various mental activities has also changed with time. In the days of old, especially in agrarian times, memory was praised highest, as it was the only available – and later one of the cheapest – means of storing and keeping information. For that reason, early educational programmes were most keen on the memorising of knowledge. Currently, memory storage is increasingly cheap, therefore this type of mental activity plays no more than an accessory role. Later, due to the Industrial Revolution, it was the processual activity of the mind that became most important: performing calculations, and data analysis and processing. Even in the days of our childhood there was the profession of counting clerk, while in the 19th century hordes of them were employed everywhere. The next great revolution – in information technology – resulted in a change in the need for the type of work of the human mind. In the field of counting, calculators and computers are incomparably quicker, more efficient, and more foolproof than the work of the human mind. There is, however, a specific field of mental work, which so far no computer system, machine, or modern robot can satisfy – a need that is in a growing demand – namely, creativity.

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The 21st century will first and foremost be the era of primary economic and civilisational importance of creativity. If the school is really to prepare for the contemporary world, it should above all stimulate the students' creativity.

Creativity as a goal in personal development

The task of the school is not only to adjust students to the conditions and requirements of the contemporary civilisation, but also to take care of their comprehensive development. In the agrarian period, the goal was to shape the individual to be entirely subordinate to the tribal and state organisation, and unquestioningly loyal to the existing ideology. In the industrial period, the goal was to bring up a productive and disciplined individual. The ideal of self-fulfilment and subjective development - although it had precursors earlier, even among the ancient philosophers including Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle – became popular only in the post-industrial era of information technology. In the field of psychology, of great importance here was the development of humanist psychology, represented primarily by Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow. The latter (Maslow, 2006) claimed that, apart from the needs of lack, also the needs of growth – that is self-fulfilment – are very important for human nature. Self-fulfilment, meanwhile, may be fully present only through the assumption of the creative attitude. The author considered this condition to be common for all people: egalitarian and not elitist. Developing the psychoanalytical concept of primary and secondary processes, he remarked that within properly conducted education, the human should not be closed to primary processes (impulses, instincts, intuition) through fear or conformism; just the opposite: these processes should be reinforced by opening to art, dance, and aesthetic experiences. At the same time, an important role of the school should be to reinforce the secondary processes – intellectual discipline, diligence and orderliness and critical attitude, as integrated creativity can be achieved only thanks to these. Creativity is treated here rather as a certain state of personality – the highest level of psychological health, and self-fulfilment – rather than just specific products. This is accompanied by such traits of character as daring, courage, spontaneity, expressiveness, integration, and self-acceptance. Thus understood, creativity is simply a goal in the personal development of the person, and in this sense it should be the goal of education understood as a process focused on the complete development of human potential. Today, the continuation of the ideas of humanist psychology is positive psychology, which - even though more advanced in studies and methodology than humanist psychology – arrives at similar conclusions. It believes that the goal of psychology and the humanities should be to assist the person in achieving wellness, that is the state of the best physical, psychological, and social operation. (In this it coincides with the psychology of health, as according to the WHO health is physical, psychological, and social wellness.) This is achieved not only through well-being but also by the assumption of an active and creative attitude.

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What is creativity, actually?

There are very many definitions of creativity, yet they are relatively coherent when it comes to the two most crucial criteria. These are novelty and usefulness. This is presented in a typical way by the classical definition of Stein (1953), where creativity is a process leading to a new product, which is deemed useful or acceptable for a specific group at a specific time. Similarly, following Edward Necka (1987), it is a psychological process as a result of which the subject reaches a new and precious outcome. This does not, however, mean that it is easy to define whether, and to what extent, the given activity is creativity, as the definition of what is useful and what is new also requires certain criteria, and usually most controversies focus on those. This is why the author also proposes here a number of definitions which do not change the sense of understanding creativity, and which can finally boil down to the criteria mentioned above, yet which allow a slightly broader look at the question of creativity. Primarily – in the most general sense – creativity is the causing of a new, beneficial state of things. Secondly, everything that causes development or progress is creativity. Thirdly, creativity is the formulation of new representations and products on the grounds of current or past ones. To put it more precisely, "creativity is a transaction between the resources owned and needs and requirements of the environment in which these resources are transformed in a way where a new quality, capable of satisfying these needs and requirements, emerges". Finally, creativity is "the leadership form of communication, actualised primarily in the symbolic form".

Creativity is the transformation of information and matter leading to the development of a useful, valuable, new, and original product.

Creativity is primarily a process of thinking, imagination, and activity. In cognitive psychology, creativity is understood primarily as a heuristic process, in opposition to the algorithmic approach, or as an effective way of employing the cognitive patterns, as in Schank and Abelson (1977).

Kozielecki (1997), meanwhile, divides human behaviours into adaptive and transgressive. Adaptive actions are only adjustment of the human to the environment. On the other hand, creativity is a transgressive activity, thanks to which we can change the environment and actively influence the world. Today, such an attitude is beneficial both for the human and for his environment, remembering of course that it is not only the change that is creative, but valuable change. The creative adaptation means continuous changing of oneself and one's environment for the better.

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Understanding of novelty in an act of creation

A creative work should introduce a novelty, as only then is continuous progress achievable, both in one's own development and in that of the neighbourhood and the entire civilisation. Yet what is new may be achieved only on the grounds of what has been done in the past. Man cannot be created out of nothing (*ex nihilo*); such a creation is always based on combining the existing elements into new sets, systems, and solutions. This is why the main role of the school is providing students – within education in its broadest terms – with knowledge and good taste, as grounds for their own creativity, which may develop and enrich the past and present culture.

The essence of modernity (modernism in its broadest sense) is based on the value of progress: the permanent development of culture by the person. This is possible thanks to the positive value of novelty in culture and the positive value of the autonomous subjectivity of the person. Ever more often it is believed that the beginning of modernity lies in the 14th century, in the appearance of Wilhelm Ockham's nominalist revolution. Understood in this way, modernity is definitely far from over, as postmodernists erroneously understood; just the opposite: it is undergoing an ever stronger intensification. Postmodernism, meanwhile, means the final closure of avant-gardism, an acknowledgement of its total intellectual burnout. Avant-gardism, in opposition to modernism, rejected barbarically the civilisational achievement and the subjectivity of the person. Now, nothing of the avant-garde character can be achieved, its is only possible to shock with an upturned urinal placed in a museum once, and what comes after are but pitiful and anachronistic repetitions. Avant-gardism is a product of the late industrial era, when experiments on humans were highly appreciated, and fascism and communism were attempted; when not only art but also democracy and free market were considered "dated". These experiments luckily belong now only to the sombre past, and in the information era they would be completely anachronistic. School may and should teach the modernity of thinking, love for civilisational progress, simultaneously with the acquaintance of the vastness of the cultural heritage of humanity. It is also to be remembered that novelty need not mean permanent revolution, shocking, and attempting to do something unbelievable and unheard of at any price. Novelty in culture is introduced by every case of precious uniqueness: it is, therefore, sufficient to be authentic and true to make a new work, precious for culture, when one has at one's disposal knowledge and skills.

The most important ways of understanding creativity

The notion of creativity encompasses a number of different phenomena. What we call creativity is a certain psychological disposition (creative potential, creative skill, creative personality), a certain process (making, writing, composing), and creative

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oeuvre (for example, the works of Mickiewicz, Mozart, etc.) Mooney summed up these numerous ways of interpreting the word "creativity" in his concept of 4xP: (person, process, product, press). In the sense of the "person", creativity is perceived as a disposition (the resource aspect), in the sense of the "process" – as the processual aspect (the act of creation), in the sense of the "product" – as the result – oeuvre, and finally in the sense of the "press" – as stimulation from the environment. This division of various aspects of creativity is of profound practical importance, which can be used in the work of the school as well. Creativity in the sense of creative disposition is of profound educational significance. Students are primarily the future creators, which is why it is most important to shape them towards future creativity. Generally, creative skills can be divided into hard and soft. The hard creative skills are intelligence, imagination, and special talents connected with the future field of creation. The soft creative dispositions are primarily the creative personality, attitude, sensitivity, emotionality, motivation, courage, individuality, self-management, and self-organising skills, as well as (especially today) social competence. School may trigger in a student his creative potential, which will later come to fruition throughout his adult life. Creativity understood as the oeuvre covers in fact the majority of the entire school curriculum. All the subjects taught at schools acquaint the students with the achievements of humanity in individual fields of knowledge or culture. This knowledge is especially important in preparation for future creativity in the public realm, primarily because by definition creativity is what is new and useful. For this reason, one needs profound knowledge so as not to preach to the converted. There is a well-known case of an amateur coming to the famous mathematician, Hugo Steinhaus, and announcing that he has just discovered the mathematical law stating that the total sum of angles in each triangle amounts to 180° (Kozielecki, 1997). Beyond any doubt, he achieved this through creative activity, yet at the same time he proved a major lack of knowledge. For that reason, his discovery was not one on the public scale. Secondly, becoming acquainted with the works of former creators provides inspiration, knowledge, and skills to continue creation in the given field, and sometimes also inspiration to be active in other fields.

Creativity understood as a process, on the other hand, gives the opportunity to acquaint the student with the techniques of creative work. Unfortunately, one learns relatively little about the principles and procedures of creative work at school. The most important revolution in the transformation from recreative (informing) school to the creative one should take place in this very scope. Instead of making the students acquainted only with the results of the creative work of scientists and artists, it is extremely important to make them familiar with the technique of the scientific, literary, visual, musical, etc. work. Although the student acquires the fundamentals of creative work (language and principles of its use, scientific notions) at school, he still very rarely receives the rules for putting these elements together in an act of creation.

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Finally, the understanding of creativity in the sense of confinement is also of great importance. In this sense, the word "creativity" is rarely used in Polish. Nonetheless, it goes without saying that the factor of the environment is crucial. Creativity is a certain transformation of the data coming from the environment and transforming them into a form that is attractive for that environment: new and useful at the same time. The environment may encourage creativity, inspire it, and support it. It can also block or even punish for the creative attitude. Evaluating the impact of the environment on creativity, one should take into account the following three aspects:

- 1. the richness of the stimuli provided
- 2. the value of the creativity (values and novelties in the given environment)
- 3. the degree of encouragement from that environment.

In the first case, the environment may be rich or poor. It is important that the school ensures a rich environment, providing the greatest possible number of stimuli necessary for intellectual and emotional development.

In the second case, we may deal with an environment that praises creativity or discourages it. Of special importance here is the attitude to novelty (is this an environment that appreciates novelty?): innovative, or vice versa, reluctant towards it and conservative. It is important that the school is an institution that praises not only creativity in the sense of the cultural heritage already shared, but also as the ever replenishing source of new ideas, inspirations, and potential: that it encourages an active attitude that supports searches and pursuit.

Finally, it is not enough to worship the innovativeness of the recognised creators who are already active, but the young people must also be encouraged to make such discoveries. In this sense, the environment demonstrating an egalitarian attitude is more efficient, as it encourages everyone to be creative, rather than promoting only the creativity of the intellectual elites.

The egalitarian and universal approaches

The elitist approach to creativity has so far been highly popular. This means that creativity was perceived as a phenomenon limited to a fairly small circle of eminent persons. The character of school education intensified this approach even further, for example by a far greater emphasis on the presentation of creativity as an achievement rather than a process. As a result, creators are presented to students as geniuses, celebrities of culture: people unmatched in their creative potential.

Yet the notion of genius is useless from the point of view of psychology, as it does not explain the mechanism of creating a work. Furthermore, it discourages other people, as they seem to be too small to try it themselves. As a result of the educational

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process, many students believe that composing, painting, or writing literary works remain absolutely inaccessible. In fact, making music and drawing can be taught to everyone, while composition of music, painting and creative writing are not as difficult as the uninitiated person may believe. Naturally, there is a great difference in the levels of creativity here, but one must begin somewhere. This phenomenon is seen in the development of the graduates of courses of drawing, who initially do not believe that they could learn to draw at all, while – having acquired some technique – they look at their drawings in amazement and with disbelief, seeing in them great artistic merit. What is visible here is moving between the extremities. It is not true that one may not immediately learn to draw (or play, compose, write creatively) well, but nor does one become an artist immediately after correctly mastering the first techniques.

There are a few reasons why the traditional school – consciously or not – prefers the consumerist attitude to the creative one towards culture (teaching how to consume works rather than how to create them). The first is an expectation of an excessive level of creativity, achieved in most cases after a very long individual education in special educational facilities by the persons who were previously deemed to be specially talented. An average school does not actually take care of them; they enter a special, elitist artistic path. This approach is mistaken, as it often results in the loss of plenty of potential talents on the way.

Besides the highest class of public creativity (cultural and canonical), creativity for the needs of one's own expression (private creativity), and neighbourhood creativity (creativity for the use of the close social circle: peers, friends, family, etc.) are also extremely precious.

The emergence of the Internet introduces a major revolution in the realm of creativity. So far, the creative activity – private and local – may acquire the dimension of global communication without the major costs of production connected with past and present high creativity. A creative piece of work originates when a psychologically sensitive person has something important to say, and communicates it by the appropriate language (literary, visual, musical). The formal and technical aspect is only a language used to express the precious thoughts and emotions. Plenty of people have not become artists, despite a very interesting inner life, as they have failed to master that language, and vice versa: many people with a mediocre inner life complete formal artistic education thanks to purely technical talents acquired early and quite randomly (which specialists later deem fitting to develop). Finally, our education strongly overestimates the importance of specialisation, which is a 19th-century tradition that still lingers on. Naturally, some specialisation in life is necessary. Moreover, one can be creative practically in all the fields of activity, and not only in the artistic one. It is important that the young person finds his or her own

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path of the quickest and most effective growth. Yet the following factors must be taken into account: losing, transfer, and interdisciplinariness. A superficial education may lose the path of the quickest growth (for example one could really become a great composer, writer, actor, scientist), but not be helped by anyone (including school) to find that path. Secondly, there is a certain multidisciplinary character possible, which results from the fact that an interesting inner life can be expressed through a number of languages (scientific, musical, visual, etc.) This can be a professional multidisciplinary character (as in the case of Witkacy and Wyspiański) or semi-professional (a physician by profession plays the piano beautifully for himself and friends). Finally, of key importance here is the meaning of transfer. Namely, creativity in one field can be successfully transferred into other fields (children educated in music learn mathematics quicker, and can find there a greater passion, the skilful fingers of the pianist do come in handy in the profession of the surgeon, the visual thinking developed in drawing will later become useful in the profession of the engineer). Finally and most importantly, it is not the only goal of the school to prepare for a certain profession. What should be its most important goal is the full development of the human potential, giving an opportunity for a life that is full, creative, and happy. To sum up, the egalitarian perception of creativity is today far more modern, educational, and humanistic, while the triggering of creativity is to be considered an extremely important role of the school.

Types and functions of creativity

Assuming the egalitarian concept of creativity, one must, however, single out different levels of creativity. First of all, private creativity must be distinguished from the public kind. As far as the basic definition of creativity is the same in both cases, and means the potential to originate something new and valuable, the criteria of novelty and value will be different here: in private creation this is going to be something new and valuable for the individual, while in the public realm it will be something that is valuable for the broad notion of the environment of the individual. In the scope of private creativity, we are all creators, even if we do not know that ourselves. Each of us develops our own representation of the world, which in its foundations is always "personal". Each of us – in a personal, individual manner – creates his or her own life. Each of us is new and different from others, and ever continues to become new. The role of the school is to help the individual to develop a valuable, adequate, and adaptive representation of the world, and help him to effectively and valuably shape his own life. Private creativity is always the starting point for the public kind. If a given person has an interesting, original picture of the world, he will be able to express it in appropriate language, best adjusted to his skills. Such an individual will also be able to shape himself and his own life in a productive and creative direction. Public creation requires proportionally larger skills and appropriately broader knowledge. This is the case as it is to provide what is new and va-

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luable not only for oneself, but also for the group to which it is addressed. I suggest that we distinguish here the three most important forms of public creativity: a) local creativity, b) publicised creativity, and c) canonical creativity. The first of these is addressed to the circle of the persons nearest to the creator, school, peers, family, and friends. The creativity of this type a) does not have to define new trends or carry an exceptional quality, and is in most cases still of an amateur type. Yet in the given local realm, it appears something of importance, it is less significant that someone creates, represents or interprets things that are known – it is important that it is our man who has got something important and interesting to communicate to us in the language of art (or science or journalism, etc.) Such creativity is definitely to be supported and stimulated in the school environment. This might be in the form of school newsletters, performances at school gatherings, declamations, concerts and recitals, and presentation of students' work in school corridors. Peer creativity is also to be supported, including student performances in their own milieu, their local, school works even if – at times – they may be critical or satirical towards the teachers. Moreover, the operation and development of school theatres and cabarets should be strongly supported. Worth remembering too are special interest groups and learned societies, which can help to develop local scientific creativity among the students. School newsletters in turn help to develop local journalistic creativity. Local creativity is the first, extremely important step between private creativity and the publicised form. It is a step that is very hard to make especially for psychological reasons, as strong mental barriers must be overcome here: shyness, fear of rejection, and stage fright. The young frequently write interesting pieces or may have interesting scientific ideas, yet they lack the courage to communicate them to others, or frequently there is no opportunity to do so. Publicised creativity is already something that – via different channels of distribution – may reach a very broad circle of recipients, also ones that are unknown to the author. Today the most important role of the mediator is played here by publishing houses and the media (press, radio, and television), as well as organised concerts and exhibitions. Public creativity is far more challenging than the private or local forms. Now the criterion of creativity encompasses what is truly new and valuable for other people. It is not enough what a friend or colleague has to say or present. The creator is an alien, treated as a professional. In the era of globalisation, novelty and value are of a global character. Imitating or copying works of others is condemned and legally prosecuted for the infringement of intellectual property rights. It is therefore evident that this creativity requires a very high level of skills as well as a broad knowledge in a given field (with the need to know what has already been achieved so as not to copy it but to use the technical experience). The achievement of this level in a given field requires many years of intensive work, with specialists speaking even of a minimum of ten years. This level is hardly ever achieved during education, yet this is not impossible in the case of students with special talents when surrounded with appropriate care. Plenty of beginner artists overestimate the obstructive character of this barrier. Even

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though the requirement of value and novelty in the scale – which is today in fact the world scale – is a stark requirement, it is nevertheless not so very unachievable. First, in any field, there is still the theoretical potential for making the practically infinite number of valuable and new works (the infinitely large number of musical works, paintings or literary works that can be composed, painted, or written). The basic condition of novelty in the field of art is original quality, while each independent and authentic work is absolutely original and unique on the world scale. Thus the period of education may be a period of measuring up to the public creativity, which may sometimes occur even earlier than one would expect. Yet in most cases this requires a certain high level assessed by professional critics and reviewers before it becomes publicly available. In theory, it is possible to publish a creative work at one's own expense, yet this as a rule entails high costs (ergo risk, with their scope of impact being small). Yet what has appeared in recent years is an entirely new and powerful way of public promotion. This is the Internet. Unlike the former forms of publicised creativity, this requires neither assessments from critics or reviewers, nor the high costs related to one's own publication. This is why the entry barrier is far lower here. On the other hand, the number of recipients is large and ever growing (obviously, with the competition growing in parallel ever more). What emerges here is new forms of creation, for example blogs. As these are highly popular among the young, what is in fact taking place here is the transfer of the past local creation into the public realm. The personal aspect in online creativity is both accepted and appreciated. Students are to be encouraged in this type of promoting creativity as much as possible. This form prepares them for the higher manners of dissemination in the future. It is not impossible that in the further future, this form will be of key importance and, the more so, the experience gathered now may come to fruition in future. The highest class of public creativity is canonical creativity, that is the type that makes a lasting entry into the canon of national and world culture. This phenomenon is called by Kozielecki historical transgression. It pertains to such works that introduce a unique and immense contribution to culture, where the factor of value or novelty (or, in the best case, of the two together) is extremely high and significant. Here, the level of entry is the highest, and the mechanism of selection is the most discriminating, with both processes being staged in time. Frequently, the works that used to be highly popular fall into oblivion, and vice versa – creativity that used to be marginal suddenly becomes rediscovered and makes it into the canon of culture (which was the case with Cyprian Norwid's works, for example). Frequently, this is the case with works that in a way were ahead of their time (e.g. the works of Impressionists and Cubists). It is a rare case that works created while receiving education make it into the canonical creativity, but such situations do occur, as in the case of Alfred Jarry's King Ubu and Arthur Rimbaud's poetry. The creative trust on behalf of the teacher means that he always hopes and communicates it to the student that the student's work may once become a part of the heritage of mankind, maybe even earlier than the student expects.

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Areas of creativity

The essence of the egalitarian approach is to consider that a person can be creative in every field. This does not necessarily have to be only scientific or artistic creativity (even though the role of these fields will be ever-growing in a society based on knowledge with a growing demand for cultural goods). One may be creative in any field of life: economy, law, administration. From this point of view, such a field as entrepreneurship, for instance, is an equally important discipline for creativity to be shaped as mathematics, the national language, and knowledge of culture. Naturally, in which of the fields we want to shape the young person depends also on the level and character of education. Vocational training may focus on the shaping of a creative member of the technical personnel: a future inventor-at-work, or simply an inventor, a person who will perform his job with a creative action. The comprehensive education followed by higher studies would rather be focused on creativity within the intellectual field, yet these definitely do not have to be only scientific and/or artistic achievements. Similarly, a physician, lawyer, journalist, and clerk can be creative. Each of them after all undertakes actions that are useful for the community, and in a sense unique and innovative at the same time. From the point of view of different disciplines, creativity can be divided into scientific, artistic, journalist, technical and engineering, therapeutic (medical, psychological, nursing), legal and administrative, entrepreneurship and managerial, didactic and educational, sports, civic, political, spiritual and religious. Indeed, in each field practised by the individual, one can be creative. There are two more crucial aspects of creativity: accessory creativity and receptive creativity. The first is participation in the creative work of other people, albeit as a sidekick or subcontractor. The creative reception, in turn, on the one hand is the internalisation of the creativity of others, yet it is also a form of private creation. To achieve that, however, the mind must internalise the work in an appropriate manner: it must be ready for it, have an opportunity to meet it, to experience it, to subject it to reflection, and to remember it. Every true experience of the work is, in fact, the only and unrepeatable one. On the other hand, reception of works of culture is the condition necessary for their existence: any inventiveness is after all a form of communication. If, therefore, we want to have inventiveness, we must prepare the public for it. This task – namely, preparation for the consumption of the work of science, civilisation, culture, preparation for its use and dissemination – is also carried out by school.

Creative competences

The essence of creativity lies in having something important to communicate and expressing it in an appropriate, specialist language (scientific, technical, literary, musical, visual, etc.) What lies at the base of every creative activity are the basic competences that can be divided into general and specialist. The general creative

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competence is a certain readiness of the mind to be creative in any field. The specialist abilities allow the actualisation of the creative potential in the specific language of communication. The general creative competences can be divided further into hard (intellectual) and soft (emotional, motivational, self-regulating, and personality-related). The first ones include generativeness (creative intelligence), general intellectual skills (intelligence, knowledge, imagination), skills, abilities, knowledge and special competences. The soft competences, on the other hand, cover emotional sensitivity and emotionality supporting creativity, empathy, creative motivation, the creative will, self-discipline, self-organisation, creative personality, and creative attitude. The notion of creative attitude was introduced as early as 1947 by Radlińska, who believed that it is a primarily active attitude, as "any creativity must break resistances and barriers", which is moreover connected to responsibility and maturity. Wojnar (1976) sees the creative attitude as "an attitude opened towards the world, things, and people, and at the same time mobile: a movement of thoughts, feelings and imagination with the will and need of transforming activity". According to Dobrołowicz (1995), the necessary constituents of the creative attitude are imagination and creative thinking, capability of producing ideas, flexible character and originality as well as a positive emotional attitude to creation. Popek (1988) believes the creative attitude to be a cognitive and characterologic property shaped genetically through individual experience that shows a tendency, an attitude or readiness to transform the world of things, phenomena, and also one's own personality. First, it is an active attitude of man to the world and life, finding an expression in the need to get to know, experience, and processing – in a manner aware of the goal, and not of the process – of the encountered reality and the self". The creative attitude consists of the cognitive sphere, dominated by "heuristic behaviours" and the characterologic sphere dominated by nonconformism. Thus, the creative attitude is not only a positive attitude to creativity, but also an appropriate approach to the world and the self. Creativity is also a certain state of the psyche and a way of life. The role of general education is primarily stimulating the general creative potential and learning the basic languages of creativity and their specific characteristics, while vocational education, artistic schools, and higher education should focus also on the development of creative specialist competences.

The teacher as a creator

The teacher is always a creator, owing to the mission of this profession, as the teacher shapes and co-constructs the psyche of the young person – his student. Yet the crucial problem is whether this is a conscious creativity, yielding positive effects, or an unconscious one that rather moves the student in the inappropriate direction. Characteristic of good creativity is the fact that it builds a certain positive developmental potential, which means that as a result the student progresses in his intellectual, social, personal, and spiritual development. This developmental potential of

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the student is not, however, detached from the external environment of a social and cultural nature that surrounds him. The creative impulse will come only if the values passed to the students in themselves have the external creative value, and therefore will introduce new and original values into the surrounding world. Only then can they actively inspire the development of the student. Four levels of creative impact of the teacher can be named:

- 1. didactic: the teacher has the student acquainted in a professional manner with the achievements of other creators who have brought something precious into culture, thanks to which the student progresses in personal development;
- 2. didactic, and supporting creation: the teacher not only provides the knowledge important for the development but also shapes specific special skills and the creative attitude, and encourages the student to create valuable pieces of work, as a result of which the student may create valuable works himself;
- 3. personally creative didactic: by making the student acquainted with all the works, achievements, and/or research or artistic work, the teacher stimulates student development;
- 4. personally creative and supporting creation: by acquainting the student with his own works, and own research or artistic achievements, and also with his own technique, the teacher shapes specific special skills and a creative attitude, encouraging the student to create valuable pieces of work, as a result of which the student can himself create valuable works.

The teacher may consider this last form of impact to be the most valuable and creative. This is the highest level – mastery – thanks to which the greatest works of culture can originate. This is why one should support personal artistic and scientific creation of teachers, as only then it is possible to achieve this highest and most precious form of creative influence. Encountering the achievements of his master, the student is encouraged through the personal example to undertake creative attempts himself. At school and in general perception, scientific or artistic creation is only too often considered something elitist, which the student will not even dare try. The example given by the teacher that one should dare to create is exceptionally important; moreover, only then can a student truly learn a technique, when he sees its valuable and original results. Moreover, this personal artistic or scientific creation of the teacher enriches the social and cultural milieu, which in turn is the best path for student development and an impulse that he too begins creatively influencing that environment.

Abstract

The most important civilisation-related requirement of our times is creativity. In the post-industrial era – based on information, knowledge, and creativity – especially significant role is that of the one

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who creates knowledge, and effectively transforms and enriches information. As the goal behind education is the optimum preparation of the student for the world, in which he or she will live and operate, it should aim at the stimulation of the student's creative potential. By nature, the human is a creative individual. The goal of education is the intellectual and individual development of the student, for which reason it should pursue the development of the student's creative potential and creative lifestyle.

The four most important aspects of creativity are dispositions, achievements, process, and the environmental pressure. In the process of education, it is most important to concentrate on the development of creativity in the sense of disposition (creative potential). Needed for that is becoming as familiar as possible with the achievements of the great masters of culture, and learning to respect, collect, and register or record own achievements (however modest), mastering the basics of the creative process, and establishment of an environment favouring creativity.

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JOLANTA PUŁKA

Rejection of children with behavioural disorders /dysfunctions by the peer group in the school environment

What stands in the focus of attention today in Poland and in the world are different types of social relations that operate defectively, harm the development of human groups, institutions, and nations. The destructive impacts of intentions, conflicts and social crises have been the subject of numerous scientific treaties and journalist articles, yet they do not diminish in size. In the direct context of human life, brutalisation, violence, aggression, and intolerance caused by cultural, ethnical, religious, and other differences is growing¹. The most spectacular example of that are acts of violence, in which more and more often children and youth participate as victims and perpetrators. The sizes of disorders in the behaviour of children of school age, are one of the symptoms of increasing hostility and aggression in interpersonal relations (in this specific example – of peer relations), and concern approximately 15% of this population². Of extreme importance is to perceive individuals with behavioural disorders in their social context, as it is especially strongly vulnerable to stereotypic treatment and following own bias in assessing such individuals.

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¹ Kawula S. (2004), *Człowiek w relacjach socjopedagogicznych. Szkice o współczesnym wychowaniu*, Wydawnictwo Edukacyjne Akapit, Toruń.

² Based on own research conducted in 2003–2005 for doctoral dissertation (unpublished materials). My research covered 670 primary school children, the disorders were diagnosed from the information in the observation sheets by T. Achenbach. They were filled in by the teachers who had known the students for at least 6 months.

The theory of symbolic interactions, emphasising individual's relationships with others, is dominated by subjectivism of perception and evaluation of the given individual. The individual's status in the group is the effect of symbolic ranking in the minds of group members. In reference to students, this means that somebody is defined as "good" or "bad" not for the reason of own talents or diligence but due to the perception by the teachers or students as such. In the light of the theory of stigmatisation, which in the recent decades has been one of the main interpretations of disorder behaviours, yet at the same time, a "caution" for the habit-related practices in relations with all types of disabled and deviated individuals, the reaction to an "other" behaviour is sufficiently significant to be potentially a primary source of deviation. (According to H. Becker "crime is a behaviour that people have thus called"). Discriminatory stances towards different physical and psychological features of an individual are the beginning of the process of pathologisation of the individual's behaviour.

Explanation of an disturbed behaviour requires consideration of social expectations concerning the behaviour of individuals. Failure to respect these results in negative emotional reactions of the environment and its social reaction, based on labelling, as e.g. "abnormal – nienormalny", "weirdo – dziwak", "social parasite – pasożyt społeczny", "psychopath – psychopata", "immature – niedojrzały", etc.³ In general, stigmatised in a peer group are the "other" individuals whose behaviours fail to fall within a balanced catalogue of benefits and obligations. What comes first among the benefits is that the potential of satisfying the need for affiliation and social connection, and – on a further plane – safety and self-fulfilment. Obligations pertain to all the members of the group and eventually serve supporting the group's identity and distinctiveness against a broader social system, that is the maintenance of the group's cultural space⁴. In the case of youth groups, majority of benefits and obligations is manifested in the symbolical realm, even though the material and methods and obligations are significant as well. The symbolical realm is at times, not understandable for an outsider observer and researcher, as it is difficult to find a rational sense and connection of values within it with the universal realm. What must be emphasised here from the pedagogical point of view, are the negative consequences of stigmatisation, especially of individuals at the development age (early adolescence, mostly). It is so as stigmatisation is after "the individual has entered the role of a deviant" organises the entire life of the individual around the role, defining his deviated direction of behaviour for the entire life, that is it determines the "fate" of the individual or, in other words, leads to the self-fulfilment of the earlier diagnosis and "prophecy".

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³ W. Poznaniak (2000), "Teorie uczenia się społecznego jako model normalnego i zaburzonego funkcjonowania jednostki oraz grupy", [in:] H. Sęk, *Społeczna psychologia kliniczna*, PWN, Warszawa.

⁴ B. Urban (2005), Zachowania dewiacyjne w interakcjach rówieśniczych, UJ, Kraków.

⁵ Ibidem.

Special attention is to be turned to the fact that in the case of children with behavioural disorders, the stigmatising reaction may be triggered by the very fact that the child manifests disorders in behaviour. If it is actually so, one should consider what factors make stigmatisation apply to children because they present deviant behaviour. These factors may be treated as predicates for lasting deviations in the adult life of an individual.

What may be the fact reinforcing attachment of the label/labelling in reference to children with behavioural disorders is the fact that a child not liked by peers has no appropriate social features competences, or skills that are valued by the group. Moreover, of extreme importance – as I believe, and which is confirmed also by other researchers – are the interpersonal peer relations or, in other words, the factors of the context in the social environment. According to B. Urban, the failure to account for specific regularities present in relationships of individuals with anti-social personality, and generally of students, is of major significance, as in this case the possible negative consequences of mutual relationships pertain also took the "normal" individuals who, due to the unawareness/ignorance of rights that govern these relations may become the victims of unintended provocation, which is emphasised by victimology⁶.

Not necessarily all children with behavioural disorders are stigmatised. Therefore, if children with behavioural disorders are not labelled, they may be believed to be liked by their peers. By being equipped with appropriate personal traits and social skills in the understanding of the peers/colleagues, a child with behavioural disorders acquires the status of a group member, thanks to which such a child may continue to experience new stimuli, and draw joy from being within peer group.

What therefore becomes significant is a question about the criteria that decide about the popularity or rejection of certain individuals with behavioural dysfunctions, and at the same time stigmatisation of certain individuals by the peer group. Why are certain dysfunctional individuals stigmatised and rejected by their classmates, while others are capable of avoiding that, when moreover, there are some who – despite manifesting disorders in their behaviour – become popular in the peer group?

In this article I shall focus only on the presentation of the results I acquired in the research on rejection of children with behavioural dysfunctions by the peer group.

In the questionnaire for the "Peer relationships in the school class" survey I used⁷, it presented probable situations in whose result a child may experience acceptance or

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⁶ B. Urban (2000), Zaburzenia w zachowaniu i przestępczość młodzieży, UJ, Kraków.

 $^{^{7}}$ Unpublished doctoral dissertation "Uwarunkowania pozycji społecznej dzieci z zaburzeniami w zachowaniu".

rejection on behalf of the partners in interaction on the premises of the school. My idea was to check what children think and feel, and how they behave in a specific social situation. It is from the angle of the components of the attitude (thoughts, feelings, and behaviour) that one can show the degree to which a child expects acceptance or rejection by others (the realm of thoughts), the degree to which the child feels that he shall be accepted or rejected (the realm of feelings), and the degree to which the child experiences or expects acceptance or rejection by the peers, manifested through the child's behaviour (the realm of behaviour). The attitude may be manifested by the readiness to react positively or negatively towards a person, object, or a situation. The situations that we find pleasant make us demonstrate a tendency to seek for such situations, while the situations that have turned out to be unpleasant in our experience result in tendencies to avoid them. While acquiring experience, each individual develops a variety of attitudes. Research by American authors⁸ suggests that children sensitive to rejection by others behave in a manner triggering rejection, which is why one should reinforce their expectations (attitudes) towards the peers in the line of acceptance.

The realm of thoughts of the children rejected by the peer group

The table below presents the average scores achieved by children with behavioural disorders and children from the control group, pertaining to the realm of thoughts in individual social situations

Table No. 1. The realm of thoughts of the children rejected by the peer group from the sixth grade manifesting behavioural disorders and children from the control group

answers concerning the realm of thoughts in social situations	group of rejected children with behavioural disor- ders, N=16	control group, N=20
1. A quarrel with a classmate/friend.	3.5	4.2
2. Division into groups during sports classes.	3.4	4.5
3. Organisation of the class disco.	1.9	4.2
4. Lending videogames to the classmate to take them home.	2.0	3.7
5. A certain thing that belongs to a classmate is missing.	1.4	4.4
6. Class test – teacher's justice/objectivity.	1.6	1.9

⁸ G. Downey, A. Lebolt, C. Rincón, A. Freitas (1998), *Rejection sensitivity and children's interpersonal difficulties, Child Development*, 4, 1074–1091.

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7. Gossiping during the lunch break.	2.9	1.9
8. Being hit with a ball in the back.	3.9	1.4
9. Being teased and accosted without a reason.	2.0	1.9
10. Joint speech with the classmate.	3.1	1.5
11. Buying a birthday present for a classmate.	1.7	1.2
12. Smoking cigarettes on school premises.	3.3	3.2

Comments: the scale applied for the **realm of thought** was a five-grade one, which is why the obtained average values lying within 1.2 and 2.4 are treated as low, 2.5 to 3.7 – as average, and lying between 3.8 and 5 – as high concerning the scope of positive experiencing of the peers' intentions in situations 1-6, while in situations 7-12, lower average points show a positive interpretation of other children's intentions.

The children rejected by the peers show a tendency to perceive certain social situations in a negative manner, especially those, in which they are suspected to have done bad things. One of such probable situations was the missing of a given thing in the classroom (situation No. 5). There was a large difference in the average obtained in comparison with children from the control group. The rejected children, unlike the children from the control group, are convinced that there are few to believe their innocence, and that in such a case they are rather suspects than ones to be asked for help in finding the lost object.

The markedly lower averages were obtained by the rejected children with behavioural dysfunctions in comparison to children from the control group. In situations that require trust on behalf of peers and teachers, namely being entrusted with the organisation of a class disco or being loaned videogames home. Most probably, children rejected by the peers have had negative experience connected to such social situations, and for that reason they perceive the intentions of others as unfriendly/unfavourable towards them.

There were, however, marked divergences between the groups analysed in situations related to quarrels with the classmate/friend (situation No. 1), division into groups during sports classes (situation No. 2), and the class test – the teachers objectivity (situation No. 6). These are situations that children with behavioural dysfunctions do not perceive as malevolent/menacing, directed against them in a planned and purposeful manner, which is attested by similar values of averages acquired in the group's study.

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In situations connected to playing ball (situation No. 8), one may discover a large sensitivity of children with dysfunctions in their behaviour towards being hit with a ball in the back by a peer. The rejected children with behavioural disorders in most cases treat such an effect as deliberate towards them, as if the peer found them earlier and waited for favourable conditions. Comparing the group of rejected children with the control group, the averages – with that for the children with disorders being nearly twice as high as the control value – is a testimony to the perception of malevolent peer intentions by the rejected children. In the 16-person-strong group of rejected children as many as 11 answered the question "Do you think that your colleague hit you with the volleyball on purpose?" answered "Rather yes". Certain differentiations in such a negative interpretation of the colleagues' plans are visible in rejected children with different types of disorders, which is accounted for in the following table.

In the cases of cooperating with another child from the same class (writing a paper to improve the grade: situation No. 10), the rejected children also prove a greater sensitivity to the behaviour of a colleague. The question: "What do you think, did he fail to come to the appointment in the library to prevent you from getting a better grade?" eight persons in the study group with behavioural disorders (50% respondents) answered "rather yes". The rejected children react differently in such a situation: some interpret it as an unintended activity that is the result of a coincidence, an act of God, while others treat it as a purposeful action conducted against them. Nevertheless, whatever their reaction is, it is the perception of another rejection and failure to receive assistance from others that sustain thinking about peers in an unfavourable manner.

A fact of cognitive interest is the similar perception of the situation concerning smoking cigarettes in school premises (situation No. 12) by the rejected children and the children from the control group. The average values in both the groups are similar, which means that children treated in a similar manner the colleagues' encouragement to break school rules. Rejected children and those from the control group in most cases gave a very neutral answer "I don't know" to the question "Do you think that you will be excluded from the group because you didn't agree to smoke at school?". Occasionally, answers "rather yes" and "rather no" appeared, while the answers "yes, definitely", and "no, definitely not" did not come up in the study. To acquire a full picture how rejected children with behavioural disorders act in the realm of thoughts in social situations, I made a more detailed distinction, taking into account the type of disorder. Thus the table below contains the average values acquired by rejected children with disorders of the internalising, externalising, and mixed types.

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Table No. 2. The realm of thoughts in rejected children from grade six, depending on the behavioural disorder.

answers concerning the realm of thoughts in social situations	group of rejected children with abnormal behaviour		
	I	E	I – E
1. A quarrel with a classmate/ friend.	3.5	3.4	3.7
2. Division into groups during sports classes.	2.6	3.6	3.5
3. Organisation of the class disco.	2.2	1.8	1.7
4. Lending videogames to the classmate to take them home.	2.1	2.2	1.9
5. A certain thing that belongs to a classmate is missing.	1.4	1.2	1.5
6. Class test – teacher's justice/objectivity.	2.3	1.3	1.2
7. Gossiping during the lunch break.	2.5	3.6	3.6
8. Being hit with a ball in the back.	2.8	4.6	4.4
9. Being teased and accosted without a reason.	3.7	1.3	1.2
10. Joint speech with the classmate.	3.3	3.0	3.0
11. Buying a birthday present for a classmate.	1.2	1.9	2.1
12. Smoking cigarettes on school premises.	2.9	3.5	3.6

Comments: as in the table number one.

Even though rejected children generally treat the situation connected to the division into groups during sports classes (2) as one that does not attest to malicious intentions of peers towards them, yet in the case of rejected children with disorder of the internalising type, the fear of the person being chosen for joint activity is visibly greater than in the case of the rejected children with the disorders of the externalising and mixed types. A similar situation take place in the reference to a situation connected to a class test – teachers objectivity (6). Children of the internalisation type have a tendency to experience greater harm took caused to them than children with the remaining types of the externalising and mixed disorders. This is attested by the situation No. 9 (Being teased and accosted without a reason), where chil-

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dren of the internalisation type obtained an average more than twice as high as the children with externalising and mixed disorder types. All the rejected children with internalisation disorders taking part in the questionnaire-based survey answered the question "do you think your classmates do things on purpose against you, tease you, and accost you without a reason?" answered "yes, definitely". (60% of the respondents) and "rather yes" (40% of the respondents).

In the remaining situations (8, 11, and 12), decidedly negative intentions were attributed to partners in the interaction by the rejected children with disorders of the externalising and mixed types. These children believe that peers hit them with the ball in the back in an intentional, intentional manner, and that they will suspect them of doing bad things, for example, not giving money for the joint present for a colleague, and also encourage to break school rules.

The question "Do you think the colleague hit you with the ball on the back on purpose?" was answered by 70% of the rejected children with the disorder of the externalising type with "Rather yes", 20% chose "yes, definitely", 5% – "I don't know", and the remaining 5% – "rather not". The answers of the children with disorders of the mixed type were similar, with 60% believing that "rather yes", 20% that "yes, definitely", and 20% – "don't know", while the children with disturbances of the internalising type were in most cases more cautious in suspecting others of purposeful actions, and would rather believe that "rather not" (40%) or were not sure ("I don't know" – 30%), while only 10% of them believed that "rather yes".

A similar situation took place with the question "Do you think you be excluded from the group because you did not agree to smoke a cigarette?". Children with behavioural disorders of the externalising type believed that "rather yes" – 50% of them; and the children with disorders of the mixed type selected this answer in 60% of the cases surveyed. Children with the disorders of the internalisation type in most cases chose the answer "I don't know" for this question – 40% of respondents, and rather yes" – 20%.

In the situation No. 11, concerning the purchase of a present for a classmate for birthday, the rejected children – when asked "Do you think the others will suspect you of not giving money for the present?" – the children of the mixed type were most afraid to be attributed the blame by colleagues with 50% answering "rather yes", while children of the externalising type were to a lesser degree afraid of being suspected, with 40%, giving answer "rather yes", while a decided majority children of the internalising type did not feel they would be suspected in this question, therefore, they mostly answered "Rather not" (50%) or "I don't know" (20%).

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The emotional realm of the rejected children with behavioural disorders

The emotional realm unquestionably plays the basic role in the intellectual development of a child, and in the child's acquisition of the ability to learn. The first relationshops, which begin between the child and parents have later a decisive influence on the way the child shall be involved in the external world. These relationships define the child's ability to adjust and to form a proper relationships with the peers. M.C. Beliveau (2005) believes that the repetition of experiences that provide satisfaction and encouragement may reinforce in the child the belief in own value, and allow attaining the sense of safety and security, which is of basic significance for the child's self-evaluation and adjustment to school conditions. From this point of view, the children harmed in the realm of interpersonal relationships show a variety of cognitive dysfunctions/disorders that result from the insufficiency of emotions in the early childhood.

Children with behavioural disorders, when compared to the children in the control group, more often feel sadness, rejection by the others, and are more often filled with anger or nervousness when they have to wait for something long. Moreover, they also feel that they are bereft of an opportunity to become noticed by their peers. On the other hand, they far less often than children from the control group feel cheated or disappointed by others, or that they have no support in others, or that somebody believes in them.

There are, however, no clear-cut differences between children with behavioural disorders, and the children from the control group in the feeling that they are not liked, that they feel as if nobody cared for them. Moreover, in a similar manner they feel/sense ignorance on behalf of their peers, being criticised by the peers, being afraid of being hit by a ball by another person, and also to the same degree they feel resignation from winning the favours of the others.

Children with behavioural disorders to a slightly smaller degree than children from the control group turn attention to what others think about them and whether they ridicule them. Moreover, they less frequently feel disappointed when they cannot count on a classmate.

Table No. 3. The realm of feelings in the rejected class six children showing behavioural disorders, and control group children

claims on the realm of the feelings	group of rejected children with be- havioural disor- ders	control group
not liked by others	2.1	1.8
rejected, always passed by/ pomijany	2.3	1.0

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sad that nobody wants me in the team	2.3	1.3
nobody cares for me	2.3	2.2
bereft of an opportunity to become noticed among colleagues	2.2	1.4
I have a feeling that nobody believes in me	2.1	2.4
ignored by peers	1.7	1.5
sad and bitter because it is always I who is suspected when something bad happens	2.2	1.2
I have the sense of guilt	1.8	1.2
annoyed when I must wait for something	2.3	1.8
I feel touched when I am criticised	2.3	2.5
I am anxious about what others think about me	1.8	2.7
I don't care whether they ridicule me	1.6	1.9
resigned from truing to win the favours of others	2.2	2.1
dominated by others	1.8	1.6
worried that next time I may be hit. More strongly	2.5	2.4
cheated, "duped"	1.4	2.0
brimming with anger	2.0	1.4
disappointed that I may not count on a colleague	2.4	2.6

Explanation: the average values lying from zero to one are treated as feelings that occur very rarely, from 1.1 to 2 – feelings that sometimes occur, and from 2.1 to 3 – that are present in most cases when a given social situation occurs.

Diversity in individual feelings may be observed in children with behavioural disorders, depending on the type of the disorder.

Children with the disorders of the internalising type may far more strongly feel rejection by friends, sadness, sense of their person being ignored; they have the sense of guilt, and of nobody believing in them more often than the two remaining groups of children with disorders. Moreover, children with disorders of the internalising type attach more meaning to what others think about them, it matters for them whether they are the object of ridicule, they feel dominated by the other members of the class team, and at the same time, they are resigned when it comes to trying to win their favours. They feel to the least degree cheated (duped) by others and embittered that it is they who are suspected when something bad happens.

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Children with the disorders of the externalising type, much like the children from the group with the mixed type of disorders, worry when they must wait for something, are full of anger and also bitterness that they are always suspected when something bad happens. The two groups of children share similar feelings in the probable situations presented. They sensed the dominance of others to the least degree, and the same was true about being ignored by peers and indifference to the jokes that refer to their person.

Of extreme importance in the realm of emotional development of a child is how the child senses the information fed back to him by the partners of interaction at school. This is especially true of both teachers and students. While analysing emotional disorders in children of preschool age, A. Kozłowska found that the sensation of emotional rejection disturbs or thwarts the child's sense of security, kindling fear/anxiety/lęk in a child⁹. Fear/anxiety/lęk is such an unpleasant feeling – of anxiety, tension, hopelessness and helplessness – that everyone wants to avoid experiencing it. To reduce it even for a time, a child begins to behave in such a way as to focus the attention of the parent. Children with behavioural dysfunctions, and especially children of the externalising and mixed types have a strong need for focusing the attention of others, as analyses of social situations in which these children participate prove.

The behavioural realm of rejected children with behavioural disorders

Defining the behaviours of rejected – aggressive children, K. Bierman discovers that they frequently show deficiencies in pro-social skills, while their social problems are aggravated by the manifested cruel behaviours (excesses)¹⁰. For example, these children exhibit tendencies to resort to force and constraint/compulsion in controlling their interpersonal relations. In aggressive children in conflict situation, the use of verbal or physical aggression is escalated to obtain what they want, or to eliminate the reluctance of another child to do what the aggressive child demands. Their impulsive behaviour (being an intruder) makes the peers move away from them. Rejected aggressive children frequently show problems in adjusting to school conditions, including fulfilment of the school duties and problems with concentration/focus.

As results from the research I conducted, characteristic for children with behavioural disorders is the high level of aggression; but they assume an indifferent attitude towards what is going on in the classroom and receive high results for the statements "it's not my business, I shall be not interested in it", "I will not speak about what has happened". Moreover, they do not feel appreciated by others, so they do not try to

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⁹ A. Kozłowska (1984), Zaburzenia emocjonalne u dzieci w wieku przedszkolnym, WSiP, Warszawa.

¹⁰ K. Bierman (2004), Peer rejection. Developmental Processes and intervention strategies, Guilford Press, New York–London.

be good colleagues, they follow only the satisfaction of own needs, and if they need somebody for a specific task, they know how to enforce it on that person.

Although the need of belonging and acceptance by the others is proper (universal) for all, in individual individuals, one may point at the differences in the manners of experiencing acceptance or rejection by others, and sensitivity to such occurrences/ events. Individual life experience related to the experiencing of acceptance or rejection by other people makes the individual develop own ways of coping in specific social situations. Thus, the individual develops/activates certain reactions and behaviours depending on the past events. If the individual has more often experienced positive, good experiences, and was accepted by persons he found meaningful, then such an individual would more often react positively in specific social situations. If, however, the individual's needs of belonging and acceptance have not been satisfied, then he will more often react with hostility and rebellion in social situations. Children with disorders are also very self-assured: they claim that they shall "cope without their (peers') company." The obtained results of studies are presented in the table below.

Table No. 5. The behavioural realm of rejected children from class six, displaying disorders in behaviour and children from the control group

claims on the behavioural realm	group of reject- ed children with behavioural disorders	control group
I will give vent to my fury on somebody else/I will play out my anger on somebody else	2.2	1.7
I shall keep away from my colleagues	2.3	1.2
I will come up to talk	1.6	2.7
I will wait until somebody selects me for joint activity	1.6	1.4
I will make noise and disturb the classes	1.8	1.3
I will continue to think why I never get what I want	2.7	2.7
it's not my business, I shall be not interested in it	2.3	2.1
I will ask the teacher for an opportunity to improve my grade	2.1	2.2
I ignore others and behave as if nothing happened	1.6	1.3
I will tell the teacher about the situation	1.9	1.7
I will conform to the peer's demands	1.7	1.2

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I will use force to enforce the return of the money that I paid in for a friend	2.3	1.8
I will cope without their company	2.4	2.3
I will not try because I am not appreciated	2.2	2.1
I will help to find the missing thing	2.6	2.8
I will pay back in the same manner	1.6	1.4
I will continue to think, why they encourage me to do the bad thing	1.8	1.9
I will not speak about what has happened	2.4	2.5

Explanation: the average values lying from zero to one are treated as feelings that occur very rarely, from 1.1 to 2 – feelings that sometimes occur, and from 2.1 to 3 – that are present in most cases when a given social situation occurs.

The markers of bad relationships with the peers (that is being rejected by the peers) are similar to the markers of being the object of aggression or failure to receive help. It is the perception of an individual as responsible for own negative conditions and the emotion caused (anger). One may refer here to the attributive analysis of aggression by Weiner (1995)11, which assumes that "the person who fell victim of an event tries to discover its reason". The attributive analysis of aggression proves also that the individual differences concerning readiness to aggressive reactions should be connected to individual differences in attribution to control factors, that is in the aspects concerning blaming of individuals with responsibility for unfair/damaging actions. While presenting this aspect of the theory, Graham, Hudley, and Williams (1992)¹² made the differentiation between the aggressive and non-aggressive students, and asked them to perform attributions concerning a hypothetical event (a sheet with their homework assignment fell to the floor, and somebody stepped on it). It was discovered the aggressive children attributed this behaviour of another person (stepping on a sheet of paper) to a greater degree than the non-aggressive ones to the person's bad intentions.

Accounting for the type of behavioural dysfunction, one may differentiate the elements that are most characteristic for the children with disorders of a given type. Thus, the children of the "I" type most often behave very calmly, trying to solve conflict situations by talking, or possibly by not mentioning certain events, withdrawal from interaction, or by conforming to the expectations that the group directs to them. Their average values are presented in table No. 6.

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After: Försterling F. (2005), Atrybucje. Podstawowe teorie, badania i zastosowanie, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk.

¹² Ibidem.

Of all the distinguished groups, the children with behavioural disorders of the "E" type most strongly manifest aggressive reactions in their behaviour. In all the statements concerning the use of aggression, these children scored the highest average values. These include the following elements: I shall play out my anger on some-body else, I shall make noise and disturb the classes, I will use force to enforce the return of the money I paid in for a friend, and I shall pay back in the same manner. In the case of many of the statements above, the children of the mixed type of disorders show intensified aggressive reactions. This is mostly true about taking it out on another person and paying back in the same manner. Moreover, the children of the "I-E" type and declare that certain things are not their business and for that reason they do not become involved in them, and continue to wonder why they do not receive what they want, and are strongly convinced that they will cope without the company of friends.

Table No. 6. The behavioural realm of the rejected children from class six depending on the type of behavioural disorder

Stwierdzenia dotyczące sfery	Grupa dzieci odrzuconych z zaburzeniami		
behawioralnej	w zachowaniu		
	I	E	I - E
I will give vent to my fury on somebody else/I will play out my anger on somebody else	1.4	2.8	2.4
I shall keep away from my colleagues	2.6	2.0	2.2
I will come up to talk	2.8	1.0	1.2
I will wait until somebody selects me for joint activity	2.5	1.2	1.2
I will make noise and disturb the classes	1.1	2.5	1.7
I will continue to think why I never get what I want	2.7	2.8.	2.6
it's not my business, I shall be not interested in it	1.9	2.5	2.6
I will ask the teacher for an opportunity to improve my grade	2.4	2.0	2.0
I ignore others and behave as if nothing happened	1.6	1.6	1.7
I will tell the teacher about the situation	2.2	1.6	1.8
I will conform to the peer's demands	2.4	1.3	1.3

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I will use force to enforce the return of the money that I paid in for a friend	1.4	2.5	2.1
I will cope without their company	2.5	2.3	2.3
I will not try because I am not appreciated	2.4	2.2	1.9
I will help to find the missing thing	2.8	2.5	2.6
I will pay back in the same manner	1.1	2.0	1.7
I will continue to think, why they encourage me to do the bad thing	2.4	1.5	1.5
I will not speak about what has happened	2.7	2.3	2.2

Explanation as for Table 5.

Explaining the specific manners of behaviour of individuals – and especially the aggressive ones – in social interactions, S. Trachtenberg and R. J. Wiken (1994)¹³ reduced them to two alternative factors:

- (1) aggressive individuals feature attributive prejudices and deficits that deform the process of receiving information in social interactions, or
- (2) the improper (aggressive) reactions are the result of the perception of information they share with the peers, and trigger appropriately for a given situation prosocial or aggressive behaviours.

Following the assumptions of the theory of attribution, one may interpret the reasons behind aggressive reactions are present in children with behavioural dysfunctions through the tendency of expecting greater hostility on behalf of peers and teachers. Moreover, the research conducted by S. Trachtenberg and R. J. Wiken (1994) disclosed that in a conflict situation, both aggressive and non-aggressive boys manifested a tendency to expect that the hostility of a teacher will be focused on aggressive individuals, which proves that aggressive individuals are not burdened with a special bias, yet their evaluation of the situation is also conditioned by the perception and evaluation of the situation by the peers.

Thus, the perception of the situation by aggressive individuals results not only from the objective significance of a specific situation, but also from the social status of aggressive individuals. Aggressive individuals, sensing their lower position in a group, expect that both the teacher and the peers are interested in turning the hostility of the teacher towards them, and opt for the aggressive strategy of interaction.

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¹³ After: Urban B. (2000), Zaburzenia w zachowaniu...

Aggression on their behalf is to be a pre-emption and elimination of the perceived aggression from the teachers¹⁴.

Rejection of certain individuals by the new group may aggravate both behavioural and emotional difficulties in adaptation. This is why the assumption of a specific position in the group is of significant consequence for the further social development of a child. K. Bierman¹⁵ claims that learning to be with others is a developmental process, therefore majority of children in a certain period of their lives experience difficulties in relationships with others. Sometimes these are of short-term nature and provide an important package of life experience. Negative events that originate among the peers may improve the social understanding, while positive experience in solving conflicts may stimulate the development of skills in managing emotions and being decisive. Yet children only rarely acquire social skills, having permanent problems with peers.

Summing up, one may claim that children with behavioural dysfunctions who are rejected by the group find themselves in a situation in which they may be at most tolerated by the peers and experience very deeply the lack of recognition, and acceptance by others. A testimony to this – declared by them – is the feeling of sadness and lack of recognition by others. One of the reasons for the low social position is the lack of social skills thanks to which one can start and maintain interpersonal relations. If the rejected children acquire certain basic social skills, they will be able to improve their image in the group. Frequently, a change of the statues is very difficult, yet it is possible.

Abstract

The focus of attention in Poland and in the world are currently different types of malfunctioning social relations and ties, which thus harm the development of human groups, institutions, and nations. In the direct interpersonal relations, brutalisation, violence, aggression and intolerance on the grounds of cultural, ethnic, religious and other differences is on the rise. The most spectacular example of the above are the acts of violence with the increased participation of children and youth both as victims and perpetrators. The scope of disorders in the behaviour of children of school age are one of the symptoms of the increasing enmity and aggressiveness in interpersonal relations, which is true for approximately 15% of this population.

Rejected by the group, children with behavioural disorders find themselves in a situation when they are at and best tolerated by their peers, and they very deeply experience the lack of recognition and/or acceptance from others. A testimony to that are the feelings of sadness and lack of being appreciated by others that they declare. One of the reasons behind their low social position is the lack of social skills that allow establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relations. If the rejected children win certain basic social skills, they will be able to improve their image within the group. In many cases, the change of the status is very difficult, yet it is feasible.

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¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Bierman K. (2004), Peer rejection...

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TERESA E. OLEARCZYK

Pedagogical inversion as a problem of the school of the future

We must seek methods that answer problems, and not problems that answer methods Hans Style

Poland of late 20th and early 21st century is perceived in the context of systemic transformation and information revolution. Democracy building and continuing economic transformations resulted in a change of property relations through privatisation. A major share of private property influences the social life and finds reflection in education as well. There emerged a need for elitist, safe schools where parents consciously want to participate in making decisions on the teaching curriculum and upbringing of their children.

The reform of education, or rather, what has been left from it, introduces chaos into the life of school and the teacher. There is no clarity, cohesion, and transparency of action, which results in focusing the attention on problems that may be important yet are of secondary significance (regulations, incessantly changing instructions, etc), while the phenomenon of pedagogic inversion is flourishing nearby. Inversion, from Latin *inversio*, means a change in the current, normal status quo and is a transformation of the manner of teaching, of the way the school works. The conversion of proportions, tendencies, the opposites of former values, and behaviours, and requirements, connected to the promotion of the "stress-free education", liberalisation of attitudes and behaviours.

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The consequences of the changes made have been the modifications of individual and group patterns/wzorców, which have brought about a change in the attitude to the cardinal values that exist in the social system and also of social norms. All this takes place in a defined, real reality, and is played out primarily on the plane of school education.

"The contemporary scientific apparatus is not the trust in the empirical perception and experience but the stabilised way of looking at reality that is manifested as a familiar and friendly environment". Systemic, economic, social, and educational changes have a certain level of cohesion, they imply one another, and involve changes in lifestyle, behaviours, and the ways of thinking. They initiated, and in many cases also caused, changes in mentality, although in a direction that is not fully focused; there is a noticeable "situational mentality" depending on expectations and profits.

Teresa Hejnicka-Bezwińska noticed that "in the conditions of radical changes of the social order, we will also be dealing with a radical – though slower – process of mentality changes in individuals and entire social groups". Yet in the physical space of the school, there are adverse/disadvantageous changes taking place, which results both from the liberalisation of norms and standards related to the everyday culture, with the "stress-free education" and with role models proposed by the media.

"The teacher is standing on the edge of the two models of the world of education, the new and the old. He is situated in a thankless position, as he now must undertake the role of the go-between between the two worlds, a highly stressful role to that, as - to play his role well - he needs both the qualities of a sage and a youth" Yet, is he ready for that?

The consumerist lifestyle has lived to its ennoblement: everything has become "a commodity" and has its "market value"; everything is for sale and everything can be bought; conventional is only the question of the price that to be paid. Market and economic notions have entered the vocabulary of education for good in the form of "educational services", demand", "client", and "package of services provided". The commercial aspect has acquired the right of citizenship in schools, while idealism, disinterestedness, vocation, and positivist attitudes all seem to be pure anachronisms.

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J. Stasieńko, 2000, Model nauki jako przedmiotu pokoleniowego [in:] Teraźniejszość
 Człowiek – Edukacja, Numer Specjalny, p. 104.

² T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska 2000, *Status teoretyczno-metodologiczny badań empirycznych nad orientacjami*, [in:] Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja, Numer Specjalny, p. 81.

³ J. Stasieńko, 2000, p. 105.

School has become commercial: it began regular profit-and-loss operation, parents seek a "safe" place for their children in private schools. The new methods of teaching enter quite shyly, yet they do, and classrooms are being modified. It is much harder, though, to implement the principles of wychowania, while the profession of the teacher is perceived as dangerous

Pedagogical inversion

The genesis of the phenomenon seems to be complex and does not yield to unambiguous interpretation. The retro-inversion took place in 1978–1980, and allowed the events of the 1980s – the political, social, and systemic changes – to take place. What happened then was highly spectacular: the political and social roles were upturned in a flash. Everything that we witness today is a consequence and a derivative of those events.

What comes next is the quite painful experience inversion of roles, both in the family and in school. "The functioning of institutions (family and school) as well as the course of behaviours, clearly marked attitudes is frequently an effect, a symptom, or an indicator of the deep and direct unobservable civilisational or cultural tenets: models, rules, norms, values, systems, codes, reasons for actions, forms of discourse, mental and behavioural habits, and others⁴.

The fairly quick outdating of information, the new ways of acquiring knowledge, and information skills of students have emerged as an important problem in the contemporary school that requires reflection and introduction of changes; there is a paradigm of a shift, or a turn noticeable. "Children live in a world that the more experienced generations have no idea of, today nowhere in the world is there such an elder generation that knows what the children do"5, while the media provide instances of pupil behaviours that were once unthinkable.

In some instances, pupils "exceed" the teachers' skills and even knowledge. The technical progress is dynamic, the young have more time, and free and unbound access to the Internet, they are well versed with information technologies, foreign languages, and have experience from exchanges with other schools in other countries, or voluntary work abroad. The world of the young is much broader than that of the adult generation, the young are quicker in adjusting to the requirements of the changing reality. Margaret Mead believes it is necessary to achieve an intergenerational consensus, which requires – especially in the case of the young generation – giving up monologue in favour of dialogue. This, however, is a problem, both due

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⁴ P. Sztompka, 1999, *Imponderabilia wielkiej zmiany. Mentalność, wartość i więzi społeczne czasów transformacji*, Warszawa–Kraków, p. VIII.

⁵ M. Mead, 1979, Kultura i tożsamość, Warszawa, pp. 105, 121–122.

to purely linguistic reasons and to the differences of positions, interests, experiences, and prospects related thereto.

Adults live "according to the post-figurative system of values, incapable of presenting moral imperatives in an authoritative manner" 6, they lose their authority, their lives diverge from the system of values that they declare, which causes rebellion and aggression in the young. The young are the driving force of social processes, and they yield to ideas developed by older generations, and these are the very all the generations that are responsible for the good or bad results of projects they administer, and to which the young add the dynamic. The situation is complicated further by the divergence between the behavioural models of the mature part of the society (enough to open a paper or turn on the TV) and the educational practice carried out in various – sometimes not only not cooperating but conflicting/conflicted – institutions (the family, the media, the school, the Church, and others).

The series of crises in the education of late 20th and early 21st centuries cast a unfavourable light on the century. The social balance of education was frequently mentioned by Professor Czesław Banach⁹. Daring, discipline, internal discipline, and moral courage sound like archaic notions in a contemporary school and have been replaced by freedom from stress, feeling at ease, tolerance, and acceptance of everything – also of what frequently brings about bad results. Enter the pedagogical chaos, impotence, and even the educational/wychowawcza reluctance¹⁰.

The behaviours of pupils may at times even raise fear and horror not only among teachers. Parents seem as if not to notice that they do not always fulfil properly their educational role, and are more demand-oriented towards the school, expecting it to replace them in bringing up their own children. Yet the problem is complex and can be solved only on condition that it is properly understood, and that school and family truly cooperate for the benefit of the child and work out new, efficient modes of cooperation. Wisdom requires that both the actions and knowledge applied are expressed in the perspective of the values revealed, as only on such a case it can be properly used¹¹.

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⁶ M. Mead, 1979, pp. 126–127.

⁷ E. Kołakowski, 2000, *Mini wykłady o sprawach maxi*, seria druga, Kraków pp. 62–63.

[§] J. Jastrzębski, 2000, Teraźniejszość starszego pokolenia jako problem młodzieży, [in:] Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja, pp. 19–28.

⁹ Cz. Banach, 2001, Edukacja, wartość, szansa, Kraków 2001.

 $^{^{10}}$ T.E. Olearczyk, Sieroctwo i osamotnienie. Pedagogiczne problemy kryzysu współczesnej rodziny, WAM, Kraków 2007.

¹¹ T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska, 2000, *Status teoretyczno-metodologiczny badań empirycznych nad orientacjami*, [in:] Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja, Numer specjalny, p. 81.

"The world at the turn of the centuries" shows the deficiencies of this stage of history, and the struggle/war of two worlds: the old and the new one. Pursuit of the truth is a never-ending process. One cannot stop and segregate/order what is incessantly changing: "the world is too complicated and internally contradictory, scattered, and decentralised to allow its totalisation into a single narrative¹³.

The phenomenon of pedagogical inversion seems to be a direct consequence of the maladjustment on behalf of the educational system to the changed social and pedagogical reality.

The formula of traditional school

A charge against the traditional school has been the binding formula, where a teacher led the students on the path of knowledge, and the character of teaching was that of transmission and reproduction. Verbalism was the dominating doctrine in education, and university courses in pedagogic were dominated by the provision of knowledge and its passive memorisation for the exams¹⁴.

The "giver" of knowledge, the Teacher, who is an authority recognised both by students and the parents. The "receiver" of knowledge, the Student, obeyed the requirements of the school, where there were no "student rights" written down, but which was a place where a clear system of punishments and rewards was in operation, the student knew were and what are the limits that could not be exceeded, and what the consequences would be like. The dynamism of social and global change forces the school to keep pace with the quick changes, yet the time for reflection and testing their efficiency¹⁵ and benefit for the student is lacking.

Formula of the contemporary school

Changes are introduced like new furniture into a ruined house without a prior overhaul. The teacher follows the promotion path, which is bumpy and does not necessarily prepare him to the needs of the school of the future. Moreover, the teacher is losing his or her current position. "There is an anxiety that the teacher's authority may be lost in the symmetrical understanding of the dialogue, which fires up a sense of jeopardy¹⁶. This is why the asymmetric concept proposed by Levinas may be

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¹² Z. Kwieciński, 2000, *Dylematy edukacji na przełęczy wieków*, Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja No. 1, pp. 7–16.

¹³ Z. Melosik, 1999, p. 39.

¹⁴ "Raport o stanie i kierunkach rozwoju edukacji narodowej w PRL", Warszawa 1989, Dydaktyka Szkoły Wyższej 4/96/91.

¹⁵ P. Sztompka, 2000, *Trauma wielkiej zmiany: społeczne koszty transformacji*, Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2000.

¹⁶ T. Wilk, 2000, Możliwość zaspokojenia potrzeb edukacyjnych młodzieży w warunkach zmiany społecznej, Katowice.

better tailored to the educational dialogue. For, in a sense, the teachers stands higher than the student, while on the other hand – the teacher is to be ready at the student's disposal, and is his servant." Only, is the teacher aware of that.

The student acquires an ever greater knowledge and educational experience not only at school but also by using the Internet, participating in international exchanges, international programmes, and by conducting projects, i.e. by independent activity on various levels, in which way he is becoming more "competitive".

In the pedagogical sense of utmost importance and significance is that element of the teacher's involvement in the process of the occurring changes. The postulate of "involvement" expresses the need for active participation of not only the intellectual and emotional elements, but also of entrusting one's "ego" to the disposal of the partner (the student), through love (the existential dialogue).

Relationships in the contemporary school (variable)

The contemporary teacher feels confounded, disoriented, and tries to accept the lifestyle of the young, assumes their point of view, and attempts to survive in situations that quite recently could not occur at school. Knowledge can be internalised only when both the parties – the student and the teacher – are involved and focused on the positive effect of the process of education, and when the two parties refer to the same context. Speaking the same language is the basis for understanding and efficient education. The wisdom of the teacher is also the knowledge of the speech/argot that is alien to him: the language of the student as his way of looking at the reality¹⁸. The specific character of the role of the teacher requires the skill of understanding the language of tradition and experience, but also the knowledge of the language of the other party in the dialogue, namely the student; a better transmission of the content of education. For many teachers, the present day at school appears to be something alien, wild, and hostile, yet at the same time attractive: teachers cannot cope with it, the dare not get to know it and try to change it by introduction of specific rules. The conventional methods of education, reluctance towards computers and the Internet, and the attachment to the coursebook as the basic source of knowledge neither make education attractive, nor increase the teacher's authority.

"Education in a post-modern world is nothing else but the game, whose stake is the students independence in formulating opinions, activity in the reception of culture, and persistence in following the chosen paradigms. In this game, the teacher must

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¹⁷ J. Tarnowski, 2003, *Pedagogika egzystencjalna*, [in:] Z. Kwieciński, B. Śliwerski, *Pedagogika*, Podręcznik Akademicki, PWN, Warszawa, p. 259.

¹⁸ J. Stasieńko, *Model nauki jako podmiot sporu pokoleniowego*, [in:] Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja, Numer specjalny, p. 106.

sometimes play *va banque*, and staking all his authority and knowledge on a single card: decisive for the result is not luck, but the very entering of the game, whose rules are very well known to the student, yet it is the teacher, who must now learn them"¹⁹.

The contemporary school is not unlike a seesaw, where once it is the teacher who dominates, and once – the student, whose rights are not balanced with those of the teacher or by the students duties for one. The student wants to be a partner of the teacher, yet neither party knows what a true partnership is all about. Additionally, the matter is complicated by the axiological chaos that renders any true dialogue difficult.

There is also a system that comes about when the student's technical skills exceed those of the teacher, and moreover, is multilingual and moves freely in the world of information.

There is also the third element at school, besides the teacher and the student: the parents. It is on their attitude, and involvement or indifference that plenty of things hinge. The contemporary teacher is seeking for a guiding light to show him the proper direction.

The young live in a way shown by the media that become a role model to follow: a competitor for the family and school in the education of the young generation. What has occurred is erosion – not to say the fall – of the culture of being and speech: a depreciation in the value of the word and authority. The ideal has reached the gutter...

The omnipresent relativism, social liberalism, the power of the group, the collective ego, any behaviour makes it/goes, there is no discrimination between what is praiseworthy and what is reprehensible or impermissible; the notions of shame and blunder/gaffe have disappeared. A new perception of reality has arrived, together with different levels of truth: how is now a young man to find an own path among all that, especially that no one, apart from the computer, finds any time or patience for him.

It may seem that the world enjoys being cheated, and winks understandingly to the post-modern reality, and feels well in the past that is known, provides an illusion of the sense of stabilisation, while reality claims a clear-cut system of values, binding principles, and methods of teaching, which allows to be adjusted to the needs of the contemporary world, maintaining at the same time the principles and ideas while the methods of work continue to change.

The question is being born: how is the pedagogical science to behave towards such changes, and what is the new concept of education to be like.

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¹⁹ J. Stasieńko, 2000, Model nauki jako podmiot sporu pokoleniowego, [in:] Teraźniejszość – Człowiek –Edukacja, Numer Specjalny, p. 110.

What is the efficiency of the stress-free upbringing for the contemporary, ever more global community. What are the values, principles, and skills that should be transferred – and in what form – by the teacher who equips the young person for a an independent – also intellectually – life? How will the school of the future operate, will it be a virtual one? Will, and to what scope, the Internet change the system of education? How to modify the education of teachers to the needs and requirements of the future? Everything in the world is a system of communicating tubes/naczyń połączonych, and each next day brings new question marks, and puts them before the human, only is it still the same human?

The situation of the educational and cultural milieu, which is highly significant in the transfer of knowledge and skills, is complicated. What is fairly clearly discussed is the negative selection to the profession of the teacher, which is not fully true. The common access to education at each of its stages, and lack of capacity for testing the predisposition to the future walk of life result only in a greater probability of random choice of the course of study. The dream is not always to work with children; for some it is going to be the truth about the everyday existence, for others – the horizon of freedom.

"It goes without saying, that a teacher – pedagogue may and should perceive in the students not only the recipients but also of the 'givers' of education'". "Making use" of their knowledge is only an option for exchanging experience, co-defining activities, and conducting an authentic educational dialogue, establishment of modern educational situations. The best example here is the 17-year-old student from Olsztyn, whose knowledge exceeds that of many certified teachers. The teacher is no longer a monopoly on knowledge, which he must persistently compliment, and learn also from the younger: here enter the phenomenon of pedagogical conversion, or may it be an opportunity for "a new education".

"The suspense between dreams, ideas and facts, and reality leaning towards the unknown and unforeseeable future – decides about the intentional activity of the one who wants to educate/bring up. The pedagogue is someone who considers the dreams, yet primarily takes facts into consideration"²².

The pedagogical inversion arises as an educational and social problem, and also

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²⁰ J. Tarnowski, 2003, *Pedagogika egzystencjalna*, [in:] Z. Kwieciński, B. Śliwerski, *Pedagogika*, Podrecznik akademicki, Warszawa, p. 258.

²¹ Maciek Hermanowicz, a student of the Comprehensive Secondary School (LO) No. 2 in Olsztyn is among the 16 laureates of the third edition of the "Red Rover Goes to Mars" online competition, organised by the American Planetary Society with the seat in Pasadena: the world's largest NGO gathering aficionados of astronautics, astronomy, and space exploration. Maciek's prize was a trip to USA last January, where he participated in the planning of tasks for the robots Spirit and Opportunity conducting work on Mars.

²² U. Dzikiewicz-Gazda, 2000, *Nowe wyzwania: edukacja w dobie globalizacji – wychowanie dla "wywczasu"*, [in:] Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja, Numer Specjalny, pp. 141–142.

in all its manifestations – as a problem of values in education. Inversion is upside down, it means the assumption of another "position" and is neither a capsize nor a rejection.

The school of the future

Education of the future should be the school of order, open to new experiences, the school of intercultural dialogue and authentic partnership, akin to that of Socrates. Work here would be conducted in the conditions of cooperation, coexistence, friendship, joined pursuits in the search for solutions to problems, the "discovery" of the secrets of the world, and discussions.

Education will be conducted in conditions other than at present, the school will have a less "rigid" form, and the learning will "go out" beyond the school building, and will teach reflection. The teacher acquires the status of a partner obliged to follow the modern through the knowledge that students acquire also in institutions other than the school. In the near future, the teacher will rather be a consultant, an adviser, a partner in a dialogue: a "sage" capable of connecting the past to the future.

Three subjects will be equal in the process of education in the school of the future: the teacher, the student, and the parent.

The subject – The Teacher will be meeting the subject – The Student on the platform of freedom and dialogue. Only such a platform gives the opportunity to get to know the truth about each other and seek for the scientific truth about the world that surrounds us. "The search for the truth is a process that shall never end, as there are always new problems born: the questions to which one needs to seek answers"²³. Silence may become a method of working with the student, helping in concentration and work on oneself, and also in more efficient communication with the student. The third subject, besides the teacher and the student, in the dialogue conducted at school are the parents. It is necessary to realise that the role that the school plays in complementing the care and educational role of the parents. The student is in the realm of interest of the family and school, and not the object of games/schemes between the two parties.

The school is not aware (probably neither eager to accept) that to an ever greater extent it will complement the care and educational role due to the absence of parents in the process of bringing children up.

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²³ J. Stasieński, *Model nauki jako przedmiot sporu pokoleniowego*, [w:] Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja, 2000, Numer specjalny p. 103.

Interpersonal relations in the school of the future:

The Teacher – the platform of freedom and dialogue – The Student
balance – partnership
mutual respect
culture of being and social behaviours

- new techniques of acquiring and passing knowledge
 - elements of the virtual school
 - learning through doing
- didactics involved in the search for the scientific truth
 - values present in education

Qualities of the teacher in the school of the future:

- maturity, pedagogical culture,
- responsibility for the decisions made,
- the attitude of dialogue, the ability to conduct dialogue,
- comprehensive knowledge, permanently complemented,
- innovative curiosity, creativeness, daring dreams,
- openness to the world and changes taking place within it,
- empathy, understanding, patience,
- reason, prudence, reliability.

Oualities of the student:

- imagination, openness, inventiveness,
- idealism,
- activity,
- diligence,
- the culture of being/everyday culture,
- moral courage,
- experience acquired in the process of education,
- speed of action,
- responsibility for own actions.

The vision of the teacher of the future

The increasing activity of "success in life" as a preferred value and goal in life for the young becomes significant. Success in life is associated with an idea for the future life, its style, quality, and level. The special role of school and teacher as the guide in the world of values and knowledge, in the designing of the future, forming of the personality and attitudes of the young man becomes manifested. A man of great personal culture and a man of dialogue.

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"On the edge of two models of the world of learning: the young and the older, there stands the teacher. He is in a thankless position, for here he must assume the role of the mediator between the two worlds, and to be able to play his role well, he must have the features of both sage and youth."²⁴

The teacher the transmitter and interpreter of the world of tradition assuming the point of view of the young

The share and context:

- understandable language,
- attitude of mutual and efficient understanding and education,
- perception of reality,
- activities undertaken for positive changes of the world.

The world of computers, one that has been mastered by the young, provides knowledge. No sign of equality may be placed between the knowledge and the wisdom; these are two different notions, and even though they have much in common they are not identical.

The computer may not be evaluated in moral categories: honest, righteous, just, and/ or good. The computer poses no requirements yet provides a potential, and requires only the skill at handling it, being a vast opportunity for the teacher and the student in the educational dialogue.

In the information civilisation, the winner will be the one who will have access to information and the ability to process and use it²⁵, which will result in changes in the system of communication, the system of values, the way of life and the lives of the generations. These days, the access to information is fairly easy: it is sufficient to know English and be computer literate, yet these are not enough to bring up a human being. What takes shape at this stage is the problem of preparing teachers to work in the situation of pedagogical inversion.

"In the process of system transformation of a community, the role models recognised by the young change, much like the features that they praise in the selected persons, with whom they want to identify."²⁶ "The authorities exist, though weakened, yet what is more important than authorities in this field are role models. Not the ones who say how it should be, but the ones who act in the appropriate manner are the role models."²⁷

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²⁴ J. Stasieńko, *Model nauki...*, pp. 105–106.

²⁵ R. Pachociński, 1999, Kierunki przeobrażeń, IBE, Warszawa, p. 7.

²⁶ Mariański, p. 121.

²⁷ Między logiką a wiarą, Z Józefem M. Bocheńskim rozmawia Jan Parys, Warszawa 1995, p. 195.

At the time of sudden and deep transformations, when the models of behaviour based on habitual have been disturbed, the need for a "warranty" that the choices made are correct and justified increases²⁸. The future is not a simple continuation of the past, the chronological order, defined over the centuries is being turned upside down. A modern school is facing the new challenges, and acquires significance in the situation where the family becomes weaker: a fact demonstrated by the increasing professional activity of both parents, shrinking free time for the family, increasing number of replacement families, family orphanages, family help centres, single mother homes, and adoption centres. To bring up, one needs presence, lasting impacts, internal balance, ability to satisfy the child's needs, and teaching the duties, the skill of listening and yet also learning from the child. A man brought up is a man accustomed to good sharing of a friendly smile and respect for others.²⁹

Relationships in the school of the future

The Teacher – The Student – The Parent
equality of subjects and involvement
permanent and instantaneous contact of school with home thanks to the Internet
participation of parents in managing the school

Decisive for the character of the future school is the rapid development of information. For many, the computer technology is what mechanisation was for the industrial revolution. A new era began, and all the books kept in the world's largest library, the Library of US Congress can be archived in a small personal computer. In the information society, space and time ceased to have their traditional import. "The theory of human work has been replaced by the theory of the value of knowledge. It is not work that is the source of richness" – a classical case of inversion.

What is taking place is the understanding of the young over the world of the adults. Pedagogical inversion enforces reflection, brings about the need to consider the school of the future, calls upon the pedagogic of silence, which will stoop down towards axiology and support of the young person in his development, and shall help to create the new order and peace. There is a vast challenge standing before the school, and it is to be undertaken.

The role of the teacher in the school of the future

Over the years, a variety of tests have obtained the right of citizenship in the Polish school. This is connected to the eagerness to objectivise the grades, and is not

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²⁸ Z. Bauman, 1992, *Socjologia i ponowożytność* [in:] *Racjonalność współczesności. Między filozofią a socjologią*, ed. by H. Kozakieiwcz, E. Mokrzycki, Warszawa, pp. 9–29.

²⁹ J. Tischner, 1992, Świat ludzkich nadziei, Znak, Kraków 2000 p. 30.

always an objective testing of the knowledge or potential skills of the student. J.P. Guilford³⁰ expresses a certain anxiety that American teachers abuse multiple choice tests in testing and examining, which does not encourage students to attempt creative thinking.

- S. Witek³¹ points at a number of elements that would be decisive for the model of the teacher of the 21st-century and for his professional success, and lists the intellectual values and content (subject) qualifications that would include:
- intelligence level exceeding the average,
- developed cognitive skills (memory, focus, intuition, imagination, the ability of a logical and creative thinking),
- ability to learn independently,
- broad and deep general knowledge (solid, regularly updated),
- high level of skills connected to content knowledge,
- broad interest in the knowledge taught, its popularisation, and creative development.

Pedagogical qualifications:

- a large repository of knowledge and pedagogical skills (knowledge of the system
 of idea- and education-related values, the essence of the process of education,
 methods of didactic, educational, and care work),
- psychological and sociological knowledge of the principles in psychophysical and social development, and conditions of students' life and learning,
- competence for social communication (the skill of conducting talks, discussion, instruction, delegating tasks, advice, giving speeches, negotiation, persuasion, and non-verbal communication in silence),
- preparation to methodological use of various teaching aids in the process of education, including computer-assisted information technologies, telecommunication, and electronic multimedia devices,
- knowledge of efficient methods and techniques of getting to know the students and leading student teams,
- the culture of being and social behaviours.

The culture of pedagogical activity:

- the skill for programming and planning of general and operating goals in didactic
 and educational work in line with the mission of the school, the strategy of its
 development, and the students' needs,
- solid preparation to classes with students,
- allowing the students the use of different sources of knowledge and support means in the process of education,

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³⁰ J. Guilford, 1978, Natura inteligencji człowieka.

³¹ S. Witek, 2000, Zarządzanie zreformowaną szkolą, PWN, Warszawa; Witek, 1999, Jak osiągnąć sukces zawodowy, PWN.

- developing the maximum of favourable conditions for the development for each student.
- limiting the traditional, transmission-and-reproduction model of teaching, and introduction of the generative model (creativity, and learning through examining/ experience),
- undertaking innovative attempts, loosening up the classroom and lesson system
- application of the democratic style of educational impacts, which makes the students active and independent, raising responsibility for own work and attitude
- together with parents: the reconnaissance of preventive activities ("the school is the second home."),
- reflection-based approach to own work and the effort of the teaching team; improvement of own ways of working, continuous education and the honing of professional skills.

Social and moral skills:

- Love of work, zest and enthusiasm in student education and upbringing. Identification with the school and its goals, with the work of the teacher, with the teaching staff and the local community. Involvement. Walk of life as passion. Faith in the sense of the pedagogic work. The teaching profession as a calling and a civic mission.
- humanist attitude: love of the other, abiding by the principles of democracy, equality, justice, respect for the personality of the student, and his subjective and partner-like treatment, empathy,
- sense and manifestation of responsibility for the correct intellectual, social and moral, physinal and cultural & aesthetic development of the student,
- patriotic and citizen attitude; treating the country as European Community,
- High level of socialisation; the principles of kindliness, reliability, comradeship, trust, and mutual assistance. Openness to the students' social problems,
- truthfulness, conformity of thoughts, words, and actions; observing the same principles that the teacher induces in students; the principle of tolerance,
- the ability to shape favourable psychological and social atmosphere in student groups,
- health ambition: lasting aspiration to achieve recognition from students, their parents, and superiors; understanding of the needs in own professional development.

Results of the teacher's work:

- the scope and degree of preparing students to life and work in the society expressed in learning and self-education,
- achieved results of the process of education, measured by the resources and level of the students' information, skills and abilities, referred to programme requirements.
- the degree of the students' interest in the knowledge, society, nature, and culture taught,

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- achievements in motivating students to learn and be active for the benefit of own development,
- the teacher's successes in creative and innovative activity,
- the level of cooperation with students' parents and guardians achieved,
- the cultural level of the students, pro-environmental attitudes,
- · activity and effects of involvement in the work of the teachers' council
- the achievements acquired in the process of self-education and improvement of knowledge.

Professional qualifications:

- physical and health-related capacity to work as a teacher,
- pedagogical tact and talent,
- lack of dependencies on e.g. alcohol, nicotine, medications,
- ability to overcome frustrations and resilience to stressful situations,
- lack of neurotic disorders,
- ability to pose sound requirements,
- persistence.

Abstract

Poland of the late 20th and early 21st centuries is perceived in the context of system transformation and information revolution. A large share of private property strongly influences the realm of social life and finds also a reflection in education. There is a demand for elitist, safe schools where parents want to co-decide consciously about the curriculum and education of their children. Yet the reform of education introduces chaos into the life of school teacher. The lack of clarity, cohesion and transparency of action focuses attention on the problems that, though important, are of secondary significance (regulations, changing orders, etc), parallel to which the phenomenon of pedagogical inversion develops. The inversion, i.e. a change of the normal state, is the transformation of the method of education, of school's work; this is the switching of proportions, tendencies, and the arrival of the opposites of the former values, behaviours, and requirements. The phenomenon is connected to the promotion of the "stress-free education", and liberalisation of attitudes and behaviours. As a consequence, modification of individual and group standards occurred causing not only a change in the attitude to the highest values of the social system but also to social norms.

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EWA WYSOCKA

Mechanisms determining notions of "us" and "them" in teacher training students

We don't see things as they are; we see things as we are. Anaïs Nin

Introduction

Despite the fact that tolerance of otherness is a value strongly promoted throughout the education system, Poles are not free of xenophobic attitudes, as may be witnessed in popularly held beliefs as well as in numerous academic studies; what is promoted in education is not internalised and applied in everyday life as a principle defining attitudes to otherness (Grzymała-Kozłowska 2002: 187–212).

It is noticeable that Poles show a distinctly greater dislike of Muslims, other races (mainly Africans) and Jews than do other Europeans. They are also more negative towards immigrants (Wysocka 2008a,c) and even the disabled (Wysocka 2006, 2008b). What is also surprising is the entrenchment of a certain moral rigorism: for example, the condemnation of homosexuality, euthanasia, divorce and AIDS victims (Wysocka 2007), which not only defines the tendency to condemn otherness but also strongly rationalises it. It manifests itself in the feeling that there are

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incontrovertible and rigid ethical rules which are simple to apply and which allow a clear distinction between "good" and "evil". Thus, Poles are more likely to perceive the world in terms of "black and white", finding the justification for their beliefs in a higher rationale which predominantly makes reference to moral and religious authorities.

Mechanisms for moulding attitudes towards otherness

The mechanisms for moulding attitudes towards otherness are variously described in the relevant literature, but priority has been given to social stereotypes defined as forming part of the common social legacy. Howard J. Ehrlich (1973) has even pointed out that individuals cannot "grow up" and "become part of" their society unless they accept the stereotypes ascribed to the dominant ethnic groups.

The social perceptions which constitute the basis of understanding other people, forming ideas about them and interpreting the behaviour of "others" and "strangers", take place speedily and effortlessly and are facilitated by certain mechanisms described in fundamental theories, of which Aronson, Wilson and Akert (1997) and Myers (2003) are among the most important.

- **1.** *Hidden theories of personality* patterns used to group together the various personality traits of others and which answer the question "What are they like?" (for example, kind, generous, beautiful, good).
- **2.** Attribution theory, which explains the reasons for our own behaviour and that of others: external attribution, in which conclusions are drawn concerning situational factors of behaviour; and internal attribution, in which conclusions are drawn concerning personal factors of behaviour (the tendency being to use internal attribution to explain the negative behaviour of others and external attribution in reference to our own negative behaviour).
- **3.** The phenomenon of belief in a just world, that is, the tendency to a shared belief that the world is just, that everyone gets what they deserve and deserves what they get, for example, the perception that victims of rape are guilty (Lerner 1980).
- **4.** The justification of one's own cruelty by dehumanising and discrediting the victim. "A decent human being" inflicting pain on others and denying them their rights must convince himself that they are evil and not even human; therefore, they have deserved it.

These theories explain how *moral defence mechanisms* are activated, determining a negative attitude towards otherness. These mechanisms are unconscious methods of dealing with objectively negative behaviour towards minority groups. Among those most frequently indicated are:

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- the tendency to seek justification for one's own bad behaviour as the means of attaining a higher good (for example, defending oneself against an imagined threat);
- applying euphemisms to reduce the gravity of one's actions by substituting less negative terms (for example, "restoring order" instead of "beating up");
- comparing one's own bad deeds with even worse ones ("others do even worse things") or the same deeds committed by others ("everybody does it");
- diffusion of responsibility, which is linked to sharing the blame ("we're all responsible")
- transfer of responsibility justifying bad actions as being allowed by a higher authority (religious or political);
- denying the consequences questioning and ignoring the negative consequences of one's actions ("nothing bad happened");
- dehumanising the victim of one's actions (denying their humanity and equal rights);
- external attribution of guilt, where guilt is attributed to the victim for having provoked the action (Aronson, Wilson, Akert 1997; Myers 2003).

Justifying notions of "us" and "them" - empirical examples

The research was carried out on a group of teacher-training students from the University of Silesia School of Pedagogy in Katowice and the General Jerzy Ziętek Silesian School of Management in Katowice (N=163) in an auditorium questionnaire held in October, 2007. The sample was deliberately selected, being guided by the significance of attitudes towards otherness displayed by this group in the context of their potential educational influence as future teachers (transmitting their own attitudes to new generations of children). Because of the nature of the subject being studied, females (n=121; 74.23%) clearly outnumbered males (n=42; 25.77%).

The aim of the analysis was to identify selected mechanisms in the development of attitudes towards otherness, found mainly in moral defence mechanisms, mechanisms of attribution, authoritarian personalities and dehumanising acts against "them". There is also an analysis of such mechanisms as rationalising the emergence of a sense of threat; rationalising an appeal to the greater good; external attribution of guilt connected with behaviour; comparing one's actions with general behaviour; seeking a higher justification in moral and religious authorities (authoritarianism); external attribution of responsibility; the mechanism of just deserts (belief in a just world); the denial of the consequences of one's actions; and the dehumanising of "them" by ascribing negative traits.

1. External vs. internal attribution of positive and negative behaviours of "us" and "them". The investigation made use of stories describing various situations: positive and negative behaviour of those who could be recognised as "us", that is, internal groups (*in-group* – friends) and "them", that is, members of external groups (*out-group* – undefined strangers). Responses were assigned to these stories justify-

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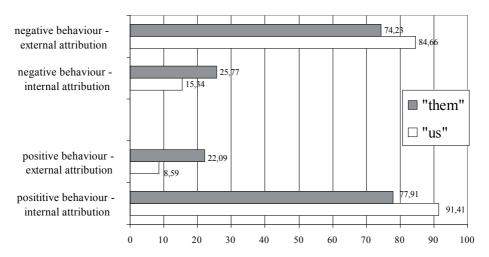
ing the behaviour of the subject of the situation and attributing cause, internal and external. Thus, an attempt was made to test the extent to which potential teachers make internal attributions about the causes of positive behaviour and external attributions about the causes of negative behaviour of their own group, and external attributions about the causes of positive behaviour and internal attributions about the causes of negative behaviour in the "them" group (Table 1; Fig. 1).

Table 1. Internal and external attributions about the causes of positive and negative behaviours – "us" and "them" (N=163)

Type of	Attribution	"	Us"	"Them"	
Behaviour	11tti ib ution	n	%	n	0/0
Positive	Internal	149	91.41	127	77.91
behaviour	external	14	8.59	36	22,09
Total		163	100.0	163	100.0
Negative	Internal	25	15.34	42	25.77
behaviour	external	138	84.66	121	74.23
Total		163	100.0	163	100.0

The data indicate that there is a general tendency among those surveyed to ascribe internal responsibility for positive behaviour ("us" – 91.41%; "them" – 77.91%), while regarding the responsibility for negative behaviour as external ("us" – 84.66%; "them" – 74.23%). Therefore, people were generally perceived to commit good acts in respect of their internal needs and internalised standards of behaviour. However, people's bad behaviour was frequently regarded as being externally conditioned by the basic necessities of life or helplessness in certain situations.

Fig. 1 Internal and external attributions about causes of positive and negative behaviours - "us" and "them" (N=163)



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There are, nevertheless, distinct differences according to the group being assessed: internal ("us") and external (them"). The positive behaviour of "them" was clearly more frequently explained by external factors and their negative behaviour by internal ones. The opposite tendency was clearly evident in the assessment of the behaviour of those considered as "us" (internal attribution was the predominant explanation for positive behaviour and external attribution for negative behaviour). These differences were statistically significant (parameter test for two indicators of structure; Greń 1984). The results also confirmed internal attribution for the causes of positive behaviour in one's own group (u=3.37; u α =3.09; α =0.001) and external attribution for the other group (u=2.33; α =2.33; α =0.01). The members of the "them" group were therefore regarded as much more likely to commit bad acts on account of their internal traits and motivations, while their correct (from the point of view of universally accepted axionormative standards) behaviour was explained by circumstances (chance or fate). The results obtained confirm the assumption of attribution theory (Aronson, Wilson, Akert 1997; Doliński 1992; Myers 2003; Wysocka 2008).

2. Moral defence mechanisms applied in the evaluation of "them". The investigation used descriptions of different methods of rationalising behaviour towards specific social groups which, because of various traits (religion, ethnicity, sexual differences), are regarded as "them". Being aware that the rationalisation of one's behaviour is conditional on the category of otherness, I have merely attempted a general description of the most frequently occurring mechanisms which determine the evaluation and justification of one's behaviour towards "them" (Table 2; Fig. 2).

Table 2. Moral defence mechanisms used in evaluating behaviour towards "them" (N=163)

Type of	Yes (Y)		No (N)		Total	Quotient	Ranked
mechanism	n	%	n	%	Total	Y:N	Nalikeu
Sense of threat	72	44.17	91	55.83	163	0.79	5
Appeal to the greater good	48	29.45	115	70.55	163	0.42	8
Negative behaviour	79	48.47	84	51.53	163	0.94	4
Comparing one's own behaviour towards "them" with the behaviour of other people	142	87.12	21	12,88	163	6,76	1
Moral and religious authority	71	43.56	92	56.44	163	0.77	6

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Guilt, internal responsibility of the victim	104	63.80	59	36.20	163	1.76	2
Just deserts, just world	55	33.74	18	66.26	163	0.51	7
Dehumanisation (personality traits)	93	57.06	70	42.94	163	1.33	3
Denial of the consequences	45	27.61	118	72.39	183	0.38	9

The predominant defence mechanism identified in the respondents was *comparing* their own behaviour towards "them" with that of others, or excusing and justifying these behaviours by the similar actions of others: "others do the same or even worse" (Y:N=6.76; ranked 1). In general, this would indicate an inability to rationally think through one's own behaviour, which may be connected with avoiding a threat to one's self-esteem arising from one's behaviour towards "them". At the same time, such behaviour is not in keeping with the accepted standards of behaviour which the individual displays towards his own group.

The second most frequently seen mechanism was *putting the blame on the victim*, who, through his own behaviour, brings about the restrictive actions taken against him (Y:N=1.76, ranked 2). Coming a close third was the tendency to *dehumanise* "them" (Y:N=1.33, ranked 3), that is, ascribing traits to them which lessen their moral worth and, not infrequently, their intellectual and cultural worth. In general, this confirms the tendency to perceive "them" as bad and responsible for what happens to them because of their behaviour (putting the blame on the victim) or because of their traits (dehumanisation).

The next mechanism occurring with some frequency among the respondents was the perceived *negative* behaviour of "them", that is, contrary to the standards generally applicable (Y:N=0.94; ranked 4), behaviour which should be subject to social control and sanctions imposed by society. This, in turn, authorises a further mechanism, *a sense of threat* felt directly from "them", no doubt connected with their behaviour, which could constitute the root cause of social unrest, that is, the disorganisation of society (Y:N=0.79; ranked 5).

Also fairly frequently met was the mechanism of *transferring responsibility*, that is, justifying one's behaviour towards "them" by external moral and religious authorities (Y:N=0.77; ranked 6). This signifies an unquestioning acceptance during the process of socialisation of beliefs formulated by external authorities, which is the basis of the development of an authoritarian personality prone to stereotypical perceptions of social reality and the development of prejudices towards "them".

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Shifting responsibility for one's own behaviour onto external authorities frees the individual from the task of thoughtfully developing his own beliefs on the basis of information received through his own experience of "them". This is certainly an intellectually convenient attitude, which also fulfils the function of protecting one's self-esteem.

Of less significance in the investigation was the mechanism which may be defined as rationalisation through *deserving negative sanctions*; this may be inferred from the theory of a just world, which states that people usually get what they deserve (Y: N=0.51; ranked 7). This is logically bound up with the perception of "their" behaviour as being wrong and threatening, for which "they" bear internal responsibility (the guilt of the victim) and as a result of which "they" deserve to be "punished". The development of these kinds of beliefs may well arise from an unthinking attempt to avoid one's self-esteem being threatened; this occurs with the shifting of blame to the victim of one's negative behaviour, giving it the status of being fair.

Occurring less frequently still was the rationalisation of one's negative behaviour towards "them" as contributing to *the greater good* (excluding the elimination of threats), taking the form of "corrective/remedial measures" having as their goal "the greater good of the whole" or of the individual towards whom the action is directed (Y:N=0.42; ranked 8). It may be described as moralizing action directed towards those individuals who are unaware that their behaviour is inappropriate. "They" are not required to be familiar with the standards binding on a given society or social group; therefore, for those authorised to take such action, it has the aim of making "them" aware of how they are to behave.

Least frequently met among the respondents was the mechanism of *denying negative consequences* to justify one's appraisal of and behaviour towards "them" (Y:N=0.38; ranked 9). Using this kind of defence is no doubt connected with the conviction that the action taken is legitimate and dictated by a higher rationale, leading eventually to a positive outcome (for example, preserving the social good and eliminating threats).

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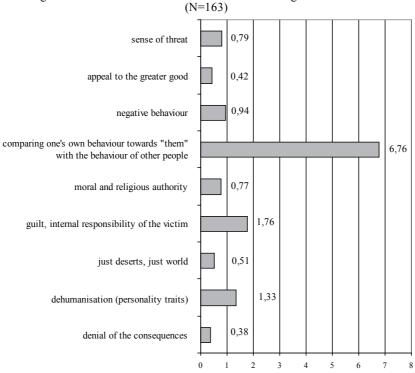


Fig. 2 Moral defence mechanisms used in evaluating behaviour towards "them" (N=162)

Concluding reflections

Teacher training students are not free of stereotypical perceptions in respect of societal differences or the prejudices connected with such perceptions, and may rationalise their own discriminatory acts against "them", which may well result from limited or superficial contact with them. The modes of perceiving "them" no doubt also arise from insufficient awareness of the mechanisms determining human actions. As future teachers, they will have the task of introducing new generations of children to a world which is ethnically, religiously and morally diverse and in which many different world views prevail, and yet which is in the process of integration; they will need to have a knowledge of what underlies human behaviour. This knowledge will not necessarily prevent them from making mistakes in their evaluations and behaviour, but it will certainly form the basis of a reflective perception of one's actions and the motives behind them.

Psychology and sociology are constantly discovering new areas of authoritarianism involving generalised negative attitudes towards out-groups and increasing repulsion at their various behaviours; this is linked to the tendency to impose harsh punishments. There is a dangerous tendency to create a vision of morality and rationalise it using

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external factors which regulate interpersonal relationships with an appeal to the law and the state, traditional authorities which turn into moral signposts. Also dangerous is the tendency to blame the victims for what happens to them and to perceive "them" as a threat to oneself or to one's reference group. A further dangerous tendency is the hardening of attitudes towards otherness, described increasingly as the fundamentalisation of personality, a response to subjectively perceived threats emanating from "them" and to a post-modernism characterised by axionormative diversity (Bauman 2000). This results in a gradual diminishing of the tendency to the reflective relativisation of subjective, internal and individual appraisals of the out-group, replacing it with stereotypical beliefs functioning in the cultural sphere of a given society.

Psychologists increasingly point out that not only has there been no expansion in the awareness and psychological self-knowledge of Poles, there has actually been a growth in the tendency for them to justify their attitudes towards otherness through the simple expedient of regarding it as "unnatural" as opposed to what is universally defined as "natural" and real (for example, natural conception, natural heterosexual relationships, the one, true religion). This "naturalness" is given legitimacy by "incontrovertible authorities" which cannot be questioned, changed or improved. Poles appear to believe that the only principles, certainly the only legitimate principles, are those which they acknowledge, whereas those acknowledged by others (if they conflict with theirs) are regarded as strange and normally immoral. The young, educated generation appear to have accepted these views, forming the basis for their further transmission in the future.

Globalised society, whose basic characteristic is the equality of all axionormative standards, paradoxically provides reasons for the development of two attitudes towards otherness (strangeness): an attitude of dialogue and understanding, reflecting a model of integration; and an attitude of dogmatic fundamentalism, reflecting a model of conflict. Undoubtedly, we should strive to develop an attitude of understanding, which would be impossible without comprehending the intricately complex socio-psychological mechanisms determining our attitudes towards "them". It certainly requires an interdisciplinary approach whose aim would be the creation of an integrated model explaining the processes of the dehumanisation of "them" (see Duckitt, 1993).

Abstract

Students training to become teachers are not free from stereotypical perceptions in respect of societal differences or prejudices connected with such perceptions, and may rationalise their own discriminatory acts against "others", which may well result from limited or superficial contact with them. The modes of perceiving "others" certainly arise also from insufficient awareness of mechanisms determining human actions. As future teachers, they will be entrusted the task of introducing new generations of children to a world that is ethnically, religiously and morally diverse, and in which

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many different world views prevail, and which is nevertheless in the process of integration; they will need to have a knowledge of what underlies human behaviour. This knowledge will not necessarily prevent them from making mistakes in their evaluations and behaviour, but it will certainly form the basis of a reflective perception of their actions and the motives behind them.

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PART TWO

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MONIKA GOVEKAR-OKOLIŠ

Educational centres in Slovenia

In this paper, we will demonstrate the development and importance of educational centres in Slovenia. They were the first form of vocational training in various working organisations where the employed could take additional education (training) in order to perform a certain professional role. We will describe the reasons for the development of educational centres in Slovenia, their structure, and the various types of the first centres in Slovenia. We will analyse their progress in different periods of time and show the influences on their operation and the diversified course of their development up till the present day. We will detail the needs for knowledge and the trends of the educational centres.

Keywords: educational centres in Slovenia, the structure of educational centres, types of educational centres, reasons for the development of educational centres, trends of educational centres

The significance of educational centres

Educational centres were the first organised, institutionalised form of conveying new, supplementary knowledge for the needs of various activities (Krajnc 1979). Educational centres can be considered a form of vocational education organised as group training with a specific method of executing the educational process and a specific way of planning, programming, applying the methods of instruction and linking theory and

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practice (Bertoncelj 1962). The training system for technical personnel has always been very comprehensive and complex as it embraces different branches, professions, occupations and jobs. The development of educational centres in Slovenia had its own particular character and can be divided into several distinct phases – the period of accelerated growth and expansion, the period of reorganisation and the period of stagnation and even the closing down of educational centres. New knowledge and information and a rapid increase in the amount of scientific discoveries have made the mastering of additional knowledge a necessity.

The origin of educational centres

The first educational centres in Slovenia were formed within economic organisations in 1957 in response to the need for the systematic job training of a rapidly growing number of industrial workers in the postwar period (Kejžar 1994). There was a shortage of both skilled personnel and specific types of vocational schools to cater to an economy that was developing. Moreover, vocational schools were incapable of providing advanced training to already employed graduates and workers in enterprises, which at that time required new skills for the introduction of modern machinery and new technological processes. A solution was sought in the organising of institutionalised education in industry, the result of which was the setting up of factory centres for workers' training. The centres were founded in accordance with the needs of enterprises and the availability of organised professional assistance from republic institutes for organisation and productivity (Kejžar 1994). In the beginning, factory training centres in Slovenia were very few – at the end of 1961 they accounted for only 9% of all the centres in the country.

The 1959 "Decree on Workers' Education Centres" encouraged the creation of such training centres, as they would provide not only vocational but also general knowledge, including socio-economic and political education. It provided for enterprises and trade and cooperative associations to set up training centres in which to operate (Material for... 1962). Such centres were founded in accordance with the needs of enterprises and were registered with the local assemblies' administrative agencies responsible for labour affairs.

The structure of educational centres

Each centre had its own personnel department, managing board and director. The personnel department and managing board were responsible for the preparation of the general programme of education, and heads of individual sections of the enterprise were responsible for the preparation of training programmes for individual jobs. The director, in association with the managing board, supervised the implementation of the entire educational activity of the centre. The centre had its set of

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rules containing a detailed description of its organisation, tasks and method of work. Other employees of the centre included instructors, teachers of individual subjects, an industrial psychologist, a social worker and office clerks (Resolution... 1960). The shortage of qualified teachers was already being felt and, in 1960, a postsecondary personnel training school was founded as a division of the Kranj Institute for Personnel Education and Work Organisation Studies (ib.).

In 1961, the Recommendation Concerning the Tasks in the Field of Vocational Education in the People's Republic of Slovenia was issued (Recommendation... 1961), followed a year later by an "Open Letter" to the self-managing bodies of enterprises... (1962). The Letter and the Recommendation urged educational centres to identify worker training needs as they arose and to prepare training programmes in accordance with those needs. The centres were, on the basis of job descriptions, to design training programmes for different jobs in order to train workers for specific jobs and for occupations not embraced by the programmes of vocational schools.

The centres' tasks also included the introduction of new employees into the enterprise or institution as well as their job induction. New employees were acquainted with the history of the enterprise or institution, its organisation, labour relations and job safety regulations. A prospective factory worker was required to have a formal talk with staff members, complete a medical examination and pass a psychological test before signing an employment contract (Petek 1994). The centres' responsibilities also included the provision of training to workers for other jobs (re-training) in cases where the method of production (or the disability of a worker) so required. The centres offered practical training in production and other activities to students of secondary vocational schools and advanced training to graduates from those schools. They attended to the systematic professional and pedagogical education of instructors and teachers (Recommendation... 1961) and the general and vocational education of workers. On the whole, they were the focus of educational activity carried out according to various methods.

Types of educational centres

In industrial practice, different types of centres developed, between which it is difficult to draw a clear line:

- 1. *In-service training centres* provided practical training to new employees and those already employed who were required or who wished to be retrained. In-service training had to be carried out without hindering the process of production. Onthe-job training was provided by instructors for practical work and theoretical knowledge for individual jobs in the enterprise's classrooms or elsewhere.
- 2. Workshop and in-service training centres were usually set up by enterprises which had their own workshops for practical instruction. Workers received 90%

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- of all the necessary knowledge in such centres and the remainder through on-thejob training. They received theoretical knowledge in classrooms and practical training in the workshop equipped with the necessary tools and machinery. Such centres were not numerous as workshop equipment was expensive and many enterprises could not afford it. Heavy industry, for example, could not afford to set up such centres for, say, the metallurgical and mining occupations.
- 3. Industrial-school training centres were centres which carried out practical training in school workshops when the latter were not used for industrial school instruction. Workers who had not acquired sufficient knowledge in workshops were able to complete training on their jobs in production.
- 4. Educational institutes. Such centres, set up in Slovenia in 1960, were founded only by the largest enterprises in the republic (the Jesenice and Ravne na Koroškem steelworks, the Iskra enterprise of Kranj). Such institutes included an industrial school and sometimes also a secondary vocational school, departments of community colleges and advanced schools, and worker training centres. They were the precursors of the school centres formed in the following decades.
- 5. *Inter-enterprise centres* were founded by enterprises engaging in the same or similar fields of production. In such centres, workers received only that part of occupational training which they could not receive in the enterprises in which they were employed. Some inter-enterprise centres had their own workshops for practical training. In the early sixties, federal inter-enterprise centres for instructor training were set up in Slovenia. They included building, agricultural, forestry, catering, mining, manufacturing and trading inter-enterprise centres (Bertoncelj 1962).

Development of educational centres in Slovenia

From 1960 onwards, there was an evident tendency to explore employees' needs and wishes for advanced training. To this end efforts were made to identify the state of personnel policy in individual enterprises (The Review of ... 1961). On the basis of such research, work organisations started to frame their educational policy more systematically and educational centres started to develop, their boom period being from 1960 to 1965. Educational activity was qualitatively enhanced by the introduction of professional procedures, methodical identification of the needs for training and new approaches to the planning, programming and evaluation of education. Practice itself provoked the development of industrial pedagogics, and the art and didactics of adult education. The organisation of education, however, was not without its ups and downs. Kejžar mentions periods of stagnation attributable to the old system's traditionalist views which adversely affected the responsiveness to more progressive solutions in education (Kejžar 1994, pp. 89–90). In 1961, a total of 120,244 employees, or 49% of all the employees in the manufacturing sector in Slovenia, were employed by 115 enterprises (Petek 1994, p. 67). The 1960 federal Resolution on Personnel Education encouraged and sustained the activity of in-service

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training centres while other centres were gradually reorganised into school centres. School centres were vocational schools with several degrees of vocational training. The pace of the foundation of school centres intensified after 1960. They were organised by enterprises, chambers of commerce and vocational schools through the integration of apprentice training shools, apprentice and industrial schools, practical instruction schools and secondary technical schools and centres. The integration process also encompassed workers' vocational education centres, industrial schools and even the departments of higher schools (Theses on school centres ... 1963). School centres were mainly founded in larger industrial enterprises (The Ravne and Jesenice steelworks, the Iskra enterprise of Kranj).

However, the Resolution (1960) soon proved to be inadequate. The need was felt to expand and improve didactics by new methods of work and introduce a new method of selecting the contents of programmes of instruction. Seminars, practical training, and professional literature, all allowed educationists, instructors and teachers to become acquainted with new didactic principles and their application, including the methods and techniques. In this field Ivan Bertoncelj made an invaluable contribution through his seminars, work and his conception of education. He developed the concept of education in enterprises. Convention had it that the development of systematic education in an enterprise was first entrusted to only one person, who was responsible for all the tasks of the centre. In larger enterprises, however, such convention soon proved to be unviable. Along with the need for new jobs, there arose the need for the new organisation of educational activity (Petek 1994, pp. 69–71).

The development of education in enterprises which had their own centres or educational services was supervised and assisted by external institutions responsible for vocational education (the Vocational Education Board, the Republic Secretariat for Education, the Vocational Education Institute). In practice, however, the centres were not receiving adequate direct assistance from institutes for educational and pedagogic services because of the shortage of qualified staff in those services. As a result, the number of centres, excluding 44 school centres (Annual Report... 1963), dropped to 88 in 1962, and to 72 in 1963. In 1964, the first school for vocational education teachers was founded (ib.). Thus, during the period between 1960 and 1965, the foundations were laid for a new vocational education based on the process of production. However, the system did not develop as desired because of new circumstances which appeared at the end of 1965 and prevented its successful development. The Vocational Education Institute of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was abolished as the principal agent of the project, and its integration with the Education Advancement Institute of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was thereby prevented. This coincided with the beginning of the 1965 economic reform (Kejžar 1994, p. 91), bringing the development of educational centres and services in enterprises to a standstill. With the launch of the reform and the abolition of the Institute,

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the socio-political, professional and financial support to the centres was drastically reduced. An unfavourable material position after the economic reform and an insufficiently developed awareness of decisive factors hampered the development of vocational education (Kejžar 1994, p. 92). Enterprises looked for a solution in the expansion of production and the raising of productivity. Some saw education as a burden and abolished their training centres, while others saw it as a long-term investment and strengthened their centres further (Kejžar 1970).

In 1969, an adult education sector was founded within the Education Institute of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The sector continued the work of the Institute's former service for educational centres and took charge of education in enterprises. Kejžar notes that, from 1965 to 1973, "not much" was done in the field of vocational education although some social documents that influenced education to a certain extent were passed during that period (e.g. the 1971 law on adult education centres, training centres and other organisations specified that each centre must have its annual programme, a director, heads of individual programmes, instructors, lecturers, appropriate premises with the necessary equipment and teaching aids, secured financial resources; the verification of programmes within the centres was thereby also encouraged). Kejžar even speaks of a certain lull in the field of vocational education. The period until 1968 was generally characterised by stagnation resulting from the 1965 reform, which drastically cut employment. The period after 1968 was characterised by the uninterrupted growth of educational activity in the centres which remained active. These centres focused on the training of employees (Kejžar 1994, p. 107), thus accommodating the educational activity to the actual needs of enterprises.

Major new changes started with the 1974 reform of education, the result of which was that the education of employees and vocational training began to coalesce into one system. At that time, educational centres and services as the institutional forms of education were included on an equal footing in the educational system. The enterprise became only one of the factors of the system, the agent responsible for the implementation of only a part of the system of vocational education. This was the time when the concept of occupationally oriented education started to be developed. Underlying the concept of occupationally oriented education was the linking of education with "associated labour", i.e. education for the needs of "associated labour" (Milharčič and Šušteršič 1986). The ultimate goal of the reform was to raise the general level of education and the level of education of workers, to improve the quality of education and increase the number of highly educated persons. Schools were to keep abreast of technological development, and emphasis was increasingly placed on the work-and-study scheme which, it was envisaged, would develop into a lifelong education system (Milharčič and Šušteršič 1986). Enterprises were late in joining debates on occupationally oriented education (more actively in 1979) and were often criticised for that. Changes in enterprise-based education were adopted

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along with the adoption in 1980 of the law on occupationally oriented education. Under the law, educational centres operating as organisational units of enterprises retained a high degree of legitimacy as educational institutions and many of them were attested as such. They represented a significant breakthrough in the field of verification of programmes and institutions. The planning of the process of education in educational centres improved. The centres linked up with other adult education organisations. The material basis for adult education improved, thus enabling the raising of supplementary pedagogical training for practical-work instructors and education organisers to a higher level and the enhancing of the level of vocational competence of technical staff in general.

With the adoption of the 1974 Constitution of the SFRY, a new form of organisation for the business function of enterprises was introduced. Enterprises were restructured and became "organisations of associated labour". The restructuring had an impact on the organisation of educational and personnel functions. It led to the reorganisation of certain educational centres, which eventually became basic organisations of associated labour. In 1977, a survey was conducted in work organisations with the aim of establishing the state of educational centres and services in enterprises, their organisation, the size of their personnel and their programmes and forms of training, as well as the possibility of introducing vocationally oriented education in those centres. The survey encompassed 372 enterprises with a total of 385,000 employees. Twenty percent (77 enterprises) of all the enterprises surveyed were found to fulfil the organisational requirements for education. The enterprises surveyed included 29 educational centres, 6 enterprises with departments for education, 10 enterprises with an educational service, and 32 enterprises with an office in charge of education (Grebenc, Huzjan... 1978). The survey showed that, in spite of the changes in the organisational structure of educational centres, the focus of educational function still remained within the organisation of the enterprise. The differences that existed between the centres resulted from the different activities pursued by their respective enterprises. Mrmak distinguishes between small educational centres, which he calls micro-centres, and large and well-developed centres, which he calls macro-centres. They differed in size, content and quality (Mrmak 1977/78). The structural transformation of the centres started after 1975. The cause of the transformation was traceable to new socio-economic relations, the "self-managing constituting of associated labour" and the introduction in 1980 of the system of occupationally oriented education. From the standpoint of the enterprise, the incorporation of education in enterprises into the system of occupationally oriented education meant the adoption of a new policy and new organisation of the educational function in the organisational structure of the enterprise.

In 1981, research was undertaken in order to establish the Organisational Preparedness of Organisations of Associated Labour for the introduction of occupational-

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ly oriented education (1981). The research covered a random sample of 70 out of a total of 648 enterprises in the manufacturing sector of the economy. The analysis of the institutional forms of education revealed that organised education in the form of educational and personnel services as additional activities within enterprises prevailed over organised education in the form of training centres as independent units within enterprises. One third of the analysed enterprises were found to fulfil conditions for the introduction of occupationally oriented education and the remaining two thirds proved to be unprepared for the adoption of new organisational changes in their educational function. The fact that the organisation of the educational function was lagging behind the overall organisation of enterprises was an indication of the organisational rigidity of enterprises and their inadequate responsiveness to and flexibility for the introduction of organisational changes. Such findings held poor prospects for the introduction of the new system of education. Why? Kejžar writes that enterprises neither supplemented the contents nor enlarged the volume of the educational tasks entrusted to them within the framework of occupationally oriented education. The cause was traceable to the aforesaid rigidity of enterprises and the restrictions the economic reforms placed on material and other resources for non-productive activities. Restrictions were imposed on both the financial resources and employment in non-productive sectors, including education. As a result, some educational services were abolished. Another weakness was attributable to poor links between education and the research and development function, which was relied upon for new knowledge. The educational complex was not perceptive enough of the current and future need for education, nor even of the need to select new educational contents. What educational organisations missed was a dynamic communication into and out of the enterprise. Enterprises did not follow world scientific and technological developments actively enough, nor did they give proper care to the professional development of those of their members who were opening up prospects for the future of enterprises. Also problematic from the standpoint of development was the management in certain organisations, who failed to give proper consideration and support to education in their enterprises (Kejžar 1994a, pp. 121–126).

As can be seen from the above, organised vocational education in enterprises formed part of the overall system of education and was very important for the development of the economy. Well-organised educational centres successfully cooperated with those vocational schools and educational institutions which, in the course of their development, had realised that education was a sound investment. Such centres survived, while some other centres discontinued activity due to various reforms (economic, educational...) and the lack of adequate personnel. The development of vocational education after 1975 was rather poorly socially oriented and organised, as can be inferred from the educational centres' evident aspiration for self-organisation, mutual assistance and cooperation. During the eighties, several institutions engaged in the development of adult education at the national and local levels (so-

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cio-political organisations, trade unions, special educational groups, the Chamber of the Economy, municipal educational services, institutes...). In the field of adult education in the economy, efforts were more oriented towards improving the regulations on education, traineeship, the provision of scholarships, job safety... (Kopač 1994, p. 148). Institutions engaging in the development of the adult education system included the Adult Education Society of Slovenia, The Association of Adult Education Centres and the Union of Educational Centres and Services of Slovenia.

In 1982, the Union of Educational Centres was reorganised, and its name was changed to the Community of Educational Centres of Slovenia (SIC) (Kopač 1994). The basis for the activity of the Community was provided by the law on occupationally oriented education, which granted educational centres and services and other sectors engaging in education the possibility to integrate. Ten years later, the Community had 134 members. The task of the Community of Educational Centres of Slovenia was to secure mutual assistance in the development of educational function, to secure conditions for the development of education, to develop the information system and organise meetings, seminars and excursions. Other assignments of the Community included the provision of professional publications, video materials and films for the needs of vocational education activity, care for on-the-job and internship training and development of the adult education system. The activity of the Community contributed to the development of adult education, which eventually became included on an equal footing in the integrated system of education in Slovenia (Kopač 1994, pp. 148–149).

Determination of the need for knowledge and trends in educational centres

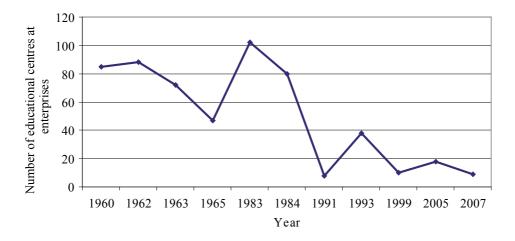
Over the past few years, changes in the structure of the economy and technical and technological progress have exerted a more intense influence on the mode of production. Changes in employment and employee qualification structure testify to the emergence of new social relations. New modes of production and new products generate new occupations and new jobs. Stronger emphasis on productivity, efficiency and quality is placing ever greater demands on the employee's knowledge, qualification and ingenuity. The evident need for continuing vocational education and advanced training calls for the constant adaptation of the educational system.

The education system must also concern itself with the education of those people in enterprises who before 1991 were pushed to the background, i.e. people capable of opening prospects for the future of an enterprise or organisation. The task of these people is to inform enterprises about innovations and new spheres of knowledge. For this to be achieved it is imperative to change the present organisation of the R&D and educational functions in enterprises in Slovenia. The links between education on the one hand and technology and development on the other have so

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far been rather weak (Kejžar 1994b). New social relations are forcing educational policy to go in new directions. These directions require concrete educational plans and actions which will induce education to take a fresh approach to the enterprise's preparedness for action while using different methods of work (group activity, participation in the work of commissions, assumption of responsibility in project tasks, representation of the enterprise in other geographic environments, assistance in reorganisations etc.). In this way new concepts of the organisation of educational activity will be built upon such new components as will enhance the ability of educational organisations to change.

The organisation of educational function in enterprises is affected by a range of different factors that must be taken into consideration when planning and framing educational activity. The essential point is that educational activity in enterprises is oriented outwards, towards development and the pursuit of new knowledge, and as such is capacitated for the quick transfer of knowledge to the enterprise. Therefore, it is of particular importance today that the educational and R&D activities in enterprises should mutually connect with and assist each other. Educational centres in Slovenia have undergone changes. Unfortunately, there are no detailed data about the number of the centres for the entire period, for statistical records, which started to be kept during the seventies, covered only the number of courses, seminars and participants in enterprises and other organisations and communities. In spite of this, the statistics of the Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office (Workers'... 1960–1965 and Statistical... 1965–1983/84) and data from the 1992/93 research (Klemenčič 1995) show that the number of educational centres at enterprises and organisations during the period observed had varied.



Graph: Number of educational centres at enterprises

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It can be seen from the graph that the number of educational centres at enterprises was at its highest during the sixties. In 1960, there were 85 educational centres; in 1962, there were 88; and, in 1963, there were 72. After 1963, the number of centres started to decrease, falling to 47 in 1965. After 1968, the centres started to develop again and, in 1983, amounted to 102, the highest recorded level. Subsequently their number started to decrease again, dropping to 80 in 1984 and to a mere 8 in 1991. After 1991, the centres started to develop again and, in 1993, amounted to 38. After that they started to decrease again, dropping to 10 in 1999(Brenk 2000, p. 9). After 2000, the centres started to develop again. In 2005, there were 18 educational centres (Brenk 2006, p. 11), whereas in 2007 there were only 9 (Brenk 2007, p. 13).

Today there are still fewer centres that have been preserved in their original institutional form. According to data by the Chamber of the Economy of Slovenia, educational centres exist today only at major enterprises (Revoz, Krka, Lek, Mercator, Telekom, Mobitel, NLB, ELES...). In the majority of other enterprises, there are only organised personnel services in charge of the educational structure and education in enterprises. Kejžar (1994b) notes that new circumstances today demand from personnel services a higher level of competence in the selection and preparation of the appropriate personnel. To achieve this, it is necessary to raise the level of vocational competence of all employees.

Some enterprises have no adequate mechanism for personnel assessment and send their employees to external counselling institutions for appraisal. Since 1991, several private institutions engaging in personnel counselling have been founded in Slovenia. Under the new Constitution, the majority of decisions on the final selection of personnel are taken by the management of enterprises, with the proviso that such enterprises have appropriately qualified personnel services. Educational centres have only been preserved in the largest enterprises in Slovenia, whereas in smaller-sized enterprises there are no educational centres in the form in which they existed at the beginning of their development. The Community of Educational Centres of Slovenia no longer exists in its original form (Kopač 1994a). Successfully incorporated into the system of vocational education, the former Community continues to cooperate with direct providers of education in the economy and carries on its activity as the community of institutes named "The Ivan Bertoncelj Vocational Education Centre". The Centre continues Bertoncelj's work. It attends to in-service training as one of the elements of the system of vocational education and develops and attends to the development of vocational education and its information system. If circumstances so require, it organises training in skills in short supply in Slovenia and participates in professional guidance and the framing of the system of evaluation of knowledge and qualification. The Centre has a number of external associates. It attends to adult education, and especially to the education of employed adults which personnel vocational education centres within individual faculties of the two Slovenian universities also engage in

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(the Vocational Education and Counselling Centre of the Faculty of Economics in Ljubljana, the Functional Education and Counselling Centre of the Faculty of Organisation Sciences of Kranj). Some other faculties which have no separate educational centres also engage in vocational training.

Concluding observations

The present state of the organisation of education in enterprises indicates that educational centres as institutions operating within enterprises are dying out. As a result, education in enterprises is in decline. Some of the large enterprises have collapsed or are splitting into smaller ones, causing macro and micro-educational centres to either change or disappear. Enterprises in which education has survived have personnel or educational services specially organised for that purpose.

The regression of education in enterprises is no doubt influenced today by the mounting pressure of industrial and economic restructuring with the frugality measures that accompany it. The same occurs in the non-manufacturing sector in which a decline in education in enterprises causes educational centres to regress. Although highly specific jobs in present-day enterprises require the skills and knowledge which a particular employee may not have had the opportunity to master in a regular vocational school or elsewhere, the importance of the supplementary education and training in enterprises is declining for want of financial resources. As a result, there arises the question of verification of specific knowledge and practical arts of both the prospective employees and those already working in the enterprise. Does this mean perhaps that former training centres in enterprises were offering adequate specific theoretical and practical knowledge and verifying it adequately? Do the numerous private educational institutions competing in the education market today offer theoretical and practical technical knowledge, and verify that knowledge to the extent and quality specifically required by particular enterprises?

Time and practice will tell if the vocational and specific practical training for individual jobs in enterprises were adequate. It is a fact that work organisations increasingly need specific knowledge and skills, better qualified and better educated people. The activity of numerous professional societies and associations engaging in the development of vocational education in Slovenia have been instrumental in efforts to satisfy this need. Many private educational institutions, centres, schools and counselling organisations have been founded over the past years. They offer a wide range of different forms of education designed for the broadening of general and vocational knowledge. This indicates that, in the field of vocational education, our society as a whole has been commercially oriented and that we have a genuine vocational education marketing in which different institutions are involved. It remains to be seen which of them really offer good-quality knowledge, the very knowledge nee-

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ded by, say, a specific enterprise for a specific job. Today, work requires employees to have specialist knowledge and to constantly upgrade it. Such knowledge is accorded increasing importance and can only be mastered in the enterprise itself through direct inclusion in the process of work. The right approach to this problem can be found in the plans of those educational centres and services in enterprises that give due care to education, train their personnel to constantly broaden knowledge and bring into their enterprises novel ideas enabling them to enhance productivity and business efficiency by making good use of the acquired knowledge and innovations and by developing the abilities of the employees. Increased productivity, better-quality products and competitive prices alone can enable Slovenian enterprises to secure a better position in the market. These objectives can be achieved by introducing new technologies and new technological equipment, through knowledge acquired from professional literature and the introduction of new development programmes that would also provide for concurrent verification of work.

The aim of education in organizations is to improve the skills and abilities of employees, so that they become more effective in their performance. In order that educational measures contribute to extending knowledge, an organization must first identify educational needs. Nowadays organizations are becoming more aware that their employee will become more successful at work only once his needs are satisfied. The aim of education in organization is human resource development – HRM.

Abstract

The development of educational centres in Slovenia started in the 1960s, when the first educational centres were formed at various organisations. The lack of professional personnel and the need for advanced professional training of the employees led to the promotion of the development of educational centres by the legislation. Several types of educational centres were formed. The centres produced different profiles of employees at their workplaces and, on the basis of this, plans for personnel education. The centres took care of the introduction of the novice to the organisation and their work, of the professional practice, and of the general and professional education of the employees. The concept of training development in companies was first established by Ivan Bertoncelj. In the 1980s, the number of educational centres reached its peak. Later, their number diminished. The reasons for this lay in the reorganisation of the educational centres. Also the demands of the economic reform for the decrease of material and other resources led to the gradual phasing out of the centres. At the beginning of the 1990s, we can trace new needs in the field of adult education in companies. The reasons for this are the change in economic structure, new policy of the Republic of Slovenia, and new technological and technical progress. Educational centres can be found in bigger companies only. Educational activity shifted towards the search for new knowledge, company development and human resources development.

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ANDREJA HOČEVAR

Children whose native language is not Slovene

– a challenge for school policy and the teaching

profession

Introduction

In Slovenia care for the children of immigrants, and in fact for all children whose native language is not Slovene, is defined in the Slovene constitution, in school legislation and in certain international acts. The right to education for all school-aged children is guaranteed by the 10th article of the Primary School Act. This paragraph states the following: "Children who are foreign citizens and individuals without citizenship, and are living in the Republic of Slovenia, have the right to compulsory primary school level education just as citizens of the Republic of Slovenia". The law states that for these children "(...) instruction in the native language and culture must be organised in accordance with international agreements." (Primary School Act 1996, p. 111).

In accordance with European Union directives and the recommendations of the Council of Europe and other international organisations, and taking into account one of the basic human rights (the right to native language instruction), the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia enables the implementation of supplementary instruction in the native language and culture for migrant pupils and members of contemporary national communities in Slovenia. Thus, in the 2005/06

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school year, pupils were able to attend supplementary instruction in Albanian, Croatian, Macedonian and Serbian. In the same school year, a supplementary class in the German language was also organised for the first time for migrants from Germany. This class is voluntary and is held once a week during the pupils' free time (Mednarodno sodelovanje 2008).

Only in 2007 did an amendment to the Primary School Act introduce a new provision stating that foreign citizens and individuals living in the Republic of Slovenia without Slovene citizenship "(...) who need assistance with learning Slovene (...) on inclusion in primary school classes must have access to organised Slovene language instruction." (The Act on Amendments and Supplements to the Primary School Act 2007). This supplement enables schools to implement Slovene language lessons for pupils originating from foreign language environments who enrol in the educational system in Slovenia and need assistance in learning the Slovene language.

It is, to put it mildly, strange that a provision concerning the teaching of the Slovene language prior to entering school for pupils whose native language is not Slovene was accepted only 11 years after the acceptance of the Primary School Act (1996). Why? On the one hand, after the second world war, large numbers of immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics came to Slovenia. On the other hand, Slovenia faced the question of education of the people who had status of temporary refugees or, later, people with temporary sanctuary in the Republic of Slovenia¹, with the beginning of the war in Croatia. Children who, most often with one of their parents and due to the war in their home, took refugee in Slovenia, were integrated into the Slovene school system. When returning home, data show that they integrated without any problems into their home school environment. The population which attended our schools at the time was not systematically monitored, therefore today

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¹ In the following text we shall, for simplicity's sake, use the term "refugees", which has (incorrectly) become usual in everyday communication. The section of the population we are talking about here did not actually have the status of refugee according to the convention - they had so-called "temporary status", which was defined as "temporary refugee" and later on as "a person with temporary sanctuary". According to the Convention on the Status of Refugees from the year 1951 a refugee is an individual who... "due to a founded fear of persecution because of her/his race, religion, nationality, affiliation to a certain social group or because of her/his political opinion - is living outside her/his country and cannot or due to the above mentioned fear does not want to rely on help in her/his country...". According to this convention (c.f. Protection of Refugees: Questions and Answers. UNHCR) refugees, besides the right to safe sanctuary, should have at least the same rights and basic help as any foreigner who is a legal resident of a certain country, including some fundamental rights of every individual (fundamental citizenship rights, economic and social rights, health insurance, right to work, right to education...). When countries face a strong stream of refugees (as was the case during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina) searching for an ideal solution of their settlement (voluntary return to the home country, settling in the host country or migration to third country) is very difficult. A large stream of refugees usually causes serious troubles, therefore the host countries accept only the seekers of sanctuary, without binding themselves to ensure permanent settlement of these people inside their frontiers. Such a solution is based on the opinions and decisions of the Executive Council of the UNHCR that were passed at the 32nd meeting of the Executive Council in Geneva, 21-24 April 1981 (c.f. the Protection of the Sanctuary Seekers, when they arrive in great numbers - the Opinions of the Executive Council 1993, pages 15-16).

we know only a little about this situation. With the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, though, the situation was much different: like other European countries, Slovenia faced a stream of refugees as well as a large number of school-aged children and youths. In all of the cases referred to, the native language of the children concerned was not Slovene. The children were thus included in a school system that did not implement a programme in their native language.

School policy as well as the pedagogical profession did not, however, form essential expert solutions or guidelines for the education of those people whose mother tongue is not Slovene. It would appear that the pedagogical profession in Slovenia was not prepared professionally for the involvement of children whose mother tongue is not Slovene inside our school field. Only a handful of experts have worked on the education of this population, while pedagogical workers, within their university study as well as later, were not – and are still not – provided with systematic education which would qualify them for work with children whose mother tongue is not Slovene.

In this paper we shall not try to answer the question why this happened. Instead, we will only present the process of primary school education of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina. With this presentation we seek to point out that in the Slovene sphere, despite the possibilities that have presented themselves to us, we have learned very little about the education of children whose native language is not Slovene. We argue that experience with the primary school education of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina confirms our thesis.

Yes, to educate, but how? - Segregated education

The recommendations of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on the field of the schooling of refugee children state that all refugee children should attend a primary school of appropriate quality, which respects and considers their ethnic and cultural identity and is oriented towards the understanding of their home country. If and when this is possible and reasonable, the children shall be integrated into the regular school system of the host country². If this possibility does not exist, it is necessary to develop special forms of education and special programmes for the refugee children (Recommendations for the Treatment of Refugee Children, p. 16). The international documents quoted in the following text (cf. Recommendation for the Treatment of Refugee Children – UNHCR) are very clear as far as segregated forms of education of the refugee population are concerned. The recommendations are based on experiences in teaching refugee children that have been examined by the profession. They accept and understand segregated forms of

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² A. Kozłowska (1998), Transformation Requirements for the Polish Teachers In-Training System in the Context of European Integration, [in:] Pripravujeme ucitele pro 21. stoleti a vstup do Europy?, Olomouc.

education as temporary. Segregation in this case is not seen beforehand as wrong or negative, as is often the case in the pedagogical profession. It has a positive connotation – it means adjusting the child affected by the experience of war to her/his new environment and learning a new language.

When faced with the arrival of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia paid attention to the recommendations of the international organisations dealing with the education of the refugees. Before the beginning of the 1992/93 school year there were only estimations of 10,000 school-aged refugee children from Bosnia and Herzegovina available, and Slovenia therefore shaped a special educational programme for these children. Due to the lack of space the refugee children simply could not be integrated into Slovene schools. Even before the beginning of the school year an agreement on the special shape of the primary school level education of the refugees was signed at governmental level. The refugee children attended this form of education until the end of the 1994/95 school year. The classes were organised in their mother tongue, teachers in these "schools" were mainly citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the classes were given according to the partly reduced Bosnian-Herzegovinian school curriculum, with the relicts of ideology removed. As soon as the second year of the implementation the Slovene language was included in the school curriculum. This form of education was acceptable also for the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina – it was expected that the war should not last long and the children should maintain their mother tongue as well as their culture and national identity, and therefore also continuation in education (Hočevar 1993, p. 126–127).

The above solution met with some negative responses from within non-governmental organisations, which reproached the government for segregating children on purpose, while professionals did not respond publicly at all. The organisation of a special form of primary school education for refugee children corresponded to the recommendations of UNESCO, which state that classes in the first year of life in an environment where a different language is spoken should be given in the mother tongue, because the child does not gain knowledge if this is not the case. Besides this, the UNHCR stresses that the decision about the language of schooling, especially in primary school, has to be well planned. Considering the fact that children learn best and most quickly when the classes are given in their mother tongue, it is strongly recommended to give classes in this language, especially in the first years. When there is a great possibility that the refugees shall remain in the new environment and integrate into it, the learning of the second language is legitimate and needed. The second language can be introduced step by step, and slowly it may become the language in which classes are taught. But also in these cases there remains a need to stimulate and support different forms of education in the mother tongue of the refugees (Recommendations for the Treatment of Refugee Children – UNHCR 1992, p. 16–17). Today, we can state with certainty that the above form of education has reached one

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of its goals: it structured the life of the refugee children in Slovenia in such a way that the beginnings of their life in a foreign environment as far as possible avoided trauma³. Attending the school normalised everyday life for the refugee population, and, as A. Mikuš Kos states, disintegration of the institutional structures in which the people are integrated at home – family, school, work organisation – is typical. The social world in which the individual used to live falls apart, and at the same time his or her inner world disintegrates: the conception about fellow people, feeling of safety, understanding of the social happenings (Mikuš Kos 1998, p. 39). Refugee schools performed their most important task well – normalisation of everyday life. The later integration of the refugee children into the Slovene school system showed that the refugee schools were relatively successful also on the educational level.

Integration of the refugees into the slovene school system

After three years of the activity of primary schools with a Bosnian-Herzegovinian curriculum⁴ it became clear that the methods of refugee education had to be changed. A lot of children and teachers moved with their families to "third" countries which offered better living conditions to the adults and especially the right to work, which in Slovenia was not, and still is not the case. After the signing of the Dayton Agreement (November 1995) the children began to return to their homeland. The children that remained in Slovenia are children whose parents have decided not to return to Bosnia and Herzegovina at all⁵.

According to official data, there were 31,118 people with the status of temporary refugee in the year 1993 – 18% of them (5,459) were school-aged children. Before the beginning of the 1995/96 school year, however, only 2,848 school-aged children remained; their population was cut into half.

Besides the diminishing number of school-aged children as well as schools and teachers, the teaching and working conditions in the refugee schools were not the best

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³ The children who were attending classes in specially organised units were connected with Slovene children of the same age. The schools often organised common activities and were connected. Bosnian children therefore met Slovene children of the same age, and they "got used to each other". We should keep in mind that Slovene culture differs much from that of Bosnia, therefore the process of accustoming to each other was important in both directions. But due to the traumatic experiences of the Bosnian population their accustoming was more difficult.

⁴ In the 1992/93 school year more than 50% school-aged children lived in centres for temporary refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina – this was the case in 45 Slovene municipalities. 55 primary schools for temporary refugees were established in these municipalities. In the 1994/95 school year there were 44 primary schools for temporary refugees in 23 Slovene municipalities.

⁵ In July 2002 the Act Amending the Temporary Asylum Act was adopted in the Republic of Slovenia (Official Journal, no. 67, 20th of July 2002). It guarantees to this population the right and duty to apply for the status of a foreigner who has the right to permanently live in the Republic of Slovenia. Having acquired this status, the children refugees will not be treated as individuals with permanent sanctuary in Slovenia but as children – foreign citizens. The whole population therefore obtains the possibility of acquiring Slovene citizenship. With the 2002/03 school year the story of education of the refugees ends formally.

(there were no specialised classrooms or gymnasiums). The Ministry of Education, Science and Sport therefore accepted the conclusion that refugee children should be integrated in Slovene schools in the 1995/96 school year. The decision of the Ministry was mostly accepted with approval, although in some of the schools there was a dislike towards the integration of the refugee children among the teachers – their most frequent arguments were that the refugee children would be confused, that they would have big learning problems, that the teachers would be overburdened, and similar (Hočevar and Urank 1998, p. 27). On the inclusion of 'different children' some teachers, therefore, responded with unease. In this regard, it is necessary to emphasise that research undertaken in the Slovene sphere some years later also showed that teachers do not recognise themselves as an important factor in the social inclusion of the majority of different children, nor do they seek constructive solutions that would enable them to surmount the objective obstacles (Peček Čuk and Lesar 2005). These "fears" were, as we shall show in the following text, without foundation.

The Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, in co-operation with the UNHCR as well as the Youth Office, edited a publication entitled "Refugee Children in Slovene Schools" when the refugee children were integrated in Slovene schools. All Slovene schools received this publication. Its main goal was to acquaint pedagogical workers with basic information about the refugee population and especially to diminish the fears of the teachers about the integration of the refugee children in their classes. At the same time the Ministry organised special meetings with pedagogical workers – in the framework of these the teachers, in co-operation with experts⁶, discussed various themes linked with the characteristics of the refugee population and the models of their monitoring in the classroom: the motivation of this population for education, the strategy of conflict-solving, assessment and evaluation, bridging lessons, fulfilling standards for them and assessment criteria, social integration and particularities of teaching the Slovene and English languages (Hočevar and Urank 1998, p. 27).

The school attainments of the refugee children – a success story

In the following text some information will be presented that, we can argue, shows that the incorporation of the refugee children in the Slovene school system is actually a success story. It is a picture of the success of the children, their teachers and the school advisory services.

The proportion of children from Bosnia and Herzegovina who successfully finish each school year rose consistently in the first years of incorporation, and in the last

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⁶ The experts participating in these meetings with teachers were from the Counselling Centre for Children, Youth and Parents, Ljubljana as well as from the Centre for Psychological and Social Services for Refugees, which works in the framework of the non-governmental organisation Slovene Foundation. There were also representatives from the Institute for Education of the Republic of Slovenia.

two years it has been stable at the same level. As for the particularities of their past schooling and unusual living conditions in Slovenia, we would argue that we could expect less success in learning and in transition to a higher grade. Data show that 87% of children in the first year of schooling (1995/96) in Slovene schools were successful. In the next school years their success in learning was even greater (96% were successful in the 2001/02 school year). The educational attainments of the refugee children are the same as those of Slovene children. Refugee children were involved, as early as the first year of schooling in Slovene schools, in the external examination process. They were able to go on with their schooling at secondary school level under the same circumstances as Slovene citizens.

These results exceeded all expectations, and proved that fears about the children's integration into the Slovene school system were without foundation. It would appear that their success in the first year of the planned integration of these children into Slovene schools (1994/95) shows that schooling in specially organised primary schools for temporary refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina had given them enough knowledge to proceed with their schooling in Slovene schools. In this regard, for these children the transition to another school system was eased above all by two hours of learning Slovene per week, even though they would actually need more time than this for learning the language (as will be demonstrate in the continuation). Nonetheless, we can argue that a basic prior knowledge of the language enabled the children to engage more easily with the demands of schooling in a language that was foreign to them.

The educational attainments of the refugee children are high also because of the additional learning support in which they were involved besides the bridging lessons they attended. Learning support was organised in schools, especially for Slovene and foreign languages and for mathematics. The additional learning support was carried out by Slovene teachers as well as by Bosnian ones – who offered their help mainly in refugee centres.

The attainments of the primary school education of the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina are also shown clearly by an analysis which was performed after the first year of the integration of the refugee children in Slovene primary schools. There were 220 primary schools (84% of primary schools in which refugee children were integrated) involved in this analysis. These were those in which the children that had come from Bosnia and Herzegovina because of war were integrated in the 1995/96 school year.

In the following text we present the questionnaire results which, we would argue, support the above thesis. The most frequent problems faced by the teachers in schools in the first year of schooling of the refugee population are given in the table below.

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Table 1: Major problems when integrating children from Bosnia and Herzegovina, school year 1995/96

Problems	Share of schools
Problems with understanding the Slovene language are an obstacle for the whole work at school	54%
Problems with foreign language	46%
Weaker knowledge basis in mathematics	33%
Problems with adjusting to the new environment	18%
Not doing homework	17%
Problems with adjusting to order and discipline	8%
Intolerance of schoolmates	7%
Cutting classes	4%

Source: Hočevar A., Urank M. (1998), *Izobraževanje beguncev iz Bosne in Hercegovine*, [v.] *Republiki Sloveniji*, [v.] Pagon M., Mikuš Kos A., *Begunci v Sloveniji – pregled dosedanjih aktivnosti*, Police – Security Professional College, Ljubljana, p. 29.

The problems presented in the table above, regarding the share of schools which state the individual problem, show that the children, despite their weak knowledge of the Slovene language, foreign languages and mathematics, integrated in the new school environment without any particular problems. Schools do not "complain" about any more serious educational problems or behavioural problems of the refugees. The problems with learning which could also cause more serious behavioural problems were successfully overcome by bridging individual and group learning work and remedial classes.

We would argue that this thesis about the success of integration of refugee children from Bosnia and Herzegovina into the Slovene primary school system is confirmed by the learning success of the refugee children as well as their transition to a higher grade, and by the fact that the children are successful in attaining the same standards of knowledge as their Slovene school fellows. A further confirmation of this thesis is the fact that schools face almost no educational problems among this element of the population, which could be a consequence of the weaker learning levels of the children.

The findings of the schools highlight just how important additional instruction in the language of the new environment is for children who come from a different language environment. The period when a child has still not mastered the language in which the classes are given is known by some experts as "the risk period". This is a very sensitive period of schooling when the child is still on her/his way to fluent language mastery and is at the same time fulfilling the demands of school, which is difficult for the child due to her/his problems with the language in which the classes are given. Sometimes children face a big "hole" between their abilities and the de-

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mands of the school, which can lead to a diminishing motivation for school, failure at school, rejection of classes etc. (Knaflič 1995, p. 5).

As L. Knaflič states, various experts from around the world have tried to estimate what time period the immigrant children need, when they are not learning in their mother tongue, to master the language in which the classes are given to a level at which they can use all their learning abilities and also show their knowledge. The research she presents (Cummins 1984) shows that, when the child is using the second language every day, three to five years are necessary to reach the level of knowledge which enables her/him to work in the class without any problems. If the children use the second language, the language of the host country only at school, then they need five to seven years to reach the same level (ibid).

It would appear that the children from Bosnia and Herzegovina have successfully negotiated the "risk period", as there were practically no troubles when they were integrated in the Slovene school system. Considering the number of years of their stay in Slovenia and schooling in our country we can estimate that the majority of children have mastered Slovene to the level that they can use all their abilities and also show their knowledge.

Conclusion

From the above, however, two questions arise: in view of the fact that only in 2007 did Slovenia enact in law the article of the Primary School Act that enables pupils to be included in Slovene language classes organised by the school on entering primary school, how in previous years did these children survive this "risk period"? What kind of pressures did they have to deal with and how did they succeed in including themselves in a system of education conducted in a language that was foreign to them? We are, unfortunately, unable to provide answers to these questions, as no research has yet been undertaken in the Slovene sphere that would attempt to do so.

We would argue that both the profession and school policy must take into account the facts that the second language can be introduced step by step and slowly may become the language in which classes are taught, and that there is a need to stimulate and support different forms of education in the mother tongue because children learn best and most quickly when the classes are given in their mother tongue. It is strongly recommended to give classes in this language, especially in the first years? In Slovenia, however, solutions that would enable children whose native language is not Slovene to gradually make the transition from instruction in their native lan-

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⁷ A. Kozłowska (2003), *Multiculturalism – chances, threats, educational platforms*, [in:] A. Kozłowska (ed.), *Multicultural Education in the Unifying Europe*, Częstochowa.

guage to instruction in the Slovene language are not determined by law, or are not facilitated by the existing legislation. Thus these pupils do not have the opportunity to be more easily included in the second culture, and in classes in a language that is foreign to them, through gradual adjustment to lessons in the Slovene language. We are aware that such a possibility would represent a large financial burden for the state. We are also aware of the fact that the possibility of implementing native language instruction for all children whose native language is not Slovene is illusionary. Nonetheless, it is certain that pedagogical paths exist that would enable these children easier inclusion "in the Slovene language", such as, at least on arrival in the foreign language school environment, being able to at first follow instruction with the aid of a teacher-assistant familiar with the child's native language. For the time being, such a possibility is not envisioned by Slovene legislation. In the case of the education of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have demonstrated that it is precisely the path of gradual transition from instruction in the native language to instruction in the foreign language that eases the children's inclusion in instruction in a language that is not their native language. It is a pity that this experience in the Slovene sphere has not (yet) taught us which potential paths it is possible to construct regarding the education of this population.

It is also important to develop knowledge of the native language of the children⁸. In this context the Swedish solution is of interest. Pupils who speak another native language at home and not Swedish must be guaranteed the option of studying the subject "native language", thus enabling them to develop their own language, to build upon it and to become bilingual, as well as becoming familiar with their original cultural heritage. They can select their native language either as an alternative to another foreign language (after English, which is the first obligatory foreign language), as part of the individual elective studies of the pupil, or outside school time. Learning the native language outside school time and outside the regular programme of the primary school is limited to a period of seven years. This limitation does not apply to children who belong to a national minority, thus it applies primarily to children of immigrants (Lukšič Hacin 2005). This solution is all the more interesting because it is based on the importance of the child's familiarity and mastery of the languages of both cultures, both environments: the first (native) and the second (foreign) language⁹. It is precisely this that is one of the important factors that influences the better or worse integration of the children of immigrants into Slovene culture and into the primary culture of the parents (Medveš 2006).

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^{*} A. Kozłowska (2001), Poczucie tożsamości regionalnej i narodowej w kontekście integracji europejskiej, [in:] D. Czakon, J. Kosmala, M. Szczepański (eds.) Polska szkoła: edukacja a rozwój lokalny i regionalny, Częstochowa–Katowice.

⁹ Kozłowska A. (2007), *Tożsamość i sprzeczność – dwie drogi edukacji*, [in:] Z. Pucek (ed.), *Stare i nowe konteksty tożsamości*, Kraków.

Nonetheless, the legal basis for the possibility of organised lessons in Slovene language on entering a Slovene primary school is certainly a step in the right direction regarding the treatment of these children – a step that we in Slovenia have waited more than a decade for.

Abstract

In Slovenia care for the children of immigrants, and in fact for all children whose native language is not Slovene, is defined in the Slovenian constitution, in school legislation and in certain international acts. The right of education for all the children of the school age is guaranteed by the 10th Article of the Primary School Act. In accordance with European Union directives and recommendations of the Council of Europe and other international organisations, and taking into account one of the basic human rights (the right to native language instruction), the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia enables the implementation of supplementary instruction in the native language and culture for migrant pupils and members of contemporary national communities in Slovenia. Thus in the 2005/2006 school year, pupils were able to attend supplementary instruction in Albanian, Croatian, Macedonian, and Serbian languages. In the same school year, a supplementary class in German language was also organised for the first time for migrants from Germany. This class is voluntary and is held once a week during the pupils' free time. The author presents the process of primary school education of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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JASNA MAŽGON

Direct Practical Applicability of Scientific Theories

Introduction

The central question dealt with in this paper is whether theories are directly transferable into practical situations (for example in the form of directions for operation). Resulting from the structural differences between practice and science, the answer is negative. Direct applicability, i.e. direct connection to practice within research, is rejected on the grounds of the specificity of the evaluation, normative and operative system of science. We shall try to show that scientific theories reinterpret and modify themselves the very moment they enter into practice. Consequently, this means that they cannot be transferable into practice in a 1:1 ratio. However, it must be emphasized that the relationship between science and practice does not mean that theories do not have practical applicability. What we are claiming is that the relationship between science and practice is not direct but indirect. The claim also applies for theories which are the product of qualitative research, regardless of the fact that they are "local" and not "grand" ones. Even these are not directly transferable into practice, as will be proved using arguments of transferability and generalisation of scientific research.

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The question of generalisation within quantitative and qualitative research paradigms

Regarding sociological research, as well as that in the field of education, the results of experiments, mock-experiments and other survey research are frequently intended for generalisation on the wider population. However, a doubt is always present in such generalisations. This doubt is connected to researching justification for forming conclusions and judgments, transcending given information, and connecting patterns to populations. Generalisation is therefore undoubtedly bound to validity. It is one of the mechanisms through which statements on truth can be justified. The classical theory of generalisation understands validity as a logical property of the research process, which vouches for our ability to reach conclusions from the information and results acquired in research.

Researchers who perform applicative research are quite often interested in generalization because they want to know what functions, or what functions the best within given samples of the population, in order to transfer these social practices from the experimental environment to a wider population of experts or from one community to another. If this is our point of view, then "generalisation is about the rationale for transferability" (Robinson and Norris 2001, p. 303). Indeed, generalization is contextually connected or under the proviso of context. If applicability is not authenticated, no research effort can affirm the efficiency and validity of its theories, regardless of whether they result from a quantitative or qualitative methodological approach.

An object of criticism which qualitative researchers aimed at the traditional, quantitative paradigm, based on science and its findings, was also the lack of transferability of these findings into normal situations. The fact is that empirical (utterly experimental) research takes place in strictly controlled situations, which are, due to analysis, formalised and standardised. Qualitative researchers claim that in such a way a kind of "artificial" situation is formed. The results of analysis of such a situation can hardly be transferable into other, "natural" situations. This has been one of the major reservations about empirical-analytical science, which, due to the applied mode of research, cannot contribute to productive modification and development of practice.

If we define generalization in the light of the above arguments, we will reform it in a way which will include a process of reflection and will not be understood merely as a structure of interpretations bound to rules. If contextually bound knowledge, the key to advantage of this knowledge lies in different frameworks. Firstly, it is important to understand the contextual conditions within which this knowledge has been created. Secondly, the transfer of this knowledge into new frameworks implies the understanding of their contextual conditions, how they differentiate from the

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conditions in which this knowledge has been produced, and includes the reflection of what consequences it bears regarding the application of actual behaviour in the new context (Greenwood and Levin 2000, p. 98). As generalization becomes an active process of reflection the participants involved must decide whether their existing behaviour is reasonable or not. At the same time this means that the participants must be familiar with the majority of previous cases in order to be able to decide whether their existing behaviour is adequate or otherwise.

The basic and long standing dilemma within qualitative research in general is that this methodology requires focusing on a very small number of theatres, with a frequently existing desire to form conclusions, which would have wider applicability and not be valid for those particular cases. Regarding focusing on one particular view of complexity within consistent limitations of time and space, it is possible to construct a way of considering this view, which enables us to form a theory. Focusing on different views of such complexity can lead to the development of completely different and apparently even contradictory theories, and it is possible that other researchers might develop equally comprehensible and clear but different theories, although they all focused on the same particular view.

One of the ways of thinking about a theory is that a theory operates in a simplifying way and thus limiting the focus in such a way that a story can be told, a story which is connected to other stories that have used similar theories, and a story which builds beyond these theories. However, this does not mean that one can make a match for a certain theory. Systematic work on the data must be monitored through the whole analysis of the data in order to enable all the data to be encompassed in the theory and ensure that the deviations are studied in full (Walford 2001, p. 149).

It has frequently been emphasized that strict generalization in a statistical sense regarding qualitative research is not possible, for one case (or a small number of cases) cannot in any way be an adequate sample for making conclusions on wider populations such as schools or classes. Qualitative studies can reach transferability through a precise description. If the authors present a thorough and detailed description of a particular context which they have been studying, the possibility exists of the readers deciding on the applicability of the conclusions for their own or other situations. In order to be able to judge whether certain findings from a study (for example) in one school are applicable in another, it is necessary to be familiar with the first school as well as the second one.

The relationship between practice and science

This chapter shall try to show why direct interference from the field of science into practice does not go in the sense of direct transfer but in modified mode. It will also

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refer to the reflections of H. G. Soeffner (1989), who in his book *Understanding the Everyday, the Everyday of Understanding* rejected direct applicability of research findings or direct connection to practice due to the specificity of the scientific system.

One can frequently find in literature the term "everyday theory", which, according to Soeffner (Ibid. pp. 10-25), represents fulfilment of an ancient wish: everyday science, theory and practice have suddenly found a way to each other, and this in the form of a folder. The term "everyday theory" is used as a guideline which indicates that everyday activity does not take place incidentally and non-structurally, but is structured according to principles of order, rules, procedures of definition, planning and aiming. It appears as if "alienated science" has found a way back into life, back into the everyday. This gap between the everyday, everyday activity, everyday conduct and science should disappear, as if it was clear from the beginning that the gap represents a flaw, a historical malfunction, which necessarily had to be overcome. Yet again it seems that we tend to forget the far-reaching tradition of scientific-theoretical discourse. This has been led by representatives of controversial theoretical positions from different viewpoints which, amazingly, came to similar conclusions, namely that science and everyday practice, despite mutual embedment into activity and field of meaning, cannot merge.

Many reasons exist today for everyday conduct being given a primal position within scientific reflections. An important reason was given by Schütz: everyday life is the sole sub-universe, to which "we connect with our actions", and which can be changed by our actions (Schütz: 1971/72, cited in: Soeffner 1989, p. 12). The interactive space of our repeated concrete everyday was and will change through us. It is our immediate space of accommodation, action, planning and experiencing – that is our environment, which we construct and which we are a part of. We have obvious and latent knowledge of the structures and potential of our everyday world. Both are equally effective. On the one hand our experiences are organised from the interaction structures of our everyday life, while on the other our experiences and conduct construct the structures of our everyday life.

This primary space of accommodation, perception, experience and acting deserves our primary attention precisely because of the possibility of direct and effective action within it. Our primary interaction space is known. We move in it with a greater sense of security than elsewhere. The reason for this, besides concreteness and effectiveness of our own actions, lies in the fact that in their everyday actions people give mutual competences. A basic rule of everyday conduct in interaction space is that, in principle, every person is competent and responsible for their deeds. Each moment they must evaluate their conduct. Trust in familiarity with rules is verified and, at the same time, kept by concrete actions (Ibid.).

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Everyday activity and communication function on the basis of assumption of self-evidence, and need not be further articulated. This trust in a mutual world of common consensus (harmony, agreement) in everyday life aids speed and safety of actions and reactions. This interactive realm of self-evidence and the everyday mirrors a world in which a person knows exactly what it is about and can therefore be competent in his or her actions. Competence in everyday actions is profoundly different from the competence of the scientists who analyse the world of the everyday, and therefore needs to be carefully separated. Even if both the competence of a scientist and the competence of a person acting in everyday occurrences relate to the everyday as a field of interest, they mean something basically different in terms of aim, methods, actions, criteria of accordance, verification and feasibility (Ibid. p. 13).

Firstly, it needs to be defined precisely what is meant by the term "everyday". We mean neither the world of everyday applicable objects and actions, nor the historically present, specific reality. All this belongs to what we name "everyday" and what is created and interacts there, but this is not what the everyday as such bears, comprises and reproduces. The creative structure of what we call everyday is based upon a particular type of experience, action and knowledge. This empirical and semantic field is marked by a cognitive style of practice, with a type of experience, action and knowledge which is connected to this very space, regards it in its specific abilities, keeps and springs it up again and again (Goffman 1977, cited in Soeffner 1989, p. 16).

The cognitive style of practice, of the everyday, is aimed at abolishing or minimizing the unusual, doubtful, non-questionable and economic action. According to this, typified effects of cognitive style of the everyday exist. They are about typifying new, strange situations as if they were known, or rather as if they were compound parts of the normalcy of the universally known common ground of actions and experiences. Typifying experiences, conduct and action is a common phenomenon of human ability of perception and orientation. Although "typicalness" and "normalcy" form a connection, as a construction of normalcy without typicalness could not be possible, typicalness cannot be equated with a construction of normalcy. To typify something as "normal" means at the same time to qualify something as known (Ibid.).

Visible expression of construction of normalcy within everyday occurrence is repetition of tested and known patterns of acting in interaction, and fossilisation of some of these patterns into rituals of actions, which can be explained by the fact that one understands them as elements of chain action, which can be applied in any particular moment, without prior consideration. These known patterns of acting demonstrate trust in an assured mutual fund of knowledge as well as a common space of experience and action, where one cannot do anything wrong and where problem situations

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are solved in connection with known solutions and therefore embedded into acting normalcy. What is, therefore, the efficiency of the cognitive style of practice? It enables speed and social acceptance of everyday reactions and, by routine solving of problems, provides an efficient instrument for mastering new facts and problems. It also represents an efficient instrument for mastering what is new and therefore the unknown by reshaping it into something already known. As these new things are not seen as something that needs explanation, everyday routines represent limited and uncertain potential for mastering surprises and unusual accommodations. As homogenous reactions, patterns of action do not serve efficient accommodation to new situations as much as they serve reproduction of themselves (Ibid.).

"Routinizing" everyday knowledge and acting is based on non-explicitness, on the supposition that not everything needs to be said or asked. So-called silent, concealed knowledge is supposed, which means that one knows something without having to or being able to tell what. Everyday knowledge is not explicit because it rests within the realm of self-evidence. The realm of self-evidence functions on the basis of a supposition that everything can be said, but only if a demand for that emerges. According to this, anyone can be required to give practical explanations for their manner of acting (Searle 1969 in Scott/Lymann 1976, cited in Soeffner 1989, p. 19).

On the basis of this organisational form of cognitive style of practice and everyday occurrence, and on the basis of the ability to react to newly formed problems with routine solving, everyday patterns of action show a high degree of autonomy, an enormous ability of persistence and a quite similar amount of resistance to alternative interpretations. The system owes its efficiency not as much to the organisational form as it owes, above all, to necessity of accommodation, to which everyday interactional systems, in which these organisational forms have developed, are subjected. They are therefore based upon a procedure of experiments and errors, which is applied in solving emerging problems. In this case the most successful solution is maintained as long as it fails and other possibilities are required. Everyday knowledge and everyday actions document general, evolutionary based forms of accommodation to the environment, as well as "routinized" procedures of acting in an interactive community.

This structure of everyday knowledge and action reminds us that it bears in itself possibilities for transcending cognitive style of practice. The potential of this style offers more than is required in everyday occurrence. It has a tendency to transcend itself. This tendency is visible in some parts of the description of everyday occurrence, or cognitive style of practice (Ibid. pp. 20–21):

in "empirical" dealing with reality, i.e. testing the potential of functioning according to criteria of success and failure;

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- in interactive realisation of plans of action, i.e. virtual assumption of the perspective and attitude of the acting partner: inter-subjectivity of orientation;
- in ability to form hypotheses on social "reality", i.e. in ability to differentiate interpreting and interpreted;
- in the postulate of principal ability of expression, i.e. in ability of explicit wording of knowledge.

At this point, a positive cognitive style of practice is visible, which enables us to pass over from the excellent but limited field of everyday occurrence into a cognitive style of theory, into the field of science, where limits and difference as well as connection of both fields are visible. Science is an organised and reflected trial of everyday procedures, knowledge and actions. To science they represent – if they are documented and can be reconstructed – a system of texts, protocols of everyday actions, which are, in scientific analysis, interpreted as understanding and explanation of possibilities of their development as well as specific historical formation.

Science represents itself as a specific type of action, experience and knowledge, which is clearly separated from everyday occurrence. This shows up not only in special language but even more in systematic and organised elimination of scientific interpretations from contemporary interactive processes and their contexts. Science is separated from everyday action merely on the basis of its necessary analytical distance from a community of the acting, and therefore represents a qualitatively different mode of operating. This analytical distance from "everyday texts", and to products of interaction in general, is a binding professional norm of scientists. The criteria of a scientific work – rational explanation, inter-subjective experiencing – as much as the possible extent presentation of problems, goals, hypotheses, results and methods, are based upon and function with it.

Autonomy and distance as professional norms of science and scientists guarantee to society – in opposition to cognitive style of practice, everyday – a greater view over the possible as well as rational explanation of facts. Whereas the cognitive style of practice focuses, under pressure, on possibilities of explanation, choice and action and, in the interest of action, excludes doubt and typifies doubtfulness as normal, science, on the contrary, systemizes doubt, reveals alternative possibilities of explanation, choice and action: transforming the allegedly known and "normal" into problematic is a boundary between everyday and science, between normalcy and doubt, between experience and reflection, between fast realisation of goals and extensive explanation of the possible as actual social knowledge (Ibid. pp. 25–26)

The demand for direct "social relevance", "connection with practice", "view of verification" of a scientific work emerges again and again. Complaining about "fee-

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bleness" and "weakness" of scientists does not consider the fact that a scientist in life in "everyday occurrence" can and must renounce his scientific status, whereas those who act inside the scientific system do not live outside society and must, just as everybody else, make practical decisions in their lives. They do not do this in an analytical distanced experienced style of science but in a cognitive style of practice: as actors in everyday life – not as scientists. However, scientific analysis and explanation has a great, crucial role in our ability to act responsibly and choose between alternatives in everyday occurrences. Only in this way can alternatives become extensive and rationally recognized, which enables their logical evaluation. Indeed, science has never been able to stop people from falling into a well, but it has frequently managed to prevent falling into a well being credited to "kismet" or supernatural powers. In scientific analysis that is unhindered, professional and executed in an orderly fashion alternatives of action, reality of possibilities and a way around the well have become clearly visible. It is this that is the reason why one can be held responsible for one's conduct. Nevertheless, execution is not in the domain of science. Assuming scientific stature makes a scientist an analyst, and not a supervisor over norms. Scientific stature constitutes a different concept of reality from cognitive style of practice (Ibid. pp. 28–32)

If a theory is aimed at making explanations of a human's actions, history and environment, and also at verifying and criticising these explanations, then it must be free from the operative pressure of practice. If science has the task of carrying out analyses on life, and everyday practice, which is an autonomous field, then it has no influence on everyday occurrences. However, science has (by forming explanatory theories) an important, practical and relevant role, namely in discovering alternative explanations and actions. Possessing precisely this ability, science has been serving everyday practice. Both fields grant each other autonomy and are mutually useful and functional. Cognitions of science affect the present and future state of knowledge with their application to new contexts, the current state, and course of action.

All facts emerging from everyday practice are in a way "burdened" with theory. One always introduces a whole string of cognitive and theoretical frameworks into perceptions of reality. No empirical data have ever been obtained in a form of "pure drops from an originally immaculate source; they have always become connected to theory at the very moment of their origin" (Alvesson, cited in Sköldberg 2000, p. 17). This is the very reason why emphasizing too much distance between theory and everyday life is questionable. Theories are supposed to be able to reach our comprehension and influence our way of acting. Theories which have difficulties finding their place outside academic circles risk becoming socially irrelevant.

The fact that theories are not transferable into practical situations in a 1:1 ratio still remains. Because if they were, one would not talk about levels of generalisations

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and modes of transferability. Generalisation is intentionally suppressed at the beginning of a development of a theory, further developing it for a limited field. On the basis of several specific theories a formal or general theory can be developed. This is a synonym for a particular research field and is embedded into empiricism. Information foundation, on which reflection of practice and science are based, is actually the same; its treatment is connected to criteria of the system of science and practice. The differences between them cannot be bridged directly – i.e. by direct application of theory for solving problems in practice. That is possible indirectly: scientific knowledge must be handed over to practice as a material, with which practice can manipulate according to its systemically bound standards.

Scientific – theoretical goal of science

Within critical theory and critical social sciences, the relationship between theory and practice has been represented as the central subject. This was also shown in the first of Horkheimer's papers, where he emphasized that critical knowledge ought to be pointed towards social practice. In his work "Traditional and critical theory", where he presented the contrast between traditional comprehension of science, which describes, analyzes and explains, and critical theory, which does not aspire to compile knowledge as such, but aims at emancipation of man from enslaving relationships (Horkheimer 1981, p. 76), Horkheimer also defined the relationship between traditional science and practice. He claims that "science which, in virtual self-sufficiency, views forming a practice, to which it belongs and serves, merely as something transcendental, and which approves of separation of thought and action, ... has already renounced humanity. The distinguishing mark of mental activity is that it alone decides what to do, what purpose to serve, but not in separate cases, here and there, but totally. Its own structure expedites it to historical change, towards establishing fair conditions among people" (Ibid. p. 74).

The goal of science is therefore not exclusively cognizant-theoretical. Science must have a direct interest in changing social conditions. The concept of forming and shaping theories and their applicability must always be reflected. During this process, science must constantly ask itself which social functions it performs and what are its possibilities for influencing social practice. Critical theory tries to surpass the separation of theory and science on one side and social practice on the other. In this way the validity of theories would not be established independently from social practice and only within the framework of a research process, but it is practice which should be the criterion upon which their validity is established.

However, critical theory has represented a sharp analysis of science and society in general, but has failed in solving concrete problems of contemporary socio-economic practice, as "social changes can hardly be reached through science – even such

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science which self-enlightened itself – as a substitute for lacking social conscience, so to speak" (Moser 1978, p. 24). Successful practice is therefore possible only under the condition of emancipating embodied conscience. Emancipation is seen in a sense of deliverance of an individual as well as a society by self-reflection, which is indispensable for changing prevailing relations.

Lempert (1971) says that "emancipatory" interest is the interest of a man for widening and preservation of self-management. He aims at abolition and rejection of irrational domination, at liberation from any kind of restraint. Material hegemony is not the only type that functions as a restraint, but also entrapment in prejudices and ideologies. If this entrapment cannot be entirely abolished, at least it can be softened with an analysis of our own genesis, with criticism and self-reflection (cited in Wulf 1983, p. 164). Changing of conscience (self-awareness) is therefore an essential condition for changing an individual and a society; this new self-awareness of an individual and the world around has become the goal even in the process of education.

Social theory has tried to build a bridge between theory and practice by understanding social criticism as the main condition, as the central precondition of emancipation. Criticism of contemporary relations in society, science, education... is supposed to lead towards distancing from these structures and self-awareness, with which sufficient conditions would be achieved for self-aware individuals to reach into contemporary practice and change it. However, as Moser finds, "critical theory still remains at verbal assurances and analyses; it cannot provide... more than denying analysis of contemporary society and in the end leaves a practitioner to his frustration" (Moser 1978, p. 24).

Despite failed attempts to connect theory and practice, for in critical theory practice has shown itself as "just a theory of practice" (Ibid, p. 24), key ideas of surpassing empirical-analytical science and methodology have nevertheless been given. It is the field of educational science research where postulates of "traditional" science have shown to be inadmissible, having in mind, above all, the question of relationship between a subject and an object as well as the principle of validation neutrality. Regarding, for example, researching efficiency of educational goals, the question of normative functions concerns all participants: students, who are supposed to internalise those norms, teachers, who are supposed to transfer them, as well as researchers, who expect confirmation or rebuttal of their hypotheses.

Conclusion

By applying a unified method, science has postulated a certain type of knowledge, which has been, contrary to all others, marked with the term "scientific". Only those

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who mingle within the boundaries of this type of knowledge can receive an award of "social prestige, which is connected with the institute of science" (Moser 1978, p. 65). Unity of natural and social sciences and their methods become the main point of dispute, as socially relevant problems and questions cannot remain inside the imanent sphere of the community of scientists, who research and explain them according to their standards. Living practice as a sphere, which is predecessor to science and nonetheless justifies it, should much more be put at the forefront, also because "applied operations in research are not the invention of science. They result from everyday conduct, and are merely the refined improvement or precision of everyday operations (comprehension, explanation, description, measurement, comparison...)" (Mollenhauer/Rittelmeyer 1975, p. 687).

Science is not some kind of "transcendental realm of elite community" (Moser 1978, p. 74), but is based on aspects of living practice, which are imitated and copied. It is an indisputable fact that science belongs to the living practice which it researches. This represents a specific problem particularly in the social sciences: researchers in a research process have a dual role. On the one hand they tend to separate themselves from social reality – the object of their research (most frequently social groups), while on the other hand, by their actions, they belong to it. A researcher is therefore a subject and an object in a research process.

If a scientist believes that a researched object can be observed as an independent subject field, then they artificially idealize the situation. As individuals they form relations between researched "objects". Research thus becomes an institution of people who act together and communicate among each other (Ibid, p. 79). Like scientific research practice, everyday practice is directed according to certain laws, rules and norms. The difference between science and living practice does not lie in the fact that the latter is irrational and the former is rational. The basic difference lies in science's attempt to systemize and formulize questions emerging from everyday practice according to strict paradigmatic rules. However, it is precisely in the principle of separating an object and a subject in a research process that science deviates from the reality of living practice, where communication is nonetheless a basic condition of survival and tries to establish some kind of idealized relationship between participants – the researchers and those researched.

And yet we must, despite arguments stated in favour of a narrowing gap between science and living practice, ask ourselves whether science is able to completely renounce the distance from the researched object. Cognitive interest of science is nonetheless different from the everyday practical interest of a man, as science is what searches for deeper causal connections in exploring problems and ways to solve them. In doing this it uses a certain distance from the researched problems in favour of more objective oversight, which it gains in this way. Regarding criti-

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cism of the criterion of objectivity, we would like to draw attention to the fact that the criticism was aimed at the problem of science losing its connection with the problems of everyday practice due to its tendency towards objectivity. For science these problems are thus becoming less and less relevant. Regarding emphasizing the connection between science and living practice we think above all of the choice and practical relevance of the researched object, and not of renouncing scientific cognitive interest.

Abstract

Central question in this paper is whether theories are directly transferable into practical situations, e.g. in the form of directions for operation. Resulting from structural differences between practice and science, the answer is negative. Direct applicability i.e. direct connection to practice within research is rejected on the grounds of specificity of evaluation, normative and operative system of science. The author shows that scientific theories reinterpret and modify themselves the very moment they enter into practice. Consequently, this means that they cannot be transferable into practice in the "one to one" ratio. However, it has to be emphasised that relationship between science and practice does not mean that theories have no practical applicability. The relationship between science and practice is indirect rather than direct. The claim also applies to theories that are the product of qualitative research, regardless of the fact that they are "local" and not "general" ones. Yet even those are not directly transferable into practice, which will be proved through the arguments of transferability and generalisation of scientific research.

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SABINA JELENC KRAŠOVEC

Discordants of guidance and counselling in adult education

Key words: career guidance, educational guidance and counselling, adults

Introduction

Within education and learning processes adults have different goals, and they decide to start these processes in all periods of their lives, which means that there should be a diverse range of various of guidance and counselling opportunities to suit them all. In politics – in which institutions (such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Community and others) play an important role – the main attention is focused on career guidance. Do we also need 'independent' counselling and guidance for adults who need help in their education and learning process, accessible within their local environment, on a 'neutral' terrain (outside of the job centre, school and similar) to operate independently from career guidance centres? For comparative reasons we will show how counselling and guidance is developed in certain other European countries, especially in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

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The importance of guidance and counselling in providing adult education and learning

Adult education can take place in institutions for adult and youth education as well as in many other locations and institutions that are not specifically oriented towards education, such as workplaces, voluntary organisations, libraries, associations, hospitals, various homes and elsewhere. This diversity derives from the various needs adults have in different periods of their lives and is based on their interests, linked to their everyday life and work, and derived from the need to solve problems and the way the individual functions within the community. In accordance with this, adult education objectives also do not have a single meaning, but can be divided into at least four blocks.

- Adult education should reduce the gap in the educational possibilities and knowledge obtained between various generations and social groups. This can be helped by better access to guidance, prior to the inclusion in the educational process as well as during the process itself.
- 2. Adult education should increase possibilities for active participation in the development of the society. This goal is becoming increasingly important as the power of civil society is diminishing. Informal adult education, especially community and intergenerational education as well as any other education that is not linked to work and employment, plays an important role in its affirmation.
- 3. Adult education and training for work or a profession have found a new way to become a key political factor in the development of the workforce and economic movements in society. This process has contributed significantly to the fact that adult education has gained a markedly more recognisable role and position in social, economic and social policies.
- 4. Adult education should also fulfil the individual's need for knowledge that can result from a lack of primary education or from personal interests and curiosity.

Currently adult education is a highly favoured area in policy-making, as reflected by the emphasising of its importance throughout various documents, strategies and political actions; of course the reality is different, for in most European countries adult education is facing the same problems, i.e. insufficient funding, abolition of support for research institutions, and being forced to behave as a part of the market economy. As a result, the most important area within the field, i.e. informal and community education and empowering individuals and groups, is diminishing in importance. In European politics – in relation to the development of guidance activities – reducing the social exclusion of inhabitants is becoming an increasingly important goal; in this sense we can define social exclusion as the 'process of becoming detached from the organisations and communities of which the society is composed and from the rights and obligations that they embody' (Watts 2001, p.

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158). The concept is multi-dimensional; in its basis it deals with issues of how social integration, solidarity and social cohesion in developed industrial societies can be influenced through education. These are issues that occupy experts today, and act as a counterweight to the influence of neoliberal ideologies on adult education objectives, due to which advisory activities are also becoming important for education, i.e. an important part of ensuring that the individual is included in society.

The conflict between the utilitarianism advocated by neoliberalism and the ethics of social justice that were already traditionally present in the welfare state is reflected also in the development of guidance and counselling for adults, which favour the development of career and vocational guidance. Today educational activities are predominantly a tool used by the state in order to achieve more efficient employment, global competition and 'flexibility' (Illeris 2004; Olsen 2006). On the level of the needs of the individual an advantage is held by those who understand education as an opportunity for their personal promotion and development. Contemporary states should be just to as many people as possible, i.e. the society as a whole, and not focus on the effects of any single group of individuals within the society (Olsen, Codd, O'Neill 2004, p. 270)¹.

Guidance and counselling in adult education in Slovenia and legal definitions

In Slovenia there is not sufficient research to enable us to conclude how much and what sort of help adults in the education and learning process might need. Research on a representative sample of adults was performed in Slovenia in 1987 (Jelenc Z. 1989), in which almost two thirds of the respondents who stated that they plan to participate in the education process in the future expressed the opinion that they would need help in this process. Most of them stated that they would need help at organising their education (38%); the fewest stated they would need help at selecting the programme (17%). In the second Slovene research on the participation of Slovene inhabitants in the adult education process, which took place in 1998 (Mohorčič Špolar et al. 2001), half of the adults questioned expressed the need for help in their education and learning process (Jelenc Krašovec, Jelenc 2003, pp. 16–17). It is generally believed that guidance is needed by the young when they are planning their career and professional path; fewer people believe that adults also need guidance in their learning and education process, at most informing about learning possibilities.

By adopting various political documents Slovenia has obliged itself to fulfil certain measures that will encourage adult education and training for the needs of work as

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¹ This view can also be noticed in the development of guidance activities, in which priority is given to youth who are facing social exclusion.

well as personal development and active inclusion in society. Guidance and counselling in adult education is a field that is – in accordance with the education and lifelong learning strategies that have been adopted – understood as an opportunity for increasing the possibility of fulfilling the needs of adults for various types of education.

The Resolution on the National Adult Education Programme, adopted in 2004 (ReNPIO 2004), states that developing guidance and counselling for adults plays an important role in the process of motivating adults to learn and obtain education that will aid their professional and career development; it explicitly states that informing and counselling are a part of every educational or learning process. Attention should be focused on the field of labour and employment as well as the individual's personal, social and cultural development. ReNPIO, as passed by the Slovene government, states that education should become a basic value and activity – the effects of which are also shown in tolerance and understanding amongst people, the enrichment of tradition and culture, and improved functioning of the family and the individual. This would also encourage various groups to actively participate in the social sense, and not merely as an investment in economic growth and greater competitiveness in the domestic and global market (Drofenik et al. 1999, p. 335). In this respect the functioning and development of local communities or neighbourhoods - in which the appropriate educational offer should develop hand in hand with guidance and counselling activities in adult education – is of extreme importance. One of the activities defined in the *National Programme* as a necessity for the fulfilment of the priority objectives is to emphasise the development of the guidance and counselling network which would link the providers of education, the workforce market and the representatives of other regional services and public institutions (in the field of agriculture, culture, health care, etc.) (Drofenik et al. 1999, p. 341).

Article No. 67 of the *Organization and Financing of Education Act* (2003) only defines guidance services in public nursery, primary and secondary schools, and that their activities are aimed at children, apprentices, pupils, their parents and teachers; when performing career guidance it works in conjunction with the Employment Service of Slovenia. Guidance and counselling in adult education is not mentioned by law and is thus left to the local community and local legislation, which is non-obligatory in these issues. Article No. 21 of the *Local Self-Government Act* (1993) merely stipulates that municipalities should encourage educational activities in their area, which is as specific as the act gets.

In the European Commission report entitled 'Adult Learning: it is Never too Late to Learn' (2006) it was ascertained that within adult education the most neglected groups are adults with the lowest level of education, the elderly, people from rural

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areas and the disabled. The report also states that this is a consequence of access to good and timely information, as well as social and personal conditions, the influence of which can be reduced through good guidance. EU members state that the key challenge is to ensure equal division in participation in adult education, which could be achieved by encouraging and supporting those adults who are the least likely to play a role in the education process.

An overview of the national and international projects for guidance and counselling in lifelong learning and career development in Slovenia during the past ten years shows that the position of guidance and counselling in adult education is marginal (one single project took place within this field). Most projects were performed in the field of guidance and counselling as regards career choice (mostly aimed at pupils, students and youth in general), helping individuals enter education and work (mainly the young, but also representatives of socially deprived groups, for instance refugees) and in the field of innovations in informational-communicational technology, with a tendency to reduce the costs of informing and guidance through the use of information technology (Polak 2006). This shows a move away from the basic principles of ensuring a high-quality guidance and counselling service for all adults who need help in their learning and education processes.

Why do we need a varied range of guidance and counselling in adult education?

As an important part in adult education, guidance and counselling responds to the various demands and needs of individuals, groups or society as a whole. Thus guidance and counselling in adult education is not merely oriented towards a single narrow goal or purpose, but potentially includes and enables a number of types of guidance to be offered to adults enrolled in an educational process. When specifying the intention we have to take a number of factors into consideration (Jelenc Krašovec, Jelenc 2003, p. 73):

- 1. the various fields in which guidance and counselling in adult education is offered to the individual:
- education, learning
- work, career and professional path or professional career of the individual
- personality and personal life path or personal career.
- the goals of guidance and counselling in adult education are linked to the basic goal, which is to help the individual to successfully bring to an end his education and learning process.
- 3. functions that enable efficient achievement of objectives

Guidance and counselling in adult education, which develops independently of the work and employment field, has a number of functions: it helps the individual learn about his/her personal characteristics, interests, capabilities, learning habits and moti-

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vation; informs him/her of the education available; helps achieve objectives linked to education as well as to the personal and professional path; removes the various obstacles that appear during the education process (situational, institutional and dispositional obstacles); offers help when using learning and educational technologies and develops methods and techniques for efficient learning; helps prove non-formal knowledge; follows the success of the adult as he/she pursues his/her goals.

Adults might need help when are trying to begin the education process, when they are organising their education or when they are already learning; adults might need help before they enrol on an educational programme, during the educational process, towards the end of the educational or learning process or even following its completion. The needs of adults for guidance and counselling are thus diversified, which means that the target groups are also diversified.

The development of guidance and counselling in adult education shown with the example of three other European countries and Slovenia

The development of guidance and counselling in adult education is relatively intense in Slovenia. This can, however, bring about overzealous optimism and a feeling of self-sufficiency. In order to shed some light on these statements we will briefly present the development of guidance activities in selected European countries.

At the turn of the 20th century the first career guidance services appeared in USA and Europe (Brewer 1942 quoted in Watts, Kidd 2000, p. 485). In Great Britain, where careers and educational guidance were first developed, the first guidance services were aimed exclusively at the young. Today, Great Britain is host to intensive debates dealing with the gap between policies and practice and the opposition between career guidance and education guidance and counselling. These debates are obviously dominant all across Europe, for they express the power struggle between politics and the scientific field that is endeavouring to ensure sufficient guidance and counselling possibilities for all adults in need of them.

In the United Kingdom no unified scheme for developing career guidance exists; the development of these services depends on diversified factors, including the influence of the market within an individual country. The differences between countries regarding the development of guidance and counselling are deepening (Watts 2006). In England the emphasis lies on a horizontal integration of guidance services that are divided into those for adults and those for youths, while elsewhere in the United Kingdom (for instance Northern Ireland and Wales) the emphasis is placed on the vertical integration of guidance services that operate on to the principle of 'different age groups'.

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In England a constant gap between the guidance on offer for youth and adults is noticeable; the career guidance policy for young people and adults is clearly separated. This gap was defined by the 1973 Employment and Training Act, which demanded that the Local Educational Authorities (LEAs) in England and Wales ensure career guidance for young people. At the same time this Act allowed LEAs – but did not define or finance – to offer career guidance also to adults wherever possible. This dualism, which distinguished between obligatory guidance for young people and 'permitted' guidance for adults, is still in existence today. Mulvey (2006, p. 14) and Watts & Kidd (2000, p. 485) estimate this duality to be merely another wrong move, one of the many that seem to be present in the English educational policy. Adult career guidance has – as there was no act to govern it – developed gradually, with funds intended for various target groups. If it had unified and wholesome financing this would ensure an efficient offer for all adults. In the period governed by the 'new right' a clearer market discipline tendency was expressed (Watts 1991, p. 233), the essence of which was mainly oriented towards efficiency and measurability. Funds for adult guidance were always short-term and dependent on the needs of the employers or the government. Mulvey ascertained that due to the lack of a national policy and the irregular and insecure financing, the structure and network of guidance services is weak; this influences the morals of the counsellors who work with adults. Counsellors have noticed a general lack of realisation as regards the importance of guidance and counselling in adult education, including the widespread erroneous idea that guidance is only important for young people (Mulvey 2006, p. 25).

In England guidance offers a whole array of oppositions. The first is that between the young and adults; the second is the question whether the individual belongs to the selected target group that is currently interesting (this holds true for youth as well as for adults). The third opposition deals with inclusion – this is the opposition between those who are not included in education, are not employed and are not in training (regardless of age) and those who are in the education process, are employed and are in training, but whose demands for guidance might not be known. Finally, there is the opposition between politicians and experts (practitioners, researchers) – the former have power, the latter responsibility. Experts in England are of the opinion that, in order for guidance to be efficient, it should be a wholesome activity and represent a connected field.

In Northern Ireland, which is an example of good practice in the fields of developing adult education and guidance activities for adults, the first official career guidance service was established as early as 1948 (McCarty, Millar 2006) and was intended only for young people who had completed their education. Later on these services started to reorganise themselves and were renamed as career centres. The Educational Guidance Service for Adults (EGSA), which appeared in 1967 as an experimental pilot project, developed in parallel to this. At first it was intended as an Adult

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Vocational Guidance Service and as such was the first service of the kind (that ensured independent advice and counselling for adults) in the United Kingdom. Because it was discovered that many adults needed guidance and counselling for education more than vocational guidance these centres were renamed as the Educational Guidance Service for Adults (EGSA). Today the EGSA is an independent, non-profit organisation that operates in the voluntary sector. It is financed by the Department of Employment and Learning as well as the Department of Education in Northern Ireland. It also receives additional funds from the European Union. The service has recently developed immensely, which was made possible by the adoption of a Lifelong Learning strategy document, so that now the network is linked with various education providers, employers and community organisations.

It operates in various places, for instance in community centres, colleges and libraries, which enables it to fulfil its mission, with the goal of reaching those adults who would otherwise not seek guidance. EGSA also encourages other organisations to develop their own guidance activities; thus the free telephone guidance service 'Learndirect' developed, although this stopped operating after five years of operation (in 2005) when it was cut off from its finances. In Northern Ireland the opinion can also be heard that the greatest lack in the current offer of guidance and counselling is the lack of a wholesome policy and a development strategy for the field.

In 2000, the Republic of Ireland adopted the White Paper on Adult Education, in which the need for guidance and counselling in adult education was clearly exposed and firmly founded as one of the key support activities for adults who wish to continue with their education. Apart from career guidance, they also exposed the need for informing and deeper guidance and counselling for adults who need help in the personal and educational field as well as in their careers. By placing the emphasis on groups of adults who have a marginal position in the educational process the centres provide personal, educational and career guidance prior to, during and after the education process.

In Denmark all adults in the workforce market have access to information, guidance and counselling as regards their careers. This guidance service is free and takes place in public employment services. Apart from this adults also have at their disposal regional information centres in which they can obtain information on higher education. All institutions that perform training and education offer guidance to all adults who are involved in their programmes (Svendsen 2002). Unemployed adults can obtain appropriate help at trade unions, employment offices or other local services. It is increasingly the case also in Denmark that employed adults who need information, advice or guidance do not have sufficient opportunities to obtain such help – at a level that is neutral and adjusted to their needs – for free.

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A great interest in career guidance² is also expressed by the OECD, which published the report 'Career Guidance and Public Policy: Bridging the Gap' (2004). The publication confirms that the OECD is dedicated to strengthening the workforce and capital market; already from the definition of the term 'career guidance' it is clear that it mainly focuses on helping the youth and those adults who might, due to the needs of their work, pursue further education. The problem is the lack of unbiased, independent agencies/centres for guidance not operating under the patronage of any interest groups (employers, educational institutions).

Comparing the development of guidance within three selected countries shows that even guidance related to education is predominantly influenced by the workforce market, which also governs the educational policy in these countries. It seems that the understanding of education as a community and general human commodity is currently unrealistic and neglected – as also shown in the development of such infrastructural activities as guidance and counselling services.

And what is the situation in Slovenia?

In Slovenia the activities at the disposal of adults who want to continue with their learning or education process are relatively well developed. The field has developed in a similar way to most European countries; the best developed is guidance for work and employment. Career guidance (or, as they call it, 'career orientation'3) takes place at employment service centres and Career Guidance Centres (CIPS). From the year 2000 onwards a network of centres for informative and guidance activities for all adults in the local environment began to develop (the ISIO project)⁴. Apart from these two – systematically developed and dispersed and state (co-)funded and controlled forms of help – adults can also obtain information and advice as regards enrolment possibilities and continuing their education in educational institutions which they attend or are planning to attend. Amongst these can be found various institutions for adult education and other institutions that occasionally or perma-

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² The term 'career guidance' defines the activities that ensure that people of all ages and at various stages of their lives can decide as regards education, training and work as well as planning their careers. On the basis of these activities they find it easier to understand the connections between the workforce market and the educational systems and consider their possibilities. Contemporary career guidance tries to teach the individual how to plan and perform his decisions connected to his work or learning. (*Career guidance and...*, 2004, p. 19).

³ Currently this term is used by the Employment Service and CIPS as the key term for defining career guidance. As such it substitutes all previous expressions, for instance career guidance, professional guidance, professional orientation and others. This terminology is problematic because it creates the belief that an individual enrols in education programmes solely for the purpose of extending his career. In the phase career orientation the word orientation is also problematic, for it functions as a directive. When we are dealing with guidance and counselling in adult education, it is important to use non-directive guidance, for in this way the key principles are taken into account, i.e. the principles of voluntariness, autonomy, personal activity and other principles that ensure the activities of adults.

⁴ The project carrier is the Slovenian Institute for Adult Learning, the centres are financed by the Ministry of Education and Sport, partially they are financed from funds obtained from the European Social Fund.

nently – alongside their main activity – also perform adult education activities (for instance various private educational institutions, universities, secondary schools, associations, health organisations, culture organisations, institutions and homes, etc.) This guidance and counselling is mainly intended for adults who are entering programmes offered by these institutions and, once they have enrolled, for trying to keep them in these programmes. This group lacks most of those adults who would need education the most and for which we believe that they would consequently need different types of help in their learning and education processes.

There is an important difference between career guidance in CIPS and educational guidance and counselling for adults at the ISIO centres. The first is intended almost exclusively for training and education for work and employment, and includes the discovery of interests, overcoming obstacles and encouraging motivation in the search for employment as well as concrete skills necessary when entering the workforce market. Career guidance ('career orientation') performed in the Employment Services and CIPS is mainly intended for young people and unemployed adults. The model is a combination of guidance and planning the job path and career of unemployed as well as employed individuals. In Slovenia such guidance can be performed also by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the National Centre for Vocational Educational Training and private enterprises (Šlibar 2006). The national CIPS (NCIPS), the tasks of which are expert development and merging the activities of CIPS throughout Slovenia, is a member of the European EUROGUIDANCE network, which operates under one of the European commissions. Currently a network of 25 CIPS is established in Slovenia. In seven towns CIPS has only information spots in operation (more data can be accessed at http://www.ess.gov.si/slo/Ncips/ ncips.htm). Centres devoted to information and career guidance therefore operate in all area centres of the Employment Service of the Republic of Slovenia.

The second form of help offered to adults in their learning and education process takes place at public universities⁵, has much broader goals and is closer to what we (in this paper) define as 'independent' guidance and counselling in adult education. Because we are mainly interested in this part we will take this opportunity to explain a few details.

The Guidance and Counselling Centres for Adult Education (ISIO) are intended and equally accessible for all adults in the local environment in which the centre operates, and especially to those groups of adults who rarely participate in the education process – lower-educated individuals, those who have harder access and are in a tougher situation (Dobrovoljc, Vilič Klenovšek 2006). Between the years 2001 and 2005 a network of 14 guidance centres emerged (one in each educational

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⁵ These are public institutions for education and training, meant for all adults, offering formal and nonformal education and training.

district) within the public universities; these were rationally selected to carry this task, for according to the set measures they ensure sufficient quality of work within their institutions. However it would still appear that they might – regardless of their endeavours to work as objectively as possible – favour the education possibilities within the institution in which the ISIO centre operates. In order to avoid this danger it would be ideal if such 'independent' centres would not operate within the framework of educational institutions.

ISIOs attempt to ensure free, quality, expert and wholesome adult guidance and information. In this way they try to connect as many providers of educational and guidance services for adults on the local level as possible (Dobrovoljc, Vilič Klenovšek 2006). The last data on the operation of these centres (2007/08) shows that almost 18,000 individual services took place within this year, out of which almost a half were of a counselling nature (43%) and a slightly smaller share was of an informative nature (36%). Most informing and counselling (66%) took place prior to inclusion in the education process, while a quarter took place during the education. The services mainly dealt with informing and counselling for raising the level of education and training for work, spare time and personal development. In relation to this especially dominant were issues on financing and educational possibilities (Data on the Operation of the Network..., 2008). In this year the centres were visited mainly by younger advice seekers (46% were under 30 years old, the remainder were older), who were in most cases employed (47%) and had attained secondary school education or lower. From the data we can see that the target group of adults who visit guidance centres for adult education is very diverse, although younger adults with lower education still dominate.

Analysis of the structure of people who attend the centres and their activities shows that greater attention will need to be paid to obtaining the less active target groups of adults (e.g. older adults, who currently represent a minority, immigrants, ethnic minorities, lesser educated inhabitants from rural areas, certain groups of the employed, etc.). Even though the emergence and development of the guidance centres for adult education provides an exceptionally beneficial possibility that offers a counterweight to career guidance ('career orientation') – which takes place in the employment services – the state should play a greater role in its development. This is also a consequence of the fact that the guidance centres are located within public universities, which today represent the local centres for adult education, but they bare mainly frequented by active adults. The project is based on partnership cooperation and a local network that links various key institutions that are important for the adult education process. As such it enables adults to access information and

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guidance also from other locations⁶. It is extremely important that the informational activity also develops elsewhere in the local community, for instance in places where education does not take place. This is a part of the plan with which ISIO wishes to increase the accessibility of the vulnerable groups of adults so that they will be subject to guidance and counselling and consequently also to education. To a certain degree this is already being carried out with the aid of dislocated units that occasionally offer the possibility of informing and guidance (for instance libraries). However, the problem of financing a sufficient number of expert workers remains if the guidance and counselling centres are to run smoothly.

Conclusion

An overview of the development and offer of guidance and counselling in adult education in some European countries (including Slovenia) shows that the main state support is given in the field of information and guidance related to work and professions. The various development services in Slovenia that deal with this field agree that in future further connections will be necessary if various types of help are to be offered to adults during their education and learning process. Adults form a non-homogenous group that differs in age, social roles, educational, vocational and social status (to name just a few), so their needs for learning and education are extremely diverse. In accordance with this it is necessary to offer various possibilities of help that adults could obtain from various locations. The model offered by V. Rivis (1992) can be a starting point for the further development of guidance and counselling activities in Slovenia; it is based on the appearance of three forms in which guidance and counselling activities develop, each in their own way fulfilling the various needs of adults for guidance: employment–oriented guidance, education-oriented guidance and 'independent' guidance.

With *employment–oriented guidance*, the economic goals are in the foreground; this guidance can be fees/voucher-founded. It is performed by services for career development, private and other institutions. Economically active individuals are better supported than groups; there are fewer connections with other providers of guidance activities.

Looking at the development of the career guidance field in Slovenia (which has more state support then the development of ISIO adult guidance centres) we can ascertain that this is a priority field in Slovene politics. It is the same across Europe, where it mainly focuses on youth and partially on unemployed adults.

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⁶ According to the available data guidance centres had over 100 strategic and over 170 expert partners in 2008 (*Data on the Operation of the Network...*, 2008)

Mainly the Employment Service of the Republic of Slovenia and NCIPS within its framework and the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education.

Education-oriented guidance is run by educational institutions for their own needs and is performed by the employees of these institutions. Priority is given to participants and future participants of the educational programmes; their achievements are important. The development of a network is less important, and less help is offered to groups. The achievements of the guidance work are evaluated and are subject to marketing, which leads to impartiality. In Slovenia such guidance work is performed by various educational institutions for their own needs. The 1998 research conducted by the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education (Vilič Klenovšek 1999) has shown that such informing and guidance is performed – for instance – by secondary schools which have a unit for adult education, as well as by private educational institutions.

Parallel with this, so-called *independent guidance* is supposed to have developed. This is a part of the activities within the voluntary sector and the local community. Such guidance should be financed by the local budget (municipality), as well as from funds for training in companies or funds from other local organisations. This guidance activity fulfils the various demands of the learners, supports various networks and cooperates with them. It is intended for learning adults of all ages, especially those who are educationally marginalised; it actively develops all types of guidance and counselling in adult education. Independent guidance work is often on the margins of the official systems of education and training; it is endangered by political changes and a lack of financial means as well as inconsistent financing.

For efficient development of independent guidance and counselling in adult education we will need to increase the cohesion of the community and support the development of various communal activities. In order to increase the social inclusion of the marginal groups it is necessary to develop educational guidance and counselling that is as close as possible to the location in which these adults live and work. The above model was developed by V. Rivis some time ago; however, within the overview of the current possibilities in various European countries we could ascertain that independent guidance for learning is still underdeveloped and neglected and that this is a part of guidance activities for adults that deserves special attention from experts and the general public. In this way we would also come slightly closer to the promises and predictions that can be seen in various national and European political documents and strategies.

Abstract

An overview of the counselling and guidance activities in adult education shows that this activity is predominantly oriented towards informing and career guidance, and that it functions hand in hand with the workforce market. In most European countries career guidance is in the foreground (especially for the young); guidance and counselling to help adults in their education process is

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perceived as a 'superstandard' activity and should as such be paid for either by the adults themselves or by their employers, who will benefit from this education. We have ascertained that the opportunities offered for obtaining information or guidance do not ensure equal access to the various target groups. Even though counselling and guidance activities in adult education are relatively well developed in Slovenia this still remains a marginalised area of (adult) education within educational policy, for it remains systemically and financially unregulated. Numerous European countries (including Slovenia) have noticed a discrepancy between the political starting points as stated in various documents and the actual state of affairs.

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MOJCA KOVAČ ŠEBART, JANEZ KREK

Justice in the assessment of knowledge: the opinions of teachers and parents

Key words: school, assessment, knowledge, justice, explicit and implicit pedagogy

Introduction

When dealing with the issue of assessing knowledge we soon determine that the various scientific disciplines (pedagogy, psychology, sociology, philosophy, etc.) create their own specific view on this issue. Within a single scientific discipline there also exists a range of theories on this issue, theories that can even contradict one another. These diverse conceptual frameworks enable the questions of assessing knowledge to be approached in a variety of ways, thus arriving at a variety of answers. For the teacher's assessment of knowledge in school practice, however, these differences can represent a serious difficulty. Therefore it is necessary to seek answers to the questions as to whether and how these theories developed within specific scientific disciplines (such as pedagogy, etc.) are comparable, and how they are taken into account by other scientific disciplines (such as psychology, etc.) For the needs of school assessment practice it is very useful, if not essential, to create

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a specific common conceptual framework, or rather interpretation, of assessment: in our case, about what procedures should be followed in assessing knowledge on a systemic level in order for assessment to perceived as just in the opinion of teachers, pupils and parents. In the following discussion we will attempt to find an answer to this on the level of teachers and parents: when, in the opinion of teachers and parents, is assessment in school just? And consequently, what, in their opinion, is the common framework of justice regarding assessment in school?

Justice and the assessment of knowledge

The opinions of teachers and parents obtained with the research whose findings we present here will be compared with certain findings from various other empirical research projects, which show that assessment that does not assess purely knowledge demonstrated by pupils is judged by them to be unjust. According to this research, pupils believe assessment is just when the grade received is equivalent to the knowledge demonstrated (Kodelja 2006, Meuret 1999, Dubet 1999). When the pupil knows that he or she cannot expect the subjective intervention of the teacher in the grade, and is convinced that the grade will only evaluate knowledge, he or she can understand that the decision regarding knowledge is related to him or her alone, and that he or she may not shift this decision to anyone else. Perhaps this freedom of the pupil, that is, the opportunity that this kind of assessment of knowledge presents to the pupil to take the consequences of his or her actions upon him or herself, is one of the reasons that pupils find this kind of (retributive) assessment of knowledge just (Krek 2000). This rule of justice in the assessment of knowledge thus demands the same criteria for all pupils. Pupils perceive assessment as unjust when the assessment of the knowledge of various pupils is assessed according to different criteria, or by criteria that hold only for the individual teacher¹. The rule therefore implies that for pupils the two values of justice in the assessment of knowledge are universality (the same criteria hold for everyone) and egalitarianism (or in other words: equality, meaning that in the assessment of knowledge each student has the same point of departure as all of the others). It also seems unjust to pupils "... if the teacher uses a negative grade as a means of disciplining the individual pupil or the whole class, if he or she gives better pupils a higher grade than they have earned simply because they are "hard-working", if he or she humiliates a pupil who has achieved a poor grade with insulting notes or comments, etc." (Kodelja 2006, p. 210, cf. Dubet 1999, p. 182-183). This kind of perception of justice can be written into systemic solutions for the assessment of knowledge: we are familiar with it in Slovenia, for instance, where the rules instruct the teacher to assess purely the pupil's knowledge ("the assessment of knowledge is the determining and evaluating of achieved knowledge"), or in France, where the official rules about

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¹ A. Kozłowska (2004), *Dyskurs edukacyjny obszaru oceniania*, Częstochowski Biuletyn Oświatowy, 1 (51), pp. 6-8. .

assessment demand that the teacher assesses only the level of achieved knowledge and competence that is foreseen in the curriculum, and that he or she does not assess the pupil's level of conscientiousness, whether the pupil participates in the class, the amount of effort invested, specific learning problems, etc. The grade must also be independent of the pupil's gender, nationality, social origin, more or less pleasant character, attractive or unattractive appearance, etc. (Kodelja 2006, Kovač Šebart 2002, Merle 1999).

In addition, the research also points out that "the fact that the grade can accurately measure the quality of a particular task or answer does not satisfy the pupils as a guarantee of the justice of assessment². The conviction that the teacher is impartial is also necessary" (Kodelja 2006, p. 211, cf. Merle 1999). This means that the assessor must not influence the grade, for instance through the 'halo effect', when undisciplined pupils receive a lower grade for the same or similar demonstrated knowledge, and vice versa. To summarise, from this point of view it is unjust to award a grade that is not a consequence purely of the pupil's (lack of) knowledge, but rather of his or her behaviour; it is also unjust to treat better and worse pupils unequally, as well as to fail to respect the personal dignity of the pupil when making assessment. Thus assessment must not take the role of a means with which the teacher seeks to directly achieve effects other than purely assessing knowledge³.

When is the teacher just in the sense of impartiality? Viewed from a methodological standpoint, the evaluation of the teacher's impartiality in the assessment of knowledge can most likely be influenced by everything that is described in the methodology as the unit measure characteristics of the test: validity, objectivity, as well as reliability (Bryman 2004, Engel & Schutt 2005, Sagadin 1993, Sarantakos 2005). We proceed from the assumption that, for the pupil, evaluation of the impartiality of the teacher is most clearly connected with objectivity in the assessment of knowledge, to which it is necessary to add that objectivity is connected with the validity and reliability of the assessment of knowledge.

We assume that the questions (e.g., the test) with which the teacher will assess knowledge are conceived in such a way that the assessment is valid (i.e. that it actually measures the content of knowledge and the level of knowledge that it is intended to measure). Then, that in doing so the teacher is more impartial the more the measure of knowledge demonstrated excludes his or her subjective influence on the execution of the assessment of knowledge. Here we may object that, for the pupil,

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² A. Kozłowska (2003), Ocenivanie ucebnyh dostizenij ucascihsja po matematike s ispolzovaniem testovih metodik, Mińsk, Bestprint.

³ A. Kozłowska (1997), Zmiana systemu oceniania jako warunek podniesienia jakości pracy polskiej szkoły, [in:] M. Szczepański, I. Wagner, B. Pawlica (eds.), System edukacyjny w procesie przemian w latach 1989-1996. Wyzwania, konteksty i prognozy socjo-pedagogiczne, Częstochowa, WSP, pp. 123–131.

the assessment of knowledge will not be unjust if the teacher influences the pupil in an encouraging way when during the verbal assessment of knowledge the pupil has difficulties, is nervous, etc. But how far can the teacher go with this? When does the teacher treat everyone equally? Can we understand it as a just assessment of knowledge if the teacher encourages one pupil, virtually giving him or her the answer on a plate, while with another student he or she simply terminates the assessment when the pupil does not know the answer? This draws our attention to the fact that the evaluation of the teacher's impartiality is nonetheless also dependent on the more or less objective implementation of the assessment of knowledge. Furthermore (and especially), it is a case of the objectivity of assessment from the point of view of the evaluation of the answers (Sagadin 1993). Objectivity in the assessment of knowledge should, to the greatest extent possible, be achieved with "tasks of an objective type" in which the pupil simply circles the correct answers, which are entirely unambiguously determined. In this case it is impossible to arrive at differences in judgement when evaluating the results (in fact, it is not even necessary for a person to undertake the evaluation of results, as it can be done by a suitable computer programme). However, as soon as we want to assess the understanding of concepts, the possible links between them, the application of what has been learnt to concrete examples, the solution of concrete problems in various circumstances, the teacher is in the position of having to evaluate the answers him or herself. The correct answers are not now entirely unambiguously determined in advance, and it is thus possible for the subjectivity of the teacher to influence the judgement of the suitability of the answer. The teacher can thus also have an undesired influence on the grade. We assume that it is not simply a case of an error in evaluation (for instance, due to tiredness, etc.) In the assessment of the pupil's demonstrated knowledge, factors related to the teacher's and pupil's subjectivity and their intersubjective relationship can also come into play⁴. It can be a case of the teacher's attitude to the pupil, which can be conditioned by the pupil's behaviour, the pupil's demonstrated interest in the subject, the characteristics of the pupil's personality that are more or less agreeable to the teacher, etc. When will the pupils judge the teacher to be more partial? If the teacher now and again makes an error in the evaluation of answers or is inconsistent in evaluation (but the grade is corrected when this is pointed out, and no evident determined reason is seen behind the error or inconsistency)? Or when it is recognised that the knowledge of a particular pupil is always evaluated with a lower grade due to his or her behaviour, or those who more obviously demonstrate an interest in the subject receive a higher grade, etc.?

Validity is, therefore, not only dependent on how the assessment of knowledge is conceived, but is actually judged from the viewpoint of the grades that the pupil re-

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⁴ A. Kozłowska (1998), Diagnoza poglądów studentów pedagogiki dotycząca procesu oceniania uczniów w szkołach średnich, [in:] A. Pluta, J. Zdański, (eds.), Nauczyciel i szkoła w procesach innowacji pedagogicznych. Aspekty diagnostyczne, Częstochowa, Wydawnictwo WOM, pp. 171–185.

ceives for the demonstrated knowledge, that is, the final result of the entire process of the assessment of knowledge, also conditioned by the teacher's objectivity in the execution of the assessment of knowledge and the evaluation of answers. One could say that objectivity influences the validity (it influences the accuracy of the measurement of that which is intended to be measured), as well as the reliability of the assessment of knowledge. Objectivity, validity and reliability are thus interconnected and interdependent categories, and are all included in the perception of justice⁵.

In the next part we will examine how teachers and parents understand and adopt certain suppositions of justice in the assessment of knowledge that we have presented in the article. Thus, we will answer the following research question: what is the opinion of parents and teachers regarding whether the assessment should be dependent only on the pupil's knowledge, and which factors should, in the opinion of the parents and teachers surveyed, be taken into account by teachers during assessment?

Empirical research on the opinions of parents and teachers

Within the framework of a research project spanning a number of years and concluding in 2006, we undertook empirical research on a representative sample of Slovene primary schools. In this research, amongst other things, we examined the opinions of parents and teachers about when they believe the assessment of knowledge to be just.

Description of the sample

The research included parents who have children in the first five grades of nine-year primary school, and class teachers who teach these grades. We sent questionnaires to 75 primary schools (to 42 primary schools we sent questionnaires for parents and teachers, and to 33 schools we sent only the questionnaire for teachers, as we wanted to increase the number of teachers in order to ensure a more representative sample). The schools were selected on the basis of region and size. Thus we included schools from all of the regions of Slovenia, ensuring that schools from city and country environments were represented equally, as were larger and smaller schools. Completed questionnaires were returned by 3097 parents and 304 teachers, from 84.0% of the primary schools included in the research.

The largest proportion of the parents (79% of the returned questionnaires were completed by mothers and 21% by fathers) had completed 4-year upper-secondary school (37.9%), a quarter of them (24.5%) had completed 2 or 3-year vocational school, and about one tenth (10.8%) had only completed primary school, while one tenth (11.0%) had completed further education and 13.4% had a higher education

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⁵ A. Kozłowska (1999), Ocenianie w szkole na progach edukacyjnych, Częstochowa, Wydawnictwo WOM.

degree. Their average age was 35.7 years. Of the parents who returned the questionnaire, 35.4% had a child in the first grade, almost a quarter (22.8%) had a child in the second grade, more than a fifth (21.1%) in the third grade, and one tenth in the fourth (10.8%) and fifth (9.9%) grades of nine-year primary school, respectively.

Approximately half of the teachers surveyed had completed further education (47.2%), while exactly the same proportion had a higher education degree. The average age of the teachers was 37.6 years and their average length of work experience was 15.0 years.

The greatest share of the teachers taught the second grade of nine-year primary school (34.5%), slightly fewer taught the first grade (31.3%), while 17.9% of those surveyed taught the third grade and 15.9% the fourth grade.

Data-gathering procedure

No more than 20 questionnaires were distributed to parents in each class. If the class contained more than 20 pupils the teachers distributed the questionnaires to the parents of the pupils who appeared in the first 20 alphabetical places of the class role. We first constructed the preliminary forms of the instruments, which were then tested on a test sample of teachers and parents. The instruments were then refined on the basis of these tests.

Methodology

In the empirical research we used the causal-nonexperimental method of pedagogical research. The data from the questionnaire were treated on the level of descriptive and inferential statistics, using the frequency distribution (f, f %) of the attributive variables, basic descriptive statistics of the numerical variables (mean, standard distribution) and the χ 2-test of hypothesis independence.

Results and Interpretation

3.4.1. The teacher should assess the demonstrated knowledge of the pupil

Table 1: Answers of parents and teachers to the question: "Should assessment be dependent only on the pupil's knowledge or not?"

	yes		no		undecided		total	
	f	f%	f	f%	F	f%	F	f%
Parents	1983	65.1	687	22.6	374	12.3	3044	100.0
Teachers	137	46.3	98	33.1	61	20.6	296	100.0
Total	2120	63.5	785	23.5	435	13.0	3340	100.0

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Between teachers and parents a statistically significant difference emerged in answers to the question: "Should assessment be dependent only on the pupil's knowledge or not?" ($\chi 2 = 42.212$; g = 2; $\alpha = 0.000$). In both groups, however, the majority of those surveyed agreed that assessment should be dependent only on the pupil's knowledge. Nonetheless, a noticeably larger share of parents than teachers answered that assessment should be dependent only on the pupil's knowledge: almost two thirds of parents (65.1%) and less than half of teachers (46.3%). One third of teachers (33.1%) answered that assessment should not be dependent only on the pupil's knowledge, while only slightly more than one fifth of parents (22.6%) responded in this way. More teachers than parents were undecided: 20.6% of teachers and 12.3% of parents. The majority of parents thought that there is greater justice in assessment if when assessing knowledge the teacher only assesses the knowledge demonstrated, and not other circumstances. Here the results are similar to those of research examining the opinion of pupils about justice in assessment. In Slovenia, as already stated, the official rules about assessment demand that the teacher assesses only the level of achieved knowledge and competence that is foreseen in the curriculum, and that he or she does not assess the pupil's level of conscientiousness, whether the pupil participates in the class, the amount of effort invested, specific learning problems and other circumstances. However, through professional discourse the interpretation has also come about that assessment that does not take into account the amount of effort invested by the pupil, and the circumstances that determine his or her knowledge, can be unjust. The teacher can judge, for instance, that the less ably demonstrated knowledge of a pupil who is capable of achieving more in view of his or her ability and conscientiousness could be the consequence of other circumstances, such as difficult social conditions, a culturally impoverished living environment, a poor state of health, etc. Furthermore, the teacher could also judge that the state has not provided appropriate forms of individual assistance for the pupil – assistance that could, at least in part, alleviate the pupil's unequal educational opportunities – and therefore believe that these circumstances should be taken into account in the assessment of knowledge. In addition, the teacher is also aware that the curriculum contains various educational goals that are not linked solely to knowledge, but are, for instance, connected to social skills, and this may also be taken into account in assessment. Thus assessment is not built purely on the principle: the same grade for the same demonstrated knowledge. If we take the case where the teacher believes that for project work it is necessary to assess the class on the basis of group work (in view of the fact that for the teacher there are important goals, such as cooperative learning, developing a "spirit of cooperation", as opposed to competitiveness, etc.), then all of the pupils receive the same grade, irrespective of how much they have each contributed to the final product. In our opinion, the teacher's decision in such cases accounts for the difference between parents and teachers in the results stated above: teachers devoted a certain amount of

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additional thought to the question, including conceptual thought on the assessment of knowledge, whereas parents did not, and therefore more parents indicate a greater desire to have their child's knowledge assessed on the basis of comparisons and knowledge demonstrated. Of course, the question remains as to how parents would respond to the question if they were familiar with the theories and goals followed by the teachers in assessment.

In addition to the general question of whether the assessment should be dependent purely on demonstrated knowledge we also posed questions about the individual steps that a teacher should follow (or not follow) when assessing knowledge. The results are as follows.

More than one tenth of the parents surveyed (13.5%) answered that the teacher should take into account the **good behaviour** of pupils in assessment. Only 1.7% of teachers responded that in assessment the teacher can also take into account the good behaviour of pupils. Three quarters of parents (75.5%) answered that the teacher should not award the pupil a higher grade than he or she has earned for the demonstrated knowledge just because the pupil behaves well in class, while the same response was given by 94.3% of the teachers surveyed. More parents (11.0%) were undecided on this question than teachers (4.0%).

The idea that the **relationship** of the teacher to the individual pupil has an influence on assessment seems correct to more parents (10.9%) than teachers (1.0%). Almost all of the teachers (95.7%), and the vast majority of parents (82.4%), answered that it does not seem correct for the relationship of the teacher to the individual pupil to have an influence on assessment. Again there were more undecided parents (6.7%) than teachers (3.3%) with regard to this question.

In comparison to teachers (0.7%), more parents (9.1%) believe that in assessment the teacher should take into account **the success of the pupils in other subjects**. Almost all of the teachers (98.0%) and the great majority of parents (84.0%) responded that in assessment the teacher must not take into account the success of the pupils in other subjects. Once again more parents were undecided than teachers (6.9% versus 1.3%).

In comparison to parents (78.7%), a statistically significant share of teachers (87.8%) answered that the teacher must not assess the pupil with a higher grade simply because the pupil will be **adversely affected by the grade** earned by demonstrated knowledge. Compared with teachers, more parents were undecided regarding this question (13.6% versus 1.6%), and more parents (7.7% versus 0.7%) believed that teachers can assess the pupil with a higher grade than the grade earned by demonstrated knowledge if the pupil will be adversely affected by the grade.

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With regard to questions such as the grade including criteria such as good behaviour, the relationship of the teacher to the individual pupil or the pupil's success in other subjects, the teachers' lack of agreement is also conditioned by rules. The rules do not prohibit all of these possibilities individually, but rather define that it is knowledge that must be assessed.

It is interesting that within the group of parents and teachers the largest share of parents agree that the teacher can take the **conscientiousness of the pupil** into account in assessment by awarding a higher grade than that earned by demonstrated knowledge. The majority of the parents surveyed (52.9%) and the largest portion of the teachers (45.7%) are convinced that the teacher can take the conscientiousness of the pupil into account by awarding a pupil who has made a particular effort to achieve a certain grade a higher grade than that actually earned by his or her demonstrated knowledge. Slightly less than one third of parents (31.3%) and teachers (32.0%), however, believe that in assessing knowledge the teacher must not take into account the conscientiousness of the pupil. There were more undecided teachers (22.3%) than parents (16.1%) in this case.

Although parents, in view of their majority opinion that assessment should only be dependent on the pupil's knowledge, most likely understand assessment as just if it is in accordance with the retributive principle of justice, which in our case could be stated "the same grade, the same knowledge", half of them still believe that conscientiousness is a factor that should influence assessment. Amongst teachers we have already sought the reason for this standpoint in a concept of assessment that does not understand the idea of justice in assessment, only as demonstrated knowledge. It is interesting, however, that more than 50% of parents believe that the conscientiousness of the pupil should also be assessed, and that the pupil should be awarded a higher grade if he or she has made an effort to achieve this grade, while at the same time we have seen that 65.1% of parents responded that assessment should only be dependent on the pupil's knowledge. Perhaps parents view this question through the prism of their own child, their own experience with the assessment of knowledge, where for a particular subject a lower grade has been awarded relative to the amount of effort invested, and they see this as unjust. Thus it would be interesting also to verify how many parents would answer that the conscientiousness of pupils should be taken into account in assessment if the question were asked specifically about their own child. It would also be interesting to know how many of them would agree to taking conscientiousness into account in assessment in such a way as to give the pupil a lower grade than the demonstrated knowledge if the teacher judged that he or she had invested too little effort. These particular questions regarding conscientiousness were not included in our research. We did, however, pose the question as to whether the teacher can

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motivate the pupil for further learning by awarding him or her a lower grade than that earned by demonstrated knowledge. Only 10.1% of parents agreed with this, and even fewer teachers (5.6%). It is not likely that teachers or parents would, in contrast to these answers, be predominantly in favour of the teacher encouraging the conscientiousness of the pupil with a non-objective, lower grade. We note, however, that although the overall share of agreement is small, in comparison with teachers a somewhat higher portion of parents agree with this kind of non-objective assessment. This indicates a pattern (including answers regarding taking the conscientiousness of pupils into account in assessment) that shows that the views of parents on justice in assessment are less consistent than the views of teachers. Amongst parents a relatively high proportion appears of views, stated conditionally, that depart from the prevailing views of parents, and according to the logic of rationality (the alignment of principles) contradict certain other prevailing answers.

Comparability of the demonstrated knowledge of pupils and the assessment of knowledge

A large share of parents and teachers were also in favour of comparability in the assessment of knowledge, answering that each assessment must be such that it enables a comparison of the demonstrated knowledge of pupils. Again in this case, the difference between the answers of teachers and parents is statistically significant ($\chi 2$ = 107.177; g = 2; α = 0.000). A comparison of the responses of parents and teachers shows that in both groups the majority agree with this standpoint, and in very high percentages: 91.0% of parents and 75.8% of teachers agreed with the statement. Only 4.0% of parents and 17.8% of teachers believed that it is unnecessary for assessment to be such that it enables a comparison of the demonstrated knowledge of pupils. Undecided were approximately the same share of parents (5.0%) and teachers (6.4%). It is clear that parents and teachers believe that assessment should be such that the grade includes the demonstrated knowledge of the individual pupil, and is at the same time comparable with the grades of other pupils. It would appear that this comparison gives parents additional information about the knowledge of their children. Teachers make a similar judgement, evidently believing that they better inform parents and pupils about demonstrated knowledge if they link the information to a comparison of the demonstrated knowledge of the other pupils in the class.

Transparency of the assessment of knowledge

The vast majority of parents (84.5%), and even more teachers (89.1%), are in favour of the transparency of assessment, as they are convinced that before the verbal or written assessment of knowledge the teacher must make it clear to the pupils what they are expected to know. Of those surveyed, only 9.5% of parents and 6.6% of teachers stated that it is not necessary for the teacher to make it clear

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to the pupils what they are expected to know; 6.0% of parents and 4.3% of teachers were undecided with regard to this question. The differences between the answers of teachers and parents are, in this case, statistically insignificant ($\chi 2 = 4.541$; g = 2; $\alpha = 0.103$).

In summary, the results reflect a conviction amongst teachers and parents that in assessment it is necessary to respect an objective network of assessment that forms a clear, transparent measure and a precise procedure of measuring. A preference exists for a concept of the assessment of knowledge that, in spite of differences arising from the subjective influence of teachers (personal equations, the 'halo effect', greater comparability of grades only within the same class and the same teacher, etc.), nonetheless enables teachers, parents, pupils and schools to more easily compare their success or lack of success, that is, the pupil's (lack of) knowledge. The results may also be explained within Bernstein's theory of explicit and implicit pedagogy (1999). In a network of assessment formed in this way the pupil's profile is shaped with a review of grades. Each pupil knows "where he or she is", as do the pupil's teachers and parents. As stated above, it is true that in this kind of assessment of knowledge subjective elements still influence the grade, but they are covered and limited by the obvious objectivity of the described network. If the assessment procedures are numerous and dispersed, and thus non-transparent, and if the pupil is assessed in such a way that he or she does not even know when the teacher made the assessment and what was actually assessed, the comparability of the demonstrated knowledge is not possible. The claim that this kind of assessment of knowledge is less of a burden and less stressful for the pupil, as he or she is not exposed to the pressure of having to demonstrate specific knowledge at a particular point in time on the basis of transparent demands, however legitimate, certainly leads to a lack of transparency in the assessment of knowledge. Especially if, due to theories that lead to interpretation, diagnosis and appraisement, other types of the child's behaviour and disposition become important for evaluation, that is, the teacher's attention is directed towards each child, towards his or her total "action or inaction". As Bernstein points out, this can cause the formation of contradictory views, as the parents do not necessarily agree with the teacher's view of the child, and they take that which the teacher assesses as imperfect, intrusive and inexact dispositions and procedures. (cf. ibid.). As it seems, written in the answers of teachers and parents there is, put simply, a disagreement with the approach to the assessment of knowledge conditioned by the concept of implicit pedagogy.

Assessment as a means of discipline

Almost half of the parents (48.1%) and only 4.6% of the teachers answered that the teacher can establish discipline in the class by asking questions of undisciplined pupils. Almost all of the teachers (90.5%) and only slightly more than one third of the parents (38.5%) believe that the teacher must not establish discipline in the class by

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asking questions of undisciplined pupils. Again with regard to this statement more parents were undecided than teachers (13.4% versus 4.9%). The differences between the answers of teachers and parents are statistically significant ($\chi 2 = 307.060$; g = 2; $\alpha = 0.000$).

From certain findings of empirical educational research of school assessment it is possible, as we have already pointed out, to determine that to pupils it seems unjust if the teacher uses a negative grade as a means of disciplining the individual pupil or the entire class, if the teacher gives better pupils a higher grade than that earned simply because they are hard-working, if the teacher humiliates a pupil who has gained a poor grade with insulting notes and commentary, etc. Various theoretical analyses of teachers' assessment of knowledge have also established the weakness of assessment that is used as a means of discipline. In Slovenia, this kind of assessment is also formally defined as an abuse of assessment, and is the subject of school inspection. The teachers' establishing discipline in the class through assessment is explicitly prohibited by the relevant legal acts, and this, of course, is evident from the answers. The parents' answers, however, perhaps indicate the observation that this kind of assessment does, nonetheless, occur. The question was not intended to determine an endorsement or non-endorsement of this phenomenon, but rather was formulated in such a way that it could be understood – that the teacher can establish discipline by asking questions of undisciplined pupils. An answer that teachers can do this could indicate that parents are familiar with this kind of assessment and that it is present in schools.

Conclusion

What do the results show us? They show that between parents and teachers there are statistically significant differences in the answer to the question "Should assessment be dependent only on the pupil's knowledge?" In both groups the largest proportion agree that assessment should be dependent only on the pupil's knowledge. Nonetheless, a noticeably larger proportion of parents than teachers answer that assessment should be dependent only on the pupil's knowledge.

In addition, a high proportion of both parents and teachers reject the assessment of knowledge in which there is an influence of individual additional criteria: attractive appearance, the relationship of the teacher to the individual pupil, the success of the pupil in other subjects, and the adverse effect of the grade on the pupil. Here it is noticeable that teachers, in comparison with parents, in greater numbers do not agree with the influence of these factors on assessment. The only exception is regarding the statement that speaks of taking into account the pupil's conscientiousness in the grade, with which more than half of the parents agree and less than half of

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the teachers. Comparison of the results prompts another question: why is it that a lower percentage of teachers than parents agree with the assessment only of demonstrated knowledge, whereas in a higher proportion they reject the listed additional criteria for assessing knowledge? The opposite is true of parents: on the one hand, a high proportion of parents support the assessment of (solely) knowledge, as well as comparability in the assessment of knowledge, while, on the other hand, they are less decisively opposed to taking into account success in other subjects or the pupil's attitude towards the teacher in assessing knowledge, and support taking into account the conscientiousness of the pupil in the assessment of knowledge? How might it be possible to explain this?

Certainly, as we have emphasised, teachers are bound by legal order, whereas parents are not. In addition, unlike parents, teachers have experience with generations of pupils and not just with their own child, a fact that is undoubtedly reflected in their standpoints. Furthermore, theories of assessment influence teachers' opinions more than those of parents, who mostly are not party to such theories, or are familiar with them only through their own experience with the assessment and interpretation of teachers, and through the teachers' interpretations in assessing their own child.

A larger portion of parents than teachers support assessment of knowledge alone and are in favour of comparability; that is, criteria that emphasise justice, that support the validity of the grade, and that are a condition for establishing an objective network in the assessment of knowledge. We assume that this is the case because, on the one hand, as we have already stated, parents are normally not directly informed about the theories of assessment that prevail in school practice and are most likely less aware than teachers that it is also possible to form an assessment of knowledge based on the measures highlighted by the concepts we can attribute to implicit pedagogy. On the other hand, the individual statement does not, of course, reveal or draw attention to other criteria that could lead to a departure from the respecting of objective measures in the assessment of knowledge, measures that teachers are probably more aware of than parents.

A further question is why a small portion of parents, around ten percent (which is nonetheless more than with teachers), support taking into account success in other subjects, the pupil's attitude towards the teacher in the assessment of knowledge, and taking into account the conscientiousness of the pupil in the formation of the pupil's grade. Perhaps this indicates that teachers have more consistent standpoints regarding the assessment of knowledge than parents.

The fact is that the relatively low level of agreement in the overall convictions of the majority of teachers in comparison to parents regarding the justice ensured by taking knowledge as the single measure of the grade in the assessment of knowledge

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does not mean that the teachers agree with the implementation of additional criteria in the assessment of knowledge. Only the taking into account of conscientiousness departs from this pattern. This is perhaps understood as an exception, where the teacher departs from the accepted principle only in the case of the individual pupil. Of the one third of teachers (33.1%) who do not agree that knowledge is the only criteria for assessment, the answer most likely includes their reflection that it is necessary (also) to assess the other goals of the lesson (such as the development of cooperation amongst pupils), not only the standards of knowledge, as we pointed out in the introduction (in as much as taking into account conscientiousness is also included in these answers, it probably takes account of the logic pointed out earlier, whereby the teacher makes an exception from the rule).

It is also a fact that the answers of the teachers and parents only go as far as a certain deviation; they do not arrive at differences such that the answers of each group (in the question of transparency of grades, etc.) are completely in contradiction. In both groups, not just in one, a larger proportion of respondents are in favour of taking into account the conscientiousness of the pupil in the grade in such a way that the teacher gives the pupil a higher grade than he or she would earn on the basis of knowledge alone. This could signify an acceptance of the supposition that it is necessary to build upon that which the child already knows and is able to do, to praise the child in areas where he or she is more successful and thus to help the child to overcome difficulties in areas where he or she is less successful. Taking into account conscientiousness in grades is also the one point in which it seems to teachers and parents that it is possible to depart from the principle of objectivity.

The results therefore mean that both parents and teachers support an objective and transparent network of the assessment of knowledge. The results also draw attention to the fact that amongst both teachers and parents the prevailing viewpoints regarding justice in assessment are in line with those of pupils, as determined by the research referred to in the introduction. This finding is also relevant to school policy, irrespective of what kind of professional viewpoint forms the basis of the systemic establishment of the assessment of knowledge.

Abstract

According to various empirical research projects, pupils believe school assessment is just when the grade received is equivalent to the knowledge demonstrated. In this text we present and discuss the results of our empirical research on the opinions of teachers and parents about justice in school assessment. The overall results show that both parents and teachers support an objective and transparent network of the assessment of knowledge.

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SONJA KUMP

The erosion of adult education in the neoliberal discourse of lifelong learning

Keywords: lifelong learning, neoliberalism, welfare, adult education

Introduction

There is a big difference between the classical andragogic understanding of lifelong learning and its understanding within the discourse of contemporary European policies. Rubenson (2004, p. 29) uses three different generations of lifelong learning to show the changes in the concept. The origins of the first, i.e. the humanistic generation of lifelong learning, can be tracked to the 1970s, when inequalities in educational achievements increased even though expenditure on education was on the rise. This also resulted in an increase in social and economic inequalities. In the spirit of the humanistic tradition, the authors (e.g. Faure 1972) of this concept stated that lifelong learning would contribute to the construction of a better society and a higher quality of life. The emphasis was placed on the establishment of a system of lifelong learning that would reduce inequalities in the field of education. However, as stated by Rubenson (2004), the debates on this concept soon became a strange mixture of

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global generalisations and utopic expectations. This was by no means aided by the fact that narrow practical questions often blurred the entire idea. Rubenson is of the opinion that the debates on the humanistic concept of lifelong learning remained more or less on the level of vague ideas.

The second generation of lifelong learning appeared in the late 1980s under totally different circumstances. Its emergence is linked to the publication of the OECD *Report on Education and Economy in a Changing Society* (OECD 1989). In order to achieve a better understanding of the educational discourse promoted by OECD, it needs to be emphasised that the new educational agenda was not lead merely from the position of human capital, but also within a neoliberal frame that substituted the Keynesian welfare state. The economic imperative that drove the educational policy was reflected in the numerous reductions in public expenditure, in the general suspicion of public institutions (the number of evaluations related to responsibility increased), and in the conviction regarding the true efficiency of the free market. The discussions on lifelong learning took place within the political economic imperative that emphasised the importance of highly trained human capital, science and new technologies. All of this supposedly supported the restructuring of the economy, increased productivity and international competitiveness.

The third generation of lifelong learning (which according to Rubenson represents the softer economy version) is linked to the publication of the Memorandum on Lifelong Learning (European Commission 2000). At the end of the 1990s, the creators of the new economy that was supposed to increase the individual's productivity and welfare began to realise that a society and economy based on knowledge increases exclusion and marginalises certain segments of the population as well as intensifying social and economic divisions. Therefore, the knowledge society experienced a greater division between those who had knowledge and those who could not access it. In light of this, some authors (e.g. Ilič 2006) drew attention to the paradox of the knowledge society, in which, even though economic growth is on the increase, the division of welfare between various social groups and classes becomes increasingly uneven. According to Ilič, this paradox turns the knowledge society into an inherent conflict society. Due to such and similar warnings the European Commission's Memorandum started from the premise that contemporary social and economic changes are connected. Thus the memorandum states that 'promoting active citizenship and promoting employability are equally important and interrelated aims of lifelong learning' (European Commission 2000, p. 4). The central role in the third generation of lifelong learning is still held by the market. However, the discussions on the divided responsibility and reciprocal operation of the market, the individual and the state become visible. In spite of this, a careful reading of the EU documents published after the turn of the millennium reveals that the emphasis is mainly placed on the individuals, who are in the end the ones responsible for continuous learning. Thus

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the lifelong learning of the third generation is shown to be a project explicitly in the domain of the individual; the individual is responsible for selecting the appropriate educational offer as well as for creating and preserving his human capital; therefore, the financing of education is also primarily the responsibility of the individual.

Contemporary discussions on the lifelong learning concept

Lifelong learning has managed to achieve what adult education never succeeded in doing: it has been placed in the centre of political and economic debates and documents. However, authors who analyse educational policies have become increasingly worried about the political and economic intentions of lifelong learning (Coffield 2002, Martin 2003, Crowther 2004, Laval 2005, Olssen 2006 and others). An increase in the critical analyses of the neoliberally conceived lifelong learning as defined in the national political documents and NGO materials, especially OECD and EU, is visible (Rubenson 2004). Most criticisms that differ as regards the individual aspects of the treatment are at the same time reciprocally connected.

Andragogic circles express resentment regarding the economic colonisation of adult education and the abandonment of its humanistic tradition that is shown in the drastic changes in the conditions in which adult education takes place (see Jelenc Krašovec, Muršak 2005). Accordingly, these circles draw attention to the increase in the commercialisation of adult education which is becoming a part of the broader 'industrialisation' of educational activities. In the dominant discourse of lifelong learning we are dealing with a completely new intention and organisation of adult education that is organised as an open, decentralised and market oriented system, adjusted to labour and consumerism (Martin, 2001). Even when political documents link lifelong learning to social cohesion and active citizenship, these terms remain unclear, because knowledge is not linked to political and economic power in society. In relation to this, Murphy draws attention to the fact that, in the concept and policies of lifelong learning, we are in fact dealing with flexible citizenship and a workforce that fulfils the selective interests of the capitalist political economy hidden beneath the mask of power and progressive education for all (Murphy, 2000, p. 176). His conclusion is confirmed by the previously stated memorandum goal of lifelong learning, which states that active citizenship and employment are equally important and interrelated goals. Thus employability and active citizenship cover and support each other. There is also a great possibility 'that the pragmatic, utilitaristic component or function - marked merely by the economic interests - would prevail' (Vidmar 2006, p. 32). Thus productive life within the economy is becoming an integral part of what is supposed to be active citizenship (Borg and Mayo 2006, p. 23), and, therefore, the workplace is becoming the centre of the individual's social life. In relation to this, critics are drawing attention to the fact that, in the neoliberal discourse of lifelong learning, there is not a single trace of any traditional ideas on

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adult education that would be linked to social intentions, political engagement and a vision of a better world.

Most criticism focuses on the political regulation of lifelong learning, which is based on the neoliberal value system and its main principles: globalisation, privatisation, deregulation and free market. Globalisation is changing the role of the state, which is becoming increasingly limited as a direct economic agent, resulting in the loss of its political legitimacy. Peters (2001) draws attention to the neoliberal limitations of the role of the state which occur through privatisation and the reduction of the public sector; the state is therefore limited in its market regulation and stops following traditional welfare goals (such as full employment or equal education possibilities). At the same time, however, the state can only preserve its legitimacy through its ability to create conditions for economic and social development. Some authors state that in the new global economy, in which knowledge is the most appreciated 'commodity', these conditions will become increasingly dependent on the way in which the state organises the educational system (Carnoy 1999, p. 82). Other authors state that the theories on globalisation and the reduction of the role of the state are wrong (e.g. Holst 2002, Rikowski 1999), for global capital needs the state in order to retain the conditions for accumulation, take care of work discipline and increase capital mobility – one could say that the state is the main agent of globalisation. Capital needs state intervention especially in the fields of education and training, as only this can ensure the production of an ideologically dependent and technologically trained workforce.

According to Crowther the failing of the dominating discourse on lifelong learning does not lie in its narrow orientation on professional training or learning (which is merely a part of lifelong learning), but in its hidden agenda to create adjustable, unconnected, disciplined and intimidated workers and citizens (Crowther 2004, p. 127). The author draws attention to the erroneous idea that lifelong learning is merely a more popular form of lifelong education, because it occurred as something new and more decisive. The dominant discourse of lifelong learning is becoming a way of introducing social control that operates as a new disciplinary technology; it makes people more humble and makes them accept the 'wonderful new world' of flexible capitalism. In the opinion of numerous authors (e.g. Crowther 2004, Olssen 2006, Martin 2001 and others) lifelong learning narrows the public sphere, undermines educational activities, introduces new self-controlling and self-disciplining mechanisms and strengthens the conviction that the individual is responsible for failure. From this perspective, lifelong learning is a 'deficitory discourse' that transfers the responsibility for economic and political failure from the system onto the individual. Lifelong learning has become a part of a new and less obvious means of controlling people. According to Bourdieu 'Flexploatation' is a new type of domination that is based on the creation of a general and permanent condition of

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insecurity with the goal of forcing the workers to become humble and accept precarious work (Bourdieu 1998, p. 85). Coffield stated that, in the eyes of an employer an ideal worker, is one who quickly internalises the need for employment, who is prepared to pay for his continuous education and who is flexible enough to perform any labour, even that which is only temporary and poorly paid (Coffield 2002, p. 185). In this sense lifelong learning is a part of the hegemonic project of internalising humbleness.

In the dominant paradigm of lifelong learning, adult education is oriented towards short-term training programmes that do not reduce the dependency of the individual on unstable labour markets or training that, as a rule, does not improve their position in the market. Short-term training for a specific work post also brings much lower results (in salary) than longer, more individual and theoretically formed educational programmes (Esping-Andersen 2006). Longer, more formal forms of education in particular can broaden the social and economic possibilities of the individual, while in the long term they reduce his dependency on hired work and market forces, and they can thereby improve the individual's long-term social security.

Increasing the tempo of the transformation into an economy that would supposedly be based on knowledge assumes great investment in education, training and strengthening cognitive skills. In this regard, Schuetze (2007) draws attention to the progressive move that governments made from the model of financing education in a welfare state to a market model. This trend is evident in numerous governments that, despite having financed formal education and training in the past, have recently started focusing on private investment in education. As governments reduce public expenditure on education, they favour the reproduction of the existing class structure and the existing conditions in the labour market, which in turn reduces the opportunities for social mobility. In the context of the neo-liberal discourse, knowledge and education are no longer in the public domain. Instead they have found themselves in the private domain where they have a predominantly economic value (Kodelja, 2006). In such conditions people with a low level of education and low salaries remain trapped in the circle of poverty and exclusion. Adult education that is increasingly linked to privatisation and the increase in the marketing of the educational offer cannot have an effect on the reduction of the existing social inequalities - in fact the reality is just the opposite: such education only increases inequalities within society.

Crowther (2004) wonders whether we are not becoming prisoners of lifelong learning, for the penalties and sanctions strengthen the 'truth' that lifelong learning is a path to security. Field also emphasises that a larger part of professional development and skill modernisation does not take place because somebody would have the desire or will to learn, but because he has to learn (Field 1999, p. 11). The individu-

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al should therefore accept learning as a normal and routine operation. As a result, lifelong learning is becoming less and less an issue of free choice and voluntary decision, and increasingly a demand and expectation. One could even say that it is a social obligation and necessity (Kodelja 2006, Coffield 2002).

The individual is therefore obliged to take care of the development of his human capital, through which he proves that he is capable of flexibly responding to changes in the demands of labour. Flexibility – as a key characteristic of the new economy - means that nobody will obtain sufficient skills and knowledge during his education to ensure long-term employment (Coffield 2002, p. 185). It also demands innovative people who are freed of rigid and old-fashioned work practices, such as employment predictability and dependability. The consequence of such flexibility is that the relatively privileged remain safe as their resources (especially education), enable them to survive the rises and falls of the labour market. The weaker groups that lack these advantages find it harder to change their insecure employment into a positive opportunity. Apart from this, constant work reorganisation, short-span employment contracts and the continuous changing of employment weaken those ties amongst workers through which trust, loyalty and support are created.

Because flexible production specialisation demands new types of flexible workers (who are prepared to continuously undergo training and re-qualification), people need to be persuaded to become eternal and responsible pupils. As a result, learning how to learn is becoming increasingly important, for only skilled pupils can control the efficiency of their learning (Cornford 2002, p. 359). This is of course problematical, as it emphasises learning as an efficient system for processing information that takes place within the head of an individual, instead of presenting interaction and an understanding of what happens between people in their relations with the broader world. The individualisation of learning, i.e. learning that is restricted to the individual and the rhetoric connected to the responsibility that the individual needs to accept for his learning, also includes the hidden intent for the individuals to internalise the expected behavioural patterns. In light of this, one has to ask oneself what sort of knowledge and skills an individual can obtain through short-term training for a specific work post. Can these skills and knowledge that are based on precisely defined values and responsibilities ensure that the individual is in control of his life? The answer is negative, for these types of training are not related to actual needs and experience; as a rule the participants are transformed into objects that non-critically and non-reflectively accept the mediated knowledge and skills. Because of this, Crowther (2004) is of the opinion that it is important to inform the people of the hidden curriculum of lifelong learning, which – in the current neoliberal agenda - represents an undermining of the collective organisation and operation that had historically formed the reaction of workers whenever insecurities occurred

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Adult education as a part of the activation measures of the reformed welfare state

Numerous critical analyses of lifelong learning deal with the activation policy in the context of globalisation and the new division of labour and the related demand for a better trained workforce. The activation policy becomes problematic when the quality of the labour market, which would enable the individual to emancipate himself and live a decent life, is not defined. Training for poorly paid and temporary work positions, which should supposedly provide employment for a large group of poorly qualified workers, the unemployed and other receivers of social benefits, differs greatly from training for work positions that demand higher levels of education. With the short-term training aimed exclusively at work, the receivers of social benefits should experience a quick return to employment and the labour market. However, the authors of these programmes fail to mention that these are mainly work posts that do not provide good salaries and the social security linked to them. Thus, the consequences of the activation policy can be seen in the large numbers of poor amongst the employed (Kopač 2005, p. 781). Following the growth of various forms of underemployment and poorly paid working positions, the persistence of the concept of paid work – as the key and only element in ensuring the social inclusion of individuals into the post-modern risk society – should be questioned.

The activation policy is also an important part of the welfare state reforms that are based on the 'from welfare to work' programmes. From the neoliberal perspective, the Keynesian welfare state is inefficient and wasteful, for it uses a vast administration to support the dependency of individuals and the civil society and thus kills off all entrepreneurial spirit and confidence (Kodelja 2005, p. 319). With the new definition, welfare is linked to the activation of all citizens, even the weakest. The neoliberal policies of lifelong learning are closely connected to the reforms that endeavour to activate people (especially the receivers of social benefits) and reintroduce them into the labour market¹. However, the activation measures (such as training and re-qualification) will show poor results if the basic cognitive knowledge and skills of the workers are low. The consequence of the new policies is already showing in increased marginalisation and stigmatisation² – especially of those who are structurally excluded from the labour market (Peters 2001). In Griffin's (1999, p. 432) opinion, these policies are in reality anti-educational, as they represent a smokescreen that covers up the systematic decomposition of the welfare state and the public education system.

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¹ In the neoliberal social policy, the main responsibility for welfare is transferred from the state onto the individual. With the paradigm of the individualised responsibility for one's welfare, lifelong learning becomes an important risk management tool at the disposal of the individual.

² In the neoliberal discourse, the responsibility for poverty is also transferred from the state onto the individual. The social and economic reasons for poverty are not mentioned.

Esping-Andersen (2001), a reputable researcher of welfare state regimes, opposes the simplicity offered by the advocates of the 'third path', who believe that people will (though education) adjust to the demands of the new economy, and that this will result in the abolition of social problems. In his opinion, such conclusions are wrong; education, training and lifelong learning are not enough. Similarly wrong are the post-war meritocratic assumptions with the prevailing idea that mass education will abolish class differences. Esping-Andersen predicts that the knowledge-based economy will lead to new social polarisation and inequalities. One of the reasons for this lies in the reduced demand for a low-qualified workforce. It is highly likely that the long-term scenario would present an image in which there would be 'a few islands of knowledge and a great sea of marginalised outcasts' (Esping-Andersen 2001, p. 384). The author states that this bleak scenario can be prevented only if the cognitive capacities of all citizens are strengthened. However, due to the various learning capabilities of the individual, society will always include a segment of people for which investment in education will have only a small effect. Because of this, even the most 'productive' welfare state will have the need for so-called passive measures; for within a society there will always be a certain number of people and groups that depend mostly on redistribution. In his last thoughts (offered to politicians) on the 21st century welfare state, Esping-Andersen (2006) suggests that the most important concern is basic social investment in education – especially of the younger generations who will later, once they are educated, ensure welfare also for the elderly. With increased public investment in education, the current educational abyss between the generations would be reduced.

The various EU members' approaches to the Lisbon objectives: adult participation in lifelong learning

Regardless of the influence of the neoliberal agenda, there are great differences amongst the European countries in ensuring welfare and lifelong learning, especially as far as accessibility to adult education is concerned. Large differences between countries mean that a general strategy for Europe is unrealistic, for it does not take into account the various political, social, economic and cultural traditions of the individual countries. In its extensive working document on the progress towards the Lisbon objectives, the EU Commission has ascertained that adult participation in lifelong learning no longer follows the EU standards of success. Thus it warns its members that they should try harder to increase the qualification of adults as well as achieve flexibility and security in the labour market. According to the 2007 data (European Commission 2008) only seven European countries exceeded the Lisbon objective which states that by the year 2010 at least 12,5% of the adult population should take part in lifelong learning. In 2007 the level of adult (aged between 25 and 64) participation in EU-27 amounted to 9.7%³. However, there were great

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³ The data on adult participation (aged between 25 and 64) in education and training was collected in

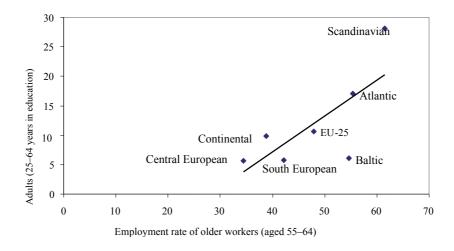
differences in the levels of participation: in the Scandinavian countries and Great Britain this share is between 20% and 30%, while in the southern European countries and the former transitional countries this share amounts to a mere 1%-6%. The exception is Slovenia, which in 2007 recorded a 14.8% share of adults involved in lifelong learning (European Commission 2008). However, the Commission draws attention to the fact that these joint percentages hide an important imbalance: adults with a higher level of education are more than six times more likely to participate in lifelong learning than adults with lower education. Slovene researchers could reach similar conclusions, for they have found a strong correlation between the educational activities of adults and their formal level of education, as well as between the age of the participants in the education process and their employment status and work post. This means that, the higher the level of education and the lower the age of the respondents, the greater the chance that the individual will participate in the education process (Mohorčič et al. 2005, p. 81). The following represent unfavourable factors for education: age 50+, lower levels of formal education, lower employment status, employment for a shorter or specified time.

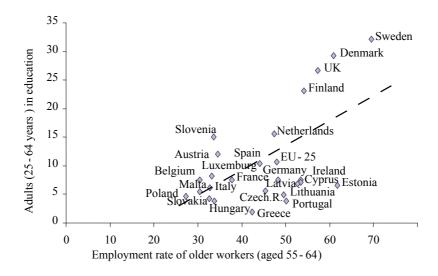
In order to illustrate the differences between the EU members in their achievement of the Lisbon objectives, we will show the link between the participation of adults in lifelong learning and the share of employment of older adults (see Figure 1). Due to rapid changes in the demographic structure, the activation of the elderly in the labour markets is one of the central topics in the European political agenda. Figure 1 shows the great differences between the Scandinavian and Atlantic groups of welfare states on one side and the Continental, Central and South European and Baltic groups of welfare states on the other.

the EU Labour Force Survey. Their participation in the formal and informal education and occasional learning reflects the situation for the four-week period leading up to the survey.

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Figure 1: Correlation of the share of adults (aged 25-64) who participate in education and training⁴ and the employment rate of older workers (aged 55-64) – 2006 data





Source: Communication from the Commission to the Council and to the European Parliament, European Economic-Social Committee and Regional Committee. Brussels, 12.11.2007. Available online at: http://eur.lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/sl/com/2007/com2007 0703sl01.pdf.

Statistical portrait of Slovenia in the European Union 2007. Ljubljana: Statistical Office of RS, 2007.

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⁴ The data on the participation of adults (aged between 25 and 64) was collected in the EU Labour Force Survey. Their participation reflects the situation for the four-week period leading up to the survey.

The comparative analysis depicting the fulfilment of lifelong learning in European welfare states reveals great differences between EU members. Especially among the new members, public investment in education is dwindling together with investment in social security (Kump 2008). Even though the EU Commission frequently reiterates that justice and efficiency are the main objectives of its members when encouraging lifelong learning, it does not try to convince members to increase public funds for education. Instead, it warns them to use the existing public funds efficiently and moderately as well as to encourage private investments by individuals, households and employers. The new European analyses show that the majority of education and training is financed by individuals, to a lesser degree by employers, and least of all by governments (European Commission 2007). The situation in Slovenia is similar, especially if we take into account adult participation in formal forms of education. In 2004 the largest share of expenses for formal education was covered by individuals (64%), followed by employers (30%), while the state covered the lowest share (12%) (Mohorčič et al. 2005, p. 38). Important differences are shown in the inclusion of adults in formal and informal forms of education. Regardless of the relative trend of increasing participation, researchers state that this is mainly an increase in participation in shorter, informal forms of education and training⁵. In comparison to the formal kind, informal education is less regulated, thus it is quicker to adapt to the changing demands of the workforce market. However, informal education does not contribute to career development or improve the material and social position of those with a low level of education and low employment status. The benefits of informal education can be reaped by those with a higher level of formal education, who through such education supplement and update their existing knowledge (Mohorčič at al. 2005, p. 24). Compared to the informal programmes that most commonly pass on specific knowledge and skills (which are demanded by work positions), formal education programmes ensure broad general and transferable qualifications. However, the data shows that the share of adult participation in formal education has decreased over the years: less than 8% of the adult population participate in formal education, while slightly less than one third participate in informal education programmes (Mohorčič et al. 2005, p. 83). This is certainly not in accordance with the wording of the EU Commission (which is echoed by the Slovene government), which states that it is necessary to raise the education levels of citizens due to the demands of the knowledge-based economy.

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⁵ The educationally deprived participate in the shortest educational programmes (approximately 30 hours), while the better educated adults remain in educational programmes at least twice as long. The differences are also shown in the financing sources, as shorter education is predominantly financed by employers, while the longer education processes are funded by individuals and to a lesser degree the state (Mohorčič at al. 2005, p. 84).

Conclusion

The empirical data on lifelong learning in the EU shows that it is predominantly oriented towards short-term training for a specific, often unreliable work post. Because education that raises the formal educational level of adults is predominantly financed from private sources, numerous authors predict new social differentiation in societies that encourage the new knowledge-based economy (Esping-Andersen 2006, Field 2000, Kodelja, 2006 and others). Such an economy will produce new divisions in the labour market, an increasing polarisation between the stronger groups that will be equipped with sufficient knowledge and skills and the weaker groups that will not have them. In the past it has often been confirmed that investment in education is inefficient if it is not supported by investment in the social field. The success of any education depends to a great extent on the social and economic situation of the family of the individual receiving the education. The ability of society to develop its human resources to their full potential is therefore linked to its social policy. Consequently, only the educational policy that is capable of improving the conditions of the weak (see Kodelja 2006) and thereby abolishing the obstacles to achieving better education for social and economically deprived groups can have a positive effect. Of course, ensuring education and welfare for all represents an enforced regulative role of the state and a limitation of privatisation and the free market, which cannot be combined with the political and economic imperatives that are currently dominant.

Critical authors in the field of andragogy believe that there are alternatives to the dominant discourse of lifelong learning. Crowther (2004, p. 134) is convinced that people do not need more lifelong learning (as defined in the neoliberal discourse) but more education (for which the state should take greater responsibility). Because neoliberal discourse on the insecure future repeats and enforces itself in everyday life, people are becoming increasingly scared. We can also witness a twisted logic: the riskier life appears to be, the less likely that there will be a collective response. Bourdieu states that insecurity undermines the desire of people for change, especially if the future is uncertain, for this weakens their basic belief in a better tomorrow. In order to jointly resist current living conditions, people need hope (Bourdieu 1998, p. 82). Courage and moral strength can only grow if people believe in the possibility of a better future that will be based on alternative values and not on nihilist neoliberal values that encourage selfishness, exaggerated individualism, profiteering, greed and ruthless competitiveness (Giroux 2008).

In opposition to the currently dominant version of lifelong learning, critical andragogic authors believe that the idea of radical adult education emerges from the assumption that education is not neutral but closely connected to the hegemonic and contra-hegemonic interests within a certain society; basically this means that all

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educational interventions are of a political nature (Kump 2004). This is conceived on the realisation of the strong connection between knowledge, culture and power. The radicalism of education is shown in the endeavours people make in order to change their existing living conditions and not adjust to them. In such education, everyday experience is an important source of learning. However, this experience needs to be critically 'tested' and strengthened in debates, studies and common operation. The critical education of adults, based on the values of equality and collectivism, is developed from the initiatives from below. It is motivated by the wish to strengthen the social consciousness and power of various groups and encourage progressive social changes.

According to Martin (2001), lifelong learning should become 'learning for life' instead of 'learning for survival'. A necessary precondition for the fulfilment of such learning is the establishment of links between the private lives of the individuals and their public lives as citizens. This demands a curriculum that will include endeavours for social change and enable a dialogue and the opportunity to express disagreement within the public sphere. Such education can play a central role in an authentic civil society, in which people debate common problems as well as their differences. Only this can ensure a basis for a democratic operation that will be based on the principles of equality and justice. In this sense, education would become a source as well as an encouragement for individuals and collectives to take control of their personal and common conditions in life (Crowther et al. 1999) and endeavour for a better, more social and just society. However, the critical andragogues do not merely use a romantic, anti-liberal rhetoric, for their debates offer useful answers that originate from their active engagement in the various forms of community education and the numerous social and union movements.

Abstract

This contribution presents the changes in the concept of lifelong learning that took it from the humanistic understanding to the prevailing contemporary reductionalist one, in which education and learning are narrowed down to the development of skills and continuous training linked to work, and in which it is thus present merely in order to satisfy the need of the economy and employers for a qualified, flexible and adjustable workforce. The author uses empirical data to prove that such an understanding of lifelong learning is a component part of the activation policy within the reformed welfare state. At the end the author opens an important issue regarding the nature of education in relation to social changes: Is this merely an adjustment that people have made due to the changes caused by the development of new technologies and changed production techniques or does this education train and activate people to become agents of true social changes?

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NIVES LIČEN

E-learning as a part of lifelong learning

In the field of education e-technology is used increasingly frequently, as expressed in new models of education and especially in big chances for informal learning and for non-formal education. Within lifelong learning, e-learning manifests itself as a new chance for connecting people, especially those groups that have limited movement, live far away from centres or need education that gives them time flexibility. This article discusses the formation of new professional roles, connected with the preparation, organization and performing of e-education and the formation of new forms of it.

Keywords: Adult education, professional roles, community of practice

Introduction

While observing e-learning within lifelong learning, we are interested in finding out what novelties e-learning brings to the field of professional roles of educators, and whether we can improve learning and social inclusion for different social groups with the innovative use of e-technology.

Different comprehension of lifelong learning

Lifelong learning is not a new idea, as stated by Vidmar in his research (2006). It reaches all periods of life and different fields, and is supposed to be intended for all social classes. In practice it is visible, especially in adulthood, mostly as learning and educating that supports the sphere of work and capital (Salling Olesen 2005).

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Much less attention is devoted to other fields of life.

With the possibilities that the new technology of e-learning offers, we could make knowledge accessible to different groups of people and expand fields of learning. Solutions are not simple, simply because the technology is not sufficient. In the battle against social elimination and poverty e-learning presents a great possibility, which only remains a possibility if the technology is not supported by engaging those groups of people which are not included in the process of education. As Banerjee and Duflo (2008) determine in their research on poverty, poor people do not take part in education, even if they have the opportunity to do so. Their interest increases when they find out what the positive consequences of education can be.

Lifelong learning is understood by many authors (e.g. Morgan-Kleine, Osborne 2008) as a discourse where flexibility is stressed. Today flexibility evolves under the influence of neoliberalism. From the 1980s, neoliberalism has been in favour of a free market as the manager of all events. The free market, competition and individual freedom create the environment where modern lifelong learning should be taking place. The state should only enable the market to function. This research shows that the market does not function in favour of poor, marginalised and helpless people (e.g. Duflo 2008). Flexibility refers to the offer of education, to contents, time and space. A special role in achieving flexibility is played by modern information-communication technology, but even though there are many possibilities, many people still do not have access to knowledge, because they do not know how to use a computer or have an internet connection, e.g. in Africa (GAID 2007).

In European documents (the Memorandum of Lifelong Learning, the Lisbon Strategy, the EU Programme for Lifelong Learning until 2013) it is evident that lifelong learning has two directions. The first one refers to the stimulation of economic growth, and the second to social inclusion. E-learning as a new form enables access to knowledge for everyone and can stimulate economic growth and competition, which is reflected in career education or collaboration, tolerance and mutual recognition (non-career education), which can be seen in programmes of intergenerational learning, learning in the local environment, education of older people, and community education.

Characteristics of e-learning

If e-learning is considered as a new technology, it is considered as a new method of distance learning. It is frequently called the fifth generation of distance learning. If the learning that happens on the networks is stressed – distinctive for the last generation of e-learning – we find that the weaknesses that were present in previous generations of distance e-learning can be avoided, such as loneliness, the lack of

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stimulation and return information, and lack of socialization due to there being no connections with other students. Learning on the net is perceived as a good substitute for learning in a group with other students and a teacher. Individual learning is still stressed, but the student is included online and has the support of tutors and mentors.

Modern e-learning is described as the usage of network technology for planning, distribution, choosing, organising and performing of e-learning. We can establish that with e-learning four basic elements in education are changed. The way in which the content is planned is changed, the way in which it is organised and saved is changed, and the choosing of content by students and the method in which the process of education is performed are changed too. From this point we are interested in how roles of teachers are developed during the process of e-learning.

New dynamics in the formation of knowledge and new roles of teachers

The idea of lifelong learning is not a new one, but the practices that developed in the second half of the 20th century meant a big shift for learning and education. In the 1960s and 1970s, computers started appearing in the field of education too. First they were used only by a few people who entered the complicated systems of encrypted languages. Computers were still far away from educating a great number of people. When personal computers were developed, the worlds of work and communication were subjected to revolutionary change. The development was very fast, and in the 1990s in the western world computers were available to almost everyone. But accessibility to technology is not enough. To know how to use a computer some knowledge is needed – computer literacy. Only then do computers become tools that enable flexible access to knowledge and development of connections with others through different forms (e-mail, chat, cooperative learning in networks, videoconferencing).

With the development of computers, the automatization of information is developing and there is the necessity for different management of knowledge and for new roles for educators. The new technologies introduce new dynamics in the formation of knowledge, new cultural perspectives and new meanings. This is a period when, according to Baudrillard (1999), the third grade of simulacrum is developed, that is signs that have no connection with reality any more. In the world of the internet a virtual reality with games and people with more lives is formed. Networks of computers are formed where communication is limited only by the imagination. Online communities are formed which live on the internet. Arpino (2006) states that in e-learning, in the virtual world the concept of freedom and truth is changed. The net allows free surfing. Everyone can live the truth in a virtual way. The concept of functioning is changed, because there is no functioning in the material environ-

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ment any more, but in the simulation of the virtual world. The concept of time is changed. The new technologies replace the classical perception of time and space. A different conceptualization of time can set the contrast between the "new time of virtual worlds" and the old classical "time of the clock". In the former every individual experiences fast exchange of information, while in the second, linear "time of clock", the changes are slower, sequential. The historical perspective of e-learning is changed, and is no longer a classical transmission. There are many consultative forms, collecting of key concepts, counselling, accompanying that follow the individual forming of knowledge, which brings about new professional roles (tutors, counsellors, mentors).

With e-technology, learning and education are combined and a new educational space is created. With new technology that enables not only the transfer of information in one direction, but also communication among the participants, new challenges are created for teachers. Older media are combined with the newest media. This means educating alongside the conceptual changes mentioned above.

New professional roles

E-learning is a new field. It is difficult to establish professional roles clearly, because they are still developing. Next to e-education and e-learning, outlines of some professional roles are being manifested. Different sources mention them in connection with the technology or phases of the educational process. The divisions are only approximate definitions. The new professional roles come into existence on various levels and in different environments. Individuals are usually trained for these roles in their work, since they do not have the opportunity to acquire the appropriate education in formal educational systems because of the specialist studies involved. Different profiles have developed mostly in bigger corporations. Our demonstration will follow the phases in the educational process of the adults in the organization: planning, execution and evaluation. At first sight many roles can be observed that demand many individuals, but in reality frequently different roles are realised by only one person.

In companies and other organizations a planner of e-education and a knowledge manager are needed. The knowledge manager prepares plans for the education of the employees. The other profiles are the planners of the e-education, whose work is based at the level of organisation and at the level at which projects are executed. The execution of e-education includes experts from two fields: technical and didactic.

Different organizations are included in the planning and execution:

- Client (this might be a company, a society, someone who orders the programme)
- Learning company (the performer of the education, a company that chooses, studies educational needs, collaborates in design, realisation and evaluation)

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- Content provider (a group or individual that provides programmers with contents; mostly institutions of higher education, universities, professors, researchers)
- Multimedia agency (a company that collaborates with the learning company, organises the educational programme, prepares software and graphics)
- Tester (a company or individual that cooperates in evaluation; they mostly concentrate on the verification of products on the technical level).

The realization of every e-programme is divided into different phases: decision, design, production, execution, evaluation. In the decision phase, the role of the client is important, and there must be enough educated experts, who prepare their demands/needs for the education. The design phase includes: learning company, content provider, multimedia agency. The production phase includes: learning company, multimedia agency and tester. The execution is mostly in the hands of the learning company, while for evaluation a special company can be engaged – mostly this is carried out by the learning company. If we look at how the roles of the educators appear in the individual phases, many new profiles are revealed.

The participants **in the decision phase** are the people in the company that make decisions. They prepare the education strategies, and distinguish the needs in their environment. They comprise a chief learning officer, who formulates the education strategies, a training manager, whose work is based on the level of the execution, and a learning administrator, who puts the prepared programmes into practice.

The participants in **the design phase** are experts coming from different sectors, because there are no educational programmes for the training of designers of e-education. In the projection phase some are experts in the didactic field, and others in the multimedia field and specialists in organisation of the content. In the expert literature the following profiles are present:

The instructional designer is an expert on the theory of learning and multimedia communication, the information technology; he responds to the needs of the target group, prepares the educational strategy, and forms the course.

The curricula planner is a specialist who, according to the needs of the group or the market/trends forms a group of programmes (a complete product) in an educational environment. A complete curriculum is set that includes different courses.

The knowledge designer's role is similar to the role of an instructional designer; he must know the company and the knowledge management.

The content designer/content provider is a specialist for individual content who plans the contents.

The multimedia planner helps to form the final programme.

The art director is an expert in visual communication, who takes care of the "look and feel" of the product, collaborates with an *instructional designer* and a multimedia designer. He defines a graphical style that is suitable for the content.

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In the phase of production different profiles are included, similar to those of the development of the multimedia packages. The necessary competences of these experts are set around two axes: management and realization. On the field of management someone is responsible for the production (planning, organization, supervision, coordinating of the learning agency and the multimedia agency. This can be a project manager. Besides him there are a *content developer*, who is an expert, mostly a university professor, a researcher, who describes contents and collaborates with a *storyboarder*. This is a scenarist who usually comes from a multimedia agency. The people working with him are the *multimedia editor*, a graphic designer who prepares a graphical image, a media developer, a system engineer, a software developer, and a quality tester.

In the phase of realization groups of technical and didactic experts are closely connected. The learning organization employs technical personnel. They are experts on the functioning of instruments and platforms. Didactic and educational personnel are lecturers, tutors, and assistants, who work together, and often come from traditional educational organizations and are part of a *content provider*.

The expert for a platform needs to have technological competences. He installs courses, following a process from catalogues to support. *The virtual infrastructure expert* deals with a structure that is used in live-learning. He manages virtual classrooms and systems for videoconferences. *The reporter* chooses the statistics about the use of products, time and frequency of the user access, and which programmes are mostly used.

The virtual instructor is an expert on the contents and e-learning. He has the role of a teacher in virtual classrooms and at videoconferences.

The tutor and mentor are two experts who have different roles in different sources. Sometimes the tutor is an expert on the contents; sometimes a mentor does this work. Both help students, offer them assistance with learning, and help them to understand material. In the Slovene-speaking environment a mentor is an expert on the content and a tutor an expert on the learning process. In practice there is only one person, who is called either a tutor or a mentor.

In the phase of evaluation specific roles are not yet formed. In existing programmes mostly the quantity is followed (a number of visits etc.) A special profile will probably be developed, and an e-learning evaluator.

We can come to the conclusion that in practice there are many professional roles which demand qualified experts.

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E-learning and communities of practice

Besides new roles, new forms of education are developed. Some of them develop by combining the possibilities that technology offers with the applied models of learning. An example of this is the next case study that is being developed by the author on the education of adults in their local environment. E-learning carried out using networks enables us to form a community of practice. This is the model developed by Wenger (2006). It can be applied for learning in different environments, also in intergenerational learning or learning with adults in their local community.

We are interested in how to go about forming a community of practice and virtual communities, that is an intergenerational and intercultural network, where people can learn interactively and stimulate one another, where they can talk, observe, tell stories, and exchange experience with purpose. We would stimulate the situated learning and narrative learning. In such cases learning is understood as a social act that is connected with inclusion in a community or culture. According to the principles of social learning it is important for an individual to collaborate with others in common activities. This stimulates learning. Wenger calls these "activity systems", where members share their knowledge and understanding. They exchange reflections about meanings and work in a community. Functional principles in the community of practice are very similar to the functional principles of study circles, as developed in the Slovene environment in the 1990s. While planning the new form we were led by the comprehension of Bruno Latour, who developed the Actor-Network-Theory. ANT states that relations among people are material and semiotical. Every interaction includes an individual, his ideas and meanings. By setting intergenerational tandems we want to stimulate the possibility to break with the stereotypes and regulated roles of the elderly. The model stresses dialogue, community and informal learning in the community. In the community of practice we would encourage the understanding of a tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is very important in companies and local environments. In business environments the community of practice consists of groups that enable the flow of different expert knowledge. In our groups we want to stimulate the flow of knowledge among generations and form learning communities in a local environment.

Conclusion

The fast development of e-technology has provided many new possibilities of learning. New interdisciplinary study programmes are necessary in order to qualify experts for different roles.

Also crucial is critical reflexion about education in virtual spaces. Because the possibilities do not ensure that different groups of people will participate in education,

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necessary too are qualified facilitators to inform and motivate and provide preliminary training to different groups of people for e-learning, especially those that are likely to face many difficulties.

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JANKO MURŠAK

Development of terminology in the field of education

Keywords: expert terminology, pedagogy, andragogy, terminological dictionary, formal education, occasional learning

Development of terminology is science's key task

Dealing with terminological apparatus and consequently with the terminology or expert terminology of a particular science is a demanding task for anyone who engages seriously in research work, regardless of the specialised field they belong to, as one sooner or later stumbles upon problems of communication, on the one hand, and adequate expression of one's findings on the other. Besides, when writing texts, where one usually uses foreign sources, the problem of translating foreign terminology into the native language arises. Additional problems emerge in connection with synonymous understanding of the applied text, while using it and translating the documents of the EU into native languages. Although these texts and papers are predominantly in English and we are, due to expansion of this language, compelled to use its terms even in our own language, one almost never asks how a particular term is translated into other, historically related languages.

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It is not possible to think of having specialised experts in developing terminology even in a bigger geographical area, let alone in the Slovenian one. Consequently there are no entirely independent experts in the field of development of terminology. This prompts the cooperation of researchers in various fields in order to form expert terminology for a particular field in spite of their lack of expertise in fields other than their own. Methodological as well as contextual problems and dilemmas may emerge due to a lack of expertise in the rules of terminological and linguistic sciences, at the same time making treatises too simplified and not sufficiently exact¹.

However, it is not always necessary to reach complete consensus on terminology or its unification, although it is necessary to have a special referential framework, inside which one can operate, and to establish a central point for each of the fields. A particular field of expertise can indeed use different terms and separate terminology, according to its area of operation. However, in the case of interdisciplinary research it is necessary to regard the conceptual and terminological apparatus of the fields of expertise which are involved in the research. Researchers are obliged to be familiar with the terminology of their major field of expertise, and the responsibility of these fields is to find adequate consensus as well as to point to introducing new terms, which are already well known and for which certain terminology is already established.

National language and scientific terminology

Although it seems that, in a time of so-called globalisation and general access to knowledge, the importance of national language tends to be less important than it used to be at the time of the forming of the Slovenian language, it is nevertheless important to emphasize that a national language is far more endangered by the neglect of the scientific and expert part of it than as a result of pressure from the media or immigrants. At a recent conference on terminology, organised by the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SAZU), M. Humar expressed her view on the value of language: "Language has been throughout history an important value. Today, according to public opinion polls, this awareness is diminishing. We cannot yet talk about endangerment of the Slovenian language, but a language which does not see a development of all fields of expertise, which Slovenian is, in which so-called lost spaces emerge, will not be able to provide adequate communication." (Humar, 2008, p. 14).

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¹ Such problems emerged during the development of a terminological dictionary in the field of professional and vocational education (Muršak 2002), where a trilingual ETF (European Training Foundation) Glossary was used. It showed that terminology is extremely diverse and that it is not possible to translate completely synonymously even such terms as *vocation*, *vocational standard* etc. On the other hand, Glossary did not comprise terms which are regularly used in Slovenian expert terminology, such as *dijak* (*student*), which had to be additionally entered and translated into English.

Warnings regarding the significance and development of Slovenian expert language and terminology, which come from academic, especially humanistic sociological circles, are a cause for great concern. Slovenian history is nevertheless clear proof of how important a role a language bears in establishing and maintaining national self-existence. Without the 16th-century translation of the Bible Slovenians would probably not exist as a nation today. Why is it important to remember that period when discussing contemporary linguistic dilemmas? It is a question of the terminological richness of a language, a question of whether the Slovenian language can provide sufficient accuracy of expression in order to present and understand complicated expert questions unambiguously and uniformly. In the field of education, at least peripherally, such doubts do not exist, although there are signs of emerging doubts caused by expression and sufficient linguistic development of the Slovenian language. If the first translator of the Bible had questioned or felt such a doubt in the capacity of the language, he would probably have given up as, at that time, from a linguistic point of view, such enterprise exceeded the powers of our language. In this regard one cannot disregard the fact, as K. Ahačič (2004) emphasizes, that the translation of the Bible was not only a religious, but also a linguistic and political act. It was financially supported by the Carniolan, Carinthian and Styrian home parliaments, and even because of that the translation represents an important step in the development of the language. Parallels to contemporary events are direct and visible. To be truthful, even the existing authorities strive to preserve and develop Slovenian scientific language, although obviously on a mere declarative level.

Although concerns are increasingly being expressed for the development of scientific terminology, especially among linguistic experts, certain developments can be observed on the level of public concern for the language. This can be seen in the Resolution on the National Program for Language Policy 2007 – 2011 (Resolution ... 2007) (hereafter: National Program), which will be, owing to its relevance for this paper, more thoroughly presented.

The National Program comprises four priority areas, among which, for the development of terminology, especially important is the fourth: "Development and Culture of Language". Due to the fact that the goals of this area directly regard the development of scientific terminology some of them will be particularly exposed. As far as this paper is concerned, the most important goals are: "strengthening the position of the Slovenian language in higher education and science" and "higher communicational culture in society".

On the operational level, the Resolution envisages several measures to help the development of Slovenian terminology, and at the same time directly regarding our work. This is why they are especially emphasized (Resolution 2007 p. 11–12):

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- stimulating and coordinating the work of terminological teams (especially in the field of natural-technical sciences, economy, management, armed forces), which, as a priority task, also includes improvement to and accessibility of terminological collections
- new and improved software in Slovenian in the field of IKT.
- publishing **higher education textbooks, manuals, etc.** with the priority task of publishing basic ones in Slovenian, either original or translated.
- **carrying out programs of higher education** in foreign languages on condition that the same programs are available in Slovenian.
- reinforcing motivation for publishing scientific findings in Slovenian as well as for presenting them at international meetings and conferences organised in Slovenia in Slovenian; one of the goals particularly emphasises "a change of criteria for marking published pieces in Slovenian (not only for the "national sciences"), and a substantial rise in subventions for Slovenian scientific monographs and scientific reviews and journals.
- contributing to the development and assertion of Slovenian scientific language among criteria in presenting the Zois Award and the Puh Award.

The above goals and subsequent measures are good motivations for the development of terminology, although a whole year after the adoption of the Resolution major changes are still not visible. There are still substantial differences regarding evaluation of effectiveness of research work based on the Slovenian Research Agency's official methodology, where works published abroad are rated higher than those published at home. A monograph published by a Slovenian publisher can, with the exception of humanistic science, receive 100 points at most, while a monograph published by a foreign publishing house can get 140 points (Rule book ... 2007). It is interesting how the rule book regarding rules for fulfilling conditions for a program leader have changed. Until 2007 the rules required that a proof of concern for connecting development of knowledge with Slovenia and Slovenian terminology be presented. As proof, "at least one publication (or co-publication) in Slovenian of a program team member per year" had to be made (Rule book... 2006, paragraph 10). In 2007 the rules were changed: "At least two publications or translations (co-publications) of an expert paper by a program team member are required every two years." (Rule book on supplements and changes... 2007, paragraph 2). The situation therefore remains unchanged, except for the fact that the rules now allow publication of two publications in Slovenian in one year, and not at least one publication each year as was required before. One can hardly talk about improvement regarding Slovenian as a language of science.

The problem of development of Slovenian scientific language or development of scientific terminology is also present in the field of standards of habilitation at the University of Ljubljana, where publications in foreign languages are rated substantially higher than Slovenian ones. At the same time, publishing foreign publications

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in those fields of expertise which are not nationally significant is obligatory. Thus, for example, paragraph 12 of the Criteria for elections to the posts of university and higher education teachers and fellows (Criteria ... 2001) requires that a candidate for a post of professor "publishes works or creations in the international arena as well as nationally important works (in the fields where appearance in the international arena is not possible or not appropriate as a criterion for evaluation of quality, a candidate can substitute internationally relevant works with works which are important for the national or state self-determination and culture. These exceptional fields will be defined by the University Senate in advance.)" Interpretations of internationally important works in the field of natural, technical and most social sciences enumerate exclusively works which are not written in the Slovenian language. Moreover, the university's new proposal for the criteria, which it is in the phase of adopting, even increases the importance of publishing in foreign reviews and journals, and consequently in foreign languages.

The above examples and some other factors greatly affect work on the development of Slovenian terminology, making it exceptionally slow and without any simulative influence on researchers and scientists. Rule books and guidelines are not the only ones to blame, as even in everyday life one is inattentive and, taking the line of least resistance, rather uses English terms than Slovenian ones.

In public life we often witness (mis-)usage or mistrust in the usage of Slovenian terminology. It would suffice to glance at the scientific papers which are published by Slovenian pedagogical-andragogical reviews to see that more and more authors along with the Slovenian term give the English one in parentheses. On the one hand, for the sake of clarity, it may be good for the reader, but on the other hand it is bad for the language, which is developing insufficiently and thus remaining terminologically inconsistent. Instead of putting more effort into unifying the terminology, we tend to use the English word in parentheses. In this way authors do not need to pay attention to using adequate Slovenian terminology, consequently avoiding the need for discussion on terminology as well as disciplinary and interdisciplinary coordination and unification of the usage of expert terminology. In some cases authors do not use the Slovenian term at all, using only the English counterpart (e. g. coach, coaching, or part-time student). Work on the development of terminology is exceptionally demanding, and slovenisation without thorough discussion cannot be productive. It is not possible to accept an approach where an expert term is formed by simply finding a Slovenian counterpart in a dictionary, where the author protects himself by adding the English counterpart in parentheses. Slovenian authors also frequently write texts in English in order to avoid unsolved terminological problems2.

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² Quite interesting situations occur in one of the Slovenian journals for the field of education. Some authors present their papers to be published in English language and at the same time are not willing to translate

The problem of Slovenian terminology is strongly present especially in pedagogical work. Students, while working on different papers, from seminar papers to theses, meet with various expert texts which use very different terminology, even within the framework of the same subject. A distinctive example of this is the field of human resources, where one may find synonyms: development of human resources, development of cadres, cadre development etc.

One of the reasons for such terminological incompleteness is also the appearance of various European documents which have become a part of our contemporary political discourse. A distinctive example is the misuse of the term *lifelong learning* as a synonym for the education of adults. However, this is not only a problem of political language. Even the main Slovenian journal for adult education is using lifelong learning as a synonym³.

Pedagogical and/or andragogical terminology

The relationship between the position of a language in general and its relationship towards a scientific language has been defined by A. Vidovič Muha in this way: "The social position of a language is to a large extent dependent on its usage in science and other fields of expertise. Terminological lexis and its accepted codification – by the influential representatives of scientific and expert fields – actually to a large degree authorizes the existence of literary language, and also because of this systematic work in this field surpasses mere linguistic or expert interest." (Vidovič Muha 2008, p. 23) This thought is all the more important because it draws attention to the significance of consensus between influential representatives of branches of expertise as well as the need for a codification of language. The next part of the paper will show the situation in the field of educational sciences.

In the field of educational sciences development of vocabulary is relatively intense, and striving for the usage of Slovenian terms for newly formed concepts is quite strong, as can be seen by a mere glimpse at the Slovenian expert press. A greater problem than the usage of foreign terms is disunity in the usage of terms where a tendency of authors following the sources they have used can be seen. They use the new sources without incorporating new concepts in the existing terminological order, and without the introduction of new terms establishing an adequate relation-

them into Slovenian. They propose that the management of the review take care of the translation themselves. As a reason for submitting their texts in English they argue that writing in Slovenian does not helping their career development.

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³ This is the case of the journal "Andragoška spoznanja" (Andragogic Findings), year 2007, number 4, bearing the subtitle "Prva slovenska revija za vseživljensko izobraževanje" (The First Slovenian Journal of Lifelong Learning) while the English translation adequately says "Journal of adult education in Slovenia". It is interesting to note that in 2006 the title was "Prva slovenska revija za izobraževanje odraslih" (The First Slovenian Journal of Adult Education).

ship towards the existing ones. They also fail to make sure that the incorporation of the new terms is even necessary. There are many reasons for this, of which we can cite three which are prevailing:

- Traditional **pedagogical terminology** is exceptionally **well developed**, and bound to the central European area. Moreover, this year we are celebrating the 90th anniversary of the Chair of Pedagogy at the University of Ljubljana, which means that pedagogy was one of the first academic disciplines in Slovenia. This tradition can also be seen in the development of terminology which is frequently overlooked by recently formed expert fields⁴.
- Due to the expanding influence of the English language the Anglo-Saxon world is becoming more and more influential, also in Slovenia. Having sprung from different traditions, correspondence between existing Slovenian terminology and vocabulary and their English counterparts is frequently difficult. Newer sciences, which lean on Anglo-Saxon tradition, are predominantly bound to English terminology and vocabulary.

The problem is frequently emerging also in the field of educational sciences, for the above reasons. (Sufficient) **communication** between the established pedagogy and its terminology and the developing andragogy has not been carried out.⁵

The interdisciplinary character of the research in the field of education calls for confronting of more disciplines which deal with a certain topic. This means that the interdisciplinary nature is even more emphasized (organisational sciences, sociology, economic sciences, psychology, human resources sciences etc.). It is difficult to find common ground and common terms which are acceptable as well as understandable. This is the reason why researchers do not frequently establish a relationship with the existing terminology in the field in which they are carrying out their research, but simply introduce terms from their own discipline. This causes terminological quandaries.

The situation in the field of educational sciences is such that one can hardly talk about a stable linguistic codification, in spite of many efforts in this direction.⁶ It

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⁴ Let us consider the term *curriculum* as an example. It is indisputable that this term, which is connected to the development of curricular theories, is in some cases indispensable, although it represents a case of a foreign term worth avoiding. On the other hand it is frequently used as a synonym for terms such as *educational program*, *subject list*, *lesson plan* and *school timetable*, which have already been established by classical Didactics, and which, in addition, enable much more accurate expression.

⁵ As an example of inconsistency even at this point the discipline Andragogical Didactics, which has been established at the Faculty of Arts, can be considered. This term is known neither in English nor in any other part of the Middle-European area, thus making this compound actually unique.

⁶ Let us mention two examples: Terminology of Adult Education, edited by Z. Jelenc, which is in the form of a classical terminological dictionary, and the online dictionary Slovenian-English Glossary of Education by the Slovenian unit of EURYDICE http://www.mszs.si/eurydice/term/glosar.htm.

is also clear that terminological purity or unification are a condition of forming a scientific discipline. As the central disciplines in the field of educational sciences are pedagogy/andragogy, one would expect a terminological adjustment at least between those two. This is all the more so as both deal with the term and concept of lifelong learning, which is known to be understood as a uniform process. In the light of the Memorandum (Memorandum... 2000), and the almost legally binding strategy which it introduces, it appears appropriate to ask the somewhat provocative question of whether it is reasonable at all to talk about two sciences, which per se cannot be translated into the *lingua franca*, i.e. English. Translation of the terms pedagogy and andragogy is very difficult, as can be seen in the difficulties with translating the titles of two central Slovenian journals into English. 7 However, it is an established fact that each developed scientific discipline develops and applies its own terminological apparatus and subsequent terminology, which provokes the questions whether the difference in terminological apparatuses is grounded and whether unifying the two terminologies "endangers" the autonomy of andragogy towards pedagogy. Or vice versa: if we accept two separate disciplines, does this mean that we have two terminological apparatuses and subsequent terminologies, meaning two different languages which need to be translated into each other? Such an approach would probably be inappropriate; therefore thorough conceptual consideration is needed in this direction.

Analysis of particular cases

In order not to remain in empty space we shall look at some examples and try to find out the reason for separation and uncoordinated development of the terminologies of the two sciences. We shall put aside the struggle for prestige, which would make discussion even more difficult, especially in personally motivated debates. Let us examine two terms which are predominantly used in pedagogy, but more and more frequently, despite some hindrances, also in andragogy. They are *student* and *school*.

The Dictionary of Slovenian Literary Language describes the term *student* with two meanings: "1. *Someone who studies, learns in elementary, primary school and secondary school; who studies in that way.* 'He became a student of class 2b' / 'the school has one thousand two hundred students' //according to a relationship towards his/her teacher: 'to be a student of Mr. Ramovš' / 'this university professor can stimulate his students towards scientific work' 2. *Someone who learns from someone and accepts his opinion, world view*: 'a student of a renowned painter, trainer' / 'he found a devoted student in him' / 'a student of naturalism' lit. 'Asclepius' student',

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⁷ In the first place we have in mind Andragogical Findings, where the English translation loses the name Andragogical. The translation is: Journal of adult education in Slovenia, while the English translation for Contemporary Pedagogy is actually the same, although it may be hard for an English-speaking reader to comprehend its meaning.

rel. 'Christ's student'" (Dictionary... 1994, p. 1441). The term *student* derives from the verb "to study", and understanding the word only in connection with children, those who go to school, is an unjustified reduction of a term. An identical case is with the term *teacher*. What kind of argumentation would claim that the term cannot be used for studying adults as well? Maybe the fear of "after-schooling" of adults?

The term *school* too far exceeds the meaning of an institution for education of children and youth. Even the etymological base of the word points to this fact. It is the Greek word *scholé*: "In ancient Greek, creative spare time, spent on education, self-improvement and moral development, was named *scholé*. At the same time the term could denote a space where these activities took place." (Vidmar 2006, p. 39) Contemporary usage also points to institutions which carry out education on all levels, even those meant for education of adults (e.g. correspondence school, school of rhetoric, language school). The first institution of the Modern Age meant for education of adults was also, as in ancient Greece, named school. It was, of course, the Danish Folk High School.

It is true that the terminological structure and terms used for denoting it mirror certain concepts in the background. Is it possible to introduce new concepts without inventing new terms, using only the existing ones, which would gain new terminological extensions? Or if we put it this way: is it possible to adequately extend the usage of terms which have established usage in a certain field in cases when corresponding concepts change and expand, or is it possible to expand the meaning of a certain term, especially when it is enabled by linguistic usage, as we have seen in the examples of the terms *student* and *school*?

The term *career*⁸ can also be taken as an example. Even though it has significantly changed in the last fifty years, that does not mean that a new term ought to be introduced. We merely use the old one in its extended meaning. We could also have the reverse situation: due to extension of the term *career*, it is today understood in a broader sense and the new concept has become generally accepted. A similar process is possible with the example of *student*, provided that pedagogy and andragogy accept conceptual changes. If they place themselves into opposition and avoid the process along the whole vertical line, in theory as well as in practice, the whole thing will not go through. It is interesting to note that theoreticians who work on education of children and youth do not feel this problem as strongly as andragogues do. This can be attributed to the age of the science, which is only starting to develop its concepts and terminological apparatus, and in this way makes its appearance with new concepts. The latest developments, also influenced by the concept presented by the Memorandum, provide an opportunity for reconsideration of unifying the basic

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⁸ Indeed some additional effort would have to be made to reach a unified Slovenian term, but this is beyond the scope of this paper.

terminological apparatus of pedagogy and andragogy. Even this consultation is in the first place meant as an effort in the direction of finding a way to ensure their uniformity. I myself am in favour of the restrictive way, where existing terms are expanding in their meaning, and yet stay uniform. This is also important in order that the concepts which prevail in youth education may adequately expand.

A special problem in introducing and unifying terminology regarding sciences which deal with education is deciding on either a high level of slovenisation or usage of foreign terms. Although there is no doubt that we put Slovenian terms at the forefront, due to uniformity in expert texts foreign terms frequently remain.

Let us consider a case of poor adjustment using the example of the translation of the Memorandum on Lifelong Learning. As we know, this introduces three types of learning: *formal*, *non-formal* and *informal* (occasional). The Slovenian translation, which can be found on the ACS website, uses the same, English, terms.

The first problem occurs when one uses two Slovenian terms – education and learning – as counterparts for the English term *learning*, which may be only possible and correct regarding Slovenian vocabulary in the field of education. The second problem emerges in the translation of the term *informal*, where one may find four versions: informal, aformal, occasional and accidental. If one uses foreign terms, one will, as previously said, maintain uniformity, although in this case it is not so, as one foreign term (informal) will be changed into another one (aformal), which would not be reasonable. If one sticks to the term taken from English, it will not be reasonable to change it with another foreign term, all the more if we know that it will frequently be translated back into English. It may happen that an inexperienced translator will use the term aformal instead of informal. It is necessary, above all, to discuss the Slovenian version. When one version is established, it is perhaps better to maintain it than to change it to a new, perhaps even better one, as this would further confuse the matter. How can a reader, for example a student majoring in a program of education of teachers, uniformly understand a concept introduced by the Memorandum, if he or she finds four different words for the same concept in several different texts? If we look at the problem from this point of view it would be better to write English terms in parentheses, which would in this case mean to put the English informal along with the Slovenian aformal. Also for this reason it is better to slovenise terms. This should also hold for cases of "trends" in European policies as well as terms which represent a necessary part of every speech, such as the term competence, which is, without great semantic loss, more and more frequently replaced by the Slovenian term *zmožnosti* (abilities). By this we can also avoid possible misinterpretation of the term in the sense to have competence – to be authorized, empowered, which the term also denotes according to the Dictionary of Slovenian

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Literary Language⁹. Similarly sensible is usage of the term *skrito* (hidden) *znanje* (knowledge) instead of *tacit* or *implicit knowledge*. However, experts certainly bear full responsibility for this, and constant dialogue between expert teams in the government and corresponding scientific sphere is essential, a state of affairs which is, due to lack of financial and human resources on both sides, often quite difficult to achieve.

Conclusion

A well-developed terminological apparatus and adequately unified usage of expert terms is a basic condition for the development of particular expert fields as well as unhindered communication between various fields of expertise. The situation in the field of educational sciences, including pedagogy and andragogy, is not satisfactory, as a great deal of disunity and even contradicting interpretations and definitions can be found there. In the light of these facts, two things have to be achieved:

- 1. Establish a terminological team to watch over the adequate development and application of the expert terminology, not tied to a particular institution or operating within (para-)governmental services. Its task will also have to include warning of disunity and inconsistency.
- 2. Develop an adequate methodological approach and prepare a basic terminological dictionary for the whole realm of educational sciences, without excluding any part of it whatsoever. It is particularly important to strive for adjustment of terminology between pedagogy and andragogy as well as psychology, sociology and human resources sciences in the part which deals particularly with education. It would be utterly unproductive to prepare terminological dictionaries separately for youth education and adult education.

Abstract

Education is one of the common grounds of various sciences, from pedagogy and economy to law, philosophy and theology. Because of this, the problem of developing an adequate terminological apparatus is exceptionally topical, as well as important. Pedagogy and andragogy are especially exposed, as they feel the pressure of new terms, whose Slovenian counterparts already exist, or a new trend of reducing already existing terminological solutions emerges. Development of a terminological apparatus as well as unified usage of terminology is crucially important for development of each particular scientific discipline and consequently for the self-determination of a nation. The problem in the field of pedagogy and andragogy is furthermore intensified due to inadequate coordination between established classical pedagogical theories with their established terminology

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Ompetence –e (fem.) extent, range of deciding, usually determined by law; authority, mandate: 'he exceeded his competence with that' / 'the MP's haven't granted competence to the parliament' // field of activity: 'demarcation of competences of federal and regional bodies' / 'the execution is part of their competences' (Dictionary... 1994, p. 419).

and the parallel terminology, especially bound to the English-speaking world, which is being recognized in the field of andragogy. The paper analyzes some concrete examples, which will show how existing terms can be adequately applied even in new concepts, and why slovenisation of terminology is sensible even in a case when, perhaps due to simplification and unity, foreign terms might be more appropriate.

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DAMIJAN ŠTEFANC

Changes in perception of the meaning and purpose of general education: analysis of some neo-liberal tendencies

Keywords: education, neo-liberalism, general education, liberal education, knowledge

Introduction

In the last decade, international efforts have been directed towards thoroughly reconceptualizing curriculum planning in general education. The curricular changes we are witnessing are clearly a reflection of many complexly interwoven factors, among which at least the following three should be highlighted: (1) the increasingly established perception of education (including general education) as a service that on the one hand provides resources for the labor market, and on the other builds personal "human capital"; (2) the prevailing role of educational theories that epistemologically rely primarily upon (radical) constructivism, thus problematizing the transmission of general education knowledge in class; and (3) the establishment of goal-oriented curriculum planning, which is often interpreted as an approach that should supersede the presumably less desirable content-oriented curriculum planning.

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This paper discusses the first factor in greater detail – that is, the issue of increasing adaptation of education to the demands and expectations of the labor market. These tendencies are also significantly (although not exclusively) connected with the more recent impact of neo-liberalism in the economic and socio-political spheres. At least among some Slovenian and international educators, there is agreement in principal that, from the macrosocial perspective, neo-liberalism has significantly inspired and articulated a paradigm shift in understanding the social role and functions of (especially) general education. The key features of neo-liberalism are defined, followed by a detailed analysis of certain implications resulting from the application of neo-liberal logic in education.

Which features of neo-liberal discourse cause changes in the perception of general education?

Although the rise of neo-liberalism and the socioeconomic processes and phenomena connected with it are usually associated primarily with international developments during the early 1970s, it is clear that its theoretical foundations developed much earlier than that. The first significant work that dealt explicitly with neo-liberalism was not published until half a century after such developments began. In his 1950 dissertation on the topic of neo-liberalism and the revision of liberalism, Jacques Cros gave scholarly articulation to and a defense of the thesis that neo-liberalism was a form of political ideology that was primarily the result of efforts to revive traditional economic liberalism, and that it should be established as an alternative to John Keynes's interventionist economic paradigm (cf. ibid., p. 11 ff.), which predominated at that time. Despite the criticism aimed at the economic policy of state interventionism, both economists and political philosophers remained in favor of Keynes's concept of the welfare state up until the outbreak of the economic crisis of the 1970s. Susan George begins her brief historical overview of neo-liberalism by saying that many ideas that later became part of the predominating neo-liberal logic would simply not have been taken seriously in the first years following World War II:

In 1945 or 1950, if you had seriously proposed any of the ideas and policies in today's standard neo-liberal toolkit, you would have been laughed off the stage at [sic] or sent off to the insane asylum. At least in the Western countries, at that time, everyone was a Keynesian, a social democrat or a social-Christian democrat or some shade of Marxist. The idea that the market should be allowed to make major social and political decisions; the idea that the State should voluntarily reduce its role in the economy, or that corporations should be given total freedom, that trade unions should be curbed and citizens given much less rather than more social protection – such ideas were utterly foreign to the spirit of the time. Even if someone actually agreed with these ideas, he or she would have hesitated to take such a position in public and would have had a hard time finding an audience. (George 1999, par. 2)

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Not only did neo-liberalism grow significantly stronger in the following decades as an economic and political paradigm, but it also succeeded in establishing its principles as the only ones possible or as a "natural" necessity. The acronym "TINA," one of the slogans of British neo-liberal policy, represented by Margaret Thatcher during the 1980s, means exactly this – that in such economic (and related social) policy, there is no alternative (Mittelman 2004; Ramos 2006). In summarizing the key features of neo-liberal economic and social policy, which can also be found in education, two interconnected aspects should be highlighted: the economic and the social-political. As an "economic doctrine," neo-liberalism primarily problematizes the policy of state interventionism in the operation of free-market mechanisms. Shaikh (2005) emphasizes that, in neo-liberal economic policy, the market is understood as notably self-sufficient, or as an optimal and completely self-regulating social structure: "It is claimed that if markets are allowed to function without restraint, they would optimally serve all economic needs, efficiently utilize all economic resources, and automatically generate full employment for all persons who truly wish to work" (ibid., p. 41). The consequences of this logic are clear: the role of the state is to provide optimal conditions (especially an adequate regulatory system) for the establishment of free-market principles such as competitiveness and cost effectiveness with the fewest barriers possible; this can be achieved through measures such as privatizing state enterprises, limiting the power of trade unions, opening domestic markets to foreign capital, and so on (ibid., p. 42).

This economic neo-liberal logic naturally also produces effects at the level of social policy, among other things, and through concepts such as "new public management," which promotes managing social policy in line with market principles. According to Olssen (2000), this involves efforts to make social and education policies an integral part of a "market-based enterprise society," which primarily views its citizens as consumers. However, it does not consider them merely consumers of material goods, but of all goods and services, including those commonly understood as public (e.g., education, healthcare, supply of vital natural resources such as water, and so on) and whose supply should be the responsibility of the state. This in particular points to a key distinction between the ideas of socially oriented liberalism, which can be traced in the works of some classic liberal authors, and the radically market-oriented neo-liberalism. For example, in one of his papers, Mastnak demonstrates that Adam Smith's idea "that 'the system of natural freedom' is established on its own if every individual is completely free to follow his own interest in his own way and to compete with his diligence and capital with the diligence and capital of any other individual or 'order of people' – but only if he does not violate the 'laws of fair play'" (Mastnak 1998, pp. 240–242) is key to understanding his theoretical system. According to Smith, a free market will be truly free only if the logic of social justice and political freedom is integrated

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into it; in contrast to neo-liberal ideas, this of course presupposes that the state appropriately intervenes in market relations and regulates them. The self-regulatory nature of commercial society as a private sphere of economic activity, which is allocated into various sectors by unbridled competition, is relative at best. Mastnak (ibid., p. 242) emphasizes that the author of *The Wealth of Nations* believes that it is absurd and utopian to expect that a system of completely free trade would ever exist. Olssen established the same in analyzing the ideas of Jeremy Bentham, whom he believes to have

...paved the way for an increasingly interventionist role of the state throughout the century. Bentham advocated two principles, which stood in a not altogether consistent relation with each other. On the one hand he advocated the principle which belongs to the economic sphere of the right of each individual to pursue his own interest. On the other he urged, in the political sphere, the right and duty of the state to secure the greatest happiness for the greatest number. (Olssen 2000, p. 485)

In this regard, two key questions arise: (1) What effects do the neo-liberal doctrine described above and the neo-liberal understanding of social policy produce in education?, and (2) How does neo-liberal logic become integrated into education and legitimize specific educational theoretical positions that have gained a predominant position in Slovenia and internationally in the last few decades?

The neo-liberal understanding of general education as a service fulfilling economic needs

It is not easy to provide an answer to the question of how the manifestation of neo-liberal tendencies can be directly perceived in education. One author that seems to have described the features of a neo-liberally oriented school in a relatively condensed manner is Arthur Levine (2001). He begins his short paper titled "A New Curriculum for a New Era" with the following symptomatic thesis: "Today's rapidly changing society puts more pressure on schools and their leaders, but it also presents an opportunity for change... Our schools were created for an industrial, not an information, economy" (Levine 2001, p. 35). This is a basic thesis essential for understanding the paradigm shifts in question: a school must first and foremost provide the kind of education that will ensure an adequate inflow of "human capital" to the labor market for its optimal economic operation. To this end, a school is primarily an institution responsible for the reproduction of an effective labor force; individuals coming from this school must be capable of working effectively in order to accumulate capital. Some OECD theoreticians also believe this has always been true:

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Schools in their traditional form have been patterned on the factory system. For over 150 years, schools have effectively socialized the young to the world of employment in the industrial era by age-graded classes of children following lessons punctuated by bells. (Hargreaves 1999, p. 46)

Moreover, it is thus understood that this will always continue to be true:

The structure of the world of work is changing very rapidly as traditional industrial society comes to an end and is replaced by the "knowledge society" which generates different types and patterns of work. It is one of the functions of schools to prepare the young, directly or indirectly, for working life... So, changes in the nature of work in the next century are profoundly relevant to the functions and character of schools. (ibid., pp. 45–46)

The intention is clear: the neo-liberal criticism of education presupposes that today's schools do not optimally satisfy the needs of the labor market, and that they somehow "lag behind" the social changes that they presumably always kept up with in the past.

So, what are the consequences of these concepts in education? The neo-liberal demand is not merely that, in performing their function, schools should always be subject to the expectations and needs of the labor market. Even though this is the basic and as such also the key idea that neo-liberalism assumes, it has an additional demand: schools must carry out this function in line with "an accurately defined organizational, management, and instructional logic." As stated in an OECD document: "Despite some obvious differences, both firms and schools work within a culture of knowledge, organizational practices and use of personnel. These are areas where educators could identify practices from non-educational sectors that might bring about more effective educational reforms and management" (OECD 1998, pp. 31–32).

Thus a belief is at work that, in order for schools to effectively achieve their goals, it is necessary to thoroughly reconceptualize both levels that establish the education system:

- 1) At the curriculum level (i.e., level of curriculum structure and content) it must be ensured that, as future workers and providers of their "services," students acquire adequate knowledge, skills, and personal characteristics that will directly serve labor needs; that is, of future rather than current needs that will be relevant in a few years, when students enter the labor market;
- 2) At the level of school organization and management: in order to achieve the above, market mechanisms must be implemented; primarily, a financing system sho-

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uld be established that will force schools into as cost-effective an allocation of funds as possible and competition on the education market.

Alongside their effects and consequences, and in combination with the prevailing theoretical educational discourse that supports and legitimizes them, both of these demands result in a particular neo-liberal understanding of education that permeates education as a whole and predetermines the meaning of individual concepts in it.

The impact of neo-liberal logic on the organization and management of education

As partly already shown above, neo-liberal doctrine dictates that activities that are part of the public sphere and serve the public interest, thus representing a "public good," must also be subjected to the mechanisms and logic of the free market. From a neo-liberal perspective, schools (like any other public institutions) are viewed as companies whose range of services must meet the demand articulated by the market. A direct consequence of this presumption is the establishment of knowledge as a "private good," which appeals to two types of customers: (1) individuals participating in education to whom acquiring knowledge through education represents an investment in their "human capital" (which they will offer to other clients on the labor market when they have accumulated enough), and (2) the "clients" of an institution's educational services, who expect to obtain an appropriately qualified and reliable workforce from the schools. Therefore, as Kodelja states, "from this perspective, the 'usefulness' of every individual and the 'competitiveness' of companies are seen as imperatives according to which all educational systems should be reformed" (Kodelja 2005, p. 325).

If education is to be successful in this competitive game, it must urgently assume rules that competitive players follow on the market. This means two things for educational institutions: (1) greater emphasis on private initiatives in education, and (2) managing educational institutions following the logic of company management. According to Levine, private initiative in this area is growing increasingly stronger: "the private sector is investing in education in an unprecedented fashion, believing education is the next health care business. That is, an industry low in productivity, high in cost, poor in leadership, weak in use of technology and therefore, in need of a private sector makeover" (Levine 2001, p. 35).

In schools, the establishment of this logic and the pressure of competition is manifested in increasingly greater tendencies to reduce costs: not only does market competition itself force them to reduce costs, but pressures to reduce education-related public expenditure are growing stronger as well. Because it is logical that efforts for

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the lowest possible management costs and the highest possible quality of education services sooner or later become mutually exclusive, a solution is sought in obtaining additional funds from the market, which inevitably leads to commercialization of the school environment, time of schooling, and curriculum. In addition to Laval (2005), Molnar has discussed this subject extensively (cf. for example Molnar 2003; Molnar & Reaves 2001).

The implementation of neo-liberal logic in general education described above can be externally presented as the opportunity to exercise one's free choice between various educational services; however, the problem is that the cost of general education organized following free-market principles is sooner or later paid by the basic human right to quality general education provided by the state. In other words, the market dynamics of supply and demand are prudent only if parents have the right to choose between various schools; however, it is this choice in particular (which is thus inevitably a choice between schools of various quality) that predestines at least part of the population to having significantly poorer educational opportunities than others for various reasons (among which socioeconomic status undoubtedly plays an important role). Pamela Munn came to a similar conclusion: "at a theoretical level, for markets to operate, standards have to be different or there is no point in choosing" (Munn 1993, p. 7). However, "if standards have to be different," this no longer has anything to do with education following the free-market principle, nor education as a basic human right, but rather education that is private property no less than any other that has its own price on the market. This proves to be especially problematic when dealing with compulsory education (in the case of Slovenia, primary school), which is a basic human right that the state must provide according to a different logic than that of a free-market economy. Here the understanding of general education infused by neo-liberal logic distances itself at important points from the understanding of some classic liberal writers, such as Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill. Smith thus lists three duties of the state in his Wealth of Nations: its first duty is to use its military force to protect the society as a whole against violence and invasion by other independent societies (Smith 2005 [1776], p. 564); "the second duty of the sovereign is that of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it, or the duty of establishing an exact administration of justice" (ibid., p. 579). The third and last duty, which is also the most relevant to the context of this discussion, refers to

...erecting and maintaining those public institutions and those public works, which though they may be in the highest degree advantageous to a great society, are, however, of such a nature, that the profit could never repay the expense to any individual, or small number of individuals; and which it, therefore, cannot be expected that any individual, or small number of individuals, should erect or maintain. (ibid., p. 590).

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Public institutions highlighted by Smith within this context also include "institutions for instruction", which he divided into two types: "those for the education of the youth, and those for the instruction of people of all ages" (ibid.). Given the time when this work was published (i.e., in 1776, or a good decade before the French Revolution), it is naturally unsurprising that Smith does not write about education as a basic human right. Within this context it is more important that one of the first liberal philosophers did not believe that market logic – the logic of exchange and profit – should control all areas of social life, but just the opposite: Smith explicitly excluded certain activities from this logic, including "institutions for instruction", because he believed it was the duty of the government to provide quality general education and knowledge to every individual.

A similar view is held by another classic liberal writer, John Stuart Mill. In the last section of his treatise on the principles of political economics, Mill discusses the key limitations of *laissez-faire* economic policy, and writes the following:

The uncultivated cannot be competent judges of cultivation. Those who most need to be made wiser and better, usually desire it least, and if they desired it, would be incapable of finding the way to it by their own lights. It will continually happen, on the voluntary system, that, the end not being desired, the means will not be provided at all, or that, the persons requiring improvement having an imperfect or altogether erroneous conception of what they want, the supply called forth by the demand of the market will be anything but what is really required. Now any well-intentioned and tolerably civilized government may think, without presumption, that it does or ought to possess a degree of cultivation above the average of the community which it rules, and that it should therefore be capable of offering better education and better instruction to the people, than the greater number of them would spontaneously demand. Education, therefore, is one of those things which it is admissible in principle that a government should provide for the people. The case is one to which the reasons of the non-interference principle do not necessarily or universally extend. (Mill 1848, XI, §8)

In its key features, the concept of education that follows neo-liberal logic thus moves away from arguments such as those provided by Smith and Mill; although they are in favor of establishing the principles of a free market, Smith and Mill clearly emphasize that it is the duty of the government to provide general education. As already mentioned above, this does not involve merely systemic reorganization, which would cover management alone, but much more far-reaching implications of neo-liberal logic in curriculum that would strongly influence the quality of the general education standard in society – that is, tendencies for revising the curriculum, learning objectives, and teaching strategies that would specifically permeate education.

Among other things, converting education from a basic human right to a commodity, and schools into organizations that provide services and goods demanded by

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the labor market, implies a revision of the knowledge whose provision is legitimate in such schools. As demonstrated by Laval (2005), the leading role in neo-liberally oriented education is taken over by a utilitarian understanding of knowledge, which, in order to be legitimate, must first and foremost be useful. In other words, only the type and quantity of knowledge that achieves the highest value on the market is legitimate. From this viewpoint, the entire concept of general education is subject to thorough revision: in establishing a value polarization between useful (i.e., for effective satisfaction of labor market needs) and useless (and thus illegitimate) knowledge, the widely understood general educational knowledge begins giving way to functionally oriented key *competences*. On the one hand, as an ideological construct these competences function as a total formula that, due to its semantic emptiness and vagueness, incorporate the sum of all desired educational effects, and on the other hand are established as an alternative to the broad selection of expertise and knowledge that – from a neo-liberal perspective – is considered unnecessary, useless, and thus unwanted (for more information, see Štefanc 2006; 2007a; 2007b).

This implies at least a partial inconsistency: on the one hand, it is obvious that the processes of reconceptualizing general education described above do not intend to convert a general education school into a vocational school; on the contrary, they seek to preserve the general education school, but redefine its organization and curriculum by assuming the *logic of the vocational*. One of the most important assumptions of this process is that at this very point the "traditional school," which is based on transmitting knowledge, fails precisely because of its reliance on the past and its "conceptual rigidness." Because it focuses on transmission and expects students to spend their time and energy on learning and reproducing knowledge that allegedly has no economic value or employment potential, it is necessary, according to Levine, "not [to] repair but to invent the schools which will be necessary to serve not an industrial, but an information society" (2001, p. 35).

Conclusion

This paper discusses neo-liberal tendencies for reconceptualizing (primarily) general education. To sum up, the basic feature of neo-liberalism's intrusion into this area is to comprehend education as notably "private goods" or a service investing in human capital. This assumption has at least two consequences: (1) on the economic market, education becomes the subject of supply and demand, and parents and students become consumers that select from various education institutions and programs according to their economic capabilities and general preferences; (2) the understanding of knowledge becomes notably *utilitarian* – that is, knowledge is legitimate when it is the type and amount that attains the highest value on the labor market. The problem of this logic, which is based on neo-liberal assumptions, proves to be the fact that in this way general education moves increasingly away

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from its neo-humanist ideals, and at the same time it is being understood (including its compulsory part) increasingly less as a basic human right to be provided by the state. As a basic human right it must thus be available to all people under equal conditions and regardless of their social and economic status, and precisely because of this it cannot be provided on the free market in line with the logic of competition.

Abstract

The treatise discusses paradigmatic shifts in the education field that can be connected with the growing influence of neo-liberalism and the related socio-economic processes and phenomena. It provides arguments in favour of the thesis that the neo-liberal logic in the education field, among other things, manifests itself in the belief that it is necessary for the school to efficiently achieve its goal to thoroughly reconceptualize both the structure and the contents of the curriculum as well as the model of school organisation and management. At the curricular level, it is thus necessary to ensure that students as future workers and providers of their 'services' in the labour market gain the appropriate knowledge, skills and personal characteristics, directly reflecting labour needs; while at the level of school organisation and management it is necessary to implement market mechanisms, primarily to establish a financing system, forcing schools to allocate funds as efficiently as possible and to be competitive in the education market.

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BARBARA ŠTEH, JANA KALIN

Teachers' and parents' view of their role and responsibilities toward each other during the various periods of primary education

Key words: primary education, teachers and parents, models of mutual co-operation, partnership, attitudes, responsibility.

Introduction

The basic trend of contemporary co-operation between teachers and parents is to ensure and encourage their partnership. This influences the change of forms, methods and the content of work with parents, and impacts the formal organization and development of a more genuine relationship between teachers and parents. A partnership gives parents more rights, thus increasing their responsibility for their child's socialization and home studying (Resman 1992, p. 35). In their care for the child, the school and parents should build a partnership, since their mutual tie and common interest is an individual, supported by parents at home and by teachers at school. Burden (1995, p. 196) specifies the following reasons for working with parents:

- Establishing open, two-way communication.
- Understanding (and reacting to) pupils' domestic situations.

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- Providing parents with information on the school's expectations, events and on the pupil's behaviour.
- Involving parents in school work.
- Informing parents of expectations concerning discipline and measures taken in this respect.
- Encouraging parents to assist their children with school work.

Of the reasons provided, quite a few are closely related to the teaching process and the child's studying in general. The basic aim of co-operation and partnership between teachers and parents is to enable the child's optimal development, and to ensure good performance in various areas. The child's future life and his professional career will also depend on this co-operation.

Establishing a partnership depends on the school's type, its level and aims, as well as on its orientation (greater orientation in socialization or greater concern for learning and learning achievements) and expectations. The expectations of schools, teachers and parents are never identical, but can be more or less co-ordinated (see in more detail: Kalin 2001, Kalin 2003). This involves many objective and subjective circumstances which encourage or hinder their co-operation.

What parental involvement means

Parental involvement can be understood in a number of ways. Some use this term as a synonym for co-operation, participation of parents, parents' authority, and the partnership between the school, family and the community (Epstein 1996 in Soo-Yin 2003, Wolfendale 1989 in Soo-Yin 2003). The involvement of parents may take various forms and be of different levels, both in and out of school. It includes all the activities which the school facilitates and stimulates, supporting parents in their actions, with the aim of improving the child's learning and development. Epstein (1996 in Soo-Yin 2003) has expanded this concept from the "involvement of parents" to a "partnership between school, family and community", in order to put special emphasis on the fact that each child learns and develops within three contexts: the school, his family and the wider community. All three contexts shall be taken into consideration as a whole, since they are expressed as such in the education system and the learning process of each individual child.

It is important for every school to encourage and facilitate teacher – parent partnerships, which increase the involvement of parents and their participation in encouraging the social, emotional and intellectual development of their child (Children's Defense Foundation 2000, p. 64 in Soo-Yin 2003). The school, the parents and the community should be aware of their interaction and should together create a vision and understand the role of individual factors in relation to the roles of others. Such

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co-operation is necessary to ensure the support and the assistance which every child needs to succeed at school.

Orientation of teachers and the role which they are willing to assume towards parents

Appropriate teachers' attitudes and their readiness to co-operate with parents are of key importance if the co-operation is to succeed. Hornby (2000) points out two *key teachers' orientations* which are necessary for the development of *partnership* with parents:

- 1. For the teachers to be able to develop a partnership with parents it is of key importance to have *genuine*, *respectful and empathetic* interpersonal communication with them. Only teachers with a certain amount of self-confidence manage to be genuine, since this enables them to be frank and capable of admitting their mistakes instead of unnecessarily hiding behind their wall of competence. Respectfulness means, among other things, that teachers always listen to and heed parents' opinions, since it is the parents who are responsible for their child's development in the long run and they know the child from perspectives which may be unknown and hidden to the teachers. Yet it is most important for teachers to develop their own empathic skills, to try and see the child's situation from the parents' perspective, as this will most probably lead to an effective teacher-parent partnership.
- 2. The second necessary attitude for a teacher refers to the pupil the teacher is expected to assume a hopeful yet realistic attitude regarding possible progress and the pupil's prognosis. Parents need teachers who are optimistic, but still realistic about the development of their child, and do not avoid an open and sincere conversation. They only need to conduct such conversation with a certain degree of sensibility. They should also challenge their own opinions of certain cases "as hopeless", as in every situation it is possible to achieve certain progress, even if all of the problems are not solved or all goals are not reached.

Teachers may assume very diverse attitudes towards parents, ranging from seeing them as a problem, as competitors, as too vulnerable and needing help, through the belief that a professional distance has to be kept towards parents, and finally to the opinion that they can provide a valued support in educating their children and act as good collaborators. The key factor for fruitful co-operation is whether the teacher can engage in dialogue with parents on an equal basis and see them as partners in mutual educational activities and problem solving. Or, on the other hand, the teacher may place them in an inferior position, where parents mainly have to be taught, or in a superior role where teachers feel they need to apologize and justify their actions. In establishing and maintaining equal roles or a partnership between teachers and parents, it is worth keeping in mind that both teachers and parents

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are experts, namely teachers for education and parents for their children. It is only possible to creatively co-operate if their powers and competence are recognized and taken into account (O'Callaghan 1993 in Čačinovič-Vogrinčič 1999). We often underestimate the importance of information which parents can reveal to us about their children, while on the other hand we as teachers can disclose to parents how their child performs in a school environment not only at the cognitive but also at the emotional and social level. In addition, teachers should be competent in creating an optimal and encouraging learning environment which eases and encourages the learning process. The views of both groups can of course be subjective due to the position from which they enter a relationship. Parents are, as can be expected, usually "advocates" for their own children (Henry 1996 in Čačinovič-Vogrinčič 1999), they are emotionally bound to them and have difficulty in accepting certain "truths" about their child. Neither are teachers as independent in their own views as it would seem at first sight, as they are a part of the system which poses its own demands and value criteria which can also limit the teacher's perspectives (for example their image of a "good, obedient pupil"). If parents and teachers manage to trust and be frank with each other, they both see pupils, each other and their problems in a more realistic perspective, which contributes to their more efficient co-operation.

Two extremes of parent-teacher relationships are pointed out above: on the one hand there is a relationship with the necessary submission of one party – usually parents, and sometimes also teachers, and on the other hand a partnership. *Approaches to establishing relationships between teachers and parents* can be differentiated and classified from those which downplay the involvement and active role of parents to those which emphasize it. Hornby (2000) lists the following models of establishing teacher-parent relationships, defined by varied sets of assumptions, goals and strategies:

- 1. In the *protective model* (Swap 1993 in Hornby 2000) it is important to avoid conflicts between teachers and parents. This is best achieved through total separation of teaching and parenting. Education is the school's and teachers' task, and parental involvement can be perceived as a disturbing interference. It is the parents' task to ensure children come to school regularly with all necessary school accessories. (Swap 1993 in Hornby 2000) considers this to be the most common model of teacher-parent relationship.
- 2. In the expert model (Cunningham, Davis 1985 in Hornby 2000) teachers consider themselves as experts in all aspects of the development and education of children. The role of parents is to accept information and instructions regarding their children and they are pushed into a completely submissive role and dependence. Parents are not supposed to question teachers' decisions and thus lose confidence in their own competence, while at the same time teachers with such an attitude are not admitted to the rich source of information which parents have on their children and often overlook important problems or abilities of pupils. They also

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- do not have any insight into the child's family life which can significantly influence their learning. Parents are usually very dissatisfied with the attitude of such teachers.
- 3. In the *transmission model* (Swap 1993 in Hornby 2000) teachers still consider themselves as the major source of expertise, but they accept that parents can play an important role in enhancing their child's progress. They present particular measures to parents and expect them to carry them out. In this way they may even overburden some parents.
- 4. In the *curricular enrichment model* (Swap 1993 in Hornby 2000) parental contribution can enrich the curriculum and thus significantly enhance a school's educational goals. Lately, the focus has been placed on multicultural education, where parents of various ethnic, religious and cultural groups assist in presenting the history, values, cultures and customs of the group from which they originate. But parental contribution is not restricted to the area of multiculturalism. It is a good opportunity for teachers and parents to learn from each other. The problem is that parents thus enter the area of teaching and many teachers find this threatening.
- 5. In the *consumer model* (Cunningham, Davis 1985 in Hornby 2000), parents have control over decisions. The teachers' role is to present all relevant information and available possibilities to parents and help them choose the optimal course of action. This eliminates the fear that parents are pushed into a dependent role, but the fact that teachers lose their professional responsibility is problematic in the same way as the opposite situation where teachers are seen as experts in all aspects of a child's development.
- 6. The most suitable model of teacher-parent co-operation is the *partnership model*, as it includes sharing of expertise and control with a view to ensuring optimal education for children, to which both teachers and parents contribute. Naturally it is not possible to establish such partnership if there is no mutual respect between teachers and parents. Teachers and parents should listen to and take each other's opinions into account. A partnership occurs when there is mutual planning and sharing of responsibilities as well as a certain long-lasting involvement and carrying out of particular activities. Hornby (2000) points out four key elements of such partnership:
 - Two-way communication,
 - Mutual support,
 - Common decision-making,
 - Encouraging learning.

The *partnership model* is perceived as the most suitable model for developing constructive parent involvement, as teachers also take parents' needs into account and are aware of various manners in which parents can contribute to the development and education of their children. However, this does not mean that this model is the most suitable for all situations. It is important to be flexible and to adapt the appro-

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ach to parents' characteristics. In a particular moment some parents will welcome a detailed presentation of a home reading scheme as an aid to help the child in acquiring specific reading skills, while in other cases parents will make the best choice of a theme to be dealt with in "the school for parents".

Parent's Expectations

Hornby (2000) points out that everywhere in the world parents have more or less the same expectations of teachers and teachers of parents, but this has to be clarified again and again at the beginning of the co-operation, as both groups are usually genuinely surprised at the other's expectations. Many complementary features can be found among them, but there are also differences. Let me name some typical parental expectations. They expect teachers to:

- Consult them to a greater extent and to listen to their views.
- Be more open to the opinions and standpoints of others.
- Be willing to admit that there are things they do not know.
- Get in contact with parents if they suspect their child has a problem.
- Treat all children with respect.
- Take into account individual differences among pupils.
- Identify children's learning problems and try to help them.
- Discuss the pupils' progress with other teachers and parents.
- Regularly correct assignments given to pupils.

Apart from this we have to constantly bear in mind that parents are a very heterogeneous group of individuals and that we can address all parents and approach everybody's needs with some actions and ways of co-operation, while fewer parents may be approached with certain other actions, and only a handful of parents with other ways of co-operation. Parental contribution will also differ. All or a vast majority will probably be happy to attend a performance where their child participates. Some will embrace the possibility of communicating via e-mail, while others do not use e-mail and will be most satisfied if teachers are able to propose a date for the parent-teacher meeting which suits them, while the attention of the third group of parents will be gained only by numerous messages sent to their home and which should never contain only negative information. Some parents may never respond, due to various reasons. The more varied forms of co-operation and involvement we offer parents, the greater the chance to attract them in a greater number. It is important to keep in mind that teachers are susceptible to both objective and subjective obstacles which can prevent parents from getting more actively involved, and endeavour to remove them.

We have to be aware that parents, too, come to school with set attitudes, orientations and expectations. The readiness of all involved parties to develop quality co-ope-

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ration is essential. Teachers are not all-powerful and pupils and parents should take their own share of responsibility for effective learning and mutual co-operation.

The purpose of the research

Within the goal-oriented research project "Levers of successful co-operation between the school and home: modern solutions and perspectives" (Kalin et al. 2008) we were interested in how teachers and parents evaluate mutual co-operation and which the key problems of such co-operation are. We gave special attention to identifying drivers of change – improvement of co-operation between school and family, teachers and parents. In this paper we will limit our discussion only to a part of the findings linked to the following research questions:

- 1. What do teachers themselves think of the view parents have of them? How do parents view teachers do they see them as experts in education or not? Who would parents believe if a problem occurred between their child and the teacher?
- 2. To what extent do teachers and parents agree that today parents know how to be parents, and that they need additional education in parenting and family education problems?
- 3. What are teachers' and parents' attitudes to the benefits and necessity of mutual co-operation?
- 4. What are teachers' and parents' attitudes to the question of who is predominantly responsible for the child's educational success?
- 5. To what extent do teachers and parents agree that teachers have to give concrete advice when a child faces problems, and have to be ready to look for solutions together?
- 6. What are teachers' and parents' attitudes regarding overburdening parents with their child's school obligations?
- 7. Are there any statistically significant differences between teachers and parents in answering the above-mentioned questions?
- 8. Are there statistically significant differences between parents in answering the above-mentioned questions depending on the triad¹ attended by their child?
- 9. Are there statistically significant differences between teachers in answering the above-mentioned questions depending on the triad they teach?

Method

We used a descriptive and causal-non-experimental method of pedagogical research. The basic population included all primary schools in Slovenia (N = 448), which were further divided into two strongly distinguished strata, namely urban (N = 237) and non-urban schools (N = 211). Strata were conceived as independent

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¹ Primary schooling in Slovenia is divided into three triads: first triad $-1^{st}-3^{rd}$ grade, second triad $-4^{th}-6^{th}$ grade and third triad $-7^{th}-9^{th}$ grade.

groups within the entire basic group. We then randomly selected 20 urban and 20 non-urban primary schools from the abovementioned strata, thus forming the random sample at the first level. At each school we selected 'a' classes of the 3rd grade, 5th/6th grade and 9th grade and distributed questionnaires to the parents of the pupils. We received 1690 completed questionnaires. All the teachers at all forty schools of the random sample were included in the research. We received 467 completed questionnaires.

Anonymity was ensured to both teachers and parents. Questionnaires for teachers and parents contained multiple choice questions, scales and open-ended questions. We made telephone contact with all the schools included in the sample, explained the contextual guidelines of the research and asked for their co-operation. Simultaneously we acquired data of the number of children in 'a' classes of the third, fifth/sixth and ninth grade and the number of teachers at each particular school. We sent questionnaires to schools by post in November 2007, and we received the completed questionnaires towards the end of December 2007 and in the beginning of January 2008. The data was processed with the SPSS statistical package, using descriptive statistical and hi-square test or Kullback 2Î test in cases where the expected count was less than 5 in more than 20% of boxes of the contingency table.

Results and interpretation

Do parents see teachers as experts?

The majority of teachers who responded (81.2%) thought that parents see them as experts who know how to provide knowledge and to educate, while only 8.3% of teachers think that parents see them as people who know how to provide knowledge, but not how to educate. There is a high share of respondents who answered "Other" (10.5%), where teachers stated answers such "I don't know" and "I can't decide" etc.

The teachers' perceptions of parents' opinions of them differ statistically significant in relation to the triad which they teach ($\chi^2 = 15.76$; df = 4, p = 0.003, n = 433). The largest difference occurs in the answers of teachers in the first two triads and the third triad as some teachers of the third triad are more critical. Three quarters of them still think that parents see them as experts who know how to provide knowledge and educate, but the share of those (14.7%) who estimate that parents see them as people who know how to provide knowledge, but not how to educate, increases. This may be the result of the fact that specialist subject teachers perceive themselves more as subject experts and view their own primary role as that of presentation of the subject matter and leading pupils to quality of knowledge and less as a general educator. This was apparent from one of the previous research projects

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where we discussed the professional autonomy and responsibility of teachers (Marentič Požarnik et al. 2005).

As expected, parents were much more critical in their evaluation of teachers. Teachers were probably inclined to give the desired answers, since it is expected of them to both provide knowledge and educate, and as experts in both they also want to be seen as such by parents. The parents' answers differed in a statistically significant degree from the teachers' answers ($\chi^2 = 1.849$; df = 3 p = 0.000, n = 2063).

Table 1: Parents' opinions about teachers

What is your general opinion of teachers?								
	F	f%						
They are experts who know how to provide knowledge and educate	806	49.8						
They know how to provide knowledge, but not how to educate	678	41.9						
They are not experts	18	1.1						
Other	115	7.1						
Total	1617	100.0						

Only half of parents (49.8%) estimate that teachers are experts who know how to provide knowledge and educate. As many as 41.9% of parents believe that teachers know only how to present knowledge, but not how to educate. The category Other includes mostly responses from parents (7.1%) that individual teachers differ a lot from each other and that such a judgment cannot be generalized to all teachers, since some are also excellent educators, while others do not get involved in education which consequently gives rise to the question of whether they have chosen the right profession.

The parents' opinions about teachers show statistically significant differences in relation to the triad attended by their child ($\chi^2 = 34.23$; df = 6, p = 0.000, n = 1608). Parents of pupils of the first triad where descriptive assessment of knowledge is used, most often think that teachers are experts for both providing knowledge and education (58.2%). Getting closer to the ninth grade the share of those who consider them only as experts in providing knowledge increases (46.6% of parents of children in the ninth class), as very different from one to another (9.3% of parents) or even that they are not experts at all (2% of parents). If we compare this finding with teachers' opinions of how parents see them, some teachers of the third triad assess the situation more critically, believing that parents see them only as experts in providing knowledge, and not as experts in education.

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Certainly, the question of whether parents see teachers as experts, mastering their professional work, is closely connected to the question who would parents believe if a dispute occurred between the child and his/her teacher? It becomes evident that the vast majority (91.2%) of parents would believe their child, but it is important that they express their readiness to discuss the problem with the teacher. Parents who answered "other" (1.6%) mainly explain that both sides have to be heard, that it is necessary to define the problem and solve it together. 6.2% of parents would doubt their child's judgment and consult the teacher. It is useful to pose the question as to who these parents are and what experiences lead them to distrust their child.

Do parents know how to be parents?

In establishing a partnership it is important for parents to competently fulfil their role and believe in their own powers, and also for teachers to give this power to them (O'Callaghan 1993 quoted from Čačinovič-Vogrinčič 1999). We asked parents and teachers to what extent they agree with the statement that parents know how to be parents today and in their answers to this question both groups show statistically significant differences ($\chi^2 = 2.24$; df = 4, p = 0.000, n = 2062).

Table 2: Presentation of parents' and teachers' attitudes towards the question of whether parents today know how to be parents

		Parents today know how to be parents								
		I absolutely disagree	I don't agree	I partially agree	I agree	I absolutely agree	Total			
Dawanta	f	20	76	651	663	198	1608			
Parents	f%	1.2	4.7	40.5	41.2	12.3	100.0			
Tooobows	f	4	52	329	67	2	454			
Teachers	f%	0.9	11.5	72.5	14.8	0.4	100.0			
Total	f	24	128	980	730	200	2062			
	f%	1.2	6.2	47.5	35.4	9.7	100.0			

More than half of parents (53.5%) agree or absolutely agree with the statement that parents know how to be parents, while 40.5% partially agree with the statement and only a small percentage of parents either do not agree or do not agree at all (5.9%). Teachers are much more critical towards parents in responding to this question, as a mere 15.2% of teachers agree with the statement, while 72.5% of teachers partially agree and 12.4% do not agree with the statement. Teachers therefore doubt to a greater extent whether parents today can be parents – that they are experts in the area of their own child's development and education. In their expression of doubt they do not show statistically important differences in relation to the triad they teach. Also parents do not differ in their views towards the statement in this respect.

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In relation to this we asked parents and teachers to what extent they agree with the statement that parents need to be additionally educated about parenting and problems of family education. In their response to this question both groups show statistically significant differences ($\chi^2 = 1.98$; df = 4, p = 0.000, n = 2057). A good third of parents (36.1%) expressed that they agree with the statement that they need additional education on problems of family education, another good third of parents (35.3%) partly agreed with it and less than a third of parents (28.6%) expressed their disagreement. In contrast, as many as 65.1% of teachers take the view that parents need additional family-related education, approximately one third (32.3%) partially agrees and only 2.7% of teachers do not agree. Teachers are therefore inclined to take the view that parents need additional parenting-related education and from their point of view planning of co-operation forms like "school for parents" enriches co-operation between the school and home. In their judgment teachers do not show statistically important differences in relation to the triad they teach. According to the results, more than a third of parents, regardless of the triad, will be responsive to such an offer, while other parents are not convinced or have different expectations of the school.

The results therefore show *that both groups express a degree of mutual doubt in the other's competence* and certainly it is difficult to build a partnership and fruitful cooperation on such grounds.

Teachers' and parents' attitudes to the benefits and necessity of mutual cooperation

The teachers and parents show statistically significant differences in their attitudes towards the statement that the co-operation of school and parents is necessary and useful ($2\hat{1} = 173.369$; df = 4, $\alpha = 0.000$). 76.8% of teachers and 43.1% of parents absolutely agree that such co-operation is necessary and useful. The percentage of those who agree is higher among parents (49.2%) than teachers (21.8%). Teachers express a high degree of agreement with the statement while the parents show a little more caution. There is no statistically significant difference between teachers and parents regarding their attitude in relation to the triad. These conclusions may be a challenge for the teachers and parents to justify and express the purpose and usefulness of the co-operation between school and parents. If teachers alone predominantly agree with such co-operation, it does not mean that it will in fact be useful and effective

Teachers' and parents' attitudes to the question of who is predominantly responsible for the child's educational success

Parents and teachers show statistically significant differences in their attitudes to the statement that **the school is predominantly responsible** for the child's learning success ($\chi^2 = 1.258E2$; df = 4, $\alpha = 0.000$). The most frequent answer given by parents is that they agree only partially with the statement (41.6%) and it is followed

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by the answer that they do not agree (35.8%). The most frequent answer from the teachers is that they do not agree with the statement (51%), followed by the answer that they do not agree at all (23.5%). Teachers and parents do not show a statistically significant difference in relation to the triad.

Parents and teachers show statistically significant differences in expressing their attitudes to the **parents' responsibility** for their child's learning success ($\chi^2 = 33.872$; df = 4, $\alpha = 0.000$). Both parents and teachers frequently state that they agree or absolutely agree with the statement – 11.6% of parents and 4.9% of teachers. Among teachers the most frequent answer is that they do not agree (47%), while the most frequent answer among parents is that they partially agree (43.6%). Parents do not show statistically significant differences in relation to the triad. Teachers' answers regarding the parents' responsibility for their child's learning success show statistically significant differences in relation to the triad (2 \hat{I} = 22.278; df = 8, α = 0.004). In the first and second triad teachers most frequently answered that they do not agree (50.6% in the first and 59% in the second triad); however in the third triad the teachers most frequently answered that they partially agree (50.9%). The answer that they agree or absolutely agree with the statement that the parents are responsible for the child's learning success is more frequent among teachers of the third triad. The answers are somewhat surprising as the opinion that the parents are responsible for the child's learning success would be more frequently expected among the teachers in the first triad, considering the fact the child is to a greater extent defined by family characteristics or may be under a stronger influence of his family background at the beginning of his education than in the higher classes. However, not a single teacher in the first triad chose the answer that they absolutely agreed with the statement. The most frequent answer of both teachers and parents regarding the statement that the child is predominantly responsible for his/her learning success, is that they partially agree (35.6% of parents and 34.6% of teachers), followed by the answer that they do not agree (31.8% of parents and 33.9% of teachers). In relation to the triad the parents show a statistically significant difference regarding this statement $(\chi^2 = 56.875; df = 8, \alpha = 0.000)$. The frequency of the parents' agreeing that the child is predominantly responsible for his/her learning success increases with the number of the years the child has been in school. Thus the percentage of parents who agree or absolutely agree with this statement in the third grade is 11.9%, in the fifth or sixth grade 18.1 %, and in the ninth grade 24.8%. There are also statistically significant differences among teachers' answers in relation to the triad ($\chi^2 = 25.145$; df = 48, $\alpha = 0.001$). Teachers in the first and second triad most frequently answerred that they did not agree and in the third triad that they partially agreed with this statement. The shares of answers stating agree and "absolutely agree" increase with each triad - 11.5% of teachers in the first triad, 20.3% of teachers in the second triad, and 25% of teachers in the third triad. The percentage of answers stating "do not agree at all" diminishes in the higher triads – from 14.6% of teachers in the first

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triad to 10.4% of teachers in the third triad.

Teachers' and parents' attitudes in regard to the teacher's practical advice in case of the child's difficulties and the teacher's willingness to search for a solution together with others involved

Expectations of teachers and parents regarding a teacher's advice are quite unified, since both groups predominantly agree or absolutely agree (70.1% of teachers and 74.7% parents) that teachers have to offer concrete advice to overcome a child's problem when they occur, while less than a quarter of both groups only partially agree. Respondents that did not agree were almost nonexistent (5% of teachers and 3.3% of parents).

Table 3: Shares of teachers' and parents' attitudes regarding teachers giving concrete advice in relation to a child's problems

Teachers have to give concrete advice to overcome										
			a child's problems when they occur							
		I absolutely disagree	I don't agree	I partially agree	I agree	I absolutely agree	Total			
Parents	f	6	52	346	787	405	1596			
rarents	f%	0.4	3.3	21.7	49.3	25.4	100.0			
Teachers	f	2	21	112	221	96	452			
Teachers	f%	0.4	4.6	24.8	48.9	21.2	100.0			
Total	f	8	73	458	1008	501	2048			
	f%	0.4	3.6	22.4	49.2	24.5	100.0			

In expectations regarding a teacher's giving advice when children have problems, parents do not differ in a statistically significant degree regarding the class their child attends. We have noted the tendency that, together with the level of education, the share of those who partially agree with giving advice increases (from 19.5% to 27.2%), while the share of those who agree diminishes (from 75.7% to 69.9%).

Teachers already show a statistically significant difference in their attitudes about giving advice depending on the triad which they teach $(2\hat{I} = 25.15; df = 8, p = 0.001, n = 437)$: from one triad to the other, the share of those who agree increases only partially (from 14.8% to 32.7%) and shares of those who agree or absolutely agree (from 80.7% to 60.6%) diminish. It appears that teachers are more and more aware from one triad to the other that active involvement of all affected parties is necessary for effective problem-solving.

But the overwhelming majority of teachers and parents agree that in case of a child's troubles teachers have to give concrete advice to overcome such problems, which shows that the prevailing relationship between teachers and parents places the te-

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acher in a superior role of an expert in all aspects, and this is contrary to the attitude that teachers, in case of a child's troubles, have to be ready for a mutual search for solutions and problem solving, with which a great majority of teachers and parents agree. In comparison to parents, significantly more teachers absolutely agree (59.3%: 46%), while there are fewer teachers who agree (38.3%: 46.4%) or agree partially (2%: 6.4%). These differences proved to be statistically significant ($2\hat{l} = 35.85$; df = 4, p = 0.000, decorpoonup = 0.000.

Presumably on the basis of their previous experiences, some teachers came to the conclusion that the joint resolution of problems may be more efficient or that mere advice will not bring the desired effects.

Teachers' and parents' attitudes regarding the overburdening of parents with their child's school obligations

We were interested in teachers' and parents' attitudes regarding the overburdening of parents with their child's school obligations. It is a known fact that school to a great extent determines the dynamics and characteristics of family life.

We established a statistically significant difference between teachers and parents ($\chi^2 = 56.313$; df = 4, $\alpha = 0.000$) regarding the statement that parents are overburdened with the school obligations of their child.

Table 4: Teachers' and parents'	attitudes 1	regarding	overburdening	of parents	with
the school obligations of their cl	nild.				

		Parents are overburdened with the school obligations of their child							
		I absolutely disagree	I don't agree	I partially agree	I agree	I absolutely agree	Total		
Parents	f	74.0	399.0	597.0	345.0	195.0	1610		
rarents	f %	4.6	24.8	37.1	21.4	12.1	100.0		
Toookawa	f	12.0	149.0	215.0	60.0	18.0	454.0		
Teachers	f %	2.6	32.8	47.4	13.2	4.0	100.0		
Total	f	86.0	548.0	812.0	405.0	213.0	2064.0		
Total	f %	4.2	26.6	39.3	19.6	10.3	100.0		

In fact, parents and teachers most often declared that they partially agreed with the statement. The share of such answers is somewhat greater among teachers (47.4%), compared to parents (37.1%). Significantly more teachers than parents disagree with the statement; this applies to 32.8% of teachers and 24.8% of parents. The share of parents who agree or absolutely agree with the statement exceeds the teachers' share. Teachers less often believe parents are overburdened with their child's school

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obligations. As much as a third of parents agree with the statement that they feel overburdened with their child's school obligations.

Parents' answers show statistically significant differences ($\chi^2 = 24.654$; df = 8, $\alpha = 0.002$) in relation to the triad attended by their child. Everywhere the most frequent answer was partial agreement – from 41.7% to 50.8%. Among parents of children in the second triad, 6.1% do not agree at all with the statement, while in the other two triads the share of such parents is 3.8% and 3.9%. Parents of children in the third triad most often partially agreed with the statement – 40.1%. Agreement is most often expressed by parents of children in the second triad (25.4%), while absolute agreement is in the highest share expressed by parents of children in the first triad – 13.7%.

Table 5: Parents' attitudes regarding being overburdened with their child's school obligations in relation to the grade attended by the child

			Parents ar	Parents are overburdened with school obligations of their children.							
			I absolutely disagree	I don't agree	I partially agree	I agree	I absolutely agree	Total			
	E!4	f	22.0	141.0	201.0	121.0	77.0	562.0			
	First	f%	3.9	25.1	35.8	21.5	13.7	100.0			
	Sec- ond	f	33.0	111.0	191.0	137.0	67.0	539.0			
		f%	6.1	20.6	35.4	25.4	12.4	100.0			
	Thind	f	19.0	146.0	202.0	86.0	51.0	504.0			
	Third	f%	3.8	29.0	40.1	17.1	10.1	100.0			
pe	Total	f	74.0	398.0	594.0	344.0	195.0	1605			
Triad	Total	f%	4.6	24.8	37.0	21.4	12.1	100.0			

In the sample of teachers there are statistically significant differences ($\chi^2 = 32.758$; df = 8, $\alpha = 0.000$) in their agreement with the statement in relation to the triad where they teach. 46.2% of teachers in the first triad do not agree that parents are overburdened with school obligations; while partial agreement is expressed by 41.7% of teachers. It is characteristic of the second triad that 50.8% of teachers partly agree with the statement, while 21.2% do not agree. Most teachers from the second triad absolutely agree (7.6%) that parents are overburdened. Third triad teachers also partly agree with the statement (50.3%), while total agreement was expressed by 17% of them – this is the largest share when compared to teachers of the other two triads.

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Table 6: Teachers' attitudes regarding the overburdening of parents with school ob-	-
ligations of their child, in relation to the triad they teach	

-			Parents a	Parents are overburdened with the school obligations of their children.							
			I absolutely disagree	I don't agree	I partially agree	I agree	I absolutely agree	Total			
	E:4	f	4.0	72.0	65.0	11.0	4.0	156.0			
	First	f %	2.6	46.2	41.7	7.1	2.6	100.0			
	Second	f	6.0	25.0	60.0	18	9.0	118.0			
		f %	5.1	21.2	50.8	15.3	7.6	100.0			
	mn · ı	f	1.0	48.0	83.0	28.0	5.0	165.0			
	Third	f %	0.6	29.1	50.3	17.0	3.0	100.0			
pı	Total	f	11.0	145.0	208.0	57.0	18.0	439.0			
Triad	Total	f %	2.5	33.0	47.4	13.0	4.1	100.0			

Conclusions

When establishing their mutual relations, teachers and parents attribute and define various social roles and responsibilities for each other, as is typical of all interpersonal relationships. For successful cooperation between the teachers and parents, it is important how both parties see each other, as well as their attitudes to such cooperation and their expectations through the various periods of the child's primary education. This research established that the teachers to a much greater extent than the parents feel that the co-operation between school and parents is necessary and useful. These teachers' and parents' attitudes do not differ in regard to the triad. We can conclude that parents need to justify and make sense of their co-operation with school, otherwise quality co-operation can hardly be expected. In our opinion this is primarily the responsibility of teachers.

For successful co-operation between teachers and parents it is certainly important that they attribute appropriate competence to each other. We found that 41.9% of parents state that the teachers do not know how to educate, and only know how to provide knowledge. The percentages of these parents significantly increase from one triad to another. We also found that teachers are to some extent aware of this fact, as a rather high percentage of teachers expressing that they are, in the parents' eyes, experts both in education and the provision of knowledge diminishes in later triads. On the other hand, they mostly doubt the parents' competences, as 72.5% of teachers agree only partially that parents know how to be good parents, and 65.1%

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of teachers believe that parents need additional education in the area of parenting. The opinions of teachers do not show significant differences in relation to the triad they teach.

Teachers and parents most frequently agree that parents are overburdened by the school obligations of their child. However, a rather high share of parents absolutely agree and a rather high share of teachers do not agree with this statement. A somewhat lower share of parents point out that they are overburdened, and teachers agree with that more often as the child advances through the school system. The results warn us that teachers are to a lesser extent acquainted with the actual experiences and attitudes of parents.

Findings on the question of who is predominantly responsible for the child's school success are also interesting. Both teachers and parents to a great extent agree that this is predominantly the school's responsibility. The parents most frequently partially agree that the child's school success is their responsibility, while the teachers most frequently do not agree with this statement. Thus parents take upon themselves more responsibility for the child's school success than is attributed to them by teachers. Both teachers and parents to a greater degree agree that the child is predominantly responsible for his/her learning success as the number of school years increases.

Moreover, a great majority of teachers and parents agree that in the case of the child's current problems, teachers should give appropriate advice to resolve the problems. The share of such teachers diminishes from one triad to another, as if they slowly become aware that advice alone cannot resolve problems and that more active participation of all involved parties is necessary. Parents and teachers most frequently agree or absolutely agree with this statement, but again a higher percentage of teachers absolutely agree. A likely cause of the problem may be that teachers lack resources in such situations as they most often stated that they would need additional training in the area of resolving problem situations and conflicts.

These results show that for establishing relations between teachers and parents the expert model still prevails (Hornby 2000), where teachers are expected to be the experts for all aspects of the growth and education of pupils, as well as predominantly responsible for resolving their current problems. Obviously, a lot of work will be necessary to establish partnership between teachers and parents, concerning their common planning, the sharing of responsibilities and common efforts for a long term commitment and carrying out of appropriate activities. It is particularly important that the partnership model is adopted as being reasonable and useful by both teachers and parents.

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Abstract

This paper discusses the necessity and importance of the co-operation between teachers and parents in enabling the optimal development of each pupil. It presents the basic characteristics of the various models of teacher – parent co-operation with a focus on the *partnership model* as one of the challenges and problems of modern education. The *partnership model* is perceived as the most suitable model for developing constructive involvement of parents, as the teachers also take the parents' needs into account and are aware of various manners in which parents can contribute to the development and education of their children. The conclusions of the empirical research, which included teachers and parents and was carried out on a representative sample of Slovene primary schools, show the basic problems and challenges posed by establishing partnership between teachers and parents during the various periods of a child's primary education.

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TADEJ VIDMAR

Position of the medieval school in the context of political relations

Introduction

Recently, all over Europe we can identify growing tendencies toward more intensive decentralization of the school system and demands for better consideration of the local situation. Such tendencies are undoubtedly justified as long as the school is evidently positioned within the relations between central and local authorities and under the assumption that everywhere in the country equal conditions for its work are ensured. It is very important that narrow, locally focused interests, which could be connected with the momentary political preferences of local authorities, do not prevail in the work of the school and in its development. Before secular authorities began to show interest in education in the sixteenth century, the position of schools was predominantly dependent on the will and interest of either secular or ecclesiastical local authorities. We intend to examine the position and development of the school and education in medieval society as well as to analyse their relation to secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

Although it is often assumed that the Middle Ages were in a way monolithic, a fixed and rigid period, they were in fact quite dynamic, because there was rather a vivid and turbulent conflict between different ideas and streams vying to prevail. Viewing

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such a structure from the outside, the medieval era was perhaps actually "cemented" according to the division of society into three classes or orders, but inside each of them, quite active processes were evolving. We can establish that the only one that was airtight was the order of knights (*bellatores*), the order of nobility. The other two orders were transitive, which means that the clergy (those who pray, *oratores*) recruited itself above all from the third order, the order of workers (those who labor, *laboratores*). The second and the third orders brought into the clerical order material that was as much physical as it was "intellectual". In fact, throughout a large part of the Middle Ages, the Church, the clergy, was a holder and carrier of culture and education. It is obvious that the official authorities – as much the church as the secular authorities – tended towards immutability, because institutions are, by definition, inert. If, on the other hand, we take a closer look from the inside, we notice an entirely different image.

There are many things that can be criticized and reprehended through the optics of our present-day understanding of the world and its modern interpretation. The same result can also occur by assigning contemporary criteria to the past, but we can observe them in a different light when we place them in the appropriate time and place and if we interpret them with the criteria – which should, of course, be modified – of that particular time. We can, and should, transfer these criteria into our mental structures in the way they were in that time, in the way they were experienced then. We must not, by any means, interpret the Middle Ages only and exclusively according to modern standards for evaluating the condition and development of the school system, because it would be absurd and irrelevant.

In the Middle Ages, the continuity of the ancient school system was temporarily broken. The old Greco-Roman school system almost entirely disappeared because of intrusions of so-called barbarian tribes into the territory of the former Roman Empire, to its devastation, and because of massive migrations of different nations (cf. Bowen 1972, p. 318ss; Riché 1981, p. 216). The only preserver of knowledge and carrier of schooling appeared to be the Church. In the newly-established medieval states, the Church was the only one that had educated members and this is the most important reason why the Church gained control over education, especially over its institutionalised forms.

The early Middle Ages

After the decline of the Western Roman Empire, some new states were established with their own legislation and institutions, but all of them had in common that they devoted much more diligence to physical training, to demonstrations of courage, to learning military skills as well as intellectual development (cf. Riché 1979, p. 12). These new authorities did not systematically destroy the Roman school system and

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its organization on the territory of the Roman Empire, but they – in accordance with their mental structures – left it more or less untouched and they showed almost no interest in it (cf. Dhondt 1968; Riché 1981; Specht 1895). The ancient Greco-Roman school structure rested primarily on local shoulders, and schools were in fact financed by local community resources, which is why the majority of Roman schools stopped functioning at the same time as the decline of the Roman local communities. Some of those schools in larger centres continued their work for some time, before they were "moved" into the shelter of homes of the "remains of the Roman aristocracy" (cf. Bowen 1972, p. 319; Marrou 1965, p. 491; Riché 1981, pp. 216–217). The schools and the school system always suffered in times of war and political insecurity, and the fifth century was permanently immersed in severe storms of war.

When the new military leaders to some extent consolidated their authority over the conquered territories and became aware that their tribal regulations and traditions did not fulfill the criteria for appropriately governing the state, they began to show some interest in the achievements of ancient culture and civilization, which also included education and schooling. The culture of the conquerors of the Roman Empire was based on oral tradition, and literacy was mostly considered unusual. Official authorities soon found out that written documents were needed for the successful government and administration of the state, because contacts with other states had to be maintained, correspondence was required between sovereigns, etc.

The most usual way to learn to read and write was, and is, to acquire these skills in school and that is why the institutions that led individuals to knowledge were needed. These institutions were schools which educated and taught individuals and qualified them to perform certain tasks. In the Middle Ages, such institutions were, above all, parochial, monastic and cathedral schools for clerics and, as a kind of special vocational school, schools for readers, schools for singers, schools for scribes and later, exclusively for lay persons, guild vocational schools. These institutions can be understood as a first stage of development. The other stage, however, was that schools enabled individuals to acquire knowledge that was not directly intended for carrying out different assignments and tasks, but primarily for development of the person himself. Basic knowledge of this second stage was represented in a form of content which was commonly known as *VII artes liberales* (seven liberal arts), which included practically "all" ancient classical-humanistic knowledge and was first elaborated and defined by the ancient Greeks under the name of *enkyklios paideia* (all-round education).

The role of the Church

Medieval princes committed care of the maintenance and development of schools and education to the institution of the Church, which took advantage of the turbulent times and decline of the old order and which already respected the importance and

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value of knowledge. The Church preserved and protected to a considerable extent ancient knowledge from destruction and oblivion in the agitated times of change in the ancient world, as it was the institution which had the necessary knowledge and human resources for implementation of such a task and which had sufficient interest to do it. Of course, the Church accepted this assignment, and therefore everything until the twelfth century that was connected with education and with schooling, especially with institutional education, fell into its domain. We can say that during the period of its control over education, the Church did a great deal for the development of a school system and education, but we can also identify its darker sides, as in fact it had a monopoly over this area for so long. In the course of time, this monopoly led to different deviations and aberrations, and above all, to an excessive rigidity and ossification that impeded development and progress at a later period.

The Church itself had dealt with the necessity of or demand for the education of its own members relatively early. Almost every older monastic rule demanded that monks and nuns should for at least two hours every day, read holy texts (cf. rule of Caesarius of Arles, of Leandrus of Seville, of Aurelius of Orleans, of monastery in Tarnatus, of Ferreolus of Uzes, Regula Magistri). Those who could not read had to learn. All of those who entered the monastery illiterate or as analphabets before their fiftieth birthday had to learn to read (cf. *Regula Magistri*, ch. 50, in Migne 1844ss, vol. 88, col. 1010s). It is true that, in the sixth and seventh centuries, schools in monasteries did not exist in the modern meaning of the word, because monastic life in its entirety was understood as "the school of serving the Lord" ("[D]ominici schola servitii"), to use the construction from the introduction to the monastic rule of Benedict of Nursia. In such a way, we can also understand the fact that, in the Middle Ages, an abbot was at the same time a father and teacher to the monks (cf. Riché 1979, p. 38).

In connection with the ancient tradition of the seven liberal arts and "erudite" education in general, we can determine two different tendencies. One, a kind of "humanistic and erudite" monasticism, was relatively inclined toward the ancient tradition and it encouraged the study of pagan authors. The other, which could be defined as rigoristic, rejected the Greco-Roman humanistic tradition and its studies, and rejected science and *ratio*. Above all, it was oriented towards mysticism and prayers, to spiritual simplicity (cf. Riché 1979, p. 36–38; Specht 1895, p. 49). As a basic principle, we can quote the famous dictum of Petrus Damiani: "But my grammar is Christ." (*Ep. VIII, 8*, in *Epistolarum libri octo*, Migne 1844ss, vol. 144, col. 476). Official Church authorities were, for the majority of the Middle Ages, more disposed towards representatives of rigorism, but the fact is, that both of them were always present, side by side and coexisting. The main reason for such "coexistence" was that the educational system primarily depended on local authorities and not so much on "universal" ones, which set up more general guidelines and directives.

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There were times when one tendency prevailed, and times when the other dominated. This "fight," this alternating of influence between representatives of "classical" education and representatives of a more "spiritually-oriented" education, was characteristic throughout the whole of the Middle Ages. We can recognize a similar situation in some other fields of culture.

Monastic school

In the early Middle Ages, almost all education and schooling was in the hands of monks. In monasteries, so-called *monastic schools* had been founded and developed from, among other things, the necessity of preserving books and manuscripts. If each monk was to read the Holy Scripture at least once a day, several copies of it had to exist in the monastery, and over time, these wore out and had to be replaced. Monks had to know psalms by heart, to read the Bible and other holy texts, and many of them even learned to write although instruction in reading and writing was not given simultaneously (as today), but kept separate: first reading, and then writing. We can place the origin of the monastic schools in the sixth century, although the teaching of illiterate monks started as early as the fourth century, which is mentioned in the oldest monastic rules (cf. Marrou 1965, p. 472).

Parochial schools

The parochial school had its origins in the conclusions of the Council of Vaison in the year 529, which instructed priests to educate their successors: "... let all parish priests accept them in their homes... young readers who are not their children, and let them, as good fathers, who spiritually nourish them, strive to teach psalms (*psalmos parare*) to strengthen them in holy things (*divinis insistere*) and to educate them in the Law of the Lord (*in lege domini erudire*)..." (*Canon I*, in Mansi 1728ss, vol. 8, col. 726). Such a manner of "schooling" of the future rural priests, according to the conclusions of Vaison, already existed in Italy (ibid.), but there is no preserved document, which could explain it in more detail. We can already trace the roots of parochial schools in the second century in so-called *catechetical schools* (schools for future priests) and in the *catechumenal schools* (preparatory schools for baptism) (cf. Good & Teller 1969, p. 69; Schöneberg 1981, p. 85). The main objective of parochial schools was the education of the rural clergy. The above-named decree concerning the establishment of parochial schools was, in practice, not observed with special care, primarily because of the indolence of local church authorities.

Cathedral schools

Traces of the origin of *episcopal schools*, from which *cathedral schools* originated, are apparent in the year 527, when the Council of Toledo made a decision that bis-

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hops should in their residencies organize education for future priests (in this case, for urban clergy): "...soon after receiving the tonsure, let teachers educate them (future clerics) in the residency of the bishop" (Capitulum I, in Mansi 1728ss, vol. 8, col. 785). The cathedral school has its roots in the episcopal school, too, which was established and led by St. Augustine in the fifth century for the needs of his diocese, when he was bishop in the town of Hippo in northern Africa (cf. Marrou 1965, p. 478; Schöneberg 1981, p. 83). He instructed future priests and deacons in *artes*, theology and in lectures of the Bible. The episcopal school had the same problems as the parochial ones, too. It is interesting that both schools were recruiting for future clergy, but young men did not need to decide until they reached adulthood whether they would become priests and receive higher orders or return to secular life. Strictly speaking, the school where future priests were educated did not exist because the aspect of free will was emphasized and the student could always change his mind. The child who was destined to be a priest and put in the school by his parents, upon reaching adulthood, could choose himself whether he really wanted to be a priest or not (cf. Canon I, in Mansi 1728ss, vol. 8, col. 726; Capitulum I, in Mansi 1728ss, vol. 8, col. 785).

Because monks were not engaged primarily in pastoral work, church authorities decided to model the so-called *cathedral* and *parochial schools*, which were supposed to take care of schooling the urban and rural clergy, on the model of monastic schools. This idea was for a long time just a dead letter on paper. The first real attempt, although brief, to revive and implement this idea was made in the time of Charlemagne, whose ambition was also to educate the broader masses. In the course of the implementation of the above-named objectives, he died, so we cannot know if Charlemagne's plans would, in fact, have been realised, nor how effective they might have been. Certainly, the time was not yet appropriate for the implementation and realization of such visionary ideas, although they were conceived in the mind of the mightiest and most powerful ruler of that time.

Carolingian Renaissance

The Frankish ruler Charlemagne initiated a general renovation of society at the end of the eighth century, and that is why this period is also called the Carolingian renaissance. With Charlemagne, we have, for the first time after antiquity, an example of the highest secular authority's realization of the necessity of education and schooling of his people, with at the same time an unambiguous interest in it. The authorities demanded the foundation and organization of schools (*Admonitio generalis*), edited programs for study (*Epistola de litteris colendis*), demanded the writing of new textbooks (*Constitutio de emendatione librorum et officiorum ecclesiasticorum*) and anticipated control over the implementation. Charlemagne committed the immediate care of the school system to the Church, "gave" it into its hands. He

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brought back to life the almost forgotten parochial and episcopal schools, which later became cathedral schools. Later on, he might have handled the organization of special schools for the common people, but this is only hypothesis (cf. Good & Teller, 1969, p. 76; Specht 1895, p. 30). He began his educational renovation with the reform of the Church, because teachers (in this case priests) had to be educated before they could teach in the schools. His next action was to demand from every bishop and abbot that they establish at least one school in their diocese or monastery - in those schools, elementary knowledge should be taught, including psalms, singing, calculation and grammar: "[I]n single monastery and diocese let them (boys) be taught psalms (psalmos), signs (notas), singing (cantus), calculation (computum) and grammar (grammaticam)". (Admonitio generalis, cap. LXX, in Mansi 1728ss, vol. 17 b, col. 237). He foresaw inspectors who would control the implementation of elaborated plans. However, these plans of Charlemagne were not put into practice, because he encountered the passivity and to some extent, the resistance, of the majority of the clerics, who should first have educated themselves sufficiently. In spite of this, there were also some highly educated and intellectually ambitious church dignitaries who intensively implemented Charlemagne's ideas and decrees and even supplemented them.

In this first phase, the phase of educating teachers, Charlemagne was planning only pastoral work and religious lections for the broader masses of people. Everyone had to know the Creed and how to say the Lord's Prayer in Latin, a requirement which was, within a short period of time, moderated by the stipulation that everyone had to know these prayers in his or her mother tongue, as learning it in Latin was not possible. For those who did not want to learn it, he ordered corporal punishment, even for women (cf. Good & Teller 1969, p. 77; Specht 1895, pp. 27s and 29s). Efforts towards school reform had been unsuccessful, due to the alleged indifference of Charlemagne's successor to the imperial throne, Louis the Pious, to his father's already commenced work. Louis was under the influence of the great monastic reformer, St. Benedict of Aniane, who himself was a radical rigorist. St. Benedict succeeded in restraining the moral decay of the clergy, but he was, on the other hand, far too rigoristic in determining the role of the secular sciences, when he was searching for causes of the existing situation (cf. Dhondt 1968, p. 74ss; Specht, 1895, p. 32). Once more, those most responsible for the implementation of decrees were the local bishops and singular abbots, so many local church authorities fostered artes in their schools, in spite of the aversion of the supreme state authorities (cf. Vidmar 1997, p. 280).

At the end of the ninth century, the great empire of Charlemagne broke into three parts, which thereafter followed more or less different paths concerning their relation to education and schooling. The idea was, in principle, the same throughout, but differences existed, primarily in attitude and implementation.

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Development from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century

The tenth and, in part, the eleventh century were not favorable to artes liberales and sciences, particularly in Germany. Opponents above all condemned the study of Virgil in lessons of grammar. Very arduous adversaries of "pagan" knowledge and classical studies were members of the Congregation of Cluny, who had a considerable influence on the reform of the monasteries in the eleventh century (cf. Knowles & Obolensky 1991, p. 122). In England, King Alfred the Great was inclined to education; he appeared to want to be another Charlemagne, so he took some steps to promote learning. He himself translated or arranged the translation of some books (Pastoral Rule of Gregory the Great, Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede, History of Orosius, and some excerpts from St. Augustine) from Latin to English. In the introduction to Pastoral Rule, he explained that he had translated those books because it was the only way for all free-born young men in England, who were wealthy enough, to dedicate themselves to learning during the time before they took up an occupation. They should learn to read English writing well; after that, those who intended to study further, should be taught in Latin (Good & Teller 1969, p. 86; cf. Grundmann 1958, p. 36s). Alfred did not succeed with his plans because of the continuation of the war with the Danes, and his successors to the throne lacked the appropriate initiative. In France, the situation was also no longer favorable to learning.

Because of the development of towns and trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was a greater necessity for educated people. In Italy, many new secular notarial and medical schools were established (cf. Good & Teller 1969, pp. 95–97; Riché 1979, pp. 243–245). Trade demanded literate persons, which is why traders above all stimulated and supported the growth of municipal parochial (Latin) schools, and then town schools, where the language of teaching was the mother tongue and no longer Latin. The growth of town schools was mostly based around overcrowded cathedrals and even parochial schools in towns, the long and often dangerous journey to existing schools and the increased need for education (cf. Schöneberg 1981; Specht 1895, p. 249). These new schools rapidly provoked disagreements among the scholastics of cathedral or chapter schools, who claimed full rights to control all schools in the town. This right included employing and paying teachers. That is what lead to the clerics in charge of schools, and the town council, which wanted to control its schools, taking up opposing sides. Conflicts arose, mostly in the area of employing and paying teachers in schools that were founded and financed by municipal communities. Perhaps this is now an appropriate place to remove prejudice and say that the Church did not oppose secular town schools in general, because town councils received permission to employ teachers from the bishop or even from the Pope himself several times, but local scholastics stubbornly rejected implementation of the acquired permissions (cf. Good & Teller 1969, p. 94s; Specht 1895, p. 252).

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Along with the rise of secular town schools, the decline of the monastic schools began in the twelfth century, as they lost their erstwhile importance as centers of education and culture. With the rise of universities, even cathedral and chapter schools were downgraded to the level of preparatory institutions (cf. Limmer 1958, p. 62; Schöneberg 1981, p. 85).

As part of this trend, by the end of the Middle Ages, the demand to teach in the mother tongue in schools was becoming greater and greater, because Latin was losing its dominant and universal role amongst other languages, especially with the appearance of feelings of nationalism. The demands of changing curricula in town schools, which needed to be more adapted to everyday needs and daily life, were increasingly growing. In such demands, it is even possible to trace the necessity of separating secular and church authority (cf. Vidmar 1997, p. 281). The Middle Ages were not yet contaminated with the dilemmas associated with this problem, but it would become one of the most important issues in the coming centuries.

The evolution of education in the Middle Ages depended very much on the benevolence and inclinations of the momentary local holder of power, because there was no unified and strong central authority to regulate legislation and organization for the entire territory and afterwards control its implementation. Charlemagne tried to do it, but failed. The feudal system, by definition, did not allow this. There is a question about what might have happened if the Church had not taken education and schooling under its patronage. Anyway, we can say that the Church succeeded in transmitting the achievements of the ancient Greco-Roman culture to our own times. Although medieval schooling and education had relatively many defects, it managed to maintain a certain level of culture and education, which, for the entirety of the medieval period, was never completely extinguished.

Conclusion

Taking into consideration preserved documents and sources, we can make an assertion that, in principle, medieval authorities did not intentionally prevent access to education. Feudal society itself, which cannot be appropriately evaluated in any aspect with modern criteria, as said above, consisted of three classes, each with its own rights, duties, and tasks. According to the feudal system, the educated (in the modern meaning of the word) comprised only members of the order of clergy. They were also the most important bearers and transmitters of education and culture. Members of this order could be noblemen or poor, as there were no limitations regarding social origin, and they both could reach the highest positions in the hierarchy of order (although it was much easier for the nobility).

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Clerics had to be literate in Latin, which was the language of science and erudition, but for both the other orders of society, it was neither necessary nor needed, at least until the thirteenth century. Problems of inequality and discrimination against the rural populace, that is, the majority of members of the former third order, emerged with the decay of the tripartite structure of society.

Abstract

Recently, growing tendencies toward more intensive decentralisation of the school system and demands for better consideration of local situation can be discovered all over Europe. Such tendencies are undoubtedly justified as long as school is evidently positioned within the relations between central and local authorities and upon the assumption that equal conditions for its work are ensured everywhere in the country. It is very important that narrow interests with local focus, which could be connected with momentary political preferences of local authorities, do not prevail in the work of the school and in its development. When, by the 16th century, secular authorities began to show interest in education, the position of schools had predominantly depended on the will and interest of secular or ecclesiastic local authorities. The author intends to examine the position and development of the school and education in the medieval society and to analyse their relation to secular and ecclesiastic authorities. Although it seems that the Middle Ages were in a way a monolithic, rigid period, they were in fact quite dynamic due to the rather vivid and turbulent conflict between ideas and options vying to prevail. Watching such a structure from outside, the Middle Ages might actually have beome "cemented" through the division of society into three classes or orders, yet quite active processes were evolving within each of the three.

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